THE MERGING OF PHILOSOPHIES, METHODOLOGIES, AND THE TRACING OF TRANSITIONS IN MY GENEALOGY: RETRIEVING AN EDUCATIONAL PRAXIS FOR PAKISTAN’S EDUCATION

by

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M.A. (English Literature), Punjab University, (Pakistan), 1988

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This project fuses the conceptual frameworks of Taylor’s Theory of Modern Social Imaginary, Foucault’s Archaeology and Genealogy, and Gadamer’s Hermeneutics that merged in the Fusion of Horizons. I adopt an amalgam of the Hermeneutic Approach and Auto ethnography for methodology frameworks. The people of Pakistan are embedded in three contesting social imaginaries as a result of three parallel education systems. These strands reflect class-based system of education. Pakistan’s education systems can be divided into the Elite School System, the Government Schools and the Madrassa Schools (Seminaries). I present and interpret my own example as a schema for the middle classes and how the transitions from the religious embeddings of my grandfather shifted to dualism in my father, and finally how I acquire the liberal worldview due to the modern education. I retrieve the liberal traditions and a workable model for Pakistan. These retrievals may help develop a fusion of divergent horizons.

**Keywords:** The Social Imaginary; Foucault’s Archaeology and Genealogy; Hermeneutic of Self; Auto ethnography; Pedagogical praxis; the Fusion of Horizons.
DEDICATION

To

My father who serves as a beacon light

that guides and illuminates

my paths.
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I owe my indebtedness to my supervisor Dr. Geoff Macdoc-Jones who introduced Charles Taylor, Foucault and Gadamer that led to the widening of my horizons, and thus the incorporation of these concepts, theories and philosophies into this project that ultimately led to the transition of my own social imaginaries during the writing process. My thanks are also due to his incessant and constant encouragements and support that I received since our first meeting and finally that support culminated in the making of this project. He stands out for his love to his students.

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Shahid Habib
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Introduction

This project deals with the transition in human beings and how it interweaves and interplays with the national narrative that shapes and causes changes in characters. It presents a combination of history and my personal history embedded in a socio-economic and cultural background within the context of three contesting educational models in Pakistan’s education by using Taylor’s Theory of Modern Social Imaginary, Foucault’s concepts of Archeology and Genealogy, and Gadamer’s notion of the Fusion of Horizons as three theoretical and practical frameworks. I use the broader concepts of these lenses but I do not intend to involve in meta-discussions of these concepts in this project. This analysis of Pakistan’s history and education blended with my own personal history under these frameworks leads me to do the retrieval of the state model and an education model that may serve as educational and dialogical praxes for the state of Pakistan.

It is always an interesting phenomenon to explore, observe, and figure out that how people change over a period of time and what forces or factors affect them in this transformation process. I apply Taylor’s Theory of Modern Social Imaginary (2004) as a lens to explore transformations and transmutations of the old practices embedded in a culture and history, and how they give way to the new discursive practices. Therefore, my discussion revolves around this overarching question; what is the relationship between the discursive practices (history and culture) and the dominating themes in the transformation of the social imaginaries in my own past? How did these social imaginaries evolve over the intergenerational periods from 1880 to today; this includes from my grandfather’s to my time. This unfolding process will provide an interesting personal narrative as a case study to see how the history, culture and dominate themes influence the thinking pattern, behavior and belief, and consequently the practices of an individual subject.

My claim is that my genealogical story can be seen as a microcosm that exemplifies for the education of the middle classes in Pakistan as a way of understanding this process. It can also be seen at a macrocosmic level how other factors (dominate themes) can influence the decision making in peoples’ lives. But unfortunately my genealogical example does not represent the whole society because the Pakistani society remained entrenched in three contesting class-based school systems and all embody their own mutually exclusive social imaginaries. The reason for the insertion of my personal story justifies that how symbiotic relationship exists between the people and larger themes around them, and as a result of interplay of theme or the structure with the subjects that change and shape them. Thus this study moves from a particular case to the generalization. So while this story is a unique and very personal one; it also exemplifies a process that how people are shaped and coloured in their lives. Furthermore, it leads to the question of what kind of interpretations can be applied to the process of understanding (Gadamer, 1993a, p.251) where such fusions of horizons can take place.
The Statement of the Problem

I use three theoretical frameworks. First Taylor’s (2004) Theory of Social Imaginaries as an interpretative lens, Foucault’s Archaeology of Knowledge and Genealogy as a technique, and Gadamer’s Hermeneutic of Self as a way of understanding in my own genealogy. This forms a schema for the Pakistani middle classes and it assists us to see how changes occurred over the different period of times from my grandfather to myself, and I also intend to explore Pakistan’s different strands in education.

I also explore the question of what is the relationship between the dominating themes and the decision making of characters in my genealogy at different times and conditions. In other words, I intend to explain the phenomenon of how the dominate themes affect the decision making of subjects who are placed in special conditions, times and places that lead to changing of the social imaginaries of the following generations. That is from my grandfather to myself. The participants include myself, my father and my grandfather all situated in different times from 1880 today. They are embedded in different conditions and education systems and all were exposed to the different discourses and dominating themes that influenced their decision making which led them to have the different social imaginaries in their following generations. It is an interesting phenomenon to explore how to have a dialogue with other people who do not share the same worldview with you and find out some common points to start a dialogue that may ultimately lead to a fusion of horizons.

It is important to explain the historical perspective of what was in the minds of people who are situated in a particular historical context and what kind of narratives were available during their times, and how they were influenced by those dominating themes that affected their decisions for their following generations. My analysis will deal with the following two questions: how did their thought processes work? What were the dominate themes that advertently or inadvertently influenced them and thereby their decisions? Finally, how those decisions led to changing of the social imaginary in their following generations. Now it is time to go back to the lenses of social imaginary, genealogical studies and philosophical hermeneutics one by one and to explain what they are and how they can be applied in my genealogy. First I explain what is the theory of social imaginary and how it is different from a social theory and then I pick up the concepts of the “affirmation of ordinary life” and the “horizons of significance” from Taylor (2004) and try to establish a link with Foucault’s approach of Archeology and Genealogy and finally I apply the conditions which are essential to do the fusion of horizons according to Gadamer’s hermeneutic of self.

What is the Lens of Modern Social Imaginary?

Taylor’s concept of Social Imaginaries refers to the way a people imagine their ordinary existence in their daily lives and how they live by themselves and interact with others, and how they knit together as a community. Thus a common thread of thought emerges that comes out of common practices with shared common stories, characters, heroes, and ways of life, notions, images, and legends. These factors lead to a common understanding of life based upon mutual interests and benefits, meeting expectations and sharing the same
public space and sphere. Thus I can say, modern social imaginaries explain that how we imagine in our daily existence and how we interact with other people and what kind of causes are dear to us. It simply describes and gives meaning to the worldview we hold as a people.

Taylor thinks neither in terms of intellectual schemes of the social reality in a disengaged mode nor does he intend to give a social theory because according to him, “theory is often in the possession of a small minority, whereas …the social imaginary is that is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole of society” (Taylor, 2004, p.23). Therefore, Taylor defines this concept in his own words in this way; “I think, I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations” (2004, p.23). Taylor maintains that no theorizing can be done before the practices become the part of thinking of a people that is evidenced in their actual practices, and social imaginaries are not a set of ideas but they come out of social practices, and it is only then the theorizing can be done as he does in his work. Thus his concept of Modern Social Imaginary does not come out as a result of philosophical explanations of a philosopher or a social scientist; rather it emerges from the actual discursive practices of a people.

These common social imaginaries lead the people to achieve a consensus, where “The kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life” (2004, p.24). Therefore, the hallmark of the social imaginaries is “the affirmation of ordinary life” (2004, p.102). Taylor further sees in social imaginary the affirmation of an ordinary life, therefore, he envisages personal efforts on the part of ordinary people to dig deep and to find out, “The only way we can explore the order in which we are set with an aim to defining moral sources is through the art of personal resonance” (Taylor, 2007, p.512). Finally he turns toward the shifting of “the moral horizon” and the transmutations of the social imaginary; this process is complete when the particular conditions are met. Taylor (1991) asserts that, “Modern freedom was won by our breaking loose from older moral horizons. People used to see themselves as part of a larger order” (Taylor, 1991, p.3). Thus this “larger order” needs a collective action, and through this collective action the climax can be reached what he calls the “horizons of significance” are achieved but at the same time, Taylor warns that such horizons cannot be generated by unbridled individual self-interest (1991, pp.37-40).

Thus according to Taylor, the key features of the “horizons of significance” are the humanism that sees the human being is the source of meaning and value, and the nature is a value; if it is useful to humans. The development of human potential is the highest goal of politics. The social practices are the source of social imaginary and theory comes later in this case but the theory can be propounded by philosophers that may become part of the social imaginary and consequently reflected in the social practices. By implication one can infer that even though Taylor has not used the term the “fusion of horizons” but he refers to the moral order that comes into being through consensus that can traverse on the social development on infinite trajectories to become a part of the fusion of horizons in Gadamer’s terms.
Foucault’s way: Archaeology versus Genealogy

I apply Foucault’s (1969) concepts of archaeology and genealogy of knowledge in this project. Archaeology gives a picture of what my grandfather and father were in the past in order to know what I am at the present moment and what are the common points that I inherited from grandfather and father. There are dissimilarities which I developed due to education, discursive practices, time, place and conditions, but the genealogy analysis enables me to see as to why did it happen? For example, my grandfather’s decision for my father to have a liberal education seems paradoxical and contrary to his religious embeddings. Thus to link the decision makings in my genealogy and how as a result of these decisions of my grandfather had different social imaginaries from his son (my father) and finally how I become a changed person from my father in my worldview. Therefore, to see what happened is the part of archaeology and why did my grandfather and father take these decisions is tied to genealogical study. These two methods of archaeology and genealogy are related to each other and sometimes terms like discursive practices and non-discursive practices are related to these concepts; the former generally attached to archaeology, while the later is linked to genealogy. Therefore, I analyse, as illustrated in the following graphic, where my grandfather embeddings in religion occupy 80% and in my father this religious situatedness reduces to 50% but in my person; this area squeezes to 20%. This linking is the part of archaeology but the genealogical study considers what causes and factors were involved in this transformation from my grandfather to me at the present moment.

A genealogy study observes and understands that how these positivities act and interact. Therefore, Foucault demonstrated in one of his interviews by illustrating some pictures from history and then he linked these pictures to what he asserts is the work of a genealogist. Therefore, Archaeology only gives an outline of discursive formation and practices but in genealogy different parts are linked to the whole to see the bigger picture what Foucault calls ‘an episteme of epoch’ (Foucault, 1994, p.51). Foucault clarifies the distinction between archaeology and genealogy when he declares that “If the critical [archaeological] side is one of studied casualness, then the genealogical mood is one of lighthearted positivities” (Foucault, 1970, p.365). The genealogical analysis is different from traditional historiography because genealogical analysis is prescriptive unlike historiography which is a descriptive way of the narration of events in history, but the reader
can infer meanings and can draw conclusions through interpretations in the philosophical hermeneutic mode. But I highlight the factors like the dominating discourses, themes and to see that how the economic conditions also contribute in the making and shaping of my intergenerational decisions that lead to the making of my present self. This shows how the process of transformation and transmutation of social imaginaries works in my genealogical history and it continues its march on even in my children.

**Gadamer’s Philosophical Hermeneutics: The Fusion of Horizons**

*Even when we ourselves as historically enlightened thinkers are fundamentally clear about the historical conditionedness of all human thinking and hence about our own conditionedness, we have not ourselves taken an unconditioned stand... The consciousness of the conditionedness does not in any way negate this conditionedness (Gadamer, 1960/1989, Truth & Method, p. 424).*

I intent to see the evolution of the fusion of horizons in Gadamer and then I try to integrate this concept in this project in order to get an effective history in my genealogical study. I focus on some conditions that are prerequisites to have a hermeneutic of self; they include; the situatedness, the actual player and partaker, and the ability to transpose to those cultural conditions, time and place, thereby becoming aware of my fore-judgements, fore-prejudice and biasedness. Gadamer does not want us to liberate ourselves from the traditions but he wants us to rise above the historically and traditionally situatedness “excluding everything that could hinder us from understanding it in terms of the subject matter” (pp. 269-270). Thus Gadamer maintains that “all understanding inevitably involves some prejudice” (p.270). Therefore, he thinks that historicism “despite its critique of rationalism of natural law philosophy is based on the modern Enlightenment and unwittingly shares its prejudices” (p.270). Thus it leads him to say “one prejudice of the Enlightenment that defines its essence: the fundamental prejudice against prejudice itself, which denies tradition its power” (p.270). He says that prejudgement leads to judgement “judgement that is rendered before all the elements that determine a situation have been finally examined” (p.270). Gadamer’s main concern is with the hermeneutical problem which he wants to understand in its true perspective placed in traditions and with prejudice recognised and taken into account when making interpretations (p.272).

Therefore, he states that “history does not belong to us; we belong to it. Long before we understand ourselves through the process of self-examination, we understand ourselves in a self-evident way in the family, society, and state in which we live. The focus of subjectivity is a distorting mirror. The self-awareness of the individual is only a flickering in the closed circuits of historical life. That is why the prejudices of the individual, far more than his judgments, constitute the historical reality of his being” (Gadamer, 1960/1997, pp.276/277).

Accordingly a subject is embedded in traditions that are always part of him and they reinforce of his beingness, thereby propose a model and structure of his past consciousness that provides a “framework of a formal relation between part and whole” (p.293). These are not fixed but they have a “circular movement of understanding (that) runs backward and forward along the text and ceases when the text is perfectly understood” (p.293). Thus the “task of hermeneutics has always been to establish agreement where there was none or where it had been disturbed in some way” (p.292). Therefore, the task interpretation is to establish a
connection with the text (p.295) in order to get an effective history. Therefore, Gadamer thinks that “naive faith in scientific method denies the existence of effective history; there can be an actual deformation of knowledge” (p.301). Moreover, the “power of effective history does not depend on its being recognized” (p.301).

Here a question arises what does he mean by an effective history; Gadamer takes consciousness of being affected by history (wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewuβtsein) as the primarily consciousness of the hermeneutical situation. By implication, one can infer that hermeneutical situation demands a subject to become a partaker and player rather than an onlooker on a particular situation. In the hermeneutic situation, we must be a part of the game or one of the players in the game instead of a spectator. In other words, we must be part of the traditions and culture of which we become involved in genealogical studies. Historically situatedness means that knowledge of oneself can never be complete. All self-knowledge arises from what is “historically pre given because it underlies all subjective intentions and actions, and hence both prescribes and limits every possibility for understanding any tradition whatsoever in its historical alterity” (pp.301-302). The horizon comes into play when we become part of the past in historical consciousness, and the fusion of horizons cannot happen if we merely wear the lenses of modernity with all its criteria and prejudices. The ultimate task of the hermeneutic circle is to establish overlapping zones; from there one can start interpreting the text and thereby completing the hermeneutical circle. Thus, the acquisition of historical horizon is the starting point to understand the process of understanding which requires transportation of oneself into otherness’s horizon in order to get a true understanding and thereby an effective history(Gadamer/Palmer,1993a,p.39).

Every finite present entrenchment has its limitations. The concept of “situation” is defined by saying that it represents a standpoint that limits the possibility of vision. Hence the essential part of the situation is the concept of “horizon.” The horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point... A person who has no horizon is a man who does not see far enough and hence overvalues what is nearest to him. On the other hand, "to have an horizon" means not being limited to what is nearby, but to being able to see beyond it...[W]orking out of the hermeneutical situation means the achievement of the right horizon of inquiry for the questions evoked by the encounter with tradition (Gadamer, 1960/1997, p.302).

It means the hermeneutic circle is complete when certain conditions are met: the sharing of the past consciousness and if that is not possible, your transportation to the same cultural and traditions as a player with your fore-knowledge and fore-prejudice acknowledged, and above of all; the understanding of the language in which hermeneutic of self takes place. Therefore, it seems that I meet all the requirements in order to do hermeneutic of self so as to get an effective history of my own past. This process needs an interpretation of the subject situated in a specific history that is analyzed retrospectively which means the soul-searching to undergo the process of self-understanding to reach at the process of understanding and at the same time, to see the influences and effects of external factors on a subject in his history and culture.
The Fusion of Three Theories

Taylor sees in the discursive practices of a people how they imagine their daily existence by doing genealogical survey of historical and philosophical factors in particular in the British context and in general in the European context, and then he traces the history of “horizons of significance” and how they emerged for the ordinary people and how they are different from previous generations that worked out through the process of interpretation, reinterpretation, redaction and refinement.

Therefore the interplay of the Modern Social Imaginaries and the Genealogy of Foucault can be found. Taylor adopts an approach which is a genealogical in a sense and the book’s contents reflect a genealogical exploration of the history of philosophical and religious thoughts that went into the making of description of the modern western man. He also explains the process by which the institution making was done through the process of evolution, the democratic rules, the rule of law, the rituals of demonstrations, the right of representation and the right of assembly underwent the process of redaction and refinement through the historical process of interpretation and reinterpretation, thereby coming down to us in the present forms.

Taylor seems to be applying Foucault’s concept of Genealogy on the broader level by tracing history, philosophy and institutional development. But he also uses Gadamer’s notion of “fusion of horizons.” I shall talk about this later when different kinds of social imaginaries seemed to be shifting in my ancestry initially through tensions and conflicts, but finally there emerged a different perspective in subsequent generations. Thus, I will make use of the same technique to trace changes, transformations and transmutations in my three generations to see how my father was different from grandfather, and how I am a changed person from my father and how I still share some horizons with my grandfather and father.

Autoethnographic Approach: Methodological and Analytical Frameworks

Autoethnography has gained popularity recently as a form of qualitative research. It is also called auto-anthropology, autographical, ethnography or personal narrative. It is a personalised form of writing that is reflexive in nature, and contents are based on personal experiences. This writing genre moves from personal to the general; thereby from an individual to the society. Duarte (2007) describes auto ethnography “As a reflexive genre of writing” it “situates the self within the context of a culture, sub-culture or group, and studies one’s experience along with that of other members of the group…Auto ethnography has no pretense of objectivity” (2007, p. 2). Duarte further explains: “Auto ethnographic writing begins with a descriptive narrative of events and activities that unfold within a particular culture and then develops into a reflective analysis of these events and activities to generate new insights and to enhance the researcher’s sensitivity towards the knowledge gained in the process” (2007, p.2). I intend to incorporate this genre into my genealogical study in the following manner, and relate it to the main subject the “fusion of horizons” in Gadamer’s terms as illustrated in following graphic form. Thus it represents an auto-ethno-graphy, where all merged into one with overlapping zones representing the emergence of horizons in my genealogy. In this graphic, auto means self, ethno
My Role; Hermes: How I plan to do hermeneutic of self

In this project, I follow the footsteps of Hermes (the Son of Zeus) who bridges the gaps and he goes back and forth in both worlds—this world and the underworld (Palmer, 1980, pp.4-11). In my case, I will be visiting three worlds. My grandfather's world visited through a dialogue with my father. My father's world is clearer because of the immediate and face to face contacts that I had with him. He provides a link between my own world and my grandfather's world. Thus stepping in and out in their worlds back and forth forms a hermeneutic circle, thereby gives me more understanding of their positions (Gadamer, 1993a, p.34). According to Gadamer, “Only when our entire culture for the first time saw itself threatened by radical doubt and critique did hermeneutics become a matter of universal significance” (Gadamer, 2003b, p.100). He further explains about the shared background in order to get an effective history “Hermeneutics must start from the position that a person seeking to understand something has a bond to the subject matter that comes into language through the traditionary text and has, or acquires, a connection with the tradition from which it speaks” (Gadamer, 1960/1997, p. 295).
The following chart outlines the various aspects of the three worlds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects/Categories</th>
<th>Naming</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Cultural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Rematullah</td>
<td>Graduate of Seminary</td>
<td>Anti-British, member of Jamiat-Ulema Hind</td>
<td>Religious embedded person-Islam</td>
<td>Embedded in Islamic culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Habib-ur-Rehman</td>
<td>B.A English literature</td>
<td>Member of Muslim League</td>
<td>Dualism of religion and secularism</td>
<td>Flexible to other cultural differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Shahid Habib</td>
<td>M.A English Literature</td>
<td>Pro-PPP-Liberal Party</td>
<td>Dualism: conceptually in Religion, but largely secular</td>
<td>Enjoy all cultural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sources: Harris, 1951)

I shall analyse by comparing and contrasting the categories on the vertical line. There may be some comparison on the horizontal line but the main focus will remain on the former. For example, the education category is the main source of knowledge in my genealogical studies; therefore it will be studied vertically. My grandfather graduated from the madrassa (seminary) that structure determined his social imaginaries and my father was embedded both in the socio-religious conditions and the modern education that accounts for the dualism in my father’s horizons. I am grounded in the modern education. Therefore, I am embedded in the modern world. Thus my genealogy will be discussed mostly from the synchronic point of view (axis of simultaneities) as structuralists call it and not from the diachronic point of view (axis of successions) (Harris, 1951, p.47).

The Data Collection

The data collection includes my sharing background, the knowledge of genealogy, long-term memories, the oral traditions, the historical texts, and the dialogical relations with my father, identification of fore-groundings or fore-prejudices. My awareness of these fore-understandings represents an attempt at developing a sense of an effective history in the Gadamerian sense. Probing and questioning myself enabled me to do dialogical
replacement and displacement; what decisions I would have taken, if I were present in my grandfather’s time. Further, had I existed in my grandfather’s time; would I have taken different decisions?

Now let us turn towards the historical and cultural context in which the characters in my story are embedded. In those embeddings; these characters are exposed to certain narratives through the model of the state and education by which their social imaginaries are, in part, shaped. Later I will discuss that how, in a Pakistani context, the politics, religion and state are intermingled which is related to the question of education and thereby the narrative provided by the state.
CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Backgrounder

In this chapter, I trace an historical context of the Muslim’s thought process and how it laid the foundation of models during the Medieval Ages and the Modern times in India. The Arabs introduced an imperial model that was a relatively liberal model in comparison to the existing conditions of the time. The Persian-Turkish Model worked from 1186 to 1857 and it worked well before the arrival of the British. The British Model entered India in 1757 through the South and both models ran parallel till 1857; when the British government took over from the East India Company. However, the Muslims continued to act and react toward the British model and I argue the tension that even existed today was already there in the thought process on account of the two contesting models within the Muslim of India that created a dilemma which ran parallel even in the history of their own rule in India. The first was a liberal model, while the second was a conservative one that envisaged running the state according the Islamic values in a predominately Hindu India. I continue with this historical retrieval of the two competing models in the Muslims’ minds, and I attempt a synthesis for the running of the state that may help find a solution to the conflict between the different sects of Islam on the one hand, and on the other, the conflict between the state and religion. I invoke the historical traditions of Muhammad Bin Qasim (711-713), Alauddin Khiliji (1290/1320), Akbar (1556-1605), Shah Waliulliuah, Shah Abdul Aziz and finally the Madrassa Nadva-tul-Ulema that could offer an educational praxis that may facilitate the process of the uniform formulation of educational policies that might bring about a common social imaginary that help form a single Pakistani nation. Finally I entertain the hope that this could begin a dialogue with the rest of world based on Gadamer’s (Gadamer, 1967, p.302) idea of a fusion of horizons.

The Models of Governance in India

They are four models of governance that can be retrieved from the Medieval and the Modern history of India. They are: The Arab Administration Model, The Turkish Model, The Persian Model and The British Model.

The Arab Model

The Arab model essentially designed on the imperialistic framework reflected rather liberal policies. It probably evolved from the Mesopotamia and Egypt where the Muslim established their rule and it founded its basis on Caliph Omar’s concept where he forbade acquiring land in the conquered territory. Therefore, the conquest of Sind led to the settlements that are generally termed as “the Brahmanabad Settlements,” (712-13) where the Hindu proclaimed to be treated as “the people of the Book”; even some later rulers could not assign this status to the non-Muslims of India during the Slaves Dynasty (712-1526) and the Mughal period (1526-1758)(Barani,1862b, p.203). The conquered people accorded the status of Zimmi (the protected) that required the Jizya (a protection) tax had to be paid according to the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet but that was
waived by Mohammad Bin Qasim, the ruler of the Sind. Those tolerant traditions should have been institutionalised and practiced by the Muslim rulers in the following periods. Even Mahmud of Ghazni’s time (998-1030) was like an open and dynamic society (Elliot & Dowson, 1871, pp.185/86).

The Turkish Model

The Turkish Model of the Slave Dynasty was essentially based upon race because it excluded indigenous and local people from the higher echelon of society. Balban (the third King of Sultanate period) tried to work out the basic principles of Kingship that resembles Akbar’s(1556-1605) principles of kingship but Balban’s(1266-1287) principles seemed more autocratic in nature that resembled the Bourbon and the Stuart’s principle of divine right in England but Akbar’s popular policies of tolerance and peace for everybody were ahead of his time. It remained largely a tolerant model for the rest of society not barbarous until there was a rebellion against the established Dynasty (Elliot & Dowson, 1867/1877, III, pp.98–99).

The Persian Model

The credit goes to Akbar (1556-1605) for the establishment of the Persian Model during his time but his father impressed by the Persian etiquettes and morals, because he spent his time in the Persian courts when he was banished by Sheer Shah Suri (1540-1555)-the local Afghan of extra ordinary genius who introduced land and revenue reforms that institutionalised later in Akbar’s time. Akbar (1556-1605) introduced reforms in every strata of life and even he went to the extent of introducing his own religion for the purpose of running the state. During his reign, the Persio-Turkish culture added elements to Indo-Muslim music, Hindu philosophies and the Hindi literature. Akbar’s policy of Sulah-i-Kul (the universal tolerance) was the hallmark of his reign and it could have become a guiding star for Pakistan’s politics of today. Akbar established Ibadat Khana (the House of worship) in 1579 (p. 157), where Akbar invited religious scholars from every religion and observed their arguments for and against of their respective positions. Finally, he got disillusioned from their debates and stopped this practice. Akbar’s rational mind came to the conclusion that every religion had some good and bad points. His kingship resembles Balban’s concept of kingship (the king of Sultanate period) but unlike his autocratic rule. It bears some common points with the Tudor and the Stuart Kings of England with the claim of divine right and the king was considered as a light of God whose disobedience was not permissible. The main pillar on which the Mughal Empire rested was the establishment of the army that was based upon the Mansabdari system (the rank system) borrowed from the Persian Model of military organisation. Thus the Muslims’ thought process worked in two contestant ways; one-based on conquest by the armies during the early Slave Dynasty and the Mughal Model based on the Persianized governance and politics but founded on Islam. The somewhat liberal and judicious traditions set apart Qasim-Alauddin-Akbar, while the others based their governance upon nostalgia. Firuz (1351-1388) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707) during the Slave Dynasty and the Mughal periods respectively tried to shape the order of their regimes on orthodox, religious and fundamentalist lines to enforce morality. They envisaged the state as a coercive apparatus and an instrument
to change the social imaginaries of the rest of the population and finally to make India as a puritan state. Unfortunately, the traditions of Silsasas (the religious lineage system) namely Chistia and Suhrwardia on the Sufi-traditions introduced Islam at a mass level were forgotten due to the absence of social history during the Slave and the Mughal periods whilst Naqsbandia and Qadaria propagated Islam from the top to bottom so as to establish contacts with the powerful ruling classes as a mean to spread the message of Islam (Ikram, 1964, p.109).

The British Raj’s Model

The British Model took roots on Indian soil slowly and gradually. The British acquired the right to do business during Jahangir’s time (1605-1627) who granted them the rights to bring in their merchandise goods and sell them in India. Simultaneously he also granted the Portuguese the right to establish a factory in Surratt on the southern coast of India. The British Model was based on the policies of indirect rule and the maximising of profits that entailed the least interference in the government’s affairs. This began the slow process of the introduction of the British modelled institutions on the Indian soil. It was largely secular and based upon the following principles. It began its operation by a technocratic led government in the beginning under the East India Company’s rule and later during the British Raj; it became more bureaucratic based upon the notion of instrumental rationality. The British modelled institutions supplanted local government at a later stage. In this model, the army occupied the apex as an instrument of dominance which was similar to the Sultanate and the Mughal Periods but the British also introduced modifications upon these older models. They introduced the concept of a standing army on economic lines which was different from the preceding models that were based upon personal loyalty to kings. During the Turk’s time; it was based upon the personal loyalty to the king and in the Mughal’s time the Mansabdar (the ranker) provided the number of troops according to their ranks at the time of war. Probably this was the reason that made possible for the British who were a few thousand in number to successfully rule over the country that was inhabited by so many nationalities and secondly it proved detrimental to the state building in the Mughal’s time, and thereby it proved to be the main reason for the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The British applied an instrument of rationality for buying loyalties of the soldiers by paying them on monthly basis. The concept of seasonal jobs held currency during the preceding times that required the rendering of the compulsory military services at the time of war. The British also revolutionized the means of communication and thereby the concept of war by introducing the Telegraphy, Railways and Postal services, and they put those services under the command of the army. This tradition is still practiced in Pakistan because of its geographical location.

The British introduced an educational model that evolved in England during the 19th Century where the responsibility for education was divided between the Church of England, independent religious groups, and hence the emergence of private as well as the public schools. The education model established schools for elites, the middle classes and the poorer classes. The present scenario in Pakistan’s education bears a striking resemblance to this colonial legacy. The democratic reforms introduced at a snail pace especially during the
Company's time but after 1857 when the British government took over from the Company; the mass education program picked up some momentum (Ikram, 1964/1993, p.201).

The British introduced the press and printing, the telegraph, the English education system, and they equally encouraged the suppression of Sati (self-immolation of wife on her husband’s funeral pyres). The Asiatic Society (which translated old manuscripts into English) society played an ambivalent role with its works of editing, publishing and translation in the religious, social and cultural history of Hindu and Muslim traditions, thereby giving a new knowledge, interpretation and re-interpretation of their past. It played both positive and negative roles at the same time; it gave a new knowledge and interpretation, while simultaneously creating divisions between the Hindu and the Muslim communities by raising their consciousness of their past history that often did not coalesce. The victory of one was the defeat for the other. The British Model can be represented in following illustration where high factors represented on left side and low factors are shown on right side of the divide: The British Raj’s Structure

<table>
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<th>High Factors</th>
<th>Low Factors</th>
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<tr>
<td>Defence related intuitions:</td>
<td>Democratic institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army, Railways &amp; Telegraph</td>
<td>Education &amp; Health-Dyarchy (1919)</td>
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The British Raj’s on the high and low paradigm structure manifested that the British followed the footsteps of its predecessors in assigning high priority to the institution of the army rather they improved on their predecessors’ structures by introducing the concept of professional army in India. The British made the army a rapid response force by aligning army with railways and the telegraph. The democratic institutions, education and health witnessed a slow progress till 1919 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were passed. The system of Dyarchy handed over the education and health, and other areas of responsibilities to the provincial governments. The lieutenant governors generals in the provinces still could over rule any piece of legislation. This period witnessed the tug of war between the governor and the executive that is equally true to Pakistan even today where this tussle still reigns supreme between the different organs of state.
The following pictorial illustration gives an idea that how the low and the high factors worked in all ruling models of India.

Four main strands emerged. First, the Islamic religious inheritance of Arabic traditions; second, the Turkish origin of many rulers, third, the pervasive influence of Persian culture and, finally, an indigenous environment. The heritage of an ancient civilization affected Muslims in many ways that created a chain of actions and reactions in the Muslim especially in a predominantly non-Muslims areas. The assimilation process initiated under Akbar’s rule sparked a strong reaction amongst the orthodox circles and outside the court in the general population, where the aspirations and efforts of Dara Shiku and the writings of Kabir could not make any difference and later this Islamic conflict epitomized in Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh and ultimately the defeat of Dara Shikoh closed the chapter of liberalism for the Muslims in India that led to the disintegration of the Mughal Dynasty (Ikram,1964/1993, p. 309).

The Muslims’ Dilemma after the Advent of the British

After the arrival of the British on the Indian (before the partition of India and Pakistan) scene as a colonial power; there emerged two schools of thought within the Muslim community in India and they were in a fix how to deal with these incursions. This dilemma divided the Muslim community into two camps. The first school of thought with a limited worldview emerged from the religious movement of the Deoband-the religious Madrassa (seminary) in India. The second school of thought-the Aligarh Movement emanated from Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College (M.A.O) had a more modern social imaginary that emphasized the need of getting modern education and to impart the same to their children. This institution is indebted to Saeed Ahmad Khan but it actually owes its existence to Macaulay’s Minutes (1835) which proposed the changes that introduced English
in the Subcontinent as an official language and the medium of instruction at the universities level. This school of thought reflects the contrasting social imaginaries of the liberal worldview with the former school of thought that reflected the conservative worldview (Sayyed, 1967, p. 64). Metcalf (1964/1993) explains this phenomenon in the European context in a preface to *The Muslim Civilization* by Ikram (1964/1993), “when competing religious traditions emerged in Europe with the challenge of the Protestant reformation; one response was the absolute state; another response, the successor to the absolute state, the secular state in which religious difference was depoliticized. The focus in such a state is on national culture, not religion, a focus Americans are familiar with in terms of the metaphor of the “melting pot” and, subsequently, “multiculturalism” and the parading of difference."

A form of liberal tradition existed even before the arrival of the British that started from Mohammad Bin Qasim who separated religion and the state (not in the modern sense) when he withdrew Jizya on the non-Muslim tax. This practice continued during the Mughal’s rule in India especially during the Akbar’s period (1556-1605). But according to Ikram (1964/1993), the faction (Nuqsbandia Silsala) initiated by Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi wanted the state to be run according to the strict religious traditions and that is how this liberal practice ended in Aurangzeb’s time (1658-1707)-the last effective ruler of the Mughal Dynasty.

**An Analysis of the Muslim’s Loyalties**

For the Muslims, the loss of power after the arrival of the British meant a loss and crisis of identity but they continued their search for identity in the Indian environment in the face of an alien and overarching power that had new rules of the governance that multiplied their anxiety. This identity crisis, was exacerbated when the British collaborated with the vast Hindu majority. The Muslims found themselves wrestling between two contesting ways of life; one was the liberal, while the other was the orthodox. This state of indecisiveness paved the way for their political uncertainty. When the British arrived on the Indian scene in the 18th Century; the Hindu majority welcomed them and they extended their cooperation while the Muslim were nostalgic to restore the older hierarchy. They remained in a dilemma and in a vacillating state of mind in according their loyalties to the British. Consequently, the Muslims were left behind in all spheres of life. The Muslims did not want to break away from the old hierarchical complementarity embedded in religious and cultural conditions integral to their belief system and fuelling the nostalgia that worked with full force to prevent them from shaking off the old order and accepting the new emerging realities of the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Later, Syed Ahmed Khan impressed upon the Muslims the need to extend their full cooperation to the British and in particular to become involved with the modern education (Sayyed, 1967, p.2).

These internal and external conflicts were reflected between the revivalist thinkers like Sheikh Ahmad of Mughal times to purify Islam from the local vagaries and later Mohammad Iqbal with dualism of the British education and the local Madrassa education constantly reminded the Muslims of liberal traditions and he introduced the concept of Ijtehad (the synthesis of religious and the modern education) that could have
provided the broader design to the Muslims state in the modern times but at the same time they represented pull and push forces that remained permanently ingrained in the Muslim’s thought process.

The Causes of the Present Governance Crisis in Pakistan: Why is it so?

Some historians of the post independence period blamed the structure that Pakistan inherited from the British at the time of its independence in 1947, while others including Sayyed (1967) maintained that the post colonial structure of Pakistan represented (p.12) a form what has been named “viceregalism” in structure in the contemporary history of Pakistan. In the pre-independence period the British Monarch’s representative, the Viceroy, exercised powers in her name, and the same model worked in the provinces with the provincial governors with unlimited powers. The provincial governors with unlimited powers could dissolve the legislative Assembly at their discretion and the legislative assemblies were assigned only in nonessential areas like health and education.

In the post independence period, many of the Monarch’s powers passed on to the army and civil bureaucracy in the absence of assertive representative institutions and politicians with no representative training. These institutions and groups still enjoy substantial powers in the structure of the state. Masooda (2012, p.6) blamed the role of Ulema (the religious scholars) who did not revert back to scholarly pursuits thereby assumed the leadership roles which they could not quit, “The more immediate question of interest, however, is why after the demise of colonial rule in South Asian. Ulema did not revert to the rationalist scholarship practiced under the Mughal rule” (2012, p.6). Greif (2006) emphasised for the need of institutions and their interdependence and interrelationship in the development of a nation, “The institutions are the engine of history because... they contribute much of the structure that influences behaviours include behaviour leading to new institution. Their independent impact and their interrelations with social and cultural factors imply that we cannot study them as reflecting only environmental factors or the interests of various agents” (p. 379), but Alchian (1950) highlighted the economic realities in the making of institutions and their development that can offer an alternative model, “There is an alternative method which treats the decisions and criteria dictated by the economic system as more important than those made by the individuals in it” (p.213). Barlas (1995) maintained that the British left India but the end of the colonial rule, however, did not remove their imprints on the local system of governance (Barlas 1995; Chon 1996), and the elites of the former colonies picked up the Western cultural sensibilities including a secular worldview. Jawalal Nehru considered religion as one of the causes of India’s economic backwardness (Gellner 1982). Muhammad Ali Jinnah led a secular lifestyle (Wolpert, 1989). Bano (2012) considers the exclusion of the Madrassas from the main stream is the main cause of this problem, “The exclusion of madrassas from economy and society, a process that started under British rule, continued in the independence period.” In 1993-94 the Indian government launched a madrassa modernised program and Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband and Nadwa-tul-Ulema in Uttar Pradesh- stayed distant from the modernisation program (Bano, 2012, Pp: 43-47). Talbot (1999) sees the legacy of the colonial rule, “Political and institutional inheritances from the Raj nevertheless continue to exert a profound influence” (p.53). Rajan (1997) colonialism
is not a simply a matter of legacy but of active, immediate and constitutive determinants” (p.53). Ayesha Jalal and Hamza Alavi linked Pakistan’s "overdeveloped" administrative and military institutions to the colonial practice of emphasising the requirements of law and order rather than those of popular representation. Talbot (1999) termed it a security state paradigm for this area (p.54). “The situation in the north-west corner of India was somewhat different political participation was far less developed there and permanent police powers existed alongside emergency coercive measures. British rule emphasized law and order rather than encourages political participations” (p. 55).

The other contributory factors included the notion that how this area was run in the colonial times could find its imprints in the post-colonial times that included a strategy of indirect rule that deprived this area of political, social and economic developments. Cooptation of landed elites, and carrot and stick policy that made the strongest alliance between the colonial state and the leading landowners that existed in the Punjab as a bastion.

Thus Bano (2012) concludes, “… in much of what to become Pakistan, a tradition rooted. It’s hallmarks were paternalism, wide discretionary powers and the personalization of authority (p.64). Waseem (1993) attributed the main cause in the case of Pakistan to devise a viable political governance system to the growth of slow representation as compared to India “the slow growth of the elective principle in the provinces constituting Pakistan today must be taken into account in any study of electoral democracy in that country, especially when it is compared to India” (Waseem, 1993, pp. 30-45).

Talbot lamented that the model of the Unionist Party that governed the Punjab in colonial time prior to independence what he calls a consociational democracy, “However, the spirited heart of the Pakistan movement was not centered in Lahore, but in the Victorian red-brick buildings of Aligarh College…” “Consociational democracy” was the Unionist legacy. After independence the Muslim League should have reverted back from the Muslim narrative to the Unionist legacy of consociational theory (p: 71).

Thus “consociational democracy” could have been picked up and institutionalised, and this concept could have been translated into the practice that might have provided a consensual democracy in the absence of uniform education policy that makes the uniform nation. The consensual democracy generally takes care of the group interests that generate a dialogue with the minimum common points to start a dialogue process to understand one another’s perspectives. Now let us see how the different educational systems created different social imaginaries for the people of Pakistan, and how these education systems imparted to different classes of the society, and as a result of three education systems how the people of Pakistan are polarised and divided; thereby the divergent horizons with least areas of overlapping zones that hampered the process of understanding and cohesion amongst its different sections of society.
Pakistan’s Educational Scenario

Not only is social life identical with communication, but all communication (and hence all genuine social life) is educative. To be a recipient of a communication is to have an enlarged and changed experience. One shares in what another has thought and felt and in so far, meagerly or amply, has his own attitude modified. Nor is the one who communicates left unaffected—J. Dewey, Democracy & Education, pp. 5-6

Backgrounder

Pakistan’s education scene is afflicted with the conflicting and contrasting social imaginaries. The different strands in Pakistan’s education system reflect the contrasting social worldviews of the institutions from whence they come. There are three discernible strands of education in Pakistan: the strand-1 (the Elite Schools) that reflects the modern social imaginaries, the Strand-2 (the Government Schools or the Urdu Medium Schools) bears the worldview that is neither liberal nor conservative and the Strand-3 the Madrassa Schools (the seminary schools) shows conservative outlook. The Elite schools provide education to the children of the elite class who are trained to rule the country. The Strand-1 bears the contrasting social imaginaries compared with the Strand-2 and the Strand-3. The elite class traditionally basis the general narrative on Islam and the fear of India for the general population to maintain its privileges and status quo. The Strand-1 feeds into two institutions the Army and the Civil Services and how their respective early image making training institutions like the Civil Services Academy and the Pakistan Military Academy prepare and impart a particular thread of thought during training their periods that weaves into a national narrative to rule the country. The Strand-1 which is divorced from the Strand-2 (the vernacular or the Government Schools) that is the most neglected and poorly funded strand which even though provides education to more than 60% of population (Rahman, 2004). The graduates from the Strand-2 provided the entry level employment opportunities that have little chances of promotion to the higher cadre of service structures. The Strand-2 worldview is more akin to the Strand-3. Sadiqa (2010) analyzed in an empirical research study that highlighted the latent radicalism even present in the universities and colleges in big cities. I also discuss the Strand-3 that is generally called the seminary schools (the Madrassa education) that is the cause of concern at the Pakistan’s national and the international levels. The Strand-3 thinking pattern is generally attributed to the problem of fundamentalism and terrorism that affects the whole world economically, socially and politically, and thereby changed the world in many ways.

Three Education Systems

Pakistan’s education system is termed as a class-based in its structure that reflects at least three contestant social imaginaries as a result of it; it produces dysfunctional, fragmented, segmented and a highly polarised society. "To give a realistic picture of Pakistan’s schooling system one must look at the following major streams

Rahman (2004) also explains about the worldviews of three strands in Pakistani education.

What is really alarming, and relatively less known, is the fact that the students of these institutions (the vernacular-medium schools, the English-medium schools and the Madrassas) have such different opinions as to live in different worlds. This has happened partly because their textbooks and methods of learning are different and partly because their teachers, the discourses they are exposed to inside and outside school, and their families are so different from each other. Indeed, all these influences are from worlds which are alien, and even hostile to each other. To understand these different institutions and their products is to understand how dangerously polarized Pakistani society is and how this has hampered national cohesion and a sense of commitment to unified policies (p.3).

The government of Pakistan issues reports of setting the targets for achieving the literacy rates every year but Kaiser Bengali explains how it proves a failed story, 'setting targets, bemoaning the failure to achieve the same, and setting new targets with unqualified optimism has been a continuing game policy makers have played ad nauseam and at great public expense over the last 50 years (Rahman, 1996, p.41).

Pakistan Integrated Household Survey Round 4: 2001:2002, Islamabad gave a realistic picture of schools, teachers and the text books in the following words: “Schools are very dull and stringent places, often painted blue, and with broken glass panes. They are highly regimented with semi-educated teachers forcing their pupils to memorize passages out of badly written, badly printed and extremely dull books. Classrooms are overcrowded with 41 girls and 38 boys per teacher in the primary schools of all provinces except Baluchistan. In Baluchistan, the most deprived province of all, there is 48 girls per teacher (GOP, 2002, p.29).

Rahman (2004) also explained about the intermingling of religion and politics as a marker of nationalism to curb ethnicity. “They use Islam as a marker of identity to define the boundaries of the self. The ‘Other’ is, by definition, non-Muslim. However, this notion of Islam is so tempered with nationalism as to exclude Indian Hindus rather than non-Muslims who are friendly with Pakistan. Because of this, Pakistani students exposed to the Textbook Board books tend to be intolerant of Hindus, Christians and non-Muslim minorities (p.8).

Therefore, the point of view of these institutions is divorced from one another. The polarization between the madrassa students and the students of the elite English-medium schools is so complete that their worldviews are poles apart from each other. The problem can only be explained in the Marxian terms which exhibited the struggle between the haves and the have-nots. Thus this mutual mistrust between these two classes hampers the devising of the national discourse based upon the national interests (p.25). In Pakistan the armed forces and the higher bureaucracy used English for official purposes. Thus these institutions only hired those young people who are competent in the English language. Moreover the elite which aspired for jobs in the modern domains of power: the officer corps of the armed forces; higher bureaucracy; superior judiciary; commerce; media; higher education etc---was very desirous of teaching English to their children (p.21).
For the convenience of analysis; I divide Pakistan’s education system into three broader strands on Rahman’s lines: the Elite Education System, the Government Schools (Vernacular schools) and the Madrassa Education system (the Seminary system).

The Strands-1: The Elite Schools

The Strand-1 enjoys the complete monopoly on the power structure of the state. The Elite Schools include by extension the core schools or colleges that are generally termed as chief colleges that are making up and providing graduates to two government institutions the Army and Civil Services and now the focus is shifted to aspire to higher studies abroad in the centers of excellence in USA, UK and Australia. These institutions established with the support of the British in the pre-independence period and after the independence with the help of institutions left by the British. These elite institutions include; Aitchison College, Lawrence College-Ghora Gali, and Army Burn Hall, Missionary Schools including St. Marry, St. Patent, and the chain of Convent schools that were established either by missionary activists or by the Army or the private interest groups. Thus, the cooperation of the Church, the Company and the British government reflected the British’s home front trajectory to its former colonies in India and especially in Pakistan. Therefore, they are highly anglicized in the social structure and thought process. This cooperation continued but it was replaced by Islam after the partition. The elite schools meant to provide a good “Macaulay children” to run the army efficiently.

Another prominent feature that merits consideration is the nexus between the feudal class and the army into the making of these two institutions of the state. They are inextricably linked to providing a national narrative in the post colonial period. This class’s social imaginaries are completely divorced from the Strand-2 and the Strand-3. The elite schools’ social imaginaries reflect the westernized, secular and liberal, and above all; they are interest-based groups. The Strand-1 provides leadership to the country but they have vested interests in keeping up the status quo. As a strategy, this class employed Islam as a tool to perpetuate its rule over the country and the second tool of English Language as a “filtering device” for “Elite closure” and consigned the other strata of society to remain uneducated and to seek madrassa education (Rahman, 2004, p.9).

The Strand-2: The Government Schools

I also include the private English medium school in the Strand-2 because the students come from the middle or the lower middles classes that shared the same public spaces and worldviews with the Strand-2. This Strand-2 caters to the bulk of population that comprises of the lower middle and the poor classes. I put them together keeping in view that they share the same background, social imaginaries and public sphere according to Taylor (2004) because of sharing of same public space with the Strand-2; thereby the sharing of the same social imaginaries.
The common features of the Strand-2 are; English is introduced from class fifth, now recently it has been changed, and English as a subject is introduced from the class one but the composition of the students by official provided statistics are the Public School 67.1% the Private Schools 27.1%, the Madrassa School 1.7% the Elite Schools 2.1% as represented in the chart 4.1.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Schools</td>
<td>67.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Schools</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After clubbing the government and the ordinary private schools together; it can be observed in the chart 4.2 that the statistics stand at 96.2% for the government schools and the private schools that means the government neglected almost 96.2% population that want to get education and it only cares about 2.1% elite schools that have nothing to do with the rest of the population. When I club the Private and the Government schools together that figure come to 96.2 % leaving aside the madrassas and élite schools. The official figures provided for the madrassa education stand 1.7%, whereas elite schools share is 2.1% in 4.2.

Thus cumulatively, this stream turns out to be 96.2% in the real terms. This sector, it would appear, is deliberately neglected. The government co-opted its role as a provider of education with the commercial classes on account of the defense expenditures. As a consequence, the education and health sectors become the enterprises and commercial entities. The Army also established its own educational institutions to grab its share and it separates the different segments of society. The education and health sectors are left in untrained and private hands (GOP, 2006, p.13). The strand-2 provided the state with the clerks in the colonial times but now it provides manpower to the public services and private sectors with the low entry level jobs; while the managerial and administrative positions offered to the graduates of the elite schools. With the introduction of the corporate culture; the hold of the Strand-1 made sure that all managerial and administration jobs should go to it. Thus the system makes sure of its hold and the monopolization on the power structure of the state (GOP: 2008-09). The Strand-2 incorporated an outdated curriculum, the low quality teachers and unworthy teaching conditions. In Zia’s time, the curriculum was Islamized by including irrelevant materials even at the Secondary and the Higher Secondary levels. The Pakistan’s Studies and Islamic Studies made mandatory subjects in the
curriculum even for the Science students who are to study the Medicines and Engineering. The lack of funds, mismanagement, corruption and apathy of education administration become the silent features of this sector.

Sadiqa (2004) tells in an empirical study; “the youth population of Pakistan stands at 25 million between the ages of 15-24 which is expected to rise 280 million by the 2050. This is likely to overstretch the state’s existing capacity to cater for its people. The dearth of electricity, water, jobs and social development can pose a great problem for the limited national resources” (2003, p.20).

A paradigm shift occurred after Z.A. Bhutto was forced out of office as a Prime Minister in 1977 by leaving the education and the health sectors to the private hands during the rule of Zia-ul-Haq (1978-1988) made the scenario more unequal. The major chunk of population 90% were left to its own destiny and it can become potential threats internally and externally. They raised their voices for equal share; they know who is responsible for their fate. They have a little knowledge about Islam and the modern education. Therefore, they are the denizens of no man’s land; they can become the potential land mines to be used and they may become more vulnerable to lean on the Strand-3. In other words, they stand at the borderline and they can equally be used as weapons by the positive or negative forces. Therefore, there is possibility that the Strand-2 can be vulnerable to ideological peg of the madrassa’s education because of the sharing social imaginaries and public spheres.

The Madrassa System

There existed almost 137 Madrassas in 1947 when Pakistan got its independence. In April 2002 Madrassa growth stood at 10,000 with1.7 million students (ICG 2002: 2). These Madrassas represent the two main sects of Islam; the Sunnis and the Shias, but the Sunni sect is further sub-divided into three sub-sects: Deobandis, Barelvis and the Ahl-i-Hadith (Salafi).While, the Jamat-e-Islami runs its own Madrassas (Ahmad, 2000, p.11).

The Sectarian Divide among the Madrassas

The disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the arrival of the colonial rule; the Indian Muslim not only lost the power and direction but they also bemoaned at the sense of deprivation and disempowered. The different sections of the Muslims responded in three ways with fighting, with learning English and with reverting back to the religious education. For fighting to restore the older order under Sayyed Ahmed (1786-1831) and they were defeated in the battle of Balakot in 1931 against the Sikh’s rule. Syed Ahmad Khan (1808-1898) impressed upon the Muslims to enter into cooperation with the British and he further emphasised to play a constructive role in the institutions introduced by the British. While, the third response came from the Madrassa (the Seminary System) to purify Islam under the Wahabism (also called Al-i-Hadith) including the Deobandis, the Barelvis within the Sunnis sect and outside it. The Shias created madrassas to purify and get the true interpretation of Islam (p.12). In the Madrassa’s education the Refutation (Radd a book) does not acknowledge
the existence of other knowledge. However, now it has been attributed with contributing sectarian violence. They teach their (interpretation of religion) that contains the sectarian or sub-sectarian materials (p.13). Moreover, the pioneering religious scholars of different sects and sub-sects did indulge in refuting each other’s beliefs and despite the Refutation the printed syllabi of the various sects do have books to refute the beliefs of other sects. The Report on the Religious Seminaries (GOP,1988) lists several books of Deobandi madrassas to refute Shias’s belief including Maulana Mohammad Qasim’s Hadiyat-ul-Shia that is anti-Shias and which have been reprinted several times and is still in print. There are also several books on the debates between the Barels and the Deobandis and even a book refuting Maudoodi’s views (GOP, 1988, pp.73-74). Nizam-ul-Mulk established the famous madrassa at Baghdad in 1057 with the stated objective was to purify Islam from the heresies within the Islamic world and other outside influences that could have changed the original shape of this religion (p.15). Maulana Maududi critiqued the rote learning of the medieval curriculum thus the Madrassas’s curriculum provides an irrelevant religious education to the Muslims (Maududi, 1996, p. 15). The earliest Madrassas’s syllabi did not find the Greek philosophy as the ultimate source of knowledge and intellectual development (p.16). Thus syllabi of Deobandi sect for Aliya (B.A) of 1988, has no reference to capitalism, socialism, capitalism and feudalism (p.16).

The Dars-i-Nizami-the general curriculum taught in almost all Madrassas found materials that are anti-sect and against the Western philosophical thoughts thereby intolerant to any other individual, group and society (p.16). While the Ahl-i-Hadith and the Jamat-i-Islami madrassas are the only exception that teaches Pakistan studies, English, Mathematics and General Science (GOP, 1988, pp.16-17). The majority of the students from the Urdu-medium stream are also alienated both from their madrassa as well as English-medium counterparts. In socio-economic terms they belong roughly to the same class as the madrassa students but their training is different and hence their worldview (GOP, 2008, p.26)

Pakistan after the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 by the former Soviet Union; these Madrassas were used as tool to fight for money and a religious war with godless country-the former USSR by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the United States (Cohen, 1998, p.95). Madrassa students provided themselves as willing to be used in the name of religion because of their limited worldviews and social imaginaries but the Strand-2 can fall in line with these kinds of tendencies on account of treatment meted out to them at the national level that rendered them as outcasts. Thus the denial of employment rights and unjust treatment by the different organs of the state make them susceptibility to fall into the trap of violence and can become an ally with the Strand-3.

Now it is the time to explore my own genealogy as an analogy for the middle class that how the transitions took place slowly and gradually from the religious embeddings to the worldly education introduced by the former colonial power-the British. This example could have been more representative of the society; had there not been an intervention on the part of the state to mix the religion and state that propels and encourages the Strand-3 during Zia-ul-Haq’s time (1977-1988)-the military dictator who revived and introduced the induction of
religion in every sphere of life. Despite this intervention by the state during that time, mostly the people who
were trained through the dual model embedded in the traditional and modern education continued to send their
children to schools to acquire a modern education. My story shows a middle path and development that
represents the middle section of the society.
CHAPTER 4

Genealogical Study of Self as an Example of the Middle Class’s path in Pakistan

Backgrounder

In this chapter, I use Taylor’s concept of Modern Social Imaginaries (2004) that means using the idea of the worldview of the subject as a lens to trace my genealogy of three generations (1890-today) under the broader framework of Foucault’s theory of genealogy or archaeology where the investigator digs deep into the personal narrative or metaphor to observe changes and transformations in human beings, events and phenomena. But I apply four subjects on my three generations in the objectifying process i.e. child naming, education, politics, religious and cultural conditions, and to see how these factors influenced the gradual infiltration of the dominant discourses or narratives that affected the transformation in my three generations over the period of more than one hundred years. I intend to present, analyze and interpret the external dominate themes and narratives and to see how they impinged upon, evolved and consequently affected the decision making in my genealogy, and how those forces shaped and changed colours in my three generations and finally to see how my present self has been shaped from my grandfather. I further analyze the text and discuss how the discursive practices and activities changed over the intergenerational periods and how they caused changes and transformations in my three generations in accordance with Gadamer’s philosophical hermeneutic of self where the subject is embedded in the discursive practices of a particular history and culture that affect his consciousness which brings about the change and transformation.

Archeological of Intergenerational Periods: A Note on Personal Naming

My great-grandfather name was Barkattullah that means God’s Blessings and my grandfather’s name was Rehmatullah which means the mercy of God. My father’s name was Habib-ur-Rehman; it means a friend of the Merciful One (God). My name is Shahid Habib; first name is my given name and second name is after my father’s first name. Shahid is an Arabic word that means “witness.” Shahid is a "witness" because he gives his life out of passion for truth and collectively it means ‘A friend of witness’. I named my son Shahoor that is also an Arabic word which means “to know” and “to seek horizons.” This shows that transition from religious-oriented names to more worldly names continues in my genealogy.

Thus the intergenerational naming manifests that the shift from the religious to more secular naming that worked on the horizontal and vertical trajectories but I have to see the process of interplay of the dominant themes with naming and how the process underwent a shift from religious oriented names to down to earth naming. This constant changing pattern is discernible in my genealogy from my great-grandfather to my son and my ancestry might not be conscious of the fact but they were influenced by the historical, social and religious forces that worked during their respective times and those factors affected their decision making in naming their children.
My grandfather name was Rehmatullah that means the mercy of God. He was a child of his own time, conditions, and environment. He was born in 1890 in a poor farmer family of modest means in a small village of the Frontier Region and now it is called Pukhtunkhwa between the Kashmir border and Afghanistan, and now it is a part of Pakistan. The oral traditions tell that he was a tall and sturdy man of 6.6 ft whereas my great-grandfather named was Baraktullah (that means blessing of God) and he was about 7.2ft tall and he was nicknamed as Lambha that means the tallest guy of the village. The village name was Jinkiari that was situated in the Mansehra District. It is a hilly area (approximately 4000 ft above the sea level) and it receives snow in the winter twice or thrice but more than that the chilly wind blows during the winter from the North to the South that means from the Khaghan valley (7000-9000ft above the sea level) to the Punjab’s Plains but unfortunately there existed no industry and business, thereby no source of income for the residents of this area. After the failure of revival movements; the Muslims led by Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail even though they were defeated and killed in the battle of Balakot (a city near Mansehra and Kashmir’s border) in 1831 but that movement rekindled and rejuvenated the spirit amongst the people of the area to revive the true spirit of Islam and they decided to preach and spread that the religious fervour in the every part of India. Therefore, he had gone to Mumbai, the biggest city of India and then to the Deoband Madrassa (Seminary) to get his religious education to fulfill God’s commandments and to earn some respectable earnings for his family. He came back after getting his degree from that Seminary and now he was certified to teach religious education from the pulpit of the Mosque.

He served in different cities of Pakistan including Lyallpur (now Faisalabad), Bahawalpur state, Bahawalnagar and Khanewal cities. Thus it was like earning for the family and to serve God’s commands to spread His message at the same time. He married twice but the second marriage took place when his first wife died in 1930. He was married to my grandmother and he had two sons; one from each wife. As the British domination was complete at the beginning of the 20th Century in the Northern Punjab (1949) and the Frontier Regions, therefore, the English was introduced as an official language and the language of the higher education that affected my grandfather’s decision to impart the modern/English education to his sons.

My grandfather was the child of his time that was the time of gloom tinged with the sense of loss and despondency due to the loss of political power and the loss of glory of his religion-Islam. The political and religious conditions of this era witnessed the lowest ebb for the Muslims because they could not resuscitate the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb (1656-1707) the last effective ruler of the Mughal Dynasty. According to (Ikram, 1964, p.223), the Revivalist Movements of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Wali-Ullah’s movement of social reforms could not give a new lease of life to the older order. Finally to reassert their identities; the Muslims went for the Jihad Movement (the freedom struggle) that was spearheaded by Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail which came to an end in 1831 against the Sikh’s rule before the advent of the British in this area.
This was a time of gloom and pessimism where the Muslims perceived themselves to be the target and the introduction of English System perceived by the Muslims as an onslaught on their religion after the arrival of the British in this area. They felt deprived of their rightful right of political power; thereby the loss of identity that shifted their focus to the centre of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1923). The Muslims of India took it as a deliberate machination or strategy on the part of the British which meant to dissipate their culture.

Previously during the Muslim’s rule starting from the landing of Mohammad Bin Qasim in Sind till the rule of the Mughals that remained effective till 1823 but formally in 1857 when the British government took over from the East India Company; the Muslims enjoyed power and glory. The British conquered and annexed the Punjab in 1849 but the Frontier Region was ruled by smaller Rajas or Walis (the title for states’ rulers) that system divided this area into different states and fiefdoms. The British Government did not disturb the internal balance of this region because of its strategic importance and they used it as a buffer zone against the Russian threat thereby they applied a kind of indirect method to rule over this area.

The British introduced the dual system and later declared this system as a regulated one. Dyarchy (Diarchy) system introduced through Montagu-Chelmsford reforms enacted in the Regulated Act of 1919. According to this Diarchy system; some subjects like education, health, public works and others were transferred to the provincial governments but the governor general and governors had the power to veto any piece of legislation (Sayyed, 1967, p.103). The British government occupied the apex of the triangle whereas the two major communities the Hindu and the Muslims embedded in their respective social orders that were grounded in religious feelings. They were placed at other two ends of that triangle. The dominant theme came from the top as a panoptic influence that was destined to shape and change the social imaginaries of both the communities.

Habib-ur-Rehman-My Father (1936-1997)

My father was born in a lower middle class family in a village called Jinkiari of the District Mansehra that is the same village where my great-grandfather and grandfather were born. But the only difference at the time of my father’s birth was that my ancestral family actually migrated to the Province of Punjab for livelihood and preaching. They used to have occasional contacts with the village for big occasions like marriage, birth and death. Thus the contacts with the village relaxed and loosened because of the economic and religious realities. My father was born at the twilight of the British rule in 1936 when the Second World War started in 1939. India witnessed the unrest and violence everywhere because of the ongoing struggle for Independence which had already been started. The Pakistan Resolution was passed in 1940 four years after the birth of my father.

My father was born in 1936 and the Second World War started in 1939. From this time until 1945 the British were preoccupied in their war efforts. The United States promised that after the War the right of choice would be given to the subjects to choose for freedom. It was the time of hope, optimism and dawn of a new era where the people would be given a choice to have their own government, but at the same time, it was a time of
tensions between the local populations and the British government regarding the war efforts. The Muslims cooperated with the War's Efforts but M.K.Ghandi put a condition for the cooperation of war's efforts. He wanted to have a firm commitment from the British government to grant independence after the war but the British were not ready to give any prior pledge to grant independence after the war. Therefore, Mr. Ghandi launched the Civil Disobedience (1939) and Quit India (1944) movements to coerce the British to come to the terms. Consequently, the British government sent him behind the bar. The people imagined this long drawn struggle against the British had a light at the end of the tunnel.

On the positive side; the British rule replicated the British modeled institutions in India like the army, the judiciary and the bureaucracy. These institutions inherited at the time of independence, and finally the Railways that worked both as a means of communication and the line of defense in the British time. On the contrary, prior to the British's arrival on the scene; there were no national institution making structures even during the Muslim's rule, and every village worked like a self-contained unit-the whole world unto itself. Thus a limited interaction with the outside world that resulted in the limited worldview of the general public and this limited interaction became the main reason for the fall of the Mughal's administration.

When my father reached his school going age; the British introduced a new dominant theme of the English school system that juxtaposed to the seminary education. Macaulay introduced English language as medium of instructions and as an official language, thereby opening opportunities for the local people to step into the services and intuitions. My grandfather decided for his sons in the favour of the modern education. Therefore, my father completed his Bachelor degree with major in English literature in 1958. He joined Pakistan Railways Services in 1959. He spent his service career in all the four Provinces of Pakistan like Quetta, Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and the other smaller towns of Pakistan.

He was a jovial, happy and contented man. He was well entrenched in life and he enjoyed every moment and movement of life. His light heartedness won him many friends in his life. I saw him stay positive throughout his life. I observed characteristics which, in my father's interactions, exhibited qualities that Gilligan (1982) claimed were exclusively prevalent in the domain of women: “Thus women not only define themselves in a context of human relationship but also judge themselves in terms of their ability to care”(1982, p.72). Regardless, my father manifested the same ethics of care. I also observed characteristics in my father that refer to his complete vision of life as my father seemed to reflect what Noddings (1984) says “the one-caring is engrossed in the cared for and undergoes a motivational displacement toward the projects of the cared for” (1984, p. 176). Thus it does not mean that one-caring and care for can only be used as gender based terms but those attributes can be represented by anyone who like my father embodies those characteristics.

My father imbibed with the volunteering spirit in his person who was willing to lend a helping hand to anybody who asked for it. He took initiative in initiating a dialogue because he believed through dialogue any problem of the world can be solved. He believed in giving away the best in his life to his fellow beings. He was happy go
lucky man and he knew the art of living a life that teaches him how to live. But I found him well-entrenched both in the religious and secular worlds. This posed a dilemma for me but strangely, I did not find any problem in his generation, even in the graduates of the British model schools like Aligarh that produced leaders like Shoukat Ali Khan, Mohammad Ali Khan, and even the philosopher Mohammad Iqbal. They were all products of the British English system and even though they were well-versed and well entrenched in the Western philosophical thought but the same time; they were practicing Muslims. Probably they found a solace in the term that was coined by Syed Ahmed Khan—“the good pragmatic Muslim.”

My father was a devoted to his work and he dedicated 37 years of his life to the Railways Services in the Traffic Department that means 24 hours on call because he was the in charge and supervisor of the Traffic Department. He could be called to the call of duty at any time. I saw him working day and night but he always had a smile and he remained in a jolly mood almost every time in his life. I found another prominent feature in his personality that was related to his public service especially that meant to serve the people of his area. The Railway System designed not only as a cheap way of transportation for goods and passengers but the railways was built to serve the defense purpose as well. My father’s native town did not have the railways, because the British did not deem fit to extend the railways to that area because it was covered from the North-East by the Himalaya and the Russian bear was lying on the western border. Mostly the people from our area go to Karachi and other big cities for living and earnings. They boarded on the train from Rawalpindi or Havelian stations (the last station for the railways). My father used to arrange the bookings and tickets for the people of his area irrespective of their caste, creed, and clan’s affiliation. Once I asked him that why he took so much pain for others? He replied, “This is only thing I can do for them.” My father’s embodied the spirit of Levinas who stated in one of his interviews (1985), “One of the fundamental themes of Totality and Infinity about which we have not yet spoken is that the intersubjective relation is a non-symmetrical relation. In this sense, I am responsible for the other without waiting for reciprocity, were I to die for it. Reciprocity is his affairs” (1985, p.98). My understanding of the above statement is more complete when I read the following line of Levinas (1985) “I can substitute myself for everyone, but no one can substitute himself for me” (1985, p.101) from a responsibility stand point and at the same time keeping in view the attributes of my father. This was not only true to his relationship with his children but it was equally true to his dealing with others. Thus he resembles Levinas because like Levinas, my father too did not expect reciprocity. He retired from the Railways Service in 1997 because he loved his work so much he retired from his life too in the same year-after six months of his retirement.

Shahid Habib (1962-Today)

I was born in a middle class family in the city of Mansehra in 1962. My father was posted at the city of Khanewal at the time of my birth but it was customary to send one’s wife back home at the time of delivery. After my birth, my father came to his native town to see his son. Meanwhile, he was transferred to the city of
Quetta (Baluchistan)-the fourth Province of Pakistan. It was the post-independence era. It was a time of new hopes for a newly independent state. Therefore, the environment was full of new energy, enthusiasm, zeal and fervor for the nation to build. It was the time for the national leaders to set the short-term and long-term goals for the nation building. But unfortunately the dictatorship took roots in our country even though the country got its freedom through the right of vote-the practice and traditions introduced by the British.

My family reached Quetta when I was hardly four years old. When I reached the school going age; my father admitted me in the English medium school, thus he set a direction where should I need to go. I still remember this school because of its magnificent building, an excellent staff and the best teaching environment. Unfortunately, I had to leave that school when I was in grade two because my father got himself transferred to the Punjab province as there was some unrest due to some nationalistic feelings against the biggest province-the Punjab. My father admitted me again in an English medium school in the city of Wazirabad (the central Punjab’s city). When I was in grade five the medium of instruction changed from English to Urdu (the national language of Pakistan) on account of (the then Prime Minister of Pakistan) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s policy of nationalization and the uniformity of education throughout the country. This change of instruction adversely affected my learning because there was no more a challenge left in my learning. Consequently, I started skipping my classes because I thought it was like going back to grade one again and to start afresh. Therefore, my name removed from the list of good students. I was placed with the students who were not regular and punctual in their studies.

At one point of time, I decided to discontinue my modern education path and I started leaning towards the religious education. I had gone into an escapist mode and it offered me, at the same time, a good excuse to get rid of the modern education at all. I started going to the Mosque early in the morning regularly when the whole family was asleep. Once my father followed me early in the morning to see what was going on with me but he found me in the mosque. He had a sigh of relief and the sense of anxiety at the same time; the relief because he did not find me indulged in drugs and other bad activities; the anxiety as he visualised a different career path for me. I told him that I wanted to become a religious leader or a priest but strangely enough for me he strictly admonished me "I do not want to see you become a religious leader rather I want you to get the modern education." Then I realized that this academic activity was not going away and the formal education system would not leave me anyway. This process of disillusionment with the modern education continued till I reached grade nine. I went into the reconciliation mode again with the modern education later.

Meanwhile my father transferred to the city of Jhelum where he arranged a private tutor but I always felt allergic to private tutoring. As a consequence, I left the private tutor and promised my father that I would get the modern education as he envisioned for me. I did O-level and A-level in science subjects but I started developing more interests in Arts and Social Sciences therefore, I changed my subjects from sciences to Arts at the Bachelor level and I selected English, Statistics, Economics and Persian. At this stage, I decided to enter into the teaching profession after completing an M.A in English Literature. It was the time when a new world
opened on me that changed my personality, thinking, and style, and it was a new world that opened up the new horizons on me to go farther and to see how the course of the future would be chartered for me.

After completing my M.A English; I joined the education Department as a lecturer in 1989. I was a good talker, yet I had to learn the art of talking with sense at this stage. I taught at tertiary, undergraduate and then at graduate levels. I taught in different colleges in my home province (The Frontier) for almost 16 years. I served internationally in Saudi Arabia and China as an ESL Teacher. I became the member of TESOL (Teachers of English to the speakers of other languages)- the U.S.A based Organization in 2000. I applied for the Professional Development Scholarship in 2001 and got accepted. This opportunity provided me a breakthrough to have a cross cultural experience of the foreign land. I landed in the United States in February 2001 to attend 36th TESOL Conference at St. Louis in the Missouri State. This international exposure left an indelible imprint on my memory because my attendance of the conference opened a new strange world on me. I also attended 37th Conference of TESOL in 2003 at the city of Baltimore in Maryland the next year. I read a lot about the Western thought and literature but the actual interactions in the field of work and studies provided an opportunity that evidenced a completely transformation. I got a contract for Saudi Arabia from the TESOL Conference in 2001.

Finally I decided to apply for the Canadian Immigration because of the wonderful experience; I had in the United States. I came here in Canada in December 2006 along with my family. I had to go back to my country of origin for multiple times because it was a big decision in my life and secondly to wind up some works over there. I took that decision on account of two reasons at the middle of career as I could foresee problems related to the non-recognition of educational credentials and to seek a job in my own profession in Canada. First, I took this decision for my family and I wanted my children to get education from an English speaking country. The second reason perhaps had a psychological dimension because after reading the English literature; I felt out of sync with the environment in which I was living. My thought process underwent a complete change. It means the complete engrossment in the English literature and history that brought about a complete transformation and transmutation of my social imaginaries. Finally, I sought admission into M.Ed. at Simon Fraser University to upgrade my education in the fall 2010.

The Genealogical Analysis of the Dominating Themes

Here are some themes that are evolved in the archeological process; the Naming, Economic, Political, Educational, Cultural and Religious themes constitute the dominate discourse of different time-spans in my three generations.
The Personal Naming theme

My grandfather name was Rehmatullah that means the mercy of God; therefore the naming of a child represents a special kind of social imaginary that the child is expected to carry forward and to live with throughout his/her life. It reflected a hierarchical relationship with God at the top and the rest of the society as His servants to please Him through their actions on earth. In sibling especially a son is considered as a special blessing of God. This situation is similar even today in Indian/Pakistan’s context. Therefore, his role as a blessing of God determined his role in the society and consequently he was situated in a trap where attributes attached and his actions and worldviews also determined, and the naming set an attribute that can foretell what course of action; this child is going to take in his/her following life. Though my grandfather was a graduate of the Deoband Madrassa from India-a religious university served to affiliate the Madrassa’s network and institutions throughout the South Asia. He could speak dominant languages of his time like Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He served as an Imam and preacher in different mosques in different cities of Pakistan. He lived in a unipolar world with only one kind of social imaginary and lived in an hierarchical complementarity world that means the cosmic order where God at the top and the king as the manifestation of God and people destined to live in an hierarchical society according to their assigned ranks like the priests, the fighters, labourers, workers and the common folks. My father represented the post-independence period of 20th Century. My grandfather named my father Habib-ur-Rehman that means a friend of God. It shows that the hierarchical complementarity is loosened a little bit. According to Taylor (1991) “Modern freedom was won by our breaking loose from older moral horizons. People used to see themselves as part of a larger order” (1991, p.3). The cosmic order and hierarchical order reflected in the hierarchies of human relationship in a society that was the hallmark of medieval societies where everyone has to play his/her set role accorded in the hierarchies. The discrediting of these orders has been replaced by egalitarian social order in the modern and post-modern times in the western context.

When I use Taylor’s lens in the above discussion to my genealogy; it seems that my father’s rank is promoted from the person who sought (Grandfather) the mercy of God to a friend of God as far as his relationship with God was concerned. This shift in roles from the blessing of God to the friend of God that defines the relationship with God and thereby this set a new relationship with God and the direction for the course of action of my father. Thus the naming situated my father in a better position so far as expectations are concerned; what my grandfather expected of his son in the following years. Therefore, the shift from the role of blessing of God to the friend of God is discernible and self-evident. My name is Shahid that means a witness and Habib means a friend that comes from my father’s second name. It is more mundane and down to earth name and collectively it means friend of a witness. My father was transformed and affected by the dominant influences of his times, therefore he decided for his son to get a modern English education. That is how he named his son. Thus the personal naming reflects the transmutation of social imaginaries in the limited sense.
The discussion now turns to the economic conditions and benefits, and to see how these factors play an influential role in the decision making of my intergenerational periods.

The Economic Theme

The economic context in which the characters of three generations are situated reflected constant pull and push forces that created tensions in almost three generations. Marx referred (1853, p.2) to the East India Company’s rule in India and claimed the England caused a social revolution in India by introducing telegraph, almost a free press and the Railway system as means of defense and carrier of cotton and raw materials for the manufacturers in England that resulted in the dissolution of hereditary division of labour. But he also mentions the loss of agriculture, neglect of social conditions, loss of hand looms and the spinning wheels that were the main pillars of the older structure of an Asiatic Society. He could foresee that this process would create a new class trained under the British traditions but he blamed the British that they kept intact the Ministries of Finance, War and ignored the Ministry of Works. Despite the criticism of some critics; the introduction of an organized standing army, administrative system, judicial system, railways, telegraph systems, and almost a free press that all those factors brought about a qualitative change in the lives of Indians. Resultantly, it also brought about the new kind of modern social imaginaries in the Indian context that transformed the process which moved on the path that changed the old Asiatic Society into a semi modern society with a mixed of religious and liberal worldview.

So this was the historical context in which my first two generations lived. That is how my grandfather set direction for my father because of the strong economic discourse introduced by the British Government in India like the introduction of English language that modeled on the British models which replicated the British institutions on the Indian soil. Those historical forces induced my grandfather and father to decide and choose the direction for their following generations. Even though after the getting the freedom from the British in my case; the British introduced and transplanted institutions that set the direction for my generation to go for the modern education because they had to go with the currents of the time not against them; if they want to grab their share in the post-independence era.

The Religious and Cultural Themes

I have to put the religious and culture themes in the same category because in the Indian context; there is a very thin line which can separate these two separate categories. The intermingling of religion and culture, even with the politics and statecraft distorts the meanings of every sphere of life in the Indian context. Finally, the Pakistan movement emerged out of this intermixing of two elements. My grandfather represented in the politically sense the pre-independence period. The Bengal came under the British suzerainty after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Therefore, my grandfather belonged to the Deobandi sect which resembles the Puritans in the English history. They are the followers of the Maulana Wahab of Arabia, the dominant sect of Islam in Saudi Arabia. The other sect-the Brialvi (the local version of Islam) that was the liberal and believed in Sufism, and
which is called a Tariqat (a path) system tells us how to have a direct relationship with God through poetry, the mystic feelings and exalted feelings with the help of an intermediary like the spiritual guide (Sayyed, 1995, p.267). This debate is still going on in the Pakistani academic circles that either Islam was spread by the sword or by the preaching in India. This question is equally relevant to the international politics and the problem of terrorism in the context of US-Pakistan relations. My grandfather represented the Deoband (1876) school of thought-the extreme right religious school of thought but the other intuition-M.A.O (Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College later became a University) generally called Aligarh College founded in 1877 by Syed Ahmed Khan. This institution represented the modern education introduced by the British. This line is not always represented by two different schools of thought in binary functions but there was a lot of overlapping of their horizons and this class of the Muslims did not consider the acquisition of the modern knowledge could any way break their relationship with their past, culture and history. Ali Brethren-Maulana Shoakat Ali and Maulana Mohammad Ali, and even my father reflected the same overlapping zones of religion and the secular worlds. They are the examples who graduated from the Aligarh University and later they became vanguards and leaders in the Khilafat Movement (1918). When the Muslims of India perceived the allies wanted to dismember the Muslims’ centre (the Ottoman Empire-the sick man of Europe) after the defeat of Turkey-an ally of the Central Powers in the First World War. It reflected a clear contradiction because they had English schooling with the modern social imaginaries but they launched a movement in India to restore the Turkish Khilafat that was a purely religious and an emotional cause to fight for. Ultimately this class assumed the leadership role in the movement for Pakistan. Ali Brethren led Khilafat Movement (1914-18) in India and Mohan Ramchand Gandhi also joined hands with Ali Brethren in this Movement to restore the Khilafat in Turkey after its defeat in the First World War in 1918 for different reasons. Even though, the Aligarh University’s founder Syed Ahmed Khan was a religious man but with a lot of pragmatism. Ironically, after the establishment of Pakistan; the religious forces who themselves did not participate in Pakistan’s struggle; came to exercise a tremendous influence in devising a national narrative for the newly established state of Pakistan. Probably early difficulties like financial viability and Kashmir problem were the factors that went into the making of this narrative (Sayyed, 1967, p.105). The fear in the Pakistan’s army that faced nine times bigger in size the enemy across the Eastern border-India led to making of this Military-Mullah Alliance (Haqqani, 2005, p.92). The security was probably the main reason to go for this narrative. The Pakistan Army was secular in the beginning and it was trained on the British model but the alliance between the Army and the religious forces helped forged a common alliance in the running of the newly created state. The pre-independence era of my grandfather, the post-independence period of my father and even in my time; the religious themes remained the driving force that determined and chartered the course of actions individually and collectively.

The Educational Themes

I think it would be appropriate to give a brief history how the debate evolved over educational themes. The aim of education started from Plato to the post-modern notion of education and how themes dominate over an era.
Noddings (2009) describes the first perspective starting from Plato, “Plato’s discussion of education is embedded in his analysis of the just state. Socrates and his companions in dialogue try to create the design of a just state; they inevitably encounter issues concerning education” (p.72).

The second perspective of education is eloquently expressed by Huxley (1956), in this matter Greece and Rome can teach us only negatively-by demonstrating in their divergent ways, what not to do. From this it is clear that a classical education in the humanities of two thousand years ago requires to be supplemented by some kind of training in the humanities of today and tomorrow. The Progressives profess to give such training; but surely we need something a little more informative, a little more useful in this vertiginously changing world of ours, than courses in present day consumer economics and current job information” (1956, p.68).

Tendre (2010) describes the North American perspective, “North America is home to two national systems of public education (USA and Canada) that differ in many aspects but have been shaped by similar cultural conflicts over the role of schools. Historically many prominent educators believed that schools should be a vehicle for instilling morals, proper behavior, and transmitting a stable social order while others thought schools should allow students the widest range of self-determination and exploration possible and eliminate old prejudices thereby paving the way for a new better social order” (2010, p.1).

In above three quotes, I presented three different perspectives of the traditionalist, modernist and postmodernist in a chronological order that shows different theories of how children should be trained and educated. The education of young is as old as human history is; but this question has been mired in the conflicting interest groups to have a control over the policy that determines what kind of education our children should get. This struggle for control; manifested in England between the Church (Anglican), the non-conformists and the Dissenters, but in France the tension between the Church (the Roman Catholic) and the liberal sections of society caused a delay for the formation of uniform education policy as compared to the rest of Europe (2010, p.5).

Every country has a narrative reflecting a policy, philosophy and theme, and it has to determine that what kind of theme it has to pursue and to impart to its young children that would bring about a change in social imaginaries or worldviews of its children that might help form a nation. Narrative may be based upon religion or nationalism or both. The educational narrative may be moderated and controlled by different stakeholders like the federal government, provincial and state governments, local governments, religious denominations and cliques, and different funding resources intuitions or agencies. Interestingly Heidenheimer (2010) talked about how narratives influenced and determined by state policies and at what level and how they influence to determine the direction of curriculum and pedagogy. He divided them into three tiers as isomorphism- the Switzerland model, anisomorphism-the German model and finally US and Japan models owing their existence to funding resources and agencies (2010, p.1).
But a question arises here: Does the state or religion or a certain faction morally and ethically have the right to exercise such a tremendous influence to change the social imaginaries of its youth? At a point where parents’ authority, interference and influence is being questioned, how can children have acquire the natural flow of learning as Rousseau advocated in his training for Emile?

Another perspective of the environmentalists argues that, if we need to have a narrative at all why should we not have a more encompassing narrative for the sake of our future generations’ survival? Some call it an aborigines’ narrative which is eco-friendly, sustainable, futuristic, global and holistic that can offer a clear direction to get out of the quagmire; we are in for the moment, “even after two centuries in the name of development that modern man has made as “Vandals of the Earth” (Orr, 2004, p.40).

They further elaborated their point of views by putting forward this kind of narrative. We need to have a different ecological narrative that is readily available from the aboriginal people, and it is a universal in its approach and all encompassing and thereby it may be acceptable to every nation. The environmentalists relate this narrative with the question of survival of man as a species on this planet that seems to have been threatened by its own development spree that had started in 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} Centuries. The environmentalists posit that self-complacency will not work anymore. As (Orr, 1994, p.4) says that “we still educate our children as there is no planetary emergency.” But the question that comes to my mind that how long we should be allowing our so-called national education policies as casting dyes to be used as a tool to change their social imaginaries? What Foucault calls panoptical influence and surveillance, and when would our children avoid making intellectual sins? According to Huxley, over-abstraction, over-generalization and over-simplification are clear hurdles in the way of acquiring understanding rather than a mere knowledge.

The education in the Indian context, the British East India Company preoccupied with other contesting powers like the local rulers (Rajas), Portuguese and the French. The second, the Company was in the consolidation phase therefore, neither had enough time initially nor inclination to introducing or replicating a reasonable good education system reflecting modern social imaginaries. After Seven Years Wars the Company role from a commercial enterprise to imperial military and territorial power had been surfaced and thus it emerged as a real power broker in the Indian context. The British had very cautious approach towards education in the beginning so they did not want to disturb the ruling structure and internal balance that could have created any danger for their imperial designs. Therefore, the Persian language remained the court and official language till 1831. The Company’s approach to education in India was thwarted by the very nature of its composition and its pattern of ruling over vast sea of people through the standing army created out of its own people. But that created a class with modern social imaginaries through education and introduction of institutions based on the Westminster Model that they later turned against their trainers and demanded independence. The British divided in two camps-the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The Orientalists favored the older system of education because they feared that it might have repercussions on the British Raj but the Anglicist favored the introduction of English as a medium of instruction in schools. Bentinck was appointed Governor-General in 1828. He was personally
receptive to Anglicism. He thought to have been strongly influenced by the modernizing Utilitarian Mill. Under Bentinck, Charles Trevelyan further pushed the view that the teaching of English literature was the key to winning friends in India and he also set about winning the British press to win over to the Anglicists' point of view. The tide appeared to have been turned against the Orientalists well before the appointment of Macaulay as the president of the GCPI and his 1835 Minute on Education in which he disparaged Indian classical learning and advocated the education of a class of 'thoroughly good English scholars' who would be loyal to the British, citing in support the desire of Indians to be taught English rather than Sanskrit or Arabic (Loh, 1975, p. 2). Initially the Muslims had an adverse opinion about the British system of education based upon their perception that they took them as an enemy who took away not only their government but also their language and culture. When the British Government took over; there appeared a class from the Muslim community who impressed upon the rulers that somehow they were not fair and probably unjust to the demands of the Muslims. The British did a damage control later and tried to salvage their image as a colonial power and equally fair to every community therefore, they helped in raising funds for the Madrassa (seminary) at Deoband in 1886 and Mualana Qasim Nunuwati was the guiding spirit (Sayyed, 1967, p.5).

Later Syed Ahmad Khan convinced the Muslims that it was not in their interests to remain aloof from the current scenario because the British were at the seat of government and they were a reality. He asserted that the Mughal Rule was the story of the past and the Muslims should not be the prisoners of the past. Therefore, they must cooperate with the government and they should come forward and get advance education in English. He warned otherwise, they would be left behind compared to other communities, not only in educational sense but also in getting employment opportunities, consequently other avenues of life and the political sphere would be shut on them as well (Khan, 1864, p.3). He was a pragmatic Muslim, therefore, he forcefully and logically presented his case that the Muslims should not deprive themselves of a forceful tool (English) to acquire the modern education which would enable and empower them to put forward their demands and aspirations before the British Government.

These were the historical contexts and conditions in which my grandfather was situated. Two factors precluded him from going to the other side of divide; I mean to the Aligarh Movement, First, he belonged to the very conservative area where the religious narrative still reigned supreme and it was the part of their belief; second, he came from a poor family that could ill-afford to acquire the modern education because it would cost money whereas the religious education at the Madrassas was free and it is still free today. He was situated in that part of the British India that came under the British Raj later and those parts were declared as non-regulated provinces, and it was mostly the Muslims populated area where the British had to face a lot of resistance in subjugating those areas.

My father got his education from modern education system introduced by the British in India, because my grandfather was perhaps influenced by the dominant narrative of British education system as it could have opened job opportunities in the government departments. Thus the economic factor comes into play in my
genealogy’s decision making thereby in making and shaping their next generation’s path. My father took a Bachelor of Arts with a major in English literature. He read Hamlet, Macbeth and the modern prose. He could speak, read and write in English, Urdu, and understand Arabic. He lived in a bipolar world—the religious and the secular but the dominance of religious feelings was discernible in his outward behavior and sometime he was an ambivalent denizen of the two worlds. He was comfortable with both worlds and could step in and step out in both worlds comfortably without embarrassment to himself and to others around him, because he did not consider both to be diametrically opposing worlds. Thus he followed the Aligarh traditions for being a good pragmatic Muslim.

I got admitted into an English medium school in Quetta (Baluchistan). When my father was transferred to the Punjab Province; he again admitted me in a private English medium school but that school including all other English medium schools were nationalized by Bhutto’ government in his effort to provide uniform education to every citizen of the state. Even curriculum was revised and uniformly applied in all government schools. But this overnight transformation from English to Urdu medium created problems for me because in Urdu medium school; English was taught only as a single subject. Therefore, I had to start from ABC in grade four again, therefore; the learning posed no challenge to me. Thus I felt my education process stunted and consequently I got disillusioned with the education and learning process. This disenchantment remained till I reached the grade nine. I did O-level and A-level with no distinction because that disenchantment still lingered on, and the second, because of teacher-student power dynamics. Corporal punishment was allowed in our schools which I disliked. At intermediate level or A-level I felt myself as free man because in colleges physical beating was not allowed. At that stage, I tried to figure out my future course of action and to plan my career. At the Bachelor level, I started developing interests in literature when a teacher named Professor Shafique-ur-Rehman inspired me to pursue my career in literature. I switched from science subjects like Chemistry and Botany to Political Science, Economics and English language. My parents were equally conscious of my religious education but the same problem of physical punishment came in my way in my religious learning too. This problem severely damaged my learning process. I rebelled against religious teachers who were fond of beating with sticks. Eventually I had to complete last verses of the Quran at home under my mother’s supervision.

The Political Themes

My grandfather was embedded in his time. He was the product of the War of Independence (1857) that was fought mainly between the Muslims and the British. But some Muslims’ leaders and religious scholars gave this movement a new spin. They declared that this movement was meant to revive the old glories of the Muslims’ past and to restore the Mughal Emperor. This thinking lingered on in the Muslims’ thought process for quite some time and it remained the part of thinking of the large segment of the Muslims’ population in the Subcontinent. Some Muslims took out the old, almost a dying and blinded Emperor-Bhadur Shah Zaffar (1837-1858) from the Red Fort and they placed the old king ceremoniously on the throne so as to give the freedom
struggle a legitimacy and to present the king as the semblance of power and a symbolic figure that could give them a cause to fight against the British. That reflected the dominate theme in the Muslims thought process to go back to the origin and to restore the Mughal’s rule in India where they wanted the Persian language to be restored as the language of the court. But all efforts to restore the Mughal’s King to his former glory failed because of the defeat of rebellious elements and the failure of the revolt. Therefore, my grandfather represented the dominant narrative in the Muslims’ moorings where intermingling of the politics and religion was a common phenomenon. That is why he acquired skills in the Persian and Arabic languages. The former was the court language and the latter was the language of religion. In the political context where the older order was dying and the new order yet to take its firm roots in that part of world. Politically I always had a leaning towards the left. The Political history of Pakistan has always been a battleground between the political forces particularly the secular forces and the military establishment (Sayyed, 1980, p.15). Therefore, I developed sympathy for Pakistan People’s Party that was established by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1967.

Politically my father was the staunch supporter of the rightwing parties they could either be a civilian or military regimes. He spent his life mostly under the military regimes therefore; he had no problem with the dictatorships because he believed in the strong leadership instead of the strong institutions building; this tradition goes back to the religion-Islam. I remained uncomfortable with his views because I always believed in democracy and institutions building thereby nation building. My father was a religious man and embedding both in the religious and secular worlds but I was more inclined towards a secular society. The relationship with God came under scrutiny when I immersed in English literature and I thought one can be a good Muslim even though he is not a practicing Muslim. Therefore, I had to experience a strong pull and push forces; one pulls (the national and cultural narratives) towards the religion and the second pushes (the intellectual orientation of the Western thought) towards the secular world where the religion assigned as a private affair. Thereby I came under a conflict. The conflict remained in a dormant state because of the strong national religious narrative. That conflict ultimately held in abeyance if not resolved.

The English literature history gave me a new way of looking at things. It opened the new vistas of horizons that bring about a conflict with religious conditions around me. The study of Geoffrey Chaucer, the Homer and the Vergil, the Dark Ages, the Age of Enlightenment, the Renaissance, the Humanism, the Romantic Age and the Age of Reason-all introduced a new chain of thought to me. Shakespeare’s concepts of “ripeness is all” and “readiness is all” expressed in the King Lear and Hamlet respectively left indelible footprints on mind that provided scaffolding that structured my horizons and thereby it also provided a foundation for the self transformation. Consequently my thinking underwent a complete transformation after learning from the currents of the past experiences and the currents of socio-economic, and the political changes that affected England, thereby the whole world. The study of history created a sense of curiosity as to why and how the rise and fall of empires happened. Thus all those impressions affected my horizons that went into the shaping and making of my present self.
Looking at the fusion of horizons in the dialogical sense; how the dialogical relations when explored give way to a new understanding through the shifting of stances in our embedded positions, led me to shedding fore-prejudices and fore-judgements, even though I share the same background and genealogy with my ancestry. I have to do the replacement and displacement with my genealogical characters—my father and grandfather. Now let us discuss, the time, conditions, context in which they lived, and the narrative they were exposed to; and how those factors led them to make decisions for their following generations that have different social imaginaries as a result of those narrative and education. Finally, I look at the tension and conflict that disturb the relations between them and how the mutual adjustments are made to cope with these pressures.
CHAPTER 5

The Fusion of Horizons in my Genealogy

Backgrounder

Gadamer maintained that “Hermeneutics is the art of interpretation”. We have to turn to the scripts of our past and past uses to understand the self. If we are part of historical traditions that can facilitate the process of understanding the text and if we are not the part of historic-cultural traditions that can block our objectivity and understanding, and the whole process becomes non-justified in a non-scientific method. History and poetry have their own methods of inquiry and interpretation of the text but different cultural traditions block our understanding. The Scientific Method deems to be the only objective way of inquiry but it has its own subjectivity and pre-prejudices that ultimately block our understanding (Gadamer, 1960/1997, Pp.201-250).

Thus to be an agent of the past facilitates the process of understanding and this role does not hinder or put obstacles in the way of understanding. That particular agent of the past can be biased if he is the member of a specific culture group that carries an historic, culture and traditional biases that renders the whole process of understanding meaningless but it can turn out to be a meaningful involvement with the text if that particular member engages in a dialogue with the objective of understanding the process by putting himself there in that particular historical context that can filter the prejudice out in the process of understanding. Thus the concept of the fusion of horizons occupies the important place in contemporary world where this may facilitate in understanding the worldview of the past and at the same time; it may provide an opportunity to understand the beholder of the worldviews different from ourselves. Consequently, this process of understanding brings about the harmony and the true understanding of “We” and “Thee” divide, and can wriggle us out from the debate of my perspective from your perspective. Finally, this process enables us to understand our true selves by knowing myself, my father, my grandfather, intra-cultural traditions and intercultural traditions across the globe where the part of the notion and rationality is a part of traditions.

Let me explain this process through graphic illustration in my genealogy and to see how this process works. This fusion of horizons is explained how that process works in my genealogy step by step in the figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 in order to get an effective history of the fusion of horizons based on the common grounds. In 5.1, the diagram has three balls and they represent my grandfather, father and myself in different colors selected randomly and they do not signify anything special in themselves. All three balls placed in three different gaps and gulfs that represent different times, spaces, training and education and embeddedness almost in the same socio-cultural, shared history and genetics that show the divergence of views due to abovementioned factors. The dialogical stepping in and out in my grandfather's and my father's horizons to find converges of views and confluences in accordance with Gadamer's fusion of horizons creates an effective history in finding out
common points are there as illustrated in figure 5.2. This diagram represents the closing of horizons in my three generations. In graphic illustration 5.2 the overlapping zones find common grounds in my three generation that is the areas of religion, education, social, culture and history. It can be observed the hermeneutic virtuous circle can be constructed instead of a vicious cycle in overlapping areas of my genealogy thus finding some commonality of worldviews shared from my grandfather to myself in 5.3. The hermeneutic circle illustrated in the flow chart 5.3 in my three generations.
The Dialogical Interpretations of the text in Gadamer’s Terms

Let us do some interpretations by involving into the text to see that how the text is a dialogical in my consciousness and what interactions; I have to make in the history and past to understand the process of understanding, eventually according to Gadamer, where the ‘fusion of horizons’ takes place. If the description of first three sentences of all three generations is scrutinized. It looks the ladder like developments starting from my grandfather who was born in “a poor farmer family” and my father was born in ‘a lower middle class family’ and I was ‘born in a middle class family.’ This reflected a ladder like development in the historical process where the economic progress achieved at a slower pace but still it is the development of generations on the historical trajectory. In Foucault’s sense when I consciously and intentionally involved in archeology therefore, it was like a travelling back in space and time but the purpose was to trace back my journeys in the history of genealogy to see what kind of developments took place and to trace the footprints that I can follow to find out what was in my genealogy and finally come to this point-what I am at the present moments and what type of person I am and what kind of social imaginaries do I have and how and why are these factors different from my grandfather and father? Thus it was a dialogical travelling back to the original roots to see what I am at the present moment and what are the movements involved in my travelling back in time and what changes happened up to this point.

Another theme that emerged from the text is migration. This process started from my grandfather though it remained dormant in my father but again I restarted in 2001 when for the first time; I landed in the United States. I reached in the USA; I cherished in the fact that I restarted the process that was stopped in my second generation. But later this realization dawned upon me, when I reflected the way my father led his life with happiness and contentment but I missed those pieces in my life. Therefore that moment of realization justified my father’s style and the way of living.
The economic factor also played a dominate role in the decision making of my genealogy and it reveals that characters are historically situated in the larger narrative that determined their decisions. At the time of my grandfather when he decided about the future course of action for his son (my father); the more aggressive order (the British) replaced the older dying order (the religious one) and probably the second reason was the religious narrative had gone out of fashion during the British era. The British government accorded the religious narrative a lower ranking in the social order; thereby the general public in its heart seemed to be impressed by this narrative. Thus my grandfather decided for my father to have modern British education. That is how, when the dialogue took place between me and my father, and when I told him that I wanted to become a religious leader or a priest but he strictly admonished me that “I do not want you to become a religious leader rather I want you to get the modern education.” That really served as clear signal for me where I was expected to go. Probably the human nature is a progressive in the historical trajectory and the people did not want to regress back to the origin from where they come from. Therefore, the path my father envisioned for me, though it may not be a personal foresight rather a common narrative where everybody around him decided for their children in that way. That is how, his thought was influenced by the general thinking present in his time that caused him to decide the future course of action for his son. That is always true that the more progressive and the dominate course of action overtakes and determines the course of history thereby to set a new destination for individuals and nations.

The Fusion of Horizons

The fusion of horizons in my grandfather, father and me witnessed a gradual shift from the religion to the more tolerant and flexible worldview. My grandfather was situated in the religious world, but somehow he took pragmatic decision for his son to get the modern education. Normally this kind of decision can be difficult to make because of the children are generally considered as an extension of the parents. Therefore, you want your children to follow your footsteps and stay in the same profession especially when your religious commitments are involved. How my grandfather negotiated with his religious position to inviting God’s wrath might have crossed his mind for selecting worldly path for his son to follow. For example, when my grandfather put his son on the secular path; it meant that somehow he abandoned the religious education and thereby the righteous path for his next generation. Was he disobeying God’s commandment? Should God punish him on the Final Day of Judgment? These questions might have crossed my grandfather’s mind. It shows that how his embeddedness and the very foundation on which he founded his life that provided the essence to his life was seemed to be slipping. Thus he took the opposite decision to his religious belief that needs to be analyzed. I think the external factors are involved in his decision making and other reasons can be like the culture that is always mixed up with religious feelings; so I have to go for other reasons for his decision. I think being a religious man and well read in Persian and Arabic languages. Therefore, he was literate in the oriental studies, so he had a thinking mind and he could foresee that somehow his religious studies would not last long and internally he seemed to be impressed by the new aggressive order; although apparently this worldly choice
stands contrary to his religion. But he did not see a future for his sons in the religious field. That could have been a hard decision on his part. Finally, he was well read in the true spirit of Islam that is progressive and Islam did not stop its followers to seek knowledge (both worldly and religious) but Islam time and again urges its followers to seek knowledge “though one has to travel to China” (The Prophet’s saying) and (the only known country at that time). Thus I think this urging of Islam to seek knowledge might have induced him to go for this decision. I heard from my father that even my grandfather was not too rigid. My grandfather raised his sons in a flexible way and he did not show any rigidity. That is why my father was more flexible and thereby well placed in both the religious and secular worlds. In a sense, my father was one step ahead of his father.

Though my grandfather was situated in religion, he had dialogical relations both with his son and with the external forces i.e. economic, social, historical and cultural of his time as well. Probably, he had a sense of history and he could foresee how it projected on the historical trajectory. He might have analyzed about the rise and fall of empire. He could predict that even though after the departure of the British; this new narrative i.e. to seek modern education would not go away; therefore he opted for this course of action for his son to follow. Such actions raise three questions; did he face any pressure in terms of social and culture matters? How did he cope with those pressures? What did other people around him think? I believe that the conditions and environment my grandfather experienced were conducive rather than hostile. Like the aboriginal culture; the Indian culture mostly based on the oral traditions and secondly, it was based upon a family system. If someone sent his son to get a modern education and that family accrued economic benefits and prospered, that set an example for others to follow suit. In the same manner, the phenomenon of immigration worked in that area. If one family member migrated to the foreign country; others would follow his footsteps and joined him in the same country. Even this tradition influenced my decision to come to Vancouver because at least there were 20 families here in the area from the same family and village. I think my grandfather did not face any internal and external pressures in this regard. Thus the economic factor or progressive factor is the main motivation.

Pragmatic decisions reflect progressive nature of the man and economic considerations are held supreme because human beings hope for their children to lead a comfortable, progressive and happy life at least better than their ancestors.

I have seen the external factors influenced the parents’ decisions making as it has been evidenced from the above discussion where the economic benefits come out as the main drivers that prompted people to get out of their home and country. But the actual realities are more important when your decisions have achieved fruition. I mean the dialogical nature of relationship with your next generation is an interesting phenomenon to explore. When my grandfather evidenced changes in my father then both had tensions in their relationship, because mostly you take decision when you are comparatively younger and progressive, and when you cross forty, you become conservative and then there is a tendency to regress back to the origin. The Parents took decisions under economic and other compulsions but at the same time, they expected that their children should carry forward the same social imaginaries because that provided them the very foundations on which they based their lives. Somehow the element of fear is also involved because of the religious feelings that somehow God
would punish them if their children did something wrong and if they deviated from the right path. This is evidenced in my dialogues with my father who indirectly admonished me to follow the right path.

My father best exemplifies the fusion of horizons because of his well-placed position in both worlds. Even through dialogues with my father; I came to know my grandfather, who was a religious man, took a decision for his son to get a modern education. This decision paved the way for my father to decide about my future. I see a delicate balance in my father's personality in coping with both the religious and secular worlds. That is how; I witnessed a beautiful intermingling of the religion and the worldly things in his personality. It means, he situated away from my grandfather's position but he told me that he started practicing religion when my grandfather died. It shows that he shared an overlapping zone with my grandfather so far as the religious domain is concerned. When it comes to me that overlapping zone is squeezed a little bit because of my grounding in the English literature and European history.

The dialogical relations with my father witnessed the shift of horizons from the religious to more mundane world of materialism. This shifting happened due to the mediation of the English literature and history that reflect the salient features of the modernity i.e. tension and the fear of existentialism, because my mental horizons followed a different path as compared to the general narrative-dialogues with my father and grounding in the religious teachings. But fortunately my father never imposed any decision on me and I always found him talking in metaphorical language through tokens and symbols. The same phenomenon still works between me and my children. I fear to lose the identities of my children in the Canadian environment because the cultural values, the traditions and the religion all are important parts of my identity. I fear that somehow this education system ultimately would make my children different from me because of the education based on Dewey's notions of skill enhancement and the British orientation of traditions of indirect way of changing social imaginaries contrary to the stronger traditions of inculcating and instilling the American values across the Southern border-the United States. Finally I fear that they would turn out to be embodying the materialism and secularism

**The Moments of Tension in the Movement of Social Imaginaries**

The change of behaviour as exhibited by one generation to the next (what is generally referred to as a generation gap) is a complex phenomenon one that is related to both archaeology and, more recently, to technology. Take information and gadget usage for example; the baby boomers were less exposed to the technology, therefore, they are not good at using the technology as compared to today's generation who can use it because technology is an integral part of that generation’s lifeworld. But it is more related to genealogy—that is tied to cause and effect in a priori knowledge and a posterior knowledge of the subject. This was the main reason; I used a theoretical lens that is the modern mirror and the way of looking at things what happened in the historical context (Archeology and Genealogy), but the reference point served by the lens of Taylor’s theory of social imaginary. This lens situated in the modernity; thus it needs correct lenses or interpretation of the text neither on the lines of subjectivism nor on the objectivism, but according to
philosophical hermeneutics of Gadamer where he stresses on the dialogical discourse initiated in order get a ‘fusion of horizon.’ Therefore, it is an autobiographical but at the same time; it is also biographical of my two preceding generations—my grandfather and father. Therefore, the biased of the mind situated in the modernity cannot be ruled out. If this paradigm is reversed, if grandfather had to write his autobiography; what he would have been predicting about his third generation and to see that how his third generation would look like and different from him? Thus telling this story, I have to step into my two generations’ consciousness that was not a big deal for me; because these two dominate themes still run side by side in Pakistan. The travelling back into genealogy and to have a dialogue with my two previous generations especially with grandfather with whom I did not have an opportunity to live with, because he died when I was hardly six months old infant. The information about my grandfather provided through a dialogue with my father. But I see moments of tension between my grandfather and father because my father used to tell me that he also questioned some of his father’s stances. Therefore he had regrets that somehow God will punish him for his recalcitrant behavior and impliedly he admonished me that you (I) do the same thing to him (father). My father complained about me that he would never expect me to offer a prayer at his grave after his death.

Therefore, I discern a similar pattern of complaints that happened between my grandfather and father, and it continued between my father and me. The only reason which I can attribute to this phenomenon of changing social imaginaries at the time of deciding the future of our child; we decide in favour of a progressive theme but at the time; we do not realize the consequences of those decisions. Because the decisions made by subjects situated in a particular culture, traditions and conditions but they make decisions under economic compulsions and consideration, and they cannot forecast about the consequences; it would carry as a result of their decisions. For example, for a religiously situated person like my grandfather’s decision for his son (my father) in favour of the modern education. The Parents consider children as an extension of their personalities and they expect that their children should behave the same way as they are situated in particular environments, conditions, and they hold those values so dearly, but their decisions under economic consideration lead their children to have a different kind of social imaginaries. Those moments of tension are still going on between me and my children. I decided to immigrate to Canada because I wanted them to have an opportunity to get modern education from an English speaking country in this globalized world. My expectations resemble the relationship that existed between my grandfather and father. Like them I could not anticipate that taking a decision under economic consideration would lead my children to have different social imaginaries than myself. Thus this process has to pass where decisions are taken under the economic factor and thereby the transition, shifting and mutation of social imaginaries happen as a result of those decisions from one person to another in generation that leads to tension in relations.

A Synthesis of my Genealogical Evolution

The shifting of self in characters embedded in times, places, narratives and identities moves gradually but they follow an evolutionary path and process. The journey of my three generations from panoptic surveillance of
religion passes through hierarchical complementarity order to a relatively mundane if not the secular worldview on which I am situated where both systems work- the religious and secular. For example, my father who relatively handled those pressures well. But the conflict accentuated in my person because the older order of religious panoptic surveillance and hierarchical relationship with God at the top instilled from my parents who used to reflect those social imaginaries and the general narrative around that ran parallel but in opposite directions with my own orientation after reading English literature and the Western philosophies. I faced an internal conflict because the outer narrative handed down to me from my parents, family, and society what the structuralists call a structure at large did not match with the narrative which I acquired through the modern education. Consequently both discourses gave conflicting and contradictory paths to follow. When the character moves away from an accepted, practiced norms and traditions of society; the locus of control or your embeddedness on which you base your life is questioned; thereby the situated person faces a dilemma.

The nostalgia and tension of leaving an older order and stepping into the newer one is no more present in the post-modern age that can be termed as a true age of self-knowledge where man is unaffected with the complete romanticism and rationalism rather the modern man is guided by the accumulated knowledge. That is what Taylor (1991) talks about the “affirmation of ordinary life” and the “the horizons of significance” in the post-modern society.

In the same way, the process of gradual infiltration of social imaginaries works in my three generations. My grandfather had only one narrative that was based upon the fear of God, old traditions, and religious beliefs faced cracks in the beginning of the 20th Century and thus that unleashed a new disorder after the advent of the British, where the declining power of the Mughals set the stage for social, economic and political disintegration. The efforts of Shah Walliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Sayeed Ahmed Shaheed, and Shah Ismail though provided a temporary solace to the Muslims but the more aggressive order appeared on the horizon; the British introduced a new narrative in the Indian context. In the new narrative that power was descended to the state to punish people if they break the law but according to a new set of criterion of transgression.

The transition from the religious embeddedness of my grandfather to the mix of religion and economic situatedness of my father means that I am shaped by the more mundane, inglorious and the secular world where the religion is consigned to the private domains. Now in the Western societies; it is taken as a private affair and it is taken for granted that the connection with God can be established in a private way. One can establish relationship with God without intermediary and it does not require any mediation and mentorship, therefore, I do not feel need for an organized monastery to guide my practice and belief.

Now I turn to the retrieval of the rich traditions and a model of governance that could have provided a stable order and balance to Pakistani society. The main problem which I discussed in the historical context is, in the next chapter, described as one that divided the Muslim community in India, the vacillation and indecisiveness that pestered the Muslim polity from within and which did not allow them to have an effective dialogue with
other communities of India. The retrieval of the mixed model could provide some common standpoints to start a
dialogue with others who do not share the same worldview.
CHAPTER 6

The Retrieved Model as Educational & Dialogical Praxes

Backgrounder

In this chapter, I retrieve some rich traditions and a model that can serve as educational and dialogical praxes for Pakistan’s education. The rich political traditions manifested in running of the state affairs without the intermingling of religion as practiced by Mohammad Bin Qasim, Alauddin Khilji, Akbar on the one hand and on the other, Shah Waliuallah who embarked upon to rekindle the path of reawakening, reformation and social reformation that based on the concept of Ijtehad (the exertion of human mind) and he translated the Koran into Persian, and later his two sons expanded the horizons of Muslims by translating the Koran into Urdu language. Contrary to these traditions; the religious model practiced by Firuz Tughlaq and Aurangzeb envisaged intermingling of religion with the state. Later Iqbal expanded the concept of Ijtehad (the exertion of human mind). The Madrassa Nadva-tul-Ulema established by Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) served as a model where synthesis of the traditional and modern education emphasised and at the same time that model enabled the students to have both the modern and traditional perspectives. This model manifested dualism in my father and other great leaders who provided leadership to the Muslims during those crucial periods of the 20th Century. This can lead to the fusion of horizons with overlapping zones with other people who even do not share the same worldview.

The Retrieval of the State Model

In politics and statecraft; the Muslims’ imperial model did not disturb the local belief and the education systems of the conquered territories and even in the medieval times; all subjects treated relatively well. Probably the Muslims followed the preceding models like the Roman Empire’s Model that reflected tolerance and the “Brahmanabad Settlement” that could provide the guiding principles on which the foundation of the following Islamic dynasties had been laid. Mohammad Bin Qasim even deviated from the strict interpretation of Islamic Law and accorded the status of Zimmi (the protected) to the non-Muslims but according to the Islamic Jurisprudence the jizya (an Islamic tax) had to be imposed on the non-Muslims and other minorities in an Islamic state. Aladdin Khilji tried to invent his own religion but his religious advisors advised against it, and on the contrary, later Akbar promulgated his own religion. Akbar’s Din-i-illahi and Infallibility Decree created unrest amongst the orthodox circles in the court and in the general public and they thought those measures went against the Islamic religion but Akbar’s Sula-i-Kul (peace for all) could prove the best principle that could have been institutionalised and could have emulated in the following periods but due to the extreme pressure from the orthodox circles both Firuz Tuqghlaq and Aurangzeb succumbed to this pressure. Consequently they reversed the policies of their predecessors and they went to the other extreme and they tried to re-impose the puritanical form of Islam in Indian conditions and their attempts ultimately failed.
Sula-i-Kul (peace for all) and the model of Brahmanabad Settlement could provide a philosophical groundings
to treat all the subjects fairly in the Mughal’s period and it is even relevant to the present conditions in Pakistan
where the state can accord equal rights to its all citizens. Thus it requires the re-visitation of these documents
bequeathed from the past. The texts of both documents could be examined in detail and interpretation of those
documents can be made in accordance with Gadamer’s concept of the fusion of horizon and in the light of
present environments, circumstances and conditions. The outdated and outworn ideas that are not relevant to
the modern conditions and requirements can be discarded. But other things which are still relevant to the basic
concept of Sula-i-Kul (the universal tolerance) may be practiced and interpreted as peace and equal treatment
for all citizens of the state.

The Retrieval of the Concept of Ijtihad (the exertion of mind)

The Arabic word Ijtihad literally means to exercise an independent judgment by applying the human reason to
explain and elaborate the Islamic religious laws in the light of new realities of time. Thus it an interpretation of
the Koran and Ahadith (Sayings of the Prophet) by applying different methods that includes Qiyas (analogical
reasoning), and Ijma (consensus) are to be extended and applied to the solution of new problems. In brief, I
can say that Ijtihad or independent reasoning is the re-application of Islamic rules and laws in modern
conditions and Ijtihad is also a way to find Islamic answers to the questions which are not explained directly by
the Qur’an and Sunna (saying & doing of the Prophet). Iqbal emphasized the measures that are not contrary to
the spirit of Islam and those are not in conflict with the injunctions of Islam (Iqbal, 1819, p.164).

Iqbal rejected the Taqlid (the blind following of ancient authorities in the interpretation of Islamic law) and his
emphasis is on Ijtihad-e-Mutliq (reinterpretation of Islamic law by reverting back to the original sources). In his
opinion the elected Assembly of a Muslim state should exercise this power as Ijma (consensus of the
community) in the process of enacting Islamic legislation (1934, p.1). Dr. Iqbal is the product of both the
modern and religious education reflected an intense dualism in the interpretation of the religious matter
followed Shah Waliullah’s traditions that offered the concept of Ijtehad in the backdrop of double crisis-the
loss of power and the minority status in the colonial proposed set up.

Nadva as a Social Reform Movement

Shibli Nomani’s (1857-1914) thoughts were influenced by Shah Waliullah but he did not become the part of
religious and mystic divides of his time. Shibli’s efforts aimed at bringing about a consensus through the
religious and social reforms in the Muslim community. Nadva launched in 1893 as a social reform movement
based on an overarching structure of a pyramid where Darul-u-Musanfeen (the House of writer) occupies the
apex with other two ends of a triangle were occupied by Nadva-madrassa (the school) and Al-Nadva (a
journal)-all aimed at bringing about the social and religious reforms in the Muslim community.
Darul Musannefin (The House of Writers)

Shibli Nomani learnt from the experiences of his predecessors and developed a comprehensive education plan for the learning of his community and established Darul Musannefin (House of Writers). He knew that civilizations progressed in continuity and chalked out a comprehensive plan to meet the challenges for the minorities in a pluralistic society. The House of Writers produced a band of scholars who were grounded in history and ancient sciences, and at the same time, they know the modern research methods and open to new ideas, and through their research and writings they were expected to guide Muslims to meet the modern challenges and live with dignity as a productive member of a pluralistic society (Nadvi, 1971, pp.641-42).

Nadva’s (the House of writers) long term aims included to producing a team of scholars that could provide role models who could work to establish harmonious relation within the Muslims community and to initiate an interfaith dialogue with other communities. They were supposed to work as a bridge to communicate with other communities and the government on one hand, and on the other to serve as opinion makers and leaders in providing guidance and mentorship to the Muslims community at large. Those scholars are expected to be well-versed in English, Arabic and Persian that empowered them to put across their view points that might also facilitate the dialogue with other communities (1894, pp.46-47). Shibli successfully produced a band of the Muslim scholars that included Sayyid Suleiman Nadvi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who served as sub-editors of Al-Nadva (a journal) from October 1905 to March 1906(Rudad-i-Nadvatul-Ulama, 1912, pp.79-87). Above all, Nadva-tul-Ulama provided a platform and it held annual sessions of religious scholars from all over the world to deliberate upon the welfare of the community and to meet the challenges posed by others. This institution had no political objectives and its students were expected to be law-abiding and loyal to the government.

The Nadva-tul-Madrassa

At the second tier of Nadva’s movement established a Madrassa that offered the mixture of the old traditional model of education (Arabic and Persian) and the new English model introduced by the British as a colonial power. Initially different religious scholars from different religious institutional affiliation backgrounds favored this movement. However, Shibli in 1898 founded Nadva a madrassa (a seminary) that produced graduates with grounding both in the Western and Eastern education in order to produce a new breed of modernized religious scholars who can communicate with the British government on the one hand and on the other, to the general population. Nadva-Madrassa taught English and Mathematics. The Nadva-Madrassa aimed at providing a synthesis of the Eastern and the Western learning, thereby the synthesis of two centers of learning the Deoband and Aligarh College. The former represented religious education, while the later reflected the British model of education both opposed to each other for religious and ideological reasons. Nadva urged the Ulema
(the religious scholars) to avoid divisive issues and to find a common ground to chalk out a common course of action.

The Objectives and Aims of Nadvat-Madrassa

Nadva’s curriculum includes both traditional and modern educations and its broader principles of Nadva with the aims and objectives to promote learning based upon reason and intellect. He introduced English, Geography and Mathematics (Nadvi, 1971, p.641). Shibli’s vision of education can be seen when during his stay at Aligarh. Shibli put forward a plan before the Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University to select competent and intelligent students from the Madrassas like the Deoband and Nadva, and designed a course of studies that included economics, social sciences, traditional Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) and modern jurisprudence. He expected that these students should pass the intermediate (the High School) with the grounding in both secular and religious subjects and then they can enter for Bachelor of Law degree and they should be encouraged to adopt the profession of lawyers. If the students do not feel interested in pursuing their studies in religion, they can opt for physics, mathematics or philosophy so that they may be grounded in modern thought and sciences. For the Islamic curriculum, he proposed that they could study the tenets of different sects of Islam, Islamic ethics, metaphysics, theology, Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) and modern jurisprudence; so that they become grounded in rhetoric and they could deliver lectures on the need of Ijtihad (the exertion of mind) in Islam. The students who showed interest in the study of empirical sciences can go for subjects like modern physics, sciences and technology. In the Islamic culture studies, the art and architecture can be taught and at same time, and the students have to learn one of the languages either German or French.

This proposal reflected Shibli’s vision for education. Shibli envisaged education not only an individual amelioration act but he saw education as a means for the betterment and development of their collective life. Shibli came forward with a comprehensive system of education which may help integration of traditional and modern education. He thought that the graduates of Madrassa and modern institutions should work in close cooperation in order to benefit the Muslim community and bridged the gap that existed between these two schools of thought that could be narrowed down through the regular interaction and cooperation with one another. Principals or their representatives from all the Islamic institutions (Madaaris) should attend the annual convention of Nadwatul Ulema. A Federation of Madaaris should be formed so that all the madrassa should come under one regulatory body. Nadwatul-Uloom would keep an eye on the activities of the branches (Rudad-i-Nadvatul Ulama, 1910/1912, pp.76-126). Nadva advocated for the introduction of Arabic as the language of religion, Persian and Urdu as the languages of past culture and communication, and the English as the language of the colonial power. Nadva focused on the girls’ education. Shibli introduced a book on the physical science in Arabic written by a woman in Nadva. He wanted to create Khuddam al-Din (the workers of Islam) and he wanted to bring in some necessary changes in the syllabi of these institutions to make them
more in line with the modern time. Nadva also taught life skills and how to practice cleanliness and hygiene (Bariely, 1896, pp.66-67). Nadva encouraged admitting orphans to school and he also advocated for girls’ education. The boarders and the students of the Madrassa had to pay attention to cleanliness. A special block assigned for the students in the curriculum to teach cleanliness. Shibli lectured on the beginnings of education in Islam, and how the study of rational sciences developed, and the way framing of Dars Nizamiyah completed. Thus he highlighted the shortcomings of the then madrassa syllabus. He further called upon the scholars to modify the teaching methodology and pay attention to the study of Philology, Adab (etiquettes), Holy Qur’an and Qur’anic sciences ((Rudad-i-Nadvatul Ulama, 1894, p.34). He disliked outmoded practices and thought and he led his life according the true spirit of Islam. He advised Muslims not to spend too much on marriages, festivals and other rituals. Nadva’s plan fell apart due to the internal dissensions on the petty issues like the introduction of percentage of English, Sanskrit, rational sciences and logic; consequently the English, logic and modern education eliminated from the curriculum and Nadva reverted back to original sources of religious subjects.

Al-Nadva (The Journal)

Al-Nadva (a Journal) first published in August 1904. Its aims included creating a body of scholars and to provide a congenial environment for scholars to create, compile and translate literary works of high scholastic and historical value, and to undertake printing and publication of the literary works of the Academy. The journal promoted Islamic sciences and highlighted the Muslim’s medieval achievements, and drawing comparative studies of the modern and ancient times. Shibli’s essays revolutionised people’s thinking and persuaded them to reject the obsolete and unreasonable traditional thinking and raised their self-esteem and ego, and he apprised them of the current problems. It helped the students to learn and develop the art of writing. His columns sparked and infused a spirit in the people and at the same time, the house of writers produced a bunch of new writers and scholars including Sayyid Suleiman Nadvi, Abdus Salam Nadvi and Maulana Abu Kalam Azad. The Muslims started debating as to whether they needed a model modeled on Aligarh-introduced by the British or they needed a mixed model both rooted in traditions and modernity. It aimed to meet at regular intervals and to ponder over the intellectual and ideological challenges faced by the Muslim community of the sub-continent after the collapse of their political authority and its replacement by the British power. Even Shah Waliullah’s son, Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1823) thought the cooperation with the British as the best strategy in order to arrest the declining fortune of the Muslims.

Benhabib’s Fusion of Cultural Relativism

Benhabib defines the fusion of horizons in the cultural relativism,“ a melting or merging or blending into one another’s of horizons (1960/1975) is the main task of the investigator. In this sense, all understanding is interpretation” (2002, p.34). Therefore, she maintains that hermeneutic conversation encompasses every
human activity. Thus she concludes that the real dilemma of today finding out the common grounds in the cultural horizons that seem to be in the contesting modes due to “We” and “You” divide.

To summarise Benhabib’s position on the cultural relativism, today the world has been transformed from the communities of isolation to communities of conversation that provides basis for the closing of horizons to find common points to become communities of interdependence that has been brought about due to the following factors; communications, commerce, technologies and mobility that can initiate dialogue, thereby brings about the tolerance, “universal respect” and “egalitarian reciprocity.” Benhabib thinks that the globalization compromises cultural traditions of different culture to coexist with other cultures with equal participation and create the “common denominator” for equality to start a dialogue with the people who have common horizons that can result in the fusion of horizons. Multiculturalism emerged as a new reality that proves to be pluralisation of cultural identities, the liberalization of citizenship concepts in many countries and where a more “universal” acceptance of people will become normative. Thus, it is a conscious decision to “bridge” world of differences to realize the economic potential as equal partaker and player (2002, p.212).

The Mixed Model

The Mixed Model which I retrieve and interpret according to the modern conditions is an admixture of the religious and the modern education. This is neither a revolutionary nor an outdated model which I retrieve from the past history of the Muslims in India is based upon Nadva Madrassa that I discussed in the previous section. This model should be based on the uniform policy to be initiated by the government of Pakistan that outlines the elimination of the Strand-1 the Elite School and the Strand-3 the Madrassa schools (Seminary) and they may be merged into this proposed Mixed Model. This Mixed Model should be based on the main stream; the Strand-2-the government school that caters to the bulk of population that comes to 96.2% according to the study undertaken in chapter-4. Thus, this stream is the combination of two prevalent streams the government schools and so called private schools. Henceforth I term this Mixed Model (MM) of Education for Pakistan’s education. This model will find acceptability in the society and at the same time; its curriculum is readily available and relevant to the needs of the people. It is more localised and easy to implement.

The reasons for choosing for this model are self-evident because it would be acceptable to every strata of Pakistan’s society. It would be acceptable even to the Elite Strand-1 because still it would provide English as a medium of instruction on the one hand, and on the other, the traditional knowledge as well because sometimes the parents’ complaint that the Elite schools do not provide good grounding in religion and traditions. Therefore, hopefully it would be acceptable to the Elite class.

It is interesting to see that the Mixed Model would be acceptable to the Madrassa Strand-3. The Madrassa students acknowledged Shibli as a hero and considered scholars produced by Nadva-Madrassa as mentors because Nadva’s scholars raised their voices on behalf of all segments of society. The Madrassa students
read their books and literature, and the parents of Madrassa’s students would have no objection over the proposed Mixed Model of education for Pakistan.

The government schools the Strand-2 is the main stream of Pakistani education because it provides education to more than 90% population of Pakistan. The Strand-2 already offers the mixed education in this stream though haphazardly that needs to be streamlined. The unnecessary and intolerant materials have to be weeded out of the curriculum.

The curriculum for this Mixed Model is readily available and every segment of society seems to have a consensus in this regard. The Federal Curriculum Board has to combine and collect the materials in the forms of anthologies to be presented and introduced at every level of education from grade one to grade 12.

This Mixed Model is easy to implement because of the consensus of the nation on the one hand, and on the other, the materials are relevant to the people’ needs, aspirations and demands. Presently, the Elite’s schools materials and contents are completely alien to the general population and mostly they are out of context. Thus the materials have least relevance to the local conditions and environments. At present, the curriculum for the Elite schools is too alien and farfetched, and the curriculum of the Madrassa education is too old and outdated that does not meet the demands of the present time but for the government schools; the current curriculum reflects the total chaos and randomly incorporated materials both from the modern education and religious education that needs to be synchronised and harmonised according to the needs of the modern times.

The Mixed Model is based on the Strand-2 that envisages the admixture of the religious education and the modern education. It also requires 3% spending of the GDP as recommended by UNO initially and then the raise of .5% every year that leads to ultimately 6% of GDP spending after six years. The Mixed Model is a realistic model and it meets the requirements set out by the UNICEF. This Mixed Model is based upon the uniform policies, uniform curriculum and thereby hopefully the uniform nation as a result.

This model needs a step down for the Strand-1 to align it with a new model. In the Strand-1 the use of English as a filtering device to filter the rest of population out which reflects the structural hold of the Elite class on the system that meant to make the system inaccessible to those who do not have proficiency in the English language that means to rule over the Strand-2 and the Strand-3 which comes to 97.3 according to our studies in the chapter-4. The new model removes the barrier of English as a filtering device because English is the medium of instruction in the Mixed Model.

This Mixed Model requires the step up for the Strand-3 to make it at a par with the Mixed Model by the introduction of the modern education and at the same time; it offers to scrutinise the current syllabi including Dar-i-Nazamia (the Madrassa’s curriculum). The current Strand-3 does not share the social imaginaries with the strand-2 and the strand-1. Therefore it reflects no sharing of the overlapping zones with other strands of education in Pakistan, consequently no possibility of a dialogue because of the lack of overlapping zones with other strands.
This model hopefully creates a “web of interlocutors” the phrase used by Taylor (1991) within Pakistan with shared areas both in religion and worldly knowledge that can ultimately become a part of interlocutors at the world stage. In Pakistani education context the emerging leaders would emerge out of this Mixed Model. These leaders share some common zones/horizons with the rest of world where a dialogue can take place because of the sharing of English language and horizons in the science and modern education.

Conclusion

We have seen that how “the Bramhabad Settlement”, the concept of universal tolerance of Akbar’s reign and even the third of king of Khiliji Dynasty (1290–1320)-Aladdin Khiliji is recorded to have said when he became the Sultan (the King), Barani records; “he came to the conclusion that polity and government are one thing, and the rules and decrees of Islamic law are another. Royal commands belong to the sultan, Islamic legal decrees rest upon the judgment of the qazis and muftis (Judges and Interpreters)” (Barani, 1862a, p. 137). This principle could have been made a cornerstone of the policies in the following periods. There is no dearth of rich traditions and legacies but the only need is to dig them out through archaeology and genealogy, and then apply the hermeneutic of self in Gadamer’s sense where the concept of Ijetehad (the mind’s exertion) could have worked out as a viable device of interpretation for the state of Pakistan. Unfortunately Pakistan seems to have been moving in vicious circle instead of completing the hermeneutic cycle that could have pinpointed what went wrong with the education system and what interpretations are needed in order to look forward to making a nation thereby developing their country. The state of Pakistan faces the same problem again and again in a cyclic way and is reflected in the undefined jurisdiction of the courts and the government that seemed to have been resolved in the Alauddin Khiliji’s statement in the 13th Century but which persist in the State of Pakistan today.

As for as transformation process is concerned, Buber’s ontological stance of a dialogue what Freire (1970/2006, p.79) referred to as “the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” but Scott (2011) sees this as it blocks our understanding of beingness. According to Scott, the dialogue should be seen in relationality with an existence in and out of relationality, and he sees that Buber refers to words and speech. He also refers to what he terms “fulfilled speech” (p. 199); that is speech and words which serve as responses of dialogical being, which allow understanding, not only through semiotic clarifications, but also more importantly through relationality. But it is not clear whether Freire’s “action and reflection” happened on individual and collectively levels as an intellectual pursuit in order to transform ourselves. What Taylor (1991) declared that “Modern freedom was won by our breaking loose from older moral horizons. People used to see themselves as part of a larger order” (1991, p. 3). This claim seems to be made in the European context because this happened in the 19th Century on account of the uniform education policies but different European nations acquired the uniformity of education policies at their own pace. For example, the French were the last to have a consensus because of tussle between the state and the church. As Barbara Metcalf wrote in the preface to Ikram’s book, Muslim Civilization in India, “When competing
religious traditions emerged in Europe with the challenge of the Protestant reformation, one response was the absolute state; another response, the successor to the absolute state, the secular state in which religious difference was depoliticized.” In the Western European context and in particular in England; after the beheading of the Charles 1 (1649) and the failure of Oliver Cromwell to establishing a puritan state and hence the rejection of a puritanical model seemed to have resolved this conflict. Probably the England experienced a hermeneutic circle where it concluded with the separation of the Church and the state. The similar transition may happen in the European context from a grandfather to grandson or it may happen on the reverse pattern as we witnessed in some examples like Yvonne Ridley an English journalist who was converted to Islam after remaining in Taliban’s captivity in 2001. I assert that in the European context, the separation of church and the state took place long time ago whereas, in the Subcontinent and especially in the Pakistani context; the religious state narrative remained a dominating force in the pre and post colonial eras in shaping and making of the people. I think that is how Pakistan is stuck with the first response. The Muslims of Pakistan solidified walls against any incursions that seemed to have been affecting their religious faith even in the divided polity. We have seen the swing of pendulum from one extreme position to other that is to say the liberal religious traditions as witnessed in Alauddin’s position in the above quote to the religious puritanical policies of Sultan Firuz Shah (1351-1388) during the Sultanate Period on the one hand, and on the other, Akbar’s (1556-1605) ultra liberal policies had to give way to the orthodox policies of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) during the Mughal period.

I further find out the state policies and narrative played the bigger role in setting a direction where its citizens should go. For example, there can be individual cases who could have chartered a different course of action for themselves, for example, Abul Kalam Azad who started learning English at the later stage despite his embeddings in religion. Azad himself explains this process in his book, “India wins Freedom” in this way: “I passed from one phase to another and a stage came when all the old bonds imposed on my mind by family and upbringing were completely shattered. I felt free of all conventional ties and decided that I would chalk out my own path. It was about this time that I decided to adopt the pen name ‘Azad’ or free to indicate that I was no longer tied to my inherited beliefs” (Azad,1959, p.4 ). If I further analyse this statement why did he decide to break loose off his older horizons? This happened because of the dominating theme during his time was the presence of the British’s Raj. The second reason was probably the lower ranking assigned to the older ways of life (the religious ways) during the British Raj period. But Azad and Ridley examples are personal and their transformations reflect personal choices or that may have something to do with completing self hermeneutics circle that transforms them.

For education, Pakistan needs to streamline its three systems of schooling that divide the nations into three different contesting groups. The Mixed Model which I retrieved based upon the dualism that exhibited in my father and other leaders of his generation which may provide an overlapping zone that at least can provide a way forward for a dialogue to be initiated with others even though they do not share the common horizons with
others. They do have some common points to start with or to initiate a dialogue with others who share some overlapping zones of horizons. Thus I retrieve this Mixed Model from the history of India.

The symbiotic relationship between the people and the larger narratives around them turns out to be a decisive factor in determining the behaviour of the characters that are embedded in a socio-economic and culture that causes changes or forced them to remain within the same socio-cultural conditions. As a result of interplay of theme or the structure with the subjects that shapes them or put them on a transition path. My personal story could have been more representative of the whole society; had there not been any intervention and promotion by the government in providing a certain kind of narrative based upon Islam and other conservative values. But it largely remains true of the middle classes of Pakistan because they followed a similar path till 1977 when the legitimate government of Z.A Bhutto was toppled and General Zia-ul-Haq imposed the martial law that proved to be a turning point for changing the social imaginaries of the people of Pakistan. He wanted to run the Pakistani state according to Islamic values and introduction Jihadi (the fight against the former USSR) culture which ruined and uprooted the basis of already established liberal norms of the society. Gradually the liberal forces were pushed against the wall by introducing changes in the curriculum and syllabi, and thus setting the moral standard according to the strict interpretation of Islamic laws.

Foucault’s archaeology and genealogy and Gadamer’s hermeneutic circle helped me to revisit my ancestors’ standpoint. They lived in special conditions that determine their horizons and if the wise decision had not been taken by grandfather to provide the modern education to my father. I would have not been allowed by my father to get the modern education. Thus I see the process of transition through the lens of Taylor’s theory of Modern Social Imaginary. This process (the writing of the Project) also helped me to acknowledge their positions and it brings about a maturity in understanding the differences how they exist or sometime they are created. They can be imaginary or the real that comes about due to the structure or the narrative provided to them during their lived experiences. I become more sensitive to the cultural differences because if they exist in the same genealogy; then they can be firmly rooted across the different cultures and socio-economic backgrounds.
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APPENDIX A

A Timeline of Chronology and Dynasties First Phase & the Sultanate (712-1526)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.570–632</td>
<td>Life of the Prophet Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711–713</td>
<td>Conquest of Sind and Multan by Muhammad ibn Qasim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>998–1030</td>
<td>Reign of Mahmud of Ghazni. Raids on India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020</td>
<td>Lahore becomes part of Ghaznavid empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1151</td>
<td>Rise of Ghuri empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1186</td>
<td>Capture of Lahore by Muhammad Ghuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1192</td>
<td>Defeat of Prithvi Raj by Muhammad Ghuri at Tarain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sultanate (1206-1525)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1206–1210</td>
<td>Aibak, first sultan of Delhi and founder of the Slave dynasty, 1206–1290.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1211–1236</td>
<td>Reign of Iltutmish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1266–1287</td>
<td>Reign of Balban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290–1320</td>
<td>The Khalji dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296–1316</td>
<td>Expansion to South India under Ala-ud-din.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320–1413</td>
<td>The Tughluq dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1325–1351</td>
<td>Reign of Muhammad Tughluq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351–1388</td>
<td>Reign of Firuz Shah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1300–1500</td>
<td>Establishment of regional kingdoms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1414–1451</td>
<td>The Sayyid dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1451–1526</td>
<td>The Lodi dynasty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX B

A Timeline of Chronologies and Dynasties-The Mughal Empire (1526-1858)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1526</td>
<td>First Battle of Panipat: Mughals defeat the Lodis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1526–1530</td>
<td>Reign of Babur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>Accession of Humayun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540–1555</td>
<td>The Sur dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Second Battle of Panipat: Humayun regains power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556–1605</td>
<td>Reign of Akbar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1646–1680</td>
<td>Rise of the Marathas under Shivaji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1658–1707</td>
<td>Reign of Aurangzeb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713–1719</td>
<td>Reign of Farrukhisiyar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719–1748</td>
<td>Reign of Muhammad Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720–1740</td>
<td>Maratha expansion under Baji Rao I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720–1750</td>
<td>Establishment of Hyderabad, Oudh, and Bengal as independent states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Battle of Plassey: Clive defeats Nawab of Bengal. Ahmad Shah Abdali sacks Delhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759–1806</td>
<td>Reign of Shah Alam II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>Third Battle of Panipat: Afghans and Mughals defeat Marathas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Diwani of Bengal granted to East India Company.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774–1785</td>
<td>Warren Hastings, Governor-General.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775–1782</td>
<td>First Anglo-Maratha war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798–1805</td>
<td>Lord Wellesley, Governor-General.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Delhi taken by the British.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806–1837</td>
<td>Reign of Akbar Shah II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837–1858</td>
<td>Reign of Bahadur Shah II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>British took over Sind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>British annexed Punjab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Annexation of Oudh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857–1858</td>
<td>Mutiny and revolt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>British India placed under the Crown. Bahadur Shah deposed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>