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NARRATING JINNAH'S NATION: TOWARDS A PLURALIST IDENTITY IN PAKISTANI  
ENGLISH FICTION

by

SABA NASEER

Under the Direction of Renee Schatteman, PhD

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2021

## ABSTRACT

Conflating history with literature, and drawing on the powerful metaphor of displacement, my project looks at the select Anglophone prose narratives of six Pakistani writers – Saadat Hasan Manto, Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Zulfikar Ghose, Sara Suleri, Kamila Shamsie, and Mohsin Hamid – to analyze the multiple forms of pluralist belonging that constitute the collective modern Pakistani identity. Despite the different social, literary, and historical contexts in which these works emerged and developed, key themes that appear in the works of the selected authors – including displaced identities along sudden cartographic divisions, demythologization of national identities, an enduring and intimate identification with places of birth that predates the Partition, and the identity formation of minority and interracial women in an Islamic state – not only refute the idea that *Pakistani* and *Muslim* identities are synonymous, but also collectively raise questions about, and provide alternatives to, some of the country's dominant forms of national identification in the last seven decades. I further suggest that since the country's inception, the unwavering commitment of Pakistan's anglophone writing to promote a collective identity at once problematizes the idea of a state-sponsored national identity *and* evokes the secular agenda behind Pakistan's genesis as espoused by its charismatic founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The selected narratives compete with Western images of prejudice and stereotypes generated by political discourse and media coverage of Pakistan as a problematic partner in the so-called war on terror. They also necessitate a re-visitation of historical perspectives about Pakistan's inception, Jinnah's ideology in the creation of Pakistan, as well as postcolonial studies' reductive fixation on Partition *and* compartmentalized Muslim identities when dealing with English language writers of Pakistani origin.

Key texts: Saadat Hasan Manto “Toba Tek Singh” (1948); Mumtaz Shah Nawaz *A Heart Divided* (1948, published in 1957); Zulfikar Ghose *Confessions of a Native Alien* (1965) and “Coming Home” (1991); Sara Suleri *Meatless Days* (1989); Mohsin Hamid *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007); Kamila Shamsie *Kartography* (2001).

INDEX WORDS: Pakistani Identity, Pluralism, Cartography, Displacement, Nationalism, Exile, Life Writing

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2021

NARRATING JINNAH'S NATION: TOWARDS A PLURALIST IDENTITY IN PAKISTANI  
ENGLISH FICTION

by

SABA NASEER

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Randy Malamud

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Services

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

August 2021

## **DEDICATION**

In memory of my late father, Yusuf, and for my mother, Surriya, who were born Indians, but became Pakistanis, in 1947 ... whose inspiring stories of Partition set this project in motion.

For my husband, Humayun, and my children, Sarah, Maha, and Zain, who patiently waited for this project to reach completion ... and stood by my side in every way possible.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my Committee for your time, assistance, and encouragement during this project. It took me a long time to get to this point of completion, and without your positive guidance and sustained support I could not have made it this far. Dr Renee Schatteman, a special thanks to you for supporting and encouraging me in the most compassionate of ways – and thank you for reading all those dense and highly nuanced primary texts, and for always asking important questions about them. It made me realize I needed to explain *many* details through *many* footnotes. Dr Malamud, you taught me to be a better writer and editor both as my teacher and as a reader of my dissertation. I thoroughly enjoyed your comments about other texts, subtexts, and media productions that you felt resonated with my research. I am looking forward to watching the sitcom, *We Are Lady Parts*. Dr Rajiva, you taught me how to organize my writing – and my thoughts – better. Thanks for pushing me harder.

As this project took longer than expected, I am extremely grateful to all of you for your patience and encouragement in the last seven years. You kept me focused during many critical moments of the research and writing process, in spite of the last year-and-a-half of struggles we all faced due to the pandemic. And you never lost faith in the fact that I shall get this project finished ... one day. Your uplifting comments always went a long way. Thank you, again!

And finally, I would like to thank my husband and children for putting up with me in this life-long journey of being a student – I promise I will be a changed, less grumpy person now.



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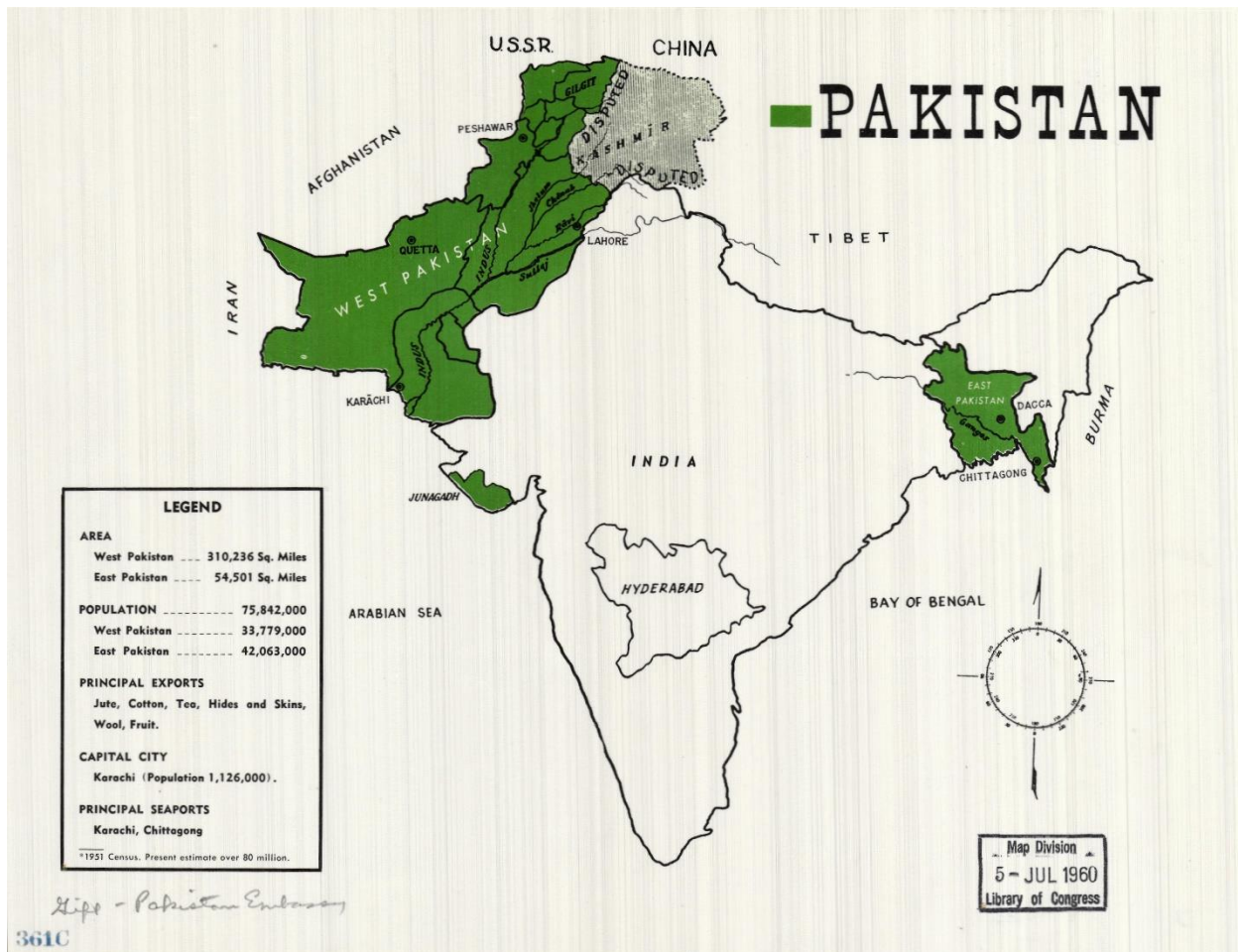
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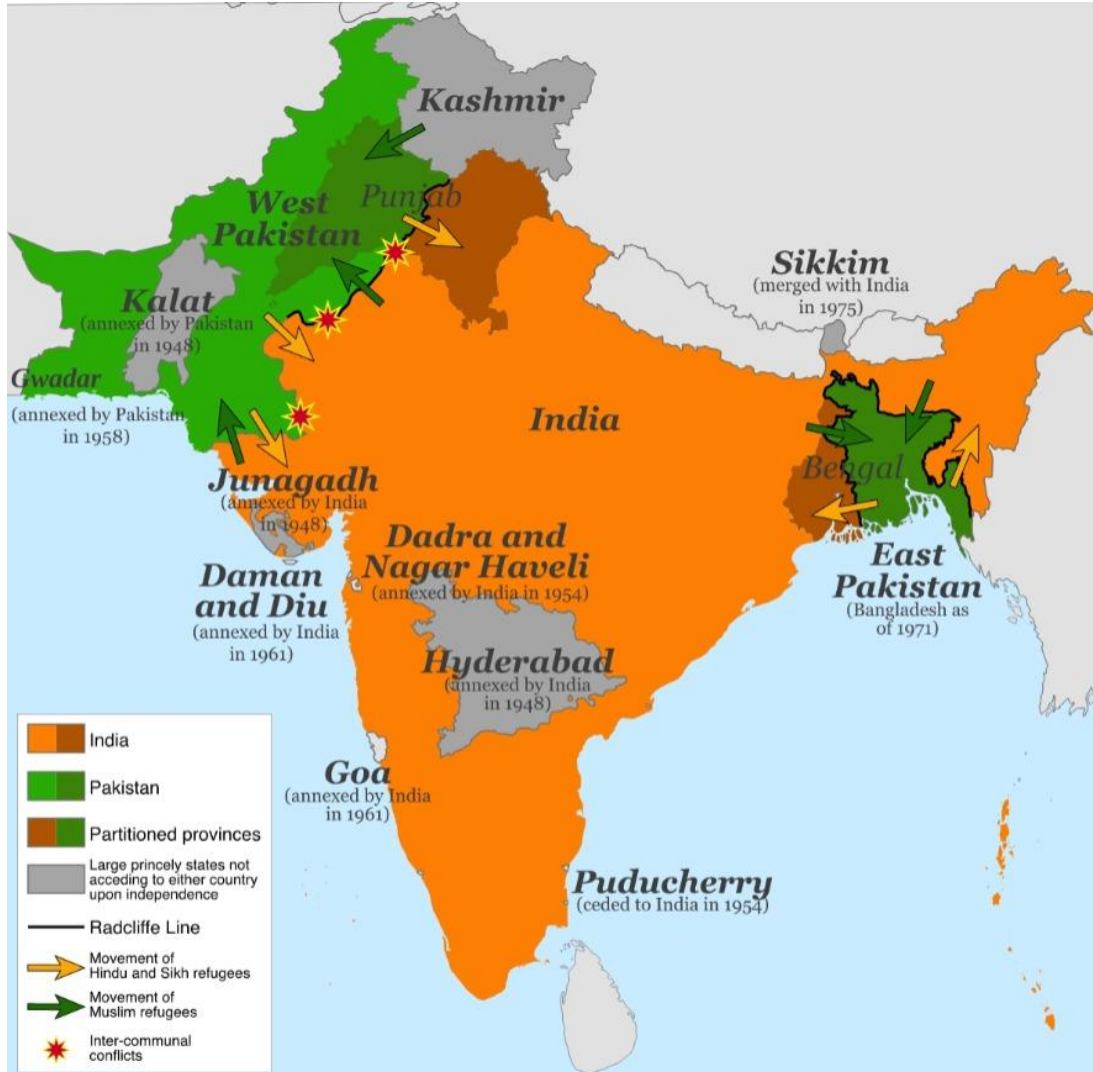
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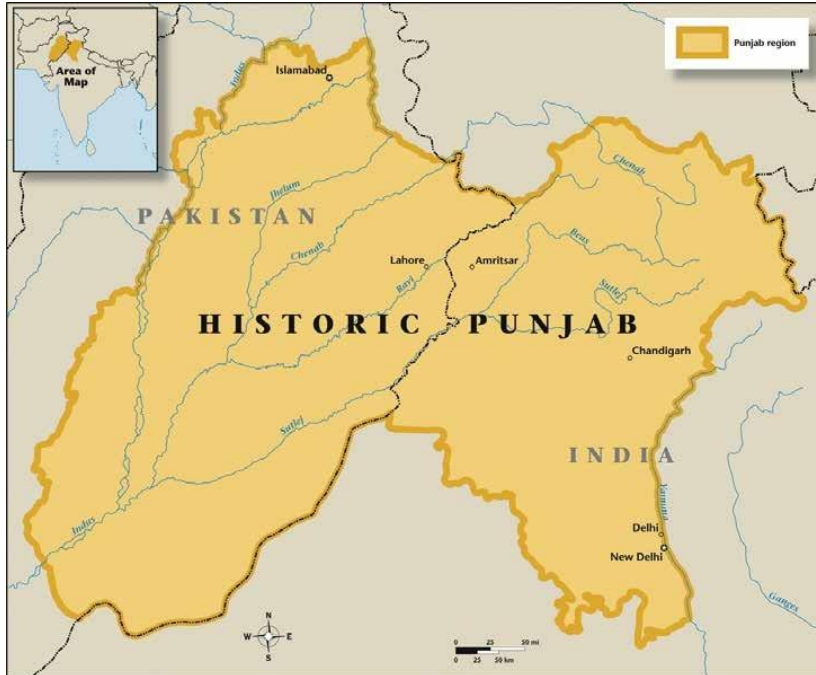
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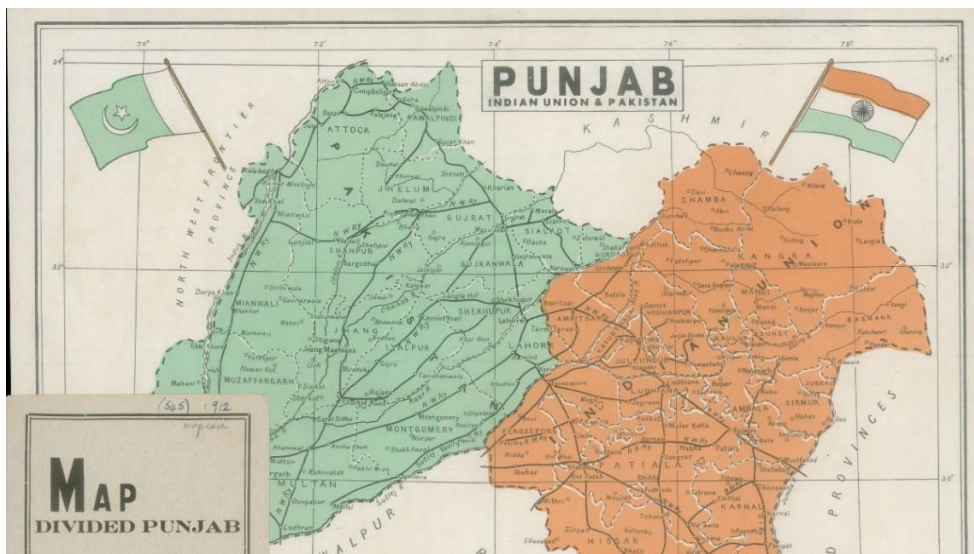
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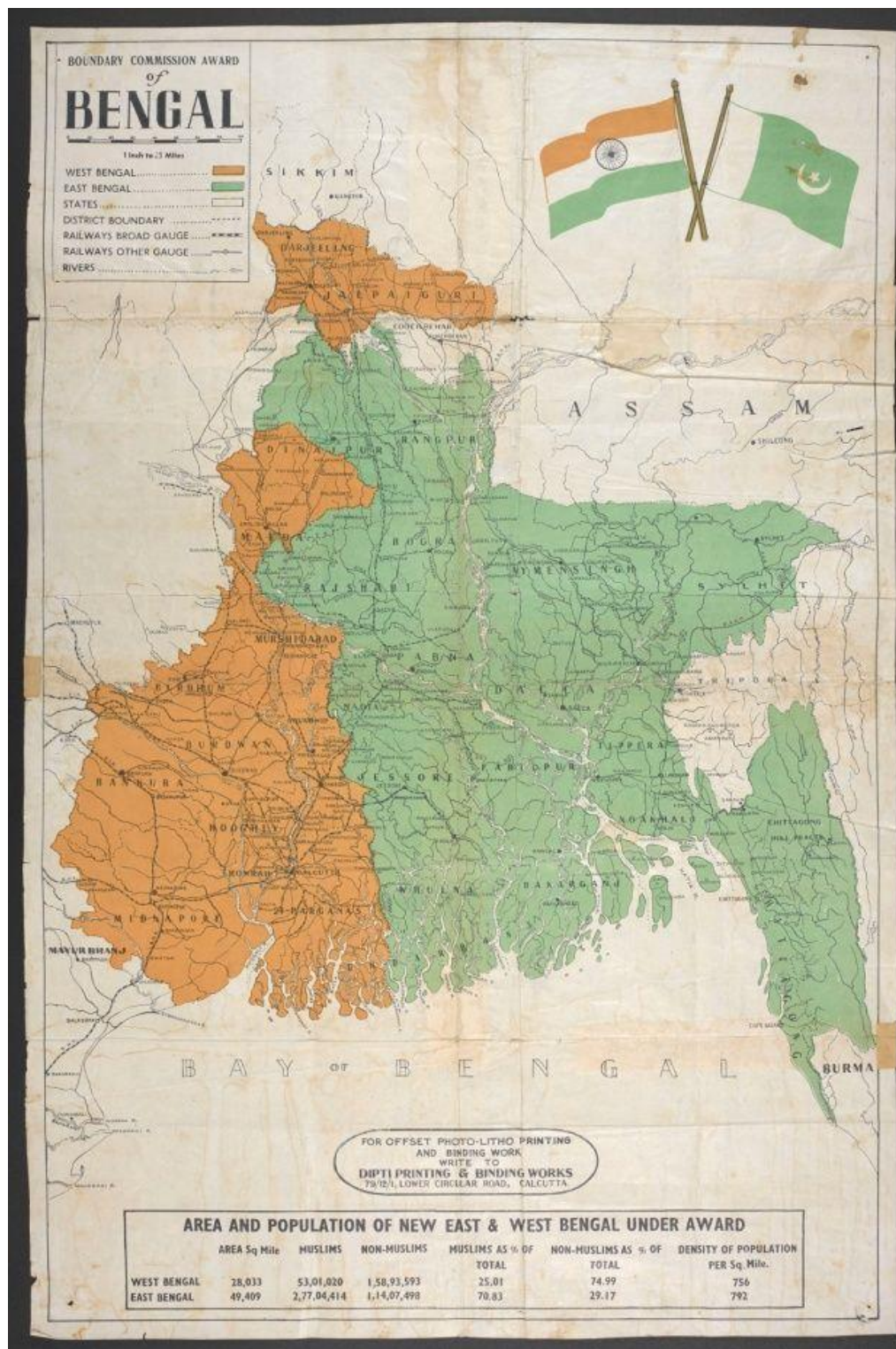
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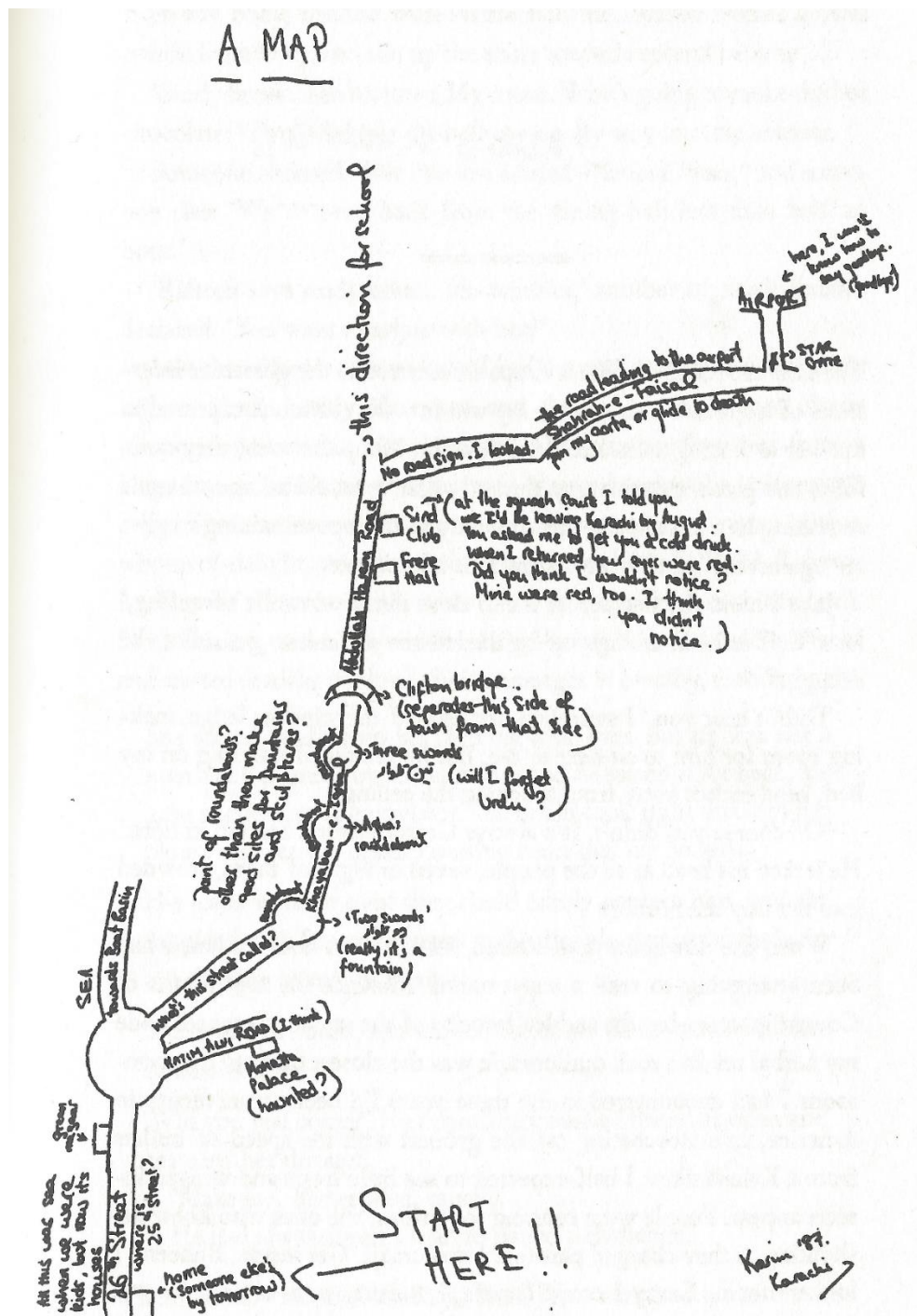
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## PREFACE

I left Pakistan 25 years ago, but Pakistan never left me. Some of my visits to Pakistan coincided with significant moments in the country's history. I was there on October 12, 1999, when PM Nawaz Sharif dismissed his army general, Pervaiz Musharraf, while the latter was out of the country and prevented his plane from landing at the Karachi airport. The armed forces, however, took control of the airport and other government installations and deposed Sharif, paving the way for Musharraf to become head of Pakistan's last martial law regime. I was there in Benazir Bhutto's home city of Karachi, on December 27, 2007, and catching a flight to Lahore at the very moment when Bhutto was assassinated hundreds of miles away at a rally, in Rawalpindi. It was a miracle we boarded the last flight out of Karachi, as all metropolitan cities plunged into a curfew for the next few days when rioters burned tires and blocked roads in Karachi and other major cities. Pakistan is more than a place of origin for me – it is a place where my father and all four grandparents are buried – a place where my mother lives – a place almost 8000 miles away from my present home – a place where I still own a piece of land – an unpredictable place, of familial ties and enduring friendships – a place which gave me my first identity – a place of deep affective attachment ...

My historical inquiry into this much-maligned state – founded by a very charismatic man – was sparked after I left Pakistan, ironically. And my curiosity did not take its present shape until on one of my trips back home my very erudite and much older cousin, Javed Asghar, admonished me for being “so ignorant” about Pakistan's history. Well, how could I be blamed? Afterall, I grew up in General Zia's martial law regime (1977-1988) that stifled and transformed Pakistan (and its history) in the name of Islamic principles, completely erasing Jinnah's secular ideology. Asghar suggested I read a few unbiased historical texts, like H.V. Hodson's *The Great*

*Divide* (1969) and H.M Seervai's *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (1989) – the first written by a British historian and the latter by an Indian historian. I picked up the third myself, Ayesha Jalal's *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan* (1985). I must admit what an emotional toll it took upon me after reading for the first time details about the demand for Pakistan, the sacrifices of people – Jinnah's notably – in the final creation of Pakistan. I read volumes X-XII of *The Transfer of Power Documents* and found myself in disbelief at Mountbatten's mismanagement of not just Partition's cartography, but of the transfer of millions of refugees as well. I knew at that point I had to write the story of Pakistan – I had to meld in the stories of my parents and their forefathers with the story of the country that they made ultimate sacrifices for – I had to coalesce all those stories and histories with my own migrant identity. That was an ambitious – and a soul-stirring – undertaking, and the best way to approach it was by choosing a Pakistani writer from my parents' (or their parents') generation and one from my own, and find a way to blend modern and older narratives in an echoing sequence.

On each successive visit to Pakistan, Asghar painstakingly took me to all the new bookstores that had remarkably popped up after my departure from Pakistan (but where had the old ones gone?) and helped me amass a good number of books. It was there that I found texts by Tariq Rahman and Muneeza Shamsie, many of Ayesha Jalal's books, and Manto's original texts in Urdu – all of which became crucial to my own research. Jalal's bold historical inquiries into the creation of Pakistan and the country's present complex geo-political status, as well as her intimate biography of Manto (as Manto's niece she had access to Manto's personal life, his manuscripts, and his letters) particularly directed my dissertation in significantly critical ways. Jalal often signals in her works that “Pakistan is too often reduced to facile and defective

descriptions without regard for either context or content” (*Struggle for Pakistan*, x), in spite of her blatant periodic evaluations of her country’s problems. During my prospectus phase, her encouraging words to me were: *Shahbaash* (Urdu word for *bravo*) *you are doing the right thing by bringing Pakistan to a Western readership!*

While I researched and wrote this dissertation – my tribute to Pakistan – I often wondered how do writers feel and what range of emotions do they go through, how do they even decide where to begin from, and where to end, when they write about their own countries, their homes, their beginnings? It must truly be a daunting task which involves perceptions of history, identity, memory, multiple belonging, text, and the definition of the term “home,” all jumbled up, in a very mobile and eclectic world. This process for me also begged a response to the critical question, *what does it mean to be a Pakistani to each generation* – a question I try to address throughout my dissertation. I hope, one day, my children will pick up my work and learn a valuable history lesson about a place so deeply embedded in their mother’s identity, a place they vacationed at ... but never lived in.

## INTRODUCTION

In *Ice-Candy-Man*, I was just redressing in a small way, a very grievous wrong that has been done to Jinnah and Pakistanis by many Indian and British writers. They've dehumanized him, made him a symbol of the sort of person who brought about the partition of India, a person who was hard-headed and obstinate. Whereas, in reality, he was the only constitutional man who didn't sway crowds just by rhetoric, and tried to do everything by the British standards of constitutional law. (Bapsi Sidhwa, Interview with Montenegro, 1991)

Initially ... I was a Lahori kid who wanted to write about Lahori life that I had seen. But after 9/11, I felt myself more of an intermediary. Not because I wanted to assert some kind of [view] ... [but] it was because I thought the misconception about Pakistan is so enormous and so dangerous that I have to, for my own sake, try to address and correct this. Not that there is one right point of view but there are certainly some completely wrong points of view, and I wanted to disarm some of those slightly through my writing ... [Pakistan] is a very complicated place with lots of people. (Mohsin Hamid, Interview with Mushtaq Bilal, 161)

While Indian Muslims have faced unremitting persecution in a postcolonial, nominally secular, India, the law of the land requires them to be legitimately profiled now. The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), passed in December 2019, abandons the secular principles enshrined in the nation's Constitution for a vision of citizenship predicated on religion. Along with the National Register of Citizens (NRC), the CAA is widely understood to delegitimize Indian Muslims by providing a pathway to Indian citizenship for religious minorities from the surrounding countries of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan. It seeks to give all illegal migrants, except for Muslims, from those countries amnesty and an accelerated path to citizenship. The NRC decrees that the only citizens required to provide documented proof of their belonging to the state are Muslims, because as per the terms of the Citizens Amendment

Bill all non-Muslim illegal immigrants have an amnestied path to citizenship, immune to the danger of internment or deportation. These two Acts grant legal justification to Indian immigration authorities, the police, and every government institution to mandate Muslims, and only Muslims, to prove their citizenship. The approval of the CAA is viewed by many South Asian intellectuals, including Shashi Tharoor, as a “partition of the Indian soul” – a sequel to the 1947 Partition “of the Indian soil” seven decades ago. Vindicating Mohammed Ali Jinnah’s vision of a separate homeland for Muslims as the British colonial center stood dissolved almost eighty years ago, Tharoor adds, “wherever Jinnah is, he can point to this place (India) and say, see I was right in 1940, we are a separate nation and Muslims deserved their own country because Hindus cannot be just” (Tharoor qtd in *Global Village Space*).

Indian secular nationalist historiography and British apologists of empire have often blamed “Jinnah’s difficult personality and ill-conceived politics” for the “peculiar outcome” that resulted in Partition (Jalal, *Pity* 6). Many of Jinnah’s followers, who otherwise revere him as Quaid-i-Azam (great leader) and father of the nation, also paradoxically hold him responsible for bringing about the Partition. However, Jinnah started his political career as a member of the Indian National Congress, in 1906, and sustained his loyalty to the Congress and from his commitment to free India from the British even after joining the All India Muslim League (AIML), in 1913. Well known as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, he parted ways with the Congress in the mid-1920s after disillusionment with its Hindu leadership, fearing, and rightly so, that the “Congress would swindle Muslims out of any substantial power” once the British departed. Jinnah from then onward began to focus on a “prior constitutional agreement to safeguard Muslim interests in an independent India” (Jalal, *Pity* 6-7). There was no mention of Pakistan when the AIML formally passed its Lahore Resolution in 1940 demanding the creation

of independent Muslim states in the northwest and northeast of India, with constitutional arrangements at the all-India center. The principle of 'Pakistan' (acronym for *Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan*), as territorial embodiment of the Muslim claim to nationhood, came about in the later years of World War II, and was based on Jinnah's argument that

the Indian unitary center would stand dissolved at the moment of the British withdrawal, ...[and] that any renegotiated center – unitary, federal, or confederal – had to be based on the agreement of all the constituent units, including the Muslim-majority provinces and the princely states that accounted for nearly 40 percent of the subcontinental land mass. (Jalal, *Pity* 8)

In order to safeguard the interests of Muslims in both majority and minority provinces, Jinnah wanted Pakistan to be carved out of the existing Muslim-majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal and yet remain part of an all-India center. With that arrangement of keeping Punjab and Bengal undivided, Jinnah had hoped to negotiate a substantial share of power for Muslim self-determination at the all-India level. By 1946, however, once the British refused to concede undivided Punjab and Bengal to the Muslim League and Nehru (as the leader of Congress) rejected the grouping of provinces and restrictions on the powers at the center, Jinnah had no option but to demand a sovereign Pakistan, whose complex geographical boundaries he had rejected twice.

Of the ninety-five million Muslims living in the subcontinent, a little above sixty million became citizens of Pakistan in 1947, making the new nation-state the largest Muslim state of the world at the time. Yet over forty million Muslims who decided to stay behind in Hindustan were left to shape their own destiny in the face of ineluctable persecution. Empathizing with the alienation of Muslims, like Dalits, in a Hindu majority India, the Dalit leader, Dr B. R.

Ambedkar,<sup>1</sup> also supported the case for a separate Muslim homeland in his 1941 monograph, *Thoughts on Pakistan*. The demand for Pakistan, Ambedkar pointed out, requires logical consideration and should not be dismissed summarily since “it has behind it the sentiment, if not the passionate support, of 90 percent Muslims of India” (Ambedkar 2). He further reminded his readers of the fact that the degradation of Muslims from the status of masters to the status of fellow-subjects had been effected during the British rule, and the subcontinent’s decolonization would reduce Muslims to becoming subjects of the Hindus. Additionally, Ambedkar’s monograph underscored the fact that if Indians were fighting for self-determination, they must concede that no community can be deprived of self-determination, Muslims included (Ambedkar 4). At an exceptionally complex juncture of the hasty British departure amidst menacingly competing nationalisms, it was solely Jinnah’s “indomitable will” that “conjur[ed]” the nation-state of Pakistan onto the map of the world, and significantly “alter[ed] the course of history” of South Asia (Wolpert, *Jinnah* vii). As a true liberal who believed that by having regional autonomy Muslims could escape the iron box of permanent minority status in postcolonial India, Jinnah averred that in Pakistan the role of Islam would be no different from that of other religions. When Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, a year after Pakistan’s creation, he had little opportunity to give constitutional form to his secular ideas.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891-1956), was a scholar, social reformer, powerful advocate of the rights of Dalits and women, chairman of the Constituent Assembly of India, and the country’s first law minister. After the All India Muslim League passed the Lahore Resolution (1940) for the creation of ‘Independent States’ from the predominantly Muslim areas of India, the Executive Council of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) – formed in 1936 under Dr. Ambedkar’s leadership – met to consider their stance on the ‘project of Pakistan’. The Council appointed a committee to study the issue and produce a report, with Dr. Ambedkar as its chairperson. The five-part book, *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (1945), is based on the committee’s report, that was originally published as *Thoughts on Pakistan*, in 1941.

In the aftermath of the declassification of the *Transfer of Power Documents*,<sup>2</sup> historians continue to rescue Jinnah’s image from its denigration at the hands of pro-Congress and pro-Hindu discourses while Pakistani English writers posit a re-examination of South Asian history to understand the present-day conflicts of the region that continue to shape the Pakistani eclectic identity. Pakistani English literature, very much like Pakistan’s founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah, has been ignored and somewhat misunderstood due to the lingering impact of the conflation of Islam and identity politics globally and within Pakistan, the hegemony of India and Partition in South Asian studies, and the monolithic and stereotypical perception of Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11. My dissertation foregrounds that once these reductive critical lenses are stripped away, there is a rich body of diverse and polyphonic literature characterized by three major strands – nationalistic, cartographic, and exilic – that occupy writers’ imagination in the aftermath of Pakistan’s complicated history as responses to the many ways both literature and the country have been misunderstood and neglected. All selected works, moreover, embody the common theme of longing for a past of plurality and inclusiveness and echo the metaphor of Jinnah’s secular ideal as mythologized through his frequent portraits in many contemporary Pakistani fictional works including, but not limited to, Bapsi Sidhwa’s *Cracking India/Ice-candy Man* (1988), Daniyal Mueenuddin’s *In Other Rooms, Other Wonders* (2009), Mohammed Hanif’s *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008), and H M Naqvi’s *Home Boy* (2009). With its “artificially demarcated frontiers and desperate quest for an officially sanctioned Islamic identity,”

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<sup>2</sup> The official documents dealing with the transfer of power in India were sealed till 1970. Between 1970 and 1983, 12 volumes of documents, with Professor Nicholas Mansergh as editor-in-chief, were published as *The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, which demanded a reappraisal of events leading up to the Partition as well as of the role of politicians (both British and Indian) behind the colossal event. The brief Mountbatten viceroyalty, covered in Volume 12, comprises 3000 pages and 1600 official documents.



contemporary Pakistan “lends itself remarkably well to an examination of the nexus between power and bigotry in creative imaginings of national identity” (Jalal “Conjuring” 74).

The subcontinent’s history makes the genre of Pakistani English literature unique and different from other Pakistani literatures because it is a direct result of the colonial encounter. The development of English literature in the subcontinent followed a slow but steady progress, and allowed South Asian English writers to forge their own distinct voice prior to 1947. When the East India Company invaded the subcontinent in 1757, the language of Mughal administration was Persian. Soon thereafter, British orientalist led by Sir William Jones set up the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1784, and discovered through extensive translations of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit texts into English that Indo-European languages were related (Shamsie, *Hybrid Tapestries* 5). By 1837, English replaced Persian as the language of government and native languages took over the lower courts of law, and hence, “along with Persian, the cultural ascendancy of the Muslims too melted away” and gave way to Urdu<sup>3</sup> becoming the language of Muslim identity (Rahman, *History* 37). The colonial policy of privileging Urdu over Persian was driven simply by the logic of standardization to educate employees in Urdu on the Indian subcontinent, so they could be easily deployed in the newly acquired territory of Punjab. Soon thereafter, as English language and literature found its way in school and college syllabi, with one of the purposes being to “control” Indians by exposing them to “superior” British morals and civilization, English became a passport to employment and power (Rahman “Language” 4556-57). As Indian nationalism soared with competing religious identities and the Indian National

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<sup>3</sup> After annexing the province of Punjab from the Sikhs in 1849, the British decided to substitute Urdu for Persian as the state language in the later part of the nineteenth century.

Congress and Muslim League were established, an Indian Muslim, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan<sup>4</sup>, spearheaded a reformist movement among other Indian Muslims that encouraged the adoption of English. While “English made the empire,” political leaders like Jinnah, Nehru, and Gandhi “showed how it could be used to unmake it – how the language could be a tool of insubordination and ultimately, freedom” (Mehrotra 135 -136). South Asian political leaders used the English language to present the nationalist point of view to the British and to a wider global audience. The role of the press, moreover, in undivided India is often lauded for awakening Indian resistance to colonial rule through the colonial language as “most battles of the war of words against the alien rulers were fought in English” (Niazi 9).

Language has always been closely associated with ideology and power in Pakistan. In a multilingual state like Pakistan, where English is the official language and Urdu is the national language, the ethnic populations resent the power and privilege accorded to the two languages and view their hegemony a form of “internal colonialism” (Rahman “Language” 4556). In contemporary Pakistan, Urdu suffers from comparative neglect, at least within the official domain where it remains relatively under-resourced in relation to English. This is primarily attributed to the fact that most of the existing official documents in Pakistan are still in English due to a lack of political will or effort to change the official language of proceedings from English to Urdu by the English-speaking Pakistani elites. Additionally, while Urdu represented a cultural variable around which the new nation of Pakistan could be constituted and became a symbol of national unity in the early years of the nation’s creation, the fact was (and still is) that only less than eight percent of the country’s population actually claims Urdu as its mother

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<sup>4</sup>Sir Syed (1817-1898) remains the most profound modernizing forces in the social, political, and literary history of Muslim India. He established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College, later Aligarh University, that aimed to reconcile oriental learning with western literature (Shamsie, *Hybrid Tapestries*, 12).

tongue. The broader institutionalization of Urdu and English by the Pakistani government across territories (that became part of Pakistan in 1947) with longer histories of regional language use such as Sindhi, Pashto, Bengali, Balochi, and Siraki has exerted a status of double marginalization on all regional languages.

With Urdu not being one of Pakistan's native languages, two very significant language-based riots in Pakistan's short history led to the emergence of the Bengali National Movement (1948-52) as well as to the rise of the militant Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) in the 1980s. The first resulted in the breakaway of Bangladesh in 1971, and the latter led to ethnic tensions between Urdu-speaking Mohajirs and Sindhis throughout the 1970s and 80s. Observing more overtly political themes in regional, rather than in English-language literatures of Pakistan, Tariq Rahman cites the example of Sindhi nationalism in literature written in the Sindhi language of Pakistan, because nationalism was both a "reaction to what Sindhi leaders described as the domination of refugees from India and settlers from Punjab" and "a fraternal feeling for the Hindus living in Sindh" (Rahman, *History* 283-84). The more recent resurgence of Baloch nationalism not only reprises the armed conflict in the province in the 1970s, but also in part emanates from the country's inability to include its diverse citizenry by instituting Urdu as the language of national unity (Ayres 920). The Punjabi language, on the other hand, enjoys a relatively dominant status in Pakistan due to the political hegemony of Punjab since the birth of the nation. The country's Punjabi-speaking urban, cultural, and political elite who have maintained comfortable positions of power are, however, also fluent in Urdu and English. Insurgencies propelled by regional language movements in Pakistan raise questions about the role of language, reading, and the textual transmission of powerful ideas of national belonging,

and fracture the “state’s modernizing imperative of creating cultural uniformity through the hegemony of an urban Urdu-using culture” (Rahman, *Language and Politics* 251).

Interestingly, while arbitrary borders continue to foster hostilities between Pakistan and India (since 1947) resulting in three wars and several near-war situations, it is the shared multilingual linguistic and literary traditions of the two enemy neighbors, including similar anxieties emanating from the hegemony of English over other national and regional languages, that brings them together. The interconnectedness of South Asian literary identity – particularly evolving from Urdu, English, and Punjabi – cuts across all religious, ideological, and cartographic boundaries. For instance, the Urdu tradition of pre-Partition India established by Allama Mohamed Iqbal (1877-1938), Manto (1912-1955), Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984), Munshi Premchand (1880-1936), Rajinder Singh Bedi (1915-1984), Krishna Chandar (1914-1977), Qurratulain Hyder (1927-2007), Ismat Chughtai (1915-1991), and Ghulam Abbas (1909-1982), among others, is one of a “secular agnostic language ... capable of both the most brutal irony and the highest romanticism” (Gokhale and Lal 238). Famed Pakistani Urdu writer, Intizar Husain, highlights in many of his essays and interviews a common repository of myths, legends, and aesthetics in Pakistani and Indian Urdu writings, which he also explores in his own short stories and novels. Salman Rushdie and Bapsi Sidhwa, too, show the intricate interdependency of South Asian languages in *Midnight Children* (1981) and *Ice-candy Man/Cracking India* (1988), respectively, by reclaiming their own literary inheritance of Urdu into English literary usage. Similarly, the Punjabi language is spoken in both countries, and since the late 1990s, the *Punjabiyaat*<sup>5</sup> movement, insisting upon recovering an unfairly oppressed history and literature, has brought together civil society groups from Indian and Pakistani Punjab “in exchanges that

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<sup>5</sup> Refers to the Punjabi identity.

leverage an idea of a shared common culture in order to create a more peaceful future ... [including] theater troupes, litterateurs, journalists, and politicians” (Ayres 917). Moreover, oral and literary traditions thrive in almost all South Asian languages in the diasporic communities across the globe and bind them together. For example, members of the vast Punjabi communities in Vancouver, British Columbia, and Southall, London, share similar linguistic traditions and literary histories. In an age of globalization and migration, as well as cyber communications that range from various online publication platforms to social media, English has firmly established itself as the language of global commercial and cultural communication. Consequently, writings in English and native languages – on both sides of the divide – have become tied to anxieties over national identity. As South Asian nations embrace globalization, eagerly seek foreign investments in their economies, and become “increasingly nativist in their approaches to safeguarding national culture along linguistic and religious lines” (Singh and Iyer 215), a common imprint of tradition and creative imagination is undeniably present in their shared multilingual traditions.

Since English in Pakistan remains the language of power as it plays a major role in providing access to employment opportunities, without it “one cannot enter the most lucrative and powerful jobs, both in the state apparatus and the private sector, in Pakistan” (Rahman, *Language and Politics* 2). English is the “strongest language” of many Pakistani writers who attended private schools in Pakistan or elsewhere (Chambers, “Comparative” 122), and in spite of their disparate backgrounds, these writers exhibit an ability to “live between East and West, literally or intellectually” (Shamsie M., *Dragonfly* xxiv). Therefore, the popularity of Pakistani creative writing in English is “perpetuated by the continuing use of English as the language of government in the newly independent nations of South Asia, the fanning out of migrants into the

diaspora, and the growth of the electronic media” (Shamsie, M. *Hybrid Tapestries* 1). While proponents of Urdu and the country’s other languages deride English language as “an instrument of foreign exploitation in the country” making Pakistan a “slave” of the British and “put[ting] a wall” between English and non-English speaking Pakistanis (Khan, Ashfaq A., “English” 2-3), many others contest this colonial hangover theory. Alamgir Hashmi maintains that English in Pakistan has successfully “outstripped its colonial origins” (“Pakistan” 50), whereas Ankhi Mukherjee points out that the “new structures of difference” English language production implements in the context of Pakistan’s multi-lingual population necessitates a continued critical evaluation of relations between the center and periphery, and in turn, encompasses and recognizes the legitimacy of all the country’s languages (“Yes, Sir” 144). Pakistan’s literary output in English may be considered “as part of its other multi-lingual traditions,” Cara Cilano proposes, to understand “what cultural work this English-language does in such a variegated and complex context” (“Writing” 199). Although the problem of representation persists in the inability of the English language “to accommodate the nuances” of Pakistan’s varied cultures (Shamsie, *Hybrid Tapestries* 15), and Pakistani Anglophone literature still struggles, at home, “to overcome charges of being elitist and a colonial hangover” (Kanwal and Aslam 381), the fact still remains that this literature “is a product of multi-ethnic, multilingual, transnational, transcultural, and trans-local literary traditions of Pakistan, the subcontinent, and the Muslim world (and also in dialogue with other Anglophone literatures from around the world) ... urgently in need of being rescued from reductive misnomers” (Kanwal and Aslam 381).

In Pakistan’s multilingual society a very large number of Pakistani writers, both old and new, have written in two or even three languages, or have written in languages other than their native tongues. Ahmed Ali (1910-1994), for instance, best known for writing one of the first

Pakistani novels in English (*Twilight in Delhi* 1940) also translated Chinese poetry in English (in an unpublished work *The Call of the Trumpet*), the Quran from Arabic into English (*Al-Quran* 1984), and classical Urdu poetry into English (*The Golden Tradition* 1973). Before focusing his attention on writing short stories in Urdu, Manto (1912-1955) translated Victor Hugo's *The Last Days of a Condemned*, Oscar Wilde's *Vera*, and two of Chekhov's short plays into Urdu. Similarly, Urdu writers, Intizar Hussain (1922-2016) and Fahmida Riaz (1946), have also written short stories and essays in English, whereas contemporary Urdu writer, Abdullah Hussein (1931), published his novel, *Émigré Journeys* (2000) in English. English fiction writer Aamer Hussein (1955), in an interesting reversal, attempted an English translation of his Urdu short stories in *The Swan's Wife* (2014). English writer and critic Sara Suleri-Goodyear also co-translated Mirza Ghalib's Urdu ghazals into English in *Epistemologies of Elegance* (2009). Well-known Urdu poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984), wrote essays and letters in English and served as an editor of an English newspaper, *The Pakistan Times*. Editor and critic Amina Yaqin, furthermore, argues that the genre of Urdu novel, since its inception in the nineteenth century, is a "hybrid genre" that fuses the "narrative traditions of both the East and the West" (Yaqin 379). Pioneer Urdu writers such as Mir Amman, Ghalib, Sarshar, Nazir Ahmad, Sajjad Husain and Sharar, "were exposed to European texts in translation and their work embodied a cross-fertilization of genres, most notably the borrowing and subsequent development of the novel form" (Yaqin 382). Anjali Roy even proposes that Salman Rushdie's mix of the real and the marvelous should be viewed as "tilismi<sup>6</sup> realism," hence, locating Rushdie's use of magic realism in his English fiction within an Urdu narrative tradition. It is the unique ability to write bilingually, and even multilingually, and the corpus of the literary output of such nature, that

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<sup>6</sup> The Urdu word, "tilismi/talismi" is translated as "talismanic" in English, hence the entire phrase is translated as "magic realism."

separates Pakistani writers from their Indian counterparts, according to Muneeza Shamsie (*Hybrid Tapestries* xi).

Since the relatively young nation of Pakistan has oscillated between martial law and democracies amid an unstable domestic political climate, and has acquired a highly volatile position in contemporary international politics post-9/11, it is impossible to write about Pakistan without making a political statement. Consequently, modern Pakistani writers are deprived of “the liberty of hiding behind their right to artistic license as whatever they write and proffer to the so-called West also happens to be more than just an artistic rendering: it becomes a political act of representation,” hence, foregrounding the “nature of representation ... whether the writers like it or not” (Raja 85). Moreover, these writers find themselves in “an impossible position” of being “expected to produce works that are specific to their region but contemporary in form and style, while at the same time carrying the burden of representation of an entire nation” (Raja 87). Writers like Tariq Ali, Mohsin Hamid, Kamila Shamsie, Mohammed Hanif, Nadeem Aslam, Hanif Kureshi, Uzma Aslam Khan, Daniyal Mueenuddin, Aamer Hussain, among many others, “whether they like it or not,” have become the country’s spokespeople amidst very complex post-9/11 international and geopolitical contexts; their writing is influenced and constrained by national and international religious and political grievances, sociopolitical circumstances, and geographical/environmental factors.

According an overwhelming importance to history and attempting to unearth the Pakistani identity – *Pakistaniness* – many of these writers challenge the assumptions about Pakistan’s failure as an idea or a nation or a state, encouraging readers to look at the possibilities of how literary texts imaginatively probe the past, convey the present and project a future in terms that facilitate a sense of collective belonging” (Cilano, *Idea* 1). Shaped by the 1947



Partition and the 1971 War, successive military dictatorships, the US-led Afghan jihad, the rise of Islamic extremism/Talibanization of Pakistan, the Kashmir conflict and imminent threats of war with India, Pakistani Anglophone writing contradicts official history through fictional accounts of “unruliness” and “leaks,” indicating the vulnerability of “the power structure that governs archive[s]” (Cilano *National Identities* iii), and reflects on the present against the backdrop of larger glocal geopolitical developments and centuries-old Muslim wisdom of inclusiveness and diversity, undermined in the post-9/11 era (e.g. Tariq Ali in *Islamic Quintet*). Many have also used the illocutionary force of Sufi poetry of Bulleh Shah and Qadir Shah to underscore the climate of religious fanaticism and bigotry that the Zia regime ushered in as new nationalism (e.g., Uzma Aslam Khan in *Geometry of God* and Nadeem Aslam in *Maps for Lost Lovers* and *The Wasted Vigil*). The catastrophic legacies of 1947 and 1971 continue to haunt the second-generation writers who are faced with a role of defining the Pakistani identity in the wake of apparently irreconcilable differences that have continued to exist since 1947 (e.g., Mohsin Hamid’s *Mothsmoke* and Kamila Shamsie’s *Kartography*). With an extraordinary blossoming of fiction, poetry, drama, and life writings featured on best-seller lists and winning prestigious literary awards, Pakistani English literature is critically and creatively engaging with generational, regional, religious, ethnic, class-based, and migratory tensions and frictions that have far-reaching repercussions for Pakistan on both local and global levels.

As contemporary Pakistani English writing, particularly fiction, stands on the verge of a new dawn, many recent book-length studies of Pakistani authors allow, perhaps unwittingly, the religious component of Pakistaniness to transcend other identity components of gender, race, and culture. Such works include *Muslim Narratives and the Discourse of English* (2005) by Amin Malak; *Culture, Diaspora, and Modernity in Muslim Writing* (2012) by Rehana Ahmed, Peter

Morey, and Amina Yaqin; *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation After 9/11* (2011) by Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin; *British Muslim Fictions, Interviews with Contemporary Writers* (2011) by Claire Chambers; *Imagining Muslims in South Asia and the Diaspora: Secularism, Religion, and Representations* (2015) by Claire Chambers and Caroline Herbert; *Writing British Muslims: Religion, Class and Multiculturalism* (2015) by Rehana Ahmed; *Writing Islam from a South Asian Muslim Perspective: Rushdie, Hamid, Aslam, and Shamsie* (2016) by Madeline Clements. While clearly the Muslim identity is a dominant form of belonging to Pakistan, what gets overlooked in these critical volumes is not just the secular identities of many Pakistani authors but also the existence of such important minority voices as Bapsi Sidhwa, Samuel Fyzee Rahamin,<sup>7</sup> and Lynette Viccaji<sup>8</sup>. In *British Muslim Fictions*, Chambers admits to running into the inherent difficulty of defining “Muslim,” and uses the term “literature by writers of Muslim heritage” instead of “Islamic English writing” or “Muslim writing” to allow inclusion of authors from different cultures, nationalities, political and religious positions (Chambers 268). Even then, Monica Ali refuses to be interviewed by Chambers due to her reluctance “to be pigeonholed as an ‘ethnic’ let alone Muslim writer” (Chambers 20). Amin Malak, on the other hand, paradoxically suggests that the writers in his study *Muslim Narratives* are “influenced by [Islam] to such a degree that it represents a significant inspirational source for them [to produce] their narratives in English” (20), and decides to include the pro-Marxist Pakistani Ahmed Ali in that selection whose “authorial intention[s]” for writing appear to be more historical than religious in representing “a phase of our national life and the decay of a

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<sup>7</sup> Samuel F Rahamin (1880-1964) was both a painter and writer, who migrated to Pakistan in 1948. His English dramas, *Daughter of Ind* (1937), and *Invented Gods* (1938) were performed in London. He went on to publish a novel, *Gilded India* (1938), a book of poetry collection (*Man and Other Mystic Poems*, 1944), as well as the critical work, *Indian Painting and Sculpture* (1947).

<sup>8</sup> Anglo-Pakistani author of *Made in Pakistan* - a memoir about minority existence in Pakistan –published in 2018.

whole culture ... dead and gone” (qtd in Malak, *Muslim Narratives* 20), and who is celebrated for fusing the stream-of-consciousness and Western short-story writing techniques with the Eastern tradition of oral story-telling and paving the way for modern English fiction in the subcontinent (Shamsie, M. *Hybrid* 65). In Clement’s text, furthermore, Mohsin Hamid describes himself as a “secular, liberal, progressive man” who is keen to assert the “diversity” of his identity and delink it from the adjective ‘Muslim’ (*Writing Islam* 62).

Beyond examinations of single authors or texts, the Anglophone fields of “World Literature”, “Postcolonial Literature” or “South Asian Studies” do not seem to accord the critical reception due to English Pakistani writing, particularly that being produced by the emerging plethora of contemporary authors. Pakistani writers of today – born into the nation of Pakistan, rather than before the nation was created – are talking about much more than just the Partition, and to view them merely in relation to Partition studies fosters in them an “impatien[ce] with postcolonial discourse” (Kamila Shamsie Interview with Cilano, 156). Scorning literary labels such as “Commonwealth Writing” of the 1960s, or “Third World Literature” and “Black American Literature” of the 1970s, and even newer categories like “Postcolonial Literature,” Zulfikar Ghose perceives them as merely promoting a “Nationalistic exclusivity” that “thrive[s] upon a contemptuous rejection of, or total indifference to, aesthetic values” and encouraging the “neglect of the formal quality of a work of art because they demand that judgement be based solely upon some ideological consideration” (“Orwell and I” np). Contemporary Pakistani English writers have long come out of the shadows of not only their Indian counterparts but also from the postcolonial discourse’s fixation on South Asian Partition. In Cilano’s words, it is not a focus on “isolating divisions” but an acknowledgement of “linkages” between “cultures, histories, and literary traditions” that help the readers productively and critically understand what

contributions Pakistani English literature makes to the country's as well as to "geographically broader anglophone literary cultures" ("Writing" 195).

In this dissertation I aim to draw attention to a wide history of English fiction through which writers establish and experience connections to Pakistan and the world around them, and hope to bridge the gap between scant critical attention and the bulk of English literature being produced by globally recognized writers claiming Pakistani roots. The variety of texts and authors in this project, both old and new, offers multiple fictive and autobiographical modes of belongingness to Pakistan by presenting a critical awareness of the country's continuous challenges while prompting a consideration of "the threats and possibilities of the realm of foreignness within the nation-state as within the self" (Khan, Naveeda 2). By employing the tropes of displacement and minoritization due to dislocation, this research brings together the many notions surrounding what it means to be Pakistani seen through the eyes of those who were geographically displaced following Partition, nationally disillusioned, religiously victimized, racially and culturally minoritized, as well as those who embraced diasporic identities. In the wake of Partition's individual and mass displacements (not once but twice in the history of Pakistan) in addition to copious international migrations for work or study, my project examines the difficult negotiations surrounding the identity formation of those Pakistanis who became "amputated from their own biographies"<sup>9</sup> by inhabiting "imaginary homelands"<sup>10</sup>.

This study is divided into three chapters, each examining the complex collective Pakistani identity that takes its present-day shape from the young country's violent and problematic cartography; the national disenfranchisements that emanated from that cartography;

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<sup>9</sup> Phrase borrowed from *Divided Countries, Separated Cities: The Modern Legacy of Partition* (2003) by Ghislaine Deschaumes and Rada Ivekovic, pp ix.

<sup>10</sup> Phrase borrowed from Salman Rushdie's *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981-91*.

and an intricately paradoxical sense of belonging to the native land shared by diasporic Pakistanis. Each chapter examines two fiction writers by positing a narrative of one first-generation Pakistani author who witnessed the Partition (Manto, Mumtaz Shahnawaz, Zulfikar Ghose) alongside that of a second-generation writer who was born in the nation of Pakistan (Kamila Shamsie, Mohsin Hamid, Sara Suleri-Goodyear). By juxtaposing early Pakistani texts with more modern ones, this study suggests that past and present literary traditions have an inherent relationship. Since the modern Pakistani collective identity harkens back to the time of the country's inception a "study of the past through rigorous investigative methods of critical inquiry" (Jalal, "Past" 9) is necessary to understand what erstwhile Pakistani literati were saying and why. The wide-ranging extent of topics the younger generation of Pakistani writers seems to be concerned with – of Pakistan's place in the international scheme of things as well as the broad range of representations emphasizing a collective belonging to the Pakistani identity – clearly moves beyond conventional postcolonial foci on Partition and the British colonial legacy, the Pakistani Muslim identity, and the notion that the Pakistani cultural experience can only be communicated in native languages. Since each generation gives its own interpretations to these socially constructed and historically contingent collective identities, contemporary Pakistani writers are constantly exploring ways in which literary narratives can function more broadly as imaginative alternatives to Pakistan's leading forms of identification.

The forced émigré status perpetuated on most of these writers, quite unmistakably, heightens the metaphor of displacement in their writings and juxtaposes their own stories with those of their characters. Manto migrated from India to Pakistan at Partition; Ghose, Suleri-Goodyear, and Shamsie left Pakistan for the West; Hamid has constantly moved between Pakistan and the West; and Shahnawaz met her ultimate dislocation in death. Her remains lie

interred in Ireland where her flight crashed, far away from the Pakistan she valiantly fought for. All the writings I examine demonstrate displacements and dislocations through language and subject matter and strongly promote “the writer’s beginning” in registering “a starting point ... [via] a writer’s coming from and gravitating ‘somewhere’” (Al Deek 19). This study also foregrounds the ways in which displacement (be it geographical, psychological, cultural, or linguistic) alienates one from not only time and place, but also from oneself, leaving one “fragile and disoriented” from the “intense emotional transference that is carried across space and, ultimately, time” (Al Deek 25). Even though the exilic status of contemporary writers provide them with an aesthetic distance to question “the familiar and the acceptable” that “otherwise would have remained unquestioned ... and seemingly fixed” (Al Deek 33), all selected writings speak of the psychological, linguistic, and cultural ways in which geographical displacements disrupt one’s sense of identity: Manto’s Bisham Singh/Toba Tek Singh, Shamsie’s Raheen and Karim, and Suleri’s Mair Jones experience cartographic displacements, that in turn, lead to psychologically, linguistically and culturally dispossessed identities; linguistic displacement and internal exile, again emanating from geographical dislocations, are seen in Zulfikar’s Ghose’s triple migration, Bengali Maheen in Karachi, Suleri’s Welsh mother in Lahore, and Suleri herself in the US; distance and alienation sends the émigré, Changez, in Hamid’s novel into defensive nationalism by provoking a nostalgic national consciousness, as Edward Said states, where the homeland with its borders and frontiers becomes the landmark of such identity and belonging (Said, *Reflections* 176); and cultural displacement – that “fragmented and schizophrenic decentering of the self” (Bhabha, *Location* 310) – is evident in all selected works, particularly in the texts of Ghose, Suleri, Hamid, and Shamsie. To be culturally, linguistically, and psychologically displaced, then, one would have to be geographically displaced first.

The first chapter, “*Betwixt and Between: Cartographic Identities in Saadat Hasan Manto’s “Toba Tek Singh” and Kamila Shamsie’s Kartography,*” espouses a clear longing in Pakistani fiction for the pluralist pre-Partition past by delineating the symbolic ways in which “political power is most effectively reproduced, communicated, and experienced through maps” (Harley “Maps” 279). As two writers belonging to two different generations, yet discussing a similar re-routing of identities across a span of time, both Manto and Shamsie position their writings in the immediate and long-term throes of Partition, respectively, to unravel the impact of dislocation that millions felt in the aftermath of cartographic lines they had neither drawn nor desired. The end of the struggle for freedom in 1947 became particularly tragic and ironic in the South Asian context, because the casualties and the worst hit survivors all belonged to the side of the colonized – the colonizers escaped the pandemonium unscathed. Viceroy Mountbatten’s decision to delay the Radcliffe Commission’s final demarcations immeasurably intensified tensions between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities, particularly those living around borderlands, because for several months after the Partition many border towns did not know which country they would be part of. A quarter of a century later, the divergence of East and West Pakistani Muslims along ethnic lines resulted in the birth of Bangladesh in 1971, not just partitioning Pakistan into two nation states but also dividing peoples, friends, and spouses living on both sides of the divide.

Using the metaphor of madness-of-dislocation to describe “the terrifying baptism of blood and fire [resulting in] the dividing line between reality and nightmare” (Khalid Hasan qtd in Alter 96), Manto conjures up a story about Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh lunatics between asylums in Pakistan and India at the moment of Partition. “Toba Tek Singh” (1948) realistically portrays the plight of pre-partition border towns, predominantly populated by Sikhs and Muslims who

share a collective identity, that tragically awakes to the full devastation generated by an ill-planned border division of Partition. While on the truck to be transported to India with other Sikh and Hindu inmates, the protagonist Bishan Singh realizes his town Toba Tek Singh is in Pakistan, upon which he refuses to leave and plants himself at the place where he thinks his town is – until he can stand no more and falls dead. Manto's deliberate use of the name of the character and the name of the village synonymously, several times in the story, signifies the deep relationship between a man and his land. The text suggests the paradoxes between the presumed insane identity of the mental facility patients and the senseless ramifications of Partition.

Pakistan's complex cartography at the time of Partition – with its eastern and western wings separated by one thousand miles of enemy Indian territory and lacking simple routes of communication between them – becomes a catalyst for the young nation's second partitioning. The ways cartographic fissures affect people's sense of belongingness, in 1971, when Bangladesh's separation rearranges entire populations within both East and West wings of Pakistan, is explored grippingly in Kamila Shamsie's *Kartography* (2002) through the story of Karim and Raheen. In Raheen's longing for a time when "maps weren't used for travel ... [but] mainly used for illustrating stories ... [when they] were about helping someone hear the heartbeat of a place" (*Kartography* 164), Shamsie proposes a reconsideration of what maps are meant to do: do they simply allow identification of communities by territorial impositions, or can they and should they offer possibilities for the histories of spaces or memories of those who inhabit them? Juxtaposing the two mediums of storytelling and map-making with the insertion of hand-drawn and computer-generated maps into the verbal text, Shamsie produces a creative interplay between the verbal and the visual narrative in representing a city-space as a site of memory of the narrative discontinuities of Pakistan's history.



Both Manto and Shamsie build on the idea that maps are representations of power, and personal cartographies associated with space and place can be restored only by an individual's memory atlas, because a cartographer's pen replaces the vividness of lived experiences with the fallacy of labelled places on a national map. Transforming as much as they can record, maps should not be taken as objective representations of landscapes, and since they are designed to visually "claim" a piece of land and quickly become another way for people to establish claims over one another "cartography is seldom what cartographers say it is" (Harley 1). If all nations are imagined communities, those that have been created out of a series of partitions emerge from a process that distorts reality. Manto and Shamsie are profoundly aware of how the smaller stories and identities of families and individuals are shaped – and disrupted – by the larger stories of divided nations. If displacement is "indeed a removal: a removal from a geographical place ... from a precolonial history; a removal because of colonial past; and displacement in a postcolonial present" (Al Deek 25) then fewer know of its ruthlessness and brutality than the Pakistani nation in the aftermath of the sudden division of two – then three – nations.

The second chapter, "A Pluralist *Nationness* in Mumtaz Shahnawaz's *The Heart Divided* and Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*," proposes that Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007) echoes the egalitarian ethos established in Mumtaz Shahnawaz's *The Heart Divided* (completed by 1948 but published in 1957), despite the sixty years spanning the two novels. Shahnawaz's solo novel and Hamid's award-winning work raise questions about the role of Islam and the formation of the Pakistani nationalist identity through the years. Written in the 1940s, Shahnawaz's text gives a contemporaneous account of the Pakistani ideology – and the version of nationalism – that was promoted by the Muslim League in the final years of the British Raj in her fictive portrayal of the Jamaluddin family. Since

Jinnah's vision of a secular Muslim nation-state which did not prevail due to his death shortly after the Partition, the Pakistani government has had little success in defining Islam or its relationship to national identities and to the state. The political ambivalences of Shahnawaz's characters, and the varied, perhaps dissimilar, Islamic practices across the newly mapped region of Pakistan testify to the lack of political consensus or mandate (Khan, Naveeda 6) among Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. It is hard to view Pakistan as an integrated imagined community of Benedict Anderson, because of the many languages spoken there (despite Urdu being the official language) and the many ways the dominant religion of Islam continues to get practiced in the country. The novel's title signifies "the manifold complexities of dividing the 'nation' which is assumed, in the first instance, to be an organic whole but is, in fact, a complex construct with its own contradictions" (Gopal 73).

Contemporary Pakistani writers like Mohsin Hamid are constantly exploring how literary narratives can function more broadly as imaginative alternatives to leading forms of identification. In *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* Changez constructs an exotic identity of a brown man – the intriguing "Other" – within Princeton's and New York's elite society. When "traditions of [American] national self-imaging and their scope for inclusion" (Gay 63) get transformed by 9/11, Hamid provokes a reconsideration of the American nationalism that is "triumphalist rather and 'aggrieved' ... based on 'universalist ideals and institutions rather than on 'ethnicity, religion, language, and geography'" (Min Xin Pei qtd in Gay 63), and makes Changez reverse his gaze back home subverting the myth of America "as a desired destination" and making it "subject to interrogation, disruption, and refusal by the third-world subject" (Singh, Harleen 42). Being actively engaged in the process of promoting democracy in Pakistan also allows Changez to carefully negotiate his own Pakistani national identity – one that values

cultural heritage and the “power of pluralism” over “chest-thumping nuclear nationalism” (Cilano, *Idea* 209) – making his ideological vision of gaining political solidarity for his country stand in stark contrast with the dominant religiously-derived Pakistani nationalism. Hamid raises expectations about the role of Islam – although interestingly leaving it mostly ambiguous in the story – through the title of the novel, because “if ‘fundamentalist’ connotes religious intensity, then ‘reluctant’ presents a paradox, since fundamentalists ... are rarely thought of as reluctant” (Gay 59).

Shahnawaz promotes the Islamic ideals of liberty and a sense of collectivity that motivate the protagonist sisters’ involvement in the Muslim League. On the other hand, journeys spanning four continents allow Changez to observe the magnitude with which countless lives are endangered by the economic and social conditions arising from war, globalization and colonial legacies: rather than turning to Pakistani nationalism, he, in fact, harbors a deeper desire for international solidarity.

Examining the genre of life writing, the third chapter, “*Broken Mirrors of the Self: Diasporic Belonging in the Life Writings of Zulfikar Ghose and Sarah Suleri-Goodyear*,” considers the ways in which two Pakistani exiles and their cultural perspectives interact with the sometimes repressive and constrictive religious, political, and racial systems and ideologies that they encounter, and explores the articulation of nostalgic loss in tandem with the cultural enrichment that displacement engenders. Reminded of a Rushdian “past [that] is a foreign country,” yet at other times, of a “present that is foreign, and ... [that] past is home” when that “eerie” sensation of “being claimed” by the “continuity” of visiting or remembering home overpowers the soul, Zulfikar Ghose and Sara Suleri-Goodyear foreground the paradoxes of their Pakistani collective identities in the narratives selected for this study. Zulfikar Ghose stands out

as the first creative writer to publish an autobiography, *Confessions of a Native Alien*, in Pakistani English literature, in 1965, whereas Sara Suleri-Goodyear's *Meatless Days* is the first creative memoir to be published by a Pakistani, in 1989 (Shamsie, M, *Hybrid Tapestries*, 121 and 243).

Zulfikar Ghose's pluralist identity is intricately tied to several exilic displacements which make him struggle with an identity crisis of belongingness, giving birth to a new consciousness "within the lived environment [that] shape[s] and nurture[s] nostalgia for a real or imagined home" (Al Deek 33). In an attempt to trace back his identity to his Pakistani/subcontinental roots and recover "a lost culture and a betrayed tradition" where 'home' is always identified as the "place left behind" and a "place of hopeless yearning" (Bhalla 168 -170), Ghose eventually comes to terms with a hybrid existence that enables him to move back and forth between two very different worlds – one of his origin and the other of his residence – with the least possibility of belonging anywhere.

Ghose, born in pre-Partition Sialkot in 1942, left the landscape of his birth as a youth and was forced to cope with a new environment (of migrating to three continents and residing in four countries) with which he could never be at one without "the doubtful aid of 'external' interferences and attachments", and without inventing a language that would make sense of the contemporary world for him (Hashmi, A. "Stylized Motif" 66). Belonging to that lost generation of Partition and exile, Ghose writes in his autobiography, *Confessions of a Native Alien*, that as an "Indo- Pakistani who has gone Anglo" (156) his alienation to his past and to England ignited in him a yearning to belong somewhere, although he did not wish to belong to any group of people who have allegiance to a country. While the division and multiplicity of locations trouble Ghose with idea of citizenship and national belonging, they also offer him, as a noncitizen the

freedom to be out of place, out of the familiar and status quo, and opens for him doors to cultural translation and filtration. Indicating this very “dual” and “bipolar” nature of exilic displacement and its continuous deferral of “the fragmented and schizophrenic decentering of self” (Bhabha, *Location* 310), Confessions sets the stage for a “new poetics for literature of the native alien experience” (Kanaganayakam 169) making a multi-fractured/multi-displaced identity “the schizophrenic theme of much of [his] writing” (Ghose, *Confessions* 1-2). Despite his throes of belonging to the West, he paradoxically feels comfortable in his birth land, evident in one visit to Pakistan after a long absence. When he feels like “a man in exile whose body must forever be incomplete because a part of it resides in the place of his origin” (“Going Home” 8), and when he hears his soul “whisper its contentment” of feeling “at home” because “the long torment of being has been stilled at last” (“Going Home” 6), Ghose finds comfort in situating himself within the pluralistic traditions of Pakistan.

Sara Suleri-Goodyear’s creative memoir, *Meatless Days*, attempts to give credibility to the stories of marginalized women, written at a time when she herself assumes the status of a minority Muslim female in the West. She calls to attention the ways in which the national discourse – symbolized by her journalist father – imposed upon Pakistani society strengthens the male faction, rejects women as ineffective (more-so those who became Pakistani through marriage or migration), and deprive them of any tangible identity. Suleri-Goodyear, consequently, feels compelled to speak up for those who were left particularly voiceless in Pakistan’s official discourse, and cautions that history as a reliable or reasonable method of accounting for past events should be both feared and mistrusted. Without a doubt, displacement in Suleri-Goodyear’s own life after her move to the US, allowed her that critical distance to

creatively reimagine the collective and plural identities of women in her family who forged solidarities amongst themselves.

Suleri-Goodyear unabashedly voices her dissatisfaction with the social structure of Pakistan for denying women any space or significance, especially illustrated by the lives of her Welsh mother being married to a Pakistani man, as well as her half-Welsh indomitable sister married to an army officer. Suleri-Goodyear connects language with power structures (hence, typifying the lingual hierarchies in Pakistan's multilingual society) and establishes the otherness/cultural displacement of women in her family through their linguistic incompetence. Through divergences between her father's narrative and her own, Suleri-Goodyear's memoir creates a space for the family women who determine the way patriarchal power structures are dispersed, refracted, or deflected through their shared activities and exchanges. Suleri-Goodyear's commitment to a pluralist agenda is foregrounded in the realization that her own story is inextricably linked to Pakistan's national narrative – albeit in feminine ways – and in the dissemination of her text across different national boundaries, historical periods, cultural locations, and linguistic spaces.

Ghose and Suleri-Goodyear are those “wandering” Pakistani diasporic writers in exile, who like a “mobile army of metaphors ... will not be contained within the Heim of the national culture and its unisonant discourse” (Bhabha, *Location*, 236). No matter how strongly these exilic writers try to escape a past, memories of and imaginary identification with the past forge in [them] “an internal, soulful exile” of “thought ... within the self” and of “space ... outside the self” (Al Deek 58-59), whereby their pasts remain inevitably remembered and valued because the present is “continuously interrupted and preoccupied with the past” (Al Deek 61). Both are faced with the daunting task of how to re-imagine their pluralist identities that foster

transcendent coalitions and alliances in their autobiographies that mitigate bitter national and religious conflicts.

The role of Islam in the idea of Pakistan continues to be a major debate in the ongoing narrative of Pakistan. Jinnah's death so shortly after the foundation of Pakistan exacerbated the problem of finding equilibrium between Islam and the State, since he left no manifesto. My study underscores that there is no "single definition" nor any "theoretical model" to define the Pakistani identity as the selected texts exemplify, and therefore, Pakistani English literature instead "conjures a myriad of possibilities, creating a spectrum that runs from reinforcement of dominant modes of belonging to a reinvention of the terms of collective attachments" (Cilano, *Idea* 1). Kamila Shamsie offers an excellent overview of the Pakistani religious identity since Partition, beginning with poet/philosopher Allama Mohammed Iqbal and Jinnah as the founders of the idea of Pakistan up to the present, and suggests that, at least in the beginning, Islam was intended by the more secular founders to "undercut provincial dissent" and allow Pakistan to distinguish itself from its Hindu neighbor with the goal of instilling a patriotic sense of belonging to the new nation (*Offence* 34). With fewer Muslims living in Pakistan (that was created as a Muslim homeland) than in India or Bangladesh, the South Asian region cannot be understood without a "full grasp of the lasting impact" that Partition continues to have on the "self-imaginings" of the three countries, as well their "political contestations and national projections" (Jalal, *Pity* 4). As the two Partitions remain those "defining moment[s]" of "neither beginning[s] nor end[s]" through which the three postcolonial states and their peoples continue to envisage their past, present, and future, and as memories seated in "religious differences and the violence perpetuated in their name run the risk of erasing other forms of belonging and sharing cutting

across communitarian lines” (Jalal, *Pity* 4), it is crucial for South Asian artists and academics to step up and build bridges of solidarity through their works.

While earlier writers like Manto and Shahnawaz could sense as early as the inception of Pakistan the precariousness of the role religion may appropriate in the new state’s national identity, middle period writers like Ghose, and more modern writers like Suleri-Goodyear, Hamid, and Shamsie lament the loss of the collective Pakistani identity, free from religiosity – the identity that Jinnah sketched at the time of Pakistan’s independence. The two narratives of Manto and Shahnawaz underscore the rich and polyphonic legacies embedded in the microhistories and identities of the 1947 generation by engaging in compelling dialogues with events leading to and emanating from the Partition. Zulfikar Ghose, Sara Suleri-Goodyear, Kamila Shamsie, and Mohsin Hamid use their hybrid existence between Pakistan and the West to articulate their political stances vis-a-vis both domestic and international issues. Their dual citizenships enable them to comprehend how Pakistan gets stereotyped in the West, and their oeuvres attempt to address, and redress, these banal misrepresentations. While making Pakistan accessible to a western audience, these writers are also compelling Pakistanis to understand the West. Although Shamsie’s *Kartography* is the only text chosen in this study that presents how the “angst that started with Partition of 1947 ... was aggravated in the second Partition of 1971” (Kanwal and Aslam 385), both Suleri-Goodyear and Hamid have produced texts on the 1971 events<sup>11</sup>. Zulfikar Ghose technically falls in between the first and second generations of Pakistani writers and has rarely written about Pakistan,<sup>12</sup> yet his few texts that deal with South

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<sup>11</sup>Sara Suleri-Goodyear’s *Boys Will Be Boys* (2003) and Mohsin Hamid’s *Moth Smoke* (2000) both contradict Pakistan’s official history of the 1971 War.

<sup>12</sup> His only novel based on Pakistan, *Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967), discusses the social reality and postcolonial challenges of an agrarian 1960s Pakistan.



Asian themes speak of a nostalgia for his subcontinental roots as well as a yearning for the pre-Partition pluralist society.

Collectively, the fictions of these writers re-imagine a more inclusive nation by promoting multiple forms of belonging over myths enshrouding the idea of Pakistan. All selected fictions variously assert revised definitions of the nation by unsettling conventional migrant tropes – each work draws attention to the brutality of cross-border, cross-cultural and/or international encounters. All chapters are unified by moments of dislocation in each author’s life, and by a focus on each author’s vision of a collective Pakistani identity characterized by pluralism and inclusiveness. Ultimately, my project signals toward a ranging – and spectral – understanding of Pakistani identities rather than impose any single definition of Pakistaniness.

***I BETWIXT AND BETWEEN: CARTOGRAPHIC IDENTITIES IN SAADAT  
HASAN MANTO'S "TOBA TEK SINGH" AND KAMILA SHAMSIE'S KARTOGRAPHY***

Behind most cartographers there is a patron ... Monarchs, ministers, state institutions, the Church, have all initiated programs of mapping for their own ends. In modern Western society maps quickly became crucial to the maintenance of state power – to its boundaries, to its commerce, to its internal administration, to control populations, and to its military strength ... maps are linked to what Foucault called the exercise of 'juridical power' ... [facilitating] surveillance and control ... The map is a silent arbiter of power ... [because]... once embedded in the published text the lines on the map acquire an authority that may be hard to dislodge ... maps can reinforce and legitimate the status quo ... the map is never neutral ... [only engaged in] the sly 'rhetoric of neutrality.' (J B Harley "Deconstructing the Map" 12-14)

The theme of cartography is ubiquitous in South Asian literature, often ironically playing on the tendency to accept or reject the map's reality in order to expose its manipulability. This chapter looks at Saadat Hasan Manto's short story "Toba Tek Singh" (1955), and Kamila Shamsie's novel, *Kartography* (2002), in light of the 1947 mapping and 1971 remapping of Pakistan, to discuss how some refugees caught up in the involuntary displacements following Partition, whether Hindus and Sikhs fleeing to India or Indian Muslims coming to their promised land of Pakistan, became eternal guests in their supposed new homelands. Manto's story illustrates how the forced nature of any displacement can leave one fragile and disoriented from having become alienated both from the land of one's birth and from oneself. Shamsie's text examines how the migration of Muhajirs and Bengalis after Partition continues to pose a dangerous threat to the Pakistani national identity. Challenging the official narratives that the displaced were eventually absorbed into the national orders of the two new states, these texts accord a particular "liminality" to the stories of refugees "which is both 'structurally invisible' and deeply threatening to the 'stable state' or national order" of both countries, particularly Pakistan (Zamindar 184). Posing a profound threat to a unified national identity, these uprooted and dispossessed "transitional beings" were "neither here nor there; or may even be nowhere (in

terms of any recognized cultural topography), and [were] at the very least ‘betwixt and between’ all the recognized fixed points in the space-time of cultural classification” (Turner 97). This liminal space, where cultural identity is produced in the gap between the signifier and signified, is also called the “Third Space” in Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha 53).

Since the mere drawing of a line meant life or death for millions of people that suffered dislocation at the time, the indelible effects of the 1947 Partition continue in the post-independence lives of Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis to the present day. As the colonial forces withdrew from the subcontinent, waves of migration displaced many from their historical and cultural moorings to “imaginary homelands” that were “simultaneously honorable and suspect” (Rushdie, *Imaginary* 10), from the familial/familiar to exile and refuge. The infinite and punishing consequences that the scar of division has left the region with manifest themselves in the valley of Kashmir, where local politics remain paralyzed since the arbitrary 1947 decision to become India’s only Muslim-majority state, culminating often in the state of near war between the two countries; the cessation of Bangladesh a quarter of a century after Partition; the Sunni-Shia fratricide in Pakistan; the intra-Pashtun rivalry between the Pashtuns of Pakistan and those of Afghanistan; and the dangerous recent attempt by the Indian government to define India as a Hindu state, despite the fact that there are more Muslims on Indian soil than in all of Pakistan. Besides the long-term border tensions, the hasty geographic division of 1947 also left the two fledgling states with infrastructural issues due to the disruption of Punjab’s roads, telephone and telegraph communications, and its vital irrigation system. More ominously, the boundary line left millions of people as minorities in several areas on both sides of the border where they became subject to ethnic cleansing.

As the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal got partitioned by the departing British, the largest transfer of populations took place in recorded history (Jalal, *Sole* 1), and led to the birth of two nations, and two classes – the ruling and the refugee. Over the course of the Partition, an estimated 20 million people were displaced (Zamindar 185-86; Menon 7)<sup>13</sup>, 200,000 to 2 million lives were lost (Butalia 3; Menon 7), and approximately more than 75,000 women were sexually assaulted in the creation of two South Asian nation-states, India and Pakistan (Butalia 3). Of the 95 million Muslims living in the sub-continent, over 60 million became citizens of Pakistan, making it the largest Muslim state of the world at the time (Jalal, *Sole* 2), and over 40 million stayed behind in India. The provinces of Punjab and Bengal, the main hubs of Muslim population that had enjoyed increasing autonomy in the twentieth century, ended up being sliced in two depriving Muslims the benefits of undivided provinces. Muslim Punjab lost its fertile districts of Ambala, Ludhiana and Jullundur. Muslim Bengal lost its capital city of Calcutta as well as western hinterlands “breaking the identity of a province proud of its common culture, language, and distinctive traditions,” reducing it to an “over-populated rural slum” powerless to defend itself from an external attack nor able to become “an equal partner inside a Muslim state” (Jalal, *Sole* 2-3).

Since my project argues that Muhammed Ali Jinnah’s secular agenda behind Pakistan’s creation acts as a metaphor to understand the longing in Pakistani writing towards a collective identity, it is important to analyze Jinnah’s role in the process of Partition. The end result of Partition, Jalal proposes in *The Sole Spokesman*, must not be confused with the aims of Jinnah and the All India Muslim League (AIML), which were to win an equitable share of power for the

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<sup>13</sup> In *The Sole Spokesman*, Ayesha Jalal turns to Oscar Spate’s *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography* (1954) to estimate that figure at seventeen million, at least, with a simultaneous reminder that “just how many died in riots that accompanied partition will never be exactly known” (1).

Muslims of the subcontinent (xvi). The AIML's overwhelming success in the 1945-46 elections deprived the Congress the status of a national party speaking for the whole of India, and "no settlement could be made by the Congress for the transfer of power without accommodation with the Muslim League" (Seervai xxxiii). When the British decided to quit India, Jinnah and the AIML were given two choices: a sovereign Pakistan consisting of western Punjab and eastern Bengal *or* a three-tiered federal structure for undivided India without guaranteeing Muslims parity at the center. A brilliant constitutional lawyer, Jinnah was staunchly opposed to the partitioning of Punjab and Bengal and saw more merits in the federal framework for united India than in a sovereign Pakistan; hence, in June 1946, Jinnah and the AML agreed to the proposed federal arrangements. But when Congress leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, publicly rejected the grouping of the provinces and restrictions on the powers of the center (Jalal *Sole* 192) *and* the British refused to concede undivided Punjab and Bengal to the AIML (Jalal *Sole* 195)<sup>14</sup>, Jinnah was left with no choice but to acquiesce in the creation of a "maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten" Pakistan (Jinnah qtd in Jalal xvi) whose geographical boundaries he had spurned twice before (see Map 1). While the British were "eager to quit with the least possible damage to imperial interests," Congress was willing to partition Punjab and Bengal as the "price" for acquiring centralized power (Jalal *Sole* xvi).

The British policy of alternatively attempting to communalize and provincialize Indian politics is largely to be blamed for Jinnah's inability to "square the contradictory interests of Muslims in majority and minority provinces" (Jalal, *Sole* xvi). Since Jinnah achieved a "Pakistan" without his political demand on behalf of all Indian Muslims being "fully encapsulated," Partition came as a "partial solution to the problem of Muslim minority in the

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<sup>14</sup> Under this scheme provinces would be grouped together into three sections at the second tier and the center would be confined to defense, foreign affairs, and communications.

subcontinent” (Jalal *Sole* xvii). In 1947, the British legacy of communal divide obscured the “centre-region contradiction<sup>15</sup> in the unfolding of political processes” and allowed the Congress not only to “cut the Muslim League’s demands to size” but also to “use the inheritance of the colonial state apparatus to impose central authority over regions” (Jalal, *Sole* xvii). In the creation of Pakistan, therefore, while religion seems to have been the main marker of nationality, it was not the “only driving force” behind its demand, because all-India nationalism and religiously based communalism as well as centralism and regionalism contributed toward that demand (Jalal, *Sole* xvii). Before Jinnah died of lung disease in September, 1948, he had far too little time to set Pakistan on the tolerant course he had initially envisioned, and the new country “failed to satisfy the interests of the very Muslims who ... demanded its creation” (Jalal, *Sole* 2).

Partition is more than a historical event that inextricably binds together the three countries to their undivided pre-colonial state, for its bloody cartography embodies a compelling literary theme through which South Asian/Pakistani writers, both regional and English language, imagine their identities. Ironically, the border division of the subcontinent had intended to resolve conflicts between religious groups under the British but was in actuality fraught with conflicting political pressures that only intensified communal tension. The violence, conflict, and trauma generated in the aftermath of these contentious and longest territorial boundaries on the globe have attracted the attention of many scholars in various disciplines besides literary studies – including history, political science, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies – to question official archives. As “natural rivals,” Salman Rushdie reminds us, politicians and writers try to

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<sup>15</sup> As examples, Jalal cites Hindu-majoritarian communalism in India and a state-sponsored Islam in Pakistan that have been called in “to buttress the centre’s waning political authority in the face of regional and sub-regional threats” (*Sole* xvii)

frame “the world in their own images” and “fight for the same territory,” making fictive writing just “one way of denying the official, politicians’ version of truth” (*Imaginary Homelands* 14).

Given the long history of British attempts to control South Asia by mapping it, it is worthwhile to look at the role of imperial cartography in relinquishing that control. British surveyors and mappers of India could never actually construct a comprehensive and objective map of India because many aspects of India’s societies and cultures remained unknown to them. By entwining colonial categories of identity and geographical and survey data, they “mapped an India that they perceived and governed” resting on the “delu[sion] ... that their science enabled them to know the ‘real’ India. But what they did map, what they did create, was a *British* India” (Edney 3). British cartography, as one of the most potent colonial technologies, was used to visualize territory, scope identities, and induce and support the exercise of power. Historians have often questioned the expertise of the wealthy and successful barrister, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, the chairman of the partitioning Boundary Commission, in matters of boundary allocation – a man who had never before, and would never again, set foot on the subcontinent, and whose loyalty to the British government hardly qualified him as an objective man assigned to the salient task. Radcliffe had anticipated the work to take about two years to complete, but this time slot was truncated to six months by the British Parliament (Seervai 129). Alarming, however, upon his arrival in India on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1947, Radcliffe was asked by Viceroy Louis Mountbatten,<sup>16</sup> Nehru, and Jinnah (Seervai 130) to produce the boundary award within seven weeks. So why didn’t Radcliffe, the man who arguably had the greatest control over the outcome of the Indo-Pakistan boundary making process, and who believed that “much of the interest of history lies in

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<sup>16</sup> Mountbatten’s viceroyalty on the British subcontinent spanned March 23, 1947- August 15, 1947, after his predecessor, Lord Wavell (Viceroy from October 1943 – February 1947), was unceremoniously dismissed by Prime Minister Clement Attlee’s government. Attlee conferred plenipotentiary powers on Mountbatten to “get the British out of India anyhow no later than June 1948” (Seervai 117).

wondering why things could not have happened differently,” (Radcliffe lecture qtd in Chester 41) withdraw his services once he learned of this tight deadline imposed on his work? This question was, for the most part, left to the future speculation of many scholars because Radcliff destroyed all historical documents before departing from India, and for the remainder of his life never spoke about this deeply perplexing episode in history.

The haste with which India was partitioned and Mountbatten’s decision not to disclose Radcliffe’s Punjab award as soon as it was ready left the governor of Punjab, Evan Jenkins, and his officials unprepared to ensure an orderly migration of thousands of people from India to Pakistan and vice-versa (see Map 2 for migration of refugees in 1947). Radcliffe prepared his decision before August 15, as the political parties and Viceroy Louis Mountbatten had insisted, yet Independence Day (August 14 for Pakistan and August 15 for India) saw inhabitants of Punjab in a limbo, not knowing the location of their new boundary. Mountbatten gravely chose to delay the announcement to avoid British responsibility for the disorder, although his explanation to the public was that he did not wish to spoil their joyous celebration of independence by a proclamation that would undoubtedly distress all political parties. The Boundary Commission played an important role in Mountbatten’s effort to stage-manage the Partition, because worldwide perception weighed in heavily on the viceroy’s calculations. He urged the British, in May 1947, to “put the responsibility for any of these mad decisions fairly and squarely on the Indian shoulders in the eyes of the world,” and therefore, a plan had to be advocated that would “place the responsibility for dividing India conspicuously on the Indians themselves” (Mansergh, *Transfer Vol X*, pp 540 and 625). There existed a “complete candor of communications” in the *Transfer of Power Documents* between all members of the British administration in India as they discharged the duties of their high offices, because those who



wrote these documents were not “projecting their image on the political stage, with the exception of Mountbatten” (Seervai, *Legend and Reality*, xxi).

In addition to Mountbatten’s mortal haste, British efforts to map South Asia were limited by the perceptions they had of the vast land under their control. To begin with, political priorities may have eclipsed the Boundary Commission’s “conventional boundary-making data and procedures,” and Radcliffe cartographically viewed “information on a scale that may have been too small to be useful” on actual ground (Chester 84). Moreover, many scholars also believe that the maps Radcliffe consulted were outdated and inaccurate. The Survey of India mapping, that Radcliffe relied on, was earlier carried out by the Raj as “an attempt to understand the space of the Indian empire in scientific terms ... [with] an emphasis on entirety,” incorrectly implying that not only could India be completely understood through scientific terms, but also that the cartographic medium could transfer this complete understanding to the map-reader (Chester 20). This obvious misapprehension, Chester further explains, caused British officials to overlook the “range and nuance of Indian identities” and view India as a “land of strict social hierarchy and religious division” (21). The information provided to Radcliffe reflected that same deficit. The British cartographic archive “described and allowed access to ... British India, a rational and ordered space that could be managed and governed in a rational and ordered manner” (Edney 34). The British had gathered knowledge about India in order to exert power over it, making “the British mapping of India ... an exercise in discipline” through which “the British surveyed the Indian landscapes in an effort to assess and to improve them” (Edney 334). Chester, furthermore, elucidates that a close look at these maps provides significant insights into the multiple contexts in which the British analyzed India, as:

a theatre of war to be conquered and pacified, a territory to be controlled once conquest was complete, and a space to be administered and taxed. They also pictured it as an arena

of unchanging social hierarchies and as a landscape marked by British historical achievements and sacrifices ... a domain open to being comprehensively understood in clear, categorical terms. (Chester 18)

The division of the ancient territories of Punjab and Bengal meant that people speaking the same language, sharing the same ancestry, and having long inhabited the same region would abruptly be forced to choose between one side of the frontier and the other on the basis of religion (see Maps 3 and 4 for partitioned territories of Punjab and Bengal). The “political arithmetic” that the British devised by giving Radcliffe two Muslim and two Hindu judges nominated by the Muslim League and the Congress, writes Jisha Menon, resulted in a “deadlock” when the four political nominees “conceded little, creating a political impasse in the discussions around the Punjab Partition” (31). Radcliffe had no time for field surveys and his knowledge of the partitioned territory was mostly textual, yet he became the final arbiter of a “contentious” cartography. Chester describes:

The census data and gazetteers that Radcliffe perused portrayed a land in which people identified themselves in categorical terms, as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, etc. [that] did not reflect local understandings of an individual or community’s various identities or the interplay of religious affiliations, kinship ties, political associations, and economic links. By demonstrating that Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims lived in intermingled communities, the information Radcliffe saw did not make clear that these groups could not be divided easily; (21)

The reality on the ground was more complex than Radcliffe’s documents because the Survey of India maps depicted the subcontinent as a unified space under the British rule, dismissing the fact that this unified space was a complex combination of princely states headed by princes under Britain’s indirect rule as well as provinces under direct British rule. The administrative boundaries on these maps were markers of British-created units of governance reporting to the colonial center, New Delhi, that “the British imagined themselves leaving to

independent India” as “a legacy of rational governance and law and order” (Chester 21). The British “judicial façade” was thought to be important to quell “potential nationalist objections to British influence over the final result of Partition” but also to “convince international audiences ... that it was engaged in a smooth, controlled and fair decolonization” (Chester 4). Pointing at the different “realit[ies] on the ground” South Asian novelists on both sides of the border, from the 1950s to date, have questioned the arbitrariness of borders by reflecting on themes like border as an illusion, nationalism as a charade, and identity as a vacuous symbol in their works.

Through fictive accounts of marginalized communities, both authors in this chapter represent a yearning for a pluralist, collective Pakistani identity that is outside the realm of colonially defined borders, and one that transcends the rigid boundaries of nationalism and citizenship. Manto espouses the idea of illusionary borders through his coterie of characters who refuse to move away from a Punjabi border town on the basis of religious affiliations, and Kamila Shamsie problematizes the idea of Pakistani national identity by giving agency to Muhajir and Bengali minoritized communities in *Kartography*. While the first section of this chapter looks at Pakistani writer Saadat Hasan Manto’s famous short story, “Toba Tek Singh” published in his endearing collection of Partition tales, *Siyah Hashye* (1955), other iconic South Asian Partition texts include Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* (1956), Manohar Malgonkar’s *A Bend in the Ganges* (1964), Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* (1981), Bapsi Sidhwa’s *Ice-Candy Man/ Cracking India* (1988), and Amitav Ghosh’s *Shadow Lines* (1989). History through the imaginative space of fiction is, as these works foreground, always in a state of becoming, of being lived, evaluated and rewritten in the contextual present on the basis of individual truths. Both historical facts and fiction have a basis in reality and memory, be that collective or individual. But fiction, in so far as it interprets the historical knowledge, often fills

in the fissures and absences between the history of the past and that of the present, thereby eclipsing conventional history's chronological account of events as they occurred.

### **1.1 In a No-Man's Land: Saadat Hasan Manto's "Toba Tek Singh"**

"Toba Tek Singh" belongs to a collection of short stories published right after Partition, *Siyah Hashye* (translated as *Black Marginalia*), which was Manto's way of telling the world that if Independence was a moment of rejoicing, its celebratory appeal was fringed in black. The "catastrophic impact of India's Partition in 1947," writes Manto's niece and historian Ayesha Jalal, left him "marvel[ing] at the stern calmness with which the British had rent asunder the subcontinent's unity at the moment of decolonization" (*Pity* 1). The British Raj sought to present partitioning as a process for which South Asians bore sole responsibility, and South Asian nationalist leaders like Jinnah and Nehru were employed in key decisions by the British merely to grant a veneer of legitimacy to their decolonizing efforts. Manto's short stories often dealt with the disproportionate relationship between ordinary people and great events – while British and Indian politicians negotiated their respective ideological and geographical partings, Manto wrote about the tragedy of countless innocent lives caught up in the tumultuous sea of Partition, of the plight of uprooted humanity on the move. He did not allow the savagery of 1947 to make him lose faith in the essential rightness of human nature, and this belief became firmly established in his fiction. His stories demonstrated one after another that although his characters were temporarily eclipsed by evil during the mayhem of Partition, they could never turn into liars (Hasan, "Introduction," xiii). To illustrate, Manto stated that the "nightmarish reality" of Partition that he came to accept "without self-pity or despair" allowed him "to retrieve from this man-made sea of blood, pearls of rare hue"; and despite the fact that he wrote "about the single-minded dedication with which men killed men," he also conveyed "the remorse felt by some of

them, about the tears shed by murderers who could not understand why they still had some human feelings left” (Manto qtd in Hasan, “Introduction,” xix).

Manto’s short stories of Partition published in *Black Marginalia* convey the outrageous contradictions that he witnessed in August 1947, which made the moment of freedom from the British more bitter than sweet.. He was rattled to see the streets of Bombay fervently celebrating the independence of Pakistan and India, while the cycle of killings, arson, and rape went unabated. The slogans of Jawaharlal Nehru and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah confused Manto to an extent where he could not decide whether India or Pakistan was his home: “Who was responsible for the blood which was being so mercilessly shed every day? Where were they going to inter the bones which had been stripped off the flesh of religion by vultures” (Manto qtd in Hasan from “Murli ki Dhun” xvi)? Moreover, he wondered whether the people of the subcontinent were free now that they were no more subjugated: “when we were colonial subjects, we could dream of freedom, but now that we were free, what would we dream of” (Manto qtd in Hasan xvi)? There were no clear answers to Manto’s musings, and to find those answers he felt everybody wanted to push further and further into the past, to the “smouldering ruins of the 1857 Mutiny” or to the “history of the East India Company,” or even to a critique of the Mughal Empire “while killers and terrorists went about their gruesome business unchallenged, in the process writing a story of blood and fire which has had no parallel in history” (Manto qtd in Hasan xvii). He captures the paradoxical nature of freedom in all his Partition stories.

Saadat Hasan Manto was born in pre-Partition Punjab, in 1912, and his Kashmiri Muslim family migrated to Punjab in the early nineteenth century, eventually settling down in Amritsar. Manto’s father, a strictly practicing Muslim, was a trained lawyer and rose to become a sessions

judge in Punjab's Justice Department. Manto's mother was his father's second wife. Of his three, much older, stepbrothers from his father's first marriage who went to England to get professional degrees, two became barristers and one became an engineer. Manto and his sister were economically less fortunate than their thriving step-siblings, and with their mother lived separately from the rest of the family in a small section of the house, as the extended Manto clan never really welcomed his mother into the family (Jalal *Pity* 31). Manto's father did not have much left for his second wife and her children after spending a fortune on educating his three older sons abroad (Jalal, *Pity* 30-31), and so, he was homeschooled until fourth grade. He went on to finish high school at Muslim Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) School and had a brief stint at Aligarh University in 1934. Never becoming a university graduate, Manto found employment in Delhi's All India Radio during World War II, where he produced several radio plays. However, his most creative years in pre-Partition Bombay where he was associated with some of the leading film studios like Imperial Film Company, Bombay Talkies, and Filmistan.

Manto is often known to a global readership as a short story writer, yet few readers outside Pakistan are aware of the fact that his artistic engagements were far more eclectic and wide-ranging. Besides a copious oeuvre of short stories, Manto also wrote several collections of radio plays, topical essays, and personal reminiscences, many addressing the same issues as his short stories. Before attempting original plays, Manto translated Victor Hugo's *The Last Days of a Condemned*, Oscar Wilde's *Vera*, and two of Chekhov's short plays. In 1940, Manto wrote his first radio play, *Ao Radio Suneh (Let's Listen to the Radio)*. This was later published with nine others in the collection *Ao (Come)*. He also wrote a radio play on the death of a famous person, *Qilopatrah ki Maut (Cleopatra's Death)*, later published with seven similar plays in the collection *Janāze (Funerals)*. Manto's association with All India Radio Delhi led to two more

collections of radio dramas, *Manto ke Drame (Manto's Dramas)* – a series of serious and comic technically innovative plays - and *Tin Auraten (Three Women)* – a collection of five comedies all modelled on the same central idea. From 1942 until 1948, Manto was quite involved with films in Bombay, but continued to publish mixed collections of radio plays and short stories, *Afsane aur Dramay (Stories and Dramas)* and *Karwat (Change)*. The well acclaimed collection *Phundne (Tassels)* was published in 1955, containing some famous short stories and Manto's longest and most mature play, *Is Manjdhār Mein (In This Maelstrom)* (Flemming 131-32). The corpus of Manto's work spans across two decades and conveys rare insights into human nature.

Partition's dislocation cruelly disrupted Manto's life as well when he was forced to migrate from the Indian Bombay to the Pakistani Lahore. He felt a warm passion for Bombay due to the city's unique ability to assemble a variety of talented people from all classes and regional backgrounds with no religious or ideological barriers (Jalal, *Pity*, 132). But as 1947 came to a close, Manto's vision of a cosmopolitan Bombay – where he had spent twelve years of his happiest and most memorable times – went through a sea change. He suddenly began to be seen as Muslim in a Hindu Bombay. Even in the “areligious world of cinema” where Manto was employed, the “intolerance and distrust ... sprouting like poison weed everywhere” deeply disturbed him (Hasan xiv). Friction between Hindus and Muslims in independent India – especially at Bombay Talkies – disappointed him considerably as he experienced marginalization firsthand. He stopped going to work, drank excessively, and made up his mind to leave for the newly created state of Pakistan in early January of 1948 to join his wife and children who had already migrated there (Jalal, *Pity*, 123). Some of Manto's Muslim literary friends in India, whom he left without bidding farewell, were quite indignant at his decision, for, as Jalal explains: “the creation of Pakistan divided the Muslim of the subcontinent into two hostile states.

Those left behind in India resented what many considered as abandonment by their numerically predominant coreligionists in Pakistan” (*Pity* 131). Manto’s silent departure was likely a consequence of the deep sadness he felt on his forced migration coupled with the guilt of leaving his community to face persecution in a Hindu-dominated India.

Manto’s undesired arrival in Lahore, via Karachi, left him in a state of confused stupor for the next three months, and he could not separate India from Pakistan and vice versa, no matter how hard he tried. The dislocation to Lahore made him feel as if he were in all three locations at the same time, as if he were “watching several films simultaneously – all chaotically interlinked: sometimes it was Bombay’s bazaars and backstreets; at others Karachi’s fast-moving trams and donkey carts; and, the next moment, Lahore’s noisy restaurants” (Jalal, *Pity*, 146). He felt deeper into debt, disillusionment, and drinking when confronted with a lack of opportunities in Pakistan. Manto’s letters and writings (fictional and journalistic) present a bevy of questions that afflicted his post-partitioned life as an intellectual, ranging from whether the basic problems confronting Indians and Pakistanis were any different after Partition to prescient concerns about the status of Urdu (the language now linked distinctly to a Pakistani identity) literature in a divided subcontinent. He worried about *who* would now own the literature written in undivided India? Would that be divided as well? Would Urdu become extinct in India? And, what shape would it assume in Pakistan (Jalal, *Pity*, 146)? Perhaps, Manto did not foresee the War of 1971 that would break up Pakistan over the role of Urdu as an official language, but his ominous forebodings about the status of Urdu in both countries turned out to be quite true<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> As espoused in the Introduction, the language of power in Pakistan is ironically English, not Urdu. In India, while Urdu’s lineage to Sanskrit is often proudly recalled, the alteration of the language – drawing heavily on the Islamic culture due to its lexical borrowings from Persian and Arabic – is problematic for Hindu supremacist groups, who view Urdu as bearing the taint of Islam.



Manto conveys the same apprehensive mood of unbelonging following the arbitrary bifurcation in “Toba Tek Singh.” In the narrative “both the mad and partially mad” neither know the exact location of Pakistan nor can they figure out if they are in India or Pakistan, because “if they were in India where on earth was Pakistan? And if they were in Pakistan, then how come that until only the other day it was India (Manto, “Toba Tek Singh,” 2)? Taking no sides in the religious and political war waging around him, Manto gave voice to the bitter, wild, and taut worlds of the ordinary, often outcast, Indians and Pakistanis, and captured “the pity of Partition... for defenseless people” (*Jalal Pity* 3). Who could be more defenseless than the patients of a mental asylum at the time of Partition, awaiting a relocation based on their religious affiliations? That is where Manto’s adroitness as a raconteur lies, for he chooses to populate “Toba Tek Singh” with psychiatric patients of all ethnicities that prevailed in an undivided India: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and even Anglo-Indians.

The spirit of plurality suggested by the multi-ethnic backgrounds of the inmates, however, comes to a turbulent disruption in the aftermath of Partition. The story begins two years after Partition, and trapped on the strife-torn border town in Pakistan near Lahore these inmates agitatedly anticipate a removal to another location in India. Manto makes his protagonist, Bishan Singh, a member of the Sikh community, the people impacted the most by the Punjab award yet deprived of adequate representation in the process of partitioning<sup>18</sup>. One of the many towns affected by the border division was the west Punjabi town of Toba Tek Singh,

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<sup>18</sup> The Sikh community was concentrated in the Punjab before Partition. Hoping to secure the best possible safeguards for their rights and interests as a religious-political minority community as the subcontinent lurched towards independence, the Sikhs were horrified to learn that large tracts of their valuable canal colony lands and many important holy shrines were left in Pakistani Punjab, when Punjab was sliced into two. What followed was a massive uprooting and abandoning of land and property as the Sikhs fled Western Punjab to avoid being killed by the Muslims. In spite of being consolidated as a significant minority in Indian Punjab, the Sikhs have remained a beleaguered minority amid Hindu majority domination in India (Tan and Kudaisya 101)

from which Manto's short story takes its title and Bishan Singh his alternate name. In mixing up the name of the character and place, the individual and the land, Manto emphasizes the relationship between a person's home and his identity. Refusing to choose between the two states, Toba Tek Singh dies in a no-man's-land on the border, signaling the symbolic demise of the town and of its pre-Partition collective harmony. Manto was no stranger to such stories for he relentlessly visited refugee camps, newspaper offices, and coffeehouses to glean first-hand accounts of those who ultimately bore the dislocations of Partition as ordinary innocent men, women, and children.

Using the mental asylum as a metaphor for the entire nation, Manto makes the insane characters of the facility react in multiple ways of dislocation as they learn the truth about where their new homelands actually lie: one "dropped everything, climbed the nearest tree and installed himself on a branch, from which vantage point he spoke for two hours on the delicate problem of India and Pakistan ... [declaring] 'I wish to live neither in India nor in Pakistan. I wish to live in this tree'"; another obsessive-compulsive Muslim patient suddenly declares himself "Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah" while one of his fellow Sikh inmate imagines himself to be "Master Tara Singh"; and yet another Muslim patient believes "Pakistan" is "the name of a place in India where cut-throat razors are manufactured" (Manto "Toba Tek Singh" 2-3). There are several Anglo-Indian inmates, who, due to their mixed parentage, face an even greater struggle for identity. One lunatic believes that he is God and when the protagonist, Bishan Singh, inquires of him about the location of Toba Tek Singh, he chuckles and replies, "neither in India nor Pakistan, because, so far, we have not taken any decision about its location" (Manto "Toba" 6). Their frenzied shouting of slogans and erratic behavior(s) allows Manto to effectively mirror the irrationality of society outside the walls of the asylum through the metaphor of madness. The

arbitrariness of walls and borders and the contradictions and divided loyalties experienced by those people who were uprooted on either side of the divide is best expressed by Bishan Singh, when asked where Toba Tek Singh is: “Where? Why, it is where it has always been ... In India ... no, in Pakistan” (Manto “Toba Tek Singh” 8).

Manto’s characters, those innocent citizens, living on both sides of a divide with a long history of cultural and social contact and collective traditions, were largely ignorant of the ways their destinies would be changed by the border division. While the boundary award remained undisclosed to the South Asian public by Viceroy Mountbatten, people waited helplessly as fundamentally imperial maps drew up the end of empire, and remapped the destinies of “villages, that were home to the vast majority of South Asians ... only as blank space [simply] outlined by administrative boundaries,” forever stilling the voices with “cartographic silence” of people living in border towns, “voices that might have argued for a different boundary line” (Chester 22). Outside the mental facility, as imperial maps invisibly impinge on the daily lives of ordinary people, the reader begins to notice the wider implications of the shifting geopolitical realities reverberating in the story as follows:

Those who had tried to solve this mystery had become utterly confused when told that Sialkot, which used to be in India, was now in Pakistan. It was anybody’s guess what was going to happen to Lahore, which was currently in Pakistan, but could slide into India any moment. It was possible also possible that the entire subcontinent of India might become Pakistan. And who could say if both India and Pakistan might not entirely vanish from the map of the world one day? (Manto “Toba Tek Singh” 5)

India and Pakistan seemed like territorial abstractions to the border-inhabiting citizens, for how could freedom from the colonial center culminate in the formation of two independent nation states on the basis of religion? If displacement is that “perpetual journey” that allows for an “affirmation of the specificity and beginnings of displaced writers’ identities and for a

reassertion of the significance of their starting points” (Al Deek 1), then Manto’s short story poignantly recognizes those starting points and beginnings as plural and inclusive. The characters of “Toba Tek Singh” are neither without history nor forgetful of their multicultural beginnings, despite carrying the burden of colonial history. Defying the arbitrary lines of cartography in his own life, Manto remained in touch with his friends in India and continued to engage with the Indian literati in spite of his sudden departure. Difficulties erupted for creative artists who were due royalties and payments by the two new states, yet these “lines of red,” in Manto’s mind, could not rip through the “domain of literature” (Jalal, *Pity*, 137). As both a victim and analyst of his time, Saadat Hasan Manto was able to conceive a text that still remains far more immediate and incisive than most journalistic accounts of the period. The subconscious violation through tortured split personalities of “Toba Tek Singh” allows the reader to confront the innermost tragedies of Partition, and its most traumatic dislocation of utter turmoil and violence. In his own life, the forced migration to Pakistan in 1948 was a dislocation that perturbed Manto so deeply that he could never quite settle down in the new country of his adoption. Seven years after his migration, stuck like his characters in that liminal state of betwixt and between, Manto was dead at 42.

Manto’s characters resist migration – and the loss of a collective existence – in their deeply eccentric ways. Their acts only foreshadow the figure of the migrant that later appears again, very problematically, in Pakistani literature pointing to the failures of both India and Pakistan as nation-states in their (mis)management of refugees and minorities. While in the narratives of 1947 the migrant mostly represents resistance and/or the outbreak of communal violence that accompanied independence, 1971 depicts the migrant as the marginalized Other – one who “embodies the ideals betrayed by the circumstances and biases leading to and resulting

from the events of 1971” (Cilano, *National Identities* 29). The remapping of Pakistan, in 1971, prompts another examination of colonial cartography, and the dangerous impact that the original “maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten”<sup>19</sup> map of the country had on the making of a Pakistani national identity, and the unmaking of the secular ideals of equality and liberty espoused by Jinnah.

## 1.2 Cartographies of Memory vs Colonial Maps: Kamila Shamsie *Kartography*

While Manto did not have to dredge out historical facts to produce realistic fiction and reported what he saw, contemporary author Kamila Shamsie’s fiction is often embedded in historical knowledge that attempts to fill in the fissures and absences between the history of the past and that of the present. Her novels, then, challenge conventional history’s chronological account of events as they occurred. Shamsie was born in 1973 in Karachi, where she completed her high school education. After receiving degrees from Hamilton College (NY) and University of Massachusetts at Amherst, she chose to settle down in London, a place she finds conducive to writing. She belongs to a literary family of writers, being the grandniece of novelist Attia Hosain, daughter of literary critic and writer Muneeza Shamsie, and granddaughter of memoirist Begum Jahanara Habibullah. Besides a copious oeuvre of fiction, Shamsie also writes regularly for *The Guardian* besides other Western newspapers, and her thought-provoking non-fiction work, *Offence: The Muslim Case* (2009), traces the rise of extremism and Islamist leaders in Pakistan, their violent and easily offended followers, and the repercussions of this in Pakistan and the world.

Being part of the fourth generation of women writers in her family, Shamsie’s novels consider the ways in which family histories work their way into fictional representations of

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<sup>19</sup> Jinnah’s words, as referenced earlier in the chapter.

women across continents and centuries. At the same time, her work is deeply embedded in the national history – both recent and ancient – of the region that is now Pakistan. Shamsie exudes a deep affinity for Karachi, and of her seven novels, the first four (*In the City by the Sea*, *Salt and Saffron*, *Kartography*, and *Broken Verses*) are set primarily in Karachi and examine the impact of politics on contemporary Pakistanis' lives. Her protagonists are young Pakistanis who belong to the second generation after 1947, like Shamsie herself – for whom “Partition and Pakistan are not a debate but a fact” (qtd in Shamsie M., *Hybrid* 385) – and who create memories and histories for themselves by mining the lives of their parents and grandparents, piecing fragmentary explanations of secrets into coherent narratives.

Shamsie's next two novels are more ambitious in their geographical reach and historical engagement. *Burnt Shadows* (2009) covers greater swathes of time and is more linear than the previous four Karachi novels. Set in Japan in 1945, New Delhi in 1947, Karachi and the Pakistan-Afghanistan border in 1982, this novel takes the reader to New York and Afghanistan in its final post 9/11 section to uncover broken countries, devastated families, and unjust death, showing how “the core group of characters is completely dwarfed by colossal political events” (Shamsie M., *Hybrid* 391). *A God in Every Stone* (2014) follows *Burnt Shadows* in its geographical reach (485 BC through the 1930s) where Ancient Greece is linked with the Indian subcontinent through the journeys of Scylax, Alexander the Great, pre-World War I group of archaeologists from Turkey/England/Germany digging in Ancient Caria before War splits them into opposite enemy camps, and finally through a group of Indian soldiers fighting for the British army in World War I.

Shamsie historically considers the topic of *Jihad* in her latest novel, *Home Fire* (2017), through an engagement with texts of all kinds – sacred and secular texts, texting, online texts,

and the various typographies of text. In a retelling of *Antigone*, she proposes the crucial question whether jihadists should be *heard* and *condoned* at the same time through the story of two British-Pakistani families, divided over a rebel brother's fate. A global novel set in Amherst on the US East Coast, in Istanbul, in Raqqa when it was under Islamic State's control, and in Karachi, the text transforms the readers' understanding of radicalization by showing the confusion of both jihadists and those who oppose them. In 2019, Shamsie and *Home Fire* made global headlines when Arundhati Roy, JM Coetzee, Noam Chomsky, Ben Okri, Michael Ondaatje and Sally Rooney joined hands with more than 250 writers to defend Shamsie after the German literary Nelly Sachs prize withdrew an award over her support for the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel. In response, Shamsie called it a "matter of outrage that the BDS movement (modelled on the South African boycott) that campaigns against the government of Israel for its acts of discrimination and brutality against Palestinians should be held up as something shameful and unjust" ("Hundreds of Authors").

*Kartography* (2002) is the novel under discussion here, and like *Home Fire*, it positively disrupts supposedly static boundaries between nations. Shamsie explicitly engages with how "imperial and post-independence maps deny or diminish important truths about the past, particularly in relation to minority communities" (Mallot 261) and continue to mire post-1947 and post-1971 Pakistan, regionally, in a historical persistence of identity politics. Shamsie interrogates the failings of nationalist narratives by exploring how 1971 resonates in articulations of a collective Pakistani identity, particularly through the migrant/refugee/Muhajir-Bengali trope. Since Pakistan is "the result of deliberate political action ... any claim to belonging in Pakistan is also a deliberate – that is, not 'natural' – action," evidenced in the post-1971 split of the Pakistani group identity into "Pakistanis" and "Bangladeshis" (Cilano *National Identities*, 10).

Post-2000, there has been a growing literary response to 1971 in Pakistani Anglophone literature via narratives that move between the present and stories of the past and question the official narrative of a crucial moment in Pakistan's history by forging a relationship between memory, narrative, and identity. For almost two decades after the most unsettling disruption in Pakistan's history with the cessation of East Pakistan, there was an uncomfortable "near silence on the memorial complications caused by the independence of Bangladesh" for Pakistani identities and cultural productions (Kabir, "Hieroglyphs and Broken Links" 488). Besides *Kartography*, other critically acclaimed contemporary novels that examine the War of 1971 include Mohsin Hamid's *Moth Smoke* (2000), Sorrayya Khan's *Noor* (2003), Moni Mohsin's *The End of Innocence* (2006), Shahbano Bilgrami's *Without Dreams* (2007), Shahryar Fazli's *Invitation* (2011), Aquila Ismail's *Of Martyrs and Marigolds* (2012), and Tariq Ali's *The Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010). Collectively, all texts help readers to imagine cartographic lines between Pakistan and Bangladesh as "a frontier zone, an area of transition where the traits that characterize one region give way to the aspects that define an adjacent region," where the border does not become "a line separating sharply distinct identities but as a space where different elements converge, such as those characterizing two national cultures and where the fixity of identities is questioned" (Vitolo 36). Pakistan's unique cartography places limitations on the definition of a unified Pakistani national identity, and contemporary Pakistani writers express that concern quite vehemently in their works.

The plot of *Kartography* revolves around two best friends and later lovers, Raheen and Karim, growing up in the south, most prestigious, side of Karachi in the 1980s and 90s. Raheen's parents (Yasmin and Zafar) and Karim's parents (Maheen and Ali) choose to raise their only offspring like twins. If their closeness is not peculiar enough their beginning surely is, as they are



products of a partner exchange that happened between their parents, and Karim points that out early in the novel when he tells Raheen: “If I wasn’t me, you wouldn’t be you” (*Kartography* 4). When Pakistan experiences a civil war in 1971 that results in the breakaway of East Pakistan into Bangladesh, Raheen’s and Karim’s parents are young adults, and engaged. Following Bangladesh’s independence, a fiancée swap between the parents takes place, and sets into motion a chain of events that forces Raheen and Karim to “accept and appropriate the undeniable intersections between memory and place” (Mallot 283) in their present lives. Zafar (Raheen’s father) who was engaged to Maheen (Karim’s mother) marries Yasmin, and Ali who was engaged to Yasmin ends up marrying Maheen. As the story of the parents partially unfolds in a flashback, it appears that the two best friends, Zafar and Ali, were both in love with Maheen, while Yasmin and Maheen (also best friends) were both in love with Zafar. The initial setting of partners was, however, determined by the strong feelings of Zafar and Maheen for each other, that led to the other arrangement-of-convenience between Ali and Yasmin.

When necessity and the unrest of 1971 befall them, the love triangle makes it possible for these four friends to swap partners. The switched couples ultimately marry, have solo offspring, and *seemingly* reconcile as a group of four. But the story makes it clear that the results of the partner trade-in are not permanent: Karim’s parents (whose marriage does not reflect as a happy union) first decide to migrate to London amid the rising violence of Karachi, and then, as Karim is about to enter university, they file for divorce. In order to come to terms with his parents’ failing marriage and their decision to leave Karachi, Karim retreats into a world of maps and official names of places which threatens his relationship with Raheen; and Raheen not only draws apart from Karim but also from her father, Zafar, who decides to keep her in the dark about the real reasons behind the fiancée swap till she is eighteen and old enough to understand.

Throughout the course of the novel's events, Raheen constantly probes into the real reason behind the infamous fiancée swap: why her father could not “marry one of them” and “let one of them bear [his] children,” or why he considered “diluting [Maheen's] Bengali blood line” his “civic duty” (*Kartography* 210)?

In the novel, recalling and narrating the past are fundamental to the process that allows the younger – post-1971 – generation of Raheen and Karim to understand Pakistan's history, and as a consequence, their own identities. Shamsie uses the infamous partner switch to symbolize the breakaway of the country into two wings, leaving the exact reasons behind the partner exchange little known for most of the story. Just like Shamsie's generation (who was born after the remapping of Pakistan and attempted to understand the War of 1971 despite an official amnesia surrounding it), Karim and Raheen continue to develop their own, disparate, understandings of their parents' unions as they grow older. It is only toward the end of the novel that the two young adults realize that just as Pakistan's (his)story is seen differently by East and West Pakistanis, their respective narratives of the parents' rearranged relationships can never merge, and in order to rise above the bitterness of past events they must find a common agency – of map making – to come together. In turn, this process “participates in the shaping of personal identity” (Vitolo 37) because “identity” and “border,” are after all, “two intertwined concepts ... that affect Pakistan's everyday life” (Vitolo 36). Shamsie presents contemporary Karachi as a “space/time compression of cataclysmic events” of 1947 and 1971, and argues that the “new maps that resulted are not simple representations on paper, as people and their stories are part and parcel of this space/time compression” (Waterman 65). The novel's epigraph, “Pakistan is split in two, but undivided. This world is out of date” (*Kartography* 1), suggests geographic and temporal disruptions are legacies of Partition's cartography – disruptions that get repeated by the

re-mapping of Pakistan's borders in 1971, as "dead bang" between Raheen and Karim's "beginning and [their] present" (*Kartography* 270). Raheen and Karim, growing up in a Karachi subsumed by ethnic riots, try to negotiate their identities with the very important inquiry: "what does 1971 have to do us with now" (*Kartography* 269)?

Harkening back to her Muhajir roots that divided her own family between India and Pakistan, Shamsie, like many South Asian writers, plays on the metaphor of twins to explore a kind of mirroring, as the subcontinent's cartography left ragged, incomplete histories on either side of the borders. Raheen and Karim share a crib as babies, know the contentment of sleeping spine to spine, complete each other sentences, talk in anagrams, and eventually fall in love. These almost twin-like friends share an almost similar family history – their parents swap partners, public histories are paralleled with private narratives, Bengali and Muhajir identities face an identical liminality in Pakistani nationalism, the East and West wings of Pakistan form the "Pakistan of dreams" (*Kartography* 279), and the 1947 Partition is twinned with the 1971 split of Pakistan.

Central to the plot of *Kartography* are also the two post-1947 migrations of Muhajirs and Bengali Muslims into the city of Karachi. Initially, Muhajir or Mohajir, was an inclusive term that was used to designate all migrants from India to Pakistan irrespective of where they came from and what language they spoke, and did not have any ethnic connotations. However, by the late 1950s, the term had become specifically associated with Urdu-speaking migrants from India's Muslim minority provinces, who had settled in Karachi and other urban centers. While Muhajir communities dominated the government in the early years of independence, cultural and

economic marginalization by the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto<sup>20</sup> and General Zia-ul-Haq<sup>21</sup> regimes as well as the country's Punjabi political domination shifted the term's reference to the Muhajirs' migrant Indian past. This marginality culminated in the emergence of Muhajir nationalist movement in Karachi, and in violent confrontations between Muhajirs and Sindhis (pre-Partition ethnic community in the province of Sindh) throughout the 1980s and 90s. In the novel, Zafar and Yasmin have well-educated Muhajir roots, and the dispute between Sindhis and Muhajirs is reflected by the nature of Zafar's relationship with his Sindhi friend, Asif. On one occasion, Zafar vehemently explains to Asif that "I must have heard my parents say a thousand times 'we came here to be Pakistani, not to be Sindhi'" (*Kartography* 203), when the latter complains that at the time of Partition "all these immigrants [came] streaming across the new border, convinced of the superiority of their culture, and whisk[ed] away all the best jobs from Sindhis who'd been living here for generations" (*Kartography* 202). The Sindhi-Muhajir conflict was not the only thing at the heart of the crisis in Karachi, because a flood of Pashtun migration (both due to the Soviet-Afghan conflict that made Pakistan a host to Afghan Mujahideen and a construction boom in Karachi) led to a clash between the "lower class *mohajir* residents and incoming Pushtun labourers" (Talbot 41).

It is important to understand how these refugees/Muhajirs became central to imagining the completion of newly created Pakistan's claim to nationhood. Starting from their "categorical

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<sup>20</sup> Founder of Pakistan's Peoples Party (PPP) and father of Benazir Bhutto, fourth President (1971-1973) and ninth Prime Minister (1973-1977) of Pakistan, who was deposed in a military coup, in 1977, by his appointed military chief, General Zia-ul-Haq. He was controversially tried and executed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, in 1979, for authorizing the murder of a political opponent.

<sup>21</sup> Became the sixth President of Pakistan after declaring martial law in 1977. Backed by the U S and Saudi Arabia, he coordinated the Afghan Mujahideen during the Soviet-Afghan war that allowed millions of refugees with drugs and weaponry to enter into Pakistan's frontier province. Although credited with preventing wider Soviet incursions into the region, strengthening ties with the U S and China and promoting Pakistan's role in the Islamic world, Zia is decried for passing broad-ranging legislations to Islamize Pakistan, curbing civil liberties, and heightening press censorship. He was killed in a mysterious plane crash alongside his top military officials in 1988.

visibility” in the 1951 Census of Pakistan, Vazira Zamindar explains that “the fact that Muhajirs had come from many different parts of what was now India was almost a source of pride” since “Pakistan was predicated on its ability to represent, not just the Muslims of the Muslim majority provinces that fell within its territorial borders, but the Muslims of the entire subcontinent, a single Muslim nation” (Zamindar 189). With successive waves of migration from India and within Pakistan, Karachi’s population, however, increased from close to a half million at Independence to 12 million by the mid-1990s<sup>22</sup>. Muhajirs now formed 55 percent of Karachi’s quickly growing population, and 50.4 percent claimed be native speakers of Urdu (Zamindar 190). Very soon this mushrooming population came to resent the city’s inability to provide them with housing, transportation, and clean water, and political violence erupted in Karachi in the 1980s. The predicament of Karachi’s Muhajir identity – in their marginalization by the Sindhis and skirmishes with other migrants – lay in their liminal status of up-rootedness. Where did they belong? Were they Indian-Pakistani, Pakistani-not-Indian, not-Pakistani-Indian, not-Pakistani-not-Indian? (Zamindar 191). In contrast to the Sindhis or Punjabis who had territorially rooted regional identities in Pakistan, the Muhajirs “emerge[d] as a recalcitrant liminal identity” in the absence of incorporation into the Pakistani national identity (Zamindar 199). The Muhajir identity, consequently, experienced the formation of a separate ethnic group on Pakistani soil.

*Kartography* examines the complex, and still-unfolding, legacies of the mass migrations to Pakistan that accompanied Partition through the tribulations of these migrants, and their descendants, who went to Pakistan and ended up like strangers in their new homeland. In the beginning of the story, Raheen faces the complications of being forced to consider why she and

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<sup>22</sup> The five percent of the country’s total population “congregating in [Karachi’s] urban sprawl” was drawn to Pakistan’s only major port due to the city’s “dominant commercial and industrial” status that accounts for almost “a quarter of Pakistan’s manufacturing base and two-thirds of [its] banking transactions” (Talbot 17).

Karim “were separate in some way that seemed to matter terribly to people old enough to understand where significance lay” as she “was a Muhajir with a trace of Pathan,” while Karim “was Bengali ... and Punjabi” (*Kartography* 41). As a child, Karim receives an unwittingly violent treatment at the hands of his friend Zia upon disclosing that he is “half-Bengali” (*Kartography* 39), and the young Raheen begins to understand what it means to be marginalized as a Muhajir because of her family’s migrant status when she overhears her parents’ (Sindhi) friends, Asif and his wife Laila, discuss their fears about MQM, the Muhajir-led, newly established political party. Laila laments:

Karachi’s my home, you know. Why did those bloody Muhajirs have to go and form a political group? Once they’re united they’ll do God knows what. Demanding this, demanding that. Thinking that just because they are a majority in Karachi they can trample over everyone else. Like they did in ‘47. Coming across the border thinking that we should be grateful for their presence ... Do you hear the way people like Zafar and Yasrinn talk about ‘their Karachi’? My family lived there for generations. Who the hell are these Muhajirs to pretend it’s their city? ( *Kartography* 38)

Ironically, Karachi is the only home that second and third generation Muhajirs like Zafar and Raheen have ever known with no nostalgic ties to the Indian territory left behind by their forefathers. Zafar’s generation had moved into a perpetual state of dislocation because his parents’ migration had destabilized the notion of permanent territorial identity for him. His doubly-centered migrant identity (as it originated on the margins of the boundaries between dominant cultures, between the home country/culture and the host country/culture) had entered that “unrepresentable” discursive space that Bhabha calls the “Third Space” – a self-contradicting, ambivalent realm where “hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or ‘purity’ of cultures are untenable” (*Location* 55). The experience of postcolonial migration – both a “transitional” reality and a “translational phenomenon” – is characterized by liminality and there can be “no resolution to it because the two conditions are ambivalently joined in the [struggle

for] ‘survival’ of migrant life” (Bhabha, *Location*, 224). Raheen realizes that by virtue of a belated arrival her community is positioned as perpetual outsiders in Karachi; consequently, she is forced to wonder how long an immigrant has to live in a place to call it home:

What kind of immigrant is born in a city and spends his whole life there, and gets married there, and raises his daughter there? And I, an immigrant’s daughter, was an immigrant too ... If I told them Karachi was my home just as much as it was anyone else’s, would they look at me and think: another Muhajir. Immigrant. Still Immigrants, though our family had crossed the border nearly four decades ago. (*Kartography* 39)

The migration, however, at the heart of the fiancée swap is that of Maheen’s Bengali family, and the Bengali presence (like that of the Muhajirs) in post-1971 Karachi can also be traced back to 1947. Although the pre-Partition province of Bengal experienced less violence than Punjab in the immediate aftermath of Partition, the Bengali division came with terrible consequences too. Bengal witnessed serious demographic and economic disruptions over a much longer period of time than Punjab. Focusing on the Bengali cartography of 1947, Joya Chatterji argues in *The Spoils of Partition* that drawing of the border was less of a technical affair and more of a line drawn in haste and ignorance by Cyril Radcliffe, strongly swayed by political pressure. Bengal, like Punjab, was also divided into the east (Muslim majority) and west (Hindu majority) after the Bengali Legislature could not reach a unanimous vote to curtail a division. Referring to this process in surgical metaphors, Chatterji notes that the Separation Council<sup>23</sup> under diktat of Viceroy Mountbatten “began the task of unstitching Bengal’s once unified administration into two separate parts” with East Bengal going to Pakistan and West Bengal going to India (20). The “unreality” of Mountbatten’s deadlines for the Boundary Commission to “swiftly [get] down to work and come to rapid conclusions about the frontiers separating the two

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<sup>23</sup> The Council, which worked under Radcliffe, was chaired by the Bengali governor, Frederick Burrows, and assisted by two members each of the Congress and the Muslim League.

parts of Bengal” meant that both Hindus and Muslims felt the need to “keep their nerve in the division of the spoils ... and inevitably ... engag[e] in a frantic competition to grab whatever they could” (Chatterji 21) as East and West Pakistan emerged on the map, “providing a pair of testicles for the phallus of India” (*Kartography* 20), separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory (see Map 1).

The struggle for Bengali rights began shortly after Pakistan gained independence as a country with two noncontiguous territories. Although Bengal comprised of one-sixth of Pakistan’s total area from 1947 until 1971 (Talbot 24), Bengali was rejected as an official language of Pakistan on the basis of “impos[ing] a national language [Urdu] on a Babel of tongues” and the fears of the elite that they will be at a disadvantage for seeking public employment with their mother tongue “relegated in status” (Talbot 26). The reality, however, was that just 7 percent of Pakistan spoke the national language, Urdu, as their mother tongue, and Urdu proved “much less effective in promoting a national Pakistani identity than Bengali, Sindhi, Pashto, Siraiki or Balochi have been in articulating [an] ethnic identity” (Talbot 26). In the 1980s, Urdu emerged again as a political rallying point for the Muhajir ethnic identity in Sindh, not as a marker of Pakistani national identity. West Pakistan’s refusal to instate Bengali as a national language along with the economic disparity between the two wings, the martial law regime of 1958-1971, and the demeaning attitude towards Bengali culture by the west wing soured relations between the two territories.

Shamsie’s story juxtaposes national upheavals in Pakistan’s history with the climax in the personal lives of the parents of the two protagonists, Raheen and Karim. Political tensions came to a head in December 1970, as Pakistan’s remapping becomes inevitable, and *Kartography* depicts the new year’s party ringing in 1971 as the last time when the original couples celebrate



being betrothed to each other. That is a time in Pakistan's history when East Pakistan's Awami League party<sup>24</sup> led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman wins the majority general elections, and West Pakistan's Peoples Party that comes out victorious in the west wing, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refuses to hand over power to the east wing. Consequently, the Urdu-speaking Bihari community which had moved to East Pakistan from different parts of India in 1947, and was seen as pro-West Pakistan, comes under attack by Bengali mobs and militia. A similar hatred for Bengalis erupts in Karachi (Pakistan's capital from 1947-1958) where many Bengalis working for government offices had moved from East Pakistan<sup>25</sup>. In March, 1971, using the Bihari-Bengali tensions in the east as an excuse, the Pakistani army intervened to "stem the growth of nationalist sentiments" in the East Pakistan (Zakaria). As the violence escalated throughout the summer and a large number of refugees, mostly Hindu, streamed into India, New Delhi militarily intervened in December 1971. After a nine-month long conflict and a death toll estimated to be "between 300,000 to 3 million people, with hundreds of thousands of women raped" the Pakistani army was forced to a humiliating surrender on December 16, 1971 (Zakaria).

Shamsie continuously problematizes the notion of a unified post-1971 Pakistani national identity in the novel. For instance, an image of the "waltzing couples" that Raheen's and Karim's parents are part of at the new year's party, for whom "[o]ff the dance floor, synchrony cannot exist" (*Kartography* 48), suggests that Pakistan's official narrative of cultural harmony rests on

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<sup>24</sup> The refusal by successive Pakistani governments to recognize Bengali as the second national language alongside Urdu culminated in the Bengali language movement, strengthening support for the Awami League, which was founded in the East as an alternative to the ruling Muslim League.

<sup>25</sup> After 1971, some Bengalis opted to return to the newly formed state of Bangladesh, while many opted to remain in Pakistan. To escape extreme poverty in their country, thousands of Bangladeshis arrived in Pakistan illegally in the 1980s. When by 1995 these migrants crossed the 2,500,000 mark, the top administration of the then Sindh Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, became fearful that Bangladeshi immigrants will become the second largest group in Karachi after Urdu-speaking Muhajir people and disturb sensitive demographics. Consequently, Bhutto ordered a crackdown and deportation of Bangladeshi immigrants, that strained the relationship between the two countries.

the suppression of cultural/linguistic diversity. Since Maheen stands in direct opposition to this “horizontal, Pakistani citizenship,” Zafar’s decision to call off the engagement – suggestive of the 1971 crisis – “constitute[s] a moment when national and personal narratives split violently” (Herbert 163) symbolized by Zafar “stepping into history, stepping where [Maheen] could not go, and kicking her away as he stepped there” (*Kartography* 214). It is only towards the end of the story upon reading Zafar’s earlier letter to Maheen that Raheen finally understands why her father called off his engagement to Maheen. Zafar, who had already been discriminated against for being a Muhajir, had to give up his love for Maheen for the sake of their mutual safety in light of the hatred and violence that followed for Bengalis after East Pakistan’s secession – the War of 1971 turned Maheen suddenly into a Bangladeshi, as the one who “grew up in another language” (*Kartography* 39).

The many identities in *Kartography* are shaped by migrations, voluntary or forced, by the Partitions of 1947 and 1971, and the text illustrates that the textualization of a collective Pakistani identity exists in conflict with the territorial boundaries of the nation, best manifested in the linkage of the 1947 and 1971 Partitions. The imposition of a national identity anchored in Islam and Urdu put an end to the idea of a pluralist society in the new country. Furthermore, with the breakaway of Bangladesh in 1971 as Pakistan turned to the Middle East to “heighten its Islamic identification” it resulted in “identity markers, such as those derived from region, language, and Islam, [that] vexed the relationship between South Asian Muslim identity, on one hand, and territoriality and nationhood, i.e. Pakistan, on the other” (Cilano, *National Identities* 28). The single definition of the unified Pakistani nationalist identity was complicated by the fact that the creation of Pakistan bitterly divided the subcontinent’s Muslim community, and the War

of 1971 caused East and West Pakistanis to be internally displaced by suddenly finding themselves on the wrong side of new national boundaries.

Shamsie parallels Amitav Ghosh's penchant for recovering lost histories in *The Shadow Lines* because initially *Kartography*, like Ghosh's novel, seems to have little to do with the Partition. But the central incident of the novel – the 1971 fiancée swap (like Tridib's 1964 death) – can be read as a far-reaching consequence of this long-ago event of 1947. Analogous to how the remoteness and apparent political insignificance of Trideb's death allows Ghosh to make a powerful statement about the destructive energies of religious fundamentalism in Partition's aftermath, the complicated partner exchange permits Shamsie to pose many important questions about the complex and still unfolding legacies of 1971 for Raheen and Karim (as descendants of that swap who weren't physically present at the time) and for the Pakistani identity as a whole. In interrogating the “viability of nationalist produced geographic claims” both novels, then, propose “a form of ‘postnational geography’ ... to resolve the separation between maps and memories”; Ghosh suggests that *shadow lines* represent mirrors and divides simultaneously, while Shamsie offers an “even bolder method of inventing mapping strategy, one that refuses distinction between space and story, place and past” (Mallot 262). Using the radical rearrangements of the fiancée swap as a dominant symbol, Shamsie underscores in *Kartography* that a mere reconfiguration of national boundaries does not heal political and emotional scars, because the cartographer's pen replaces the “wholeness of lived experience with the falsity of labeled sites” (Mallot 278). The text further affirms that until the “abstract and historically myopic” imperial maps that were once used as “weapons of the imperial project” (Mallot 283) are replaced by an entirely new system of mapping (the “Interactive map” proposed by Raheen and Karim) that emphasizes lived experience and memory of its inhabitants, “maps

and memories will remain at odds with one another” and continue to mire Karachi in the “destructive potential of place” (Mallot 280-81).

Raheen’s discovery of the truth behind her father’s decision to set the fiancée swap in motion does come by means of a coherent narrative, but through fragmented memories – something she realizes early on in the story when she tells Karim that “I’ve melded the memories into a story beginningmiddleend, and don’t you dare interrupt with your version of what really-came-first and that-was-cause-not-effect,” and is immediately interrupted by Karim’s proclamation that “Chronology is all about effect” (*Kartography* 4). Depriving Raheen of the ability to “exert narratorial control” (Cilano, *National Identities* 99) by “forc[ing] linearity to give way to a ramble of hindsight” (*Kartography* 4), Karim’s interruption not only “disrupts Raheen’s construction of a continuous narrative out of fragments of memories and texts collected from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s” but also affirms that the notion of identity does not originate in “linearity” but in “circularity and simultaneity” – such narrative disruption being the legacy of 1947 (Herbert 161).

Besides geographical and temporal disruptions, other voices and texts that complicate linearity in Raheen’s narration are Karim’s maps, photographs, letters, her creative writing assignments while studying in the US, and the parents’ testimonies of 1971. Of the two maps that Karim sends Raheen, the first one is hand drawn en route to the airport as he and his parents migrate to London, in 1987 (see Map 5). This map illuminates different places in Karachi that are meaningful to both of them, where the Clifton Bridge “separat[ing] this side of town from that side” is an allusion to demographical class divides of Karachi’s population. Yet, Karim’s solo attempt to create this very personal map of Karachi also complicates the “linear logic of arrival and departure” (Herbert 165) in directing the reader from one location to another, as it

starts at a “home” that has already situated as “someone else’s”, and end with a “goodbye” that is “inscribed into the city-space before the moment of departure” (Herbert 167). Moreover,

drawing the map en route, Karim effectively says “goodbye” before he departs, so that Raheen can read his “goodbye” after he is gone. Complicating narrative time and space, Karim’s map inscribes the city as a site of anticipated loss, where a sense of “home” is already disrupted by an anticipated experience of displacement. (Herbert 167)

Despite sacrificing scale and accuracy to represent personal landmarks, Karim’s map reveals the idea of an anticipated exile – an exile that constitutes the experience of a post-1971 identity. The ethnic tensions that steer Karachi into becoming a space of ambivalent belonging for Karim (a space he tries to remember in anticipation of forgetting) force him to experience the simultaneous pangs of arrival and departure, memory and forgetting, and “exaggerate the distance between his desire to belong to Karachi and the obstacles – the social, cultural, and political biases against his Bengali heritage – [that prevent] him from doing so” (Cilano, *National Identities* 116). In contrast to Raheen’s affinity for personal landmarks as creative productions of a place, Karim is drawn to the map’s potential in conceptualizing space and situating himself within the entire city of Karachi that is not limited to the elite part of town that they inhabit. As maps and memories begin to take center stage in Karim’s life, he feels he can “come to grips” with Karachi’s rising violence once he realizes the names of all streets and boundaries of the city (*Kartography* 132). The hand-drawn map of Karachi becomes his way of bidding adieu not just to Raheen, but also to all the places in Karachi that are deeply significant to him.

The second experiential map of Karachi that Karim sends Raheen, in 1990, is his effort to convince Raheen of the “real” map’s superiority as a representation of geographical space (see Map 6). On the flip side of this map are fragments of letters Raheen wrote to Karim while he was

studying abroad, and it hurts her to see “myriad pieces” of her “originals” cruelly cut and taped together. Furthermore, this map frustrates her desire to seek delight in the ambiguities of Karachi where she envisions memories and anecdotes to be synonymous with places themselves. Karim, on the other hand, aspires to question Raheen’s insular knowledge of her city, and of cartography. Marking a boundary on the map as “this box” – a “tiny percentage of Karachi South” where Raheen spends 90 percent of her life – he asks her “don’t you want to know your city more” (126) (see Map 6)? Significantly, Karim feels that same insularity of living in a “tiny circle” entitled her father, Zafar, to break off his engagement with Karim’s mother, Maheen, back in 1971, “never acknowledg[ing], never tr[ying] to deal with” the pain caused by his actions, until it was too late (*Kartography* 219). Unless Karachi’s inhabitants understand the politics of destruction shaped by cartography, Karim feels that the city will continue to struggle with violence and its citizens will continue to deceive each other. He deems Raheen to be a reflection of her father for her blinkered vision of shunning scientific maps in order to “hear the heartbeat of a place,” and castigates her in the following manner:

Do you know how hard your heart beats when you’re lost? Do you know what it is to wander out of the comfort of your own streets and your own stories?... Which stories do you want me to pay attention to? Or more to the point, which stories have you deliberately turned away from, Ra[heen], and why? (*Kartography* 164-65)

Unlike Raheen, who learns of the real reasons behind the fiancée swap much later, Karim has known the truth, or a version of it, long before her. As Karachi begins to drown in violence, Karim’s parents’ marriage also falls apart and the specters of 1947 and 1971 engulf him completely. He begins to view Karachi “as a place that I have to say goodbye to” eventually, but was not yet prepared to; early on in the story he says: “Every day I say goodbye to some part of it and then two days later I see that part again and I feel so relieved but also not, because then I

have to say goodbye to it again. This must be what dying is like” (*Kartography* 70). The “supremely rational act of mapping Karachi” (Shamsie M., *Hybrid Tapestries* 387) is the only way that allows Karim to find some order in his otherwise crumbling world, even though his hand-drawn map “morphs into an emotional graph of his relationships with family and friends” (Shamsie M., *Hybrid* 387). His indulgence in memories through mapmaking allows him to transcend not just the pain of his parent’s failed marriage, but also those national and ethnic borders that caused his and Raheen’s parents to sacrifice their love and loyalties.

These twin-like family friends, who otherwise share a psychic capacity for understanding one another by speaking in anagrams and completing each other’s sentences, fiercely draw apart – and, eventually, come together – over their conflicting views on the significance of maps. Maps, in their paradoxical nature, connect as much as they disconnect people and places, guide as much as they misguide their followers. The disparate views on places and mapmaking are represented by Raheen’s desire to think like Strabo,<sup>26</sup> while Karim aspires to be the Eratosthenes of Karachi and engage in scientific mapping of the city. Before Eratosthenes “removed Homer, and all other poets, from the corpus of cartography” Raheen reminds Karim, maps were used to illustrate stories in order to “hear the heartbeat of a place” (*Kartography* 164). Karim’s second Karachi’s South Side map (see Map 6) that was meant to be as a nostalgic reminder of home for Raheen seems more like “Karachi’s opposite” to her, “exist[ing] through its disdain for the reality of the city: the jumble, the illogic, the self definition, the quick-silver of the place” (*Kartography* 120-21), because naming, categorizing, or labeling are a “way of making directions easy for foreign travelers” (*Kartography* 117). Raheen questions Karim’s comfort in the world of atlases:

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<sup>26</sup> He turned to Homeric poetry and Odysseus’s voyage as “valid source[s] of mapmaking” (*Kartography* 164).

So what need was there for him to call the road by its official name, when he'd had no part in the naming, when he had no memories stored in the curves of its official consonants? We should have stories in common... We should have stories, and jokes no one understands, and memories that we know will stay alive because neither of us will let the other forget...[but] he has maps and I don't. He has maps and I don't understand why. (*Kartography* 61)

Raheen strongly feels that maps can never show the life of a city, its breath and pulse. Cartography is “seldom what cartographers say it is,” Harley contends, “as an unquestionably ‘scientific’ or ‘objective’ form of knowledge creation” (“Deconstructing” 1); hence, Karim’s attempt to tell stories with a scientific, abstract map does not appeal to Raheen, but instead shows how he, being away from Karachi, has lost his sense of the city. Raheen reminds him how “this map ... marks you as an ex-pat and not as a Karachiite. People here don’t talk in street names” (*Kartography* 125); instead, people remember Karachi’s winter as:

dry skin; socks; peanuts roasted in their shells and bought by the pao in bags made of newspaper; peaches that you twist just so to separate them in halves . . . the silence of no fan and no air conditioner; hibiscus flowers; shawls, days at the beach (which involve a litany of their own: salted fish air; turtle tracks ... the concentrated colors of sunset; stars; the rings of sand on the bathtub ... the sheer childhood of it all. (*Kartography* 63)

The cartographic text should then be viewed as a cultural text that ought to go “beyond the assessment of geometric accuracy, beyond the fixing of location, and beyond recognition of topographical patterns and geographies” (Harley “Deconstructing” 8) since “a map that isn’t necessarily drawn up by whoever is in authority allows people to negotiate their way around, making an unfamiliar place familiar” (Kamila Shamsie Interview with Chambers 221-22). Raheen’s idea of place is manifested in homely pleasures accumulated over time. No matter where she lived, Karachi was the place Shamsie, like her protagonist, felt she knew best: “I knew its subtexts, its geography, its manifestations of snobbery and patriarchy, its passions, its seasonal fruits and their different varieties. I knew the sound of the sunset-vocal competition



between its birds (mainly crows) and its muezzins” (“Kamila Shamsie on leaving and returning to Karachi”).

Shamsie is still careful not to uphold either Raheen’s or Karim’s views on mapping their city. She rather uses their interrogation of each other’s outlooks to make them realize that in “merging scientific and literary mapping” their “different mapping strategies are complementary” (Waterman 80). For Raheen it takes the utter desolation of apparently losing both her father and Karim to acknowledge that “I have lived my life in such limiting circles and it’s your voice I hear now, telling me the limited can be so limiting ... Karachi at its worst is a Karachi unconcerned with people who exist outside the storyteller's circles, a Karachi oblivious to people and places who aren’t familiar enough for nicknames” (*Kartography* 297). Similarly, towards the end of the novel, Karim tries to reconcile their divergent cartographic perceptions when he envisions that they can work together on an interactive virtual map, like “Eratosthenes and Strabo working hand-in-hand,” where a basic map of Karachi can be illuminated by stories and memories that are meaningful to the people of Karachi (*Kartography* 301). Shamsie wants to create “different story-maps on Karachi,” and in her own words, the Karachi’s South Side map “is brilliantly wrong about so much” but so is the hand-drawn map because in its intimacy lies its exclusionary qualities as well, as it is meant “only for people who know what Raheen’s talking about” (Shamsie Interview with Chambers 221).

Juxtaposing the two mediums of storytelling and map-making with the insertion of hand-drawn and computer-generated maps into the verbal text, Shamsie produces a creative interplay between the verbal and the visual narrative in representing a city-space as a site of memory of the narrative discontinuities of Pakistan’s history. Shamsie seeks to treat maps of memory not merely as a space of territorial and geographical contestations, but rather as a place of love and

loyalty, and peace and reconciliation, as opposed to the reality of national and ethnic prejudices haunting her – and her protagonists’ – parents’ generation. Raheen’s and Karim’s new maps are infused with their own experiences of place that allows them to overcome the conflict with new national and ethnic identities by triumphing over the geographical fixity of border, something which their parents’ generation could not achieve. The “outmoded or debilitating paradigms of defunction and containment” of Imperial cartography are replaced “with more flexible patterns of transformations and renewal” (Huggan 148) in the text to reinterpret and advocate the map not as a “means of spatial confinement or systematic organization” but rather as a “medium of spatial perception that allows for the reformation of links both within and between cultures” (Huggan 153).

### **Conclusion**

In mapping British India the Raj assumed that it had both created and given “artificial geographical unity” (Edney 16) to an otherwise complex region, and “dismantling that unity would be, at least in part, a British undertaking as well” in a very ironic turn of events (Chester 18). The unhappiness that the award caused both India and Pakistan is evident in the change of the award’s title – before August 15, it was known as the “Boundary Commission Award,” and after its release it became known as the “Radcliffe Award” as an attempt by Indians and Pakistanis to distance themselves from this “British creation” (Chester 110). In a way, Radcliffe “served as a scapegoat for problems associated with the British retreat” because the perfidious lines have come to be associated with him to this day, rather than with Mountbatten, the man who actually headed the British Indian Government (Chester 110). The most important factor contributing to the carnage in Punjab – given its demographic mix of Muslims, Sikhs, and

Hindus – *was* the boundary award, particularly the rumors about its content and the timing of its announcement. No nationalist Indian party would, eventually, see their imagined homeland come to fruition, because the boundary, once established, would inevitably cut across all of the imagined territories at play during the negotiations. The process of Partition made it impossible to reconcile the nationalist claims to imagined territorial homelands.

Although Pakistan was created as a Muslim homeland, Partition of the subcontinent has problematized the identity for Muslims of the region, and “apart from targeting their own non-Muslim minorities, citizens of Pakistan and Bangladesh can merely look helplessly across the borders at the plight of India’s Muslim minority under siege” (Jalal, *Sole*, xvii). Fewer Muslims live in Pakistan than in India and Bangladesh together. In the South Asian region “memories foregrounding religious differences and the violence perpetrated in their name run the risk of erasing other forms of belonging and sharing cutting across communitarian lines” (Jalal, *Pity*, 4). Far from solving the Hindu-Muslim problems, Partition only exacerbated tensions between the two communities by splitting the country into two hostile nation-states. Pakistan in particular is a state that has embraced people on the move – migrants – ever since its chaotic inception in 1947. Like in many postcolonial states, there exists in Pakistan a disjunction between cultural and territorial boundaries. Manto’s own connection to Bombay and Bishan Singh’s to Toba Tek Singh, and Shamsie’s and her protagonists’ to Karachi highlight the arbitrary nature of national boundaries and the deep confusion that ensues when the identity of place – that grounds personal, familial, and collective identities – itself becomes unstable. These texts poignantly establish how 1947 and 1971 bear repercussions for many Pakistanis who were never directly involved in the politics of these two cartographies, yet got caught up in their violence and upheaval.

“Toba Tek Singh” and *Kartography* raise questions about mapmaking, whether one stroke of the cartographer’s pen can wipe off a particular past, whether it is possible to reconcile lived experience with cartographic narratives. The “crisis of identity” that displaced intellectuals like Manto faced, where “a valid and active sense of self ... [was] eroded by *dislocation*” from migration, is reflected in an attempt at “development or recovery” through their stories “of an effective identifying relationship between self and place” (Ashcroft et al 8). Although Shamsie is a Pakistani-born British citizen, she considers her displacement as a starting point, and her stories always gravitate to her roots making her neither a “free-floating intellectual” (Said, *Reflections*, 47) nor “an artist from nowhere and everywhere” (Rushdie *Step Across* 159)<sup>27</sup>. Dismissing all histories that have tended to be state-centered biographies of the nation only serving to naturalize a unified India or Pakistan, the two texts establish Partition refugees as “liminal subject[s]” who were “structurally if not physically, ‘invisible’”(Turner 95). Their status of being “at once no longer classified and not yet classified,” “neither living nor dead from one aspect, and both living and dead from another” made their “condition [as] one of ambiguity and paradox, a confusion of all customary categories” (Turner 96-7).

Espousing the symbolic ways in which “political power is most effectively reproduced, communicated, and experienced through maps” (Harley “Maps” 279) both Manto and Shamsie try to position their writing in the immediate and long-term throes of Partition, respectively, to unravel the impact of uprooted-ness and dislocation that millions felt while crossing a line they had neither drawn nor desired. These writers seem to ask the pertinent questions of the “mass produced and stereo-typed” maps that enforced the identities of migrants and on them: “where, on the page, is the variety of nature, where is the history of the landscape, and where is the

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<sup>27</sup> Both Edward Said (*Representations of the Intellectual*) and Salman Rushdie (*Step Across this Line*) have criticized V S Naipaul for being an ontologically rootless writer in the absence of belonging to no starting points.

space-time of human experience in such anonymized maps” (Harley “Deconstructing” 14)? Personal cartographies associated with space and place can only be restored by an individual’s memory atlas, because a cartographer’s pen replaces the vividness of lived experiences with the fallacy of labelled places on a national map in which “even seas have boundaries” (*Kartography* 24), or as a consequence of which sudden divisions make inhabitants search for a “no-man’s land” (“Toba Tek Singh” 9). In essence, both writers yearn for the pluralist identity of all-inclusiveness promised to the diverse populations of India and Pakistan at the time of Partition, that was sadly subsumed by religiously determined nationalisms. However, as the next chapter explains, signs of ambiguity surrounding such nationalisms were always there.

## 2 A PLURALIST NATIONNESS IN MUMTAZ SHAHNAWAZ'S *THE HEART*

### *DIVIDED* AND MOHSIN HAMID'S *THE RELUCTANT FUNDAMENTALIST*

In that large and liminal image of the nation ... is a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation ... It is an ambivalence that emerges from a growing awareness that, despite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality ... If the ambivalent figure of the nation is a problem of its transitional history, its conceptual indeterminacy, its wavering between vocabularies, then what effect does this have on narratives and discourses that signify a sense of 'nationness'? (Homi K Bhabha "Narrating the Nation" 2)

Colonial cartography's indelible and far-reaching effects are not just evident in the thorny status of South Asian minority populations – as the last chapter discusses – but also in the ambivalent ideas of nationhood surrounding both countries. The Indian Constitution was laid down on secularist laws, yet Hindutva ideals of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) continue to define India's nationalism as strictly religious, and Hindu. Pakistan's demand, on the other hand, came on the basis of religion, yet the country's left-wing elite refuse to subscribe to any notions of religious and state-sponsored nationalism. Contemporary artists and literati including Pakistani English writers, who vehemently propound the spectral dimensions of the Pakistani identity, belong to those same ranks of the country's liberal elite. To understand how Pakistani fiction functions in the creation and advocacy of the idea of a pluralist nationhood, the two novels in this chapter foreground Bhabha's notion of national identity, that is always hybrid, unstable and ambivalent, negotiating between private interests and the public significance given to those interests. Shahnawaz's solo novel, *The Heart Divided*, and Mohsin Hamid's award-winning novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, collectively raise questions about the role of Islam and the formation of the Pakistani nationalist identity through the years. Both texts neither glamorize nor sentimentalize, but rather manifest a strong desire to reject official state nationalism and opt out of the nation. The founders of the Pakistan movement (particularly, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Mohammed Iqbal, M. A. Jinnah, and Liaquat Ali

Khan) were all western educated members of a British colony. The first novel under discussion here, *The Heart Divided*, demonstrates that their vision of Pakistan reflected a secular, more socialist, agenda that aimed at separating religious belief from affairs of state. Why that delicate balance of being a Muslim and a Pakistani in the construction of the Pakistani national identity could not be achieved – and should be achieved – is a debate that concerns most Pakistanis, including contemporary novelists.

In spite of problems of “ambivalence” surrounding the Pakistan’s idea of nationhood due “its conceptual indeterminacy,” contemporary writers like Mohsin Hamid advocate Pakistan as a nation with a long and rich cultural history with a future incumbent on what the current generation of Pakistanis want their country to become. Hamid’s intention is clear when he says Pakistan is no longer Jinnah’s idea but a reality that is here to stay despite predictions of its failure (Hamid, “Why Pakistan Will Survive” 39). The story of this *young* nation with a very *old* cultural heritage and a *diverse* population is still being written – one that dismisses Pakistan’s official ideology of “constructed national myths,” in favor of a more “valid” and “insightful” historical debate on a “much-maligned country” (Jalal, *Struggle* 8-9). In spite of being caught in the midst of decades-long Islamization and terrorism, a rich and vibrant popular culture has been burgeoning in the country’s diverse regional and sub-regional settings. Decades of authoritarianism and state-sponsored nationalism have only strengthened the appeal of resistance themes and counter-narratives innovatively inherent in Pakistani artistic and literary expressions. This “dazzling array of new directions” illustrated by the corpus of contemporary art, literature, and music being produced by Pakistanis “displays an ongoing tussle between an officially constructed ideology of nationalism and relatively autonomous social and cultural processes in the constructions of a ‘national culture’” (Jalal, *Struggle* 394).

The fact, however, remains that Pakistan, despite the shared religion of its overwhelmingly Muslim population, faces a precarious struggle to define a national identity and evolve a political system for its linguistically diverse population. Of the more than twenty languages and 300 distinct dialects spoken in Pakistan, Urdu and English remain its official languages; Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Seraiki are the other main languages. Political developments in Pakistan continue to be marred by chronic provincial jealousies and, in particular, by the deep resentments in the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) against what they consider to be a monopoly by the Punjabi majority over the benefits of power, profit, and patronage. The 1971 breakaway of East Pakistan epitomizes Pakistan's dilemma as a decentralized nation. After the demise of Jinnah's Muslim League and in the absence of any nationally based political party, Pakistan has long relied on the civil service and the army<sup>28</sup> to maintain the continuities of government. While the country's official history falls short of explaining "the gaping inconsistencies between the claims of Muslim nationalism and the actual achievement of statehood at the moment of the British withdrawal" (Jalal, *Struggle* 12), at the root of Pakistan's national identity crisis is the unresolved debate on how to square the state's self-proclaimed Islamic identity with the obligations of a modern nation-state.

For a better understanding of the intricacies surrounding the Pakistani national identity, we need to, once again, examine the complex legacies of Partition for both countries. South Asia's experience with post-independence nation-building proved quite complicated, in part because the borders separating India from East and West Pakistan seemed arbitrary. Well after August 17, 1947, however, a vast majority of the beguiled population facing migration and

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<sup>28</sup>Pakistan's army, which emerged out of the army that existed under the British, was the country's most firmly established institution, and its most self-confident. Witnessing the weaknesses of the civilian political establishment, it intervened frequently and vigorously in national politics to become, in effect, Pakistan's oldest and most powerful political party.



displacement had little to no knowledge about the specifics of which country now claimed what space or for how long. For several months after independence, rumors of reunification persisted in India, as “many – even in the highest political circles – thought that Pakistan simply would not last” (Pandey 42). Pakistan, of course, *lasted*, so well and at such odds with India that in spite of lingering questions about borders and national identities, it is quite evident that Jinnah’s nation is not going to disappear from the world map in a hurry.

At the moment of Partition, both Indian and Pakistani national identities were still gestational. The many populations who experienced displacement had no prior affiliation with these new national identities. Confused citizens of India and Pakistan were kept largely in the dark about “what was being delivered, what kind of states were coming into existence and what their ideological orientation would mean for the inhabitants of those states” (Khan, Yasmin 702). The assumption of this “new macro-identity” officially and permanently displaced people from their prior homes, and replaced the concrete relationships embedded in their everyday lives by a forced attachment of their loyalties to nationalist abstractions. Furthermore,

The particular irony of independence, and its interlocking with partition, was the way in which it forced a new moment of national identification. From myriad, localized groups, patriotic allegiance to either India or Pakistan was now mandatory. No Muslim was immune now from the charge of disloyalty and many had to bend over backwards to try and prove themselves. (Khan Y. 697)

Since the two states only allowed citizens to adopt either a “national loyalty to India” or a “national loyalty to Pakistan,” questions about national identity persisted years after Partition (Khan Y., 697). People had no clear answers to many questions such as, “had those Muslims who had gone to Pakistan and then returned to India really displayed their loyalty to the state” or whether “the creation of one state, both states or none” should be celebrated (Khan Y, 697-98)? Quite significantly, most people remained unimpressed and unmotivated by these ideologies as

many questions remained largely unanswered about the true nature of Indian and Pakistani citizenships.

Complications over issues of national identity were justified, in part, because as the first states to gain independence from the British colonial rule, India and Pakistan had no precedents to learn from. Independence from colonial empire became a time of painful transition for both nations, leading to the emergence of new nationalisms and sovereign forms. Religious identity took precedence over other ways of being and relating to each other, and in the immediate aftermath of Partition “national ‘belonging’ became a sharply polarized and contested matter with life-and-death consequences” (Gopal 69) in both new nation states. The line between “religious rituals, holy institutions and the national cause” soon became blurred as official state celebrations in both countries included a religious component: for instance, Pakistan Radio’s announcement on the midnight of 14<sup>th</sup> August about the birth of Pakistan was followed by readings from the Quran, while in New Delhi, Nehru and his ministers “sat cross-legged around a holy fire as Hindu priests from Tanjore chanted hymns and sprinkled holy water on them” (Khan Y. 689-99). In those moments, Pakistan and India became Muslim and Hindu states, respectively, in spite of the secularist avowals of their leaders.

In the two decades leading up to the Partition, the Muslim *community* turned into a *nation*. This was the time of the 1930s and 1940s<sup>29</sup> when the All India Muslim League (AIML) negotiated with the All India National Congress and the British for Muslim right to separate electorates on the basis of the “Two-Nation” theory<sup>30</sup>. The Muslim nationalism promoted by the

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<sup>29</sup> Mumtaz Shahnawaz chronicles this time in *The Heart Divided*.

<sup>30</sup> At the base of this idea was the fact that Indian Muslims of the Subcontinent were a distinct and separate nation from the Hindus with the right to separate electorates. When talks of parity at the center failed, the League demanded self-determination for Muslim-majority areas in the form of a sovereign state promising minorities equal rights and safeguards in these Muslim majority areas.

AIML during the endgame of the British Raj became Pakistan's prevailing nationalism after the party assumed ineluctable leadership in the new nation. The "representations of unity through a shared Muslim identity carried over from Muslim to Pakistani nationalism," just like Urdu was privileged over Pakistan's regional languages to foster that harmony (Cilano, *Idea 2*). The ironical fissures between the Pakistani state and nation were portrayed by the fact that as much as the Muslim League "sought to transcend divisions among Muslims through the emergent state and the formation of the moral sovereign," the cultural diversity of Pakistan's population "remained in perpetual tension to this order" (Ali, Kamran. A. 3). The new state of Pakistan, consequently, toiled to define a single national identity for its very diverse peoples with very different goals<sup>31</sup> who became its citizens either through the drawing of contested boundary lines or through migration from India at the time of Partition. Jinnah's speech to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan as the first Governor General of the newly-created Pakistan, as well as his other public speeches<sup>32</sup> throughout the first year of Pakistan's inception, asserted a very strong and clear insistence that Pakistan would be a modern, democratic state that guaranteed equal freedom for all religions. Jinnah emphatically stated in his famous speech:

To make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed ... We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community ... will vanish ... You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with

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<sup>31</sup> Ayesha Jalal, for instance, states in *The Sole Spokesman* that the elite of the provinces that became part of Pakistan were marked by "individualism and particularism," and were more interested in attaining self-rule than be dominated by any central authority like the Muslim League.

<sup>32</sup> In another speech, Jinnah sketched a vision of Pakistan as follows: "We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State" (Jinnah, "On his Election" 17).

the business of the State. (Jinnah's address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, August 11, 1947)

Jinnah's public addresses provide a striking prologue to the long debate on the place of Islam in modern Pakistan. As a true liberal, Jinnah believed that by having regional autonomy Muslims could escape the iron box of permanent minority status and hence enjoy the privileges of rights-bearing individuals. He averred that in Pakistan the role of Islam would be no different from that of other religions. But because Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, he had little opportunity to give constitutional form to his ideas.

Jinnah's demise left the nascent state of Pakistan orphaned and grappling with the ambiguity surrounding the purposes of its creation – was it to be simply a national state of Muslims or a theocratic Islamic state based on Shariah (dogmatic Islam laws)? Jinnah himself was unable to provide a clear answer, although his formal statements envisioned a modern Muslim state accompanied by assurances to the religious elite that Shariah would apply to Pakistani Muslims (*Constituent Assembly Debates*, 46). As many who identified themselves as Muslims in the Indian census records rallied to the call of the AIML for the creation of Pakistan, what remained concerning was that Indian Muslims as a community were neither geographically distinct nor homogenous; their political worldview, additionally, was anything but unanimous. Despite a common faith that informed their religiously shared cultural identity, the idea of Pakistan was, then, conceptualized variously by different people. The agriculturalists viewed Pakistan as a way toward “continued leadership,” while the peasants found an opportunity to gain “freedom from the yoke of Hindu money-lenders”; the Islamists could now create their desired Islamic state, whereas the Muslim intelligentsia and the poorer classes could finally find dignity in “social and economic justice”; the regional leaders saw in Pakistan a hope for greater

autonomy than in a Congress-dominated united India, while the Muslim bourgeoisie anticipated the necessary environment that would foster their potential. Finally, the military's "central role" in the new nation would ensure that the "civilian political process was dependent from the very beginning upon its support and active participation" (Ahmed, I. 80-81).

The strategic and economic consequences from partition with India as well as the dependency Pakistan forged with the US since the 1950s are largely responsible for the country's struggle at defining a single national identity. Since the pro-Western tilt of Pakistan's senior bureaucrats and military officials with their active solicitation of American patronage (especially during the martial law regimes) has considerably rattled the left wing in the country, an examination of Pakistani-US relations is very important to understand the second novel under discussion in this chapter, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*. Post-World War II and at the time of Pakistan's birth, the US emerged as a superpower and together with the parting British decreed that having Pakistan as a Muslim state bordering Afghanistan and the USSR would be strategically significant in containing the influence of Soviet communism beyond the India's northwestern borders. While Pakistan's first military (1958-1969) and Washington engaged in cracking down the left-wing parties and nascent labor and peasant movements, it was after the breakaway of East and West Pakistan and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that "the concordance of interests between an American-backed Pakistani military regime and right-wing parties using religion came into its own" (Jalal *Struggle* 385). The resulting violence, corruption, and crime fueled by involvement in the Afghan war, spanning forty years now, has gravely destabilized Pakistan. Jalal explains this damage:

America's funding of Islamist groups of varying stripes and colors against the Soviet Union gave the Afghan "jihad" a global character, with Pakistan's northwestern tribal areas serving as the main staging ground. Muslim radicals from the Middle East, Central Asia, Europe, and North America flocked to Pakistan where, along with over 3 million

Afghan refugees, they were welcomed by General Zia-ul-Haq's military regime [1977-1988]. Arab ideologues frustrated with the repressive nature of the regimes in their home countries found a ready outlet in Pakistan of the 1980s ... Once the Soviet withdrawal led to the loss of American interest in Afghanistan, the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence]<sup>33</sup> crafted the Taliban in 1996 to avoid losing skirmish after winning the war. (*Struggle* 385)

Devastating effects on the country's local sectarian balance have been left by rivalries for regional supremacy between Saudi Arabia and Iran, as well as between Tehran and Baghdad (during the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-1988) that were played out on Pakistani soil. The situation remains especially precarious in Pakistan's northwestern provinces – KPK and Baluchistan – whose proximity to Afghanistan has made them particularly vulnerable to the collateral damage of the US-led wars against the Soviet Army and Al Qaeda. Although “mutual distrust” and “a clear divergence of interests” mark the US-Pakistani interdependency, the alliance between the two countries suffered “exponentially during the American-sanctioned ‘jihad’ against ungodly communism in the 1980s” (Jalal, *Struggle* 386). Followed by a decade long rupture in the early 1990s, this interdependency saw a formal revival in 2001, in the wake of 9/11.

Despite the challenges Pakistan faces, one thing is certain: power equations have changed. The country's state of martial law is not in a position any more to exercise power without some combination of army and political parties legitimizing that arrangement. The future course of democracy in Pakistan and its ability to be a responsible and valued member of the international community is inextricably linked to the capacity of Prime Minister Imran Khan's democratically elected government in overcoming terror, in strengthening a weakened judicial system, and in eradicating the effects of decades of military dominance. Putting to rest all speculations about Pakistan being a “failing” or “failed” state, in the last decade, its citizens have

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<sup>33</sup> The American CIA assisted the ISI's makeover, Jalal explains, into the most powerful institution of the Pakistani state with deep pockets and interests in practically all sectors of the national economy.

elected two democratic governments, in 2013 and 2018. In more than seventy years since the country's birth, this has been the first democratic transfer of power from one civilian government to another. Pakistan's ordinary citizens, who occupy a broad social and political spectrum, continue to question the reasons for their country's perilous condition and to seek reprieve from violence and uncertainty. Jinnah's nation is not altogether without hope and eagerly wants the state to start delivering.

Looking at set of two novels written at two very different, yet defining, moments of the Pakistan's history, this chapter advocates an end to officially-endorsed national identities and promotes the recognition of historical experience as an equalizing force. "A seamlessly whole Pakistani national identity," consequently, becomes "a discursive construction, at odds with the on-the-ground realities of every decade of Pakistani lived history" through these texts (Cilano, *Nationalist Identities* 30). Published in 1957 and 2007 and serving as bookends of Pakistan's history, the two novels attempt to foster a harmonious co-mingling of all communities that call Pakistan "home." By questioning the idea of state-propagated nationalism in the lives of ordinary Pakistanis, this chapter continues with the preoccupation of the previous chapter in exploring the status of those peoples who became thoroughly compromised, overnight, as minorities by perfidious lines of cartography implemented by the colonial state. Beginning with the Survey of India Maps and ending in Radcliffe's Boundary Commission's Partition Map, Imperial maps, as supposed repositories of objective and verifiable realities, became those capricious sites of a new forced understanding of the South Asian space – both geographically and nationalistically – that allegedly enjoyed cultural unity for three thousand years. In the same vein as the authors of the previous chapter, the two authors in this chapter, with their young and prodding protagonists,

convey a deep longing for the pluralist society of the pre-nationalist/pre-Partition subcontinent as well as for Jinnah's vision of communal harmony in the newly-established Pakistan.

## 2.1 Ethos of Egalitarianism and Liberty in Mumtaz Shahnawaz *The Heart Divided*

*The Heart Divided*, originally composed during the 1940s and published in 1957 posthumously, continues Manto's literary engagement with the gaping ambiguities surrounding the role nationalism would play in the new nation-state of Pakistan. While Manto uses the tropes of madness and displacement in "Toba Tek Singh," Shahnawaz employs the metaphor of a divided heart/partitioned subcontinent and the ambivalent nationalist belonging of her main protagonist, Zohra, to help the readers reimagine the moment of Partition against an emerging nationalist framework. The contesting voices of uncertainty and confusion at the time, that Shahnawaz captures so well, debated the course that Pakistan's social, political, and cultural life will take.

Just months after Partition, and while Pakistan and India were locked in their first War over Kashmir, Shahnawaz was en route to New York, in April 1948 – to discuss the impending UN Security Council resolution on Kashmir with the *New York Herald Tribune* and arrange the publication of her book – when her flight crashed in Ireland, killing all aboard. In the US – a destination she would never reach – Shahnawaz had expected not just to represent Pakistan at the UN Security Council meeting, but also to spend some time touring with her brother and give lectures about the newly created Pakistan at various places. When *The Heart Divided* was published posthumously by her family as an unedited manuscript, it became the first English language novel to be written in Pakistan. As an important contribution to Partition literature with its actual composition between 1943-1948, Shahnawaz's novel predates the iconic Partition novels of Khuswant Singh (*Train to Pakistan*, 1956) and Attia Hosain (*Sunlight on a Broken*



*Column*, 1961). The novel, however, remains out of print both in Pakistan and India since 1990. While the other Partition novels were written as reflections, Shahnawaz's text is significant for its contemporaneity.

Shahnawaz (1912-1948), popularly known as Tazi, belonged to a family of landowning Muslim Leaguers,<sup>34</sup> committed to reform, progress, Anglicization, and modernity, and this background allowed her to play an important role in the freedom struggle, first as a member of the Congress Party and then through the Muslim League. She accompanied her mother and grandfather to London, in 1930, to attend the Round Table Conference<sup>35</sup>. As the demand for Pakistan gained momentum in Punjab and Partition drew near, Begum Jahan Ara, Mumtaz's mother, recalled the unrest of January 1947 in her autobiography, *Father and Daughter*, that was published in 1971. While Muslim leaguer women were on the front lines with men participating in protest in Lahore, both mother and daughter were arrested at one point and put into jail by the Punjab Congress government. Begum Jahan Ara described this incident:

The processions were lathi-charged and women were tear-gassed, including my mother ... prominent women leaders ... from different provinces had also come to Lahore and taken part in the processions. Tazi refused to sit still even in jail and she, along with other girl students, made a Muslim League flag out of their dopattas and quietly climbed to the

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<sup>34</sup> Her maternal grandfather, Mian Sir Muhammed Shafi, was a Cambridge educated lawyer and head of the Punjab Muslim League. The All India Muslim League gained strength and became the sole representative political party for Indian Muslims when, in 1930, the Shafi faction of the Punjabi Muslims joined hands with the Jinnah faction.

<sup>35</sup> In response to the inadequacy of the Simon Commission the British Labour Government decided to hold a series of Round Table Conferences in London. The Commission was comprised of 7 British politicians who visited India to study constitutional reforms, and their report was boycotted by Indians because the commission had not included them. The first Round Table Conference convened from 12 November 1930 to 19 January 1931. Prior to the Conference, Gandhi had initiated the Civil Disobedience Movement on behalf of the Congress. Since many of the Congress' leaders were in jail, Congress did not participate in the first conference, but representatives from all other Indian parties and a number of Princes did. The outcomes of the first Round Table Conference were minimal: India was to develop into a federation, safeguards regarding defense and finance were agreed and other departments were to be transferred. However, little was done to implement these recommendations and civil disobedience continued in India.

roof of the jail and planted it there. The Lady Superintendent, a Sikh lady, had Tazi beaten and she fainted<sup>36</sup>. (J Shahnawaz 197)

During her visit to London, in 1930, Mumtaz Shahnawaz had a poem published in *The Spectator*, and met George Bernard Shaw, whose spirited opinion – “You are a diabolically clever girl. You won’t come to a good end” (qtd in Shamsie M., *Hybrid* 91) -- proved to be prophetic. In her autobiography, Begum Jahan Ara remembers that time as losing not just “a brilliant daughter” but also her “best friend,” whose last words, before she left for the US, were: “I will return home *when Kashmir becomes part of Pakistan*<sup>37</sup>. I wish to build a hut there and settle in it. Please mother, remember *the new state must be a progressive Muslim State* and you must never forget to work for it” (my own italics, Shahnawaz J., 224). Ironically, Shahnawaz did not live long enough to be disappointed on either of those two counts.

The novel is contemporaneous, semi-autobiographical account of the two decades that lead to the formation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and the novel’s protagonist Zohra’s political switch from the Congress to the AIML parallels that of the author’s. Shahnawaz started her political career with the Congress as an ardent nationalist, but despite her family’s proximity to the Nehru family, she became disillusioned by the Congress and joined the AIML in 1942. Thereafter, Shahnawaz worked tirelessly alongside Jinnah and the AIML in the demand for Pakistan. Interacting with leaders and public figures, she helped her mother organize the Punjab Muslim League committee at divisional and district levels. In Punjab, Shahnawaz worked in

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<sup>36</sup> “Lathi” is an Urdu word for a baton. Lathi charge is a coordinated tactic used by police to disperse crowds of people protesting in public places.

<sup>37</sup> In the *Heart*, Shah Nawaz establishes the centrality of Kashmir to the imagined geography of the as-yet-unrealized nation of Pakistan (in the story) through descriptions of the landscape that emphasize the geological unity of the area by following the course of the river Jhelum in reverse. The river Jhelum, like many other rivers of the subcontinent that are part of the Indus basin, has its headwaters in Indian Kashmir and then flows westward into Pakistan.

refugee camps during and after the Partition riots, and organized *The Women's Voluntary Service* in Pakistan. The biographical note to *Heart's* 1957 first edition states that Mumtaz was always to be “found where the battle for freedom raged the fiercest” – be it in Kashmir when liberation groups resisted the occupation of the valley by Indian troops in 1947, or in Baramula where she risked her life to evacuate the nuns of an American missionary convent to safety during the bombing by Indian planes (Khan, Ashfaq A). Zohra and her sister, Sughra, follow a similar course in the novel as they toil relentlessly to bring the AIML's message of equality and freedom to the larger disenfranchised Muslim communities, especially to the Muslim female population.

Shahnawaz's novel not only depicts the emotional cost of Partition wrought on the peoples of the subcontinent, but also explores the challenges inherent to the creation of a secular, multi-faith society which started emerging as the idea and reality of Pakistan began to evolve. *The Heart Divided* chronicles the Pakistani ideology – and the version of nationalism – that was promoted by the AIML in the final years of the British Raj in its fictive portrayal of the Jamaluddin family. The League's genesis of Muslim nationalism became Pakistan's prevailing nationalism, but ever since Jinnah's death shortly after Partition, the Pakistani government had little success in defining Islam or its relationship to national identities and to the state. The political ambivalences of Shahnawaz's characters, Zohra particularly, whom Shahnawaz models on her own self, and the varied, sometimes even dissimilar, Islamic practices across the newly mapped region of Pakistan testify to the lack of “political consensus” or “mandate” (Khan, Naveeda 6) amongst Indian Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. It is hard to view Pakistan as an integrated imagined community of Benedict Anderson, because of the many languages spoken there (despite Urdu being the official language) and the many ways the dominant religion of Islam continues to get practiced there.

Divided into two parts, the narrative takes us back to 1930. That is the year, in Zohra's recollection, "when" that particular "change" happened in "the lives of all girls of her generation" that keeps them woven together "like many-coloured threads of an intricate pattern" (Shahnawaz 1). Following a linear narrative, thereafter, the novel is set in a specific point in time before the Partition when an independent India and a non-territorialized Muslim nation were merely political visions. The novel follows the lives of the three Jamaluddin siblings, Habib, Sughra, and Zohra, and through their political beliefs and activism, makes a case for Pakistan's creation. Unlike *The Heart Divided* that was written in close proximity to the period it charts, many narratives of Partition are reflective and focus on the violence and human cost of Partition, often excluding the story of the nation and of national politics. Shahnawaz's particularity also lies in the fact that it "works to normalize Partition's processes in a way that much Partition fiction does not" by approaching the division of the subcontinent through "discussion of human relationships as they are understood by and through national politics ... [making] political events and contexts ... as central to the story as the characters ... [where] emotions are not simply interpersonal, but also reflective and constitutive of national politics" (Saeed 536-37). The novel ends in 1942 with the powerful ascent of the AIML under Jinnah, and the political coming together of the three Jamaluddin children in spite of their earlier ideological differences with the AIML.

Shahnawaz establishes a plural pre-Partition society of Hindus and Muslims living in adjacency for centuries, while maintaining a distinct community identity from each other at the same time. The harmony and cultural synthesis between the two communities is best manifested in a touchingly symbolic gesture between neighbors and close friends of Lahore, Sheikh Jamaluddin (a Muslim landowning aristocrat) and Diwan Kailash Nath Kaul (a Hindu Kashmiri

pandit) who exchange turbans and take the vow of brotherhood (Shahnawaz 18). There is, additionally, a presence of rare Persian and Urdu manuscripts in the library of the Hindu Kauls, where the Jamaluddins and Kauls often get together to recite the poetry of Hafiz, Saadi, and Ghalib<sup>38</sup> (Shahnawaz 18). The Kaul family speaks the pure Urdu of Delhi and Lucknow (Shahnawaz 31) and pride themselves upon their common culture with the Muslims (Shahnawaz 13). Sheikh Jamaluddin's daughter, Zohra, and Diwan Kaul's granddaughter, Mohini, are also best friends and active members of the Congress. Zohra disagrees with her father's disillusionment with the Congress' Hindu stance, asserting "the fight is on ... we [as Muslims] cannot remain out of it" (Shahnawaz 27). She supports Mohini and the Congress when Mohini is jailed for an anti-British procession and goes against her parents' wishes to convey Mohini's statement to the press, that includes: "We don't recognize this alien government that has enslaved and imprisoned our people ... Onward into battle, sons and daughters of Hindustan! Long live our Mother-land! The day of freedom is dawning" (Shahnawaz 50).

But amidst a fast-changing socio-political climate of the country, Muslims become aware of their religious differences with the Hindus as well as an uncertain minority status in an independent India. Both Zohra and Mohini watch this development in horror as they firmly believe that there is a stronger chance of gaining freedom if all Indians stand united against the colonizers. Mohini warns of a doomed end to the pluralistic traditions of the subcontinent halfway through the novel:

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<sup>38</sup> **Saadi** (1213 – 1291) was a Persian poet, considered to be one of the greatest figures in classical Persian literature. Best known for *Bustan (The Orchard, 1257)* written in epic meter, and *Gulistan (The Rose Garden, 1258)* written mainly in prose. **Hafiz** (1320-1389) was also a Persian Sufi poet and considered as one of the seven literary wonders of the world. Best known for *Divan-e-Hafiz*, a collected work that contains 573 – 994 poems in varied editions. **Ghalib** (1797-1869) was an Urdu poet of the Subcontinent, who wrote in both Persian and Urdu. Best known for writing *ghazals* (200 of which are collected in *Divan-e-Ghalib*), Ghalib saw the downfall of the Mughal Empire and colonization of his land by the British.

If we are to be a free country, we must break down these walls that divide our people. So many communities inhabit this land of ours and each has its own creed and way of life, but that should not lead to disunity. Yet we are disunited, because we don't mix and mingle together as we should. Now, we must build a nation...and young people like us, must have the courage to break down such customs and traditions as come in the way of unity. You are not merely you, and I'm not just I. We represent two parts of a great people...that must harmonize and pull together, if we are to gain freedom. ( Shahnawaz 177)

The harmful effects of a nationalism that divides community and identity sharply between Hindus and Muslims are further expressed by Mohini who, upon being admonished by her father for falling in love (with the Muslim Habib Jamaluddin) fervently inquires: "Is there not a greater law than the law of communities? The law of humanity that denies any barrier between man and man ... were you going to build your nationalism upon the flimsy foundation of communal barriers?" (Shahnawaz 199). A deep sense of discord and transforming times becomes visible at both personal and community levels.

Parallel to the rising Hindu-Muslim disunity, the novel establishes a conflict between traditions of antiquity and modernity by describing the rapidly-changing times in the personal lives of the Jamaluddin family. This conflict gets "resolved" within the context of the Pakistan movement which not only provides a "telos" in which "major life-transforming decisions are made" but also renders "a unifying ideology in an otherwise fragmented polity" (Wilmer, "Islamic State as Telos" 414). The disagreements within the family can be observed from many instances. Sheikh Jamaluddin is an Anglicized Muslim lawyer in Lahore, but his wife, Mehrunissa, is more traditional and reticent about discarding the purdah and adapting to western ways. Their two daughters, Sughra and Zohra, unlike Mehrunissa, "felt more at home in the rooms which [their father] had furnished according to his more modern taste" (Shahnawaz 5). Both sisters set out to follow different ambitions in the beginning of the novel – Sughra prepares to marry her cousin, Mansur, and move to the nearby city of Multan, while Zohra pursues

educational opportunities at the behest of her father. Their British-educated brother, Habib Jamaluddin, falls in love first with Zohra's politically-engaged Hindu friend, Mohini, and later with a divorcee; his refusal to settle for an arranged marriage symbolizes a resistance to family traditions and moving toward modern ways. Zohra is also the one who questions the restrictions imposed by the purdah (that she ultimately discards) and argues to take part in inter-collegiate debates.

The adoption of modern ways by the Jamaluddin children and Hindu-Muslim disagreements become metaphors for a deviation from traditions of collective belonging in a unified India. The fact that Indian national politics result in an irreconcilable friction between Hindus and Muslims is first seen in the novel when Sheikh Jamaluddin parts with the Congress, and later, when Habib falls for the Hindu Mohini in a doomed affair. While Mohini's grandfather finds the views of Sheikh Jamaluddin and the AIML "not quite fair" (Shahnawaz 131) and thinks it "absurd and retrograde" (Shahnawaz 136) for the Congress to accept Muslim stipulations for separate electorates, Mohini only longs for Hindu-Muslim unity "as it will bring the freedom of India nearer" (Shahnawaz 136). Even though Habib and Mohini's relationship is based on equality and respect, their alliance is rejected by both families on the basis of religion, and Mohini is swiftly whisked away to Kashmir where she tragically succumbs to tuberculosis. Shahnawaz uses the transgressive inter-community romance and its disastrous outcome illustrated by the two families' bitter opposition of the alliance which is followed by Mohini's tragic death, as a symbol of the impossibility of Congress-League unity. Mohini's grandfather warns her that "You two would only bring dishonour and ridicule upon both households and thus tear them apart forever" (Shahnawaz 201), while an enraged Sheikh Jamaluddin asks his son, "By what law and custom can you unite her life with your own? Hindu law forbids it, Muslim

law disallows it, Indian laws make no provision for it” (Shahnawaz 203). The new decade of the 1940s catapults the Indian nation closer to freedom from the British, yet away from each other as the League and Congress fail to come to terms on how an undivided and independent India will be shared by Hindus and Muslims.

The *heart* of the community begins to experience the reverberations of its impending *division*. Like many Indian Muslims, Zohra is dejected at the sad reality that the “tremendous political and anti-imperialist awakening among the Muslim people” had become a force demanding separation (Shahnawaz 436). Strongly influenced by the national movement of the 1930s, her patriotic fervor had only known to “love” and “idolize” India “as the motherland for which each of her sons and daughters must live and die” (Shahnawaz 436). The fact that the demand for Partition is coming from her very own people, like her father, uncle, and brother “whose integrity she could not question” makes her profoundly unhappy and unable to determine “who was right and who was wrong” (Shahnawaz 436). We see her confused stupor, a brilliant metaphor for the Indian Muslim nation who supported Jinnah’s Pakistan demand yet remained unclear of the League’s nationalist agenda:

[Zohra] could not find an interest in anything ... her work became distasteful to her and she turned away from it with a feeling of nostalgia. Each day she sat for many hours in her room thinking deeply about things and arriving at no conclusion ... Pakistan, the name was strange for her and did not arouse a deep tenderness like the word ‘India,’ yet for millions of people it had already become the promised land and she could see that the adherents of the new idea were growing daily (Shahnawaz 436).

That these “adherents” are also the majority of Muslim students in her own college who begin to avoid her on the pretext that “Miss Jamaluddin is anti-League” and pro-Congress completely unsettles Zohra. She gains the attention of another group, “the Hindu and Sikh girls , and very few ‘nationalist’ Muslims,” but she does not find solace from that; rather, the troubled times of



an uncertain change that the entire Indian nation is experiencing are depicted through Zohra's lament: "what are we coming to? This division has entered all hearts, this hatred is spreading. Where shall it lead us? Where can it lead us?" (Shahnawaz 436). Shahnawaz's text is one of the few in Pakistani English writing to recognize that "honest Muslims and Hindus could be both for and against" the AIML's demand for Pakistan based on the two-nation theory, for this fact is "endorsed by very few writers in Pakistan" (Rahman, *History*, 25).

The critical moment of its inception accords a double significance to *The Heart Divided* not just Pakistani Anglophone literature but Partition literature as well. The text is hailed as an eye-witness account to events that led to the demand for Pakistan, and one of the episodes that best manifests this is the historic 1940 AIML session in Lahore. Now commemorated as a national holiday in Pakistan on March 23, Shahnawaz describes the occasion as one "that was to change the destiny of the Muslim people" (Shahnawaz 431). Both sisters witness this session, narrated in great detail as they sit in their car which crawls "through a surging sea of humanity" (Shahnawaz 432) for two miles before arriving at the enclosure where the meeting is to be held. Jinnah and his sister arrive amid an electric atmosphere and enthusiastic cries of "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad<sup>39</sup>!" (Shahnawaz 432) and there is no denying the fact that "Muslim Punjab was awake at last and that it was Muslim League that had awakened it" (Shahnawaz 433). Jinnah's presidential speech, that became known as the Lahore Resolution later, articulates the demand for Pakistan for the first time, asserting that India's ninety million Muslims are not a minority but a nation. Jinnah's makes it clear in the Lahore Resolution that he will not accept any constitutional plan "unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with

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<sup>39</sup> *Quaid-i-Azam* is translated as the "Great Leader" and *Zindabad* is translated as "long live" – hence, Long live, the great leader!

such territorial readjustments as may be necessary” in Muslims-majority areas; and, so, he shares his proposal with his people of grouping the north western and eastern zones of India “to constitute ‘independent states’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign” (Jinnah qtd in Shahnawaz 434).

Jinnah’s mesmerizing effect on the Muslim nation and the appeal of his all-inclusive vision of Pakistan are described in the novel in detail. As Jinnah addresses the crowd at the Lahore session, there falls a “pin-drop silence” as thousands of men and women listened to him in devotion and “broke into wild cheering” when told that their civil liberties would be restored (Shahnawaz 434). Jinnah’s plan for “independent states” of Muslim majority in a Hindu-dominated subcontinent was not based on references to “any Islamic convention” (that many Hindu historians contend) but was founded on “contemporary internationalist discourse on territorial nationalism and the doctrine of self-determination” where India’s division into autonomous states would prevent one nation from dominating the other (Jalal, *Struggle* 13). Although, in the novel, Zohra marvels at the hypnotizing effect Jinnah has on his followers, she cannot help feeling “sick at heart” realizing the fading of her “dream of Hindu-Muslim unity in an India free and whole” (Shahnawaz 435). At the same time, however, she also senses in the eyes of the crowd “the dawn of a new ideal, an ideal that had already gripped their hearts” (Shahnawaz 435). Sughra, like many in the crowd, appears transfixed, and on her face is the “look of a visionary” with little doubt in her mind that for the Muslim nation “the road to freedom lay before them” (Shahnawaz 435). Zohra’s consternation possibly results from the League’s ambiguity on specifying the exact geographical boundaries of the Muslim states in the “north western and eastern zones of India” and the League’s propaganda around the idea of one

Muslim state when a plurality of Muslim sovereignties is implied by “independent states”<sup>40</sup>.

Finally, the League had claimed to speak on behalf of all Indian Muslims, yet its objective left a substantial number of Muslims outside the ambit of Muslim sovereignty.

Even though Jinnah’s demand for Pakistan was beset by several obscurities, the success of the Pakistan movement demonstrates that his political dynamism mobilized many Indian Muslims, including Muslim women who had hitherto been confined to the domestic realm. Near the beginning of the same speech, Jinnah proclaims, “it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes, even under purdah ... if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about” (Jinnah, Lahore Resolution, 1940). “It is perhaps no mere coincidence, then,” observes David Willmer, “that Jinnah made his statement about ‘awakening the political consciousness’ of Muslim women at the same session of the AIML at which the demand for Pakistan was made official” (Willmer “Women as Participants” 574). Willmer further affirms that the AIML’s “discourse on women” was, in fact, generated by “already existing social tensions around gender and modernization as the source of its rhetoric,” and that “many Muslim women were, in Begum Jahan Ara’s words, ‘more impatient for Pakistan than men’” (Willmer “Women as Participants” 574). Both Shahnawaz’s novel, through the active political engagement of Zohra, Sughra, and their other

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<sup>40</sup>The quoted part of the Lahore Resolution used five different words to refer to the constituent parts of the territory being visualized for the re-structuring of Muslim majority areas under British colonial occupation into a condition of sovereign independence: *units, regions, areas, zones and states*. As journalist-turned-politician, Javed Jabbar, states in his article, “The Territorial Dimension of the Lahore Resolution” that “this multiplicity seems to have been deliberate strategy. Primarily, to keep the British and the Congress guessing about the precise intent of the Muslim League, and partly to allow ambiguity for some time which could encourage the evolution of a consensus within the League itself about the exact composition of the proposed new edifice (or edifices). The original term of plurality as in the words “independent states” in the text of the Resolution became a singularity about two years later when Mr Jinnah ascribed the “s” as a typographical error.”

female contemporaries, as well as Begum Jahan Ara's autobiographical account of the vital role played by the League women in Lahore, strongly testify to the fact that political awakening of Muslim women was inextricably linked to the struggle for a separate Muslim state in India. Muneeza Shamsie describes the time chronicled in *The Heart Divided* as a phase of female emancipation in the subcontinent:

In 1935, the British enlarged the voting base considerably and held provincial assembly elections in 1937, which gave the provinces a large measure of self-government and allocated a few seats to women ... In 1938, the Muslim League established its women's wing, the All-India Women's Subcommittee ... and established branches in every province. This created a great networking and politicization of Muslim women. (*Hybrid Tapestries* 90)

While the novel foreshadows a radical change that awaits a subcontinent which stands so bitterly divided for the first time in its 3000-year history in the irreconcilable rift between the AIML and the Congress, it also signals Socialism as the "only philosophy which can ameliorate the lot of the poor in India" (Rahman 29). This advocacy for socialism is brought about because at the moment when the decolonization of the subcontinent is taking form as a realistic goal, the British government suspends civil liberties in the aftermath of World War II. Countless workers and leaders are arrested for trade union activities. Zohra, whose love interest, Ahmed, is also among them, becomes active in organizing strikes and protests, negotiates with the employers on behalf of the workers, and confronts police violence head on. Zohra is also moved to believe by Rajinder, her Communist Oxford-returned friend, that workers and peasants have the same sufferings and whether they are Hindus or Muslims they will stand in unity. Rajinder further encourages her to take the unorthodox step of moving to another city and taking up work as a teacher, where she becomes "genuinely interested in the progress of the girls who were studying under her supervision" (Shahnawaz 427). It is in this new city of Amritsar that Ahmed inspires

Zohra to work toward egalitarian goals and at the same time respect the right of different communities to self-determination. Zohra, however, is not the only one of the Jamaluddin children to veer away from family traditions, Sughra also leaves her husband Mansur in another unconventional decision and works with the League relentlessly to empower underprivileged women and children, while Habib marries a divorcee after his tragic love affair with Mohini. It is Sughra's egalitarian ethos that eventually draws the skeptical Zohra to the AIML.

Shahnawaz's own inclination toward Socialism led her to join the AIML with the party's objectives of Islamic democracy and equality. Quite arguably, her socialist ideology may have partly stemmed from the fact that although political parties, like the AIML and Congress, strove to safeguard the national interests of the people, they were in actuality dominated by powerful and privileged men and women. In the novel, Ahmed, for instance, questions a homogenous Indian nationalism since "India is a multi-national State" (Shahnawaz 445), and demonstrates his censure of the strong influence of rich Hindu industrialists on Congress politics and of their opposition of the labor movement. He feels the Congress "has failed miserably" to bring all sections of people into its fold as it could not "reduc[e] the glaring inequalities [that] made the rich less rich and the poor less poor" (Shahnawaz 446). He supports this view by pointing out that since the 1857 Mutiny,<sup>41</sup> only "a certain class of people, mostly Hindus, and that too one class of Hindus, and some Parsis and other from Bombay and Calcutta control the whole trade and industry of the country" (Shahnawaz 447). Cara Cilano, however, observes that despite the

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<sup>41</sup> As a defining event in British imperial history, the Revolt of 1857 was a prolonged period of armed native uprising as well as rebellions in Northern and Central India against British occupation of that part of the subcontinent. Small precursors of brewing discontent involving incidences of arson in military areas began to manifest themselves in January. Later, a large-scale rebellion broke out in May and turned into what may be called a full-fledged war in the affected region. This war brought about the end of the British East India Company's rule in India and led to the direct rule by the British Government (British Raj) on much of the Indian Subcontinent for the next 90 years.

novel's "vision of an Islamic socialist utopia" Shahnawaz fails to critically approach "one of the fundamental power structures in extra-fictional Pakistan that creates inequities in the first place: namely the Shiekh family's rural land holdings. The sisters' [political and personal] radicalization then relies on the family's social and economic status, positions secured via their zamindar<sup>42</sup> identity" (Cilano *Contemporary* 26).

Cilano's criticism dwindles in light of the fact that in spite of Shahnawaz's own advantaged positionality and that of her fictional sisters' as affluent Muslim Leaguers, her characters represent an incessant interplay between the rural (less involved in political decision-making) and the urban (more dominant in political decision-making) through their varied viewpoints on the *idea* and *reality* of Pakistan. Both Zohra and Sughra, for example, commit themselves to assisting marginalized women and laborers in Lahore's slums, who they feel are the most deserving beneficiaries of the promise of social justice manifesting the ideology of Pakistan. The sisters are acutely aware "of how, they, as women, are positioned differently in relation to the project of nation-formation which is controlled by men in their lives and patriarchy more generally" (Gopal 73). Since "men had put Pakistan on the map, she [Tazi] was going to America to do the same for the women," Begum Jehan Ara recalled in her autobiography (J. Shahnawaz qtd in M. Shamsie, *Hybrid*, 92). Furthermore, Cilano fails to observe that Shahnawaz's elite status of being upper-class and highly educated, in reality, allows her to emerge from the historic invisibility of a doubly minoritized pre-Partition *Muslim woman* and inscribe meaning to the official narratives of the nation. She makes her sister protagonists clash on the appropriate means of achieving an egalitarian, independent state which will not marginalize Muslims any further.

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<sup>42</sup> Translated as 'landowning'.

The literary merit of the novel lies in its unedited version, as Shahnawaz's fictional diary of actual events that led to the demand for Pakistan. The manuscript form of the novel allows "lengthy political dialogues and minutely-detailed political, historical, and social dissertations [to] sit far too heavily on the text" (Shamsie, M, *Hybrid*, 94); and these "undigested chunks" of history are, at times, "irrelevant to the linear progression" of the plot and distract the reader from the interaction between protagonists (Rahman, *History*, 30-31). Nevertheless, Shahnawaz simultaneously pushes the boundaries of the novel as a literary form by incorporating excessive cultural descriptions. Her extensive discussions on Muslim history and culture not only foreground the processes through which elite Muslim women felt compelled to form their own political allegiances and to imagine the potential forms of nation building, but also strive to represent the internal unity of Indian Muslims. The happy reconciliation of the Jamaluddin siblings at the end of the novel, despite the ominous foreboding of a violent Partition, is an obvious metaphor for this internal cohesion in the Muslim community. Regardless of how the novel is characterized for its "literary merit," Wilmer reminds us that Shahnawaz's "particular vision of Pakistan" uniquely "narrativizes the discourse on gender and modernization and provides it with a series of *telos* in the emergence of the idea of Pakistan" (Wilmer "Islamic State as Telos" 425).

Although the Jamaluddin family, like Jinnah, starts out their political involvement on the side of the Congress, the story of *The Heart Divided* concludes with the entire family backing the AIML's demand for Pakistan. Shahnawaz does not, however, conceal the ambivalence of nationhood that this demand produces in the minds of many that follow its lore, and ends the novel with the differing vision of both sisters – Sughra looks with "radiant eyes" to Pakistan's future (Shahnawaz 506), while Zohra, with an ardent desire to work for the disenfranchised

Muslim women, decides to join the League since “the great hope” she always harbored of any “settlement” between the Congress and the AIML seems to be “receding with each passing day” (Shahnawaz 504). In Mohini’s brother, Vijay Kaul’s warning, “Look, it [Partition] comes, nearer and near it comes ... the separation and the shadow ... the darkest hour ... and the rift between us becomes a chasm ... and the chasm a sea ... a sea of blood and tears ... of tears and blood” (Shahnawaz 450), Shahnawaz raises the “spectre of violence” by anticipating it at the end of the novel “but does not allow it to impede the nationalist vision” (Saeed 543). Due to her proximity with the struggle for freedom and work with Partition refugees, Shahnawaz was well aware of the horrors and human cost of Partition, yet the “exclusion of the chaos of Partition from the novel’s narrative ... reflects the nationalist hope of the time, in which the expectation of violence and loss was secondary to a desire for independence and the creation of Pakistan” (Saeed 543).

The novel’s title points to the fact that Pakistan, as discourse, was generated by emotions and a deep optimism in the nation’s future, yet it came at the cost of dividing a community proud of its plural traditions. As the novel narrates how the division of the subcontinent begins to unfold in the hearts of its people through their “emotions and relations” (Krishna Kumar qtd in Gopal 73), the title makes the reader imagine the “manifold complexities of dividing the ‘nation’ which is assumed, in the first instance, to be an organic whole but is, in fact, a complex construct with its own contradictions” (Gopal 73). These contradictions are present in a number of ways: the conflict between old values and modernity as the Jamaluddin children forge ahead to chart their individual romantic and political affiliations, the conflict within families and that of an emerging Muslim nationalism, and finally, the contradictions present in Shahnawaz’s own life vis-à-vis her transition from Congress nationalism to that of the AIML. In grasping how the novel’s “beating heart” came to be a “*divided* one in more ways than one, we may be better able



to understand why the experience of post-colonization in Pakistan has been such a *dis*-heartening one for so many of that state's subjects" (Willmer, "Islamic State as Telos" 427). The reader is ruefully reminded of the turban-exchanging scene at the beginning of the novel, in which the Jamaluddins and Kauls are portrayed as a single community, not two separate ones that they eventually become.

Before her own untimely demise at 36, in the one year that Shah Nawaz lived to see the birth of Pakistan, it is reported that she was "saddened to see the spirit of idealism receding before material self-seeking" among those very people "who were expected to strengthen the biggest, though the youngest, Islamic State in the world" (Khan, Ashfaq A. "Biographical Note" *The Heart Divided* vi). Consequently, she had planned a trip to the US to accelerate the publication of her novel in hopes that she would "bring back the attention of the intelligentsia in Pakistan and abroad to the historical process that had resulted in the liberation of Pakistan" (Khan, A vi). But that was not to be, as the novel's publication would stall for nine years after her death. By the time it did get published in 1957, the Muslim League's Socialist ideology had already waned after the death of Pakistan's founder and first Governor-General, Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1948) and the assassination of his right-hand man and first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan (1951). During the first ten years of Pakistan's inception and at the time of the novel's actual publication, two more governor generals and three prime ministers followed, and the Republic of Pakistan became the *Islamic* Republic of Pakistan on March 23, 1956. Ranging controversies over the issues of national language, role of Islam, provincial representation, and the distribution of power between the center and the provinces delayed constitution making and postponed general elections. In October 1956, a consensus was eventually cobbled together to declare Pakistan's first constitution. The still nascent democratic nation of Pakistan, furthermore,

was soon placed under its first military rule for ten years (1958-1969) imposed by an army general. Two more military coups (1977-1988 and 1999-2008) in Pakistan's history wreaked considerable damage to its democracy. Jinnah's dream of a secular Pakistan – a dream he lived and died for – is yet to be *fully* realized by the Pakistani nation after seven decades since the country's inception.

The paradox of Jinnah's nation, however, lies in the fact that while army generals and corrupt politicians failed the Pakistani people, the exponential development of the private sector came to the country's aid. What gets excluded from international media attention is that Pakistani NGOs and CSOs (Civil Society Organizations) constantly promote liberal democratic values by organizing interfaith and human rights programs, and work relentlessly to uplift the health, education, and tourism sectors<sup>43</sup>. According to Pakistan's private sector assessment (2015-2019) by Asian Development Bank (ADB), "Pakistan's liberal investment policy is one of the most attractive in the region" and allows "full ownership by foreign investors in many sectors [in addition to] unhindered remittance of capital, profits and dividend" ("Private Sector Assessment" 3). Much indebted to the private sector's involvement are also the culture and creative industries in Pakistan that affirm the country's cultural identity, and project a multi-faceted international image of a vibrant Pakistan. The arts and crafts related employments account for approximately 15% of Pakistan's national employment, and again, aided by the private sector "scores of creative businesses already cater to international clientele" (Evans et al

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<sup>43</sup> Prime examples in the health industry are Indus Hospital and Shaukat Khanum Cancer Hospital that are providing healthcare to millions of underserved Pakistanis. In education, The Citizens Foundation and Care Foundation are two of the largest initiatives by the private sector to build schools around the country and provide education to the underprivileged. On the other hand, Sustainable Tourism Foundation of Pakistan (STFP) is working closely with federal and provincial governments for the promotion of tourism as well as networking with private sector organizations and other like-minded national, regional and international bodies to facilitate and support synergy of policies, initiatives and activities at local and national levels.

31). Contemporary Pakistan's judiciary also shows signs of activism, assertiveness, and independence, while "revolutionized communications" fueled by globalization have led to the inauguration of many privately owned television channels (Jalal, *Struggle*, 392). "Amplified" in Pakistan's contemporary musical, artistic, literary, and dramatic productions, Jalal adds, is that "a politicization of the personal ... invariably accompanies the depoliticization of the public arena under authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes" (*Struggle*, 394). In both the public and private domains an increasing number of Pakistani realize that they cannot "at this critical moment in world history afford the luxury of making an ill-conceived choice" (Jalal *Struggle* 6), and this sentiment is most effectively broadcasted globally by modern Pakistani Anglophone fiction. A blossoming cadre of Pakistani writers and literati continues to gain global recognition through various literary awards, while local private organizations/individuals successfully collaborate the Lahore and Karachi literary festivals (since 2010) that draw huge audiences yearly.

While Mumtaz Shahnawaz was one of the first, and few, English-language novelists<sup>44</sup> to become Pakistani at the time of Partition, the end of the 1980s saw a relative upsurge in Pakistani English fiction writing. By then, Zulfikar Ghose and Bapsi Sidhwa had produced a substantial oeuvre, while writers like Tariq Ali, Hanif Kureishi, Sara Suleri-Goodyear, Adam Zameenzad, and Nadeem Aslam had emerged in the diaspora. As these writers gradually forged their way into mainstream Anglophone literature by winning a number of prestigious literary awards (addressing a wide range of issues including empowerment of woman and minorities, migration, and the politics of race and ethnicity in their works), they set the stage for a booming younger

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<sup>44</sup> Other notable ones being Samuel Fyzee Rahamin (*Gilded India* 1938), Ahmed Ali (*Twilight in Delhi* 1940), Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah (*From Purdah to Parliament* 1963), and Zaib-un-Nisa Hamidaullah (*The Young Wife and Other Stories* 1958).

generation of Pakistani fiction writers. The contemporary Pakistani-resident novelists – including but not limited to Kamila Shamsie, Uzma Aslam Khan, Mohsin Hamid, Mohammed Hanif, Azhar Abidi, Aamer Hussein and Sorayya Y Khan – belong to a new globalized world. Having spent long periods in both Pakistan and abroad, they blur the erstwhile divisions between the diaspora and Pakistan-resident writing. Contemporary Pakistani Anglophone fiction tends to be Janus-faced in nature. On the one hand it specifically deconstructs various indigenous issues which are destabilizing Pakistani society and politics, while on the other hand it challenges the discursive construction of Pakistan as a terrorist country through international discourse. In doing so, Pakistani writers not only adopt the role of political commentators and interveners but also create a counter-narrative to Western hegemonic discourse and represent a case for a liberal and democratic Pakistan.

## **2.2 Changez’s Journey from a Secular Humanist to a Pluralist Pakistani in Mohsin Hamid *The Reluctant Fundamentalist***

Mohsin Hamid’s *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007) was conceived and published when Pakistan’s regional tensions with India and the relentless collateral damage of the American-led war in Afghanistan had already taken a heavy toll on the Pakistani people. The astounding number of terror-related Pakistani casualties were recorded at 40,000 between 2003-2013, and the expenditure on security turned out to be “triple the amount” of what Washington paid Pakistan for military operations in Afghanistan (Jalal *Struggle* 4). While spiraling security costs forced drastic cutbacks in public spending and development expenditure, the negative international image of Pakistan as the axis of global terror networks deeply affected its citizens. In the wake of the global recession of 2008 and lack of local employment, a “rising educated

middle class looking for pickings abroad” toiled hard to compete in international job market due to their stymied national origin (Jalal *Struggle* 4). This negative image of Pakistan became Hamid’s catalyst for writing *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* because he felt compelled to address this “enormous” and “dangerous” misconception about his country, desisting from proposing any “one right point of view” yet attempting to “disarm” some “completely wrong ones” (Hamid Interview with Bilal 161).

Mohsin Hamid, a writer of Pakistani birth, American education, British residence, and joint British-Pakistani citizenship, lived for many years in the United States and Britain while spending long periods of time in Pakistan as well. He is the author of four critically acclaimed novels and a collection of essays, and frequently contributes political commentary for global newspapers. His first novel *Moth Smoke* (2000) – a tale of self-destruction, sibling rivalry, and attempted fratricide set in Lahore against the backdrop of India and Pakistan’s 1998 nuclear tests – won the Betty Trask Award and became a finalist for the PEN/Hemingway Award. Hamid received greater accolades for his second novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), translated into over 30 languages and a million-copy international bestseller. It won the Ambassador Book Award, the Anisfield-Wolf Book Award, the Asian American Literary Award, and the South Bank Show Award for Literature, and was shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize. *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* (2013) is Hamid’s third novel – a love story and an exploration of mass-urbanization and global economic transformation – in the apparent guise of a self-help book. It was shortlisted for the DSC Prize.

After his first three novels won critical acclaim, Hamid focused his attention on an essay collection, *Discontent and its Civilizations* (2014). This work collectively traces the fracture lines generated by a decade and a half of seismic change, from the “war on terror” to the struggles of

individuals to maintain humanity in either the rigid face of ideology or the indifferent face of globalization. His latest novel, *Exit West* (2017), follows a young couple's escape from their war-torn home to foreign lands, exploring themes of loyalty, courage, and hope in a future world. *Exit West* was Hamid's second novel to be shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize, and won the inaugural Aspen Words Literary Prize in 2018. As a sought-after contributor to contemporary debates, Hamid (like his contemporary, Kamila Shamsie) acts as a mediator between Pakistan and the West through his frequent opinion pieces. His essays and short stories have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *the New Yorker*, *Granta*, *TIME*, *the Washington Post*, *the New York Review of Books*, *the Financial Times*, *the Paris Review*, and many other publications. He has lectured at dozens of universities around the world, from Stanford and Yale to the London School of Economics and the National University of Singapore.

Hamid started work on *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* as early as 2000 when he was repaying his Harvard Law School student loans by working as a management consultant at McKinsey & Company in New York City, but a greater part of the novel was written when he moved to London, in 2005, to work part-time as a strategist for Wolff Olins. In an interview with *The Globe and Mail*, he referred to the paradox of being a Pakistani and working at the core of a global financial system in corporate New York, which does not necessarily benefit a poor country like Pakistan (Haupt). He recalls feeling like a janissary, the "elite soldiers of the Ottoman Empire" recruited from the conquered Christian lands, who were "trained and then returned to rule over their defeated homelands" (Haupt). Hamid uses the metaphor of the janissaries for his protagonist's volte-face in *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*. As he finished the first draft of the novel, 9/11 happened, which forced him to begin a new draft. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and a (fictionalized) near-war between India and Pakistan also

became part of the successive drafts. By 2005, when Hamid moved to London to continue writing the final draft, the comingling of words like “terrorism,” “fundamentalists,” and “Muslims” took the form of a dangerous Western rhetoric.

Hamid’s work unsettles the conventional migrant trope by stressing the brutality of emigration and attempts a revised definition of the nation by concretizing the abstractions surrounding the “War on Terror” discourses in the story of Changez Khan, a young middle-class Pakistani who comes to study at Princeton and gets recruited by a prestigious New York firm specializing in valuing companies for takeover. Changez’s American interlude only lasts for a few years until 9/11 happens, and compels him to reconsider his Pakistani identity in a new, pluralistic light. But in order to understand what events necessitate this young, professionally successful New Yorker’s return back home, from the thrall of global capitalism to demonstrate alongside “communists, capitalists, feminists, religious literalists” (Hamid *Reluctant* 179) for Pakistan’s democratic future, the readers are taken back in time by Changez himself. His metamorphosis is also suggested by the imaginative name, Changez, with its francophone etymology “to change,” which associates Changez with the change represented by “the economic law of capital’s movement from less to more profitable global spaces” (Medovoi 650).

Changez, indeed, experiences two major identity transformations: first, when he identifies himself as an “Underwood Samson trainee” (Hamid, *Reluctant* 38) rather than as a Muslim, a Pakistani, or even a New Yorker; and later, when he moves back to Pakistan after resigning from Underwood Samson, and rejects the whole ethos of the company as well as that of US capitalism. The first change comes to him almost effortlessly, as taking advantage of his exoticism and reaping the benefits of being the intriguing “Other,” Changez soon finds entrée into New York’s high society. He makes connections with his boss Jim and his Black co-worker

Wainwright, and falls in love with the wealthy and beautiful, young, would-be novelist Erica. It doesn't take long for Changez to submerge his "Third World" sensibility to completely identify with the enticing world of global capitalism. He mimics the behaviors of his American colleagues, for he "learned to tell executives [his] father's age, 'I need it *now*'; [and he] learned to cut to the front of lines with an extraterritorial smile" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 65), and all this while presumed that such a demeanor would cloak his Pakistani identity (Hamid, *Reluctant* 71). The second change, however, is evoked by a series of events that include 9/11, Erica's suicide, and Changez's critical assessment of his role as the "servant of the [American] empire" while valuing Third World companies for American takeover in the Philippines and Chile.

Changez's epiphany that he does not belong with the Americans but with the oppressed, begins before 9/11, although most of story occurs post-9/11. While on assignment in Manila he experiences an uncanny encounter of "the Eastern gaze upon the West" in the form of hostile looks of the jeepney<sup>45</sup> driver during a traffic jam. This makes him realize that he and the driver "shared a sort of Third World sensibility," that his Underwood Samson colleagues are "foreign" to him, and that he feels he is "play-acting when in reality [he] ought be to making [his] way home, like the people on the street outside" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 67). In a way, the Third World sensibility that Changez shares with the Filipino driver advances a vision of a universal solidarity that goes beyond nationalism. Joseph Darda recognizes this solidarity to be "not only non-national but in fact grounded in the struggle against nationalist forms of brutality" (Darda 113), given the fact that the two men do not know one another and "would probably never see one another again" (*Reluctant* 67) and yet seem bound by a "global imaginary that Changez is only

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<sup>45</sup> Joseph Darda explains that Jeepneys, a portmanteau combining "jeep" with "jitney," are public utility vehicles built from American jeeps that were left in the Philippines after World War II. Hence they allude to the long history of imperial rule in the Philippines that culminated in the atrocities committed there during WWII, in which the islands were controlled at different times by the US military and the Imperial Japanese Army.



beginning to perceive” (Darda 113). Changez’s classification of his Underwood Samson colleague as “*foreign*” (Hamid, *Reluctant*, 67), moreover, “recalls the imperial legacy of the Philippines in the same way that the reconstituted military jeep does” (Darda 113). On the night of his departure from Manilla, however, 9/11 happens, and watching the collapse of the Twin Towers on television brings upon Changez a very shocking reaction that makes him admit, “despicable as it may sound, my initial reaction was to be remarkably pleased.” His pleasure, nevertheless, is explicitly that “someone had so visibly brought America to her knees,” and involves no reference to Islam (Hamid, *Reluctant* 72). On his way back from Manilla, Changez is strip searched at the airport and feels uncomfortable under the suspicious gaze of his fellow passengers. Upon arrival in New York he is again singled out and separated from his Underwood Samson colleagues for interrogation. His teammates’ ‘otherness’ fully dawns upon a disoriented Changez when he registers that they did not care to “wait for me; by the time I entered the customs hall they had already collected their suitcases and left. As a consequence, I rode to Manhattan that evening very much alone” (Hamid, *Reluctant* 75).

Besides the Manila experience, Erica and the Chilean Juan-Bautista move Changez closer to home toward a “triangulated reidentification” (Medevoi 648). While Erica lost her own home when her boyfriend, Chris, died (“my home was a guy with long, skinny fingers”), she often encourages Changez to talk about his roots. At one point she tells him “you give off this strong sense of home” (Hamid, *Reluctant* 19), and later she notices, “I love it when you talk about where you come from ... you become so *alive*” (Hamid, *Reluctant* 81). Changez goes to the extent of pretending to be Erica’s dead boyfriend whose memory she cannot let go, but the thwarted love affair symbolizes his attraction for her country (Erica/AmErica) and her rejection of him. The district of Old Anarkali where Changez meets his American interlocuter, moreover,

has obvious allusions to the legendary and yet another tragic tale of Anarkali, who was “a [sixteenth century] courtesan immured for loving a [Mughal] prince” (Hamid, *Reluctant* 1). The novel’s setting together with Changez’s own ill-fated love affair with Erica and the American Empire, then, seems like a “salutary lesson to those who dream of challenging an imperial hierarchy” (Shamsie M. *Hybrid* 404). Erica’s death leaves Changez “adrift in an America which itself seeks the reassuring cultural and national certainties of an earlier time, and becomes insular and unwelcoming” (Morey 138).

After the Philippines, another assignment in Chile makes Changez ultimately see the irony of his own situation vis-à-vis the story of the janissaries. As Changez and a vice-president from Underwood Samson value Juan-Bautista’s publishing company in Valparaiso, the latter forges a good friendship with Changez and tells him that the janissaries were “Christian boys ... captured by the Ottomans and trained to be soldiers in a Muslim army ... [who] had fought to erase their own civilization, so they had nothing else to turn to” (*Reluctant* 151). Changez, unlike these young janissaries however, possesses a memory of and attachment to his origins, and “a deep bout of introspection” gives his epiphany its final shape:

I was a modern-day janissary, a servant of the American empire at a time when it was invading a country with kinship to mine and was perhaps even colluding to ensure that my own country faced the threat of war. Of course I was struggling! Of course I felt torn! I had thrown in my lot with the men of Underwood Samson, with the officers of the empire, when all along I was predisposed to feel compassion for those, like Juan-Bautista, whose lives the empire thought nothing of overturning for its own gain. (Hamid, *Reluctant* 152)

The clash between Changez and Underwood Samson portrays the crisis of an individual in an unequal globalized world where colonial attitudes continue under the guise of globalism and liberalism. This is reflected in Changez’s “partisan” positionality after his disenchantment with the “birfucat[ed]” post 9/11 world (Morey 145). The theme of global inequity runs parallel

to that of colonial history, as Changez describes that he comes from a family of professional elites created by the British Raj, who perceived English and Anglicization as requisites to global success in spite of their love for Urdu literature and eastern traditions. And to a certain extent that is true, for Changez's intelligence earns him a degree at Princeton and a lucrative job with Underwood Samson. Initially, Changez buys into the myth that the US is a meritocracy, but ultimately, "he identifies the power dynamics that link the selection of the meritorious with the maintenance of a system of superiority built more on economic than personal worth" (Cilano *Contemporary* 208).

A trip back home necessitated by political developments in Pakistan, including the post 9/11 US bombing of Afghanistan and a (fictional) near-war situation with India, forces Changez to realize that post-9/11 America "had to be stopped in the interests not only of the rest of humanity, but also in [her] own" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 168). There, the furnishings of his parents' house and anger at US's apathy toward Pakistan's border situation become ways for him to mediate his true feelings toward Pakistan. At first, Changez is "struck" by the shabbiness of his family home's interior, but as he reacclimatizes and his "surroundings once again became familiar," it doesn't take him long to recognize that it wasn't the house, but he, who had "changed" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 124). More reprehensibly, "I was looking about me with the eyes of a foreigner, and not just any foreigner, but that particular type of entitled and unsympathetic American" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 124). The "Americanness" of his gaze, consequently, has to be set aside because in Lahore a "different way of *observing* is required" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 124), and only after that understanding could he remember the rich history of the house, the "Mughal miniatures," "ancient carpets," and "excellent library" that together form an "unmistakable personality" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 125). His despair at Pakistan's precarious situation – especially

that of Lahore's location on the border with India – combined with a resentment against the US (its post-9/11 ally) for not coming to Pakistan's rescue is described to the American interlocuter as follows:

India would do all it could to harm us, and despite the assistance we had given America in Afghanistan, Americans would not fight at our side. Already the Indian army was mobilizing, and Pakistan had begun to respond: convoys of trucks ... were passing through the city, bearing supplies to our troops on the border ... It will perhaps be odd for you – coming, as you do, from a country that has not fought a war on its own soil in living memory, the rare sneak attack or terrorist outrage excepted – to imagine residing within commuting distance of a million or so hostile troops who could, at any moment, attempt a full-scale invasion. (Hamid, *Reluctant* 127)

Upon his return to New York, Changez feels even more “divided” than before, like a “coward” and a “traitor” for leaving his family and home in such political turmoil. Consequently, he grows a beard as an assertion of his Muslim ethnicity and Otherness and resigns from Underwood Samson to move back to Pakistan. His beard, Darda reminds us, “is not about solidarity with terrorists but with those living in a state of precarity in Western and South Asia,” and as his Muslim identity marker it becomes “a critical site of resistance in the months after 9/11” (Darda 116). Even Hamid in “Islam Is Not a Monolith” avers that fundamentalism is not necessarily a religious phenomenon, and Changez's “beliefs could quite plausibly be those of a secular humanist. And yet he calls himself a Muslim, and is angry with US foreign policy, and grows a beard – and that seems to be enough [to make readers see him as an Islamic fundamentalist]” (Hamid “Islam” 224). Once the intriguing Other within Princeton's and New York's elite society, Changez subverts the myth of America “as a desired destination” making it “subject to interrogation, disruption, and refusal by the third-world subject” (Singh, Harleen 42). He candidly tells his American interlocuter the deep resentment he harbors about American complicity in global suffering via its role as an unabashed neo-colonial power:

Your country's constant interference in the affairs of other was insufferable. Vietnam, Korea, the straits of Taiwan, the Middle East, and now Afghanistan: in each of the major conflicts and standoffs that ringed my mother continent of Asia, America played a central role. Moreover I knew from my experience as a Pakistani – of alternating periods of American aid and sanctions – that finance was a primary reason by means of which the American empire exercised its power. It was right for me to refuse to participate any longer in facilitating this project of domination. (Hamid, *Reluctant* 156)

Changez turns against the fundamentalism of US global power, rather than towards an Islamic one. With an expert ability to quantify, insure against, and profit from risks associated with speculative financial futures, the Pakistan-born Changez acts in the beginning as a risk-assessment agent for the American-led, globally influential valuation firm, Underwood Samson. Although he is a Muslim, it does not seem that his religion is especially significant in guiding his life, and he certainly appears distant from the violent interpretation of the faith that inspired the 9/11 attackers. Hamid explains to Claire Chambers:

[Changez's Muslim] identity only involves belonging to a group, and he doesn't describe the world in specifically Muslim terms ... If you strip religion completely out of [the novel], it still works. It's possible to recast this entire conflict in non-religious terms and find the conflict unchanged, except in our understanding of it. (Chambers 186-187).

In fact, the fundamentals to which Changez is asked to return are the financial data of the firms he has to value for Underwood Samson, described as a "Focus on the fundamentals" with "a single-minded attention to financial detail, teasing out the true nature of those drivers that determine an asset's value" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 98). Changez no longer feels the oppressor's guilt as he re-orientes himself toward self-discovery and a new way of focusing on the fundamentals, a clear departure from Underwood Samson's "guiding principle."

Changez becomes actively engaged in promoting a pluralist democracy in Pakistan – that Jinnah envisioned – once he discovers that the successful allure of a US identity effaced his native background. As a secular Pakistani citizen, Changez opts to protest in demonstrations "for

greater independence in Pakistan's domestic and international affairs" alongside people of "all possible affiliations – communists, capitalists, feminist, religious literalists" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 179). Within this crowd of protestors, Hamid presents a vibrant coalition of divergent political interests coming together to assert their right for national self-determination. This process, moreover, allows Changez to carefully negotiate his own Pakistani national identity, one that values cultural heritage and the "power of pluralism" over "chest-thumping nuclear nationalism" (Cilano, *Contemporary* 209), and one that makes his ideological vision of gaining political solidarity for his country stand in stark contrast with the dominant religiously-derived Pakistani nationalism. Instead of engaging in the popular nationalist anti-Indian swagger when his country faces an imminent threat from India, Changez, confesses, "But I worried. I felt powerless; I was angry at our weakness, at our vulnerability to intimidation of this sort from our – admittedly much larger – neighbor to the east" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 128).

Changez uses the skills that a meritocracy like Underwood Samson has taught him to make his students – the Pakistani youth and the hope for their country's democratic future – understand the principles of global capitalism and the significance of demonstrating for an end to US interventions in Pakistan. His stance on secular nationalism makes him a popular University lecturer. Changez's role extends beyond teaching finance: he becomes a mentor who advises his students "not only on their papers and their rallies, but also on matters of the heart and a vast range of other topics – from drugs rehabilitation and family planning to prisoners' rights and shelter for battered spouses" (Hamid, *Reluctant* 180). Whether Changez offers this "self-representation as a democratic stalwart in order to manipulate the American listener and the reader," or whether the novel's narratorial technique displays an "overarching ambiguity" that Changez's attempts "to outline an alternative political position, one that facilitates his valuing of

place outside the terms set by dominant nationalisms” cannot be fully discounted (Cilano, *Contemporary* 214-215).

The end of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* echoes the egalitarian ethos established in *The Heart Divided*. Changez’s reidentification as a secular Pakistani happens in a Pakistan that is almost sixty years old, but not until he leaves Pakistan and recognizes America’s unsympathetic neo-colonial gaze that depicts his country as “impoverished” and lacking a rich history (Hamid, *Reluctant* 125). His fellow protestors, belonging to all walks of life, chanting for a free and democratic Pakistan are the same people who backed Jinnah’s Muslim League in Shahnawaz’s novel. The Jamaluddin children and their coterie of multi-faith friends protesting for a free India and Changez’s fellow demonstrators find strength from the same pluralist ideology that underscores the fact that for a country to become a free democracy its people must come together, irrespective of their religion, cast, creed, and socio-political affiliations. While Shahnawaz’s text is a cautionary tale about the perils of differing nationalistic beliefs in an ideologically conceived Muslim state, Hamid’s text is a retrospective analysis of the ways in which neocolonialist foreign policies not only devastate postcolonial economies but also create ruptures in the identity formation of their peoples along nationalistic lines. Both narratives lay emphasis on a secular nationalism – and not on a foaming Islamist militancy – as being imperative to Pakistan’s future stability in the region. Both texts also endorse the ability of Pakistani youth to form broad coalitions in the face of crises that help to steer the country towards a hopeful future.

### **Conclusion**

Both Shahnawaz and Hamid raise expectations about the role of Islam in Pakistan, although leaving it mostly ambiguous in their stories. Nation and nationalism mean different

things to different people, and remain contextual and contested categories despite their universality and common dimensions. Narrating the story of the nation and its nationalism has proven to be a deeply contentious matter for Pakistanis, because the architects of the nation, including Jinnah, with his ambivalent position on the connection between Muslim identity and territorial sovereignty, could not be certain where exactly to trace the origins of Pakistan<sup>46</sup>.

Locked in a historical debate, the Islamists and secularists, wondered:

Should the history begin with the creation of the country in 1947 or extend backward in time and, if so, how far? Ideologically driven stalwarts of an Islamic Pakistan wanted to locate its genesis in the birth of Islam on the Arabian peninsula or at the very least with the Arabian invasion of India's northwestern region in 712 CE. Others with a geographical and secular bent ... took the 1857 revolt that marked the end of the Mughal sovereignty as the point of departure to begin charting the course of the creation of Pakistan. (Jalal *Struggle* 12)

The fierce ideological debate over whether the Pakistani government should adopt an Islamic or a secular constitution continues to mar the country's political stability. Shahnawaz's and Hamid's texts interrogate Pakistan's desire for post-national solidarities by voicing reservations about the "permanence and versatility" of the sub-continent's anticolonial nationalism, because while this oppositional nationalism played a vital role in "mobilising and organising the aspirations of oppressed and colonised peoples," it ought to have been, and was not, "a transitional and transitory moment in the decolonising project" (Gandhi 122). Sadly, the religious fervor that lurched the Sub-continent toward its new cartography led to a displaced sense of nationalism during the time of Partition. While earlier writers like Manto and

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<sup>46</sup> Hilary Synnott, British High Commissioner to Pakistan from 2000 until 2003, explains in his book, *Transforming Pakistan* that Pakistani people have faced difficulties in "subsuming their particular ethnic customs and identities into a single national narrative" from the outset, and many challenges in identity formation stem from the fact that at Partition "India inherited the state governance structure created by the British, including the civil service, the executive branch and the parliamentary system. India also possessed a highly developed historical sense of national identity, linked to ancient civilisations. But Pakistan had to create, or at least adapt, all these crucial elements of nationhood for itself" (17-18).



Shahnawaz could sense as early as the inception of Pakistan the precariousness of the role religion may appropriate in the new state's national identity, contemporary writers like Shamsie and Hamid lament the loss of the collective Pakistani identity, free from religiosity – the identity that Jinnah sketched at the time of Pakistan's independence.

Shahnawaz promotes Islam as a “site of investment for ‘better lives’ and more democratic nationalist structures, as it engenders a sense of collectivity based on a shared pride in a shared history” because it is the “affective attachments to a glorious Islamic heritage and associated ideals of liberty” that motivate the sisters', especially Zohra's, involvement in the Muslim League (Saeed 537). On the other hand, journeys spanning four different continents allow Changez to observe the magnitude with which countless lives are endangered by the economic and social conditions arising from war, globalization and colonial legacies: rather than turning to Pakistani state nationalism, he, in fact, harbors a deeper desire for international solidarity and views himself as a mediator between the youth and a democratic Pakistan. Hamid's text underscores that Pakistan's future democracy – and hence, the pluralist identity formation of its people – is not reliant on the “US's efforts to ensure democracy's safety through its ‘war on terror’” but rather on “a nuanced representation of the cultural tensions in Pakistan itself” (Cilano, “Manipulative Fictions” 202). Since each generation gives its own interpretations to these socially constructed and historically contingent collective identities, contemporary Pakistani writers are constantly exploring ways in which literary narratives can function more broadly as imaginative alternatives to Pakistan's leading forms of identification.

Just like chapters 1 and 2 examine how cartographic and nationalist displacements lead to an avowal of egalitarian principles inherent in a pluralist Pakistani identity, the next and final chapter focuses on how exile profoundly influences the identity formation of two Pakistani

authors, specifically seen through the genre of life writing. In chapter 1, Manto and Shamsie weave stories that shun the idea of minoritized identities in the wake of unexpected cartographies, exemplified by the protagonist of “Toba Tek Singh” ceasing to exist in a divided subcontinent, and by Karim’s Bengali ancestry exacting a cruel departure from his native land. Shahnawaz and Hamid, in chapter 2, make a case for rejecting nationalisms that promote unequal citizenships, evident in the allure of the Muslim League’s egalitarian ethos for the Jamaluddin sisters in *The Heart Divided*, and Changez’s dismissal of American meritocracy in favor of Pakistan’s democratic future in *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*. In the final chapter, similarly, Zulfikar Ghose and Sara Suleri-Goodyear reject Pakistan’s state-sponsored history by forging an intimate connection to the land of their birth through the country’s secular history exclusively.

### 3 **BROKEN MIRRORS OF THE SELF: DIASPORIC BELONGING IN THE LIFE WRITINGS OF ZULFIKAR GHOSE AND SARAH SULERI-GOODYEAR**

Writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must also do so in the knowledge – which gives rise to profound uncertainties – that our physical alienation from [our homelands] almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that we lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands ... of the mind.

Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times, that we fall between two stools. But however ambiguous and shifting this ground may be, it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy. If literature is in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again our distance, our long geographical perspective, may provide us with such angles. Or it may be that that is simply what we must think in order to do our work. (Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* 10 and 16)

The question of what it means to be Pakistani is posed not only by novelists whose work is geographically set in Pakistan – the Toba Tek Singh of Saadat Hasan Manto, the Karachi of Kamila Shamsie, or the Lahore of Mumtaz Shahnawaz and Mohsin Hamid – but increasingly, and with different resonances, by those who belong to the growing Pakistani diasporic communities generated by the experience of migration. My dissertation underscores that Pakistan was created on a secular ideal, in spite of Mohammed Ali Jinnah’s call for a homeland based on Muslim separatism. Millions of Muslims migrated to Pakistan in 1947 instead of facing persecution in a Hindu-dominated India, and a new wave of post-Partition migration took many of those same Pakistanis away to the West. Even though the decision to migrate is often ingrained in the pursuit of social mobility, the religious-political instability of Pakistan throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s after Jinnah’s premature demise became the rationale which prompted many to migrate. As the sense of loss from being “out-of-country” and “out-of-language” (Rushdie *Imaginary Homelands* 12) intensified for these “post-lapsarian men and women ... now partly of the West” (Rushdie 16), some decided to document their exilic perspectives on home and identity. In the context of contemporary Pakistani writings in English,

many writers are living in diasporas, including Bapsi Sidwa, Mohsin Hamid, Kamila Shamsie, Tariq Ali, Abdullah Hussain, Zulfikar Ghose, Hanif Kureishi, Nadeem Aslam, and Sara Suleri-Goodyear among others, and giving creative and culturally diverse responses to their experiences of (voluntary or involuntary) exile.

As diasporic Pakistani intellectuals congregate in metropolitan centers by choice rather than necessity, their fictions recreate an in-betweenness of immigrant communities in Britain and the United States and retrospectively describe the ways in which the act of relocation shaped their identities. Their interstitial location between cultures, then, allows them to apprehend their prior history by relating back to the minority experience in the metropolis. While reflecting on their native land and diasporic identities, most globally acclaimed Pakistani English writers, like the famed South Asian Salman Rushdie, are “obliged to deal in broken mirrors” with “some ... fragments ... irretrievably lost” (*Imaginary Homelands* 11). Rushdie compares the past to “a country from which we have all emigrated” and loss of that country/past “is part of our common humanity.” This analogy concurrently with the state of an emigrant writer’s “physical fact of discontinuity, of his present being in a different place from his past, of his being ‘elsewhere’” also enables him to use the *broken mirror* metaphor as a tool to concretize his present (*Imaginary Homelands* 12). Rushdie’s thoughts recall Gayatri Spivak’s, who observes that the position of diasporic writers and academics as intellectuals is certainly affected by, and cannot exist without, acknowledging their mediating position between their diasporic status and certain hegemonic demands, because “without that turn [to the West,] we would not in fact have been able to make out a life ourselves as intellectuals” (Spivak *Post-colonial Critic* 8). Observing a boom in postcolonial life writing, particularly in the last three decades or so, Jocelyn Stitt describes the genre as encompassing “texts ranging from personal narratives by colonizers, travellers and the

enslaved, to archival documents such as letters and journals, to recent accounts of individual and community life experiences” that have enabled “luminous reworkings of the genre” (Stitt 177). Including both autobiography and memoir writing, postcolonial life writing is often characterized by its hybrid nature, and insists upon a “relative autonomy from its western analogues” (Moore-Gilbert 108).

Quite significantly, the female diasporic Pakistani authors emphasize the importance of incorporating exclusively Pakistani-Muslim feminist perspectives that consider and claim pluralistic alternatives amid western dominant discourses and the male-dominated Pakistani nationalist rhetoric. Their literary narratives subvert the Eurocentric monopolization of reductive one-dimensional images of the Muslim world, as Aroosa Kanwal observes, by “situate[ing] the subjectivities of Pakistani women within community-based relationships and responsibilities, both of which have intrinsic value in Muslim culture” (Kanwal 118). The literary production of globally acclaimed female writers of Pakistani origin is crucial in foregrounding the simultaneous strands of liberation and subjection, centrality and marginality, that are intrinsic to the identity formation of these intellectuals in diaspora settings, especially in a post-9/11 world. Against the global hegemony of Western scholarship that often endorses essentialist identifications of Muslim women, these writers locate Pakistani “women’s subjection as well as agency in relation to the class, ethnic and religious diversities as well as urban, tribal and feudal environments that inform the plurality of victimized identities and the nature and degree of freedom that women experience within patriarchal societies” (Kanwal 119). Notable feminist writers like Bapsi Sidhwa, Sara Suleri-Goodyear, Uzma Aslam Khan, Rukhsana Ahmed, Moniza Alvi, Qaisra Shahraz, Maha Phillips Khan, Maniza Naqvi, Fatima Bhutto, and Kamila Shamsie not only picture Pakistan as a land of opportunities for privileged and educated women but

simultaneously attempt to give agency to the working-class and less privileged women in Pakistan's urban and rural patriarchal cultures.

This chapter explores the articulation of nostalgic loss in tandem with the cultural enrichment that displacement engenders by examining the life writings of two Pakistani exiles. Both texts illustrate the ways in which the cultural perspectives of both authors interact with the sometimes repressive and constrictive religious, political, and racial systems and ideologies that they encounter. In *Imaginary Homelands*, Rushdie acknowledges the contradictory impulses of home and belonging that influence his writing, when he mentions that the “past is a foreign country,” and simultaneously, it is the “present that is foreign, and ...[the] past is home,” consequently leading to the “eerie” sensation of “being claimed” by the “continuity” of visiting or remembering home that overpowers both his soul and his literary imagination (Rushdie *Imaginary Homelands* 9). Similarly, the exilic narratives of Zulfikar Ghose and Sara Suleri-Goodyear foreground the paradoxes inherent in their collective attachments to Pakistan. Ghose stands out as the first creative writer to publish an autobiography, *Confessions of a Native Alien* (1965), in Pakistani English literature, and Suleri-Goodyear's *Meatless Days* (1989) is the first creative memoir published by a Pakistani (Shamsie, M. *Hybrid Tapestries*, 121 and 243).

Suleri-Goodyear's adaptation of the eastern forms of miniature painting and *ghazal*<sup>47</sup> in *Meatless Days*, for example, elucidates how life writing “draws heavily on indigenous narrative resources and hybridizes to a significant degree the standard forms of metropolitan languages

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<sup>47</sup>The *ghazal* is composed of a minimum of five couplets—and typically no more than fifteen—that are structurally, thematically, and emotionally autonomous. Traditionally invoking melancholy, love, longing, and metaphysical questions, *ghazal* writing is attributed to Persian and Urdu poets, and often sung by contemporary Iranian, Indian, and Pakistani musicians. The form has roots in 7<sup>th</sup> century Arabia, and gained prominence in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *ghazal* was used by poets writing in Urdu, and among these poets, Mirza Ghalib remains the recognized master.

handed down by colonialism” (Moore-Gilbert 129). As a memoirist, Suleri-Goodyear organizes her text through themes and metaphors rather than chronology, as evident, for instance, in Ghose’s autobiography. Ghose’s text sequentially chronicles his early years in an undivided (and then divided) India and England, foregrounding memories that “not only underlie the thematics of exile and quest for identity that figure predominantly in his writing but also contrast with those of his life in England” (Kanaganayakam 6). While Ghose arranges the sections of his autobiography in accordance with the names of different geographical locations that he inhabits (Sialkot, Bombay, England, Keele, Putney) as well as the identity he embraces at the end (“The Native Abroad” sections I and II), Suleri-Goodyear’s work blurs the lines between autobiography and the novel. In her creative memoir, Pakistan’s national history is seen in parallel focus with members of the Suleri family and eccentric friends in a series of nine tales, where each tale is complete in itself. Instead of privileging the self, as in a traditional autobiography like Ghose’s, Suleri-Goodyear distributes the narrative attention between herself, family members, and the decline of a new nation from its pluralist ideals.

Ghose’s biography begs to be read in tandem with the essay “Going Home” (1991) that he wrote almost twenty-five years after *Confessions of a Native Alien*. After a voluntary exile of twenty-eight years, the diasporic Ghose returns to Pakistan and is finally able to give validation to the land that has been the subject of his fiction and poetry, as well as to his Pakistani identity, through the personal journey he recounts in “Going Home.” The unapologetic observation of Pakistani corruption that Ghose sees around him is ultimately countered by an awareness of generosity, of resilience, and of courage, as he notes when suggesting that “one thing had not changed in twenty-eight, or perhaps even in two thousand years: the Pakistani psyche remains open-hearted, good-humoured, and generous” (“Going Home” 22). This journey back home

enables Ghose to establish a complex and plural identity, that rejects any affiliations to national and religious bonds. As a man who embarks on a triple exile,<sup>48</sup> Ghose's intricate identity resembles the protagonist of his third novel, *Triple Murder of the Self*, whose quest for belongingness sends him on a journey that maps continents, explores cities, and breaks taboos while negotiating multiple identities<sup>49</sup>.

In contrast to Ghose's emphasis on the formation of his individual identity in *Confessions*, Suleri-Goodyear forges a link between personal and public histories in her feminist autobiography, *Meatless Days*. Without foregrounding and privileging the self in dispersing her narrative amid family, friends, and Pakistan's historical upheavals, Suleri-Goodyear's memoir attempts to reclaim the pluralist ethos of her family as well as the inclusive, more liberal, Pakistan of her childhood that disappeared during Zia-ul-Haq's regime<sup>50</sup>. The demise of a secular Pakistan and the deaths of female family members are interlinked and carefully plotted – her mother's tragic death is intertwined with the saddest event in Pakistan's democratic history in which Zia-ul-Haq seizes power and the deposed prime minister, Z. A Bhutto, awaits trial; her grandmother dies in the week that Bhutto is hanged; and her sister, Ifat, is murdered in a hit-and-run accident on the second anniversary of her mother's death. The birth of Suleri-Goodyear's half-sister Nuzhat (in 1939) is symbolically linked to Jinnah's famous Lahore Resolution of 1940, which espoused the genesis of a secular nation. Suleri-Goodyear maintains a non-linear

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<sup>48</sup> First from Sialkot to Bombay, then to the UK, and finally to the US.

<sup>49</sup> He becomes Urim ("the scattered one") in the Amazon, Shimmers in London, and Roshan in India-Pakistan while tracing his own steps back to his subcontinental roots (like Ghose does in "Going Home"). Ghose divides *Triple Mirror of the Self* into three parts – 'The Burial of the Self', 'Voyager and Pilgrim', and 'Origins of the Self' – that reflect the three identities in three different continents of the protagonist, and thence, carefully maps his own personal journey, moving from India to England to the US (Brouillette 98-99).

<sup>50</sup> The fall of the Bhutto government and the imposition of a fanatical religious ethos by the Zia regime changes and brutalizes the liberal Pakistan that Suleri grows up in.



narrative<sup>51</sup> in which responses to her autobiographical details are cautiously controlled by a rejection of Pakistan's official – and masculinist – history.

Both autobiographical texts provide a sustained meditation on remembering as a way of surviving *dis-location*. Ghose's sojourn to the UK (in the early 1950s) and Suleri-Goodyear's to the US (in the late 1970s), and the writing of their individual memoirs, become the backdrop and the medium through which they re-envision identity, home, and nation. The modern Pakistani diasporic identity is formed, as these autobiographical texts suggest, through the continual re-inscriptions of home (which is no longer physically located in a single place) and nation in the face of loss and change. As products of a colonial education, and as intellectuals within the western academia, Ghose and Suleri-Goodyear also become the medium through which Pakistan is apprehended, both in the West and elsewhere. Their origins confer authenticity, and in Trinh Minh-ha's words, give them "an insider's view" which "bears within itself the seal of approval" (373).

### 3.1 **Zulfikar Ghose: The *Native Alien* 'Goes Home'**

Zulfikar Ghose is arguably one of the most prolific voices to come out of the Pakistani diaspora. While a claim to global citizenship infuses paradoxical impulses of an identity crisis in Ghose's writing, it also allows him to actively engage in the complexity of writing as an art form from the position of liminality. A prodigious oeuvre including eleven novels, two short story collections, six volumes of poetry collections, and six books of literary criticism has allowed Ghose to freely experiment with different literary forms such as magical realism and metafiction. Chelva Kanaganayakam notes in *Structures of Negation: The Writings of Zulfikar Ghose* (1993)

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<sup>51</sup> As opposed to fellow Pakistani, Tariq Ali's overtly political memoir, *Street-Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties*, that was published a year before *Meatless Days* and follows a linear narrative which encapsulates the politics, euphoria, and rebellion of the 1960s in Pakistan.

that “reading by form is both inevitable and necessary if one is to understand the unity of Ghose’s writings” (Kanaganayakam 8). A compulsive engagement with native alien experiences, for instance, establishes a continuity in his five volumes of poetry collections that span over fifty years, and reflects the different phases of Ghose’s poetic career, as “a movement away from ... historical and cultural realities to a poetry that is more self-reflexive, sceptical, and indeterminate” (Kanaganayakam 10). Ghose’s critical work, *The Art of Creating Fiction* (1991), establishes the parameters of great art, emphasizes the importance of aesthetic design in writing, and acknowledges the examples and critical thinking of Flaubert, Henry James, Proust, Nabokov and Virginia Woolf as crucial to his own development as a writer. In a lecture at the University of Arkansas titled “On Being a Native-Alien: The Question of a Writer’s Identity,” Ghose reiterated two of Proust’s phrases, “quality of language and the beauty of an image are the heart of great writing” (qtd in Abbasi 5). Ghose has, indeed, often expressed disdain at texts that champion a cause or message at the cost of form and style; in his own work he has unflinchingly juxtaposes language and reality to suggest that creation of a language should “essentially be a body of images” (*Art* 3) if a writer wants to have a unique voice in a work of fiction.

In his autobiographical musings and interviews, he tends to evade an easy political categorization or commitment to any national affiliation, which makes Ghose “one of the most unusual writers in English today ... [given that] the setting of his fiction over the past twenty years [spanning the 1970s and 1980s] has been none of the places where he has resided, but rather South America” (Dasenbrock 785). His desire to maintain a tenuous identity also invalidates essentialized claims to nationalist identity behind the fracturing of the subcontinent into Hindustan and Pakistan, which made his own early life quite complex. For “displaced and unhoused” writers like Ghose, ideas of home and identity often shift and evolve and get

manifested in “distorted” ways in the fictional models they create (Kanaganayakam 8). Interestingly, “the very fact” that Ghose has attempted to distance himself from authenticating his South Asian past “has ironically ... become the interpretative obsession of his readers and critics,” who regard the absence of “a specific conjuncture of life and art” as a “critical impasse that has impeded the range of approaches to Ghose’s work, and ... his success as a novelist” (Brouillette 105).

Prior to the publication of Ghose’s autobiography in 1965, the only English language life writing published in Pakistan was by a public figure (Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah); this accords a unique significance to *Confessions of a Native Alien*<sup>52</sup> in the history of Pakistani English literature. Ghose’s life was, unlike Ikramullah’s, far removed from bureaucratic Pakistan, making his autobiography an honest and intimate narrative of his personal and creative growth without a tradition to fall back on. For instance, as Muneeza Shamsie points out, Ghose’s portrayal of a budding adolescent sexuality in the text also remains unmatched in Pakistani English writing until 2009, when *Children of the Dust* was published by another Pakistani, Ali Eteraz (*Hybrid Tapestries*, 126). Ghose’s life away from 1960s Pakistan under martial law and the publication of *Confessions* in Britain undoubtedly contributed to the candidness of his narrative style.

Born in 1935, in Sialkot,<sup>53</sup> Ghose’s family moved to Bombay when he was seven years old. The ten years of the family’s stay in Bombay (1942-1952) coincided with the last years of

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<sup>52</sup> Ghose very possibly borrowed his title from *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (published in approximately 400 AD), and commonly referred to as the first autobiography ever written. St Augustine’s innovative *Confessions* is neither memoir nor autobiography, but provides an unbroken record of his pattern of thought, and continues to influence recognized life writing genres such as memoir and autobiography.

<sup>53</sup> A city in East Punjab where Ghose was born, and which became part of Pakistan at the moment of Partition.

the British Raj as the growing fervor of nationalism bitterly divided Hindu and Muslim communities. While Ghose's time in England, from 1952-1969, was marked by a "period of shifting [family] fortunes combined with an increasing awareness of being an outsider" (Kanaganayakam 7), this period was intellectually rewarding for him. Ghose met with several established and acclaimed writers, and was inspired to commit himself to a writing career. After graduating in English and Philosophy from the University of Keele in 1959, Ghose worked as a cricket correspondent for *The Observer*, wrote reviews for *The Western Daily Press*, *The Guardian*, and *The Times Literary Supplement*, and taught high school students. The 1960s also saw the publication of two his poetry collections, *The Loss of India* (1964) and *Jets from Orange* (1967), as well as a collection of short stories, *Statement Against Corpses* (1964), the autobiographical *Confessions of a Native-Alien* (1965), and two novels, *The Contradictions* (1966) and *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967).

In 1969, Ghose migrated again – for a third time – to the United States to take up a teaching position at the University of Texas at Austin, where he has been living since. In addition to *The Texas Inheritance* (1980) published under the pseudonym of William Strang, Ghose has published nine novels under his own name in the US: *The Incredible Brazilian*<sup>54</sup>, a trilogy which comprises *The Native* (1972), *The Beautiful Empire* (1975), and *A Different World* (1978); *Crump's Terms* (1975); *Hulme's Investigations into the Bogart Script* (1981); *A New History of Torments* (1982); *Don Bueno* (1983); *Figures of Enchantment* (1986); and *The Triple Mirror of the Self* (1991). His impressive oeuvre extends to critical works as well, including *Hamlet, Prufrock and Language* (1978), *The Fiction of Reality* (1984), *The Art of Creating Fiction* (1991), *Shakespeare's Mortal Knowledge* (1993), *Beckett's Company* (2009), and *In the Ring of*

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<sup>54</sup> *The Incredible Brazilian* trilogy became the first in Pakistani English literature to be translated into twenty languages.

*Pure Light* (2011). His poetry volumes include *The Violent West* (1972), *A Memory of Asia* (1984), *Selected Poems* (1991), and *Fifty Poems* (2010). He also wrote a short story book, *Veronica and the Gongora Passion* (1998). Besides a number of uncollected poems, short stories and essays, Ghose has a few unpublished novels, too, archived at the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas. The unpublished novels include *The Deccan Queen*, *The Frontier Province*, *The Desert Republics*, and *Kensington Quartet*. In addition, he has an unpublished play called *Clive of England*, and an unpublished book of criticism *Proust's Vision of the Beloved* (Abbasi 4). Ghose's experimentation with form and his struggle to find a unique style can be seen in his evolution as a writer from the realism in his earlier novels (*Contradictions* and *Murder of Aziz Khan*) to the most experimental and ambitious works such as *Hulme's Investigations into the Bogart Script* and *The Triple Mirror of the Self*.

Ghose's desire to be seen as a global writer can be explained by his refusal to explicitly respond to the major events of his time, particularly those afflicting South Asian Muslims. In spite of sixty years of literary engagement, his oeuvre eludes "any direct reference to the partition of India in August 1947, or to the 1971 break-up of Pakistan which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh, or the Cold War, or most recent of all, the 9/11 bombings and their impact on South Asians living abroad" (Abbasi 1). In *Art*, Ghose recommends leaving "important issues of the time to journalism and television talk shows," and if one is "really enraged by an issue and feel[s] a pressing need to be involved then [one should] take up politics" instead of becoming a writer (Ghose, *Art* 35). When he does write about South Asia, his concern is more with a style that is "meditative" and "a language that is lyrical and full of vivid imagery" than with a commitment to "any political ideology and/or resistance strategies" (Abbasi 1).

Ghose attempts to elude categorization in the wake of World War II, when ideas surrounding nationality, identity, and culture took more rigid forms globally, and during post-Partition years, when both Pakistani and Indian critics seemed eager to impose a nationalist ethos on the *raison d'être* of English language writing. Even then, as Muneeza Shamsie points out, Ghose was inducted as an important new voice during the 1960s in Pakistani anthologies, *First Voices and Pieces of Eight*, and the then-new *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* included him in both Indian and Pakistani listings (*Hybrid Tapestries*, 124). In Pakistan, Ghose continues to be discussed extensively as “the finest of Pakistani [English] writers” since the 1990s, when Pakistani poet and critic Alamgir Hashmi denounced fellow Pakistani critics for proposing a “Pakistani idiom” in English, and consequently, playing “an active role in the politics of culture” in relegating Pakistani English writers to “tribal and ethnographic” rather than “national-cosmopolitan” classifications (Hashmi, “Groupies” 268).

Besides Ghose’s earlier works, to which *Confessions* belongs, exilic and native-alien experiences persist in his most recent fiction as well. These notions, however, “appear transformed and distanced” in the later novels like *Figures of Enchantment* and *The Triple Mirror of the Self*, due to Ghose’s experimentation with the new narrative mode”<sup>55</sup> (Kanaganyakam 159). Ghose’s lack of interest in imagining his identity and works in any political and nationalistic frameworks can also be attributed to his relative obscurity as a writer. When comparing him to another well-known literary giant of South Asian origin, Salman Rushdie, it is evident that Ghose created complex works such as *The Brazilian Trilogy* long

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<sup>55</sup> In this regard, Ghose closely resembles Salman Rushdie, another native alien who left Bombay and emigrated to England, and like Ghose, also experimented with different narrative modes: from the fantasy of *Grimus* (1977) to the magic realism of *Midnight’s Children* (1981) and the quasi-historical mode of *Shame* (1983) and *The Satanic Verses* (1988).

before Rushdie became prominent on the world literary scene. According to M. Keith Booker, although Rushdie's and Ghose's works are complex, address issues of cultural importance, and share a similarity in employing the techniques of irony, parody, and carnivalesque imagery, Rushdie's remarkable reception by the critics has much to do with his Indian identity and a deep engagement with South Asian history and the ways in which the region continues to be defined by its geo-political landscape (Booker 2). Ghose's marginalization in South Asian literary circles (as critics like Booker, Kanaganyakam, and Abbasi have pointed out) is his relative elusiveness from his South Asian roots, and "the tendency of the market to promote writers who are easily identified with a political identity related to a specific nationality, who can then be marketed in those terms to a typically Anglo-American audience for literary fiction" (Brouillette 101). Ghose scorns the literary labels, such as "Commonwealth Writing" of the 1960s, or "Third World Literature" and "Black American Literature" of the 1970s, and even newer categories like "Postcolonial Literature" as these categories merely promote a "Nationalistic exclusivity" that "thrive[s] upon a contemptuous rejection of, or total indifference to, aesthetic values." Such labels in Ghose's view "encourage the neglect of the formal quality of a work of art because they demand that judgement be based solely upon some ideological consideration" ("Orwell and I" 2008).

Despite Ghose's refusal to be categorized or circumscribed by national, cultural, and ethnic boundaries, much of his writing is as dependent on his biographical circumstances as it is removed from them. Ghose evokes the metaphor of *broken mirrors* when he states that his work is intensely personal:

Fictions suggest themselves to a writer as images floating in the dimension of Time that must be ordered to form a believable story that might appear to have nothing to do with the writer's own self and yet, when the fragments of the narrative are inspected from an

altered perspective, the revelation is suddenly desperately personal. (Ghose, *Art of Creating Fiction*, 27)

His most “desperately personal” work, *Confessions of a Native Alien*, was written when Ghose was just thirty. This memoir largely explores Ghose’s exilic identity after his experiences of a double exile - twenty-three years since the Ghose family migrated from a Muslim Sialkot to a Hindu Bombay and thirteen years since their move to England from Bombay. In the foreword to the 1998 edition of his novel, *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967), Ghose reminisces on leaving his land of birth as follows: “the train to Bombay took me to an exile from my native environment to which so far there has been no end” (qtd in Shamsie, *Hybrid Tapestries*, 123). Remembering the passage to England as a moment of double exile, Ghose writes:

We were leaving two countries, for in some ways we were alien to both and our emigration to a country to which we were not native only emphasized our alienation from the country in which we were born. The distinction between the two countries of my early life has been the schizophrenic theme of much of my thinking: it created a psychological conflict and a pressing need to know that I do belong somewhere, and neither the conflict nor the need has ever been resolved. (Ghose, *Confessions* 1-2)

Ghose problematizes this “psychological conflict” by wondering whether to “call [himself] Indian or Pakistani” (*Confessions* 6) due to his birth before there was a Pakistan and his growing years in “Indian India”; yet writing the autobiography helps him eventually reckon with the fact that he is “really a Pakistani” (*Confessions* 149). Ghose explains in his autobiography that the evolution of the name “Ghose” illustrates the crises of his native-alien identity in interesting ways. Ghose’s actual birth name was Khawaja Zulfikar Ahmed and the family ultimately adopts the last name of his father, Khawaja Mohammed Ghaus (Shamsie *Hybrid Tapestries*, 122). The change of spellings (Ghose from Ghaus) belongs to the period of the family’s migration to Bombay when religious conflicts between Hindus and Muslims surged



during the Partition years, so taking up the Hindu name “Ghose” that closely rhymes with “Ghaus” seemed like an opportune switch. Ghose explains:

We found it convenient to be known as *Ghause* [Ghose] among Hindu communities and *Khawaja* among Muslims ... And I prefer it. It is half Muslim, half Hindu, half Pakistani, half Indian. I have no religious convictions and I do not know whether I should call myself the former. (Ghose, *Confessions*, 6)

His very name, thus, manifests one of the early fractures of his identity, signifying not just his separation from his Muslim origins but also his outsider position with regard to Hindu culture. The in-betweenness of Ghose’s identity is further exacerbated when his family migrates to England and the new British pronunciation of his name becomes “Gose” – since the first two letters in “Ghose” represent the phoneme ( ġ )<sup>56</sup> not known to the English language (Rahman, *History* 112). The switch to the Hindu name, however, does not prove to be so “convenient” in the Pakistan that Ghose visits in the early 1960s as a sports correspondent for *The Observer* to cover the MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club) series. The local news reporters refuse to consider him as a British journalist due to his brown skin, an incident that he ruefully describes:

I was not mentioned [while the other two British journalists were] and felt stung; some people must have thought I was some sort of fraud trying to obtain free passes to the test matches and I continually had to produce my credentials to convince them that I was a genuine reporter. ‘But this name’, many would say ‘Zulfikar and Ghose is very odd. Who are you?’ (Ghose *Confessions* 125)

The “MCC could never get used to me ... the colour of my skin, my educational background, and my employers were all irrelevant” Ghose further mourns (126) as he continues to experience discrimination within his own British entourage. When the cricket series moves on to tour India,

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<sup>56</sup>The letter ġ in Arabic/Persian/Urdu names is usually transliterated in English as <gh>, <ġ>, or simply <g>: بغداد *Baghdād* 'Baghdad', or غزة *Ghazzah* 'Gaza', the latter of which does not render the sound [ɣ]~[ʁ] accurately.

his feelings of un-belonging become even more intensified. Like in Pakistan, and in England before that,<sup>57</sup> being in India torments him even more:

This is not my country. I'm an alien here. I have the same paranoiac sensation of being watched by people, being pointed out with whispers of 'He doesn't belong here' which I experienced when I would walk and walk round Putney Heath day after day during the years we lived near there. (Ghose, *Confessions* 138)

Although the tour provides him an exciting opportunity to see his extended family in Pakistan and travel through India and Pakistan with relative ease, that entire trip makes Ghose painfully aware of the fact that he does “not belong to any group of people who have allegiance to a country” and the ensuing “loneliness” instills in him “an intensified need to write poetry” (*Confessions* 126). Ghose attempts to alleviate his native-alien struggle by “woo[ing] the English language each morning and... she divorc[ing] me each night” (*Confessions* 126). From Ghaus to Ghose and Gose, the name “sums up the conflict” within Zulfikar Ghose’s identity and “emphasizes the feeling of not belonging” anywhere as a young man (*Confessions* 6). The sense of rootedness to a place that is ruptured by Ghose’s many migrations is succinctly recapitulated by Alamgir Hashmi:

As a child he suddenly found himself chucked out of his original habitat; as a youth he had to leave the landscape to which he was accustomed and cope with a new environment with which he could never be at one without the doubtful aid of “external” interferences and attachments; as a man he had to consider his roots, rely on memory, and invent a language that would make sense of the contemporary world for him who has all but lost his “home.” (Hashmi “Stylized Motif” 66)

If Ghose feels an affinity for *any place* during his younger years, it is Pakistan. For instance, the fear and uncertainty surrounding the Bombay years, of “lorries, collecting dead

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<sup>57</sup> In the essay, “Orwell and I” (2008), Ghose reminisces about instances early on in his writing career that made him feel excluded from mainstream British writers.

bodies” and “hacked limbs” from the streets as if they were “collecting garbage cans” (*Confessions* 31), can be seen in direct contrast to Ghose’s early years in pre-Partition Sialkot. Ghose remembers the time in the 1930s Sialkot as a prosperous one, where “several generations of [his] family lived and spawned in the same house” (*Confessions* 21). The continuity of his childhood days in Sialkot is evident by memories of a man praying under a tree’s shade in the graveyard, or of the “profusely-sweating peanut vendors” on the streets, and most provocatively, by the potter whose house Ghose passes by *every day* watching the potter’s “hands always in front of him, moulding clay” (*Confessions* 21). His “happiest” memory, moreover, of the MCC tour is of being able to spend time with his sister in Lahore (*Confessions* 133). His works, particularly of the 1960s, manifest a passion about Pakistan through memories of his native country’s rich pre-colonial history, yet his most remarkable memory of Pakistan would not be scripted until another twenty-five years.

Ghose comes face-to-face with the rich, albeit paradoxical, heritage underlying his South Asian roots on a trip to Pakistan, in 1991, after a lapse of twenty-eight years since the MCC tour. He records this emotional experience in an essay, “Going Home.” Besides meeting with Pakistani journalists and literati, he avidly visits museums in the cities of Lahore and Peshawar as well as the UNESCO’s World Heritage archaeological sites of Taxila (dating back to the first millennium BCE) and Harappa (part of the Indus Valley Civilization spanning the fourth and second millennia BCE). These ancient sites and statues of the Buddha in the museums of a predominantly Muslim country is a harsh reminder for Ghose that linear history “fails to recognize the effect of palimpsest” as “borders, allegiances, and nations mask a past that has been erased and whose significance remains unacknowledged” (Kanaganayakam 5). The irony that the evolution of Buddhism lies in a region (that comprises India and parts of Pakistan) from

where it is virtually absent, and where religiosity has taken over Buddha's secular teachings of equity, makes Ghose more intensely aware of the *presence* of an *absence* within his own self. At 58 (like Rushdie's "post-lapsarian"/partly western man), Ghose finally comes home to address that absence.

Ghose forges an immediate connection with the Buddha, another South Asian man like himself, whose act of renunciation 2500 years ago broached political, ideological, and organizational alternatives to a religiously dominated society. Ghose, like the Buddha, leaves home, not once but thrice, to wander off in search of knowledge. On the brief return home after a self-imposed exile of several decades, Ghose is particularly "struck by the power of the incomplete statue of the fasting Buddha" at Peshawar city's museum. This statue becomes a symbol of Ghose's own identity as "the itinerant self in a timeless and bodiless space" (Ghose "Going Home" 15). The metaphor of incompleteness also signifies that Buddha did not reach his enlightenment through asceticism and fasting, but rather by denouncing that state of penance and, ultimately, by returning to and preaching at the place of his birth. The missing parts of Buddha's statue further accentuate the "vital presence" of all "which is not there," and force Ghose to reckon with his own native-alien identity of a "man in exile whose body must forever be incomplete because a part of it resides in the place of his origin" ("Going Home" 16). It is this very sense of incompleteness, then, that alerts Ghose to the paradoxical impulses within his identity, that "being and not-being are states similar to belonging to a land and being an exile from it" ("Going Home" 17).

Ghose's preoccupation with the Buddha statue(s) makes one wonder about the erstwhile popularity of the pluralist Buddhist ideology and its ultimate decline in the subcontinent. What was an ideological philosophy in Buddha's time had taken on the status of religion after

Buddha's death; in the three following centuries Buddhism became the fastest growing religion in the subcontinent and its surrounding areas. Buddha's ideology sought to bring equity to the underprivileged and poor "by challenging the Vedic Brahminical religion of his times" (Bose 26) and establishing the *Dhamma*<sup>58</sup>. The Dhamma, however, "got exiled from its land of birth" due to constant Brahminical conspiracies, "but became a national religion in many other countries" (Bose 28). In a similar fashion, the power of the images of the "incomplete statue of the fasting Buddha" in Ghose's essay leads us to acknowledge the *unseen*, which is forgotten by the state of Pakistan. For Ghose, these images then unravel that *unseen* in the form of a "buried past which is not acknowledged by the country" – a past that in present-day Pakistan has been wiped out by "the absence and distortion of the history of old civilizations" in Pakistani history books (Abbasi 12) as well as by the nationalistic amnesia surrounding the secular ideals behind the country's creation.

In spite of Ghose's pragmatic perception of corruption, ruthless exercise of power, ignorance, and religious fanaticism in Pakistan, meetings with Pakistani writers and journalists offer him the optimistic observation that "decades of brutal, barbaric and corrupt governments had not vitiated the independent spirit of Pakistani intellectuals" ("Going Home" 18). Ghose's agenda for Pakistan's stability lies in secular and liberal ideals, which emphasize that the country's economy should be "based on free enterprise" and religion should be restored "to the internal self of the spiritual human being and not bray[ed] ... out in the streets" ("Going Home" 19). The final stern warning in his essay is, perhaps, primarily intended for the Pakistani clerics:

Islam is not the narrow-minded, intolerant, and book-banning religion ... Islam is not a vengeful, murderous religion ... Islam never decreed that Muslims remain petrified in

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<sup>58</sup>The *Dhamma* was both a philosophy and a way of life that had a solid foundation on humanistic and hermeneutic principles that negated injustices, oppression, fate, karma, destiny, idol worship, concept of God and the philosophy related to it. It had unheeded the Hindu rebirth myth and rather formulated a revolutionary way of making one's life sublime in the same birth (Bose, 26-27).

one instance of historical time and forever sealed from social evolution ... Islam [is not] a system similar to the apartheid to be forced upon all of society, a system in which [the clerics'] view is exclusively right and everyone else is obliged to live in an intellectual ghetto. ("Going Home" 19-20)

"Going Home" embodies that rare moment in Zulfikar Ghose's writing career that allows him to step out of his native-alien predicament and cultivate a critical awareness of Pakistan's present-day problems. He uses his diasporic identity to imaginatively probe the past of his native land, convey the present, and project a future that facilitates a sense of collective belonging. The multiple displacements of his life inform him that the pluralist notion of identity is manifested in non-linear and transitional modes. Ghose is, therefore, able to steer clear of Pakistan's official nationalism in both texts examined in this chapter and chronicle a life of troubled dislocations, of alienation, and of ultimately finding peace *in* the land of his birth through the recognition of an inherently plural pre-diasporic identity.

### **3.2 Sara Suleri-Goodyear: 'Leaving Pakistan' and the 'Company of Women' in**

#### ***Meatless Days***

Professor Emeritus at Yale and founding editor of the *Yale Journal of Criticism* (1989-2005), Sara Suleri-Goodyear was born in Pakistan, in 1953. She grew up in Lahore, graduated from Kinnaird College, completed her Masters in English from Punjab University, and obtained a doctorate from Indiana University. As the daughter of the eminent journalist Z.A. Suleri (1913-1999) and a Welsh mother, Mair Jones, she observed political events and political opinions being forged at close quarters and wove the story of Pakistan into her memoir, *Meatless Days* (1989).

Suleri-Goodyear also authored a critical work, *The Rhetoric of English India* (1992)<sup>59</sup>, a complex exploration of how English writing was used to perceive and define the subcontinent, from the rhetoric of Edmund Burke to the fiction of Salman Rushdie. *Rhetoric* participated in a new wave of scholarship in the humanities, alongside Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1984), and Gayatri Spivak's essays in *In Other Worlds* (1987) and *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (1993). These scholars, with similar trajectories,<sup>60</sup> sought to break down the division established by earlier anti-colonial scholarship which sharply separated the writings of colonizer from colonized. Unveiling the ways in which colonial administration, education and infrastructure had shaped even the way that anti-colonial dissent could be articulated, *Rhetoric* moves beyond the analysis of how colonial events and subjects were represented, towards an analysis of how, and under what circumstances, representation happened in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Sara Suleri-Goodyear's second memoir, *Boys will Be Boys: A Daughter's Elegy* (2003), revolves around her late father, "Pip" (the nickname given to him by his children, short for *Patriotic* and *Preposterous*), and borrows its title from Pip's oft-repeated announcement that one day he would write an autobiography and call it *Boys Will Be Boys*. In 2009, as co-translator with Azra Raza, she published the poetry of famous Urdu poet Mirza Ghalib in *Mirza Ghalib: Epistemologies of Elegance* to bring Ghalib to a wider readership, especially to the "younger generation of Urdu speakers who don't have a clue of their literary heritage" (Suleri-Goodyear qtd in *Hybrid Tapestries* 254).

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<sup>59</sup> The book was written and researched during the high noon of Deconstruction. Suleri arrived at Yale in 1983, the year of Paul de Man's premature death, as well as the year before the publication of his last book, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*. De Man's title is evidently echoed in Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India*, which was written and published in the following decade.

<sup>60</sup> Like Suleri, who was educated at Kinnaird College and Punjab University in Lahore and then at Indiana University in the US, Bhabha went from the University of Mumbai to Oxford, and Spivak from the University of Calcutta to Cornell.

Although Suleri-Goodyear's most ambitious work, *The Rhetoric of English India* was published in 1992, after *Meatless Days* but before *Boys Will be Boys*, both of her memoirs draw on ideas of language and literature that she explores and researches in *Rhetoric*. The narrative structure of both memoirs is, for instance, based on "tales" that Suleri-Goodyear associates with "the feminine picturesque" (*Rhetoric* 75) embodied in the travel writings of Fanny Parkes and Harriet Tyler about India during the 1850s. Similar to the travelogues of colonial female ethnographers, "the digressiveness" of Suleri-Goodyear's picturesque stories "turn[s] history into a tale, reducing its violence into the commiserative idiom of anecdote" (Suleri-Goodyear *Rhetoric* 100). Like other critics of Suleri-Goodyear's work, William Ghosh writes that the "theoretical orientation" in Suleri-Goodyear's memoirs is evident through her use of visual metaphors. These metaphors establish the memoirist's ability to distort or invent her absent subjects (her family and friends distanced from her through death or geography) just like a critic invents and distorts a text, and enable Suleri-Goodyear to understand "criticism, like memoir, to be an act of creative, and distorting, remembrance" (Ghosh 58).

The nine chapters of *Meatless Days* are a collection of autobiographical tales woven into a memoir. Critics see a connection between Suleri-Goodyear's compressed language and images with that of two South Asian art forms: the miniature painting (Moore-Gilbert 101) and the Urdu poetic form of the *ghazal* (Moore-Gilbert 101; Shamsie M., *Hybrid* 245). Since the book was written in the aftermath of the untimely and tragic deaths of Suleri-Goodyear's mother and sister, it follows a non-linear structure mirroring that of grief in which "each chapter can be read individually as a '*sher*' (couplet) even though the whole holds together ... just as in a *ghazal*" (Suleri-Goodyear qtd in M. Shamsie, 245). *Meatless Days*, remarkable for the quality of Suleri-



Goodyear's prose and her use of metaphor to define chapters,<sup>61</sup> is regarded as one of the classical feminist texts of South Asian English literature<sup>62</sup>. The text pioneered a new and original form of life writing in Pakistani English literature by "blur[ring] the lines between autobiography and the novel" (Shamsie M, *Hybrid* 243). Suleri-Goodyear's fictional memoir was the foremost to describe a Pakistani writer's experiences of migration and assimilation in the United States. Her book began as an essay, "Excellent Things in Women" (1987) that received the Pushcart Prize. The nine chapters that follow are refractions of Pakistan's national history with a simultaneous focus on members of the Suleri family and eccentric friends – for instance, "Papa and Pakistan" concentrates on her father's crusade for a Muslim state; "The Immoderation of Ifat" revolves around her beautiful sister and parental surrogate; "What Mamma Knew" describes her evanescent Welsh mother; and "Mustakori, My Friend: A Study of Perfect Ignorance" is about her life-long friend from college days in Pakistan. While describing events from the troubled birth of a nation (in 1947) to General Zia-ul-Haq's militaristic Islamic regime that also coincides with Suleri-Goodyear's departure for the US (in the late-1970s), *Meatless Days* is also a tribute to her private pre-diasporic life in Lahore.

The narrative significantly forges a solidarity with minority populations, symbolized by Suleri-Goodyear's Welsh mother, Mair Jones, and her sister, Ifat, who are rejected and afflicted by the dominant social order of Pakistan. In doing so, Suleri-Goodyear fits the definition of Edward Said's "intellectual," whose "representations ... are always tied to and ... remain an organic part of an ongoing experience in society: of the poor, the disadvantaged, the voiceless,

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<sup>61</sup> As Suleri tells Muneeza Shamsie in an interview: "metaphor can ease the strain of grief" (Interview 2004).

<sup>62</sup> Although, interestingly, the most powerful, and radically vocal, resistance has actually come from Pakistani Muslim feminist Urdu poets like Kishwar Naheed, Fehmida Riaz, Zehra Nigah, Sara Shagufta, Saeeda Gazda, Ishrat Afreen and Neelma Sarwar, whose poetry probes and challenges the military-led political and social authoritarianism of President Zia-ul-Haq's martial law regime that has had obvious implications for liberal Pakistani women in terms of their individual and political freedoms (Kanwal A, 121)

the unrepresented, the powerless” (Said 84). By representing an entire community of women who are omitted from the country’s official history, Suleri-Goodyear reconstructs an alternative history of the nation, thereby subverting the linear construction of a historical time – that of the nation and of her father.

Suleri-Goodyear’s commitment to a pluralist agenda is foregrounded in the realization that her own story is inextricably linked to Pakistan’s national narrative – albeit in feminine ways – and in the dissemination of her text across different national boundaries, historical periods, cultural locations, and linguistic spaces. The novel traverses Pakistan, Kuwait, Tanzania, the United States, and England, spans pre-and-post-Independence Pakistan and contemporary Britain and America, and moves through Urdu, Indian English, and English. The multiple displacements of *Meatless Days* emphasize that the pluralist notion of identity is embedded in non-linear and transitional modes. Suleri-Goodyear’s father and grandmother (Dadi) migrated to Pakistan from India shortly before Partition. Her Welsh mother’s voluntary exile to Pakistan after her marriage, and the dispersal of family members to Kuwait, England, and America, chart affiliations and identities that transgress political and racial boundaries. In producing a feminist counter-narrative of the nation, Suleri-Goodyear embraces what Homi Bhabha calls, the “temporality of enunciation” instead of presenting the patriarchal nation in “homogenous, serial time” (Bhabha, *Location*, 37).

She renders a pluralistic linguistic context to her text, where “the unpronounceability of [her] life” (*Meatless Days* 138) can only be imagined through the construction of language. Her text is “self-consciously intertextual and studded with metacritical references to anecdotes, parables, farce and romance,” besides being populated by mostly female characters who are linguistically fragile and heterogenous and “exist in a state of perpetual transformation”

(Lovesey 37). Suleri-Goodyear's Dadi "move[s] her thin pure Urdu into the Punjab" as an Urdu-speaking migrant within her husband's Punjabi family, her Tanzanian friend, Mustakori is sent to English boarding schools that "wrung the Swahili out of her insides" (*Meatless Days* 52), whereas Mair Jones does not speak the language of her husband's native land, nor does Suleri-Goodyear's sister, Ifat, know the Jehlum dialect of Punjabi that her in-laws speak. Suleri-Goodyear refers to "several Ifats" (*Meatless Days* 139) simultaneously magical and mundane, and embodying the qualities of "both costumes and choreographer at the same time" (*Meatless Days* 175). Ifat also metaphorically transforms from "a house [Suleri-Goodyear] once rented" (*Meatless Days* 42) to a reorganized "municipality" after her murder (104). Her friend, Mustakori, on the other hand, not only switches between names and identities (Congo Lise, Fancy Musgrave, Faze Mackaw, or Mustakor of Tanzania) but also between national boundaries and different time zones. The hybridized narrative of *Meatless Days*, then, dismantles the opposition between Pakistan and the West, and points to ways in which Suleri-Goodyear's Pakistani-American identity is cross-fertilized by her own history.

*Meatless Days* suggests that history is not monolithic but subject to revision, appropriation, and fracture. Like most contemporary Pakistani writers in this study, including Kamila Shamsie and Mohsin Hamid, Sara Suleri-Goodyear does not show history to its best advantage. *Meatless Days* explicitly represents Suleri-Goodyear's distaste for history by stressing the ethical and political imperative of remembrance in the writing of nation. The memoir takes its title from one such cultural tradition that transforms a conservative decree by the newly-established Pakistani government into an unofficial national celebration. Suleri-Goodyear recounts how shortly after independence, in order to conserve the national supply of livestock, the government designated two days of the week, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, as

meatless days. That consequently tripled meat sales on Mondays and the consumption of meat proceeded unimpeded on Tuesdays and Wednesdays; hence, “instead of creating an atmosphere of abstention in the city, the institution of meatless days rapidly came to signify the imperative behind the acquisition of all things fleshy” (*Meatless Days* 32), roundly flouted by all in a financial position to do so. The certainty of those meatless days is revealed as both a sham and an impossibility, and by presenting this falsehood directly alongside Partition, Suleri-Goodyear similarly undercuts the “truth” of Pakistan’s historical beginning.

The narrative deems it necessary to recollect the destruction that has been unleashed by willful forgetting in the interests of national identity. Her personal discomfort with history, as Jenni Ramone observes, is epitomized by “an awareness that her father is, unlike the women in her family, susceptible to history” as well as by “an unwillingness to designate her mother’s death to a fixed moment in time,”<sup>63</sup> and finally, by “her own diaspora condition once she leaves Pakistan to live in America”<sup>64</sup> (Ramone 64). When Suleri-Goodyear notes that “we were coming to a parting – Pakistan and I” (*Meatless Days* 123), it can be inferred that leaving Pakistan was more about leaving her father. The memoir’s non-linear structure marks a critical departure from the realist medium of her father’s writing, the newspaper. His journalism becomes the authoritative medium of nation-making, with its rigid adherence to chronology and insistence on the linear temporal narrative. *Meatless Days*, on the other hand, moves back and forth between

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<sup>63</sup>Mair Jones’ accidental death happened on the streets of Lahore while Suleri-Goodyear was in the US, and as a consequence, in her memory it never sits on a fixed place in time: while her mother was dead in Lahore on March 9, Suleri-Goodyear was informed about the death on the evening of March 8, in the US, a date on which, in Lahore time, she would have been still alive. The difference between the time zones “gave [her those] eight hours when Mamma was still historically alive” (*Meatless Days* 43-44).

<sup>64</sup>The indeterminacy surrounding Suleri-Goodyear’s diasporic identity is highlighted when Yale’s gothic domes remind her of Lahore’s mosques, and a friend’s tears make her reminisce of the monsoons back home (152-153), while the geographical space of *Meatless Days*’ production, the American Midwest, seems like “an unreal town that looked at me like toy-land” far removed from the unnerving political developments in Pakistan’s history, in which Zia-ul-Haq’s military regime takes over Pakistan after hanging Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (123-124). Ambivalent geographical and temporal locations, then, make her wonder if she has lost her sense of place.

events, woven together by evocative metaphors, in an attempt to stress the productivity rather than the facticity of the past. Suleri-Goodyear writes the discourse of nationalism in the section, “Papa and Pakistan,” by narrating the story of her father’s birth and growth and the genesis and evolution of Pakistan in complex metaphorical parallels. For instance, she muses on the coincidence of the naming of both her father and Pakistan,

They must have hit upon their names in about the same era, that decade of the 1930s when Ziauddin Ahmed – a Rajput Salahlia, employee of the imperial government in India – decided to become Z. A. Suleri – the writer, and some Indian Muslims in England decided it was high time to talk about Islamic Independence and invented that new coinage, Pakistan. (*Meatless Days* 110)

In each case, Suleri-Goodyear points out, the assumption of a name announces a new-found purpose and identity. The fictiveness of Pakistani nationhood highlights the story of “Papa and Pakistan” that carefully follows the chronology of historical events. In doing so, Suleri-Goodyear underscores the linearity through which the nationalist narrative is plotted, its obsession with progenitors and origins, and its emphasis on landmark events like the Lahore Resolution, Partition, the 1971 War, etc. Jinnah’s authority in the Suleri household, for instance, reaches mythic proportions when Z. A. Suleri decides to invent his own genealogy by treating Jinnah as his father. Suleri-Goodyear reminisces,

[my father] saw to it that I grew up in a world that had only a single household god, called the Quaid, so that even today I feel slightly insolent to my upbringing when reality prompts me to call him by his real name, Jinnah ... but, in our home that title conveyed/ an added twist, becoming in Pip’s impassioned discourse nothing other than the Father. (*Meatless Days* 111)

His daughter’s shifting focus on gender and race duly interrupts Z. A. Suleri’s narration of the nation with its fidelity to chronological developments. This shift invalidates the totalizing narrative of nationhood and its masculinist discourse of unity and purity. Suleri-Goodyear’s

voice interpolates her father's account with perspectives gleaned from conversations with her mother, sisters, or grandmother. She describes the irresistible charm of her father's stories and his considerable pleasure in storytelling, but simultaneously points to the omissions on which his narrative is built. For instance, Suleri-Goodyear finds a falsehood in her father's life that she equates with the displaced nationalisms *of men* that resulted in a Muslim Pakistan and a Hindu India. Z A Suleri leaves for post-war London in 1945 as a result of royalties he earns from writing Jinnah's biography, *My Leader*. While there, he mails a divorce notice to his wife of ten years with whom he also has a daughter, Nuzhat. Suleri-Goodyear ruminates on the sham of Partition manifested by the deceptiveness of her father's actions:

I often regret that he was not in Pakistan at the time of the partition, to witness those bewildered streams of people pouring over one brand-new border into another, hurting as they ran ... I wish today, that Pip had been a witness of it all: surely that would have given him pause and conferred the blessing of doubt? But he was still in postwar London, living with my mother now, although Baji [his previous wife] may well have been a semblance of the question in his head when he sat down to write *Whither Pakistan?* (*Meatless Days* 116)

Suleri-Goodyear, nevertheless, imagines the beginnings of her own hybrid and plural identity in her parents' enduring marriage. Her mother's decision to adopt Pakistani citizenship and change her name from Mair Jones to Surriya Suleri repudiates the notion of an essentialized Pakistani national identity propagated by the state. Her marriage to a Pakistani man produces children, who further embody that repudiation. The challenge of upholding secular views in an Islamic state, however, is represented by Mair Jones's paradoxical feelings: while she feels awestruck at the radical unmaking her children signify to the official national discourse through their "comingling of color", there is also "a trace of sadness" in her, "as though the aftermath of joy suggests that fearful interrogation, 'what will happen to these pieces of yourself – you, and yet not you – when you dispatch them into the world? Have you made sufficient provision for

their extraordinary shadows?’ The question made her retreat” (*Meatless Days*, 161). Suleri-Goodyear further problematizes the idea of a hybrid identity in Pakistan by her father’s attempts, in his later life after Jones’ death, to erase the memory of his own pluralist identity in favor of a purely Pakistani identity. Upon her return visits to Pakistan from the US, Suleri-Goodyear ruefully notices that just as he invented a father for himself in Jinnah at the beginning of his political career, he invents a daughter by adopting a young Pakistani woman in his old age. In doing so, Suleri-Goodyear describes,

With professional efficiency, as though orchestrating governmental change, Pip cleared the family stage of his mind and ushered a new one in ... There is nothing of my mother left in his house now, of course, and our visits seem to cause him increasing unease, reminding him of some other thing that he once knew, a memory international. (*Meatless Days* 129)

The loss of pluralistic traditions in the subcontinent propelled by the Partition, and the fact that “men had put Pakistan on the map”<sup>65</sup> and were squarely responsible for the country’s masculinist – hence misconstrued – nationalism, are two significant strands in Suleri-Goodyear’s feminist text. Despite Suleri-Goodyear’s reverence for her father, she expresses a subdued dismay at some of his actions, particularly abandoning a wife and a daughter, and of “martialing facts”<sup>66</sup> in his journalistic writings about the struggle for Pakistan in a way that made him “forget that we weren’t facts and [he] would martial us too, up and down the nation” (*Meatless Days* 115). In a similar vein, she calls Indian men who brought about the Partition “actors,” including Jinnah who “certainly [was] the most aware of all politicians of India at that time of how to maintain a poetical posture in its history” (*Meatless Days* 113). In contrast, she acknowledges the

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<sup>65</sup> Mumtaz Shah Nawaz’s words to her mother quoted in the last chapter.

<sup>66</sup> Suleri uses this expression reproachfully, and borrows it from one of Jinnah’s letters to Z. A. Suleri, in which he says: “I congratulate you on marshalling facts so well and giving a clear picture of the seven years of our struggle” (Jinnah qtd in *Meatless Days*, 115).

price her half-sister, Nuzhat, pays for the marriage of Suleri-Goodyear's parents. Suleri-Goodyear affectionately recounts Nuzhat's recollection of meeting Mair Jones for the first time, and how after initially "regard[ing] one another sorrowfully" they both silently "decided to convert into a shared responsibility their portions of guilt and loss" and became "each other's closest friends" thenceforth (*Meatless Days* 117).

The divergences between her father's narrative and her own reveal Suleri-Goodyear's inability to accommodate her pre-diasporic experiences within a patriarchal, and hence a monolithic, discourse. Her first chapter, "Excellent Things in Women," gives an avowedly feminist trope to her narrative, and begins with the assertion that leaving Pakistan "was, of course, tantamount to giving up the company of women" (*Meatless Days* 1). Her disillusionment with Pakistan parallels her growing distance from her father's ideas. Her father sees Suleri-Goodyear's eventual decision to leave Pakistan for the US as a relegation of all that he stood for: "he looked at me as though I were telling him that I was not a nation any more, that I was a minority" (*Meatless Days* 123). A daughter's voluntary assumption "within someone else's history ... dismantl[ing] that other history she was supposed to represent" (*Meatless Days* 164) becomes a vexing prospect for a man whose life's work – the struggle for Pakistan – was founded on the repudiation of minority status for Indian Muslims of an undivided India.

Her memoir, while linking power and authority in the figure of the father, also creates a space for the family women who determine the way that power is dispersed, refracted, or deflected through their shared activities and exchanges. She emphasizes the plurality of her narrative by displacing the political from the domain of masculine activity represented by her father's life to the experiences and perspectives of women. She juxtaposes men's nation-making with women's homemaking. Women's sacrifices – Dadi leaves India for Pakistani Punjab, Mair



Jones leaves her country and her Welsh identity behind, Ifat embarks on a long wait at her in-laws' home for her husband to return home from the 1971 war, both Mair Jones' and Ifat's care for the children, as well as their heeding to other family needs—contrast with Z.A. Suleri's writings that commemorate the struggle for Pakistan. Mair Jones becomes the “ethereal center” of a “highly gendered world” as well as the diasporic Suleri-Goodyear's connection to Pakistan (Scanlon 413). Suleri-Goodyear attempts to make peace with her mother and Pakistan simultaneously when she iterates, “it is not merely devotion that makes my mother into the land on which this tale must tread” (*Meatless Days* 164). It is her mother who teaches Suleri-Goodyear that history has to do with “bearing” and “posture” (165), and that “love renders a body into history” (164). It falls upon Suleri-Goodyear, then, to recover her mother's lost history by investigating her position of absence, reticence, and silence within Pakistan's national narrative:

I am curious to locate what she knew of the niceties that living in someone else's history must entail, of how she managed to dismantle that other history she was supposed to represent. Furthermore, I am interested to see how far any tale can sustain the name of ‘mother,’ or whether such a name will have to signify the severance of story. (*Meatless Days* 164).

Ifat, on the other hand, undertakes the “most arduous labor” of her life, with “great reserve to bring her husband home again;” Javed, Ifat's husband, returns home after two years of being a POW in the War of 1971, quite possibly suffering from severe PTSD (*Meatless Days* 144). It is left to the realm of women to normalize life after major dislocations in Pakistan's official history, thereby which Suleri-Goodyear dismantles the segregation of the public and private on which a masculinist national narrative is founded.

*Meatless Days* foregrounds defiant and strong-minded women who dominate the narrative and form solidarities from private spheres. Ifat elopes, and Suleri-Goodyear's two other

sisters marry against their father's wishes, while Suleri-Goodyear leaves for the US. Ifat is quick to endorse Suleri-Goodyear's decision to leave, while her mother's letter that says "the thing that makes me happy is the thought of your life" reaches Suleri-Goodyear in the US, and Dadi sends off Suleri-Goodyear with the blessing, "keep on living" (*Meatless Days* 123). Suleri-Goodyear's intimate connection with women in her family is epitomized by the evocative image of three lives – Sara, Ifat, and their mother – "enveloping and incubating" (Koshy 141) each other: "Ifat had preceded me, leaving her haunting aura in all my mother's secret crevices: in the most constructive period of my life she lay around me like an umbilical fluid, yellow and persistent" (*Meatless Days* 131). Despite Mair Jones' preference for keeping "her connection with her children at low tide" her daughters are "ravished by her" (*Meatless Days* 49). In order not to stumble upon "some hidden cultural ritual that she was too polite to disturb," Mair Jones prefers to remain invisible, giving "a ravishing smile and disappearing into Welshness" (*Meatless Days* 59). It is, indeed, Ifat who offers the motherly comfort and security to her sister when their mother retreats into "some Welsh moment" (*Meatless Days* 161), and so for Suleri-Goodyear "to fall asleep on Ifat's bed was milk enough, to sleep in crumbling rest beside her body" (*Meatless Days* 186). Her passionate identification with her mother and sister is often contrasted to the resistant relationship with her father.

*Meatless Days* continuously produces counter narratives on the basis of other allegiances and solidarities, particularly enunciated by the shifts in the narrative voice from "I" to "we," as alternatives and autonomous interpretations of the authoritative discourse of nation, history and identity spoken by Suleri-Goodyear's father. The writing of the memoir is a "continuous collaborative process that incorporates discussions with friends, the cursory bemused interest of her siblings, excerpts from memoirs, novels or letters by her family" where "even dreams and

solitude are permeated by explorations” of Suleri-Goodyear’s relationship with her mother and sisters (Koshy 149). Writing the self, then, is not separable from writing the family for Suleri-Goodyear, in which she stresses the role of memory for the construction of possibilities. The “ironies of nationhood ... of what can and cannot be willed ... a memory erased” (*Meatless Days* 164) remind us that a *willed* amnesia surrounding nationhood often unleashes violence and tyranny.

As a hybrid text that disturbs the certainties of identity premised on nation and origin, *Meatless Days* insists not on the separation and distance inherent in Suleri-Goodyear’s diaspora condition, but rather on connection and the possibility of representing “the accessibility of our difference” (*Meatless Days* 161). Yet it is the very status of diasporic minority that helps Suleri-Goodyear “rationalize the authoritarian ... tendencies within cultures in the name of the national interest or the ethnic prerogative” in which “the ambivalent, antagonistic perspective of nation as narration ... establish[es] the cultural boundaries of the nation” where “thresholds of meaning that must be crossed, erased, and translated in the process of cultural production” (Bhabha, “Narrating the Nation” 4). Distance and marginality after her migration to the US undeniably open up that space for Suleri-Goodyear to reimagine the narration of a nation in *Meatless Days*.

### **Conclusion**

The straddled positioning of both diasporic intellectuals, that on occasion makes them “feel that [they] straddle two cultures; at other times, that [they] fall between two stools” (Rushdie *Imaginary Homelands* 15), becomes the impulse behind their life writing. They are the “creative intellectual[s]” for whom, Ananya Kabir observes, “both the moment of departure and the moment of arrival have immense emotional significance and commemorative potential as

nodes when histories of individuals and families intersect with larger historical processes” (Kabir “Diasporas” 146). Possibly, then, the most daunting task that faces both Ghose and Suleri-Goodyear is how to re-imagine their pluralist identities that foster transcendent coalitions and alliances in their autobiographies which mitigate bitter national and religious conflicts.

Zulfikar Ghose’s two texts signal that the paradox of his native-alien identity, “the long torment of being” may be “stilled at last” in his affiliation with a prehistoric South Asian collective identity (“Going Home” 15). The solace Ghose finds by forging a shared identity with his native region in “Going Home” contrasts to his erstwhile longing to belong somewhere in *Confessions of a Native Alien*. The “Indo-Pakistani who had gone Anglo” (*Confessions* 156), eventually, in the land of his birth, allows himself to be overpowered by a “sensation that my absence from that soil had been of a far longer duration and, at the same time ... I had existed continuously on that earth for two thousand years” (“Going Home” 15). Realizing that the old multi-cultural subcontinent is lost forever to the conflicting nationalisms that continue to divide the region, Ghose chooses to opt out of the nation by excavating an ancient and culturally rich history of South Asia that “suddenly awakens [him] to an unknown past” and simultaneously lodges in him “a startling awareness of a consciousness quite unconnected with the historical present” (“Going Home” 15). Ghose’s success at eluding rigid forms of national and religious categorizations in his writing has, nonetheless, come at a cost: he remains relatively less known in the field of South Asian studies in spite of his impressive oeuvre.

Professing that she has “always mourned in museums” (*Meatless Days* 79), Suleri-Goodyear’s work also cautions that we should mistrust history as a reliable or reasonable method of accounting for past events. But unlike Ghose, she cannot opt out of the nation entirely as the story of her life is inextricably linked with Pakistan’s national discourse due to her lineage. Like

an intellectual biographer, she uses the rhetorical strategy of the “picturesque” to mitigate the violence of the large-scale historical phenomena in Pakistan’s history that is difficult to acknowledge or represent. The self-imposed exile in the US, further, allows Suleri-Goodyear that distance to “bec[o]me historical” (*Meatless Days* 127) in order to construct a secular image of herself that is true to the foundational version of Pakistan – a version of her identity that she feels compelled to convey as a diasporic postcolonial academic. The particular condition of diaspora experience makes her “at once alert to the postcolonial commitments and aware of her own subjectivity” (Ramone 71). Suleri-Goodyear’s diasporic status also allows her to recognize the paradox within her own identity, in which her memory of Pakistan becomes a memory of the “company of women” albeit the social roles (of mother, sister, child, wife, or servant) that define the Pakistani female identity.

This “self-writing with a difference” (Lovesay 36), then, is Suleri-Goodyear’s attempt to actively confront not simply the intolerant practices of an Islamic state but also the homogenization of Third world feminist discourses. She unapologetically conflates the liberation of Pakistan women with their subjugation, and reimagines a subjective and secular history of Pakistan in spite of the country’s genesis on the basis of religion. Inclusive texts like Suleri-Goodyear’s, in which she is both a migrant and a citizen of a former colony, re-inscribe ideas about the modern Pakistani female identity, and more crucially, “register the shift to a post-9/11 social imaginary that has reframed misogynist tendencies, such as honour killings, forced marriages, forced veiling and other tribal customs, as general practices in Muslim culture” (Kanwal 120). Suleri-Goodyear underscores the notion of a collective identity – as an identity shared with other women, in particular – by effectively reclaiming the memory of her family and celebrating the pluralist identifications enacted through the lives of her mother and siblings.

Although both Ghose and Suleri-Goodyear left Pakistan – or the land that became Pakistan – and experienced a series of new affiliations and disengagements with erstwhile identifications, their memoirs show that they could never leave their Pakistani heritage completely. Their racialization in diasporic landscapes engendered the ambitious doubling of the postcolonial diasporic identity in which “the shadow of the other falls upon the self” (Bhabha, *Location* 60), and in which issues of memory and translation can be addressed only by a commitment to the plural and the partial (Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* 15). Kamila Shamsie and Mohsin Hamid, likewise, are also exilic writers, yet their hybrid identities are firmly embedded in their pluralistic Pakistani roots. They attempt to similarly address Pakistan – the focus of their combined oeuvre – through collective and affective attachments. Mumtaz Shahnawaz’s only novel is about the creation of Pakistan and her Muslim leaguer identity, but the text is also a rueful examination of the loss of an undivided India. Manto, too, could never come to terms with Partition’s division and with leaving behind his collective identity in an Indian Bombay. His short stories are still read on either side of the divide because they convey the pity of Partition in the lives of ordinary people who were hit the hardest, regardless of their religious and political orientations. Read together, all these writers seem to signal that displacement – that often shifts the markers of one’s origin and purpose – can only be rationalized by embracing traditions of cultural diversity and pluralism.

#### 4 CONCLUSION: MOVING ON

Caught in a confluence of competing strategic, geographical, religious, ethnic, and economic forces, it can, indeed, be difficult for outsiders to understand Pakistan. Predictions of the country's failure maligned Pakistan for a long time after its turbulent birth. Enduring decades-long military dictatorship, Pakistanis have lacked neither the courage nor the desire for a genuine democracy as their country oscillates between the religious and the secular. These ordinary citizens of Pakistan, who belong to a broad social and political spectrum, continue to question the state-sponsored national identity and refuse to subscribe to a political system that falls short of integrating the demands of a linguistically and culturally diverse population. Surely problems of ambivalence surround Pakistan's idea of nationhood due its conceptual indeterminacy, but as contemporary writers like Mohsin Hamid and Kamila Shamsie advocate, Pakistan deserves attention as a nation with a long and rich cultural history. Its future, these writers contend, is incumbent on what the current generation of Pakistanis want their country to become. Pakistan is no longer Jinnah's idea, Hamid further postulates in his essay, "Why Pakistan Will Survive," but a reality that is here to stay albeit forecasts of its collapse. Therefore, to his mind, Pakistanis should not "have to justify to anyone" the reasons for their country's survival, and it is time for everyone to "move on" (Hamid "Why Pakistan Will Survive, 39).

Global readers are becoming familiar with the story and history of Pakistan through the current generation of Pakistani English writers, represented by Hamid and Shamsie in this project, whose narratives continue to compete in the West with the prejudices and stereotypes that generally tend to "[focus] on Pakistan in terms of strategic security and [frame] Pakistan as a problematic partner in the so-called war of terror" (Waterman 1). The story of Pakistan, in all its diversity, is still being written as it is a fairly young nation with a very old cultural heritage.

Contemporary Pakistani writing is indefatigably engaged in an examination of the country's complex geopolitical situation by placing the stories of Pakistani people in the context of the bigger story of the nation. Although my study focuses only on fiction writers, Pakistani Anglophone literature continues to make headway in perspectives and contexts, as well as in categories and genres. Given that much of Pakistani fiction is historical, I show through my dissertation that one of the most productive ways to understand Pakistani writing, and its many literary genres, is by understanding the series of events that have given shape to the complex Pakistani identity. Besides inheriting porous borders due an ill-planned cartography by the parting British, Pakistan has faced several major upheavals since its inception in 1947 including wars with India, the 1971 War, successive military dictatorships, the US-led Afghan jihad, the Kashmir conflict, the war on terror, and the rise of Islamic extremism in the 1980s and multifarious ethnic, ancestral, and sectarian crises resulting from it. All of these disruptions in Pakistan's history prefigure in the formation of Pakistani individualistic as well as nationalistic and communitarian identities.

English is the language of Pakistan's powerful elite, who support its continued use in formal official domains because that "ensures [their] social distinction from the non-elite" (Rahman, "Urdu-English Controversy" 179). Fluency in English facilitates the entry of the younger generation into local influential positions, and also opens up the prospects of the international job market for them. The dominance of English is "covert," Rahman contends, as its support "comes from people in unofficial positions and is opposed to declared governmental policy" (179). Rahman's claim is supported by the fact that only 37 percent of Pakistan's total population, belonging to its urban centers (*Index Mundi*), can read and write in English. When it comes to the publishing of English-language books, the country's ruling elite have failed to step



forward and facilitate such publications. Except for a handful of publishers, Pakistan lacks an established publishing industry. Many publishing giants in the UK and US (including Penguin, Harper Collins, Macmillan, and others) have given distribution rights to Indian distributors, and since the last couple of decades, India's well-established publishing industry has controlled and served the whole South Asian region. Most Pakistani authors writing in English are being published in India for distribution of their books in Pakistan. Despite a shortage of publishers in Pakistan, the Oxford University Press in Karachi has hosted crowded English literary festivals regularly in the cities of Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad since 2010, well attended by Pakistani writers from the diaspora. Book launches and book fairs promoting Pakistani English writers all around the country in the past few years demonstrate that English literature is "no longer a marginalized, disparaged genre as it once was ... [but] now a part of the mainstream of Pakistani literature" (Shamsie, *M. Hybrid Tapestries*, 606).

The modern Pakistani identity is principally becoming defined by a very visible and empowered urban middle class in the country, explicitly divorced from the state-defined and military-dominated version of Pakistan's economy, its history, as well as its politics. My project asserts that the contemporary Pakistani identity, to which the living authors of this research also belong, embraces Pakistan in all its dimensions, through "its politics, its culture, its minutiae, its beauty," as well as "its warts, its potential, its pitfalls, its facial hair, its turbaned heads, its shuttlecock burqas," in addition to "its jet-setting supermodels, its high-flying bankers, its rock bands, its qawwals, its poets, its street vendors, its swindling politicians, its scheming bureaucrats, its resolute people – in essence, all things Pakistani" (Najam). To pigeonhole Pakistani Anglophone writers according to their "Muslim" or "Islamic" identities, then – as the titles of many recent critical works detailed in my Introduction suggest – seems quite egregious.

Religion is just one element composing the intricate equation of the Pakistani identity. Despite the country's dominant religion of Islam and the myth of a universal brotherhood, Islam is neither monolithic nor singular, but spectral and multi-dimensional.

Contemporary Pakistani English writers function as global ambassadors for their country's pluralistic traditions through the hybridity and multiculturalism evinced in their personal experiences and writings. All the writers in this project are multilingual and have inhabited various places. Manto and Suleri-Goodyear, in particular, are credited with undertaking ambitious translations of texts encompassing languages other than the one they write in. Ghose, moreover, produced an impressive oeuvre covering all literary genres while constantly experimenting with form and style – a feat achieved by very few authors of South Asian origin. Salman Rushdie, arguably, comes the closest. Mumtaz Shahnawaz was one of the foremost female Muslim political activists in pre-Partition India, and her solo novel is the first novel written in English by a Pakistani. She published her first poem at seven, and met British writers and artists (the sculptor Jacob Epstein and Nobel Laureates John Galsworthy and George Bernard Shaw) on a politically-engaged trip to London, when she was just eighteen (Shamsie, M. *Hybrid Tapestries* 91). She provided aid and relief to post-Partition female refugees in camps. One can only imagine what else Shahnawaz would have achieved if a plane crash had not claimed her life at 36.

The diversity in the literary output of this project's selected authors is also expressed by their non-fiction publications. In the early 1930s, before he took to writing short stories, Manto, for instance, worked on the editorial staff of *Masawat*, a daily Urdu newspaper in Ludhiana, India. Twenty years and hundreds of short stories and essays later, he chronicled the new country of Pakistan in his nine *Letters to Uncle Sam*, wittily addressed to an imaginary American uncle,

and published in newspapers between 1951-1954. Similarly, since his retirement from the University of Texas at Austin, Ghose regularly publishes in the Pakistani newspaper, *Dawn*, on a variety of topics ranging from literary analyses to anecdotal essays about his life. By keeping himself connected to the present Pakistani readership, there is hope that Ghose's substantial oeuvre will attract the attention of a local publishing house and his out-of-print books will be republished. The contemporary duo and good friends, Hamid and Shamsie, also continue to capture the changing face of Pakistan in the twenty-first century by contributing frequent opinion pieces in western newspapers (including *The New Yorker*, *New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *Washington Post*), and by producing non-fictional book-length studies on Pakistan.

My project also illustrates that the notion of Pakistaniness in all its diversity and inclusiveness is never far away from the Anglophone fictions of Pakistani authors, and often finds elucidation through elusiveness. In "Why Pakistan Will Survive," Hamid's tautological and ideological definition on who classifies as a Pakistani – "if you are from Pakistan, then you're a Pakistani" – allows for great flexibility and "relief," yet Hamid realizes that it is also a shockingly blind statement. Despite Pakistan's vastness in size and population, its "diversity," and spirit of "co-existence" and "tolerance," Hamid finds it paradoxical that the minority community, Ahmadis,<sup>67</sup> who are "from Pakistan," are not considered by the state and the Constitution to be "Pakistani" with equal rights. A brutalized and marginalized Baluch minority, however, is considered to be "Pakistani" by the state, but they would rather not be "from

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<sup>67</sup> Members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community - less than 2% of Pakistan's population - who have often come under persecution and discrimination by the Sunni Muslim majority. The Ahmadiyya movement originated in British India in the 19th century whose adherents follow the Islamic scriptures, but also believe their movement's founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was a messiah. Many Muslims, therefore, regard the Ahmadiyya teachings as heresy. In 1974, the Government of Pakistan under Zulfikar A Bhutto passed the Second Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan and declared the Ahmadiyya community as non-Muslims. Under Zia-ul-Haq, an anti-Ahmadiyya ordinance was promulgated in 1984, according to which Ahmadis could not call themselves Muslim or "pose as Muslims."-

Pakistan.” The issue of who is “from Pakistan” and, hence, gets a chance to “govern Pakistan,” has already fractured the state into two, in 1971 (Hamid, “Why Pakistan Will Survive”). The various narratives of this study propose neither a theoretical model, nor a single definition, to understand Pakistaniness. Instead, as alternatives to the country’s dominant forms of identifications, these literary representations offer a broad range of possibilities that aspire toward a collective, and dynamic, Pakistani identity. Over the years, the question of what it means to be Pakistani has been posed not only by novelists whose work was set within Pakistan, but increasingly also by those who belong to the growing Pakistani diaspora, the communities generated by the experience of migration.

Four out of the six authors in this dissertation classify as exilic/diasporic writers, while all six experienced dislocations in different ways. Ghose, Suleri-Goodyear, Hamid, and Shamsie are considered diasporic writers, whose collective oeuvre continues to bring Pakistan to a global audience. The writings of Ghose and Suleri-Goodyear were kindled in the aftermath of their migration, whereas Hamid and Shamsie belong to that emerging new category of resident-novelists who have spent long periods of time living and writing both in Pakistan and abroad, and whose writings reflect the shifting realities and identities of global citizens. For instance, just weeks before Shamsie was sworn in as a British citizen, in 2013, then-home secretary Theresa May dispatched a fleet of vans across London emblazoned with slogans that warned illegal immigrants to “GO HOME OR FACE ARREST,” while officials also performed spot-checks of immigrants at tube stops and in public places (Freeman). The alarm of this welcome to the UK forced Shamsie to mull over the idea of passports as well as the changing laws of citizenship, and inspired her latest novel, *Home Fire* (2017). *Home Fire*, a modern retelling of Sophocles’ *Antigone*, “writes its way directly into the present tense with vivid sections about the use of

surveillance on civilian populations and the recruitment strategies of ISIS” as the three children of a former jihadi with ties to Pakistan make their way in the world (Freeman).

The effects of displacement and dislocation on the authors and their characters is a dominant theme in my study, and a unifying principle that links all three chapters. The kinds of displacements that each writer in this study experienced in his or her own life can be variously described as a “removal” from a “geographical place” or an “imaginative space” – a removal “*from a precolonial history*” or “*because of colonial past*” – leading to a “displacement *in a postcolonial present*” (Al Deek 25). Despite the uprootedness of displacement – physical, psychological, or both – some of the most acclaimed works in Pakistani literature<sup>68</sup> were conceptualized in the aftermath of dislocations. The displaced identities of the four diasporic authors in this study not only “liberated” their imaginations (Said, *Representations*, 46) through distance, but also endowed their literary output with a “hybrid/syncretic, dual, and bipolar nature” (Bhabha, *Location*, 310). Creativity flourished for these writers after they experienced loss, alienation, change, and instability in their exilic journeys.

One can notice the vivid representation of riveting symbiosis between an agonizing historical rupture and the authors’ own lives in the erstwhile texts of this study, “Toba Tek Singh” and *The Heart Divided*. After suddenly finding himself as an unwelcomed Muslim screenwriter in a post-Partition, Hindu-dominated film industry, Manto’s migration from Bombay to Lahore was a *forced removal from a geographical place*. His first letter to Uncle Sam describes the agony of that dislocation:

My name is Saadat Hasan Manto and I was born in a place that is now in India. My mother is buried there. My father is buried there. My first-born is also resting in that bit

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<sup>68</sup> Some examples are those by Manto and Intizar Hussain in Urdu, and by Ahmed Ali in English.

of earth. However, that place is no longer my country. My country now is Pakistan which I had only seen five or six times before as a British subject. (Manto, *Manto Raama*, 356)

Along with his many other short stories, “Toba Tek Singh” becomes a resounding parable of the Partition – and its disruption in Manto’s own life – imagined through a band of inmates in a lunatic asylum who are forced out of their native land due to their religious orientations. Mumtaz Shahnawaz’s text anticipates not only Partition’s bloody cartography but also the bitter divide that dangerous nationalisms cause between Muslims and Hindus, in spite of celebrating Jinnah and the Muslim League; hence, an *imaginative removal* from *the colonial past* of plurality is signified in the author’s own life and in the lives of her characters. As astute witnesses of their times, Manto and Shahnawaz crafted stories in the aftermath of their individual displacements that were partly autobiographical and effaced the distinction between fictional and historical narratives.

While so much made sense about the demand for Pakistan as an establishment of a Muslim state for Muslims who would have otherwise faced marginality and disempowerment in a postcolonial Hindu India, so much did not. My work also foregrounds how Pakistani Anglophone writers, historians, and critics present both the advantages and perils of that demand, quite truthfully, throughout the seventy years since Pakistan’s creation. The country’s founders including Jinnah, not strictly observant of religious injunctions themselves, were well aware of the dangers of political Islam, and had to walk a very fine line between their preference for a secular state and the Islamic *raison d’être* of the Republic of Pakistan. The Preamble of the 1956 Constitution defining Pakistan as “a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice” (qtd in Waterman, 217) echoes the investment of Mumtaz Shahnawaz’s characters in a glorious Islamic heritage and ideals of liberty; and this investment, as the text tells us, plays a

crucial role in generating support for the League from the urban poor, in the 1940s. While the novel's socio-political significance lies in the proximity of its creation to the time it charts, Shahnawaz opts to leave out the violence and dislocation that Partition unleashes. The only exception is the novel's ominous ending that anticipates "the separation and the shadow ... the darkest hour ... and the rift between us [Hindus and Muslims] becomes a chasm ... and the chasm a sea ... a sea of blood and tears ... of tears and blood" (Shahnawaz 450). That is where Manto picks up from Shahnawaz with "Toba Tek Singh," that explicitly examines the unfortunate rift which emerges between the idea of Pakistan and the way it gets realized through border demarcation based on outdated colonial census data. While Manto's short story also belongs to the time right after Partition, unlike Shahnawaz's text, it focuses only on the mayhem and displacement that an insidious and hasty cartography engenders.

Manto and Shahnawaz did not get to witness a Pakistan under military rule, as both writers were deceased when the first Martial Law was imposed on the country in 1958. However, their prescient narratives paved the way for the modern Pakistani sensibility that arose in the aftermath of three Martial Laws, particularly post-Zia-ul-Haq's militaristic era of Islamization. While Hamid and Shamsie grew up during this unfortunate time in Pakistan's democracy (that minoritized the minorities even more and gave rise to Islamic fundamentalism), Suleri-Goodyear decided to embrace permanent exile from Pakistan when Zia-ul-Haq's regime took over. Shamsie's *Kartography* and Suleri-Goodyear's *Meatless Days* are reflective texts that take up the case of minorities, Bengalis in a post-1971 Pakistan and foreign women married to Pakistani men, respectively, to assiduously question a state structure that fosters gross injustices towards religiously, ethnically, or culturally defined minorities. Redressing these injustices through pluralistic traditions, both authors seem to signal, is just as vital to the nation-state of Pakistan as

is the need to strengthen the sectors of health, education, or commerce. Ghose's two texts also champion the idea of a collective belonging in favor of a nationalist identity; his identification with the Buddha suggests that the rich history of a place bears meaning outside of national confines. Interestingly enough, Ghose is characterized as a Pakistani writer *only* because his exile from Pakistan very likely contributed to an awareness of the major themes of his work, most prominently, that of a native-alien. Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, similar to *Kartography* and *Meatless Days*, casts a vision of a democratic Pakistan that "draws on the strength that can come from difference" (Cilano, *Contemporary Pakistani Fiction*, 5) based on the tenets of plurality and inclusiveness. Hamid debunks the myth of American meritocracy to warn of the grave danger that American neocolonialism poses to a democratic Pakistan.

The polyphonic nature of contemporary Pakistani English writing carves a unique discursive space in which issues of identity and belonging are being played out in all their local and transnational complexities. Not particularly concerned by the burden of presenting a unified and coherent Pakistani identity to a Western audience, award-winning modern Pakistani writers boldly embrace the volatile contradictions that inform Pakistaniness and advance a national identity that is, in fact, a diverse tangle of people and histories. It is no wonder, then, that these writers show a common contempt for reductive frameworks of representation that impose limits on a writer's creative imagination and form. Ghose, Suleri-Goodyear, Hamid, and Shamsie, for instance, convey a shared desire to attract an informed global readership that can keenly engage with the diverse fictions of a multicultural/multilingual nation, like Pakistan. Ghose, for example, despises literary labels of all kinds ("Orwell and I"), whereas Shamsie does not mind the concept of categorization of writers as long as there are "many" categories that allow a writer "to move between them" (Shamsie interview with Bilal, 149). On being asked if she suffers from a cultural



conflict when writing, Sara Suleri-Goodyear admits to Muneeza Shamsie that she had to consciously make her two memoirs, *Meatless Days* and *Boys Will Be Boys*, mitigate between countries and cultures because of how “allergic” she was to being pigeon-holed as “exotic” (Suleri-Goodyear interview with Shamsie). Hamid, on the other hand, describes himself as a “secular, liberal, progressive man” who is keen to delink his identity from the adjective “Muslim” (Clement, *Writing Islam*, 62).

Weary of their country’s perilous condition, Pakistan’s robust and resilient citizens find myriad ways of creatively expressing themselves through artistic, literary, and musical productions. In doing so, they imaginatively fill in those “gaping inconsistencies” that exist between the “claims of Muslim nationalism and the actual achievement of statehood” at the time of Partition (Jalal, *Struggle* 12). Pakistan’s thriving popular culture, as well as the counter narratives that are being continuously generated by Pakistani literati, signal a strong sense of hope in Jinnah’s nation – a nation that eagerly wants the state to start delivering. The multitudinous possibilities of the modern Pakistani identity proffered by this study are, perhaps, best reflected in the protest scene on Pakistani streets toward the end of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, in which feminists align with “religious literalists,” and capitalists and communists join hands as Changez’s fellow protestors (Hamid, *Reluctant*, 179). In presenting a vibrant coalition of divergent political interests and identities that come together to assert Pakistani self-determination, this demonstration acknowledges the possibility of a vitalized and democratic Pakistani public sphere that should be taken seriously by the country’s lawmakers. Within this noisy conjunction, the readers can almost imagine Saadat Hasan Manto, Bishan Singh and his fellow inmates, Mumtaz Shahnawaz and her mother, Zohra and Sughra, Kamila Shamsie, Karim and Raheen, Zulfikar Ghose, Sara Suleri-Goodyear, Pip, Mair Jones, and Ifat as

protesting alongside Mohsin Hamid and Changez for a Pakistan that is free of religiosity and masculinist nationalism.

Highlighting the intersections between literature and history, my research foregrounds the idea that creatively and broadly construed contours of the cultural nation do not neatly map onto the limited boundaries of the political nation. I hope my work will generate interest in Pakistani Anglophone writing and its critical analysis, both locally and globally. I also hope that through my project, some publisher will come forward to facilitate new editions of Mumtaz Shahnawaz's *The Heart Divided* and Zulfikar Ghose's *Confessions of a Native Alien*, which are lesser known works globally and within Pakistan. Both texts are very significant to the corpus of Pakistani writing in English – Shahnawaz's novel is the first English novel by a female writer, and Ghose's *Confessions* is the first life writing in English to be published by a creative writer – yet these seminal works have remained out of print for decades. Critical book-length studies by Tariq Rahman<sup>69</sup> and Muneeza Shamsie<sup>70</sup> that historically examine the works of Pakistani English writers not only informed my own critical thinking, but also brought Pakistani Anglophone writers to a wider national and transnational audience. However, the sudden boom in the last few years of a younger generation of Pakistani English writers necessitates an updated appraisal of Pakistani writing. Finally, keeping in mind the contempt most Pakistani English writers show for

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<sup>69</sup> Rahman has published many articles on Pakistani English writers and about the place of English language in Pakistan. He is the author of the following critical texts: *A History of Pakistani Literature in English* (1990), *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (1998), *Language, Ideology, and Power* (2002), and *From Hindi to Urdu* (2011), including others.

<sup>70</sup> Besides conducting and publishing dozens of interviews of Pakistani English writers, Shamsie has painstakingly put together many anthologies bringing these writers to a wider readership: *Hybrid Tapestries* (2017), *And the World Changed: Contemporary Stories by Pakistani Women* (2005), *Leaving Home – Towards a New Millennium: A Collection of English Prose by Pakistani Writers* (2001), and *A Dragonfly in the Sun: An Anthology of Pakistani Writing in English* (1997).

religiously and culturally informed classifications, my dissertation encourages critical studies that transcend monolithic labels and examine the preoccupations of texts with form and style.

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