India, Pakistan, and the Sharike-Bazi

An Alternate Understanding of the Cousin Rivalry

Jawar Kadir

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I dedicate this book to my parents
Ch. Abdul Kadir (Late), Kaneez Fatima (Late) and Fehmeeda Asmat (Late)
(The only thing I could give them)

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An Overview of this Book

Historically, in the Indian subcontinent, Hindu and Muslim communities lived together for centuries. They co-existed under the Muslim, Hindu, Maratha, Sikh, and British rules. They also started a combined struggle against the British Raj. The eminent history professor Ian Talbot (2000) explains how the introduction of modern English institutions broke the centuries-old patterns of inter-communal relations and assigned them religious separators. Generational memories were then called upon by all the religious communities to harden the mutual differences. The growing element of 'other' was institutionalised within both communities by establishing political organisations on regional/religious/communal/linguistic grounds.

Wolpert (2009) observes that the roots of Indo-Pak rivalry can also be traced in the hasty decision made by Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of British India, against the wishes of both the largest communities, Hindus and Muslims. The Congress party, led by Gandhi and Nehru, wanted to keep the entire Indian subcontinent under a strong centralised system, which was challenged by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League. The Muslim League then desired a separate state comprising provinces where Muslims were in a majority. Both these political parties turned hostile to each other over the future of India after the British departure. In the end, neither party succeeded fully in its plan, and the two major provinces of Bengal and Punjab were physically divided between India and Pakistan, which ignited the worst communal riots, especially in Punjab. The incalculable violence involved at the time of partition not only sealed the borders permanently but also the fate of both communities to engage in a perpetual conflict. Misra (2001) notes that within weeks of their birth, both states started an armed conflict over the possession of Kashmir. India and Pakistan have gone to war four times in their short history as independent states. There is a long list of intractable conflicts between two nuclear states; the Siachen glacier, Sir-creek, and water distribution dispute are some of them.

The Punjab province underwent a painful partition according to an infamous redrawing of border lines by a British administrator, Sir Radcliffe, having no familiarity with the Indian subcontinent (Cohen, 2013). About 15 million people had to move across these newly created border lines, leaving their native places in which they had been living for centuries (Moon & Tully, 1998). Approximately two million people were killed in riots, and tens of thousands of women were raped and abducted.

Even after seventy-three years of their acrimonious split in 1947, India and Pakistan are still at daggers with each other. The entire world sees the glimpses of this most heated rivalry every afternoon at sunset during the flag-lowering ceremony at the Wagah-Attari border, joining the most historical cities of Lahore, Pakistan, and Amritsar, India, through a straight road. Both these historical cities were once called twin cities in the Punjab province of British India (Ahmed, 2012). Interestingly, no one from the outside world can differentiate between the outlook of people across the borders who share the same cultural gene pool.

Now, people from both sides gather at the border to watch carefully that their flag does not lower before the other's. The soldiers feel immense pressure during their parade to prove to their own people that they are better than their counterparts on the other side of the line. This daily dramatic scene, a nationalistic act of performance, beautifully reflects India-Pakistan relations in one line: "We are better than you." There is a visible jingoism in their mutual relations, generating serious concerns for regional and international security.

However, it is interesting to mention here that, given the level of mutual hatred manifested by both states via educational texts and political leaders' statements, it is even more surprising that the level of violence has always remained contained at a comparatively low level during all these wars. It seems that the two will not fight to the death because they need each other alive just to let the other down again and again, and to prove their superiority (Kadir, 2019b).

The postcolonial nations of India and Pakistan appear to have been psychologically obsessed with maintaining hostile relations after parting their ways in 1947. They have been trapped in a psychosis of competition, just like estranged family branches. However, despite common use of terms such as "kin-states" or "brother-enemies" (See Akbar, 2006; Ajithkumar, 2006; Haqqani, 2016; Raghavan, 2018; Ganguly, 1998), there are very few scholarly endeavours that have explained the familial character of India-Pakistan rivalry from a proper theoretical focus. To fill this research gap, I have used the combination of two theoretical frameworks, i.e., "psychocultural approach" (Jain, 1994; Northrup, 1989; Ross, 1993a, 1995; Stoddart & Hession, 1951; Leites, 1948) and "conceptual-mapping" (Lakoff, 1996; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) to derive an indigenous conceptual framework for explaining both states' endless competitive urge to outpace each other.

To this end, I collected primary data to describe the attributes of the indigenous 'culture of conflict' in Punjab-Pakistan (which can be termed as *Sharike-Bazi* Culture of Conflict) and used them as an 'analogy' to explain India-Pakistan relations in its conflict dynamics. Using the conceptual framework so developed, this book arrives at a conflict theory to explain the

rationale behind such an emotion-laden rivalry between these two nations. The key argument advanced here is that people's locally grounded conflict behaviour in Pakistan (and India) is shaped through forms of their earliest socialisation within the most pervasive kinship institutions, regardless of religious, ethnic, or sectarian affiliations. The kinship institutions are also responsible for shaping certain views regarding the functioning of other institutions in society, including in the political sphere (Lakoff, 1996; Lyon, 2004a; Lieven, 2012; S.Kakar & Kakar, 2009). The conflict dynamics associated with the segmentation processes of the kinship institution are extrapolated onto interstate rivalries by providing people on both sides with cultural moralities to pursue this zero-sum conflict. Given the significant impact of the institution of family on the lives of the Subcontinental people, I propose that instead of situating the India-Pakistan conflict in a simplistic, antagonistic religious, ethnic, or communal framework, it can be more explanatory to categorise both nations as warring family branches to understand the intensity of their conflicts in familial terms.

Author's Words

The idea of examining the "Familial construction of India-Pakistan enmity" developed in this book as a conceptual framework is not a mere outcome of a few years' academic research, but it is deeply rooted in my personal observations and experiences since early childhood. I was born in Lahore-Pakistan in 1974. I heard about India for the first time on October 31, 1984 when Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated. I was playing with the other street kids when a teenage boy came out of his house and announced her death in a joyous tone: "*Oye Vaajy vjao, Sharik mar gaye jay*" (Play some music, the *Shariks* are dead). A middle-aged neighbour gave that boy a shut-up call by reciting a famous Punjabi dictum: "*Sharik Maran te Khushi na karyey, aakhir sajna vi mar jana*" ("we should not be happy at the death of our *Shariks* as our friends also have to die someday"). At the age of nine, I did not know what the word *Sharik* meant, but from that incident, I realised that: "*Sharik* means enemy and India was our enemy."

A year later, on March 10, 1985, I had a second encounter with India. On that day, the final match of the Benson & Hedges World Championship of Cricket was being played between India and Pakistan at Melbourne. As a former hockey player, my father usually did not like Cricket much, but even he was watching the match on that day. Pakistan was losing the match, and my elder brother (two years older) was feeling heartbroken and asked my father again and again if Pakistan would win or not. My father told him to pray to Allah for victory, and my brother started praying on the prayer mat. However, his prayers were unsuccessful, and Pakistan lost the match. All the Indian players were having fun and drinking beer while the Pakistani players looked on mournfully. At this, my brother started crying. All the family members were trying to please him. "Pakistan must not be defeated in a Cricket match," I wished on seeing all this.

My third experience with India did not materialise before April 1986; another nail-biting cricket match of the Austral-Asia Cup final in Sharjah. It was a sensational victory as Pakistan had lost all players except one and required a must-hit boundary on the final ball of the match. Pakistani batsman (Javed Miandad) hit a sixer and became a national hero overnight. He was everywhere, not only on national/international media after hitting that magical boundary, while the Indian bowler had to face the wrath of the Indian public. The streets of Lahore (Pakistan) were overcrowded with people who were chanting victory slogans. "Look! Victory in cricket matches brings excitement and happiness to Pakistani people," I told myself. However, it was not that simple.

My assumption that Pakistanis cannot handle defeat in cricket was falsified during the 1987 Cricket World Cup played in both India and Pakistan. I came to know that it was not the cricket defeat that hurt Pakistanis, but the defeat from an Indian team that broke them emotionally. In that World Cup, Pakistan was defeated by many other national teams of the world and lost the semi-final to Australia. Although people were angry, the atmosphere was not as gloomy as it was after being defeated by India in 1985. The very next day, India also lost the semi-final to England. Now, the atmosphere in the streets was totally changed to a delightful mood. Everyone seemed to forget the Pakistani defeat and was amused at India's defeat. This incident sparked my curiosity about India.

I asked my mother, who was also my primary school teacher, "Why do people feel so jubilant at India's loss?" She smiled and said in Punjabi: "*O Sahdy Sharik Ju ne*" ("because they are our *Shariks*"). I could not understand the context and insisted on an explanation. She told me that the estranged brothers or cousins are named as one's *Shariks*. I replied: "But I do not feel bad for my brothers or cousin" (I only had one paternal cousin who lived in a village). She said, "Because you are a good boy and I hope you remain the same when you grow up." Later, I came to know that *Sharik* means our brothers or cousins to whom we might develop grievances over the distribution of a common fortune of property, power, and prestige after the family splits.

With the passage of time, I learned more about the emotional nature of the Pakistan-India rivalry as well as about the concept of *Sharik*. I, myself, sometimes felt jealousy and a sense of acute competition with my elder brother and cousin. It was more targeted at my cousin, who was also my age and used to visit us during the summer vacation. He had the same feelings for me. We were always obsessed with competing against each other, be it school exams or sports. We also developed differences of opinion over the property inherited from our grandfather. Interestingly, despite all these differences, we were always united against outsiders. This interpersonal relationship with my cousin gave me first-hand knowledge about how *Shariks* might behave emotionally and competitively against each other. Later, I started visualising that Pakistan-India relations could aptly be described as an analogy of relations between cousins; obsessive and competitive against each other in every walk of life.

When I moved to Lancaster University, UK, in 2016, for my PhD studies, I had no plans to investigate the India-Pakistan relations. However, I was assigned a supervisor of Indian origin. This was my first physical contact with an Indian. I was cautioned by many friends and relatives to beware of having a supervisor from an "enemy" country. In fact, the Pakistani obsession towards the Indians is not far behind the military men positioned at the borders; it has deeply penetrated people's psyche. I paid no heed to such advice, yet I quickly developed interpersonal differences with my supervisor. Strangely, I started

feeling a sort of similar emotional response that I could only feel against my cousin. On my request, I was assigned another supervisor, also of Indian origin. This time, I faced no difficulty in developing quite friendly relations with my new supervisor, thanks to his pleasant personality. On reflection, I feel that somehow, I was also trapped by the stereotypical Pakistani perception about Indians in the case of the first supervisor.

However, this incident made me rethink and motivated me to analyse India-Pakistan relations as a family dispute. Two questions instantly came to my mind: "Is there any possibility that the relations between nations or states, such as India and Pakistan, could be analysed by treating them as two warring family branches?" And "Could two communities adhering to different religions, such as Hindus and Muslims, be examined by way of theorisation after assuming them as family members or cousins?"

After reviewing the literature, it became clear that this thesis could not be completed by relying upon a single theoretical tradition. While the available literature recognises the familial nature of India-Pakistan rivalry, few scholars have attempted to theorise this phenomenon. So, I started gathering primary data, which not only helped me to build a theoretical prism through which India-Pakistan enmity can be seen as a family conflict in different phases, but it also sharpened the edges of my research questions and objectives in the first place and importantly, laid the foundations for analysing my fieldwork results in more depth.

I started this project by pitching the thesis idea through writing an article, "India-Pakistan rivalry isn't territorial or ideological – it's psychological." The response from the readers was quite surprising as it met a record viewership of 50 thousand within seven days. Furthermore, the emotional (and furious) comments posted on the message board by both Indians and Pakistanis strengthened my assumption that people on both sides are still prisoners of their shared past, just like estranged family members, and the intergroup/interstate conflict between them is a mirror image of their indigenous family conflicts.[1]

Briefly put, I have used a bottom-up approach to build an indigenous conceptual framework capable of explaining the conflict behaviour of Pakistani people vis-à-vis Indians, which is full of obsession, emotions, and competition. My book operates at three basic levels: (1) it uses a psychocultural approach to explain that peoples' indigenous conflict behaviour is rooted in the earliest socialisation within family institutions and their segmentation process; (2) by using the attributes of family level conflict behaviour, it develops a conflict

[1] The comment-board can be accessed at: https://theconversation.com/india-and-pakistans-rivalry-isnt-territorial-or-ideological-its-psychological-91292.

model/theory and uses it as an analogy to explain the dynamics of the Hindu-Muslim intergroup conflict in British India which still reflects in India-Pakistan relations; (3) it explains the mechanism of how the indigenous moralities of the micro-level institution of family are mapped onto intergroup, intercommunal, and interstate relations.

The India-Pakistan conflict seems to possess minimal material value when compared to the huge emotional energies invested by both nations. From a Pakistani perspective, this book has examined the reasons which have made both nations prisoners of their past. As a Pakistani native, I have observed closely that most people in Pakistan hold anti-Indian sentiments, stemming from the perception of being 'wronged' and 'cheated' at the time of partition. They are of the view that Pakistan was deprived of its due shares at the time of partition. They also firmly believe that India seized the 'land' of Kashmir by force, and that if provided a chance, India would assimilate Pakistan back into its territory. There is a general impression among people that 'Hindus' were not ready to share wealth and power with the 'Muslims' in British India, and they did not want Muslims to progress socially and economically. To support their arguments, people tend to compare their better lives to the plight of Indian Muslims.

However, there is another side to their sentiments. There exists a nostalgia among Pakistani people that the India-Pakistan partition could have been avoided, and they could have managed to live together as one unit. They also regret that opting for a separate state made the lives of leftover Muslims in India so miserable, as they had to face the wrath of the Hindu community. They also long for harmonious relations between the two communities, as in the past. People in the subcontinent tend to develop kin-like relations with their neighbours; therefore, a familial nearness was present among Hindu and Muslim neighbours in British India. During partition riots, one can find thousands of examples when people from both sides acted in a "brotherly" way to save the people of the 'other' community (Ahmed, 2012). Still, the miniseries on partition attracts millions of viewers in both countries (Cohen, 2013).

Opposed to the official narrative and history, there is a rich fiction literature in the form of poems, short stories, novels, travelogues, TV dramas and silver screen cinema, depicting the pre-partition/post-partition emotional climate, which describes how the empathy between local communities had imploded into hatred near partition, engaging them in a permanent hostility. Due to the closeness of daily life, the rivalry between local communities also turned out to be of a familial nature, overloaded with passions and emotions, when the conflict broke out. These mixed feelings of love and hate have been transferred from family to family, and from generation to generation. Emotional scenes are seen nowadays when someone crosses the border to visit their native place.

People on both sides extend warmth and love to such visitors (hundreds of such videos are available on youtube.com). Still, both countries behave like quarrelsome family members and are engaged in an unending competition to win more prestige over the other in the international community. From the outside, it resembles nothing so much as a family feud – and psychologically speaking, it's a very apt analogy (Kadir & Jawad, 2020b).

There is a dearth of scholarly literature which could theorise the psychosis of hatred and competition between Pakistan and India. At the same time, there are numerous theories explaining the causal factors for this ongoing rivalry, including examinations of the pre-partition period in terms of historical enmity and ethnic/religious antagonism. The Realists frame the landscape of their mutual conflict in the international system of anarchy, which, in turn, compels both states to maximise their power against each other. Realism and neo-Realism focus on the 'fear' factor for Pakistan's pursuance of 'power' for its survival (Rizvi, 1993, pp. 1-17). The rational models present a logical reason that a powerful and hostile neighbour can compel a (weak) state such as Pakistan to attain the capacity for defence. The constructionists find reasons in historical, cultural and religious antagonism behind the intensity of this conflict. However, available models do not convincingly explain the extra-competitive and obsessive nature of relations between people on both sides. Why do they always desire to trump each other in every walk of life, just like warring family branches? This book takes notice of such extra-aggressive and "irrational" conflict behaviour and attempts to understand the motivation behind the competitive urge that drives the Pakistani public, leaders, and army officers to defy India's obvious numeric, economic and military supremacy, and to do so with such intensity. Therefore, I used a bottom-up approach (Kostovicova & Glasius, 2011) to explore the psychological reasons behind individual actors' motives to understand this intense conflict.

While this book recognises the significance of other modes of analysing India-Pakistan rivalry, it takes a radical departure from the conventional positions and presents an alternative and original account of how to interpret the events leading to Partition and locking both nations in an unending tussle. The India-Pakistan conflict has seldom been analysed from a psychocultural lens, thus ignoring the human agency, especially how the construction of "enemy" and the "othering" process has taken place within this agency. My book builds its theoretical framework on the notion that the earliest socialisation of people inside family institutions is central in developing their worldviews about how to perceive the "enemy."

A psychocultural approach (Stoddart & Hession, 1951; Hartman & Kris, 1945) is significant in analysing India-Pakistan conflict dynamics as it provides a framework to explain how the behaviour attained by people in certain emotional,

usually familial, situations is mapped onto structurally analogous political situations. This approach is useful in analysing people's indigenous conflict behaviour and its extrapolation to the larger socio-political institutions. This book seeks to provide a fresh perspective by establishing a causal link between people's general conflict behaviour learned within primary kinship institutions – the most emotional, pervasive and authoritative 'institutions' for people in both Pakistan and India – to that of their broader national behaviour against the Indians.

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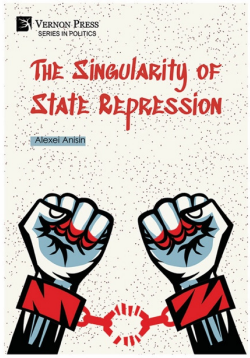

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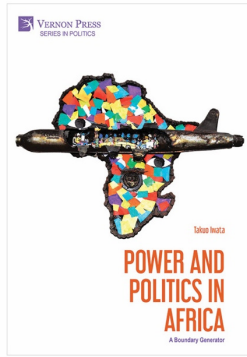

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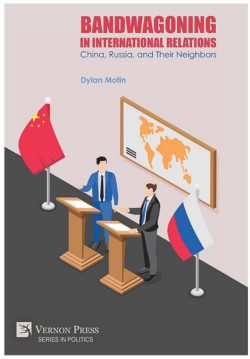

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