

NARRATING UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN A RECENTLY FORMED NATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF SHAMSIE'S KARTOGRPAHY

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, Pakistani literature in English, especially women's narratives, has garnered significant attention and acclaim. Pakistani women's narratives do address themes like women's place in the society, political and social issues, and exploitation of women and/or the weaker and vulnerable individuals. The present study aims to explore the social, economic and political exploitation of the minorities as depicted in the selected novel and weaker groups in a newly established country Pakistan using Hetcher's view of Internal Colonialism. The novel delves into the intertwined lives of two friends, Karim and Raheen, as they navigate through the complexities of the city's history and their own emotions. The classification of Pakistanis, as depicted in the novel, into locals and Muhajirs leads to uneven development in society, potentially resulting in unrest or civil discord. The study is significant because it throws light on how the supremacy of a powerful ethnic group over the weaker one within the realm escorts a country towards a civil war. The study also discusses how the partition of 1971 destroyed national unity or intrinsic nationhood in Pakistan.

Kev Words:

Uneven development, Internal Colonialism, Kamila Shamsie, Kartography

Introduction

The year 1947 saw the partition of India into two regions; India and Pakistan. The people of the sub-continent gained this autonomy after the devastating separatist struggle that sustained almost three decades. Because of this partition, numerous people from both sides of the borders moved around to their respective homelands. Nearly, fourteen million people crossed the boundary. It was the record biggest bunch relocation in history. Approximately, one million city dwellers expired in the associated insurrections and confined-echelon clashes. After this mass migration, the muhajir had lost all their chattels, belongings, and possessions in India, and their women were raped. They came to Pakistan in a very shoddier condition. They had lost apiece and every obsession after the partition of India.

During these atrocious confrontations of partition, some inhabitants were forced to abscond their assets, and their residences due to the sadism, menace and threats to their lives. Sarah Ansari inscribes "While large scale migrations have often been a feature of political conflict in the twentieth century, on the whole refuges caught up in these often involuntary displacements have had little in any sense of personal claim in their lands of arrival" (1995:95).



Vol.8 No.2, 2024

After the creation of Pakistan, the refugees had to struggle for their re-survival and the resettlement of their lives. As Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya engrave "Refugees.....struggled to resettle themselves and energies of at least two generations were expended in rebuilding lives shattered off by the violent uprooting caused by the partition" (2000:8).

The inspiration behind the foundation of Pakistan was that the Muslims wanted to gain a country where they would reside peacefully irrespective of their creed, ethics, and values enjoying all civil liberties. The reasons for the Pakistan movement were primarily economic and religious, as Muslims faced discrimination in united India due to their faith. But the immigrants were mugged by the utterly dissimilar circumstances in Pakistan. They are accepted as a burden by the homegrown population of Pakistan. Priya Kumar in Karachi As Home elaborates "Unwanted migrants, most refugees are typically viewed as a disturbing "Problem," deeply threatening to the "national order of things" (2011:161). Over time, the *muhajirs* became outsiders, not the 'people who belong to Pakistani soil'. As Oskar Verkaaik writes "Once it had meant 'welcome' Now it meant: you are not from here" (1994:13). So, the concept of home was not fulfilled and refugees were alienated within the boundaries of their home. In united India they were externally colonized and after the establishment of Pakistan they are facing the problem of internal colonialism, the situation is the same for *muhajirs*. The irresistible reminiscence of partition for some of these migrated people is just partition, not freedom. Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya describe this situation, 'So the day the overwhelming memory of 1947 for people...remains that of partition, rather than of independence (2000:7)'. In light of the dangers, quandaries, and tragic incidents surrounding the partition, many individuals who migrated from united India regarded it not as a declaration of independence, but rather as a regrettable event in their lives, which they believed could not be reversed.

Literature Review

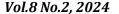
Internal colonialism somehow appears an outcome of the colonial experience. The study undertakes the problems of *Muhajirs* and Bengalis from the backdrop of internal colonialism in Pakistan as portrayed in a famous fictional narrative *Kartography* by a Pakistani writer Kamila Shamsie.

Postcolonial literature pacts with many perspectives of colonization and also discusses its effects on cultures and societies. Colonialism recommends an assured line of attacks and approaches of considering colonizers highly developed and colonized as mediocre and subservience to invaders. Postcolonial literature portrays the inspections of the critics from once-colonized countries. They wanted to show the 'truth' of their 'inferiority' (Mcleod, 2000: 24). It also shows the oppressive relationship between colonizers and colonized, settler and settled etc and it broke the thought that only masters from the West have sophisticated, urbane, refined, sanctioned and bright mores but others have coarse and prehistoric.

Internal colonialism mirrors the situation of domestic violence among different ethnic groups in the same territory. Before the independence, the people of the colonized countries (like India) were colonized by the British colonizers. They were considered inferior, uncivilized, and uneducated. They had no political or economic rights. Their so-called cultured masters wanted to give them a sophisticated culture. So, internal colonialism is synonymous with oppression, violence and unjust.

Internal Colonialism and Pakistan

The Muslims of united India demanded a separate homeland in the name of Islam. The united Pakistan comprised of two regions East Pakistan and West Pakistan. It has two multiple



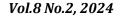


identities. Before the emergence of Pakistan, on the map of the world, as a sovereign country, the migrated people and Bengalis recognized themselves as the victims of external colonialism, they were colonized by the outsider masters and after the independence, they were colonized by the internal masters. The faces of the masters were changed but the situation remained the same for the people of Pakistan. For some people, political fracas were also conscientious of the alienation of muhajirs and the disjointing of East Pakistan. Political privilege thrived to formulate the constitution of Pakistan in 1956. After two years of the execution of the constitution, armed forces occupied the clout of the realm and military men were in authority till the dissection of the country. The first general ballot votes in Pakistan were apprehended in 1970. The majority of the seats of the National Assembly had been won by Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb Rehman, but authority was not reassigned to the winning party. Awami League stipulated the transfer of the power and configuration of the regime. Army ruler Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan did not agree, demonstration had been instigated by the Awami League consequently. The Army government started the operation against the Awami League. As a final point, the Indian Army arbitrated and East Pakistan was detached. So, the partition of East Pakistan was considered as "Partition as a macropolitical event" (Willem Van Schendel, 2008:393). Thus East Pakistan separated and a new state named Bangladesh came into view on the record of the globe and almost "93,000 military officers and jawans were arrested by the Indian Army" (Waseem, 1994:295). The journey of the newly created country Pakistan, from 1947 to 1971 was measured as "from partition to partition" (Kennedy, 942:1991).

In 1979 a muhajir group of students led by Altaf Hussain, the leader of MQM, established in 1978, blistered the Pakistani flag and "lit the fire of a muhajir ethnic identity" (Verkaaik, 1995:46). After the national voting, this party became the third biggest party of Pakistan. "From its inception, the MQM has been involved in various incidents of violence against members of other ethnic organizations, mainly Sindhis" (Kumar, 2011:167). MQM had contributed too in many aggressive, unpleasant incidents in Karachi's "Kalashnikov culture of theft, blackmail, political assassination, and intimidation, which has made the cities and towns of Sindh unsafe since the mid- 1980's" (Verkaaik, 2004:56-57). In 1992 the next prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif initiated the operation in opposition to MQM. So, during the 1990's "Karachi virtually became a city of war" (Kumar, 2011:167). In 1995 more or less 2000 citizens were exterminated in surprise attacks, exploding detonations, and gun fires among an assortment of revolutionary splinter groups in Karachi integrated these two factions of MQM. These sadistic trials became the milieu of Kamila Shamsie's novel Kartography. The people from these two parts of Pakistan considered the events of 1971 and the separation of East Pakistan from different perspectives. West Pakistanis thought that it was a dismemberment of two nations but people from East Pakistan saw it as freedom from mistreatment and repression. Kamila Shamsie in Kartography also explored those incidents of the separation of East Pakistan. Pakistan has also many ethnic groups, especially in Karachi these ethnic groups always remain in fights. Chiefly there are four ethnic clusters Muhajirs, Pathans, Sindhis and Punjabis in Karachi. Thousands of people endured these ethnic scraps at some stage in 90's and during the supervision of Benazir, Nawaz and M. Khan Juneju and intimidation of the immovability of their regime.

Research Framework and Methodology

Robert Blauner has theorized Internal Colonialism, which has also been used in various forms. The researcher has used Internal colonialism as a research framework whereas Michael Hetcher's view of Internal Colonialism is used as a research methodology. The present study is





qualitative in nature and the selected text has been analysed to explore the uneven development in a newborn country Pakistan. The uneven development here would mean the exploitation, marginalization and victimization of the weaker groups of society like minorities and the unprivileged class.

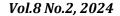
Analysis of Kartography

The story underlines the other love story of Zafar, a young *muhajir* during the 70s, and Maheen, who is *Bengali* by birth. Then another love story has also been discussed by the author between Ali and Yasmeen. Before the separation of East and West Pakistan Yasmeen fell in love with Ali. There occurs the fiancé swap between the two couples, Zafar and Maheen, Ali and Yasmeen after the independence of Bangladesh on the globe of the world. Marginality, ethnic and racial conflicts, and traditional, cultural and linguistic differences are the prominent causes behind this fiancé swap. For example, Zafar is beaten by Bunty for being the fiancé of Maheen, a girl from Bangladesh. This event shows the greatest hatred of the people from West Pakistan towards the Bengalis. Ali's family leaves Pakistan and moves to Boston later on in the novel. In Boston, Ali divorces his wife and Kareem's mother, Maheen. Kareem comes back to Karachi, a city in Pakistan and when the play ends the readers find that Raheen and Kareem are shown together in the streets of their native land, Pakistan.

The peace and serenity of the colonized populations have always been destroyed by the internal or external colonizers. These colonizers always try to seek the opportunity to destroy natives. Violence marked the account of colonization, from imperialism to internal colonialism. Repression and confrontation are always the main roots of independence and the road to success has also been passed through aggression, hostility and violence. During the segment of decolonization, this violence clenches both the executor and the suppressed people. Fanon holds it as "Decolonization never takes place unnoticed, for it influences individuals and modifies them fundamentally" and "Decolonization is the putting into practice 'The last shall be first and the first last', therefore it is always successful" (1963: 36_37) and the replacement "will come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists" (Fanon, 1963: 37).

A sense of conflict and clash has been created in a society where the identity of an individual has been projected by the negative connotation of inferiority and superiority complex. As Ayesha Jalal states, 'so far as identities are relational and historically contingent, their articulations rely on differentiating right from wrong, just from unjust, and the good from the bad. Projecting "us" as the positive self in creative imaginings entails stating "them" as the negative "other" (1995: 1)'. When muhajirs gradually developed into another ethnic group and also other ethnic minorities such as Pathan, Bengalis were considered to be them and the unenthusiastic "other" by the locals of Pakistan became themselves superior and also anticipated themselves as affirmative "us".

In the novel Kartography, Kamila Shamsie drew the attention of the readers towards the travails of the Urdu-speaking muhajirs, who gradually became strangers in their new homeland. This novel highlights increasing feelings of loneliness, homelessness and alienation among migrated populations from India. After independence, Karachi (a city of Pakistan), confronted the conflagration of ethnic quarrels. As the narrative Kartography unfolds, "the city of Karachi becomes more and more uncanny for its inhabitants" (Kumar, 2011: 173). A continuous sense of danger is presented in the novel. The schools of children (Raheen and Kareem) had been closed due to the ethnic fights and riots among various ethnic factions of Karachi. When Ali was





worried about the situation and the future of the children 'Things are just so awful' and he further said 'God only knows when the kids' school will open again' (2002: 5). So, the parents of Raheen and Kareem wanted them to leave Karachi and sent them to their friends in Rahim Yar Khan as their home was not a safe place for them. At the farm, which was situated in rural Sindh, Kareem asked Raheen 'Just mindless violence', he said, snapping the blade closed. 'Doesn't it bother you that we're here because our parents don't feel we're safe at home?' (2002: 19).

Shamsie also portrayed the sense of insecurity because of the violent attacks in Karachi as she denotes the emotional feelings of Raheen in these words 'how strange it was that we never walked in Karachi, not from Karim's house to mine, not from Sind Club to the Gymkhana, not from anywhere to anywhere' (2002: 18). Violence in Karachi created a sense of insecurity among its citizens so that the parents of Raheen and Kareem could not be able to grant permission to their children to go out from their homes to anywhere in Karachi. When they went to Rahim Yar Khan and enjoyed the liberty, climbing the trees and jumping from the branches of the trees, perhaps the reason behind this fun was that they felt they were compressed into the four walls of the homes. Raheen expressed her feelings as 'Would it be so terrible to live here? In Karachi we never had this freedom, this space to wander in. Too dangerous to walk around, and too humid to want to walk most of the time. Besides, walk to where? Life compressed into houses and cars and private clubs and school and gardens too small to properly hide in' (2002: 29). The feelings of insecurity also uttered by Ali, when kids' schools closed due to the violent attacks 'What am I more afraid of: that one day my son will get caught up in the troubles, or that he'll never get caught up in it at all? You know, I seriously think sometimes that should just write to my brother and...'(2002: 7). Ali's views clearly expressed the fear and panic horror about the future of his son, and he could bear the idea that her son will waste his whole life among all these troubles, dangers and uncertainties. So he was also going to utter his future planning that perhaps he would leave Pakistan and settle abroad with his brother. He also expressed his pessimistic thought that 'The factory area is still under curfew. No sign of it lifting'(2002: 5). Ali just like Kareem was of the view that there was no sign that the horrible happenings in Karachi would stop soon in the future.

Due to the constant violence and curfew the inhabitants of Karachi felt that it became 'such a part of the characters' lived experience of place that they have become benumbed to these events' (Kumar, 2011: 173). Maheen commented on this situation as 'When will this country learn?' and Ali replied: 'This is not history repeating itself, Maheen. A military government such as ours can never rule a country that's united. Not for any length of time. They can't afford to allow any group to get powerful enough to instigate a mass movement' (2002, 10). Maheen criticized the normal attitude of the common man of Pakistan towards these riots and terrible conflicts in these words 'You choose to believe that all the trouble is artificially created, don't you, Ali' and she further said 'That makes things much easier for all of us in our civilized rooms, doesn't it, because then it's only about the government, or the intelligence agencies, or even the Hidden Palm' (2002, 9 _10). The general view of the Pakistani community was that those riots had been created artificially by the hidden hand.

In the novel Shamsie shows how a place became strange for its inhabitants Kumar wrote 'Shamsie shows how sometimes a place can lose its qualities of homeliness and familiarity_ without people having to go away and return_ because of larger forces that rupture the meaning



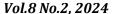


of a place' (2011, 173). Karachi is the home of various ethnic minorities but unfortunately due to the increasing violence, neither these larger populations nor individuals or groups claim it to be their home or primordial guardian. As Raheen thought 'I didn't know how to make strangers feel at home, the way Sonia did; and I didn't know how to embody a loyalty so fierce it meant putting myself at risk for others in fight, even the fights that seemed absurd, the way Yia did (2002: 33_34). On account of the tremendous violence that has ruptured the whole city of Karachi, all natives consider themselves outsiders and the feelings of autochthony or ownership have also been lost by them as Ali said 'This place is going to hell. Might as well get out' (Shamsie, 2002: 75).

Although the communities who belong to different ethnicities are also residing now in today's Karachi they have been divided among various ethnic and linguistic factions. Here the most important thing is that all these ethnic, racial and linguistic clashes are responsible and give birth to different conflicts and divergence. As muhajirs and Bengalis cannot look upon themselves as Pakistani but as migrants and Bengalis. So is the case with the Pathans who have been perceived to be illiterate in the novel Kartography, Kamila Shamsie shows the clash at the very beginning of the novel. This incident shows the violent perception of ethnic identities as superior and inferior. This novel also shows the dilemma of horrible social clashes among refugees. As in the novel, just a minor accident triggered serious ethnic fights, the fight also highlights the peak of ethnic narrow-mindedness and in Pakistan, the negative and positive outcrop of identity triggers an event of clash and competition among many ethnic minorities. About the incident different people opined differently as Yasmeen called it 'a catalyst, no more' Ali opined 'all being orchestrated to create division and factions' and also Zafar said about it 'Don't the fools know these things can't be contained' and Maheen viewed 'the perils of amnesia' (Shamsie, 2002: 11).

After the independence, Indian *Muhajirs* mislay their relationship with the society having different rituals, they failed to become part of the host culture and their local masters did not admit them communally. In the novel, *Kartography* Shamsie discusses the misconception about the disloyalty of the *Muhajir* community of Pakistan. The *Muhajir's* loyalty to the new host land Pakistan tends to be suspected. When due to the violence in Karachi, Kareem and Raheen went to Laila and Asif's farm to spend the holidays. There Raheen hears the conversation between Laila and Asif about the land reforms, during the conversation he expresses his suspicions about the loyalty of Zafar 'Imean, Muhajirs will never understand the way we feel about land. They left their homes at Partition. No understanding of ties to a place' (2002: 39). During the partition *Muhajirs* had to leave all their belongings in their previous homeland, but here Asif criticized this act in these words. He has the view that if *Muhajirs* could leave their homes at that time now they can also do so as they have no ties to the lands. In this way, he said that the local settlers are more concerned and loyal towards their home. Shamsie through the character of Asif and Laila presented the thinking of the local community of Pakistan who always seek to marginalize the migrants or the other ethnic minorities.

Early in the novel Raheen, due to her ancestor's migrant past, comes to understand the meaning of marginalization and the position of *Muhajirs* as outsiders. Because, at Laila and Asif's farm she meets the Sindhi feudal elite's description of autochthony, which eloquent the belief; that only Sindhi or natives have a prior assert on Karachi since they and their forefathers belong to Karachi under confinement and foundation. According to Berry, marginality is not

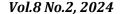




only limited to the social reception of the Muhajirs but also the political speciality as well. As the local masters think that migrants are strangers and a minor ethnic faction they have no accurate right to form a political group. The imaginary personality of Laila, who appeared to be a mouthpiece of locals seriously questioned the political status of Muhajirs, as Muhajirs formed a political party MQM to claim their equal civil liberties. Laila used the word 'bloody' for Muhajirs which shows the locals' hatred towards the newcomers, and the political and social position of *Muhajirs* can also be judged through the words of Laila. She holds the view that Muhajirs have no right to demand their rights. She also fears when these Muhajirs form their political party their demands will also be increased. She further says that how dare these outsiders and people like Zafar and Yasmeen claim Karachi to be their city, we have been living in Karachi for generations so it's only our city. As Kumar points out 'Through Laila's diatribe, Shamsie uncovers how notions of being "at home" and in place can encourage xenophobia and hostility toward those we designate as strangers and newcomers, especially when they rest upon ideas of ownership, possessiveness, and sovereignty' (2011: 170). It means the notion of being at home encouraged people like Laila and Asif toward the migrated people as considered them as outsiders and strangers. When Raheen heard these words by Laila she understood well her position to be the daughter of a Muhajir in Pakistan. Gellner has presented his views as 'Nationalism is a political principle which maintains the similarity of culture and the failure of nationalism results in marginalization' (1995). If Gellner's view is taken into account in the context of Pakistani migrants, we can say it is also justified that nationalism as a political principle and as the amalgamated power of culture completely failed and also directed to the phenomenon of multiculturalism.

The novel shares the suppression and marginalization of East Pakistan at the hands of the West Pakistanis. The point of marginalization hinted at the subjugation and status of East Bengalis as a B-class citizen in West Pakistan. Asif, the apparent victim of Bengali Phobla, is having lunch with his wife Laila, and Zafar, Raheen, Yasmeen, and Ali at a hotel, as depicted in the novel's flashback. There they came across a Bengali waiter; by mistake the drink that the waiter was carrying spilt on the sari of Laila 'The waiter had split a drink on Laila. Her husband stood up and cracked a slap across the waiter's cheek. 'Halfwit Bingo! Go back to your jungle' (2002: 183). Asif used the word 'halfwit Bingo', this marginalized name shows the status of East Pakistanis in the West Wing. He also asked him to go back to your jungle. Zafar wanted to calm Maheen by holding her hand 'He slipped his hand into M,aheen's palm beneath the table, but her fingers didn't curl around his in response. She was looking at the Bengali waiter. He walked past and caught her eye, and for a moment the barriers of class and gender became porous and something passed between them that Zafar couldn't quite identify' (2002: 184). Maheen, being a Bengali could easily understand the otherness of the Bengali waiter. In this way, the waiter and Maheen became 'we' and the rest of them turned into 'others' on the grounds of marginalized ethnicities.

Lewis (1975) is of the view that 'shame' and 'guilt' are strong negative feelings as different ethnicities being negatively evaluated by the dominant group, associated these feelings with the negative perception as they fail to meet the standards and norms regarding negative, positive, appropriate and desirable. After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 the local settlers negatively perceived the Bengali living in Pakistan. Maheen developed feelings of shame about having the identity of Bingo as people stopped talking when she entered. Raheen discussed the feeling of shame with Raheen by the end of the novel.





Shamsie brought into light another incident that gave proof of the marginal attitude of local dominators toward their colonized. As soon after the independence, when Maheen had to face ethnic hatred from other Pakistanis. In the novel when Yasmeen and Zafar are at a riding ground, Ali comes there without Maheen and narrates the incident to Zafar 'Zaf. Some old beggar woman spat at her when she was walking to my car. You know, you've got to get her out of here' (2002: 188). This attitude of the beggars towards Maheen signifies that Bengalis are never accepted by the Pakistani community as they never assimilated into Pakistani culture properly.

Being a Bengali Maheen went through the sickness of soul and became the victim of inner torment. These show the negative attitude of locals and also bring out the ethnic uncertainty and social conflict that were faced by the Bengalis in their homeland where they had been residing for decades, and this social chaos worsened the position of Bengalis in Pakistan. Even Zafar also became a victim of social marginalization when his friends called him a turncoat and traitor as he was engaged to a Bengali woman. No one wants to play with him and he too became a stranger in those days of violence. Three days after the army's surrender before Indian army raised questions on his loyalty and asked that he become happy when the army from a hostile territory entered into the war. Zafar strongly refused all the remarks and asked if he was here to play squash, and asked who wanted to play with him and Bunty replied 'Yeah,' Bunty turned to the men. 'Who wants to play with a Bingo lover?' (2002: 191).

Ethnicity develops a sense of Social Otherness among ethnicities who are treated to be minorities in the host culture of the new homeland. The nations where the societies are divided into the modals of 'Us' and 'Them', in those countries it's not possible for the time to heal the injuries of discursive identities on the part of Muhajirs and Bengalis as well. The passage of time cannot make them overcome or eliminate the cultural and social differences and distance between the native master and local slaves. As in the novel Raheen, a young Muhajir with a trace of her father, understands this phenomenon clearly that migrated populations like her family are still immigrants or outsiders. She wonders how long the ethnicities like immigrants take the time to be able to declare Pakistan to be their homeland, their own country. Even after living for a long period and many decades, they are still divided into the models of 'Us and Them'. Zafar being a Muhajir spent his whole life in Pakistan, gave him all his power for the betterment of his country and presented his devotion, and loyalty to this country but still the locals treated him and his family as outsiders and strangers he could be able to change the status from immigrant to the native community in Pakistan.

Being a Bengali, Maheen has to suffer the worst situation of Social Otherness and us and them. She has been living in West Pakistan for many years but still, she was not able to maintain her identity as Pakistani. From the time of partition Bengalis have been discriminated against on ethical and cultural grounds by the West Pakistanis. Shamsie portrayed the character of Asif as an icon of discrimination and bias against East Pakistanis. When he slaps the waiter in the hotel and calls him 'Halfwit Bingo' and asks him to go back to your jungle (2002:183). This incident clears the picture of Bengali's status in the eyes of Maheen. She understands unauthorized and illegitimate discrimination and dominance of the locals very well. Thus in the later episode of the novel when Asif uses the label of *Muhajir* to designate the migrants from their enemy territory India, Zafar checks Asif for using this term 'And as for that term *immigrant* ...(2002: 223). The italicized word and the ellipsis at the end of the word clearly described his resistance against the label of *Muhajir*. Laila criticized Zafar by reminding him 'it wasn't that you weren't welcome –



Vol.8 No.2, 2024

it's just that you would have died rather than be absorbed (2002: 224)'. In these words, Laila criticized the *Muhajir* community's superiority by linking them with the companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) who migrated from Mecca to Medina to save their religious rights. By these words, Laila wants to deny the traditional superiority of the migrant section of Pakistan. 'By means of this episode, Shamsie tries to highlight the increasing sense of alienation and marginalization among many middle- and working-class Muhajirs' (2011: 171). Hence the middle and the working class of the *Muhajir* section felt that they were alien and marginal because they could not be able to claim equal chances of any reasonable job.

Conclusion

Pakistani literature in English addresses many issues such as identity crisis, subjugation and suppression of the Muhajir section. After the independence of Pakistan from united India, Indian Muslims hoped to enjoy freedom in their new homeland. However, they are now treated as second-class citizens or outsiders, despite their dreams of being able to live according to their religious beliefs and having equal rights. But, unfortunately, they have to face dissimilar situations. They found that it was not independence in a true sense but just a partition as their countrymen had taken the faces of internal colonizers. So, in the unified state of Pakistan, they became the poor victims of internal colonialism as they have been socially, politically and economically marginalized. In the novel Kartography, Kamila Shamsie presents the same situation. She fictionalized the character of Zafar, a Muhajir and later his daughter Raheen, both of which draw our attention towards the *Muhajir* community. Asif and Laila are portrayed to be the mouthpieces of local natives of Pakistan. Laila thinks that we have been living in this country for many generations but the Muhajirs came and snatched everything from us she used the phrase 'Bloody muhajurs' and this phrase also denotes the hatred of the locals towards the migrated population. Laila criticized the *Mujairs's* act of formulating a political party MQM as according to her *muhajurs* have no right to formulate a political group and demand equal rights. Kamila Shamsie asserts that the secession of East Pakistan was primarily caused by political and economic issues stemming from uneven development. The West Pakistanis always seek to economically and politically marginalize the Bengalis. All the key posts are powered by the West Pakistani officers. They snatch the basic rights of the Bengali community. The Bengali community is politically and economically marginalized and this terrible situation resulted in the separation of East Pakistan. Bengalis are not considered a nation but they are taken as 'B' grade citizens by West Pakistan's elite class and political parties. So, the result of this social marginalization and alienation is that the Bengalis are apt for a separate homeland. So, now it has been made crystal clear that in the post-partition Pakistan Bengalis and Muhajirs are subjugated, suppressed and politically and economically marginalized. They are also suppressed and alienated based on inferior ethnicity and race, and this is the major reason behind the demand for a separate homeland of the Bengalis and the ethnic fights that occurred in Pakistan during the nineties. It is evident that internal colonialism contributes to the proliferation of civil wars and ethnic riots within a country.



Vol.8 No.2, 2024

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Vol.8 No.2, 2024

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