

TO: Nadeem Akbar, Office Manager, American Institute of Pakistan Studies
FROM: Amy Bard, Dissertation Research Fellow
RE: AIPS Grantee Final Report
DATE: 5 December, 1997

Overview - Since my AIPS fellowship began in May, I have spent over two months doing almost continuous fieldwork in Lahore and Karachi Shiah majlises and the remaining time (August through January), organizing and analyzing tapes and videos produced during Muharram, conducting interviews with marsiyah reciters and Urdu scholars, engaging in participant observation among Shiah women who organize mourning assemblies, attending formal tutorials in marsiyah studies, translating marsiyahs and beginning to write the first draft of the introduction to my dissertation. I set up my household in Lahore, made preliminary contacts, identified tutors, libraries, useful bookstores, and important Shiah institutions prior to Muharram while funded by the Social Science Research Council. During that preliminary period, I took care to make relatively long-term arrangements for a research base and transportation.

Although my research activities have fallen roughly into two-month segments of project set-up, tutorials and library work, intensive fieldwork, data analysis, follow-up interviews, and the text-performance comparison that constitutes the core of my project, the divisions were not hard and fast: I conducted some interviews very early on in my stay, tried to continue to some extent my work with literary criticism even while Muharram observances were underway, and am still occasionally attending majlises or other ritual events and recording poetry when opportunities arise as I near the end of my time in Pakistan. My main objectives during the remainder of my stay are to complete transcriptions of the 25 most useful majlises of the 40-50 I have taped, to travel to Gujranwala for a follow-up interview with a popular young *zakirah*, to read and analyze at least one more marsiyah by Mir Anis, to locate texts for two particular marsiyahs I have recorded by Mir Munis and Mir Nahi, to consult the private manuscript collection of Najib Husain in Karachi, and, in my tutorials, to read some important and rather technical publications by scholars and reciters whom I have already interviewed.

A Professional Aspects of Grant Experience

1. Value of the AIPS experience professionally and personally, and in terms of international understanding.

The opportunity to conduct research in Pakistan on my chosen subject after 3 years of

Ph.D. coursework has met and in almost every way surpassed my expectations for this phase of my academic training. I believe that the phases of participant observation, textual study, and intense fieldwork followed by reflective, analytical periods built into my project design ultimately suited my temperament, specific research goals and general academic interests extremely well. The financial support, autonomy, academic affiliation and other administrative support provided by AIPS helped make this research the intellectual culmination of my degree program.

My only real criticism of AIPS in terms of facilitating grantees' professional experience in Pakistan is the shocking disarray and inefficiency of the Treasurer's Office. The consistent delays, bizarre excuses for altered payment plans, and shocky record-keeping that characterized the disbursement of stipends wasted a considerable amount of what should have been research time. I have never, in my own six or so years of administering international educational exchange programs, seen the like of AIPS's haphazard financial management or of its capacity to consign documented financial agreements to some black hole from whence they never, ever emerge. . . and I thought I had worked for some pretty poorly managed non-profit organizations. I found the U.S. administration of AIPS largely unresponsive to my many inquiries about financial arrangements gone wrong, and I have only Nadeem Akbar to thank for persisting in his attempts to get our stipends to us (ours because I know for a fact that my difficulties in this area have been shared by every AIPS grantee I've met). Nadeem's polite, proactive mode of working ultimately got the job done, and he was also absolutely the only AIPS representative who ever apologized for, or even acknowledged, the inconveniences we suffered. I find that sad and absurd, since the fault seldom if ever lay with him!

As concerns the question of the value of my grant to international understanding, I would hesitate to make lofty claims, but will admit to being surprised by the extent to which my frequent presence in a segment of Pakistani society with little exposure to foreigners seemed to spur open and frank discussion about US-Pakistani relations, international economics, and religious tensions. Contrary to the expectations of many Americans with whom I discussed my project, it was not in general difficult to gain intimate access to the majlis, and most people I observed and interviewed were very pleased that I had chosen to study marsiyah poetry. Suspicions that I was a CIA spy or wanted to foment religious strife did crop up now and again, but honest curiosity, warmth and a genuine urge to help were responses I encountered much more frequently. I harbor hopes that, in turn, the dissertation I produce will counter in some small way the thoughtless prejudices about Shiah rituals that I have been saddened to hear circulated even by scholars of Islam.

2. Research Activities and Accomplishments

Realizing that I would at least need to comprehend Panjabi to document majlis among Lahori women (although my main research language is of course Urdu), I began tutorials three times a week with a private tutor, Qamar Jalil, almost immediately after arriving in Lahore. Within a month of my arrival, I also developed a syllabus of classical Urdu marsiyah and literary criticism with the aid of Tanvira Lodhi (Head of the Urdu Department at APWA College) and began tutorials with her. My readings included marsiyahs by Mir Zamar, Mirza Ujber, Mir Anis

and Mirza Dabir, and critical essays by a number of twentieth-century authors. Early in my stay, I also met Intizar Husain, who has helped me significantly in my research. Husain Sahib is best-known as a writer of Urdu fiction, but he takes a lively intellectual interest in marsiyah, and shares my view that criticism of the genre to date has in general proved woefully uninformative. He provided me with copies of his own unpublished critical articles on the subject and of several important journals, and with the names and phone numbers of some of my most important contacts for later fieldwork in Karachi. Over the course of the year, I have held one interview with him and several less formal discussions on the subject of marsiyah. Because Husain Sahib's wife is very involved in Muharram observances, his family was also able to arrange for me to attend and record a session of one of the largest, most popular women's majlis series in Lahore later in the year.

Prior to Muharram I also met and interviewed Dr. Muzkur Husain Yaq, Urdu Professor, Government College, who advised me on selecting texts, critical works and other potential interviewees. I cultivated his wife, Sayyida, as a fieldwork contact as well. Every year Sayyida organizes household majlises throughout the first ten days of Muharram in her almost entirely Shiah neighborhood. She provided my entrée into this community, Zafar Colony, which was to become of my two key centers for participant observation in May.

In the spring of 1997 I also paid visits to the Panjab Public Library (PPL) and Panjab University Urdu Department Library. I have continued these visits and used the New Campus library on an occasional basis. Because many of the older manuscripts I want to consult will be available in India rather than Pakistan, and because I can purchase my own copies of many of the contemporary literary collections and marsiyahs in pamphlet form, library visits enhanced my sense of the variety of Urdu and Panjabi resources available, rather than forming a crucial part of my actual textual study. Some restrictions apply to obtaining materials from and membership at Lahore libraries, and I appreciated the official letter sent to me from AIPS in Islamabad, as it helped me obtain library privileges.

I also made pre- and post-Muharram research visits to Multan, where I recorded sorghvani in an old and famous imambargah, and attended an *urs* in Shergarh village. At Shergarh, as the guest of a prominent Shiah Sayyid family who are descendants of the local saint, Daud Kirmani, I had the opportunity to learn something of Shiah women's rituals in a non-urban setting. Prior to Muharram, I began my research in Lahore's old walled city. I started out at Mochi Gate, the area most famous for Shiah imambargahs, but gradually focused in on Rang Mahal, where I was lucky enough to find both a young female research assistant, Naudat Ismail, and an "adoptive family" whose tiny home I ended up sharing for most of the first ten days of Muharram. Though the area is not an exclusively Shiah one, the homes of many musicians, singers, and *soz* and marsiyah reciters are ensconced in Rang Mahal's narrow bricked lanes; my family's house—a portion of an old *haveli* with its own imambargah—and its immediate environs provided a rich, if extremely gender-segregated, setting for documenting the recitation of *nauhas*, *soz*, and marsiyah.

As I developed my relationship with Saddaf and the Haveli Mirza Khan family, I began my inquiries about various majlis genres and why and how people in Rang Mahal appreciate marsiyah, and recorded some elicited marsiyah and *nauhas* recitations. As Muharram drew nearer, and the inexpensively-printed collections of marsiyahs I had tried unsuccessfully to find

earlier appeared in the Muchi Gate area, I made a number of raids on all promising bookstores, whether academic ones or simple stalls in Shiah neighborhoods. I found that the Shiah religious bookstores contained both special anthologies of marsiyahs (including many 19th-century works from Lucknow) edited and designed for reading in a majlis setting, and a surprising range of literary criticism of the genre, including quite sound scholarly works imported from India. The famous bookstores of Mali Road and Urdu Bazaar had a far smaller selection. Once initiated into this frenzy of research acquisition, I took the opportunity to augment my collection of commercially-produced majlis tapes, as well. Throughout this time, I continued my work with Mrs. Lodhi and struggled with my first serious attempt to translate a nineteenth-century marsiyah.

I'll comment briefly at this point on the Shiah-Sunni violence of April and May (which re-erupted in the last few days of June) of this year. In most ways, my immediate ability to do research remained remarkably unhindered by the wave of sectarian murders that befell Lahore. While aware that the US embassy had formally warned Americans away from the old city, any crowded venues, and any Shiah gathering place during Muharram (to the extent of making phone calls to the Berkeley Program students, etc.), I had already planned many of my fieldwork activities, and carried on with my work. During the first ten days of the month, I was subjected to intense security measures and searches in several large imambargahs because of my recording equipment, but only faced repeated interrogations or extreme difficulty in gaining access to a majlis on two occasions. In general, I took my cue from my consultants, trusting the familial environment of Zafar Colony's small majlises and the good judgment of my assistant at Rang Mahal to keep me safe. I did make the decision to avoid large, public majlises in places where I had no contacts at all, again at the urging of my friends and advisors, who feared both attacks on Shiah centers and anti-American sentiment on the part of Shi'ahs. This voluntary restriction on my work unfortunately kept me from some of the more famous majlises mentioned to me by male scholars, but I was able to attend some large men's majlises (with separate accommodation for women in upper galleries), and I hope that my documentation of the lesser-known women's majlises will compensate to some extent for what I missed.

The most troubling reverberations of the violence resulted, of course, less from any "danger" to me or to my research than from working intimately with a minority population who felt targeted for violence and, in some sectors, engaged at militant political or religious groups within the Sunni community. Commentaries on Sunni-Shiah tensions worked their way into the fabric of local Muharram observances, especially since, after dozens and dozens of people had been killed in the course of a few weeks, it seemed that an acquaintance or relative of one or another of the victims cropped up in every majlis. Clearly, though sectarian violence and its history in the subcontinent may have limited direct impact on marsiyah, it will color my write-up. By working through my fieldnotes and a collection of newspaper articles in Urdu, English and Panjabi, I will have to find an appropriate way to present this aspect of Muharram, especially since it has also consistently been an issue in Lucknow, my planned research site in India.

Gender-segregation in Muharram ritual activity and in larger Lahore society is the only other significant obstacle I can think of now that I have faced in my research. The realities of doing research as a woman in Pakistan work both ways, to be sure, and I do believe my project

design capitalized on my status as a woman to gain access to little-documented household majlises, as I had intended it to. Nonetheless, I hadn't counted on the degree to which constant contact with the (in many cases *pardah-nashin*) female organizers of these gatherings would make it difficult for me to attend more public Muharram observances such as processions. In a number of cases, my consultants strongly discouraged me from attending "outside events," gave me to feel it would be difficult for me to continue to work with them if I did so, or simply declined to accompany me to late night, hard-to-locate activities that I found difficult to attend alone. By remaining with my Rang Mahal consultants as they peered at processions and received blessings from sacred Muharram tokens through their high, screened windows, I certainly appreciated their experience of popular female piety, but felt just as surely that I was missing out on dimensions of Muharram that would fully contextualize my majlis study. I tried to compensate for this to some extent by finding a family in Zafar Colony that included me on their Ashura day visits to the various sites of Karbala-related miracles around Lahore, and by requesting my husband (an ethnomusicologist who attended some Muharram events for his own research purposes) to make video and audio tapes of men's processions and majlises.

The Muharram period itself was a constant cycle of attending majlis (often two or three per day), writing fieldnotes, and logging tapes, with the occasional formal interview or procession thrown in. For a few days after the 10th of Muharram (*ashura*), I kept busy by logging tapes and distributing them to assistants for transcription. By the twenty-third of May, I was off to Karachi, where I again embarked on a cycle of daily majlis attendance (this time in a purely Urdu-speaking environment) that was, if anything, busier than that of the first 10 days. My Karachi work, however, had an additional aspect: since more of the scholars of *marsiyyah* live in Karachi than in Lahore, I was able to interview Dr. Karar Husain and Dr. Hilal Naqvi, among others, and met for the first time a female *marsiyyah* poet, Tasvir Fatima. Dr. Naqvi (who writes and recites *marsiyyah*, as well as having written a dissertation on the subject) and my other contacts helped to arrange special majlises and recordings for me featuring some of the most famous *sozkhvans* and *marsiyyah*-reciters, including Kajjan Begum, *Sibt-e Jafar* and Dr. Aliya Imam. My best examples of the *taht-ul-lafz* *marsiyyah* (*marsiyyah* read in dramatic style without melody) on which I had originally planned to focus almost all of my research come from Karachi; however, since *taht-ul-lafz* was usually presented by men in gender-segregated settings, I heard a number of recitations, but saw only a few, and had to count on my husband Richard once again for video-taping.

The Karachi trip additionally gave me access to the personal library of Mr. Najib Husain, containing 100-year-old manuscripts from Lucknow, which I will probably consult again before leaving Pakistan. I also enhanced my own less illustrious *marsiyyah* library by at least 40 volumes while in Karachi. Before leaving Sindh, I made a short visit to Hyderabad. I did not record Sindh *marsiyyahs*, but attended a number of very elaborate processions, made *Imambargah* visits, and conducted several interviews on the subject of multiple language use (Persian, Urdu, Sindh, Saraiki) in Hyderabad *majlises*.

I finally returned to Lahore at the tail end of June, feeling rather wealthy in terms of raw data, but lagging far behind in detailed documentation of field activities and tapes. In the last week of June, I began organizing and prioritizing tapes for transcription, analyzing individual pieces of poetry on the first few tapes I had gotten transcribed, and planning my next few months

of activity. After a few weeks of holiday in Gilgit and Hunza during July, I spent at least a month and a half (until mid-September) working almost exclusively on the 40 or so cassettes I have collected. My first tasks included tape logging, transcription, overall analysis, and genre identification for each piece of poetry, and I vastly underestimated the amount of time these activities would take. I simultaneously began translating and analyzing in detail the marsiyahs and sozes among the pieces, as well as checking or tracing the sources of the poems (using published anthologies, fieldnotes, interviews, and manuscripts). This work is still ongoing, although for the last two and a half months I have been interspersing transcription and analysis work with follow-up interviews, attendance at more ritual events, tutorials and searches for several particular marsiyah texts.

Along with conducting internal analyses of individual marsiyahs, I continue to examine broader issues, including the relationship between the marsiyahs recited on specific dates during Muharram and the sermons, religious tokens or icons, and other poetic forms present in each majlis; the role and texture of marsiyahs as Shi'ah mourning progresses over its course of two months and eight days; and the rather permeable boundaries between the genres known as marsiyah and soz. I am also still revisiting my field notes to fill in gaps, draw out questions for follow-up interviews, and organize data on the majlis setting.

I plan to spend my last four to six weeks identifying those specific marsiyahs which the classical literary canon and my majlis tapes hold in common, in addition to carrying out final interviews and the small remaining projects listed in my overview. The text-performance analysis will require much more than a month or two, but I hope to devote that much time almost exclusively to the task. I will wind up my data collection in Pakistan after the very important yearly majlis commemorating the martyrdom of Hazrat Ali (around Jan. 21 in 1998).

B Academic Details

(This response also addresses the portion of section A that asks for comments on "Adequacy of Professional Resources/Available Associations with other Academic People")

Although my project did not involve extensive library work, my sense is that literary collections relevant to marsiyah in Lahore are limited and hard to access. Two other female scholars shared my view that library personnel in general seemed slightly more responsive to male foreign scholars than to females; whereas male researchers we met were treated as "Professors" and offered respectful aid, on my few visits to Panjab University and the Panjab Public Library I was helped only cursorily and denied access to special collections unless I was prepared to spend days fighting for it, and female friends who used the library more frequently indicated that such obstacles were a frequent problem. The physical plant in most libraries here leaves much to be desired in the way of comfort, but I did not expect to find otherwise. In contrast to the limited benefits I reaped from libraries, materials such as books, cassettes and videos that document subjects like mine are widely available for purchase, and I feel it is important for researchers to be able to have the resources to buy and use these on their own terms. As far as blank cassettes and videos go, I would advise scholars using these items for fieldwork to purchase them in bulk in the US, as they are still more expensive here. It is also

advisable to have equipment professionally checked and tuned up in the US before bringing it to Pakistan, as repairs can be lengthy and expensive, sometimes requiring parts imported from Singapore. E-mail now functions quite smoothly in Lahore, and I am an "edunet" advocate.

I did not find academic support and company to be in outstanding abundance in Lahore. Among other academics, I met with three Urdu professors at Panjab University and the Dean of the Arts Faculty. All were polite and helpful in recommending resources, but they did not take special interest in my project, nor were they equipped to supervise fieldwork. I did not particularly feel the lack of such guidance, but found it sad that virtually none among all of the individuals who *did* respond enthusiastically to my project or who usefully challenged my thinking about marsiyah were Sunni. It so happens that Urdu professors from institutions other than Oriental College (e.g. APWA College, Government College) have provided me with the most consistent academic guidance; this is largely because I have long-standing contacts with these particular individuals and because they take a personal interest in my work.

My sense from spending a month in Karachi is that both the general level of theoretical academic discourse and intellectual interest in marsiyah are greater there than in Lahore. Because of my previous experiences in South Asia, I did not expect to spend much time with other foreign scholars or expats while doing my research, but was surprised how much I appreciated the company and advice of other AIPS and Fulbright researchers while contending with obstacles in my work. This was largely because, with the exception of a handful of local academics, few of my many Pakistani associates and friends really understood the nature of my study. On the other hand, one has to remember that it isn't as though my friends and family in the US have an easy time explaining my preoccupation with Urdu "laments" to their acquaintances...

C Administrative Aspects of Grant/Logistics of Life in Lahore

[Note: I may have gotten a bit long-winded in this section, but I have tried to gear most of my comments to the needs of incoming grantees. A lot of this information is, then, the sort I would have liked to have received before taking up my grant. Although I was already quite familiar with Pakistan, there are logistic challenges inherent in establishing a research base here that I had never had to face before, and presumably there will be other scholars in this situation.]

1. (Pre-departure) **Shipping of personal effects.** I sent about 150 books and some office supplies which are hard to obtain in Pakistan (e.g. high quality file folders and hanging file folders) from New York by M-bag. This was the cheapest way to transport them, but still cost over \$300 dollars. My parcels finally arrived after six months, instead of the expected three months, but everything was intact. My husband and I found a high official at the General Post Office, Lahore (Deputy Commissioner of Foreign Post, I believe) quite helpful in initiating a search for the books when we began inquiries due to the delay in their arrival. The duty on each parcel was only 15-25 rupees.

2. **Housing and utilities:** There are many estate agents in Lahore, and many seek out foreigners as desirable tenants, especially in "posh" neighborhoods. Direct rentals from homeowners are

also available through newspapers, etc. Going through a broker provides a contract and some legal protection, but will cost the tenant one month's rent. A downside of using brokers is that they do not usually cover all areas of Lahore (such as the inner city), but prefer to stick to affluent areas. On the other hand, they are always looking to make a deal, and as in my case, helped bargain the rent down by 1000 rupees per month. Since estate agents are eager to please and are earning lots of money, grantees should not hesitate to make demands of them: they often cover the costs of driving around to look at properties, can help find cleaners, servants, locate banks, and give lists of neighborhood services, but one has to ask. Paying guest accommodation (usually a private room with 2 meals a day provided) is available for 3,000-10,000 rupees a month, depending on area and facilities; generally, scholars make such arrangements through personal contacts.

Realistic monthly rents for a two-bedroom (+ kitchen) apartment in Lahore range from 5000 to 20,000 rupees. At the upper end of the scale, some furnished places are available, but most are not furnished. One important thing scholars should know before coming, to facilitate financial planning, is that it is usual in a rental situation for anything from six months' to one year's rent to be paid in advance of moving in, in addition to 2-3 months of security deposit!

Lahore is now very, very polluted, so anyone with the slightest allergies or asthma may want to consider residing in an outlying area like Defence. Scholars who must use and maintain a lot of audio-visual equipment, computers, or tapes may want to consider the pollution factor and the availability of air conditioning when choosing a place to live. Also, although we have never felt personally threatened here, robberies, rapes and official U.S. government advisories about dangers to U.S. citizens (there have been at least 4-5 distinct official alerts warning citizens away from particular areas in Lahore since I've been here) are far more common than they were say, 10 years ago. My point is that, while Lahore seems less dangerous than New York, safety and access to reliable transport may be crucial issues when seeking a residence, especially for female grantees (like myself and Farina Mir this year) who sometimes have to travel for fieldwork alone, at night, to far-flung parts of Lahore.

My husband and I pay 11,000 Rs./month for a large upper story apartment with 3 bedrooms, a terrace, large kitchen and large living room in the D-block of Defence. Utilities are extra. The area is quiet and relatively green, is about 20 minutes from Gulberg, and 10 minutes from Mall Road. Several other AIPS grantees Farina Mir live nearby.

Utilities - Monthly bills from the Water and Power Development Authority, the gas company, and Pak. Telephone & Telegraph come approximately monthly and must always be paid to a branch of either the National Bank of Pakistan or the Bank of Punjab. This is a real pain, as lines are long, and hours of business quite limited. It is extremely useful to have a male servant, such as a driver, to handle these chores, because they can cumulatively eat up days and days of research time.

Gas and water charges are quite nominal. High taxes apply to phone bills; the lowest rate for calls to the US is about Rs. 75/minute. Local calls are between Rs. 1-2. Electricity bills for a good-sized apartment often run only several hundred rupees a month. Once the 100+ temperatures start in late April or May, though, it seems to cost about Rs. 4000 (!!!) per month to run an average 1 room (called a 1.5 ton) air conditioner.

Getting a phone and long distance or international service is no picnic. One has to make

many visits in person to the area phone exchange. Renting a place with an existing hook-up is a big boon. However, we, for example, still don't have (direct dial) international service because it requires that either you or your landlord submit about 25 documents (no exaggeration). It ends up being easier to just book trunk calls. I have never had a phone during my previous years in south Asia, but I can't stress enough how crucial it is for conducting research in a city like Lahore these days, and how difficult it would be to make all necessary calls at a public call office.

Electric load-shedding and water shortages are common in summer. Since some areas are much less afflicted than others, it's important to inquire about water & power when one is planning to rent. Also, as it is quite cold in the winter, check to see whether gas heaters are installed in each room; if the rent is substantial, they should be!

3. Household goods, Clothing, Servants, and Medical Care

A- Household goods and furnishings. Everything from coffee-makers to voltage converters to teflon frying pans is available in Lahore now, at a price. Imported thermoses, pots, pans, hangers and dishes are available at stores like Al-Fatah and Pace in Gulberg, and they cost about what they do in the US. A cheaper, bazaar-style market for dishes and crockery is in Canal Park, Gulberg, and Mochi Gate has a wholesale market where one can get dishes, tupperware, etc., not to mention spices and foodstuffs, very cheaply. Other popular markets are Ichhra and Anarkali. Appliances from Hall Road can be bargained for, especially if one buys things like fridges and ACs in the winter. If Hall Road stores won't include delivery/installation in their prices, check local shops, too; if they deliver for free, it may work out the same as buying something at a discount from a shop further away. Some general current prices:

Fridge: Rs. 15,000 (for a small—NOT family size—unit) - 28,000

AC: Rs. 20-25,000

Large "box" tape deck/radio: Rs. 3000-5000

Note: I have not priced VCRs, but almost all here use PAL system. Any scholar who needs NTSC for fieldwork would do better to bring a small multi-system TV and VCR from home. Audio and video cassettes are available, but quality is not always high, and metal tapes, etc., are more costly than in the US. Karachi's Saddar Bazaar has a better selection of tapes than Lahore.

Second-hand household goods are readily available, most people, however, say that while second-hand furniture is fine, unless you're really sure of them, second-hand appliances spell trouble. Desks, tables, chairs, and beds are available at second-hand stores at a maximum of Rs. 3000 per large item. Store owners can then often help you find deals on mattresses, curtains, and the like from people they know. Always bargain!

B- Clothing. Prices for stitching salwar-kameez right now are about Rs. 120-150 (and up) for women and Rs. 200 per suit for men. Ordinary-quality cotton cloth can cost anything from Rs. 40-95 per meter or yard (ascertain which you're buying!) There are plenty of ready-mades now, too, of course. Best deals for cloth are said to be in Ichhra. My advice for women scholars is to wear shalwar kameez virtually all of the time (notable exceptions would be going to a gym or to jog at polo ground). Shorts, of course, are an absolute no-no, and (unlike in India) the dupatta is always a must.

C- Servants Some Americans object to hiring servants, but given that household work is labor-intensive and time consuming here, and that research is a priority, household help is at least worth considering. A daily worker who spends 2-3 hours or so per day six days a week washing clothes & dishes, dusting & mopping, etc. may earn anything from Rs. 600-1000/month. Drivers earn about Rs. 3000 and can do shopping and lots of other errands (like handling those painful utility bills!). People who retain a housekeeper who stays all day or lives in the house pay anything from Rs. 2000-5000, depending on whether s/he cooks, too. A cook (who doesn't do other chores) earns from Rs. 2000-3000. Landlords, estate agents, and neighbors can often recommend household workers, and the American Club bulletin boards often have postings for servants who are accustomed to working for people who are in the country for just a year or two. If anyone uses this source, though, they might want to make it clear to prospective employees that scholars cannot necessarily afford the inflated wages that expat. workers in multinational companies sometimes pay. It is usual for employers to give servants small sums of money or suitpieces on Eid, or perhaps Christmas, since many household servants are Christian.

D- Medical - When one registers at the consulate, one can ask American Citizen Services for their list of doctors. It's best to check their most current list, but we have had good luck with Dr. Mohammad Shafiq (Internist/Tropical Medicine), Fazal Cardiac Clinic, Gulberg Clinic phone: 111009009; home phone: 5755963 and also with Brig. S.M. Jaffar, Dermatologist, 2A/E2 Stadium Rd, Gulberg III, Lahore Ph. 5751677; 5751678

The consulate used to extend its medical services to Fulbrighters and maybe AIPS, but no longer. The Berkeley Program Assistant Director (Razaq Ahmed at ph. 7589407) may also be able to provide doctors' names, many clinics are located near their center in Shadian.

As for likely ailments, malaria and typhoid are said to be prevalent in Lahore, but we've met hardly anyone who's actually had either. Dysentery does not seem to strike nearly as frequently as in India, though salmonella and other sorts of food poisoning are surprisingly common, and can be severe enough to hospitalize victims.

4. Transport. Within Lahore, available transportation includes wagons (crowded vans on numbered routes that ply all over town for a few rupees), rickshaws, taxis and private cars. What a scholar chooses will depend largely on where s/he lives and the nature of his or her work. Wagons, for example, don't run late at night and early in the morning, also many local women say they avoid them because of the potential for harassment in a packed vehicle. In central Lahore, wagons are readily available, while in more "suburban" areas they are so rare as not to be a viable transport choice. Neither rickshaws nor taxis use a meter system, but there are understood rates upon which one should insist. The shortest rickshaw rides cost Rs. 15-20, most run from 40-60, and from one end of Lahore to the other could run 75-100.

Because of the unreliability of rickshaw travel, my husband and I decided to get a car. A high quality newish used car (Suzuki, etc.) can cost up to Rs. 200,000-250,000, but we settled on a 1966 Morris Minor for Rs. 65,000. Reflecting on the most hectic months of my fieldwork, I can say with certainty that I could not have collected as much material as I have, nor made sufficient contacts, without the reliability and independence I gained with this trusty old tank of a vehicle. The hassles of buying and selling and licensing might be rather intense for anyone in

the country less than a year, but for those here that long, I recommend a car. I also suggest hiring a driver, less for the relief from driving in wild Lahore traffic (though that is a consideration) than for dealing with paperwork, car taxes, mechanics, tire punctures, errands, etc. Even new cars are pretty high-maintenance here due to bad road quality, etc. Currently, it costs about Rs. 400-500 to fill the typical car with petrol.

Many AIPS and Fulbright scholars choose to fly for long distance travel. I have found buses and trains quite comfortable and reliable, and thus a good place to cut costs. It all comes down to time vs. money, I suppose. One newspaper, *The News*, has an excellent feature whereby it provides bus, train, and plane schedules to and from major cities and all relevant phone numbers for booking on a daily, or almost daily basis.

5. **Banking** - It is now possible to have both foreign currency and rupee accounts at most banks in Pakistan. The most important thing to know is that it's best to get an account in your neighborhood, as (with a few exceptions such as Emirates Bank) you cannot conduct transactions at any branch except the one at which you open your account. Checking accounts are not terribly versatile since most places don't accept checks, or only accept them from certain branches of certain banks, and because the bank refuses to accept them on the slightest pretext (e.g. a discrepancy in signature so minor the signer cannot detect it), but could possibly be used for paying rent or for major purchases at large stores. Citibank and Amex are virtually the only places that give credit card advances, and I think you have to have an Amex card to get any help from Amex. Citibank is quite efficient. There are now a number of foreign and American banks that are said to provide good customer service; we chose the friendly but inconsistent Habib Bank instead, because Citibank, etc. had very high account minimums.

In conclusion, I wish to thank AIPS once again for making possible this extended period of research in Pakistan. By supplementing my earlier SSRC grant, AIPS has enabled me to observe the full cycle of Shah ritual over more than a full year.

AIPS Grantee Final Report

John Mock
12639 Fiori Lane
Sebastopol, CA 95472

Department of South & Southeast Asian Studies
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

Grant from August 1997 to September 1997

A. Professional Aspects of Grant Experience

The grant enabled me to conduct original research on a topic never previously studied. The professional value of such work is of the highest possible level, with potential to generate a lifetime of professional work. Research focused on Wakhi people in Pakistan. Wakhi people also live in China's Xinjiang, Afghanistan's Wakhan, and Tajikistan's Pamir region, and the research has direct relevance to international understanding of those four countries. Additionally, because most of the Wakhi people in Pakistan had never met an American, nor a person who could speak their language, the research had an incidental but significant role in developing understanding of America.

The research resulted in the compilation of over 700 typed pages, in a modified international phonetic alphabet (IPA), of Wakhi material, translated into English. This unique material will be of interest to Anthropologists, Linguists, Geographers, and Historians, and offers a significant contribution to the study of unwritten languages and their oral forms of composition. The material includes poetry, songs, oral histories, and accounts of customs, festivals, and traditional knowledge systems.

The cooperation of the affiliating institution, the Aga Khan Educational Service, especially teachers in local schools, was invaluable and enthusiastic.

B. Details of Academic Assignment

Research material was collected first-hand from individuals. However, the records from the British era, copied from the India Office Library in London, and held at the National Documentation Center (NDC) in the Cabinet Block, Islamabad, were also valuable. This material is indexed and well-maintained by the staff of the NDC. AIPS should make all grantees aware of this valuable historical material. Cost of copies in Islamabad is Rs 4 per page, versus 0.5 Pounds Sterling at the India Office Library in London.

Additionally, AIPS should inform incoming grantees of the rapidly growing availability of information through electronic media in Pakistan. At a minimum, incoming grantees should be informed of the SDNPK (Sustainable Development Network), a provider of email services and of many interesting bulletin boards and talk/news groups. Several Pakistan journals are now online through SDNPK as well, and the network provides access to other important data-bases within the country.