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Review of 'Nation, Territory, and Globalization in Pakistan: Traversing the Margins' by Chad Haines

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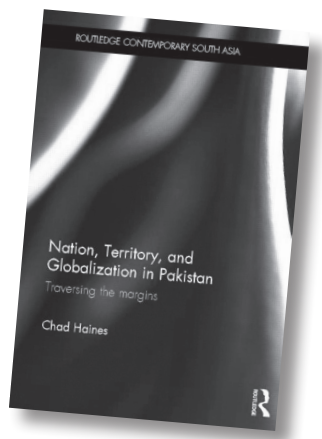
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Nation, Territory, and Globalization in Pakistan: Traversing the Margins.

Chad Haines. London and New York: Routledge, 2012. 168 pages. ISBN 9780415587785.

Reviewed by Catherine Warner

In *Nation, Territory, and Globalization in Pakistan*, Chad Haines discusses the making of Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan region from the colonial period to the present with a focus on the development of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) from the 1970s. The study packs into a dense 168 pages a multitude of observations and arguments about the relationship between space, globalization, mobility, and nation-making. The central take-away is that territorialization, or "demarcating the spatial extent of state power" (p. 17), is necessarily an incomplete process, not just in Pakistan but perhaps in the case of all nation-states; furthermore, a claim to space is always infused with very historically specific claims to power and the production of social identities.

Haines carries out this project in several key steps that correspond with the main sections of his monograph. First, he situates the KKH historically as a continuation of incomplete territorialization produced by British colonial frontier policy as state power was not fully linked to spatial control. Second, he posits Pakistan's engagement with road building, bureaucratization, and development in the Gilgit-Baltistan region (through

which the KKH traverses) as furthering marginalization and the reconfiguration of space into "new structures of power" (p. 10)—processes which he sees as building upon the colonial legacy (pp. 4-10). Finally, he examines the relationship between the people who circulate along the road and locals to illuminate how nation-building in Pakistan has produced uneven forms of belonging within the space of the state. In doing so, he links the emergence of the local along the KKH as a "relational category" to national, regional and global processes (pp. 8-9).

The first two chapters delve into the colonial past and the "frontierization" (to borrow from the title of Chapter 1) of the Gilgit Agency, which was established in 1889 but continually changed in shape and administrative arrangements until 1947. Haines argues that the British integrated the region as a borderless space defined by routes that furthered imperial access to strategic regions such as Afghanistan and China (pp. 17-19). Roads, more than the demarcation of borders, helped to shape the region within hierarchies of spatial relationships to accord with British colonial trade and "military-bureaucratic" interests (p. 37). Furthermore, the British built roads to politically link the disparate principalities of the Gilgit Agency to the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir, and later to Punjab and the Northwest Frontier (NWF), and away from political connections to Badakshan and China (pp. 37-39, 51), thereby "[weaving] it into the

fabric of British India" (p. 37). As part of frontier policy, unlike in much of British India, movement into and out of the region was tightly controlled, which further marginalized Gilgit within the imperial structure. A limited number of migrants, mostly from Kashmir, Punjab, and the NWF, were allowed in to service the military cantonment in Gilgit and labor on road projects, but very few people from Gilgit were allowed to travel outside of the region (pp. 44-51). Based upon original archival research in Delhi, London, and Lahore, the first two chapters support Haines' thesis that the British colonial administration "landscaped the region as a liminal territory" (p. 51). While the archival traces may be limited, there is little sense of how local people understood these processes. More evidence to support the argument that "the expansion of power through boundaries and along routes reformed cultural worlds, realigned social orientations, and reshaped local lives" (p. 34) would be welcome.

The third chapter, "Reorienting National Horizons: The Silk Road Imagined," connects the discussion of colonial history to the post-colonial reconfiguration of region, local space, and transnational connections, as facilitated by the physical and ideational creation of the KKH. Haines offers the notion of "national horizons" to conceptualize West Pakistan's emphasis on links with Central Asia as a way of "looking westward away from India" from the 1960s (p. 55). Haines defines "national hori-

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Catherine Warner on *Nation, Territory, and Globalization in Pakistan: Traversing the Margins*.

zons” as “an imagined linkage with a civilizational world that binds several nation-states together” (p.55). Finding little evidence for scholarly and state-sponsored claims that a section of the ancient Silk Route ran through Gilgit-Baltistan and linked Pakistan to China and Central Asia (pp. 69-71), Haines instead reads such claims as a way for Pakistan to extend control over Gilgit-Baltistan as well as offer “a distinct history, different from the history of India” (p. 67). Thus, the imagined history of the KKH extracts Pakistan from South Asia, which is seen by many to be dominated by India (p.55). This chapter helps to connect the two main sections of the book, the first of which constitutes a history of the period from roughly the mid-nineteenth century to 1947 and the second based upon ethnographic fieldwork in the late 1990s. The chapter offers a unique and important perspective on the historical creation of South Asia as a geo-political area in the second half of the twentieth century.

The final two substantive chapters detail the development of tourism along the KKH. They argue that the growth of tourism from the late 1970s through the 1990s did not homogenize space but rather contributed to patchy development, the “heightening [of] ethno-sectarian tensions” (p. 90), and “subregional differentiation” (p. 92). Chapter Five, “Policing Destinations: Tradition, Gender, and Spaces of Power,” for example, offers a fascinating glimpse of the gender-

ing of space as men in the region attempted to distinguish local spaces from areas of tourist traffic. Some residents enacted a subtle resistance to the state’s Silk Road project by limiting women’s access to the “immoral and corrupting” tourist havens (p. 97), as well as preventing outsiders from entering village by lanes. Such resistance, however, is produced at the expense of limiting women’s mobility (pp. 98-103). This chapter offers a convincing analysis of the gendering of space, with the conclusion that the “shift from colonial to postcolonial state projects” entails different “modes of territorialization” but that “power enacted through the particularization of space is growing, not diminishing” (p. 107). How, though, does the gendering of space affect social relations and women’s and men’s daily lives? Do their attempts to negotiate and resist the intrusion of the KKH in their lives deepen contemporary forms of power enacted through new modes of territorialization? Haines does not fully answer these questions but his monograph offers an intriguing glimpse of a region in the making that provides readers with a solid foundation to build upon.

Overall, the monograph makes an important intervention in discussions of how power was spatialized at the border or margins of the British Empire and, later, post-colonial states. In contrast to several studies that understand colonial power as increasingly based upon the successful control of space as territory (cf.

Sanghamitra Misra. 2011. *Becoming a Borderland: Space and Identity in Colonial Northeastern India*. New York: Routledge; Bernardo Michael. 2012. *Statemaking and Territory in South Asia Lessons from the Anglo-Gorkha War (1814-1816)*. London: Anthem.), Haines argues that the process was patchy and inconsistent. The argument that the ideology of territorialization coincides with glaring gaps in its realization accords well with recent work across disciplines and areas on territory and sovereignty (cf. John Agnew. 2009. *Globalization and Sovereignty*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.; Lauren Benton. 2010. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Philip J. Stern. 2011. *The Company-state: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India*. New York: Oxford University Press). This book will be of interest to students and scholars of Pakistani and South Asian history, especially those interested in borderlands, frontiers, and spatial histories.

Catherine Warner received her PhD in modern South Asian History from the University of Washington in 2014. Her dissertation examines the circulation of people and modes of border-crossing during the production of the India-Nepal borderland from 1780 to 1930. She is currently a College Fellow in the Department of South Asian Studies and the Department of History at Harvard University.