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Redefining Disruption: Illness and the Metaphors of Arts

Perhaps, it is the most basic human instinct to try to make meaning out of chaos—to turn pain into something productive, to weave tales from tragedy, and even to sooth the battle inside one’s body by turning it into art. These forms of expression at times just come from a desperate human need to understand whatever event or circumstance one is trying to brave. Illness may be labeled as one of the most prevalent and insidious form of disruption of daily life and perhaps hence, has produced a wide array of attempts to curb its chaos. Gay Backer, in her book *Disrupted Lives: How People Create Meaning in a Chaotic World* explores this very idea of people’s attempts to form meaning after they encounter disruptions, whether “societal... or individual, such as the onset of illness”, people try to regain the routine or linearity of their disrupted lives (4). This paper will attempt to look at a similar concept: the place of performance and art (visual, mixed media) as a means of making meaning out of illness and gaining control of bodies that are deteriorating.

Simple routines, such as having coffee in the morning or brushing teeth at night, create a sense of familiarity with one’s life and the world at large. Illness becomes a form of disruption that begins to impede on basic expectations of how a life is supposed to be lived. For this reason, perhaps, people racked with illness crave continuity. Becker shows how regaining this “mundane and comforting sameness of repetitive activities” becomes a necessary attempt at redefining the disruption and understanding the self and world in light of this change (4). To regain this

continuity, however, the human body needs to be understood as a culmination of a person's past, present and future experiences with illness—it acts as a reservoir of memory. Furthermore, while the body may be a site for a person's experiences with distress, it may also be the very medium used for creating meaning. Performance or visual art takes the performativity involved with illness, whether it is “the nurses' inquiry about bowel movement, the obstetrician's or midwife's praise in the labor ward” or even the physical decline of one's own body, and translates it into work that narrates the illness experience and simultaneously, reconciles the artists memory of that experience (Frankenberg 622).

To set this idea of reconciliation and reconstruction of identity into context, let us take the example of Donald Rodney, a British artist who in his short life suffered from sickle-cell anemia. About a year before his death, Rodney produced a work entitled *In the House of My Father* (1996-7) which is a photograph of a close up of Rodney's hand, on which lies a miniature sculpture of a house made of human skin. This house, held together by a pin, is made up of Rodney's own skin that was removed during the many operations he had to control his disease. It is interesting to note that sickle cell anemia is an inherited disease that is largely prevalent in African, Caribbean, Eastern Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and Asian ancestry (Barson 2002). Through his works, and especially the one aforementioned, Rodney attempts to understand his identity as a Jamaican-British artist who is living in a time that is infused with racism. Through his work, Rodney makes his disease a metaphor for what he believes is the “diseased British society” (Lack 2008). But *In the House of My Father* specifically, lends itself to more than just a metaphoric status—it embodies Rodney's association with his diseased body and the acknowledgment of its frailty and vulnerability. The small, fragile house of skin symbolizes “the near-futility of Rodney having to live within a structure hopelessly unable to sustain itself”—the

idea of his body as a safe haven and his skin as a protector has dramatically changed, leaving only metaphors and symbols to remember it by (Barson 2002). Another interesting element of Rodney's work is the use of photographs and mixed media installations that symbolize the endless hospital visits, x-rays, tests and scans that defined Rodney's life. Through the use of photos, Rodney documents his personal experience of his illness much like the tests, scans and reports document the formalized/institutionalized side of his illness. Through delineating a trajectory of his identity, Rodney was able to combine the social and personal reality of his sickness, simultaneously intending references "to medicine and the body to refer metaphorically to social sicknesses, including racism, police brutality or apartheid, as much as to his personal circumstances" (Barson 2002).



In the same stream, Ronald Frankenberg in his essay "Sickness as Cultural Performance: Drama, Trajectory, and Pilgrimage Root Metaphors and the Making Social of Disease" expands on Susan Sontag's ideas of disease as a metaphor. Sontag relates an idea similar to what Rodney explores with his work: "a major part of the experience of being ill is, in fact, to experience at

second hand the disease of the doctors and the structured metaphorical sickness of social forms” (607). The idea is that to fully understand a personal crisis, it is often given a metaphoric treatment so as to transcend the level of the individual and become a social phenomenon Sontag explains: “what cannot be avoided is made metaphorical” (608). Frankenberg’s contentions, then, lie with the way treatments for sickness are often sought in formalized medicine. He claims that common-sense entails solutions, for social or personal ills, to be looked for and found in “physical manipulation” (technology, chemotherapy, surgery) or in “biological regimens” (exercise, lifestyle cleansing) rather than “in changes in social relationships” (603). There is, however, a possibility to combine these two seemingly contradictory ways of understanding sickness (art and/or technology) which an American Visual Artist & Technologist, Justus Harris, aims to do.

Harris was diagnosed with type 1 diabetes at age 14 and spent ample time in his childhood looking at graphs and medical data in an attempt to understand his illness. He realized as an adult, while discovering the world of art that he could attempt to understand and communicate through visual art. Hence, Harris creates 3D sculptures of blood glucose data, as visualizations or tangible forms of his medical reports that he can hold in his hands and physically understand. Much like Rodney, the experience of understanding his body comes from translating medical data into a personal tale of symbols and metaphors that narrate his experience with his illness and his identification with his own self. Harris notes that for him being a Visual Artist & Technologist “entails understanding the medical technology (he) cares about and its social and experiential contexts” and also “using (his) skills as an artist to improve upon and reflect on how people use technology in their life, whether to treat an illness or form relationships” (Tenderich 2015). From a perversion that is happening inside a body or mere

statistics and numbers written on paper, performing art makes an illness visual and tangible—expanding the boundaries of how an illness can be experienced and how it can be expressed.



With the acknowledgement of performing arts as a form of redefining disruption, there is also the idea of ethnography as performance. This concept is brought forth in Andrew Irving's essay "Ethnography, Art and Death" where the author narrates several experiences of people with HIV in Kampala, Uganda. Around 10% of all people in Kampala suffer from HIV/AIDS, hence, the landscape of the city itself is largely marred by disease. Therefore, the method Irving uses to document the illness narratives of the people he interviews is to create a sort of "map" of Kampala that is based off emotional memory and experience rather than roads, buildings and numbers. The idea is to see the individual as part of a landscape which is intimately informed by experiences of illness, disease and death. In such a case, the field becomes a stage, the participants as performers and the ethnographer as a director/writer. To take one example, Daniel

Kafeero is one of the people interviewed, who was diagnosed with HIV in 1997. Irving and Kafeero walk through Kampala with a tape recorder, in which Kafeero narrates his thoughts and memories associated with the places they pass and Irving interjects with questions and documents through photographs. The idea of this performativity as a way to narrate illness is to show how memory is produced through performance—therefore, “what emerges is a tangible, although fragmentary, sense of living in contemporary Africa amidst HIV that opens up the city for the audience, rather than fixing it through explanation” (Irving 193). Irving views the neighborhood as such an entity as well: one that is as contagious as memory or disease—one that is passed on and shared and hence, enables people such a Kafeero to form their own experiences of illness by travelling through this neighborhood.



“Then another time I went to see someone who worked at The Crested Towers ... and I thought I could climb the Crested Towers or the highest building and drop. I hated everyone except my five children ... I had no money, no food, no land, no work and I thought we will live just like gorillas in the bush. I felt very sick and weak and so I didn’t climb the building but continued walking round Kampala looking for another building to drop from but was not so high. I walked around and around town and people would stare but I did not care because I was in a world of my own.”

Another essential idea connected with walking through the space of the neighborhood and evoking memories related to each location, is using the metaphor of walking as “a creative

intentionality that allows people's walking practices to redefine the existential experience of illness in the present" (194). Hence, Daniel Kafeero, for example, can redefine his illness and the experience of it by actively avoiding locations in the city that bring back memories of suffering (as when he was contemplating suicide). Through this blurring of ethnography and performance, the diseased body and its relationship with the neighborhood is understood as a way of redefining the experience of illness and simultaneously, expressing and attempting to control the agonizing memory of it. A visual artist deeply acquainted with the personal suffering of HIV and also the loss of loved ones due to it, is Felix Gonzalez-Torres, a Puerto Rican- American artist known for his quiet minimalistic installations.

Gonzalez-Torres worked with simple everyday objects such as strings of light bulbs, clocks, stacks of paper, beads, or wrapped hard candies, but turned these simple objects into metaphors that speak the language of love and loss, of sickness and rejuvenation, and often, gender and sexuality. His work is said to be a reflection of his experiences with HIV, and much like Irving's idea of performative ethnography, Gonzalez-Torres invites his audience to participate in his work. To take an example of his work, let us look at "*Untitled*" (*Portrait of Ross in L.A.*), made in 1991. Ross Laycock was the artist's lover who died from an HIV related disease the same year; his portrait, hence, is a pile of multicolored individually wrapped candies weighing the same amount as Ross's body weight, these Gonzalez-Torres piles in a corner of the gallery. The gallery-goers are invited to eat the candy and once it finishes, it is replaced to its original weight. This allegorical portrait made from a diminishing amount of candy "symbolically refers to Laycock's body languishing from disease" (Storr 11). Most of the materials he uses are not known for their permanence, candies are eaten, light bulbs fuse, paper is used up or torn, suggesting, perhaps, a metaphor of death in his works. However, it is also

interesting to note that the artist makes sure that his work survives, all these objects are such that they can be replaced or regenerated (bulbs replaced, candies replenished), putting forth an idea that this work can also simultaneously be about life. Lastly, Gonzalez-Torres used his work not just as a personal anecdote of illness and loss (which is what it largely became after the death of Ross) but also as a politically charged metaphor for the “sociopolitical tensions from the queer community” and the “inaction of the government” regarding basic rights and the spread of disease that took many included Ross and later, Gonzales-Toress himself at the age of 38 (Diamond 5). The artist, in his own words, noted “that (he) wanted to make art work that could disappear, that never existed, and it (would be a) metaphor for when Ross was dying. So it was a metaphor that (he) would abandon this work before this work abandoned (him)... going to destroy it before it destroys (him)” (Storr 11).



In conclusion, in the prophetic words of the American composer and lyricist Stephen Sondheim: “Art, in itself, is an attempt to bring order out of chaos”. All forms of art, it may be

argued, come as some sort of catharsis, but the idea of performativity and performative art lends another layer to this idea of expression. Performance, as Victor Turner might argue, is deeply connected to the idea of illness and hence, using that as a form of reconciliation only makes sense. This paper has attempted to flesh out the idea of understanding diseased bodies, reconciling the illness experience and ultimately redefining the disruption that has curbed continuity. Going beyond the world of statistics, data and percentages, illness is attempted to be understood by each artist through means that translate the illness into metaphors of personal suffering and simultaneously, societal relationships. By making a disease into a tangible entity—that can be held as a house of skin or sculpted into 3D data or narrated through a walk in the neighborhood or eaten like candy much like a disease eats the body—visual, performance and mixed media art allows wonders to emerge from processes that are disruptive, perverse and painful in the hopes of gaining some sort of control over the experience of illness.

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Social Perception of the Visible Pregnant Body in Pakistan: Lived Experiences of Pregnant
Women

Any society plays a significant role in shaping a woman's experience of her pregnant body. Through both language and action, individuals contribute to the discourse which surrounds the pregnant woman's body. This essay will look into two women's lived experience of a pregnant body, by analyzing interviews carried out with them. It will contextualize their experience in light of research from around the world regarding pregnant bodies and particularly their visibility. The first subject, Amal Javed, is my sister, and she was pregnant from February to October 2017. Her experience is therefore a fairly recent one, and can be said to be representative of current societal norms. She is 29 years old and teaches at a government university. The interview was carried out over telephone since we reside currently in separate cities. It was an unstructured interview which was guided by a movement from an outward circle of society to an inner. Thus, the questions ranged from interactions with stranger men and women, to men and women of the household, to her husband and then to her own experience. The other interviewee asked for her anonymity to be maintained, and is therefore named X for the purpose of the essay. She was contacted through Amal. She was willing to speak of her experiences using the medium of an online forum. Information that can be disclosed about her is that she is Pakistani, young (between 20s and 30s), was also recently pregnant and is not a

working woman. Her interview was carried out to supplement the knowledge gained from the prior, as well as glean further information. Moreover, I wished to counteract any biases that could have crept in due to my close association with the former interviewee. I've found that there was overlap in the kind of themes that emerged in both interviews. Therefore, this essay has been arranged thematically and divides them under two important notions that repeatedly came up: i) the subject of shame, ii) the discourses of concern – which included conversations about the right kind of pregnant body (fat or thin) and the idea of *nazar* (evil eye).

One prominent discourse that emerged in the course of the interviews was that of shame. Pakistani society it seems is hardly happy if a pregnancy is too physically visible. This dissatisfaction manifests itself in making the pregnant woman feel ashamed of her body. Amal experienced the negative perception of the pregnant body in the gaze that was placed on it. She says, “When I used to go out of my university I often wouldn't cover my tummy. And I would get weird looks from all the taxi drivers that stood outside.” Thus, men who should have had absolutely no concern with her pregnant body asserted their disapproval through the gaze, even as she tried to enact resistance by not veiling her stomach. But it was not only their gaze, for some even went so far as to assert their opinions. “Once when I was in a bazaar, a stranger man brushed past me and says, “Wah kiya pait nikaala hay (What a tummy you are showing)” Her voice turns angry as she relates this because of the sense of humiliation she connects with the incident. The male gaze that creates shame does not only come from strangers but also from other men of the family. It seems that men of the family circumvent the actual subject in conversation, “they stay mum about it all and show indifference,” Amal says. Amal attributes this to their being incapable of dealing with the subject. X, on the other hand, narrates that it is simply “taboo,” in our society to speak of it in front of men whether strangers or not, and she

herself would be “uncomfortable” if they did mention the topic. And yet, “they do gaze at you and your growing stomach very unashamedly. It's often the gaze which makes you cover yourself,” according to Amal. The actions and words of the various kinds of men have not managed to infiltrate Amal's own opinion regarding a pregnant body, “I believe it's something very natural. It's a beautiful act of nature why should you feel ashamed and hide yourself?” she ponders. X also believes that “we should not be ashamed” but accepts that “this is how society is.”

The aspect of shame had very real manifestations in the life of the pregnant woman. For Pinto, shame is a “curtain of self-regulating affect” (162) and this makes it possible to place it within the aspect of veiling. As Amal put it, “If you gain really quickly, you wear loose clothes because the society makes you feel ashamed of your body.” Thus, clothing was one of the vehicles through which the tricky aspect of shame was being maneuvered. She acknowledges that people's gaze managed to influence her actions, so that even when she was resisting, she did give in at times, “*Meray saath toh yehi hota tha dupatta peechay kar k nikalti thi. Aur phir cover kar leti thi* (I would leave the house with the dupatta on my shoulders but then I would cover my tummy).” X, on the other hand, chose to speak through the experiences of other women around her, “My sister-in-law wouldn't cover her body from the front. *Dupatta galay mai rakhti thi* (She would keep her dupatta on her neck). So everyone would go like *haw haw* (an expression to express shame). One friend who doesn't wear a *dupatta* usually, started wearing it when her tummy started showing.” Thus, the *dupatta* comes across as the first line of defence from the gaze of others and for hiding the changing body (Pinto 160). I asked both women if their husband's ever told them to cover their bodies, but they related that they did not, thus husbands seem to be more accommodating of the pregnant body than other men. However, it must be kept

in mind that these are husbands situated in an urban setting and thus are under far less social pressures to veil their wives and their bodies.

It was further gathered that clothing is not the only place where women's bodies are being regulated. Pregnant bodies are also told that certain spaces should not be occupied by them and the notion of seclusion is pushed. Amal relates, "Once I met M in the bazaar and she looked at me and said, "What are you doing outside?" The said individual had herself just experienced pregnancy. Thus, there is a prevalent opinion that the pregnant body's proper place is the house. X narrates "everyone respected me and offered me chairs when I was in bazaars," but nevertheless there remained a concern that she shouldn't have ventured out at all, "Once an aunty said to me in the market, beta app ghar per rest karo (you should rest at home)." Though X was not bothered by this, she remarked that, "everyone wants you to stay inside." Thus, the marketplace is relegated as a no-go zone for pregnant bodies. Amal points to Pakistani dramas as culprits in this regard, where a pregnant woman is often, "home bound covering herself with a huge dupatta and moving around like a penguin." Thus, the media plays an important role in shaping social attitudes. While a house is okay, a market is not or a work environment is not. "You never see a working woman pregnant in a drama," Amal narrates. This reflects an attitude which has been historically present as well. In the early twentieth century America, "pregnant women were often legally forced to leave work once they began to show since it was considered inappropriate to be pregnant in public" (Lupton qtd in. Goldenberg et al 215). Amal relates that her own colleagues espoused views about how she could "harm" her child by working as she did, until the last week of her pregnancy. Thus, when the visible pregnant body makes people feel uncomfortable, they react by connecting it to how it would have an effect on the fetus' health, a notion that has no factual backing. This can perhaps be viewed in light of Goldenberg's research

on how people are simply not comfortable being reminded of their own “creatureliness” which is what a pregnant body does by being so visible (214).

One of the aspects that emerged from the interviews was how concern about the body is also exhibited in terms of how fat or thin the pregnant woman is. It was the primary way in which other women approached the pregnant body, many of whom had themselves experienced pregnancy. Lupton highlights how a pregnant “body is on display for others to comment upon,” in ways that would not be alright for any other adult body (qtd in Cummins 34). Amal terms this as “conversation” by visiting “aunties”:

“If you aren't showing yet their concern will be that you might have a weak baby since you aren't showing. Or maybe you don't eat well and are starving yourself. And if you're showing too much then they start saying that tum bohat moti ho rahe ho, baad mai kam nahin hoga (you're getting too fat, you won't be able to loose it later).”

While one way of seeing the women's comments may be as concern, or “advice” as Longhurst terms it, this is not how Amal frames it (77). For her it caused “apprehension” and “worry” and she connects this directly to how women would say, “Kahan chuppaya hua hai? (Where have you hidden it?)” when they would see her thin pregnant body. Thus, other women felt that the pregnant body was as much their business as it was of the woman herself. Their concern can be said to take on a negative aspect. Amal's attitude to the remarks highlights her disdain at unnecessary interference. And yet she finds herself unable to dissociate from it. It shapes how she herself viewed her pregnant body, for it genuinely worried her that she was not showing and she revealed in the course of the interview that she questioned her doctor about it. In Amal's case as she was thin, “I basically started wearing loose clothing, so that I would just look fat because

of the loose clothes,” she admits sheepishly. This can be read in light of what Wiles terms as the greater “social acceptability of fatness,” (41) which led to a negative conception of being thin when pregnant. Wiles shows that fat women have greater space to exist comfortably in society when pregnant. In Amal’s case, an aspect of faking the physicality of pregnancy is present to have societal approval.

On the other hand, there comes a point in the pregnancy when the body gets big and is termed as fat. Nash explains, “in having bodies associated with ‘fatness’, even if only symbolically, pregnancy similarly became ontologically devalued,” (66) thus the value of the pregnant body is decreased when it is connected to being fat. Because generally, being fat has a negative connotation in society, be it Nash’s American one, or the Pakistani one. Amal says that a big pressure during pregnancy is that “...you don't want to look like a fat aunty afterwards. Women start looking at options of how to lose the baby weight even while they're pregnant. I did that as well.” A mental stress is being created already about getting back into shape. On some level, media can be said to propagate this, as X relates, “Why would a beautiful, slim model be portrayed as a new mum? It pressurizes us subconsciously to look younger and thinner more quickly!” But it is not only the media, for as Amal relates her own husband expressed concern about whether she’d be able to get back into shape. Since she has done so at the moment, she speaks lightly of it, but it makes one wonder what is the case for women who don’t manage to lose the pregnancy fat? X chooses to highlight this in detail in her interview,

“I had put on 20 kgs during my pregnancy! I’ve shed 10 kgs due to gallstones but I still need to work on my weight loss! I am not happy with my body. And the thought of having another kid and to gain the weight again is quite disappointing.”

Thus, X experiences what it's like to be unhappy with your post pregnancy body. And this is very much linked to the perception society has of what the right kind of female body should be.

Concern for the pregnant body does not only manifest itself in terms of being fat or thin. Pinto defines it as “the notion that powerful emanations emerge from the eye” (160). But in Pakistan, a similar notion of, “badi nazar” is pertinent to pregnant women as discussed by Berland, and can cause her and her fetus “ill-fortune” (161). According to Amal, one of the reasons why women are being told to hide their pregnant bodies is because, “nazar lag jaye gi (you will attract the evil eye).” She adds this as an aside when we are speaking about interactions with stranger women, and seemingly brushes off the superstitious notions society holds on to. I question her as to whether she herself was worried about nazar and she says, “A little bit maybe, people's words do get to you.” Later, when I am questioning her on the culture of pregnancy announcements, she relates, “Taboo hain (It's taboo). For first three months we are often told to hide our pregnancies. Because wohi nazar lag jaye gi.” Thus, there is a very active presence of society in regulating when the pregnant body should be allowed to be visible. As Pinto says, “Disclosures are fraught, because they involve threads of desire,” (161) thus revealing one's pregnancy has a very active notion of it attracting envy on the part of those who know. When I speak to Amal about pregnancy photoshoots she says that while she finds it, “a celebration of your body and the arrival of your baby,” she doesn't believe her husband would have liked it, primarily because he would not approve of such visibility. I ask her his reasons for disapproval and she says, “Nazar.” X shares Amal's husband's opinion regarding photoshoots, “I would like to keep these photos to myself! I didn't do pregnancy announcements or baby shower because in my opinion it just attracts nazar!” Thus, the concept of nazar is overpowering in determining the degree to which the pregnant body can be visible in society.

It becomes evident through the analysis of the interviews, that while the experiences of pregnant embodiment in Pakistan can be placed within research from around the world, they are also singular in their own way. The particular notions of shame, veiling, seclusion and nazar which come across are prevalent in Pakistan, not only in pregnant bodies, but with regards to all aspects of a woman's life. However, they come to dominate the discourse that surrounds pregnant women along with notions of health and the appropriate size of a pregnant woman.

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Introduction to Development Studies

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Final Paper

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Land Disputes in Cities: A Case Study of LUMS

"The eyes of the father said: "How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! All the gold of the poor world must have found its way onto those walls." The eyes of the little boy: "How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! But it is a house where only people who are not like us can go." – Baudelaire

Commented [NK1]: What a lovely quote!

The morning of the 7th of September, 2015 brought with it a multitude of unanswered questions. A crowd of protestors, men and women, had gathered in front of the entrance to the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), holding signs and repeating verses, the heat of their voices matching that of the morning itself. The gates of the campus were shut and locked, emails were sent to the student body regarding the blockade and a force of security guards were positioned as the defense. A few hours later the functionality of the entrances was restored and the crowd had disappeared, leaving behind unanswered questions as to what had happened and why? Given the lack of response from the management, a group of 5 students from LUMS set out in search of the protestors to answer the questions for themselves. This paper, hence, reveals and elucidates the land dispute surrounding the LUMS property, highlighting the

interest groups involved, and setting the dispute in the wider context of property disputes in Pakistan under the wave of neoliberal development. First, it details the dispute in question through the data collected during the course of our research. Then, it delves into other selected land disputes within Pakistan and finally, it analyzes these findings in light of David Harvey's theoretical framework concerning the development (or lack thereof) of the urban poor and their position within the power dynamics that shape cityscapes. The aim of this paper is not to blame one specific party or group but instead to reflect the position of minority groups within the process of neoliberal development, especially in developing countries, by using the case of LUMS as an example.

For our case study, the sample was self-defined: we were looking to contact the interest group behind the protest. However, the simplicity of the sample made the task at hand more difficult given our alienation from the group via our position as LUMS students. We had previously attempted to conduct interviews with a few members of the LUMS faculty and administrative body, but were either denied a conversation or were given little to no substantial information or insight¹. Understanding that their position as informants is automatically compromised given their affiliation with the institution, we decided to contact the other interest group. I was previously aware of the fact that the protestors were residents of the 'gaaoun' (village) behind LUMS: using that as a starting point I contacted Rehman*, my rickshaw driver, knowing that he too is a resident of the same area.²

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1. One faculty member responded to our queries and narrated the institutions stance on the dispute, which will be highlighted later on during this paper.
 2. The name of the area given to us by the residents is 'Choonh Kurd'.

*All respondents have chosen to remain anonymous; their names have been changed for this paper.

Before moving forward with our research, I believe it is important here to describe the setting of the area, in order to provide some context to our argument. In sharp contrast to LUMS, which is the top elite private university of the country, this village is best described as rural, paradoxically sharing a boundary wall with LUMS. The broken, poorly maintained and sometimes unconstructed roads extend on both sides of an open sewage line, with trash lining both its sides. The trash also characterizes the empty grounds in the area, which Rehman described as “breeding grounds for mosquitos and diseases”. He drove us to a small, makeshift petrol station where we met with our first informant, who happened to be Rehman’s childhood friend. Over the course of a (approximately) fifteen minute unstructured interview, we were told that the cause of the protest was the fact that 68 kanals of the land that LUMS occupied was instead part of a larger whole of 98 kanals that was handed to the grandmother of our informant as part of the repatriation after 1947. This land had been rented out for agricultural purposes³ but was instead occupied illegally and barricaded by a man named Ashraf Jutt, who in turn sold part of it off for the LUMS campus. The landowning party then proved their status as the legal owners to the required authorities and were promised a settlement amount of approximately 28 lacs (Rs 2,800,000) at the time.⁴ LUMS, however, did not follow through on the settlement, due to which a case was filed against the involved parties in 2006, and settled in favor of the legal landowners by the courts. The group has constantly been in contact with the LUMS authorities demanding their share since 2007 but to no avail. Our informant added that previously two of their negotiators were sent to prison overnight by the other interest group, and have been threatened on occasions. He further elucidated that given the inflation rate in the country, and the

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Commented [NK2]: I am not sure we could describe it as 'rural' as it is in the city, but perhaps an 'urban village.'

Commented [NK3]: When?

³ The concept of '*Patta*' was highlighted here whereby the landowning party rents out agricultural land to cultivators in exchange for produce and/or money.

⁴ The respondents were unsure regarding the date of the settlement but we approximate it to be between 1994 and 1996.

hike in prices of land given the development of DHA, the current estimated value of the plot adds up to 40 crores (Rs 400,000,000).

Commented [NK4]: Your other group members had a different figure I think. You might want to check that.

Our interview was interrupted by a phone call from our informant's cousin who, suspicious of our intentions and motivations, cautioned his cousin to not reveal information to us and suggested that he should take us to meet him instead. Hence, our second interview was conducted in a vehicle lubricants shop with Abdul*, a grandson of the woman who owns the land. Abdul, after extensively questioning our interests and being satisfied that we were merely writing a paper, elucidated that they have filed 2 more cases with the higher courts since 2007, which were ordered in their favor by the Supreme Court in 2009.⁵ He argued that the cases were stalled, pushed and denied as biasedly judged by the other party involved, who made justifications like their lack of faith in the judge for pushing the final decision further forward by asking to appear in front of another bench.⁶ Abdul confirmed that the protest was conducted as a final attempt to redirect LUMS's attention to the ongoing struggle and its settlement.

While this dispute is ongoing, it is imperative to mention other similar issues that have popped up over the country in the past few years to develop an accurate analysis. On May 4th, 2016 'Christians in Pakistan' reported a protest held a day before in front of the Lahore High Court by members of the local Christian community. This protest was regarding the "looming land grabbing of church property for a transport project" (Christians in Pakistan, May 4th 2016), whereby the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) allegedly planned to construct a sewage pumping station next to the Cathedral Church. This same authority also attempted to negotiate for 3 kanals of the church land for the Orange Line Metro Train Project. In another news article published by The Express Tribune dated 18th December, 2015 it was reported that the Lahore

⁵ We were provided copies of all the courts documents mentioned.

⁶ Our information regarding the court proceedings is limited to that provided by Abdul.

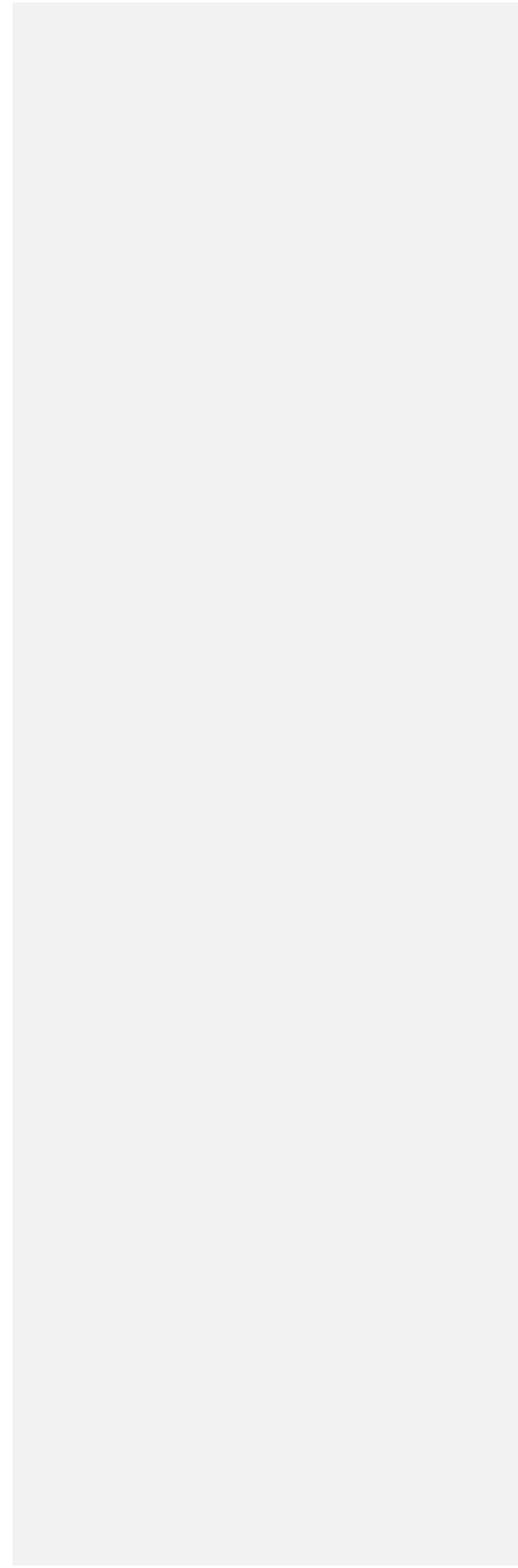
High Court was informed 6,900 acres of forest land was recovered from the illegal possession of the Deputy Speaker for the Punjab Assembly, who was attempting to cultivate the land after deforesting it. Furthermore, in an article published in the Pakistan Journal of Life and Social Sciences in December 2016, Farah et al elucidate the case of Faisalabad where a majority of the farmers owned up to 5 acres of land each before 2006-2015, dropping down to less than 2 acres per farmer during the decade due to the sale of land for housing schemes, forcing the farmers to engage in subsistence farming. While this may not be an explicit case of land grabbing, it highlights how the development process has a tendency to victimize the minority groups involved. This trend is obvious in other cases in the country too. In his article titled [‘Urbanisation and Conflict in Pakistan’](#) (2014), Hinds finds that “In Karachi, for instance, experts indicate that competition for land and real estate has resulted in ‘violent turf wars’. In a report for the United States Institute for Peace, Yusuf (2012) notes that criminal gangs orchestrate land grabs, and organize the apportioning and sale of encroached land. Land grabs have sparked clashes between political parties who vie for territorial control of the cities, and between different ethnic groups.” (Hinds, 2014, p. 2)

Within all these narratives emerges a power dynamic underlying the process of development. This power dynamic has been analyzed by David Harvey who writes: “Increasingly the wealthy seal themselves off in those fanciful, gated communities—which are being built all over the United States—that enable the bourgeoisie to cut themselves off from what their representatives call by the hateful term ‘the underclass’. ‘The underclass’ is left inside the ghetto, along with drugs, Aids, epidemics of tuberculosis and much else. In this new politics, the poor no longer matter. The marginalization of the poor is accompanied by a blasé indifference on the part of the rich and powerful.” (David Harvey, *Transforming cities*, 2005 p.

31) Harvey's analysis forms the crux of my argument here, which centers on the idea of cities being sites of contested spaces where the voices of the marginalized are weakened or muted in light of the interests of the rich. These minority groups are pushed to the outskirts of the city, as can be seen in the case of our informants and their place of residence, as well as in the case of the Christian community involved in the case highlighted above. What emerges then is a dialectic, a contestation as Harvey points out, which shapes the norms of the cities we live in. As Harvey writes: "We...abandon the view of the urban as simply a site or a container of social action in favor of the idea that it is, in itself, a set of conflictual heterogeneous processes which are producing spatio-temporalities as well as producing things, structures and permanencies in ways which constrain the nature of the social process." His analysis points to an important process can be discovered underneath all the examples I have mentioned above: the patterns that emerge to shape a city continue to shape the dialectics that emerge within. Over the course of this paper, we have looked at different cases emerging in Lahore between 1995 and 2016, all following a similar process of marginalizing a minority in order to pursue the processes of urban development. "The result is an urban environment constituted as a palimpsest, a series of layers constituted and constructed at different historical moments all superimposed upon each other." (Harvey, 2005, p.32)

Given the self-perpetuation of power relations in cities then, new relationships between the conflict groups need to be constructed in order to break out of the trend of minority marginalization that urban centers have emerged to be characterized by. As Harvey prescribes, our cities need to be reconstructed. It was not my intent for the course of this paper to prescribe a solution for the increase in the number of contested sites emerging in urban centers in Pakistan. Instead, I aimed to highlight the process of contestation itself, focusing on the helpless position

of the minority groups involved and the ignorance of their demands within the dialectic that emerges. To that extent, I have (hopefully) managed to illustrate in practice the theoretical framework molded by Harvey, supporting my arguments with cases elsewhere, attempting to elucidate the power dynamics that allow the victimization of the other.



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This is a very well written essay. I would have liked for you to have engaged more with other theories and concepts related to development, but your choice of using Harvey to analyse your case study was apt.

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Meshal Malik and Rana Saadullah Khan

Dr. Tania Saeed

SOC 321

Comparative and International Education

25 April 2017

Cultivating The Elite In British Nigeria and British India

The colonial invasions of Nigeria and India were undoubtedly entrenched in the material reality of wealth accumulation. However, amongst a plethora of other incentives, colonization was also seen to be a mission to civilize. This implied that the British colonizers were alleviating the native subjects from their own barbarisms and primitivity. In this sense, the colonial mother operated as " a mother who unceasingly restrains her fundamentally perverse offspring from managing to commit suicide and from giving free rein to its evil instincts." (Fanon 211). This alludes to the heavy undertones of colonial paternalism which underlined the larger narratives of the colonial projects. It was this very belief, or projection of the belief, that the British colonialists were 'saving' the inferior races of the Africans in Nigeria and the Indians in India that allowed for them to rationalize the uprooting of indigenous educational systems and the imposition of their 'superior' western modes of learning. Yet, it can be argued, that no initiative taken by the colonial masters to civilize the indigenous races was- or could be- detached from their need to assert hegemony and maximize the extraction of material gains. In light of the context of Nigeria and India, this essay aims to examine how the British colonizers created an elitist educational system in order not to facilitate social mobility for the indigenous population, but rather to serve their own needs. Furthermore, this contradicts with the nature of the colonial discourse, which promises colonialism to transform the way these "backward", "traditional"

societies operate. Finally, by juxtaposing and comparing the two contexts, this essay hopes to evaluate the similarities and variances in the cases of Nigeria and India.

In order to present an in-depth evaluation of the methods and reasoning employed by the colonizers, both in the contexts of Nigeria and India, it was imperative to analyse the rationale prevalent during the time that the educational policies were developed. In order to do this, primary texts such as the Governor General of Nigeria Lord Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* and Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education" were evaluated. More extensive analysis was based on findings from various sociologists, educationists and historians. Furthermore, in order to provide insight into the rationale and psyche of the colonizers, which allowed for the development of a more holistic analytical framework, writings of Frantz Fanon and Edward Said were also used as important lenses.

1. Nigeria

Frantz Fanon declares quite clearly that the colonial state, although showering itself and its conquered peoples with promises of evolution, can never truly be interested in social reform -- all such developments, in Fanon's view, are unintentional (208). Certain colonists, like Lord Lugard of Nigeria, were perceptive enough to recognize that some colonial policies were capable of creating, if not a movement for social reform itself, at least an impetus -- in his time, the example of the Indian independence movement is fresh, and the unrest there made him recognize what the consequences of too much education of natives entailed (199). It is first important to discuss how exactly the colonizers engaged with education in Nigeria before one can draw some sociological conclusions relating to how the colonist attempted to extract pre-existing elites for use within the colonial system.

Much like the rest of Africa, the colonial government in Nigeria also took upon the responsibility of governance only, leaving education as an institution dealt by the missionaries (Sulaiman 91). This is not to say the colonists of the early 19th century did not recognize the potential within education to create a more manageable populace, for the colonists did attempt to pressure missionaries into incorporating industrial education that could make administration more useful within Nigeria (Sulaiman 84). Interestingly, such developments are found within other British colonies in Africa, like Rhodesia, where the government's first engagement with education took the shape of an insistence upon teaching vocational skills, and therefore reflect a wider colonial policy on the government's part (Mackenzie 53). However, one cannot run a colonial system and expect it to sustain merely through imparting skills and increasing productivity; the colonist must penetrate the hearts of the colonized to truly sustain its system, and a greater level of engagement with an institution like education is necessary to achieve that effect (Fanon 208, 210).

Lugard, who was someone who played a central role in the way colonialism played out in Nigeria as someone who served as Governor-General of the colony for two decades, is very keen on ensuring that native elites are respected by the local populace at large, and constantly refers to how the native elite can be a conduit between the indigenous people in general and the colonial administration (194). The sole purpose of education in this context is that of creating an educated elite that will speak for the many -- he is unconcerned with ideas that this might be undemocratic, for Lugard believes that Africa, as a continent with so many different cultures and languages, is on the whole incapable of producing representative men of culture, so for him, there is no need to bother in that regard (194, 196). For the same reasons, he makes no comment on what language will be the language of choice within Nigeria -- the British were tolerant of

indigenous languages, at least to the point of primary school education, but English was the only language that was used for administration, and higher education (Orekan 19).

This strand of reasoning evidently predates Lugard, for British colonial policy did eventually take away the monopoly over education from the missionaries, and interestingly chose to invest in three large schools within the capital, the city where members of the old ruling elite lived, in 1872 (Sulaiman 91). One of these schools has a Wikipedia page that lists its notable alumni, which includes high-ranking jurists, officials, ministers, and even a former President. It is in fact only when the 1887 Ordinance on education is instated that there is an encouragement to expand school systems beyond the Lagos area (Bamidele 9). Lugard's conceptualization of good governance as requiring the native elite to help the colonial government negotiate through the administrative process explains such investment by the government within the capital. The fact that the original British ordinance in 1882 on schooling in Nigeria had to spell out that "pauper children" could also be admitted into schools reflects how originally elitist the paradigm of the system was (Sulaiman 92). A paper from Nigeria also suggests that the schools and the funding pattern was to accommodate members of the old overthrown autocracy into the colonial system, and one imagines that this could stem from a fear that these elites could cause problems for the British lest they be incorporated into the new system (Garba 56). To Lugard though, the older elite's collaboration merely made colonial policy more agreeable to the local populace, as it utilized pre-existing hierarchies and traditions to operate, and this guise would ideally entail little resistance from the population at large. Lugard himself opened a government school that specifically catered to children of the native elite, and thought it was important that they be fluent in English, the language of the rulers (Garba 56).

One must also stress how vital the colonial education system was to create an elite of collaborators after the world wars -- all of the colonists were, at least by the end of the Second World War, aware that nothing could be done without involving the African populace (Low 173). In earlier times, like the time of Lugard's account, that level of involvement was not initiated from the British, even as their "civilizing mission" took the same precedence within the realm of discourse. This greater level of involvement entailed a significant amount of displacement, not just because the development funds that were being pumped into education did not result in placement prospects for Nigerians, but because the education displaced Nigerians from beyond Lagos from their own indigenous social systems and hierarchies (Low 176). This phenomena is apparently not exclusive to just Nigeria, for East Africa as a whole is discussed by Anthony Low, a historian of South Asia and Africa, and the same phenomena is a consequence of this disregard colonial education has for indigenous tradition discussed by educationists talking about other African regions and regions colonized by Britain (Benavot & Reznik 68; Langohr 171).

These historical facts show how the colonial rule envisioned an important place for the native elite within its rule, and invested in education for it so particularly in the context of colonial Nigeria.

2. India:

Educational policies and reforms in colonial India were given scarce importance and attention prior to the Charter Act of 1813 (Niranjana 777). However, with an influx of Evangelic pressures, the Charter Act of 1813- the first enactment in regards to Indian education, allowed for set-up of missionaries (Adams and Adams 158). "They did not wish to abolish the distinction

between rich and poor or to shatter the traditionalist theory of orders, ranks and degrees, but rather to justify both by introducing into the world a new leaven of righteousness” (qtd.in. Adams and Adams). It is important to note that the British did little to encourage the development of indigenous educational systems and focused more on developing public schools of western learning which catered to the higher classes of society (Chaudhry 4). While the paternalistic colonial policies claimed to be driven largely by the mission to civilize, the impetus behind most was rooted in economic gain and the reassertion of British colonial hegemony. Many of these policies then became tools for the reinforcement of class divisions and the rise of the Western educated native elites.

The significance of the Indian Act of 1813 was linked to the fact that it explicitly stated for a monetary value of a lakh rupees to be directed from the East India Company to the provision of education(Heredia 2335). The funds, however, were used in such a way that education became a means through which there was a reinforcement of caste and class groupings with-in India. This was majorly attributed to the approach of ‘downward filtration’ which was described as the East India Company being “expected to give a good education (which then necessarily meant education through English) to only a few persons (these may or may not be from the upper classes) and leave it to these persons to educate the masses (through modern Indian languages)” (qtd. in. Heredia 2335). Employing the use of this scheme is reflective of how the initial British educational policies, by being exclusionary in nature, were geared towards creating an elitist educational system (Chaudhry 2).

With the progression of colonial rule, it was made manifest that these elitist policies retained much of their essence. With the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1933, a new incentive arose for the provision of education. This charter allowed for the

recruitment of Indians for the civil service of the colonial government which had the prerequisite of a certain level of proficiency in English (Tollefson and Tsui 181). It is important to note here, that this opportunity was not presented as a means to provide the natives social mobility. Rather, this decision was stemmed from the need of the British colonizers to manage the increasing expenses of administering the expanding empire. Macaulay's "Minute to Education 1835" encapsulates the needs of the British empire:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, --a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Up until now, the educational mission of the British explicitly demonstrated the desire to cultivate an indigenous elite class whose minds and ideologies would be entrenched in the values of the colonial mission. With Wood's Education Despatch of 1854, the colonizers attempted to establish more inclusionary policies by developing not only secondary and higher education institutes for the elites, but also primary schools in order to provide education to a wider native public (Chaudhry 5).

Though later policies shifted the focus to primary education, they met with limited success because primary education received less than 40% of public education expenditures. Moreover, in the 1880's primary schooling was decentralized to local boards where local factors became critical to the provision of schools. The number of public primary primary schools was lower in districts with higher levels of caste and

religious diversity because traditional elites preferred developing secondary schools and perhaps due to lower demand for education among disadvantaged groups like the lower castes and aboriginal tribes (Chaudhry 2-3).

The decentralization of education was perhaps an unintentional mechanism which reinforced the same class structures that were embedded in the Indian society. While previously the British educational policies were directly linked to the creation of a western educated indigenous elite, decentralization further created disparities amongst the masses as it meant that the resources that were to be allocated would be geared towards providing for those in the higher class and castes.

3. Comparison:

Perhaps comparing the contexts of Nigeria and India is counter-intuitive: the story of their experiences take place in two different continents with two very different histories. The scale of the slave trade, and the constant years of instability that Africa had to suffer through made places like Nigeria much more dependant on European assistance well before the formal colonization of India (Wolf). But within the sphere of education, the policymaker is the same: the British colonizer, and the way the British colonizer formulates and implements policies is familiar in both contexts.

From the way indigenous education is discarded, it is obvious that the British perceive both the Africans of Nigeria and the South Asians of India as “subject races”, incapable of creating fruitful systems of education that would be useful to society (Said 36). They need the assistance of the civilized, far more modern minds of the British to help them understand how to govern themselves, which is apparently the long-run goal of the colonial government in both India and Nigeria (Said 33). The target in both of these cases is small: an educated elite that is

versed in the prejudices of the majority, but which at the time of colonization is yet incapable of truly being representative of the unpredictable and heterogeneous nature of the areas they are based in (Lugard 195; Said 46, 48, 79). They must be capable of addressing the geographical expanse that the borders created by the colonists have created, and how else to teach that sensitivity but through Western education, or so thought the colonist (Said 50, 79). This paradigm obviously places all of the traditions and the culture of the Indians and the Nigerians on an inferior footing, and ingrains this conception of the colonized into its own mind, as if whatever it was ever capable of producing independently was always dysfunctional and unrevolutionary (Said 97). From the way Lugard and Macaulay have conceptualized the worlds of Nigeria and India, as stated in the cases provided earlier, all of Edward Said's analysis of the "orientalist" and their paradigms is echoed in their writings.

But to what extent do their lofty visions for Nigeria and India translate into action? If everything related to the indigenous is essentially "fatalistic" and "despotic", surely the onus on the colonizer is to create a truly revolutionary system that finally empowers the masses in Africa and Asia to liberate themselves from their dull, stagnant lives (Said 102). One must remind themselves that the initial interests of the colonial state to infiltrate education was purely utilitarian -- to encourage missionaries to teach industrial education or inculcate skills that would help with administration. To reiterate what Fanon says, while the colonizer imagines himself as a liberator of the oppressed peoples of the east, his system can never naturally lead to liberation proper (Fanon 208). While the discourse of the colonizer might make one think that the colonizer was truly intent on teaching Western values to the colonized, this is certainly not a central reason behind colonial policy in either of these cases. In both cases, the elite is the first to be targeted by the colonizer, and is envisioned as a collaborator that can help colonial policy settle well with the

population at large. The masses are seen as without agency, and they are not of great interest, except as a useful labour pool -- nothing is being done in this system to radically alter the traditional authority structures that are seen as being so problematic within discourse, and if anything is done in this regard, it is an unintended consequence rather than an ideal the colonist struggles to achieve.

This is not to say that the masses were completely ignored under the colonial system of education, or the education system only gave more strength to elite groups. Of course, anomalies may have existed, and as discussed earlier, school systems did exist for the wider populace, but most of the funding is initially pumped into schools that cater to the elite, whether in India or Lagos. In India, it is called “downward filtration”, a kind of trickle-down version of education, just like there is a trickle-down economics (Ellis 364). Therefore, even when education became an issue that came to involve the entire population, the priority is still the upper crust of the population in Nigeria and India.

However, it is important to note that the target populace, the elite, is incredibly different in both contexts. Within the case of Nigeria, it is unclear how cohesive this elite was -- while the sources have stated that it was concentrated in Lagos, one wonders how far the writ of the elite operated, especially considering the state of most of the continent in the 19th century, when the horrors of the slave trade had created a continent where there were barely any actual polities left operating. Nigeria is a country where the largest slave using polity, an Islamic caliphate, used to be situated before British rule (Shillington 1401). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze exactly how disadvantaged the elite was in comparison to India with relation to the slave trade, the degree of centralization and advanced education systems within pre-colonial India are not to be found in the context of Nigeria. There is a whole segment of the Nigerian elite, mostly

situated in Northern Nigeria, that was not engaged by the British crown, on account of their being Muslim states and Lugard's policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Muslim rulers (Garba 56). Again, one sees that the British Empire, rather than actually trying to transform the lives of all Nigerians as the discourse suggests, is being pragmatic: merely because more aggressive resistance is expected in from Northern Nigeria, the British decides to extract economic benefits from the South instead, which eventually goes on to create marked differences in the development of education in the two regions that persist to this day ("Why Nigeria's North South Distinction Is Important"; Okobiah 7). Even within the scale of education that is reserved for the elite, the British colonial state does what is most convenient for it. These historical precedents that distinguish Nigeria from India may explain why the anti-colonial movement within Nigeria also began decades after Indian nationalism became a concerning phenomena for the British.

However, a parallel can be made for the North-South divide in India too: Indian nationalist historians have long since focussed on how rather than encouraging the removal of the traditional distinctions that made up the Indian hierarchical structure, British colonial policy, and particularly their education system, formalized it (Ellis 365). While the colonizer claims to treat the knowledge of the indigenous peoples as inferior, the extent to which it informs their policy is contradictory in nature, and reveals just exactly how false the paradigms of the orientalist were in proclaiming that colonial administrations were something of a service to the peoples of India and Nigeria (Ellis 365).

4. Conclusion:

In the case of both Nigeria and India, the provision and establishment of education began with missionaries to educate and thus, finally convert the masses who could read and write. It

was not until the colonial powers realised that education could be a means of asserting ideological control, a function that is hidden through the discourse of the “white man’s burden”, that they began to take interest in the mission to educate and civilize the elite in particular. While the elite is different in both of the cases, as is the nature of the states of pre-colonial India and the polities that made up Nigeria, British colonial policy operates through the same framework in both of the contexts, with the same agendas of creating a cohesive elite that is Westernized, controllable, and has the potential to collaborate. This lens sheds light on how highly paradoxical the perceptions of the native in the colonizer’s mind were. On one end, the colonizer justified their rule over the colonized with the reasoning that they inferior races, with inferior civilizations and modes of life. On the other, the system that the British colonist creates ultimately perpetuates those same traditions and elites that the colonist sees as the problem. Ultimately, while ideas can give fancy justifications to why colonial rule exists, it operates within the spectrum of an already existing material reality that the British colonist finds little difficulty to negotiate through, with a focus on cultivating an elite that existed before the white man came to save the east from its decadence.

Word Count: 3667

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ANTH 235, Introduction to Development Studies

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How have the Indian state's policies with regards to family planning evolved from the period of the Emergency till the present and what have the gendered consequences of these policies been?

Since the past decade with the rising concern with modernization and the economic development of the poor, spiraling population growth is increasingly being recognized as a growing impediment to development. Using a neo-Malthusian lens which predicates that economic growth cannot be achieved unless population is curbed, several developing countries are scrambling to incorporate official family planning policies and programs backed by foreign aid and technical assistance from the developed world. Such means of population control fall into two categories: coercive versus passive. While passive methods incorporate the concept of choice, coercive methods annihilate this very concept of individual autonomy by using forceful mechanisms to control population. This paternalistic approach begs the question that whether one's freedom can be justifiably curtailed so as to benefit the person or can it be curtailed to benefit society (Komu M.D and N. Ethelberg, 2015:2)? In his essay "On Liberty", John Stuart Mills makes the case for individualism by saying

"....The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of the civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not sufficient warrant (Komu M.D and N. Ethelberg, 2015:2)".

According to Mills logic, population control is justified so long as it benefits society as a whole however regardless of this aspect; coercion is a direct violation of individual liberty and is in contradiction with the international human and reproductive health rights as framed in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover this idea propagates the debate surrounding the relationship between the state and the individual ~~and in terms of~~ how far can the state impinge on the latter's freedom. Are government actions justified so long as they are masked by the façade of development? Family planning programs mostly harness funding and support from foreign institutions. This raises a red flag surrounding the motives behind state policies and whether or not national interests play a role in deciding the course of action. Are they put in place to satisfy the needs and expectations of external agencies or are they placed to resolve domestic demands?

One of the most cited examples of countries that launched extensive family planning campaigns is the case of India. In 1975, owing to depleting food resources and an economic crisis, Indira Gandhi imposed a state of emergency on India which ensued years of state sanctioned violence most notably through the implementation of a mass sterilization scheme. As an example of over extension of state control, this essay will critically analyze the trajectory of events surrounding India's family planning campaign from the time of its implementation since the 1975 Emergency. It will ~~understand-analyse~~ the role of foreign aid and how it has so far shaped policy decisions. It will further delve into understanding the ~~gendered~~ implications of this intrusive scheme ~~on gender~~ and its notable impact on Indian women.

Post independence, India experienced a debilitating crisis when it came to rapid population growth. Suffering through a long history of policy debate that recognized increasing population growth as a hindrance to economic development, India saw a shift from a comprehensive policy approach to one that took on a more intrusive shape. During the 1970s, an

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economic crisis was rampant throughout the country coupled with extremely low food production rates. India's import bill had increased in the last two years owing to elevated petroleum prices. Because Western economies were consequently experiencing a down turn, their demand for Indian produce declined sharply disrupting India's already fragile balance of payments. Increased inflation rate, political and labor unrest created a scenario of widespread indiscipline. In lieu of this Indira Gandhi imposed a state of emergency on India whereby suspending a plethora of civil liberties. From here on the government shifted its focus from individual rights to productive efficiency when it came to policy making (Gwatkin, 1979:31). Overpopulation was used as a scapegoat to justify the failure on the part of the government to bring about socio-economic changes. An aggressive family planning scheme was thus launched (Marriot and Sanchez, 1998:237). Strict measures were taken under the National Population Policy of 1976 that took a coercive form. Central to these measures was the largely controversial aspect of forced sterilization that was aggressively practiced across the nation (Government of India 1976). The program at the time largely targeted men, forcing fathers with more two children to undergo vasectomies. The scheme was further propagated by Indira Gandhi's son Sanjay Gandhi who primarily targeted rural families belonging to a lower social class. According to the statistics, 6.2 million men faced forced sterilizations within the year (Donnell 2014).

India's forced sterilization policy worked through a system of incentives and disincentives. According to the Deputy Minister for Health and Family Planning disincentives were

“ Broadly in the shape of denial of privileges and concessions like maternity leave, loans/and advances for different purposes, allotment of accommodation/land, free medical treatments, freeships/educational allowance for children and employment opportunities for public servants

and members of the public, as the case may be, who do not limit their family to a prescribed number of children or fail to undergo sterilization (Shah Commission of Inquiry, 1978:20)".

Over here the word privileges offers ambiguity for the families targeted had no other means to the above mentioned facilities, therefore their concept of choice was tainted. Other forms of disincentives tied directly to necessities and not 'privileges' for example withholding salaries and ration cards for those who refused the operation. This is what made sterilization compulsory because it became a source of obtaining amenities as opposed to planning families. Through the use of targets and quotas, health care workers and public officials mobilized the masses using "Compul-suasion", compulsion through soft coercion and persuasion through the use of material incentives (Morse and Mosher, 2014). States employed a range of tactics to achieve set quotas which included withholding employment opportunities, salaries and water supplies from villages unless sterilization certificates were produced. Health care workers were at a risk of losing their wages unless they met their assigned quotas. Because the whole situation turned into a race to meet set targets, sterilization was seen to be severed from family planning.

Prior to the announcement of the Emergency, the government employed a "cafeteria" approach whereby the incorporated the promotion of IUDs, spacing methods and other types of contraceptive methods other than sterilization (Government of India, August 1978, 32). Once the campaign was introduced, however, this was replaced by the state placing emphasis on terminal operations. What propagated the movement was the influx of foreign aid that was pouring into India as a support of their apparent family scheme. Foreign support is still prevalent as in 1992 USA under the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) came into agreement with India through a program called the "Innovations in Family Planning Services (IFPS). Through this program, USA continues to fund and promote thousands of sterilization camps spread across

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the country that practice abusive medical procedures in the face of sterilization. Over the span of three years, between 2003 and 2006, USA through its USAID funded program has supported 60,000 camps in sterilizing 810,000 men and women (The Population Research Institute, 2017:5). To mask the prevalence of a quota system in light of negative publicity that China's One Child Policy was getting, India proposed the "Target-Free Approach" in 1996. ~~However,~~ findings by human rights activists show that target and sterilization quota are still very much the norm (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Historically, India's family planning scene has been ~~contextualized-viewed~~ through the ~~binocular-lens~~ of politics and the role of international actors; however the discourse cannot separate itself from the domestic experiences of those who experienced the policy implications first hand. Upon the conception of the scheme, men were seen to be the primary targets as thousands were forced into camps like cattle and made to undergo procedures under deplorable conditions. In recent times, the movement has taken an anti-woman turn where women belonging to the destitute lower classes of society are seen to bear the brunt of government aggression. This shift finds roots in India's deeply entrenched system of patriarchy. There is a myth that surrounds the concept of a vasectomy whereby men think it to mean castration and see the procedure as affecting their virility. Despite the fact that the procedure on males is easier and safer, since no adequate steps have been taken by the government thus far to demystify this myth, women are continually being pushed as the easily convinced targets. Today India's ranks as one of the leading countries when it comes to female sterilization with, according to the UN 37% of women being made to undergo the procedure as opposed to 29% in China. As per government statistics, 4.6 million women were sterilized in 2011 and 2012 (Burke, 2017). Through such schemes, men and women suffer through the radical violation of their bodies.

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Earlier men were left feeling emasculated while women were rid of their basic right to plan their own families. This throws light to the concept put forward by Sen where she talks about how development is a process which is seen to expand real freedoms and how expansion of freedom serves both as “the primary end and the principal means of development (Sen 36)”. If development is to be seen in terms of freedom and the enriching of one’s life as proposed by Sen then India’s family planning scheme that inherently aims to further development through population control certainly misses the mark.

Family planning specially India’s forced sterilization program can be understood under the theoretical framework put forward by neo-Malthusian thinkers. According to Malthus, the human race grows in geometric progression (2,4,8..) while food sources grow arithmetically (1,2,3..); therefore the human population cannot keep up with the supply of food . From this ideology sprang the neo-Malthusian school of thought that talks about how population growth causes poverty but differ in the thinking that human intervention can serve as a check and balance to population growth. The analysis of India’s family planning is in line with this view for it too, places utmost importance to reducing birth rates by persuading the poor to control their family sizes. India’s family program was a similar approach in that it targeted the rural poor as well. This notion of development plays a role in policy making for it pushes the state to incur unfavorable population control schemes as is apparent in not only India but also China and Egypt. (source?)

As a challenge to neo-Malthusian school of thought sprang the social view on population control which says that population growth is not what causes socio-economic problems but serves as the symptom for such problems. Women do not become poor by having a number of children but in fact have children in order to alleviate their poverty through their child’s labor as

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is widespread in developing countries such as India. This debate further highlighted the role of women in population control, whereby placing importance on egalitarian gender relations and how providing women with better opportunities in terms of education, empowerment and access to proper health care facilities will in turn reduce fertility rates. Education should also be given to men regarding female sterilization and its implication and also about the safe usage of contraceptives. This could potentially serve as a solution to India's current family planning program (Hewitt and Smith 2000: 132-137).

Analysis of the events surrounding Indira Gandhi's mass sterilization scheme reinforces the notion of how the state went one step too far in exerting its power to take control over its citizen's very notion of individual liberty. Masked under the pretense of perpetuating development, this notion of population control was inherently coercive and a direct violation of human rights. Foucault's analysis of the role of body in social discipline further helps to understand the state's exercise of control through the relationship of power and the body. In *Discipline and Punish* he talks about how the body 'is directly involved in the political field; power relations have an immediate hold on it; they invest it, mark it, train it, force it...to emit signs' This is seen with the Emergency India's exercise of power over its citizens' bodies through sterilization. By annihilating the notion of individual agency, it brought family planning to the forefront of its political agenda, taking decision-making into its own hands and turning the acceptance of the procedure into an economic exchange (Foucault, 1995). Through the use of current statistics it is apparent that India has not in recent times met the targets it sets out to achieve. Therefore it is time the nation shifts its coercive policy to one that focuses more on birth control and less on controlling reproduction.

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This is a well-written, well-researched essay. There are a few issues that could have been explained in more depth, and the leap from the 1970s to the contemporary period is a little abrupt, but otherwise this is well done.

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