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THE EPIC STORY OF MEHR MUGAL

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ABSTRACT

This epic story was composed in verse at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It depicts the decline of Muslim chieftains and the rise of Sikh groupings (*Misls*) in Punjab. After conquering Lahore, when Ranjit Sigh proceeded to the western districts of Punjab, Muslim chieftains resisted against Sikh army. This epic story helps us develop an insight into the historical and social situation of Punjab during the early nineteenth century as well as the tradition of enmity and friendship among tribes of Jhang.

KEY WORDS

Epic; Oral History; Mehr Mugal; Punjab

At the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali's last attack against Punjab in 1767,[1] Sikh groupings (Misls) pestered Abdali's army on its way to Afghanistan so much that Abdali never returned to Punjab again. The Sikh groupings (*Misls*) occupied Punjab at the speed of lightning. In western Punjab, there were *Bhangi*, *Shukar Chakiya*, and *Nakai* groupings (*Misls*) which confronted Muslim chieftains and landowners. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, Muslim Nawabs, tribal chiefs, and landowners were putting up with Pathans and self-declared rulers of Lahore by paying revenue to them. Sikh groupings' leaders cooperated with each other but also occasionally fought against each other. Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore in 1799 and founded the Sikh kingdom.[2] Before Ranjit Singh's kingdom, Sikh groupings used to impose various kinds of taxes like *Jamdani*, *Choth,* and *Dharat* on Muslim chieftains and landowners of Punjab.

According to Maulvi Noor Muhammad Chela, "whatever former chiefs of Jhang used to pay to Sikh Bhangi as *jamdari* was also paid by Ahmad Khan".[3] Jhang was ruled by eighteen Sial rulers and their reign spanned from 1462 to 1816.[4] The thirteenth Sial ruler, Nawab Wali Dad Khan Sial, conquered small independent principalities of Jhang and expanded his relatively strong dominion. During the high time of Sikh groupings (*Misls*), Bhangi chiefs occupied Chiniot but Ranjit Singh defeated them in 1803 and expanded his kingdom to Chiniot.[5]

During that period, Chiniot and its nearby areas came under the occupation of Ranjit Singh. However, the areas of Chiniot on the western bank of the Chenab river were still part of Sial's dominion. This was the same period when *Mehr Mugal ki Var* (the epic story of Mehr Mugal) was composed. Mehr Watta Lali, Jabana village, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot, and Mehr Mugal Lali, Valla village, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot, had a hostile relationship with each other. Mehr Watta Lali conspired with Aror Singh's military official based in Chiniot and suggested that his 'criminals' would start paying the revenue if he could attack Valla village and drive Gajiana family of Lali tribe out from there.

> Leaders are Doltana Mehrs but Gajiana family of Lalis are brainy
> They have opposed each other, and its manifestations are fierce and ugly
> Armyman Aror Singh could recover fines if Gajianas are forced to leave[6]

Aror Singh occupied Valla village by sending police officer Chirra Singh. Mehr Mugal was determined that he would find shelter with Sahiwal's Sardar Fateh Khan Baloch and resist against Sikhs. "Sitting in Sahiwal, I shall fan the flames of enmi*t".*[7] Noor Muhammad Chela wrote that "Sikhs conquered Sahiwal on Thursday afternoon, 3 Muharram, 1225 AH".[8]

The above description indicated that Mehr Mugal's fight against Sikhs had already started prior to 1810 AD. At that time, Sahiwal was ruled by a Baloch tribe. Therefore, Mehr Mugal had pinned hopes with the Baloch might as he perceived that they could help him due to his warm and old relations with them. However, it may be noted that in those days the Baloch tribe itself was trying to cope with the decline of its power.

Whenever there was a skirmish between Sial rulers of Jhang and Sikh groupings at the border areas, Ranjit Singh's troops would also reach there. During that period, Sial rulers were prolonging their rule and buying time by presenting gifts to Sikhs. Still, Sial rulers could prove to be a source of strength for some of their local friends. With this hope, Mehr Mugal visited Ahmad Khan Sial of Jhang.

> I seek help of Ahmad Khan and Sial troops will accompany me[9]
> As Ahmad Khan is ruling Jhang, I shall take possession of Valla again[10]
> I shall re-occupy Valla by force, Sial is patronizing me[11]

After he met with Ahmad Khan, Mehr Mugal sought help for contributing troops from Chaudhry Bahab Kaloka, Kaloka village, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot. With the support of Kaloka tribe, he attacked Valla. Police officer Chirra Singh fought fiercely with Kaloka and Lali tribes. Lali side lost a fighter Masso Kulla and Kirpa Singh was killed from the Sikh side.

> Sikhs killed Massu Kulla, it was his destiny[12]
> Murad aggressively approached Kirpa Singh with boldness, but Masoor put the Singh to sword[13]

With the support of Galotar tribe, the Sikhs captured buffaloes of this region. These buffaloes were the property of Syed Jalal Shah, Village Vaday Shah, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot. Syed Jalal Shah was a supporter of Mehr Mugal, therefore, the latter sought help from the Sehgals, a martial tribe of Jhang. In this epic story, one did not find Sehgal troops fighting along with others. However, it might be wishful thinking of Mehr Mugal or he might be testing friends as he did with the Baloch tribe of Sahiwal. In 1831, Ram Kore Sehgal made a deal with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and obtained Jhang based on Rs. 4,67000 annual payment.[14] According to Meer Moazzam, the poet of this epic story, Mehr Mugal thinks:

> Let us convey to Ram Kore, Allah Ditta and Mehr Khan that this man (Aror Singh) has humiliated us
> Kelo's sons, who specialize in weaponry, should be requested to intervene[15]

When Aror Singh came to know about the gathering of troops, he along with Chirra Singh and Qadir Bakhsh Rehan attacked Vallah village. Other Lalis and Syed Jalal Shah supported Mehr Mugal and Sikh troops were defeated. The whole area seemed to be on the verge of a big conflict. Syed Chohar Shah tried to promote reconciliation between Mehr Mugal and Aror Singh but Mehr Mugal did not trust Aror Singh because the latter was a friend of Mehr Watta.

> Oh Sikh, accept the will of God whatever He does
> You supported Watta and did not remain neutral[16]
> You were together with Mehr Watta but did not share any secret with us[17]

Mehr Mugal had been resisting against Sikhs for several years and no fear could prevent him from doing so. When Kharak Singh attacked Mankera in 1821, he passed by Chiniot and stopped at Barana village, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot. Kharak Singh led his troops from Lahore. As he was departing for his attack at Mankera, he was handsomely dressed with a sense of style. He crossed the river at Chiniot and was greeted at Kirana (a hill near Sargodha).He was carrying guns and cannons of several types and he stayed at Barana.[18] Mehr Mugal and his brother Mehr Golam presented a black horse to Prince Kharak Singh and complained of Aror Singh's excesses in the region. When Kharak Singh came to know the real ground situation, he rewarded and elevated the status of Mehr Mogal and Mehr Golam. He restored their status as chiefs of Valla village.

Var or legendary epic is a genre relating to heroic history. The poet of such epic poems looks at the tradition from his perspective. In this legendary epic, Moazzam Hussain presented not only characters of the early decades of the nineteenth century but also provided details regarding the history of their families and their ancestors. In their fight with Aror Singh, characters of Lali tribe enter the battlefield, invoking the name of Shah Behlol. They hope that their spiritual guide would somehow facilitate them in a difficult moment. Sikh characters derive spiritual strength from their Gurus. He called Guru Gobind said to Nanak that he is the one to hide our faults.[19] Shah Behlol was the spiritual guide of classical Punjabi poet Shah Hussain. Guru Gobind and Baba Nanak were themselves, great poets. Before the British colonialism, Punjabi poets had a variety of rich life in terms of experiences and views reflected in their works. There were so many heroes and chiefs who were mentioned in this legendary epic but could not become part of history due to the negligence of Punjabis.

The basic theme of this epic story is mutual enmity. According to folk wisdom, those who are born with you in the same tribe or at the same place are enemies. The one who shares the economic pie is the potential enemy. The one who leaves others behind doing injustice is the enemy. Those who are victims of injustice cannot forget. People derive the meaning of their lives by defeating others. One aspect of this game is the misuse of state institutions and so-called rules by the powerful to perpetuate the injustice. Governments drain the resources of people and thus make all poor people equal. Weak people do not own property. The property is occupied by rich people but not always legitimately. The occupation of the property, legal or illegal, is a source of egoism and megalomania. Power and leadership are not free. The pursuit of power makes real brothers kill each other.

This is the way to fulfill the ambition. There are very few alternatives and exceptions to this truth. Falsehood and deceit are parts of this life-style.

> Rulers love their rule the most and the ambition of leading others
> is the cause of enmity[20]
> Some are making tall claims and others are telling lies explicitly[21]

Greed is the foundation and the edifice of an exaggerated sense of entitlement, a false sense of honour and the perceived right to rule is built on it. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Persian wheel is common among the areas between rivers of Punjab. In some areas, the virgin land is being cultivated for the first time. Occupiers' power lies in their capacity to occupy the land on the banks of the river. The land is fertile, water suitable for crops, and the produce is huge. The powerful have an eye for such a land. Even if the poor and weak worked hard to make this land cultivable, the powerful occupy it illegitimately, depriving the poor farmer of fruits of his labor. In one area, two egoist persons cannot live peacefully. The ego and a false sense of honor are also sources of conflict. Land and property lead to conflicts so does the ambition to rule.[22]

In the areas between the two rivers of Punjab, the possession of buffalo is considered an important kind of property. The residents develop a passion for the buffalo. Its milk is not sold but businessmen from Chiniot, Bhera, Multan, and Lahore purchase Ghee. The buffalo is sold at high prices. It is a source of income. Greed is inevitably associated with income and property. Sometimes, buffaloes are stolen. The stolen buffaloes, which are handed over to some 'honourable' people for protection, in local parlance, are called *Sata*. According to local tradition, it is not heroic to return the stolen cattle if one has not stolen them oneself. Some tribes have been fighting with each other due to this tradition also. Feudal lords fight due to greed as they own and cover the stolen cattle.[23]

According to a proverb of the people living on the banks of the Chenab river, buffaloes are found in houses of brave feudal lords and horses in the stable of kings. In those times, it was easy to raise cattle, but it was hard to protect them from thieves. Therefore, a poor, weak, and helpless person could not think of raising and protecting the cattle. In our collection titled *Dais Dian Varan*, we have discussed the passion of people living in the jungle between Punjab's rivers for the cattle, particularly buffaloes and there is no need to repeat it here.[24]

Kal and *Narad* are popular characters of Hindu mythology that have been employed in Punjabi epic literature.[25] Wherever there are a battle and streams of blood flow, it is perceived that there is some role of these mythological characters in the bloodletting. The introductory parts of several verses or *Dhola* (a poetic genre of Punjabi) contain references to *Kal*. In the epic literature of Punjabi, poet Nijabat has frequently referred to *Kal* and *Narad*. Meer Moazzam has stuck to this tradition:

> Goddess Kal dances for buffaloes and god Narad plays with them[26]
> Wherever there are buffaloes, I stay there (says Kali)
> I take shower, look after myself and get ready (for the celebration of death)[27]
> Kal claps and Narad laughs[28]

Mythology and tradition had some commonalities. The myth was based on the tradition; the former appreciated the latter as its source. According to Aryan tradition, the goddess Kali was the symbol of destruction. Goddess Durga killed bulls and sucked the blood of buffaloes of the black people.

An important aspect of the genre of Var (legendary epic) is the depiction of intense moments and war scenes. The central theme of a legendary epic is the battlefield. A poet has to capture the clanking of swords and the sound of horses' hoofs. The deeper insight into the tradition a poet of the legendary epic has, the more likely he is to bring his art close to perfection. Punjabi poets have been composing legendary epics for centuries. They have been meeting difficult conditions of this genre for a long. In other words, they have been crossing the dangerous valley of this genre for quite some time now. The beauty of a legendary epic is also determined by the imagery employed by a poet and the original imagery adds a lot to the aesthetics of the epic story. Meer Moazzam has an abundance of images which bear testimony to his originality and uniqueness. For example, he rammed his spear into the flesh of thigh as if a tailor was cutting the cloth for a dress.[29]

> The tide of river is at its high and only oars will take the boat out of it [30]
> A spear was hanging with the nose of mare as if a goldsmith was wearing his eyeglasses[31]

A close study of the epic literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicated that Punjab was then facing tumultuous times and overwhelming threats. Punjabis were busy manufacturing traditional weapons. These weapons included various kinds of swords and spears. The manufacturers of these weapons were famously based in cities like Gujarat, Jhang, Chiniot, Talagang, Choonian, and Majhi Salam. The epic poems depicted the heroic bravery of fighters with awe and inspiration and appreciated the skill of weapon manufacturers.

Only two legendary epics were composed by Meer Moazzam, *Bhattian Lakan di Var* (the legendary epic of Bhatti and Lak tribes) and *Mehr Mugal di Var* (the epic story of Mehr Mugal) could be preserved. Usually, the legendary epics were written in the meters called *sirkhandi* and *nishani* but Meer Moazzam used only *nishani* meter which had several types. This meter could cover a variety of phenomena. This meter seemed to be close to the temperament of Meer Moazzam. He did not elaborate on the details of events. He focused on vital issues and events and articulated his views in the verse which had a moving impact on readers.

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[9] Moazzam, *Mehr Mugal di Var.*

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[12] Ibid.

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[14] Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Jhang District* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), 36.

[15] Moazzam, *Mehr Mugal di Var*.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Saeed Bhutta, *Dais dian Varan* (Lahore: PILAC, 2007), 312-322.

[25] *Kal* and *Narad* are characters of Hindu mythology. In Punjabi literature, these characters are depicted as husband and wife. When these characters appear in Punjabi epics, it is an indication of destruction. These characters derive pleasure from the dance of death around them.

[26] Moazzam, *Mehr Mugal di Var.*

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S SPEECH: THE VIOLATION AND USE OF MAXIM'S IN MICHELLE OBAMA'S INTERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper explains the use of Paul Grice's four maxims of conversational implicatures in Michelle Obama's interview. The present study is an endeavour to explore to what degree the maxims of quantity, quality; relevance, and manner are followed through the replies of the political personality. Therefore, this paper emphasizes a one on one dialogue with Michelle Obama, to discover the abuse of cooperative principles in this particular background. Therefore, the Cooperative Principle is applied by the researcher to the verbal discourse in the current research. Conversational analysis is one of many approaches to perform the pragmatic analysis which is used in this paper. Four maxims of cooperative principle i.e. quantity, quality, manner, and relevance are studied. Verbal examples are extracted from the discourse in which the investigation of the extracts are focused on the instances where violations of CP (co-operative principle) maxims take place in the discourse, particularly the discourse of Michelle Obama.

KEYWORDS
Co-Operative Principle; Grice's 4 Maxims; Pragmatic Analysis; Conversational Implicature

Paul Grice's concept of the Cooperative Principle and its four related maxims are taken as a central contribution to the area of pragmatics. It is a flourishing model presenting how individual discourse is governed by the norm. Moreover, it plays an important role in the creation of verbal implications. Research has proven that pragmatics is an extensive method of investigation that observes the massive perception of connotation, communication, and perspective. Therefore, it has always been difficult for linguists to agree upon any particular explanation because of the great scope of pragmatics. On the other hand, one explicit type of pragmatics, Gricean pragmatics is frequently researched and talked about because it is termed as the focus of pragmatics investigation. It is also to be noted that this type of pragmatics gives more consideration to the implication of reciter and the cooperative principle. For decades, linguists and other researchers who are studying pragmatics have believed that cooperation is necessary for a discourse to take place. Thus, the speakers on both sides should hold a cooperative attitude, to make a conversation happen effectively and efficiently.

To bring more clarity to this topic, Mey provides a pattern in the expectation to give evidence to the condition in which a non-cooperative statement can result in a conversational miscarriage.[1] As the speaker's meaning deals with the dissimilarity between two different implications, the cooperative principle takes care of the relationship between verbal discourse and rationality.[2] The four maxims of the cooperative principle are analysed in this interview to understand the idea of implied meanings in discourse studies. This is qualitative research in which the researcher has collected data from a recorded interview with Michelle Obama. Gricean maxims are used in the pragmatic analysis of the interview between Peggy Northrop of Reader's Digest and Michelle Obama, the wife of President Obama, held on the 14th of September 2011. Collected data is then analysed to get the results. This research is dedicated to analyzing the theory of the Cooperative Principle and its application in pragmatic analysis studies.

This work focuses on several resaech questions i.e. how does the analysis of Michelle Obama's speech show traces of cooperative principles and maxims? Are these maxims responsible to facilitate/hinder effective communication in conversation? What are the characteristics of the language used in Michelle Obama's Interview from a pragmatic perspective? These research questions helps in examining the speech of Michelle Obama in the light of maxims of quality, quantity, relevance, and manner; to analyze if effective communication is facilitated/hindered by observing the four maxims; to find out whether the cooperative principle is observed in the speech from the pragmatic perspective. This study is designed to conduct a pragmatic analysis of Michelle Obama's speech in which maxims of cooperative principle are analyzed.

The current study is delimited to observe the 4 maxims of the cooperative principle. The researcher has delimited the research by conducting a pragmatic analysis of a single interview of Michelle Obama, the wife of President Obama, conducted by Peggy Northrop of Reader's Digest and held on the 14th of September 2011. The study provides an understanding that observing or obeying the maxims of the cooperative principle helps in effective communication. It presents the evidence that implicatures created in conversation divert the attention of the interlocutors from the original topic. To fill in the gaps left by previous researchers in pragmatic studies, the researcher reviewed the past literature. This study does not intend to give a black and white picture of the world, and the researcher never intended to assert that the assumption is totally precise because individuals and groups classify and recognize structures and phenomena differently. However, the researcher is confident that the present study is an important scholarly contribution in the sense that it gives a new perception to the individuals of society about pragmatic analysis and how the interlocutors are re(presented), construed, and understood in a discourse. Moreover, it also highlights how individuals in an extensive chain of discursive moments influence the perception of the audience if the cooperative principles are flouted or abused in a conversation.

A study of the past literature shows that a small number of researchers in the past have considered pragmatic analysis of discourse in women's speeches or interviews. As a result, the researcher has adopted a new and different theoretical framework for this research. This is one of the significant contributions in the existing literature of pragmatic studies because the researcher has provided a new lens to view communicative issues in discursive events.

It is believed that there should be some norms or beliefs shared by the speakers that manage the discourse, to promise effective dialogue in the community. Grice explains that verbal discourse is based on a mutual norm of cooperation, something like: "Make your conversational contribution what is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged".[3] This notion is put forward by Grice as under:

> Our talk exchanges … are characteristically, to some degree at least, co-operative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction… We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected…to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.[4]

This was later termed as the Cooperative Principle, this principle was giving rise to a chain of maxims namely, quantity maxim, quality maxim, relation maxim, and manner maxim. Grice suggests that the maxim of quantity is designed to offer sufficient facts but not disproportionately sufficient; the maxim of quality defines the relevant evidence and proof that can be relied on. The relation maxim stresses the importance of relevance in a discourse; while the manner maxim connects to the systematic order of the discourse and describes how brief and explicit the conversation is.

The importance of these maxims can be understood as they support the assumptions made by the audience of the discourse about the interlocutor’s speech rather than describing or suggesting as to how the speakers need to talk to make it an effective communicative event. As stated by Bach, a French Philosopher, the audience needs to have a very clear view of the nature of Grice Maxims. They are not sociological overviews about dialogue or ethical instructions or prohibitions about the content of the discourse.[5] Although Grice explained them as a standard for how to converse effectively still Bach is of the view that they are better interpreted as opinions about statements, assumptions about what the individual audience relies on, and what presenters abuse.

Gricean Maxims are responsible for producing implicatures. If the explicit apparent connotation of an utterance does not seem to be reliable with the Gricean maxims, yet the settings make us contemplate that the interlocutor is following the cooperative principle. This makes the audience realize to look for other meanings that could be generated by the discourse.

Grice never made it a standard that all the community members should constantly follow these maxims. As an alternative, he found it fascinating when these principles were not appreciated, calling them "flouted" with the listener being able to recognize what’s being said or "violated" with the listener being estimated to not consider this. Flouting would denote some concealed meaning that could be extracted from the discourse therefore, importance is given to the underlying meaning that was not uttered during the discourse.

Like other researchers in the past, Grice has also encountered criticism about his maxims, his philosophy is frequently criticized by stating that cooperative discourse, just like other social actions, is traditionally determined as a result, the universal application of Gricean Maxims and the Cooperative Principle cannot be practiced because of intercultural differences.

Keenan asserts that Malagasy, a group of ethnic community members who make approximately the whole population of Madagascar, to achieve conversational cooperation, follow an entirely contrasting Cooperative Principle.[6] According to their cultural norms, presenters are hesitant to exchange information and abuse the Maxim of Quantity by escaping straight questions and responding on half-finished responses because of the possibility of losing face by bounding himself to the reality of the evidence, besides the fact that having ineffective conversation in discourse is a custom of respect. On the other hand, Wilson states that Grice only considers that his maxims are responsible for the effective process of communication where his Cooperative Principle has an influence.[7] The Malagasy speakers decide not to be compliant, appreciating the respect of information possession extremely. Since less information is shared, that's why this is a less cooperative communication method.

Another criticism faced by Grice is that the Gricean Maxims can easily be misjudged to be a standard for politeness, morality, polite communicators in a discourse. Yet, the Gricean Maxims despite their expression are only intended to define the generally established qualities of effective cooperative communication.[8] The Cooperative Principle becomes greatly prominent and comes across objections. One of the major objections among many is the view that the CP does not go with real-world and hence real language use can't be applied. Leech asserts that conversational restrictions similar to the ones like cooperative principle do not work because the common declarative dialogues do not carry facts-bearing meaning.

One more complaint as per Kasper, about CP, is that it is not as global as to be able to be applied to all linguistic populations.[9] As suggested by Mey, researchers who have the idea of CP, try to ignore multiple issues that happen between collaborating individuals. Three capacities where such issues might arise are as follows: the supposition of cooperation is too wide-ranging and extensive; there exist important intercultural dissimilarities in cooperative actions; a few methods of social performance are favored and therefore rewarded, whereas consent may be granted to others.[10]

As a result of issues that are detected, there are occurrences when one or more than a few maxims are lacking during a communication process. When such a thing happens, that occasion is termed as flouting a maxim, a great example is in joke-telling, the audience is not assuming to hear a story with exactly qualitative, numerical, appropriate, and flawless imageries; in its place, they are ready to be cheated or even be-fooled, so that they can burst into merriment as they are hypothetically considered to after listening to a joke. As it has been explained by Mey, "good authors have always something up their sleeves, and may allow themselves deliberate omissions, misleading statements, uninformative remarks and all sorts of narrative tricks to better develop the plot".[11]

The people involved in this interview are Michelle Obama, wife of President of the United States, and Peggy Northrop of Reader's Digest. The interview took place at the White House and lasted approximately 25 minutes. Data available is made up of actual utterances taken from the speakers as opposed to properly constructed good grammatical sentences. Using actual speaker utterances is recommended by Gricean pragmatics.

The Researcher has delimited this study to analyse a single interview of Michelle Obama and observed only four maxims of the cooperative principle of Paul Grice. The Researcher has used critical discourse analysis as a tool and has used a qualitative research method to investigate in this paper. Qualitative research offers an in-depth study of human conduct and the motive that regulates that action. This method examines the how and why of performance as compared to the when and why query. A pragmatic analysis of Michelle Obama's interview with Peggy Northrop of Reader's Digest is conducted in the light of Paul Grice's co-operative principle.

The theoretical framework of Paul Grice is used in this research. In Linguistics particularly, the cooperative principle discusses how people cooperate with each other effectively in a discourse. As stated by Grice, individuals must put their input such as it is needed, at the phase at which it happens, by the established persistence or course of the conversational exchange in which they are involved. The principle is proposed as an explanation of how people generally act in a discourse. Interlocutors must communicate cooperatively and reciprocally agree with each other to be implicit in a specific manner. The cooperative principle defines how actual communication in discourse is attained in common social circumstances.

The cooperative principle has four maxims, named as the Gricean maxims, each one describes specific rational principles followed by people who follow the cooperative principle; these principles help to ease out the process of effective communication during a discursive process. Grice introduced four conversational maxims that are taken from the pragmatics of conventional discourse. The Gricean

Maxims are a great method to elucidate the association between statements and what is assumed from them.

Followers of the cooperative principle in their language use attempt that what they speak in a discourse conveys the purpose of that discourse. The cooperative principle goes two ways: speakers tend to follow the cooperative principle, and listeners expect that speakers are after it. This permits the prospect of implicatures which are implications that are not clearly articulated in what is said, but that can however be predicted. [12]

Grice's Maxims are summarized as under Maxim of Quality states to be truthful. It requires the discourse participants not to say what they believe to be false as well as not say that for which they lack adequate evidence. The second maxim is Maxim of Relevance which states to be relevant. Concerning this maxim, Grice writes, "Though the maxim itself is terse, its formulation conceals several problems that exercise me a good deal: questions about what different kinds and focuses of relevance there may be, how these shifts in the course of a talk exchange, how to allow for the fact that subjects of conversations are legitimately changed, and so on. I find the treatment of such questions exceedingly difficult, and I hope to revert to them in later work.[13] The third is the Maxim of Manner which requires to be clear, avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief, avoid unnecessary wordiness, and be orderly. As stated in HP Grice's Logic and Conversation, "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged".[14] In other words, we as interlocutors must try to give expressive and productive statements to supplement the conversation.

It is always rational to flout a maxim deliberately or unintentionally and thus deliver an altered implication than what is already said in the discursive event. Paul Grice has summarized the cooperative principle in these four conversational maxims which are considered as a theoretical framework in the pragmatic analysis of an interview of Michelle Obama.

Data for this research is collected from the real utterances of the speakers. In the present paper, seven excerpts are selected as the data for analysis. All of the excerpts are conversations between the interviewer and Michelle Obama. Each of the seven excerpts has reflected special aspects of the language used in formal discourse. The analysis of the excerpts will focus on the occasions where violations of CP maxims occur in the discourse, especially the words uttered by the interlocutors. The methodology of conversation analysis will be adopted to take a close look at certain lines of the conversations.

Several excerpts are studied in this section. In each excerpt, observing one or more maxims of CP is pointed out and analysed as a way to analyse the following of the Cooperative principle in the context of formal conversations. In doing so, the researcher is attempting to make an initial effort of revealing some of the characteristics of language used during formal interviewing from a linguistic perspective. The following data explains the use of cooperative principles to contribute to the significance of the supposition that both conversational partners are doing at the same time.

QUESTION NO. 1 FROM READER’S DIGEST

“Military families have been a major focus of yours. Tell me how that started for you?”

ANALYSIS NO.1

According to Paul Grice, a central assumption is formulated when people indulge in a dialogue, is that they try to collaborate to produce an effective conversation. This is clear in the question asked from Reader’s Digest, where it is assumed that conversational partner (Michelle Obama) is clear in understanding which military families are asked about. This approves to the maxim of relevance, where the interviewer asked a question relevant to the topic and Michelle Obama’s answer also followed the relevance accordingly. e.g. the question stated.

QUESTION NO. 2 FROM READER’S DIGEST

“Tell me how that started for you?”

ANALYSIS NO.2

And the relevancy was maintained by Michelle while starting the answer from the following statement: Ans: “It really started on the campaign trail.” Also, the maxim of quality can also be seen in Michelle Obama’s answer because her utterances are genuine and sincere, speaking "truth" or facts. Michelle Obama: “… I spent a lot of time on the road talking to working women and making sure that the voices of women were incorporated into my husband’s campaign and ultimately his presidency”.

Maxim of manner was also utilized by Michelle and Interviewer. According to Grice, the maxim of manner follows that the speaker escapes vagueness or inconspicuousness, and is direct, honest, and upfront. The interviewer asked a straight and clear question from Michelle and she also followed the maxim of the manner by giving a straightforward answer to the question asked. This research indicates that although Michelle Obama satisfies the requirements of the maxim of quality, it fails to fulfill the requests of the maxim of quantity because her answer to a short question is a fairly long one. It violates this maxim in that it provides too little information to answer the question asked by the consultant. To be more exact, she answers nothing.

QUESTION NO. 3 FROM READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest: "Let me move on to another big cause: child obesity. There's a lot of sensitivity over the government telling us what we can and cannot eat. I'm very glad that you admit publicly that you love your French fries."

Michelle Obama: "Love them." 'Your other big cause".

ANALYSIS NO. 3

This referring expression is used to describe the soft nature of Michelle Obama. Schiffrin suggests that even though the anchor can propose a referent, the knowledge of that specific referent must be acknowledged by both the interlocutors in the discourse event.[15] In this case, the interviewer refers to Michelle as 'for her big cause' and the hearer acknowledges that what is meant by it. This is a definite reference since Michelle is already aware of this term. There is mutual knowledge between the interviewer and the hearer, concerning this referent. Obama's answer is in accordance to the manner of quality by giving upfront and honest reply to the question, on the other hand, the maxim of quantity is flouted by giving such to the point answer by Michelle because Grice's maxim of quantity involves the speaker to make her input as explanatory as necessary. Similarly, Grice's maxim of relevance is also followed by Obama because her answer was as relevant as possible.

QUESTION NO. 4 FROM READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest: "When so many people are unemployed there's a perception- and reality- that better food choices are expensive. People's biggest problem may not be eating too much but instead, "I'm not sure where my next meal is coming from".

Michelle Obama: “Affordability and accessibility of fresh food and produce have been a problem for decades. That’s why our announcement of Wal-Mart’s efforts to reduce the amount of sugar, fat, and salt in their branded products and create some parity between healthy and unhealthy foods was big……….Wal-Mart can affect the entire industry.”

ANALYSIS NO. 4

According to Paul Grice’s maxim of manner, both participants must try to present implication visibly and briefly, avoiding vagueness. This maxim is followed by Michelle Obama in this answer where she has answered precisely and to the point by mentioning Wal-Mart’s efforts to give details of the answer clearly to the hearer. She has avoided ambiguity or obscurity, is direct and straightforward according to the demand of maxim of manner.

Maxim of relevance is also observed by the interviewer where he has formed a connection with the prior answer. It is also followed by Michelle Obama’s answer which is very appropriate to the question and as Grice says that reply is relevant to the subject of conversation, Michelle Obama’s answer is relevant to the topic under discussion and no divergence from the original question can be seen. Grice's maxim of quality demands that during the conversation, the speaker tells the truth that is verifiable by sufficient proof. This evidence is given by Michelle Obama when she speaks of the role of Wal-Mart and its efforts to increase the accessibility of inexpensive and healthy foodstuff for the consumers.

QUESTION NO. 5 FROM READER’S DIGEST

Reader’s Digest: “You talk about food deserts- places where there is no good healthy fresh food for sale.”

Michelle Obama: “This has been going on for a long time, where larger grocery stores move slowly away and all that communities have left is little ……….

ANALYSIS NO. 5

Grice's maxim of manner stresses that conversation must be explicit and clear, which is shown in this example where the interviewer is clear and straight in his conversation. Similarly, Michelle Obama has also followed the maxim of manner, where she is not twisting the statements to produce vague implicatures as well as not decorating her statements and images rather she is very ambiguous and clear in her utterances. According to the maxim of manner, we are supposed to say things in an orderly way, so we should say events in the actual order in which they occurred. When Michelle says, “This happened and that happened”, it is assumed they mean “this happened, and then that happened”. This means she is not using unusually vague and ambiguous language.

According to the maxim of quantity, an individual is supposed to say the strongest speech that is thinkable so, it is assumed that’s what Michelle is doing. She is making a stronger choice by saying, “you can’t tell a parent to make better choices when the choices aren’t available at all”. The way she has given a precise statement about a bigger problem shows her following of maxim of quantity. Maxim of relevance states that Utterances are relative to the context of the speech. She is not going off-topic rather, Michelle gives an appropriate answer to the question by saying that, “Philadelphia has gone to great lengths to eliminate food deserts by using a food-financing initiative- taking some govt. funding…”. Therefore, the maxim of relevance by Paul Grice is being followed here.

QUESTION NO. 6 FROM READER’S DIGEST

Reader’s Digest: How do your kids feel about your emphasis on healthy foods? Do they ever call you- as my daughter used to-the meanest mummy in the world?

Michelle Obama: “No, unfortunately, they don’t label me as that…”

ANALYSIS NO. 6

According to the maxim of quantity, an individual must not produce a fragile utterance when a stronger one is existing. But logically, there is no such rule about cooperation that exists in the English language. If we use a rational language, the weaker utterance would be equally tolerable, as long as it is factual. When Michelle Obama says, “No, fortunately, they don’t label me like that.” It becomes evident that she has started her dialogue by giving a strong speech, which is a prerequisite of cooperativeness among the conversational partners in any discursive event. The research indicates that as this example fulfills the desire of the maxim of quantity, it also accomplishes the requests of the maxim of quality which says that the speaker tells the truth by acceptable confirmation. The evidence is obvious in Michelle Obama’s answer where she says that “The president and I do what we know is right for our kids, even if they don’t like it and even if they are going to be a little mad at us”. The interviewer has to assume that the answer provided by Michelle Obama is not false and is based on truth.

According to Schultz, Gricean pragmatics is a convenient method in solving referential vagueness.[16] Maxim of manner suggests that speakers must avoid ambiguity or vagueness. Michelle is very unambiguous in her statement, whatever she means she has stated in her answer. The interviewer does not have to think which maxim is responsible to create the implication, and why. Furthermore, his reply also violates the maxim of relation because while expected to explain the problem of her speaking, she asks a question instead. The conversation implicature of this specific utterance is probably that "I am not willing to answer your question as I do not trust you that much. Since you are an interviewer and a media person who is good at analyzing what people think". In reality, it is the conversational implicature, or the hidden meaning, which decided that the overall attitude of Michelle Obama is non-cooperative, which thus leads to her violation of the two maxims.

QUESTION NO. 7 FROM READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest: "Some of my international colleagues say American first ladies are kind of tame compared with first ladies around the world…".

Michelle Obama: "Before I even knew what this role was…..".

ANALYSIS NO. 7

Reference of the word 'tame' used for Michelle Obama shows that though the precise meaning of this word can be used for the interview, this word might be used to refer to other possessions. It appears there was a mutual understanding between the interviewer and Michelle Obama since the interviewer did not ask for an additional explanation from Michelle Obama. The anchor assumes that the audience recognizes the meaning of this word. When Michelle further adds that she has tried her best to choose the problems that she felt intensely about and also the ones that connect up with her husband's agenda; she is finally resolving any ambiguity brought about by the term '*tame*.' This is a clear example of following Grice's maxim of the manner to facilitate effective communication between conversation partners. Similarly, the maxim of relevance is also observed by Michelle Obama and the interviewer in this example.

QUESTION NO. 8 FROM READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest: "People wonder what it is to live with your family in this fabulous house. George Bush admitted that he brought Laura coffee in bed when they lived there. Do you get that treatment from the president? You are rolling your eyes".

Michelle Obama: "I'm going to try that down. Is that in his book somewhere? I can photocopy it and put it on my husband's pillow".

ANALYSIS NO. 8

Maxim of relevancy by Grice proposes that the communicative partners must follow the appropriate facts to deliver the message to the other partner in an effective manner. Such relevancy is seen in the answer of Michelle Obama in this specific answer where she has uttered in a very brief answer whatever was needed to maintain the relevancy of the conversation. In the same way, maxim of quantity was also maintained beautifully by Michelle when she answered in a short sentence; no more and no less was needed to understand the utterance. According to Grice, the maxim of quantity states that; "Do not make your contribution to the conversation more informative than necessary". Therefore, Michelle made her contribution to the conversation as informative as necessary.

As Michelle was ignorant of George Bush's custom of serving morning tea to his wife, she said," Is that in his book somewhere"? because the maxim of quality involves, "Do not say what you believe to be false". As Michelle lacked the evidence, therefore, she didn't continue with her reply and seems to have followed this maxim effectively. Maxim of the manner by Grice proposes, that both conversational partners must avoid obscurity of expression and should be systematic, organized, and brief to have effective communication. This maxim is also observed in Michelle Obama's answer and is also seen in the question asked from the reader's Digest.

LIMITATION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The pragmatic analysis of interviews from a pragmatic perspective is quite innovative. The current study is just making an initial effort to expose part of the reality. There are limitations in the present study and more efforts are needed in the exploration of this field in the future. First, more factors should be taken into consideration such as gender and cultural background. In other words, the conversational styles of male and female interviewers may differ from each other; the means of interviewing in America and other countries may not be the same either. In reality, even participants from the same background may differ in terms of their ways of conversing due to their different personalities and some other factors. Thus, it is important to study the conversational styles conducted by different personalities that include both male and female, both American citizens, native speakers of English and foreigners. That is how a thorough analysis of the language can be made.

CONCLUSION

The researcher has analyzed seven excerpts selected from Michelle Obama's Interview in Reader's Digest, 2011 edition. Through the pragmatic analysis of conversational implicature and the occurrences of the violation of CP in those conversations, the researcher has found that conversational implicature and the violation of CP are closely connected. It is also observed that the acknowledgment of conversational implicature is fundamental to understand the non-cooperative approaches of the speakers, thus leading to the understanding of the violation of one or more co-operative principle maxims.

The researcher has observed that the violation of CP maxims often takes place because of the special needs of a discursive event. The violation is categorical to the appearance of the language used in this process, first of all, when the host and the interviewer first meet each other, the guest usually try to challenge the competence of the host. Under such situations, the anchor needs to form his or her dominating impression by captivating the guest to be interviewed through the battle of words. Always staying cooperative, though, is not a good policy to win this battle. Second, it is always difficult for celebrities or public figures to articulate their life stories which are in most cases supplemented with all sorts of good and bad memories. To avoid such story-telling, Michelle Obama (guest) is easily stuck in some details where she decides to keep talking about things that do not have much to do with the original query. Considering the time limitation of the interview, Michelle needs to change the focus and bring it back to track. In doing so, Michelle sometimes needs to abuse the maxim of relation. Thirdly, Michelle paused to discuss some profound words, expressions, or explanations, but they are key words which are vital to the state of affairs under conversation, the host needs to continue asking to pressurize her, no matter when she already knows the reply and the host understands her reluctance. As asserted by Grice, to ask something that is already known violates the maxim of manner, yet it is also important in a question-answer interview with someone. As a result, through the analysis of the seven excerpts selected from reader's digest's interview of Michelle Obama, it is concluded that the flouting of CP often occurs because of the need in the particular political setting and supplements the features of the language seen from a pragmatic viewpoint in a discursive event.

Though Grice presented the principles as a guideline for effective communication, they are better interpreted as presumptions about discourse; and as presumptions that audiences depend upon. This research indicates that people who observe the cooperative principle in their utterances must be aware of what they say in a discourse that advances the reason for that discursive event. The analysis of collected data exposes that the cooperative principle goes both ways: speakers usually follow the cooperative principle, and listeners mostly make predictions that speakers are following them. It is also found in the present research that without collaboration, social interaction would be far more challenging and counter-productive. For that reason, the Cooperative Principle and the Gricean Maxims are not particular to talk but to discourse as a whole. It also proves the answer to research questions formulated before conducting this research, which states that effective communication between two conversational partners is successfully possible by following the cooperative principle of Paul Grice. The cooperative principle describes how people interact with one another. The researcher has successfully conducted the research to find out that listeners and speakers must speak cooperatively and mutually connect to be understood effectively. The cooperative principle describes how effective communication in discourse is achieved in common social situations.

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VAR: LEGENDARY EPIC ON BHATTI AND LAK TRIBES

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ABSTRACT

Meer Moazzam was alive till the third decade of the nineteenth century. He wrote several legendary epics in the Punjabi language. This research paper discuses an epic (*Var*) that took place during the first half of the seventeenth century. This epic focuses on differences among Lak, Bhatti, and Syed tribes of Jhang and Sargodha, districts of Pakistani Punjab province, and appreciates the bravery of heroes. The depiction of the central character of this story, Lakhi Bhatti, has a literary significance in Punjabi epic literature. The poet has an extraordinary capacity to describe things with brevity. In addition to the prevalent meter of the epic, he has experimented with another meter, *Sud*.

KEY WORDS

Oral History; Var; Lakhi Bhatti; Meer Moazzam

Meer Moazzam was born in Pipple Bhutta, Tehsil Laliyan, district Chiniot of Punjab. The contribution of his family to the genre of *Var* or epic literature was immense and unforgettable. Meer Moazzam's father, Meer Behram, wrote *Nooray Chadhad di Var* (the legendary epic of Noora Chadhad).[1] The son of Meer Moazzam, Meer Chaughata, wrote four legendary epics (*Vars*). The *Bhattian Balochan di Var* is a legendary epic of Bhatti and Baloch tribes. The legendary epic of Bhatti and Nisooana tribes has been titled *Bhattian Nisooanian di Var*. *Lalairian Awanan di Var* is a legendary epic of Lalaira and Awan tribes. The fourth one is *Lalairian Mangassian di Var* which is related to Lalaira and Mangassi tribes.[2] Meer Moazzam wrote *Bhattian Lakan di Var* related to a legendary epic of Bhatti and Lak tribes and *Mehr Mugal di Var.* The epic of *Bhattian Makenan di Var* is about Bhatti and Maken tribes. He also wrote *Syed Behram di Var* the legendary epic of Syed Behram.[3] Out of a significant body of works by Meer Moazzam, his descendants have lost the manuscripts of two legendary epics. These epics are *Bhattian Makenan di Var* and

Syed Behram di Var. The genre of Var (the legendary epic) is a rich source of Punjab's history. It may also be called a perspective of Punjabis on history. The above legendary epics focus on battles of those tribes which are settled in regions between two rivers of Punjab. These epics also throw light on the rulers and governance structures based in Delhi, Lahore, and Multan during that period. These epics help us understand the opinion of Punjabis regarding a period of history that spanned from Aurangzeb to Ranjit Singh.

There is internal evidence in these legendary epics which leads us to the educated guess about the life and times of the poet. We have discussed the contribution and biographies of Meer Behram and Meer Chaughata at length in our book titled *Dais Dian Varan* (legendary epics of the homeland).[4] These are three generations of poets from the same family and, among them, we find the least information about Meer Moazzam. One obvious reason for it is that Meer Behram and Meer Chaughata had earned a name as poets in their lifetime. Secondly, two legendary epics authored by Meer Moazzam were lost. If we had access to those epics, we might have got additional information on his life also. Moreover, his descendants also do not have much information about him. In his work titled, *Mehr Mugal di Var* (the legendary epic of Mehr Mugal), there are several references to historical characters of the nineteenth century, but the latest reference is to Kharak Singh:

> Kharak Singh led his troops from Lahore. As he was departing for his attack at Mankera, he was handsomely dressed in a sense of style. He crossed the river at Chiniot and was greeted at Kirana (a hill near Sargodha). He was carrying guns and cannons of several types and he stayed at Barana. He passed by the village Valla and enquired about a branch of Lali tribe called Gajiana.[5]

After conquering Chamba, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh entered Lahore on 15 July 1812, he sent his son, Kharak Singh, as in-charge of the Mankera expedition. Sikh rulers had attacked Mankera several times but the ruler of Mankera always protected the people's lives by making payments as per the demands of Sikhs. However, Kharak Singh led the expedition to Mankera in 1821. Kanihya Lal has written about it:

> The Chamba expedition ended and a lot of money was received from the rulers of Kohi. After the Chamba expedition, Maharaja (Ranjit Singh) entered Lahore. The second expedition, which was led by Kharak Singh, was relating to Mankera. When Prince

> (Kharak Singh) reached close to the region of Mankera's chieftain, the latter received a message that he should pay one lac rupees as a tribute at that stage of the expedition. If he hesitated and troops reached Mankera, then he will have to pay two lac rupees".[6]

At another place, Kanihya Lal has written about Kharak Singh's Mankera expedition. It was organised by Ranjit Singh on the occasion of the birth of his grandson Naunihal Singh on 9 March 1821. Later on, he attacked Dinanagar and sent Kharak Singh for Mankera expedition. According to Kanihya Lal, "At the end of celebrations, Maharaja [Ranjit Singh] assigned the duty of Mankera to Prince Kharak Singh and he departed for Dinanagar".[7] Some central characters of *Mehr Mugal di Var* (the legendary epic of Mehr Mugal) meet Kharak Singh in village Valla, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot. One can infer from this example that Meer Moazzam was alive in 1821. No further details are known about him.

Now we review the situation of tribes mentioned in another work by Meer Moazzam, titled *Bhattian Lakan di Var* (the legendary epic of Bhatti and Lak tribes). Three primary tribes mentioned in this epic are Syed, Bhatti, and Lak. Syed Shah Latif had established his principality between Chenab and Jhelum in the 18th century. Boundaries of his principality were touching Syeds of Shah Jeevna, Khokhars of Bhero, and Kirana hills. A number of history books like *Tareekh-e-Jhang Sial*,[8] *Jhang District Gazetteer,*[9] and *Tareekh-e-Jhang*,[10] we find a reference to the principality of Bhimbhranwala. However, people call it Nauthihan or Mimrala. The area of this principality included some villages which are currently part of Tehsil Jhang of District Jhang, Tehsil Lalian of District Chiniot. This also included those parts of District Sargodha which happen to be close to Kirana hills. When it rains, it results in an abundance of grass and the area turns into a lush green meadow. Flowers bloom and blossom in Kirana hills. Mian Siddiq Lali composed a poem about the beauty of Kirana hills. A sample is given below:

> Oh Siddiq Lali, the world is blooming red
> The colour has been bestowed due to the kindness of God
> The Kirana hills have a window
> That opens in Qadir Shah's palace
> Oh! Kirana hills, your powerful dominion is ancient
> Small hills are your troops[11]

The local tribes used to bring their cattle for grazing because of the pasture and the availability of water in this area. The rainy water filled the lowland and small pits which facilitated the pastoral life for residents and animals. Thus, the tribe that occupied the Kirana hills would grow stronger. Many tribes would aspire for the power associated with the economy of Kirana hills. The final decision of the occupation was made on basis of the sword or martial power. A proverb (i.e, Kirana is a killer) was known among local tribes which meant that the aspiration for ruling Kirana had killed many souls. Meer Moazzam had depicted this longing of the local chivalrous aspirants:

> God has bestowed power on the (Kirana) hills and the noblemen aspire for them
> Both victors and vanquished look towards these hills
> The hills are like pawns and the country gentlemen test their strategies of chess
> Those who contest in the hills carry swords in their hands, accompanied by the sound of trumpets
> Those who get good news of victory in the hills assume the mantle of the chief
> The defeated or plundered ones feel embarrassed, looking at the hills
> Lali, Lak, Bhatti, and Nisooana tribes flex their muscles in the hills.
> Moazzam the bard tells the truth; the hills have devoured these noblemen[12]

According to this epic, Syed Shah Latif is the owner of Nauthenhyoon. Along with Bhatti, Dhudi, Joiya, and Phullarwan tribes, Syed Shah Latif snatches buffaloes of the Lak tribe from an old pathway. Lak leaders, along with their troops, chase them and it results in a fight between Syed and Lak tribes. According to the local tradition, Lak fighters kill seven sons of Syed Shah Latif. A fighter of the Bhatti tribe, Ali Khan, is also killed. According to a folk tradition, Shah Latif had insulted and pushed away a beggar who had cursed him.

> *In the north, a lioness gave birth to many cubs*
> *But she devoured your seven (sons)*
> *Fakirs should not be pushed away"*[13]

According to *Tareekh-e- Jhang Sial*,

> …and Wali Dad Khan was waiting for the opportune time (to weaken) the principality of Syeds which was situated on the northeast side. A rosewood tree stood at the northern border of the state and Syeds had cut it down. It led to a big battle. In this battle, three sons of Shah Latif, his close family members and several other noblemen of the state were killed. It had significantly weakened Syeds' power.[14]

Tareekh-e-Jhang Sial does not refer to the battle between Bhatti and Lak tribes. However, it is clear from its references that the Syed tribe got weakened due to local fights. The Nawab Wali Dad Khan Sial took advantage of this opportunity to annex this area for the expansion of the Jhang state. Maulvi Noor Muhammad Chela has indicated the year of death of Wali Dad Khan Sial as 1750 AD. Before Wali Dad Khan Sial's occupation of Bhabhrala, the battle between Bhatti and Lak tribes took place and Ali Khan Bhatti was killed which is mentioned in this legendary epic. After the death of Ali Khan Bhatti, his son Khizr became a righthand man of Wali Dad Khan Sial. He played an important role in promoting reconciliation between Sial and Baloch tribes at the time of the invasion of Sahiwal. According to a Punjabi folk story:

> Wali Dad Khan said, 'hey Lal if you had to do it why did you waste one lac rupee of me?' Ali Khan's son, Khizr, responded: 'Nawab Sahib, Lal's price is one lac rupees. Does one get jewels (la'al) free? You have spent one lac rupees and got a jewel. What else do you want?[15]

It is clear from the above discussion that the battle between Bhatti and Lak tribes took place during the first half of the eighteenth century. The place of origin of the Bhatti tribe is Bhatner. One of their ancestors migrated to Jandmali, a village in Thal. He had to leave that place due to his clash with the Baloch tribe. Ultimately, he decided to settle in village Bhorani, Tehsil Lalian, District Chiniot. According to Gazetteer of Jhang District, their first settlement in this district was at Jandmali, on the right bank of Jhelum, not many miles from the Shahpur boundary. They migrated thence to the country which the Sayad chief Latif Shah then ruled.[16]

Shah Latif was ruling over this area at that time. When Shah Latif snatched buffaloes of Lak tribe, a fight ensued, and Ali Khan Bhatti was killed in it. Ali Khan Bhatti was the father of Khizr, an important character of Punjabi folk literature. After the decline of the Syed tribe, battles took place between Bhatti and Lak tribes.

According to a Punjabi verse (dhola), "we have fought twenty-one battles with the Lak tribe, even then nobody hesitated".[17]

Lak tribe had been living in the area between Jhelum and Chenab since olden times. The history of Kirana region of the 18th century indicated that the Lak tribe was famous for its ferocity. For example;

> I steer ships away from storms, but you are a small boat
> If anyone wants to be prominent in the Kirana region, I kill him with my own hands[18]

Among old villages of this region, Mitha Lak, Tehsil, and District Sargodha had been the centre of the Lak tribe. According to this legendary epic, it seems that the enmity between Syed and Lak tribes was converted into the fight between Bhatti and Lak tribes. "Lak tribe had enmity with Shah Latif, why is Wadhiana tribe of Bhattis so oversensitive".[19]

During that period, the Lali tribe of the same region also started fighting with the Lak tribe. As a result of this prolonged enmity, the Lak tribe left the Kirana region and its ancestral village Mitha Lak and got settled in Mari Lak, Lak Mor, Otian, and Sakesar. Most of these villages are currently in District and Tehsil Sargodha. Descendants of brave and chivalrous men of Lak tribe, which have been highlighted in this legendary epic, are presently settled in these villages.

As mentioned earlier, Lak and Bhatti tribes fought 21 battles during the 18th century. However, our poet, Meer Moazzam, selected only a few events for his verse. He introduced Shah Latif and his troops in only seven verses. The indigenous tribes' ambition to occupy Kirana and surrounding areas was based on the availability of water and vast pasture for cattle grazing. The real motive behind the history of the conflict is the conquest of resources. The Kirana region can be ruled only by the sword. Meer Moazzam has also called Kirana hills pawns of chess and this game seems to be thirsty for human blood.

In this legendary epic, the fearless and valiant men of the Lak tribe have been enumerated. These included *Islam Lak, Sultan Lak, Varyam Lak, Alam, Budhay ka Lak, Latif Lak, Shahadat Lak, Jehana Lak*, and *Jalal Lak*. Though the poet hailed from the area of the Bhatti tribe, yet he was objective and did justice in his description of the bravery of Lak warriors. He has depicted the defeat of Bhatti and Syed tribes in this manner:

> The injured ones were asking from each other, which army was defeated. For Syed and Bhatti tribes, Mughaloon ka Gala was like Karbala for Imam's family. The strong attack by troops of Lak tribe forced Bhattis and Syeds to run. Islam, Sultan, Varyam Lak were attacking with swords like lions[20]

Warriors of both Bhatti and Lak tribes had been laying their lives on the battlefield. The poet had ended the legendary epic in twelve parts. He also presented an overview of the history of his times.

The central character of the legendary epic was Lakhi Bhatti. After the murder of his brother, Massu, the feeling of enmity was overwhelming for him. The intense desire for revenge had made his life hell. He used to wake up throughout the night and cry throughout the day. He could not think of anything other than taking revenge for his brother's murder. He dreamed all the time how he would kill Latif Lak or attack the Lak tribe fiercely and forcefully. Ultimately his tactics worked, and he killed Shahadat Lak in a brave attack. The poet had depicted the scene of his raised weapon and the moment of revenge and immortalized the bravery of Lakhi Bhatti forever. Massu Bhatti's relatives, Khan and Mutlim, were killed by Lak tribe in these fights. In this context, the poet did not find Lakhi Bhatti satisfied after the killing of Shahadat Lak. The rage and desire for revenge were still burning in his heart. The last verse of this legendary epic highlights it, "this is the path of Khan and Mutlim (who were killed); I will never bandon it".[21]

The path of Khan and Mutlim is now an idiomatic expression used at the banks of Chenab. When somebody is determined to do something, then this idiomatic expression is used. Enmity and revenge are associated with the human ego from the beginning. However, there is an aspect of bravery attached to these emotions also which is appreciated by the public. People create stories of heroes and sing their songs. The bravery is appreciated not only in wars and battles but also in daily matters of life.

Meer Moazzam wrote four legendary epics. When he authored *Bhattian Lakan di Var* (the legendary epic of Bhatti and Lak tribes), he had already perfected the art of expressing himself in minimum possible words. This legendary epic has been written in a particular meter called *Nishani Chhand*. However, when the poet wanted to articulate the intense feeling of characters, he occasionally used another technique in meter called *Sud*. Punjabi poets of legendary epics take this liberty of using another meter occasionally within the main meter system of the genre.

Similarly, Meer Moazzam also adjusted *Sud* like a jewel in the crown of the main meter *Nishani Chhand*.

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GENDER, BIASES, AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Most of the women in Pakistan live their life under the societal pressure which is exerted by centuries-old traditions. The patriarchal structure confers men the right to deal with women as their property. It is not wrong to say that women endure severe discrimination in their whole life. Women are confronted with multifaceted discrimination in the field of education, health, politics, social status, etc. The main theme of this research is to ascertain the present condition of gender inequality in the field of economy in Pakistan. Pakistan's poor ranking in the Global Gender Gap Index, 2016 depicts that women are deprived of fundamental rights as well as equal development opportunities. This very state of affairs depicts the real picture of the government's commitment to women empowerment and gender equality.

KEY WORDS

Dismal; Discrimination; Feudal; Patriarchal; Wage Gap

Pakistan is situated in South Asia having nearly 210-220 million total population (according to the census of 2017). The main feature of Pakistani society is its culture which tends to set some social codes for people and specifically for women. These codes must be followed by women strictly; otherwise, it will be regarded as a violation. The gender stereotypes of Pakistan do not have the tolerance to bear such type of violation. In this situation, she may even face condemnation to the extent of physical punishments.[1]

In Pakistan, women are confronted with severe discrimination throughout the country. It is axiomatic that they are less fed, with more duties in their lives. According to the mindset of society, a boy as a child is considered more important than a girl. Unfortunately, the majority of the girls are deprived of their right to make their own decisions even regarding education, marriage, jobs, etc. Women are in a state of agony in Pakistan where they are forced to stay at home and must be busy in domestic chores. They are denied participating in any kind of frivolous activity outside the house.[2] If a few of them take the chance to work outside the home, they also have to perform their household duties. People prefer to focus on the education of their male child and admit that investment will be paid back to them in the future. They intend to force their girls to marry off at an early age because girls are regarded as a burden and may not be the pillar (support) of the family.[3]

In Pakistan, the whole society is stratified based on the economic well-being of the people which comprises the upper class, the middle, and the lower class. Upper-class women are assumed lucky-ones who can enjoy a luxurious life and many other facilities. They are regarded as a member of the society who has equal rights but this concept has proven wrong through various surveys. Like many other NGOs, Simorgh conducted research and revealed the fact that upper-class women are equally in bad condition as are women who belong to the lower class.[4]

Women always avoid joining paid jobs in Pakistan because their household duties make them over-burdened. Social pressure restricts her to perform the entire chores single-handedly. Women are restricted in their mobility because it is considered unsafe for them to travel alone. Moreover, it is a violation of cultural codes that women do work with men and interact with them. When a woman takes the step to enter into the paid job, she has to endure severe discrimination at the workplace also in terms of promotion, wages, and other facilities. However, most of the women join low cadre jobs because they are not considered appropriate candidates for managerial jobs.[5]

Many organisations are working for women at the international level. Thomas Reuters Foundation researched the status of women in Pakistan and they included Pakistan in the category of those countries where women mostly live in the worst condition. It is quite evident in the Global Gender Gap Report that Pakistan is the country where women are denied educational and health facilities and participation in the field of politics and economics.[6] The Georgetown Institute for women has conducted a study of 153 countries with the help of the Peace Research Institute of Oslo. In this study, the concerned institutions claim that Pakistan stands 150th among all the countries in terms of women's safety and gender inequality. The main finding of the study is that only 3% of women are involved in the economic activities of the state.[7]

According to the annual report (Global Gender Gap Index, 2016), Pakistan secured the rank of 143 out of 144 countries in the world. As compared to Pakistan, Bangladesh stood at the position of 72 (score 0.698) and India 87 (score 0.683) in the overall ranking. Pakistan's score was 0.559 in which it earns 1.00 for equality and 0.00 for inequality. Moreover, Pakistan was placed 35th in educational attainment, 125th in health and survival, and 87th in political empowerment.[8]

While measuring the global gap, we earn the lowest rank in the array of disparity which has depicted the bleak picture for women who keep on struggling to attain their equal share in all spheres of life. Although Pakistan has signed the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) as well as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it remains the last in the rank of women participation in the workforce among all the SAARC countries.[9]

In this study, the qualitative method has been adopted. Based on the facts regarding gender-based economic inequality; inferences have been drawn about the given problem. The nature of this study is descriptive as well as exploratory which helps to make some recommendations by analyzing the reasons for gender inequality in Pakistan. To make the research more valuable, primary sources based on the original reports/texts, governmental documents, reports of NGOs, HRCP (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan), World Economic Forum, Economic Survey of Pakistan have been used. Efforts are also made to collect data from secondary sources which include books, journals, newspapers, magazines, research papers, and newsletters.

ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

The dismal condition of women has remained unchanged in Pakistan. However, the shades of discrimination vary from area to area but its effects are equally terrible on the life of women everywhere. Since birth, women are supposed to face discrimination in every phase of their life.[10] It is a world-wide accepted fact that equal participation of both genders is the key to development which ensures sustainable growth in every field.

Pakistan's economy has always been considered very weak which could not achieve sustainable growth since its inception. Various factors are there which contribute to the poor economy of Pakistan such as conflict with neighboring states, high defense budget, bad governance, corruption, etc. Gender inequality, as one of the main reasons, was not realized in the past but now has gained enough attention at the national level as well as on the international level. Women's social and economic deprivation has been accepted as the major problem which drags on to Pakistan's economy.[11]

The World Economic Forum measures the disparity between men and women, which illustrates the tendency of obstinacy based on specific parameters of economic participation and opportunities in Pakistan. Gender Gap Index, 2016 includes five other indicators in the field of economy to measure the overall gender disparity because the economic condition is the base of all the other matters of human life ranging from health, education, employment to social status, etc. These indicators are mainly the labour force participation, wage gap for similar work, estimated income, and positions secured as legislators, senior officials, managers, and the number of professional and technical workers.[12]

Labour force participation measures the ratio of those working-age people who are actively looking for work. The segregation in our society, based on gender, is mainly the reason for the gap and low ratio of women in it. Various discriminatory practices and laws of workplaces restrict women's participation. Moreover, women have very limited choices for work in Pakistan because every kind of job is not regarded as suitable and, ironically, respectable for them. Hence, women are not considered appropriate candidates for a job in the factory and mining industry. Another reason which hampers the women participation is that women are always required to provide unnecessary details like husband/father's name, address as well as the identity of a person as a witness to ensure registration for any business.[13]

The women's participation as a labor force is 27.3pc in the rural area and 10.8pc in urban areas as compared to men who have secured a participation rate of 70.3pc in villages and 66.4pc in cities (Labour Force Survey 2014-2015). According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 33.20% of men are employed and women's ratio remains low with 13.35% in rural areas. As far as the ratio of employed men and women in urban areas are concerned, just 3.88% of women are employed in comparison to men with 31.69%.[14]

In Pakistan, the whole society cut across the lines of patriarchal mindset which is almost impossible to change. It's a society where males have dominated the lives of their women and completely control their mobility, but the growing awareness among the people as well as the efforts of various organisations and media helps to change the whole scenario. The number of working women is increasing day by day but the pay gap between men and women is yet to be reduced.

The measurement of wage inequality between men and women is depicted through the average income of both genders which can also help to assess the gap in this regard. The wage gap is measured based on education, expertise, previous experience, age, household responsibilities, customs and traditions, full-time or part-time jobs, etc. The skills and education are the main factors and appropriate variables that can affect the wage gap but there are some other noticeable features of stereotype set up which directly and indirectly pave the way for the disparity.[15]

As far as the women's average income is concerned, women are, yet again, the victims in this domain by earning less than men. It is an international issue that women have been earning only between 4pc to 36pc as compared to the earning of men. The countries in Asia get a lead in the wage gap estimated in the range of 20-25pc. On the other hand, the Europeans remain between the figure of 15-20pc and the Nordic countries secure the highest position with the lowest gap of just 5pc.[16] According to the Global Gender Gap Index (2016), Pakistan secures the position of 88th among all the other counties in the wage gap whereas Bangladesh and India remain at 126 and 129 respectively.[17]

Despite the government's endeavour to increase wages, it does not have any trickledown effect. Acute disparity tends to reduce the average income of women in Pakistan. According to the International Labour Organisation, women are earning 38.5% less than men for the same job. Many women workers earn a meager sum of money or work as unpaid employees.[18] Overall monthly income of men is far better than women. On average, men are supposed to earn Rs15,884 in comparison to women who are earning less than Rs10,000 monthly.[19]

In the private sector, the great divide is observed in salary packages for both genders. The reason behind this inequality is that private organizations have not been directed properly by the government. The domination of men is inherently embedded in our society which is the main fact while taking decisions regarding remunerations of the women employees. However, women get low wages than men which compels them to live in misery.[20]

The rules and regulations, which are being followed for the appointments, do not encourage any discrimination against women but the personal choices of authorities who are responsible for the selection, usually, depict business. It's a general perception in Pakistan that women are misfit for the executive posts. It's not wrong to say that women candidates are constantly being ignored for top positions.[21] Only 0.3pc females get the chance to work in the higher ranks of management and administration. The technological, as well as industrial fields, are also not regarded as suitable for women. Therefore, just 6.4pc and 0.9pc women work as skilled personnel and experts respectively.[22]

FUNDAMENTAL REASONS FOR GENDER INEQUALITY

Over the decades, the Government of Pakistan has pledged many times to eradicate gender inequality but left enough room for men to suppress and subjugate women. However, it is enshrined in the constitutions of Pakistan that women should be given all the rights to get proper education, appropriate jobs, and health facilities equal to men. They are also given representation in law-making agencies but their voices are yet to be heard. Women are economically weak as well as the victims of poverty at large. Although, a large number of women are employed in private and public sectors that transition does not pave the way for actual empowerment for women.[23] The measures taken by the government have remained ineffective to eradicate gender inequality because of some important factors are discussed here.

Since the inception of Pakistan, no doubt, a cluster of influential people enjoys complete control over the state apparatus. They know all the tools to manipulate voters which helps them to attain the mandate and secure seats in the parliament. Most of them have a feudal mindset which is against women's liberty and empowerment. Around 70% of the population lives in rural areas in Pakistan, which is bound to their intricate tribal structure. Feudalism is, generally, perceived as a system that believes that every kind of exploitation against women is just.[24]

In this well-knit society of Pakistan, people are identified by *Bradari* where a woman is restricted completely by men in her choices. Most of the codes of *Bradaris* are against the independence of women. Moreover, these codes are very well-entrenched and almost impossible to root out.[25] In this state of affair, the whole government apparatus always remains supportive of the dogmatic patriarchal system which has aggravated the situation.

In 2002, the representation of women was increased by 33% in all institutes at the local level and 17% in parliament. It was a constructive effort for the whole society but women who have been registered as voters are 44% in Pakistan and considered as the marginalized group should have more seats in parliament.[26] The model which has been followed as the proportional representation of women is not based on the ratio of women voters polled but according to the seats won by the concerned political parties in Pakistan.[27] Until they have a say in the legislature, they could not devise the strategy to ensure gender equality in Pakistan.

The discrimination against women which, often, results in violence is the result of rigid and inflexible customary practices of Pakistan. Under the shadow of our culture, there are many sub-cultures which restrict the people to follow some social customs/codes of conduct. It is not out of place to say that women are supposed to be the real victims of this discourse because their life is confined under the typical rules of society devised by orthodox minds.[28]

The legislation of a country is, probably, the mirror image of the behaviour of the whole society. Therefore, the framework which is being followed for legislation decreases the social status of women in Pakistan. A World Bank report titled "Women, Business and the Law 2016" mentions 14 laws in Pakistan that restrict women's will to work and avail of such opportunities.[29] The laws, which support discrimination, encourage the forces against the empowerment of women. Many half-hearted attempts have been made to support women which, in turn, hurt the lives of women.[30]

Religion has a great impact on the lives of people in Pakistan. Under the garb of religion, people provide protective cover to these traditions which often causes repression of women. Although Muslim scholars believe that Islam ensured the rights of women hundreds of years ago, the stark contrast is observed between cultural traditions and Islamic ideology. Our societal set up stresses the domesticated role of women to stabilise the very fabric of our society. In this discourse, various scholars give an orthodox interpretation of many doctrines of Islam which encourages the state machinery to make discriminatory laws against women.[31]

RECOMMENDATIONS

The discrimination against women cannot be eliminated without bringing about change in the mindset of the overall society. Article-25 and Article-27 are enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan to ensure and safeguard equal rights for all the citizens of Pakistan.[32] The government should evolve a system that will eliminate all discriminatory practices. To ensure equality, it is necessary to change the patriarchal feature of society in Pakistan. Women should be given proper status and respect. Men should not deal with women as their property. The change in the attitude of men will, ultimately, reflect the change in the whole society. The pattern of customary practices that hamper the progress of women should be changed. The steps should be taken to increase the literacy rate to dilute the patriarchal structure of our society.[33] The whole society should change the pattern to raise their boy child. To ensure respect for the female community, parents should teach the lesson of respect to them.[34] For the recruitment procedure, the concerned authorities should be given strict instructions to provide equal opportunities for employment to everyone. Selection commissions under the federal and provincial governments should be given special training to avoid discriminatory practices.

Equal remunerations and ranks should be ensured for both genders. The environment should be created to enable women to choose the appropriate field and proper vocations.[35] Women can be encouraged to join different departments by introducing proper facilities such as maternity leaves, transport, fixed working hours, day-care center, etc. These infrastructural changes will increase the women ratio in labour force participation. Proper and effective legislation is required to keep an affirmative check on private organisations. Beyond the gender division, a uniform system should be adopted to encourage women to play their roles in the development of the country. A consistent effort is required to change the overall mindset of society as well as to ensure women's empowerment.

According to the World Economic Forum, a period of more than a century is required to resolve the problem of the wage gap but the efforts of the national government can reduce this gap. The government sector endeavours to introduce equal pay scales for men and women but the regulations for the private sector are yet to be devised.[36] NGOs and human rights activists, who are supposed to deal with women-related issues, should conduct proper research before taking any concrete step. State, with the help of NGOs, should launch programs to support women economically.[37] Media must perform its key role to highlight the importance of gender equality and help to resolve this issue by screening the programms in support of women.

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AGRICULTURAL ENCROACHMENTS INTO GOVERNMENT FOREST RESERVES IN NIGERIA: ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF FOREST MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the approved practice of farming inside forest reserves has broken down in Nigeria. This has posed threat to sustainable forest management and environmental safety. I consult both primary archival data as well as published literature on forest management in Nigeria since the colonial period. It uncovers that the creation of forest reserves in Nigeria dispossessed many farmers of their farmlands permanently. It also finds that farmers were soon allocated open spaces inside forest reserves from where timbers were harvested to grow food crops along with tree seedlings to mitigate their problem of land shortage. This practice is called Taungya farming and was a temporary measure for farming while regenerating the cleared parts of the reserves. The paper finds that the colonial government closely monitored the Taungya farming to ensure that farmers conformed to the rules. It equally discovers that Taungya farming continued after independence but was no longer monitored and farmers were not replanting the tree seedlings as required. It finds again that Taungya farmers later began to plant permanent cash crops instead of temporary food crops in the reserves. It finds the planting of cash crops in the reserves as encroachment into the reserves. It concludes that farming encroachments into the reserves had serious implications that could jeopardise sustainable forest management and threaten environmental safety.

KEYWORDS

Agricultural Encroachments; Forest Reserves; Taungya Farming; Colonial Forest Policy; Sustainable Development

Deforestation and measures to arrest it had become a serious issue for the managers of the forest and natural resources around the world. The responsibility had also been placed, by the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), on the shoulders of the national governments in the global community to ensure that their respective citizens put their forest and environmental resources to sustainable uses as contained in the Brundtland Report.[1] The need to conserve the forest resources for future use in Nigeria was first identified by the colonial government way back in the 1880s and 1890s.[2] After initial opposition from the indigenous landowners, forest reserves were constituted and were managed by the governments to ensure sustainability.[3]

However, in order to mitigate the challenges of a land shortage brought on by the forest reservation project, the colonial government in Nigeria made provision for the practice of farming temporarily in open spaces inside forest reserves. This was known as *Taungya* farming. It was better managed under colonial rule than was the case after independence.[4] The fall out of the poor management of *Taungya* farming in the post-colonial period and the impact of the same on the sustainability of forest resources was the concern of this paper.

INDIGENOUS AGROFORESTRY

There were no clear demarcations, in the pre-colonial agrarian communities in Nigeria, between the natural forests and arable farmlands. The latter naturally derived from the former on a rotational basis under the traditional land tenure system of shifting cultivation.[5] Trees were either purposively planted or allowed to grow wildly in the forests. Furthermore, trees were very significant to the traditional Nigerian peoples that they were considered as an integral part or extension of agricultural activities. Trees performed both economic and ecological functions to these peoples. The economic functions included the provision of edible fruits, planks, and firewood. The ecological needs it met were the provision of shades for humans and tender plants just growing. It also included, when planted in large numbers, providing shelter for wildlife and the renewal of soil nutrients, among others.

The sheer sizes of some of the forest reserves in Nigeria were such as did have serious negative impacts on the myriad of peoples from whom they were taken away and who had depended on these lands for their agrarian livelihoods. A few examples might serve to illustrate this claim. The examples provided include the sizes of some of the forest reserves as at when they were being constituted in the 1920s. According to the Annual Report 1924,[6] Oluwa Forest Reserve in Ondo State, Nigeria was 380 Square Miles; Shasha Forest Reserve in Oshun State, Nigeria, 660 Square Miles; Ohosu Forest Reserve in Edo State Nigeria, 400 Square Miles; and Ifon-Owo Reserves in Ondo State Nigeria, 500 Square Miles, among others.

Those that forfeited their lands to the forest reservation projects needed alternative farmlands for their farming activities to continue. The direct impact of taking away such large chunks of lands from the peoples was not immediately felt under colonial rule. Part of the reason was that the number and ratio of the farmers to available arable lands in colonial Nigeria were comparatively much less than was the case in the post-independence period. Oriola explained that the low pressure on arable lands in pre-colonial times was partly because of internecine wars in many parts of Nigeria which ended with the coming of the Europeans.[7] The insecurity occasioned by these wars limited the pressure put on lands by farmers. Berry identified the introduction of cocoa in the 1880s and 1890s as a push factor towards opening up more forests for cash crop production.[8] Sure enough, there were encroachments into forest reserves in the colonial period but were less in scale and mostly affected reserved lands that were still at the proposal stage. As the proposed forests appear in the government Gazettes as reserved, the rate of encroachment is often reduced. As the population increased, more pressure was put on the land and the shortage of farmlands became more visible. The issues dealt with in this paper were the consequences of the self-help devices that most of the affected farmers resorted to in the effort to address their land shortage situations their way.

One of the recurrent issues that posed a serious challenge to the reservation exercise in colonial Nigeria was the demarcation of the reserved forests. This was more so because the reservation idea itself warranted a total readjustment of the agricultural economic activities of the rural farming population whose farmlands had been transformed into forest reserves. Colonial Memo on Forest Demarcation showed that the reservation project had two categories of effects on the rural dwellers.[9] The first had to do with those whose lands were wholly reserved and, as a result, had to relocate elsewhere to continue their farming activities. The second group involved those that were demarcated to remain either inside of, or around the immediate neighbourhood of the reserved forests to continue their farming occupation. The second category of farmers was defined by the forestry ordinances as enclave dwellers and their villages or places of habitation were referred to as forest enclaves.

The rules and regulations guiding the activities of the forest enclave dwellers were spelled out in the respective forestry ordinances and other relevant forestry regulations. The regulations identified the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of these people in the forest enclaves both inside and around the forests. The various British colonial officers administering the affected areas expressed divergent opinions as to how best to cater to the identified rights and interests of the enclave dwellers. There were two broad categories of opinions in this regard. The first group believed that the enclave dwellers could be accommodated even within the constituted forest reserves so long as their places of abode were clearly demarcated inside the reserves according to Memo on Forest Demarcation 1927.[10]

In the Memo on Forest Demarcation 1928, the second group held that allowing forest enclaves to exist within the constituted forest reserves would end up defeating the very purpose of establishing the forest reserves.[11] They contended that encroachment from within the reserves could not be safeguarded against in that circumstance. They rather held the view that any concession of land considered appropriate for the enclave dwellers should be demarcated in minute details and excised completely away from the forest reserves.[12] They were more comfortable with keeping forest enclaves outside of the reserves than having them inside. Another grey area in connection with the above debate on forest enclave dwelling had to do with who controlled them. If they were enclosed within the reserved forests, they came under the control of the respective forestry departments.[13] If, however, they were demarcated outside the forest reserves, they were still considered enclave dwellers but were free to run their affairs outside of the control of the forestry departments.

Given the matters that kept arising as to the most appropriate way of notifying the landowners of governments' intention to reserve their lands, the governments made amendments from time to time on the more acceptable procedure as reported in the Memo on Constitution of Forest Reserves 1929.[14] The boundary demarcation spelled out the duties and obligations of the enclave dwellers towards the forestry departments in their respective domains. The other grey area in respect of forest demarcation had to do with when exactly to demarcate the reserve in question. Some colonial officers were of the view that a provisional boundary was necessary even before the constitution of the reserve to properly identify it in concrete terms for the respective communities whose lands were to be reserved. This view was expressed in the Memo on Constitution of Forest Reserves 1929.[15] Some others, in the same Memo, however, were of the contrary opinion that it only made sense to demarcate a forest reserve's boundary after it had been properly constituted. In order to reduce the delays often caused by the complaints about and appeals against the judgment of the Reserve Settlement Officers before declaring a forest as a reserve, the colonial authorities in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria made an amendment to the procedure for finally publishing the constituted forest reserves in the government gazette. This was found in the Memo on Forest Reserves, 1931.[16] The amendment was that once the Survey Department and the Crown Counsel at the provincial level had gone through the documents creating the forest reserves and cleared it, no further complaints were entertained at the national level, as was previously obtainable, before publishing the forest reserve in the official gazette.

Forest *Taungya* planting was a type of artificial regeneration of logged-over forests in colonial Nigeria. It was an agroforestry arrangement between the forestry departments and the rural farmers in Nigeria that began in the 1920s. It was part of the colonial government's response to the challenges of deforestation resulting from the intensive logging activities of the timber extractors. The government's decision to involve the local farmers was a realisation of the inadequacy of the combined efforts of the licensees and the forestry departmental staff in matching the rate of deforestation. It was also a partial response to the allied challenge of decrement of farmlands available to the rural farmers consequent upon the growing forest reservation processes going on in the 1920s and the 1930s.

The logic of *Taungya* planting was predicated upon the existing shifting cultivation farming practice to which the farmers in Nigeria were already accustomed. The colonial authorities wanted to manage the shifting cultivation system in a more environmentally sustainable way. Campbell reported that the taungya planting system was borrowed into Southern Nigeria from Asia[17] where it had previously been successfully applied.[18]

The adaptation of the *Taungya* system was geared towards the efforts of orientating and mobilising the teaming farming population in Nigeria towards the task of regenerating exploited forest timbers. It was also further targeted at gradually getting the affected farmers used to tree planting as a way to motivate them towards private forestry initiatives. The overall objective was to guide the farmers in their farming activities in a manner that would enhance quick reforestation of exploited forest lands.

To achieve this, the forest departments allocated the forest reserve lands clear-felled by the timber merchants to the farmers in plots and acres commensurate with the capacity of each applicant. They also issued tree seedlings to these farmers to be inter-planted with arable crops on the prepared lands. *Tectona grandis* (Teak) and *Gmelina arborea* (Gmelina) were the two most common seedlings given to the farmers from the nursery beds at the forestry departments. However, other types of indigenous trees were also added occasionally. It was expected that if the tree seedlings were planted and spaced according to specifications from the forest officers, in three to four years, their canopies would have properly formed to discourage any further farming on the same land. From that time on, such lands were considered to have been reforested. Farmers on such lands were therefore expected to apply to the forest departments for new allocations of forest reserve lands for another round of *Taungya* planting. This was expected to be a continuous exercise as a kind of forestry department-farmers collaborative engagements in the reforestation project. This *Taungya* scheme existed side by side with all other types of regeneration methods coordinated by the forest departments.

TAUNGYA FARMING IN NIGERIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The practice of *Taungya* farming continued inside government forest reserves after the attainment of political independence in Nigeria as observed by von Hellermann.[19] It served dual purposes for those engaged in it. For the forestry departments, it was deployed to serve as a regeneration or reforestation device. For the farmers, it provided temporary reliefs for the arable land shortage that was on the increase after independence. However, the management of *Taungya* farming faced some challenges that collectively resulted in its eventual derailment.

The first and about the most important challenge that faced the *Taungya* farming system had to do with the forestry departments that had the duties of supervising and coordinating the project. The forestry sector began to suffer neglect from the Nigerian government after its independence in 1960. As a result of this neglect, forest management activities of the respective forestry departments across Nigeria began to dwindle as time went on. Furthermore, the staffing conditions began to worsen as retiring staff was not promptly and sufficiently replaced. Popoola noted that even the staffs remaining in the forestry departments were not positively motivated in a manner that could ensure sustainable forest management. [20]

Added to the above was the fact that the forest guards, charged with the duties of policing the forest reserves were ill-equipped to perform that function. Nigerian forest guards were neither trained in the use of firearms nor were equipped with the same. On the contrary, many of the forest poachers and encroachers were often armed with firearms and other dangerous weapons to threaten forest guards that might stand in their ways. In some of the states in Nigeria, Ogun State precisely, forestry officers often sought for and obtained the support of armed police personnel to provide them with security cover whenever they embarked on routine checks or inspections of the forest reserves in their domain. In this circumstance, the government regulatory and forest law enforcement apparatus was weak and could not provide sufficient security for the forest resources in the country.

Many of the farmers in Nigeria, who had previously participated in the *Taungya* farming, began to deviate from guidelines for engaging in the *Taungya* farming exercise. This led to the distortion of the *Taungya* farming system such that only a few farmers still planted tree seedlings allocated to them as required while many others introduced cash crops like cocoa and kola nuts. The introduction of cash crops brought with it the mushrooming of illegal forest enclaves consisting of hamlets and villages of cocoa and kola nut growers inside government forest reserves in Nigeria.

With the above lapses in the management of the forests by the forestry departments, many supposed *Taungya* farmers, by themselves, soon transformed into cash crops growers inside government forest reserves. This was in flagrant contravention of the law establishing the forest reserves which prohibited planting arable crops inside the reserves. Forest encroachment is a phenomenon that state governors across Nigeria were grappling with and had not surmounted. Forest encroachment varied according to the type of activities of those involved.

Illegal entrants into and poachers of forest resources were often loosely referred to as encroachers. However, cash crops growers were peculiar in that while other illegal forest users invaded the forests, looted what they wanted, and moved out, cash crops growers moved into the reserves, settled in, and began to grow their cash crops as if they were doing their legitimate farming businesses. These cocoa and kola nut growers were mostly found in the South-south and South-west geo-political zones of Nigeria. These areas were the worst hit by the malaise of forest encroachments. The simple reason was that the cultivation of cocoa necessarily required fertile rain forests for optimal yield. Such lands were not readily available, given the scarcity of farmlands relative to the growing farming population.

The finding of the studies by some scholars on the forestry situation in Nigeria had uncovered that these forest encroachments had eaten deeply into the forest reserves especially in the Southern part of Nigeria. Adeola, linked forest degradation to the activities of illegal forest enclave dwellers growing cocoa inside forest reserves in Ondo State, South-western Nigeria. It found that, contrary to the laws of Ondo State prohibiting encroachments into government forest reserves, many cash crops growing villages had been created inside the affected forest reserves.

Two major factors did make the encroachments possible. The first one was the indiscriminate paving of access roads into many parts of the forest reserves by the timber extractors. Understandably, it was almost impossible to extract timbers without cutting out such access roads. However, after such timber extractions, cash crop growers surreptitiously traced their ways deep inside the forest reserves to settle in and grow cash crops. Allied to that was the fact that most forest reserves were located far away from the urban centres and the major feeder roads connecting towns and cities. What that meant was that the illegal activities of such farmers inside the forest reserves were often cleverly concealed for years until their crops began to mature. It took about five to six years for cocoa of kola nut to mature and begin to bear fruits. The affected villages were mostly stumbled upon by forest guards or other forest officers by accidents during a routine patrol of their respective forest beats.

The situation was even more precarious in Osun State, Nigeria. The Shasha Forest Reserve, 660 Square Miles when established under colonial rule, was the largest in the state. However, Osun State Government Report 2017, showed that it was barely up to a Hundred Square Miles at the time of writing this paper as a result of the activities of illegal enclave dwellers and cash crops growers occupying the reserve.[21] There had been running battles between the Osun State Government and the cash crops growers inside the Shasha forest Reserve which often involved the deployment of joint police and military personnel to invade the illegal forest enclaves, destroy their crops, buildings and eject their occupants. This development was about the latest in the battle to reclaim the occupied forest reserves from the occupants. It was still an ongoing development and the outcome is yet to be seen.

The states in the rain forest region of Nigeria experienced varying degrees of forest encroachment by these cash crop growers. The affected states in this category, without prejudice to other states in Nigeria, were Ondo, Osun, Edo, Ogun, and Oyo States respectively. These were the main cocoa growing states in Nigeria. The cocoa growing states, of course, included Cross River State but the latter did not have the king of record of illegal cash crops growing forest enclave dwellers like the examples of Ondo and Osun cited above. This phenomenon of arbitrary conversion of government forest reserves into commercial cocoa and cola nut plantations was a particular kind of challenge with dire consequences for sustainable forest and environmental resources management.

FOREST MANAGEMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS

The scenarios of encroachments into government forest reserves just discussed above collectively resulted from a number of factors. The first one was the discovery of petroleum resources in Nigeria shortly before its independence. Before this period, agriculture was the mainstay of its economy and forest resources also fetched the country much foreign revenue. Furthermore, the challenges posed by the increase in the rural farming population without alternative means of livelihood other than agriculture were not addressed by the successive governments. Also, there were no reforms in the country's land policy to sufficiently cater for the needs of potential farmers for arable lands.

In addition to the above factors, the respective forestry departments (the government agency set up to manage forest resources) had become so ineffective and unable to salvage the forest reserves under their watch from the activities of the farming encroachers. The encroachers were, sometimes armed with dangerous weapons, including firearms while the government forest guards did not bear arms. The departments of forestry were mostly understaffed, and the staff was poorly paid and motivated. These shortcomings, on the part of the government forestry departments, did expose the forest reserves to the encroachers who went ahead of the clear them for cash crops cultivation.

The implications of all the aforementioned encroachment challenge menacing Nigerian forest reserves were varied and many. The general implication of forest encroachments was that it gave rise to many challenges collectively capable of rendering the objective of sustainable forest management in Nigeria unattainable. The first of such challenges was the continuous reduction of the country's forest cover. The colonial government's forest reservation objective had been to reserve, at least, twenty percent of Nigeria's total landmass as government forest reserve as contained in the Annual Report 1921.[22] At independence, however, less than ten percent of the total land was brought under reservation as reported in the Agricultural Development Plan 1974.[23] With the rate of encroachment and denudation of the country's high forests in the Southern part, the rate of reserved Nigerian forest land might continue to dwindle precariously.

Another consequence of forest encroachment by cash crop growers was the loss of revenue it caused to the governments. The amount of revenue that the affected governments were losing was directly proportional to the sizes of their forest lands taken over by farmers and converted to cash crops plantations. Before converting forested lands into cocoa or kola nut farms, the forests were first cleared and burnt. By this act alone, all the potential sources of forest revenues were simply destroyed before converting such lands to private commercial farms. As these practices of forest encroachments continued unchecked, the losses incurred by the governments in financial terms equally increased by the same percentage.

Apart from the loss of forest revenue, it also exposed the forest soils to degradation. One of the major ecological functions of the forests to the environment was the protection of forest soil fertility by shielding the forest floors from direct contact with the sun. With the clearing of the forests for cash crops growing, the forest floors were exposed and during the years it took the cash crops to grow, the erstwhile fertile forest soils began to lose their fertility. This was not a positive development since the forested parts of the Southern part of Nigeria were among the few places left with comparatively rich soil.

The overall consequence of the above-listed challenges was the worsening of Nigeria's rating as ranking high among the most deforested nations around the world. The challenges presented above placed Nigeria's forest estate in a situation where both flora and fauna were threatened with imminent extinction. This was apart from those animal and plant species that were about extinct already. Furthermore, with the situation of desert encroachment from the Northern Nigeria, the scale of environmental hazard had grown worse. Even the Southern parts of Nigeria, which used to have very rich rain forests, were already being ceaselessly nibbled at by the numerous groups of forest encroachers highlighted above. Without a successful and instant check on the forest encroachers in Nigeria, the future of sustainable forest management in Nigeria looked very bleak.

With most of Nigeria's formerly thick forest cover giving way to forest farming population, the country has been having its own share of climate change and global warming. One of the most environmental functions performed by the forest was that it served as carbon sink storing away carbon from the atmosphere thereby reducing heat. However, with increasing loss of forest cover, and the bush burning that accompanied forest clearing, much of the carbon formerly stored were let back into the atmosphere to increase heat. Apart from the denudation of the government forest reserves, the governments had not done enough public enlightenment that could help the citizens cultivate the habit of tree planting. The overall environmental consciousness and safe environmental behaviour in Nigeria had been poor. Apart from making political statements on the need for a sustainable environment, concrete policy actions were not taken to address the issues raised above that could help ameliorate the potential environmental dangers pointed out above. This development was seriously inimical to a sustainable environment and if not arrested might result in graver environmental hazards.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the phenomenon of forest encroachments in the Nigerian forest reserves and the implications it has for a sustainable environment in Nigeria since the colonial period. It has found, through colonial records and existing literature, that right from the creation of forest reserves by the colonial administrators, the forest reserves has faced the danger of encroachments by farmers deprived of their farmlands. The paper discovers that the sizes of lands taken from the peoples and conserved into forest reserves were such as did predispose the farmers to be land-hungry and desperate to occupy any forested land they had access to. It finds that the colonial administrators were able to contain the spate of forest encroachments in their time partly because they were able to effectively manage the *Taungya* farming system.

Besides, the paper finds that the rate of forest encroachments in Nigeria was more pronounced in the cash crops growing zone of the South-west and South-southern Nigeria. It also cites a few examples of the areas and states that experienced the encroachments. The paper links governments' inability to contain these forest encroachments to the poor staffing and funding conditions of the forestry departments coupled with the poor motivation of the forestry personnel. The paper identifies the emergence of petroleum resources as Nigeria's major foreign exchange earner as mostly responsible for the sustained neglect of the forestry sector over the years.

The paper views the situation of forest encroachments in Nigeria as an indication of governments' failure to manage their forest estates sustainably. This failure resulted from years of neglect to address the issues that negatively affected both the rural farming population and the forestry departments. The paper identifies the implications of the practice of forest encroachments by cash crops growers on sustainable management and the negative factors they had given rise to. It concludes that the practices of forest encroachments into government forest reserves by the cash crops growers were an indication of the failure of governments to manage their forests. It further submitts that the challenges menacing sustainable forest management highlighted above were avoidable and surmountable but still portend environmental hazards if not addressed decisively.

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