

## Contents

About
Acknowledgements
Message
Team
Tezhib
A Living Text: Dastan-e-Amir Hamza as Oral Tradition
Zunairah Qureshi • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
"Tis one thing to be tempted another thing to fall." – A Critical Analysis of William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure
Ana Tawfiq Husain
The Festive Split in the Cultural and Socio-Economic Landscape of Karachi
Maryam Ahmad
Female Mobility: Women Traversing Gendered Public Spaces in Urban Karachi
Hiba Shoaib, Zara Imran
Analysis of Iqbal's "Masjid-e Qurtubah"  Osama Yousuf
Low-skilled Labor Migrants: Struggles of a Pakistani Labor Migrant in Saudi Arabia  Hiba Shoaib
Gulzaar
ایں سخن مرافا شن ترگفتن خطاست: ایل ستائش کردامر عبید علی فامروقی
خواتين تے تهذيب داو ڪهرابوجھ: ورثه فلم دافيمينسٹ معائنه دعا سمير

# ABOUT **TEZHIB**A Student-led Journal

Tezhib—or Illumination—literally means to ornament a surface with gold. It is an artform that manifests as palmettes, rosettes, and arabesques around the margins of the Quran and in important manuscripts, illuminating the mind of the reader through knowledge and beauty.

Allegorically, the art of *Tezhib* is represented by the tree; an attempt to understand the roots of knowledge, which branch from the mind towards the Infinite. The floral forms and motifs rest upon geometric patterns, which travel within a spectrum from finitude to infinitude.

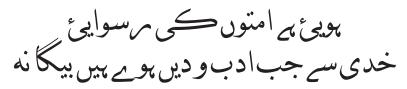
The *Tezhib* Journal is a platform for the research produced by students at Habib; from literature, language, and philosophy to development, religious studies, and technology. It aspires to motivate students towards research, lending to the archives of the country. Such knowledge can knit the fabric for social cohesion. It will enliven modes of thought; analytically, critically, creatively and imaginatively, in hopes of involving readers in the process of learning and unlearning.

#### A MESSAGE

#### from the Team

Tezhib came into existence after a long search for a platform; a platform that expressed the ideas of students coming from a Liberal Arts background in Pakistan. From this journal, we wish to sprout innovative ideas, and make room for learning in yet unimagined ways. We aim to move currents in society, instill changes, inspire researchers, and draw lines between distinct themes of knowledge.

Allama Iqbal writes:



"Many a nation, once alive under the sky,

Lost honor and respect,

Alienated when they were from culture and religion."

With this goal in mind, we welcome you to the First Edition of the *Tezhib* Undergraduate Research Journal. The papers in this edition were carefully selected by a team of professors and students in search of beauty, excellence and a respect for knowledge.

Therefore, these papers should not be taken solely as the products of the authors who have penned them but also of the professors who allowed all of us the space to think and create in an inclusive, non-limiting way.

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Lastly, thanks to Ustaad Kashif who created the visual form of Tezhib combining it with beautiful strokes of calligraphy in order to retain the essence of the Journal which also translates into the information it carries.

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(2019-2020)

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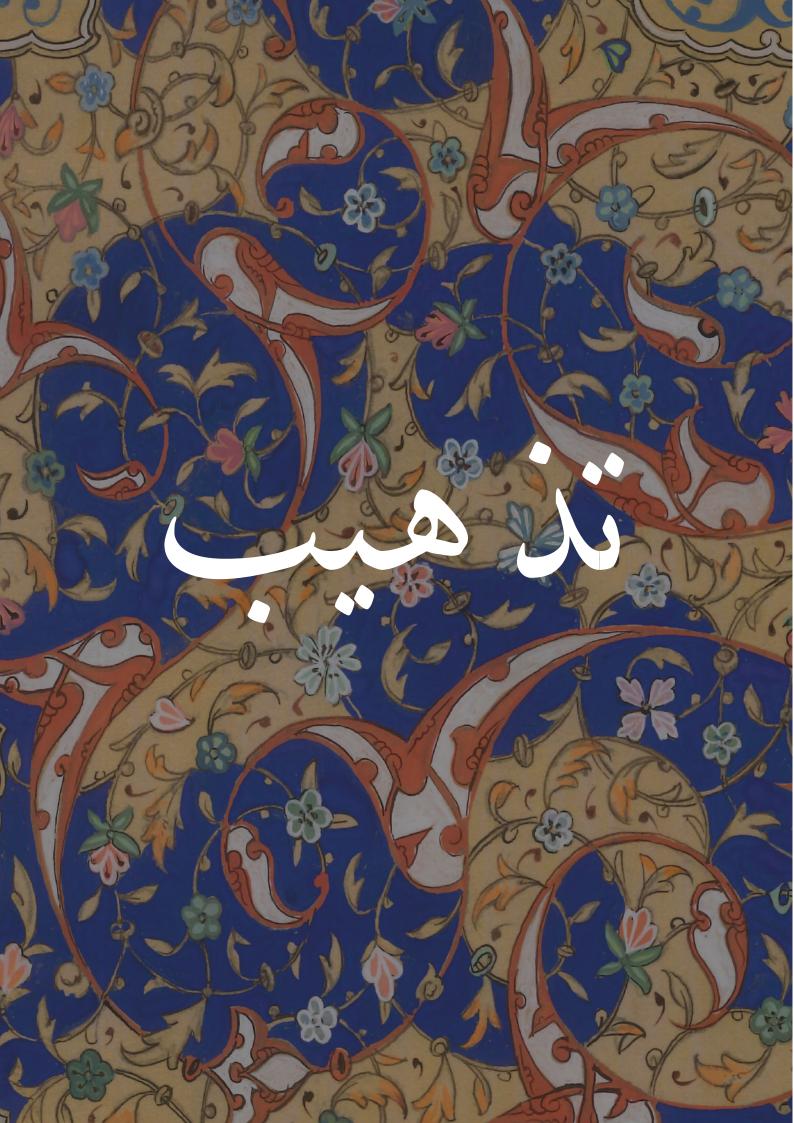
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### A LIVING TEXT: DASTAN-E-AMIR HAMZAH AS AN ORAL TRADITION

#### ZUNAIRAH QURESHI

#### **Abstract**

astan-e-Amir Hamzah is a collection of tales depicting the legendary adventures of the heroic Amir Hamzah as he fights demons and brings peace to the magical realm. The legend was originally narrated in the performative style typical to *dastan* storytelling in sessions where audiences gathered on successive nights. This particular style of narration is known as the art of *dastan goi*, which stands out from conventional forms of storytelling. In 19th century Lucknow, the *dastan* of Amir Hamzah, which had until then mostly existed in its oral form, was put into writing and finally published as a compilation that remains in circulation till present.

A close evaluation of the textual version of Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah reveals obvious and inherent stylistic features that indicate its original form as an oral tale. For instance, the passages of poetry intertwined with prose that allow for a dramatic shift in narration and detailed descriptions for the purpose of setting the mystical atmosphere. This research will focus on the *dastan*'s literary techniques and narrative style to explore how, in its form and style, it is literature specifically suited for oral dramatic storytelling (*dastan goi*). It will also examine the ways in which the transition from oral to written form has modified the *dastan*'s literary scope. A particular emphasis will be laid upon the impact of the Subcontinent's colonisation on this transition and, further, on the *dastan*'s revived place in present day world literature.

#### Introduction

Envision tales of enchantment, mythical creatures, bloody battles, and extravagant courts brought to life through the animated actions and dynamic voice of a narrator performing for an enraptured crowd gathered in the middle of a bustling bazaar. This scene might help us put into perspective how Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah was originally presented through dastan goi. 'Dastan' is a Persian genre of storytelling in which serialized stories of extensive length are orally narrated in the dastan goi style. Dastan goi, literally Persian for 'storytelling', is a performative form of narration in which the narrator enacts the story primarily through gestures and dramatic dialogue delivery. With its evocative language laden with exaggerated metaphors and the instances of poetic expression that cause emphatic shifts in the narrative tone, the dastan in itself is a story-form fitted for oral performance.

The 'Tales of Amir Hamzah' is one of the earliest and most renowned dastan that is in circulation today. Its rediscovery as an invaluable and foundational part of fantasy fiction in the Urdu literature has led to its translations as well as compilations in more concise forms for the contemporary reader. The tales speak of the legendary Amir Hamzah, a character based on the heroic persona of Prophet Muhammad's (P.B.U.H.) uncle, and his adventures against evil forces. Together, the series of adventure stories constitute a fantasy epic of boundless dimensions, boasting vividly descriptive wars with hybrid monsters and magical illusions performed through artifacts of trickery.

This paper aims at exploring the ways in which the form and literary techniques inherent to the *dastan* make it especially suited for oral narration. Through a study of textual renditions of the *dastan*, its language, use of literary devices, poetics, and imagery, the paper will attempt to recognise certain features of the text that are indicative of its original oral form. Moreover, Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah's existence as a fantasy epic will be analyzed through a study of its characteristic 'dastan

themes' and the various mystical elements it borrows from the diverse cultures it was influenced by as it journeyed through different parts of the world. Furthermore, this paper will analyze its transition from oral to textual form in order to understand how the rigidity of the written form limited its original dastan style at the same time as it helped popularize it. The British colonial context will also be taken into account to analyze its textualization and propose an explanation for its demise in the 20th century. Finally, by assessing the present-day modernization of the dastan through translations and the revival of dastan goi as an art form, the paper will briefly examine the evolution of Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah.

#### The Performative Art of Dastan goi

Considering that, originally, Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah was formed and transmitted through oral storytelling alone, a brief description of the dastan goi practice becomes essential for understanding its literary dimensions. The extensive series of tales that make up the dastan, first published in forty-six volumes, was never plotted as a single story and put into writing (Farooqi, 2000). Instead, it originated and cultivated via the minds and mouths of different narrators as they repeated the tales and subjected them to their own innovation. The dastan never existed as a single narrative with a fixed storyline, but was malleable and subject to continuous alteration and improvisation by its narrators (Farooqi, 2000). Therefore, it is vital to understand the link between its content and its medium of narration, which is verbal, as the two cannot be separated because the dastan exists through a combination of both. Gosain, Kant and Das (2018) identified a 'dastan goi' as the performernarrator of the dastan, who tells the story not only through her words but also through actions as well as expressions. In a performance with one person enacting an entire story, the plot progression, change in atmosphere, character dynamism, all become subject to the narrator's conduct of her entire body, such that the narrator becomes the dastan

(Gosain et al., 2017). As an oral tradition, naturally the Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah travelled through word of mouth carrying across borders over time. According to Farooqi's (2009) research, its origins can be determined in Arabia in 7th century where the actual Hamzah ibn Abdul Mutalib resided, and its journey can be followed through Persia, India and even parts of Central Asia. Owing to its mobile nature, the dastan was ever-evolving; incorporating influences from cultures and mythical folklore of every region, resulting in a rich, exotic legend (Farooqi, 2009).

## Literary Analysis of Musharraf Farooqi's 'Tilism e Hoshruba'

Having established the significance of the orality of the *dastan* for its very existence as a storytelling genre, it would be intriguing to explore its transformation from a dynamic verbal form to a contained and fixed body of text. Analyzing the text may help identify how, even in written form, it reflects its unique habitation of a performative literary art form. For the purpose of this analysis, we will study excerpts from Musharraf Ali Farooqi's translation, *'Tilism e Hoshruba'*.

Magical creatures, objects of trickery, heroic warriors, and a well-constructed realm of magic are essential features of this *dastan*. The element of magic is integral to it and is woven into its very language which exquisitely sketches the tales of fantasy for the audience. What immediately stands out in a reading of the text is the enchanting imagery, lengthy descriptions of beautiful princesses and heavenly gardens not only setting the scene for action but also creating an enchanting atmosphere. The descriptions comprise of exaggerated comparisons and extended metaphors that paint an exotic picture so removed from reality that it is almost unimaginable to the mind's eye; a trait that only adds to the *dastan*'s sense of magic. For example,

It [a garden] was adorned with beautiful promenades and esplanades, paved with jewels instead of bricks. The trees were wrapped in gold cloth. The hedges of henna plants and grapevines decorated the silken grass bed. Like a drunken guest in a wine house, the breeze kept crashing into the ewers of the trees. The goblets of flowers brimmed with wine of freshness and beauty and exhaled a captivating redolence. (Jah, 2009, p. 13)

In an oral performance, establishing a captivating atmosphere is essential to mesmerize the audience and to help them envision the magical world in detail. Besides the magic, beauty in the form of heavenly gardens and otherworldly dyads is also made more enticing through lush descriptions. While in text, the lengthy descriptor lines may appear redundant, in oral form it only adds to the wonder. The rich imagery usually dwells on representations of beauty, allowing for a sense of serenity, a peaceful lull that settles through the extensive evocation of pleasant images. In contrast to this are the renditions of bloody battles with ferocious monsters that are thrilling and exciting to the senses. In this way, the dastan remains in momentum, never falling dull, ideal for a dramatic performance that keeps the audience on its toes. The shift from peaceful scenes laden with beautiful descriptions to those of exciting action allows for instances of thrilling drama. An enemy in disguise unexpectedly slits the throat of a queen, and a couple of lovers fawning one second are swallowed by a three-headed serpent the next are some examples. The pace and language of the *dastan* reflects the dynamic shifts in tone. The force of its action scenes are aptly conveyed through the wavering language, which paces up and then halts in tune with the action in the story (Oldfield, 2007). The dynamic language attempts to transmit the narrator's animated gestures and adaptive voice manipulations that would bring the drama to life in an oral performance.

The passages of poetry are a more obvious indicator of the *dastan's* original form as an oral tradition. The instances where poetry intertwines with prose occur at points in the tale at moments of passion depicting the extent of love and for descriptions of such images that are best represented through poetic verse. In an oral performance, the rhythm of the metric verse, intermittently spaced through the narration, would lead to a delightful shift in tone adding a melodic ingredient to the mesmerizing atmosphere. However, it must be noted, as the translator, Farooqi (2015), explains, that in the translation process the original metric verse was converted to free verse.

Also characteristic to the Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah is its structure of repetitive plots over different chapters in the series. As Oldfield (2007) pointed out, repeated plotlines work by creating familiar situations for the audience and increasing the stakes through heightening conflict or introducing a sudden twist for a dramatic turn of events. Further repetitions in text may have resulted from the way the dastan was narrated over successive sessions of dastan goi, where, in each session, the narrator may have launched into descriptions of the previous one to re-establish the atmosphere and continue the story from where they had left off (Oldfield, 2007). This can also provide an explanation for the length of the descriptions in it; setting an atmosphere and enrapturing the audience under the spell of the dastan's magic is essential to the dastan goi experience. Moreover, its prolonged length was a demand of the audience and the narrator strived to fulfill it through continuous inventions in wordplay and extensions of the narration (Pritchett, 1991).

#### Themes and Mystical Influences

Themes of 'ayyari' (cunningness), 'tilism' (magic) and 'bazm o razm' (extravagant gatherings and wars) essential to the dastan genre are all found in Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah. These themes emphasize the

fantastical nature of its literary style (Khan, 2015). A *dastan* is a tapestry of magical elements sewn together from local myths, superstitious traditions, fictional folklore, spiritual beliefs, religious mysticism and wild imagination. It is meant to be as absurd as possible in the sense that the pleasure of the legends lies in their removal from reality and the pushing of boundaries to carve realms of magic where rules of the physical world are broken (Oldfield, 2007). It should also be considered that it is possible that the *dastan* appears more unreal and fantastic in retrospect. Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah is millenniums old and for earlier audiences it may not have been as unfathomable as it appears to its modern receptors (Khan, 2015).

Its origin in 7th century Arabia and journey through Persia as well as Mughal India accounts for the heavy influence of Islamic mysticism in it. In Islam, God is known by ninety-nine sacred names, each indicative of one of His attributes. In the dastan, God is frequently referred to by His different names and is held as the highest power, the force driving the characters' destinies, and to whom all creatures of good turn for supplication. Furthermore, the legend behind Amir Hamzah's superpowers dictates that his ability comes from his knowledge of the Most Great Name of Allah, a mysterious one not known to anyone but the Prophets (Farooqi, 2015). At the same time, the dastan is not without its share of blaspheme. For example, beastly characters like the monster Laqa are given the title of God that goes against the fundamental principle of God's unity in Islam. However, the existence of multiple gods is prevalent in polytheistic religions such as Hinduism. This, in my view, suggests that despite being recognized as part of Arab or Islamic literature, it is truly a shared product of various cultures and cannot be by classified under a single category.

#### Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah in Writing

The combination of myth and spiritualism that characterizes the

enchanting genre of *dastan*, within which reality is turned on its head may explain its original existence as an oral tradition. I believe, the *dastan* may have eluded the text form because its inherent lawlessness and deviation from reality was better suited to the fluidity of oral narrations than the confinements of written word. Constant making and re-making owing to influences from traditions of different regions over changing times and societies, natural to the art of *dastan*, was possible because of its mobility as oral stories.

Further, writing was not popular as a medium for literary expression until the British Enlightenment when the written text became determinedly superior in its soundness of knowledge and authenticity. Under the East India Company's Orientalist regime, Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah was put into writing in the 18th century as a part of their initiative to encourage vernacular literature and studies by setting up Anglo-Indian institutions and publications (Navalli, 2014). However, there are accounts of earlier compilations in Persian, based on which its Indian manuscripts were written. There were many versions of the dastan because, as mentioned earlier, as an oral tradition, the dastan had no fixed story preserved in one place, rather, it existed as a compound of multiple tales varied across regions and cultures, and altered by individual narrators (Oldfield, 2011). Ghalib Lakhnavi's Urdu compilation completed in 1855 and it was the first time that the Amir Hamzah dastan was bound together in a single, large volume (Khan, 2015). Lakhnavi's compilation remains intact and soundly traceable to its origin making it the most authentic and accessible version. It was for these reasons that Lakhnavi's volume was chosen and translated into English by Farooqi, thereby popularizing Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah as a renowned work of Urdu literature in the modern period. Even though, the dastan was translated into other languages, such as its rendition through the Hindi devanagari script, it remains acknowledged as a part of Urdu literature, for it was the Urdu texts that gained the most recognition (Farooqi, 2009). Categorizing it as belonging to one language restricts its vastly diverse and multi-cultured quality by

the unavoidable imposition of fixed social and political perceptions that are associated with each language.

#### The Demise and Rebirth of Amir Hamzah

The dastan tradition, along with the art of dastan goi, enjoyed immense favor in the 19th century, especially in areas like Lucknow, which had aspired to a cultural hub where local arts and literature flourished (Futehelly, 2002). New editions of the Amir Hamzah dastan were published and sessions of dastan goi moved from the status of a bazaar pop-up show and courts into elite social gatherings. This was the period when the rich and literate elite North Indian class acquired a taste for dastan sessions and hired personal dastan gos (Pritchett, 1991). However, the development of dastan goi as an art was soon lost; by the 1930's dastan goi was no longer a popular profession and the influence of western literature, particularly that of the genre of realistic novels, had arrived (Pritchett, 1984). Famous Urdu poet, Altaf Hussain Hali, wrote in detail about the question of morality in literature in which the wicked beasts and evil witchcraft that the dastan is comprised of was criticised (Pritchett, 1984). As Pritchett goes onto suggest, the age of fantasy epics dramatically performed for colorful audiences was overshadowed by the reign of text. Soon, the Amir Hamzah dastan fell out of circulation even in text form and was relinquished to dastan status of an ancient tale.

It appears that the *dastan* survives and flourishes more through the medium of oral narration than the inscribed text, for even in present times, its popularity takes root in the rise of *dastan goi* performances in India and Pakistan. The modern *dastan goi* takes the quality of an art form in the sense that it has been reinstated as a dramatic performance defined by its own rules and terms that carve its place alongside other popular art like theatre or stand up shows. Gosain et al. (2018) described present day *dastan goi* as a performance on dimly-lit stages

which features two dastan gos, clad in sufi-style white garbs, narrating the Amir Hamzah tale in the sophisticated, formal, and poetic Urdu reminiscent of the dastan's olden glory with a modern twist to appeal to today's audience. The narrators pausing to explain concepts in the dastan defunct over time or relating the ancient story to current affairs and popular culture are ways in which the revived dastan becomes relatable for the modern spectator (Gosain et al., 2018). The medium of dastan goi is also utilized for newer stories meant to convey social realistic messages, for instance, 'Dastan e Tagsim e Hind' on the subject of partition (Gosain et al., 2018). With the revival of dastan goi, the Amir Hamzah dastan is once again achieving its versatile and ever-evolving attributes, realizing its full potential as an oral tradition. However, it must also be acknowledged that that translation of the textual compilation of the dastan played a significant role in bringing it to light in modern world literature, where it stands as an ode to the one of its kind ancient Indo-Arab literature.

#### Dastan and Dastan goi as Modern Art

Moving onto a discussion of the *dastan* in print today, the two most popular versions are the 'Adventures of Amir Hamzah' by Ghalib Lakhnavi and Jah Muhammad Hussain's 'Tilism e Hoshruba'. The English translator, Musharraf Ali Farooqi, who played a significant part in popularizing Amir Hamzah around the globe and whose work has been referred to above, claims the second version, Tilism e Hoshruba, to be unoriginal. According to him, a group of writers in Lucknow, towards the end of the 19th century, fabricated tales based on the original *dastan* and published it as a part of the Amir Hamzah *dastan*. Nevertheless, it is highly interesting to note that although Farooqi acknowledges the work as faux, he still commits to translate it completely holding it in high regard as a brilliant literary accomplishment. Farooqi has been deeply invested in researching the

dastan genre by studying ancient Persian and Arabian magic folk tales and finding differences between the original versions of the dastan and 'Tilism e Hoshruba' (Farooqi, 2009). According to him, Hoshruba stands unique in its own kind in many ways, for instance the construction of an entire universe of magic such as the land of 'Hoshruba' did not exist substantially in earlier versions. Therefore, it can be argued that the original orality of the genre of dastan makes it flexible even beyond the practice of dastan goi and allows for altering the static nature of the text rendering Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah as endless as its magic.

#### Conclusion

It is evident that Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah is as rich in history and culture as it is in its aspect of fantasy. Its journey over time through different regions and consequently changing social and cultural conditions influenced its shape-shifting form into a wondrous interplay of diversity and uniqueness. The continual shift from oral to text, while compromising its fluidity in some ways, further added to its magically stretching fabric both in form and content. It is, therefore, understood that the Amir Hamzah tales are not a string of events but an active, dynamic force as it remains moving and evolving through time. The force of its magic is best exhibited in its oral form but also remains vitally present in its textual versions. Whatever changes and adaptations it went through, its revival not only brought the world in contact with a marvelous legend of fantasy fiction but also gave birth to a new form of expression in the modern era. Dastan goi, as an art form constantly under evolution, holds promising potential for both the future of literary art and the ever-growing tradition of Dastan-e-Amir Hamzah.

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## "TIS ONE THING TO BE TEMPTED... ANOTHER THING TO FALL." - A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S MEASURE FOR MEASURE

#### ANA TAWFIQ HUSAIN

#### **Abstract**

his paper seeks to identify the philosophical leanings of the two principal characters in William Shakespeare's play Measure for Measure, namely the Duke and Angelo. Exploring the complex and contradictory dimensions of human nature itself, Shakespeare's philosophical inclinations stem from the repercussions attributed to excessive liberty, as well as the consequences associated with ruling through brute force. This paper aims to expand on the political philosophies of the Duke and Angelo by drawing on Machiavellian and Draconian political thought in order to demonstrate how their respective, ideological stances reinforce the reader's understanding of each leading character's ideal mode of administration.

**Keywords:** Shakespeare, Duke, Angelo, Machiavellian, Draconian, political thought, ideology.

#### Introduction

Often described as a problem-play, William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure exhibits an array of complimentary, but also conflicting themes. Ranging from notions of mercy and justice, morality and temptation, in addition to the significance of faith, the reader is able to discern the dichotomies of the most salient themes through each predicament that befalls the characters. Eliot, as cited in Oswell, states, Shakespeare, through carefully contrasting his lead characters, provides the reader/audience with characters that appear as a foil of the other. Through utilizing this literary technique, Vincentio (the Duke of Vienna)'s character is used a foil for Angelo (the deputy who rules in the Duke's absence) in what makes for one of Shakespeare's most politically charged plays. The aim of this paper is to critically analyze how the philosophical thought of the stated characters align with the aforementioned themes. By putting these two characters as a foil of the other, the Duke's approach with regard to his form of governance will be analyzed from a Machiavellian perspective, whilst Angelo's approach will be scrutinized from a Draconian perspective.

#### Brief Overview and Historical/Critical commentary

#### Synopsis

A problem-play enthralled with questions of justice, mercy and morality, William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure revolves around the fate of a young man, Claudio, who has been arrested for pre-marital intercourse – thereby going against Viennese law. The man responsible for his arrest happens to be Lord Angelo, a fervent observer of the law and arguably, the play's most central character to prioritize the implementation of the law. Cognizant of the situation at hand, he audience witnesses Vincentio (the Duke) discuss the event with Escalus (a Lord), and brief him on his

plans to pass responsibility of rule to Angelo, as he wishes to leave Vienna for a specific time-period. The Duke, who (arguably superficially) symbolizes leniency and liberty, is replaced with the strict, morally upright and ascetic Angelo who is left to govern a morally depraved Vienna (with the societal decay of the city seen as a result of the Duke's leniency in implementation of the law). Given Claudio's case, Lucio (a friend of Claudio's) visits him in prison, with Claudio instructing him to seek help from Isabella (Claudio's sister) who is a practicing nun, but also an eloquent speaker. Isabella represents virtue, chaste and purity because of her own unwavering faith and adherence to moral righteousness. Despite being critical of her brother's fornication, she decides to ask Angelo to have mercy on Claudio.

Angelo and Isabella's interaction is where the play's dramatic factor is most heightened. This is due to the audience witnessing a flinch in Angelo's distinctively austere nature. Despite initially rejecting Isabella's pleas, he decides to show mercy to Claudio if Isabella consents to having intercourse with him, given his attraction to her own chaste character and piety. The audience witnesses the compromise of principles in this otherwise, fervently moralistic leader which further builds in suspense given Isabella's predicament of choosing to save her brother over sacrificing her virginity.

Disguised as a wise friar, the Duke visits Claudio in prison along with Isabella and Lucio. With the audience fully aware of the Duke's prior understanding of the situation, a discussion is centered on employing a 'bedroom trick,' that is, substituting Isabella for Marianna with regard to Angelo's request. Marianna, interestingly, happens to be Angelo's ex-fiancée who Angelo left due to her losing her dowry. This piques the suspense towards the final few scenes where the Duke reappears as himself – this time fully acquainted with the details of all the unfolding situations. He proceeds to expose Angelo for his seeming hypocrisy, and attempts to grant justice to all the characters involved. However, at the conclusion of the play, despite the dramatic denouement, the audience

is left to ponder over the subjective nature of justice, morality, mercy and the blurred lines with regard to the difference in opinion of each concept.

#### Historical Analysis

Taking the historical context of the play into consideration, Shakespeare's conception of justice was arguably influenced by the laws of Elizabethan England. As Michael Jay Willson (1993) notes, "The concept of justice often became secondary in a system preoccupied by form rather than substance" (p. 700). The carefully cultivated exterior image of society is given greater priority rather than the social makeup that constitutes society - this gives the law as an institution rather superficial connotations. This is due to the superficially strict regulation of the law where criminal and civil matters were dealt with by law courts but, as Willson describes, the arduous task of truly seeking justice only complicated matters even more - thereby reinforcing the ostensible and internally flawed demonstration of law. Viennese society, characterized by prostitution, alcoholism and the like, as described in the play, may also be argued to be a reference to the state of London's suburbs during Shakespeare's time as described by Stephen Porter in his thought-provoking read Shakespeare's London: Everyday Life in London 1580- 1616. Porter (2009) quotes the chaplain to the Venetian ambassador Orazio Busino who states:

Around the liberties of London there is such a patchwork of suburbs that they look like so many monsters who have been converted after being lured by the goddess Circe, the greater part being inhabited by an inept population of the lowest description (p. 89).

The chapter goes on to describe the moral corruption that was rampant at the time, drawing conspicuous parallels to Viennese society in *Measure for Measure*.

#### Duke Vincentio: the ultimate Machiavellian ruler

Embodying a number of contrasting attributes which make it difficult to decipher whether he may be categorized as the antagonist or the protagonist, the Duke Vincentio's character is enveloped in enigma.

The Duke is often recognized for the parallels drawn between his character and King James I. Taking the religious and political doctrine used to legitimate and consolidate monarchist rule – the 'Divine Right of Kings' notion – into consideration, a philosophical and religious subtext may be analyzed through the Duke meting out justice to who he deems fit, and defining morality on his own terms. King James I's political treatise *The True Law of Free Monarchies* emphasized the significance of the 'Divine Right of Kings,' which hints at how instrumental it was for his

own reign. This is noticeably reflected in the Duke as well, as he exhibits almost god-like characteristics with regard to demonstrating justice. The notion that the monarchy was seen as divine representation is reinforced in the discourse throughout the course of the play, particularly by Angelo as he refers to the Duke as "power divine" (Shakespeare, 2009, 5.1.361).

Christian symbolism, as suggested in the title, is another important aspect by which to analyze the Duke. Taken from the New Testament, the verse: "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" (Matthew 7:2, The King James Version) follows in line with the resolution of the play, as the Duke states in a mirrored philosophy, "Haste still pays haste, and leisure answers leisure; like doth quit like, and Measure still for Measure." (Shakespeare, 2009, 5.1.437-439). The Biblical references add to the notions of 'divine grace,' giving the Duke not just god-like, but rather a Christ-like image. This is also partly due to the disguise he opts for (that of the Friar), which in itself has religious connotations, but also because of the act of listening to the confessions of the Other characters. This makes for an incredibly omnipotent image of the Duke.

#### Philosophical Outlook

The dilemma concerning whether the Duke is indeed a deceptive hypocrite or whether he is a representation of a new form of justice being implemented in Vienna is another subject of debate. This discussion would involve analyzing the philosophical doctrine of the Duke, by observing his management of the predicaments spread out over the course of the play. It may be pertinent to discuss traits exhibited by the Duke that would conform to Machiavellianism, when it comes to matters of governance. For this, it is imperative to define Machiavellianism and its surrounding connotations.

Machiavellianism – a term attributed to the political treatise of Niccolò Machiavelli - espouses duplicitous and or deceptive notions which in turn, breaches ethical or moral considerations and staunchly places the stability of the state as the utmost priority. The methods Machiavelli proposes on how to effectively govern a state offer a glaring illustration of the connotations of what this ideology entails. Machiavelli's methods, which include swiftly crushing rebellious activity, inculcating fear in one's subjects, blurring the lines with regard to virtue and vice, and emphasizing the significance of military prowess, are among his most recognized techniques. Taking this definition into consideration, one may apply it to the case of the Duke who, throughout the course of the play, dupes and manipulates his subjects; taking complete advantage of their ignorance. One of the first instances where the audience witnesses this demonstration of deceptiveness is his substitution of Angelo with himself in a very short time-span. Vienna, already in a down-trodden state of affairs given the inefficient method of implementing the law by the Duke, faces two profound forms of radicalism: the lack of decisive measures taken by the Duke, as opposed to strict adherence of the law by Angelo. Zdravko Planinc, in his work concerning Shakespearean critique of Machiavellian force, discusses the parallels observed between the Duke and Machiavelli's discussion of Cesare Borgia employing Remirro de Orco for his own ulterior motives. Planinc (2010) quotes regard similarities, Norman Holland with these to "interpretations of Measure for Measure that treat the Duke as a symbol

of divine grace or the like must take into account his probable descent from Cesare Borgia" (p. 147). It may be understood that just as Borgia wanted to absolve himself of the repercussions attributed to quelling rebellious activity in Romagna, the Duke would rather Angelo take the fall for his own inefficiencies in enforcing the law. This may align with chapter 15 of Machiavelli's The Prince (2000), where he states, and "a prince who wants to keep his power must learn how to act immorally, using or not using this skill according to necessity" (p. 33). The Duke's arguably immoral actions, which involve deception, engaging in duplicitous activity and harboring divine-like characteristics also draw parallels to Pope Alexander VI, who Machiavelli (2000) describes as "deceptive in everything he did—used deception as a matter of course-and always found victims" (p. 38). As this chapter discusses whether it may be better to be feared as opposed to loved, it may be contested that for Duke Vincentio, it was indeed better to be feared, given his method of distribution of justice to his subjects.

#### Angelo: a representation of Draconian law enforcement

Carrying a name which gives strictly virtuous connotations, Angelo is a character who the audience witnesses transition from being the almost infallibly depicted defender of justice at the beginning, to the painfully flawed man towards the conclusion. Grant Smith (2014) describes the choice of names as pointing to "...the ambiguity of moral principles for which the character stands" (p. 2). This ambiguity may be further explored through analyzing the contrasts which characterize Angelo, similar to the Duke; that of his public persona (the infallible, morally upright, overseer of the law) with his private one (the mortal, fallible man who is as prone to temptation as the subjects he reprimands).

Described as "a man whose blood is very snow-broth; one who never feels the wanton stings and motions of the sense" (Shakespeare, 2009, pp. 1.4.61-63) leads the audience to believe the narrative concerning the unflinching devotion to principles Angelo has. This imagery employed by Shakespeare with regard to character description aptly fit the traits of the public persona which he is trying to consolidate. This

can be contrasted with the Duke who acknowledged his preference of exercising leniency of the law.

#### Philosophical Outlook

Seeking to make an example of Claudio by revising the law, Angelo is adamant on standing firmly by his principles towards the beginning of the play. The audience is lured into believing the discussed infallibility of his character, particularly during his conversation with Escalsus concerning relaxing Claudio's sentence. Angelo pointedly states,

"We must not make a scarecrow of the law setting it up for fear the birds of prey and let it keep one shape till custom make it their perch and not their terror" (Shakespeare, 2009, pp. 2.1.1-4).

Angelo's conception of justice stands in stark contrast to the Duke's, who sought to demonstrate the significance of mercy with regard to seeking justice. This approach, which harbors extremity of fervent observance, compared to the excessive liberty of the Duke, remain especially significant with regard to the connotations they carry for Viennese society.

Angelo's method of implementing the law may be described as Draconian. The term Draconian was derived from the first recorded legislator of Athens, Draco, who was characterized for this notorious harshness and strict implementation of the written law code. Plutarch of Athens, who was remembered for challenging the severity and brutality associated with Draconian law enforcement, stated in his work that Draco, "once asked why he made death the punishment of most offences, replied, 'Small ones deserve that, and I have no higher for the greater crimes." (Plutarch and Dryden, 1895, p. 185). These minor crimes included theft or sleeping in public places. Parallels may be drawn towards Claudio's act of consensual, pre-marital intercourse considered punishable by death for Angelo.

It may be argued that there are implicit messages given at the beginning

It may be argued that there are implicit messages given at the beginning of the play that Angelo has a more human or more fallible side to him. One such instance was where the Duke says, "Hence shall we see / If power change purpose, what our seemers be" (Shakespeare, 2009, pp. 1.3.50-54).

This suggests an impending implication of what's to come that will put Angelo's character and his adherence to his own, arguably rigid form of justice to the test. His fallibility, exposed upon conversing with Isabella, lead the audience to question the nature of justice itself, where even the most fervent adherents experience their own shortcomings with regard to complete observance. It makes one reminisce one of Angelo's frequently quoted remarks to Escalus, "Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus, another thing to fall." (Shakespeare, 2009, 2.1.17).

Taking the previously discussed Machiavellian notions into consideration, it may be argued that Angelo as a representation of Draconian law enforcement is observed to be at odds in an otherwise, seemingly Machiavellian world which Shakespeare seems to depict through the nature of the Duke. Machiavelli's insistence on employing a fine balance between inculcating fear and hatred in subjects with respect to stricture – in The Prince, he states, "what brought down each of the emperors was hatred or contempt..." (Machiavelli, 2000, p. 43) and this essentially, proved to be Angelo's weakness as well, with respect to the animosity directed towards him due to his strict nature.

#### The dilemma of private justice and public mercy

Borrowing the title from Stacy Magedanz's work, *Public Justice and Private Mercy in Measure for Measure*, the themes of justice and mercy of this Shakespearean work are crucial for the way they are understood by each character, or observed through each sub-plot.

The Duke's omnipresent attributes, bordering on a divine form of omniscience, which he exploits throughout the play are the subject of much criticism. This pertains to his prior knowledge of Angelo's misgivings with Marianna, yet entrusting him with this position. Lying to him about his own whereabouts or reasons for temporarily vacating is another instance. The difference between earthly and divine rule is another factor which influences the way both characters choose to categorize their form of governance. Duke Vincentio, especially during the final resolution, exhibits an almost god-like method of meting justice, fully aware of all the dilemmas in the room. In an interesting philosophical perspective, this reiterates the parallels between the Duke and James I, where the latter was quoted as saying: "by virtue of his heritage and responsibilities, the reflection of God..." (Hausarbeit, n.d, p.7) in his treatise with regard to his rule. The concluding scene represents the culmination of his Machiavellian approach which he was employed throughout the play in order to consolidate his rule, as well as his support.

Angelo similarly also arouses a polarizing reception, given his strict nature, apparent hypocrisy, but also his unwavering commitment to justice as well as acknowledgement of his fallings in the concluding scene. The latter point may be emphasized as he states, "No longer session hold upon my shame, but let my trial be mine own confession. Immediate sentence then and sequent death is all the grace I beg." (Shakespeare, 2009, pp. 5.1.376-379)

This comes as a stark contrast to the Duke's conception of justice, which he sees through his seemingly omnipotent perspective. Angelo's honesty, particularly with regard to his own fallibility, leaves the reader conflicted upon whether to empathize with him, or to berate him for his harshness. This ambivalence generates questions on mercy with regard to justice, as Shakespeare offers a conclusion which harkens back to Christian philosophical allegories of salvation and redemption. By accepting his fallibility, Shakespeare directs Angelo's predicament to

follow a redemptive pattern where he may be offered the possibility of salvation. This however, may be argued to be a result of the 'divine grace' inculcated by the Christ-like yet Machiavellian tactician, which is the Duke.

#### Conclusion

Combining Christian values with Machiavellian strategizing, the conclusion of *Measure for Measure* leaves the audience in a largely puzzled state. Those guilty are pardoned, tragedy is replaced with salvation and justice appears to have been distributed. One may also contemplate on Shakespeare's implicit hints with regard to the triumph of Machiavellian political philosophy (that of the Duke), over the dogmatic Draconian position (represented through Angelo's dramatic fall). Taking the title of the play into consideration, the readers are left to ponder over the incredibly complex and subjective nature of justice with regard to mercy within the perimeter of the each predicament.

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## THE FESTIVE SPLIT IN THE CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE OF KARACHI

#### MARYAM AHMED

#### **Abstract**

estivals in Karachi serve as a platform for the fusion of different social classes. While they instigate the idea of a very modernized and urbanized structure of society, they out rightly exclude the very working class of the city. This paper is an attempt to critically analyze the details that should be taken into account while managing festivals. Using personal experiences, informal interviews and articles, the paper studies minor yet important details about festivals such as locations and pricing in order to rule out any and all assumptions. The major references used by this paper include, Hibdige's Subculture, Appaduria's Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, Oswell's Culture and Society, and case studies from Ghana and around the globe.

The Festive Split

MARYAM AHMED

Festivals as we know today are arenas of social interaction, renovators of tradition and proof of existence of life in a city, town or any social setting. While most festivals were formerly branded under the silver slogan of "tradition", humans have come a long way to see them as luxurious gatherings of people belonging to a particular social class and merely having the time for such commitments. Testa (2014), in his text Rethinking the Festival: Power and Politics claims that festivals more often than not, are embedded in "given places" that work according to a certain tradition, follow certain rituals and timeframes etc., and that "such festivals can be considered as a privileged modality for the "socialization of space and time"" (p. 61). Even way before the origin of such festivals and commemorations, specifically the ones that we will be discussing further in this paper, the understanding that festivals, of not all but most had much to do with power has always existed. In 1979 Goff in Testa's aforementioned text argued that, "only the charismatic holders of power are the masters of calendar: kings, clergymen, revolutionaries" (p. 61). It may be important here to pose the question about the kind of people who experience these cultural festivities or why they choose to do so. The answer to this is intrinsically tied to the concept of culture. In his Notes Toward the Definition of Culture, T.S. Eliot (2006) claims that, "the culture of the individual cannot be isolated from that of the group, and ... the culture of the group cannot be abstracted from that of the whole society" (p. 8). In another instance Eliot, as cited in Oswell, states,

I mean first of all what the anthropologists mean: the way of life of a particular people living together in one place. That culture is made visible in their arts, in their social system, in their habits and customs; in their religion. But these things added together do not constitute the culture ... a culture is more than the assemblage of its arts, customs, and religious beliefs. These things all act upon each other, and fully to understand one you have to understand all. (2006, p. 8)

The Festive Split Maryam Ahmed

The idea that needs to be taken into consideration and be emphasized from the aforementioned extract relates to the notion of society. Activities, beliefs, arts and rituals pertaining to societies are nowhere known to be confined to any particular group. How have we, then, come to see these festivals catering only to the elite classes? This paper attempts to help identify changes in social structures and the active yet subtle exclusivity of festivals and what gatherings in Karachi offer to its wide-spread middle and lower class.

While a growing middle class indicates towards a rapidly growing economy, it also means a rapidly increasing poorer lower class. With an inflation rate of 4.16% and an average household containing 6 to 7 people, it is important to briefly talk about the socio-economic landscape of Karachi before we reflect on the injustices of these on-going festivals (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2018, p. 8). Classes in Karachi are distinguished in three major groups; the lower class, the middle class and the upper class. Karachiites belonging to areas such as Layari, Korangi, Orangi, Landhi, Lalukhet, Golimar, North Karachi and others with an income of 4,000 - 20,000 are considered a part of the people include mechanics, lower class. These government schoolteachers, drivers, tailors, plumbers etc. People living in Gulshan, Nazimabad, North Nazimabad, Federal B Area and other such localities with an income of 50,000 - 100,000 are considered a part of the middle class; generally consisting of doctors, engineers, professors, private school teachers, businessmen etc. The upper class typically resides in Defence, Clifton, KDA and PECHS with an income of 100,000 (Subohi, 2019) and above. Now, the absence of recent statistical data on household income indictors does pose important questions of legitimacy but this paper relies on ethnographic and primary research conducted through interviews of people who have attended events such as KLF, Adab Fest, Coke Fest, Karachi Eat, Lahooti etc.

The Festive Split Maryam Ahmed

Let us consider the linguistic aspect of festivals such as Lahooti Melo, Adab and Karachi Literature Festival, all three of which took place this year in different parts of Sindh. Lahooti Melo, the brainchild of Saif Samejo caters mostly to the population of Jamshoroo and the neighboring, small city of, Hyderabad. Every year the expected audience is people from the interior Sindh region with the exception of the panelists who are usually inhabitants of Karachi. Given the location of the Festival, the medium of expression and the language pre-dominantly used should be inclusive of the audience. However, Lahooti Melo has and continues to use English as its medium of expression excluding the language of the usual folk music and very few sessions. Similarly, the Karachi Literature Festival and the newly initiated 1st Adab Festival used English as a dominant mode of conversation. Not only was Adab Festival in English, it was not very different from KLF as the founders of the festival i.e. Asif Farrukhi and Ameena Sayied had claimed. This does not only foster an environment of 'exclusivity' but also actively "others" people who are present. In anewspaper article by Dawn, Muttahir Khan (2019) writes that,

The term 'linguistic imperialism' stands for a dominant nation's practice of transferring its cultural, social, political and, even, economic features and ideologies by transferring its language to other nations. Intellectuals and linguists like Robert Philipson, who wrote the famous book Linguistic Imperialism in 1992, describe the influence of the English language over third world countries' sociolingual horizons a continuation, in a modern pattern, of colonialism and conquest. Decades back, Nazis and Soviets also condemned this lingual imperialism declaring English the language of world capitalism. (p. 1)

Therefore, in conventions and congregations such as the one mentioned above, it becomes extremely important to pose questions pertaining to the medium of expression used. Festivals then can also be understood as The Festive Split Maryam Ahmed

a continuation, in a modern pattern, of colonialism and conquest. Not to criticize the top-notch sessions by Zarrar Khuhro and Jibran Nisar on Suicide Awareness and Youth Activism respectively and others as such, there is a need to ask the questions about who these sessions are benefiting? Already published authors? Or students (including myself) who go to private institutions and are already aware of such issues? KLF, LLF, ILF alike have contributed almost nothing to the working class of this country apart from taking jibes at authors that were not present or refused to attend for whatever reason. In KLF, the session called 'Who's afraid of Umera Ahmed?' was moderated by students from LUMS and had an audience of mostly elite women of Karachi who chose to mock the absent author for her typically conventionally, fitting the state narrative novels. At LLF, a session was held where the works of Altaf Fatima. Fehmida Riaz and Khalida Hussain were discussed and when asked why there were no women on the panel, one of the three male panelists responded that "who's stopping the women?" (Amna, 2019) disregarding the old age system of oppression that never let women progress while blatantly overlooking the fact that gendered gatekeeping still exists.

Apart from being intellectually inaccessible, due to the medium of language and expression being English, these literature festivals have not contributed much to the political situation of our country. They claim to give space and recognition to upcoming authors but their claims do not really matter because all the upcoming authors who are invited to speak are US-educated/based diasporic adults who only know what is going on in Pakistan from behind a TV screen and are in reality completely divorced from modern-day realities of Pakistan. There is little impact of publishing literature that is not available or accessible to the majority of the country in any sense. Perhaps, the reason Umera Ahmed is so popular amongst the populace is because she uses Urdu – a native language – as her medium of expression.

Moreover, these literature festivals always have ending sessions that involve either qawwali or folk music in what seems as an attempt to remind themselves of their religious and ethnic roots. If not completely

unnecessary, such traditions then only feed into an orientalist narrative that propagates the exoticization of local culture. In a study of festival in Ghana, Carola Lentz (2001) wrote that;

Today cultural performances during these festivals are always witnessed by state television and by radio and newspaper journalists, as well as by private video cameras and cassette recorders. Local culture, therefore, is staged in a national context and is mediated by the mass media. Cultural festivals are thus also sites of cultural innovation and arenas where ethnic and local identities, national identity, popular culture, and culture staged by the state confront one another. (p. 48)

It also seems important here to recall Appaduria's take on global culture,

The central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thereby proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular. (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 43)

With most of these festivals, not only reaching a larger global audience, but also being highly influenced by it with recitation of Marxist poetry by Parveen Shaakir, Habib Jalib, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ahmed Faraz etc., which however, becomes redundant in front of state apparatuses and intensive gatekeeping. What we are witnessing then is the sameness of festivals all around the globe (in their literariness ) with a veil of uniqueness.

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Moreover, let us consider the locations of such festivals and how it relates to the exclusion of the middle and working classes. Karachi Literature Festival has been taking place at Beach Luxury Hotel, a four-star hotel located near the port for the past eight years. Adab Festival took place at the Governor House also located far from

The Festive Split Maryam Ahmed

center of the city near Karachi Gym Khana (Official Web Portal of Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, n.d). The location of these festivals dictates the intended audience of these festivals. Has the question of accessibility through transport been duly considered by the organizers? Even if there is no purposeful exclusion, inevitably the audience ends up becoming a specific class of people who, given the setting of these festivals, belong to upper and elite classes. As a consequence, these festivals, crossroads to intellectual, political and social engagement become spaces that hinder the immersion of the middle and working classes.

For further critical reflection of this 'festival split', primary research was conducted in order to represent the views that people generally hold about going to these events. A 21-year-old student stated that, "Yaar mainay tou sirf chai hee pee thi, kunkay sirf wohi free thi" (Participant A, 2019) [trans. I only drank chai because it was free] when they went to Coke Music and Food Festival for the first time. I had no further questions for him because I could understand exactly where he was coming from with regards to financial constraints as a student from a middle-class background. Other indepth interviews unfolded the vast realities of, and expectations from, the wide-spread middle class of Karachi. Both Karachi Eat and Coke Music and Food Festival charge an entry fee of 300-400 PKR per person. A 23-year-old freelance writer told me that she often finds herself using discount vouchers (Jazz Cash, Careem etc.) in order to visit and buy from such places. When asked how much money one should keep when going to these festivals, she suggested that if one wanted to eat properly then taking 2-3k minimum would be appropriate. Upon further inquiry from her, a reflection upon class struggle as an arena of larger identity politics became necessary when, in answer to the question about how much she would spend at these festivals, she stated that, "So you have to keep in mind that I go to these festivals often but I never eat, because I do not have that kind of money to eat properly...".

The Festive Split Maryam Ahmed

She further stated that "all the food festivals I have been to, I have always had food before or after" (Participant B, 2019), keeping in mind this person categorizes herself as a part of the upper middle class of Karachi. She also told me that she had noticed that large groups from the lower middle class would be present at such festivals but were never seen purchasing food. Therefore, if one of the key characteristics of festivals is the creation of a sense of community <sup>3</sup>amongst the general population, why are then festivals in Karachi creating larger class divisions? Why are people under so much pressure to attend social gatherings that they cannot afford to? In the book *Subculture*, Hebdige (2013) refers to the work of Volosinov who stated that,

Class does not coincide with the sign community, i.e. with the totality of users of the same set of signs of ideological communication. Thus, various different classes will use one and the same language. As a result, differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign. Sign becomes the arena of the class struggle <sup>4</sup>. (p. 151)

In another interview, a freelance graphic designer reported that she purchased two slices of pizza worth 1000 PKR at Karachi Eat this year. She further said that she could not spend any money after that during the entire festival because she "had to get home" and that the reason she went to Karachi Eat was because she was in the area and was forced to go by her sister. Similar such sentiments that is, budgetary constraints were shared by people of the same financial (i.e. middle class and upper middle class) and educational background. So much so that some interviewees even claimed that they usually do not have the money to get by the rest of the month when they partake in such festivals. Who are these festivals catering to, then? More importantly who are the organizers in question and what are they thinking?

When bureaucracy meets a very hierarchical social order and when paroxysmal nationalistic sentiments permeate society, as in the cases of totalitarian regimes, the moment

of festival - and public events in general gains even more power of representing and solidifying hierarchies and order. (Testa, 2014, p. 63)

In conclusion, there always will be people who claim that festivals like KLF, Coke Fest, Karachi Eat or Lahooti Melo add to the 'life of the city' or help get international recognition which to an extent is true; however, we need to be critically reflective about the class structures that these festivals help cement while being mindful about our privilege. Whilst a part of a city's population has the means and the luxury to go such festivals without thinking twice about transport-related issues or general accessibility in terms of medium of language, the larger section of the society will not, share the same experience. This 'festive split' needs to be realized because it suggests an active disregard towards addressing the needs and the rights to pleasurable activities of a huge chunk of the city's population. Therefore, this paper argues for a more inclusive and thoughtful approach towards organizing of public festivals and events in order to lessen the class and power structures that the existing festival culture seem to be perpetuating.

### **Notes**

1. "Othering is not about liking or disliking someone. It is based on the conscious or unconscious assumption that a certain identified group poses a threat to the favored group. It is largely driven by politicians and the media, as opposed to personal contact. Overwhelmingly, people don't "know" those that they are Othering" (Powell, 2019).

- 2. "The definition of 'literariness', similar to the reference to 'literary' in this thesis, refers to 'high' culture aesthetic qualities or process. Specifically, literariness is present when form, style or authorial persona is invested with moral and aesthetic value" (Stewart et al, 2009, p.6).
- 3. Goldblatt (1997) for example suggests that a festival's key characteristic is the sense of community created (Jepson, 2012).
- 4. "...suggested by Marx, in which economic, political, and ideological conditions jointly structure and realm of struggles that have as their effect the organization, disorientation, or reorganization of classes. Classes must thus be viewed as effects of struggles structured by objective conditions that are simultaneously economic, political, and ideological" (Przeworski, 1997, p. 34).

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### FEMALE MOBILITY:

WOMEN TRAVERSING GENDERED PUBLIC SPACES IN URBAN KARACHI

#### HIBA SHOAIB AND ZARA IMRAN

#### **Abstract**

n an attempt to explore the inter-play of class and gender that dictates female mobility, this is a qualitative case-study centered on the experiences of a working-class woman who travels via public transport and on-foot as well as two upper-middle class women who mostly travel in private and semi-private motorized vehicles. Combined with participant observations, a semi-structured interview and informal conversations, it is based on an ethnographic investigation that was conducted from October to December 2019 in Karachi, Pakistan. This study employs a comparative analysis through an intersectional lens of class and gender that is used to explore how women navigate the gendered public spaces in the city of Karachi i.e. what opportunities are curtailed for working-class females as opposed to upper- middle-class females due to their differing mobility patterns; how does being a female affect the access and the safety, resilience, and perception of danger that one has towards public transport; and, how does the architecture and structure of public transportation reaffirms patriarchy within society. The paper also studies the way class binaries are built into the material realities of the city, and how public transportation is used as a means to maintains those boundaries.

**Keywords:** Women, Mobility, Gender, Class, Working-Women, Upper-Middle Class, Karachi, Urban, Public Spaces, Harrasment, Transport.

#### Introduction

Female mobility within the city of Karachi remains an arduous task, no matter what mode of public transportation is used. Despite being the only port city of Pakistan that generates 15% of the country's GDP and 32% of the industrial base, the condition of public transport in Karachi has severely deteriorated over time (Hasan & Raza, 2015). With a population of over 23 million people, Karachi consists of only 4.5% of the total vehicles fleet and caters to around 42% of passengers demand (Ahmed, 2019). Every year, quite a significant number of private vehicles are added to the roads of Karachi, "but the number of public transport registered buses has declined from 22,313 in 2011 to 12,399 in 2014, of which 9,527 are operative" (Hasan & Raza, 2015, p.5). such as traffic congestion, broken Transport-related problems pavements, harassment in public spaces, rising fuel prices and fares, and inadequate public modes of transportation altogether contribute to the unpleasant and laborious travel experiences of Karachi.

Although the inability to access public transport may be felt by a wide cross-section of the population, substantial scholarship suggests that the impact on women is most severe because of poverty and perceptions owing to gender norms that hinder female mobility at large (Hassan & Raza, 2015; Adeel, 2017). Gender, at the intersect of class, interacts fundamentally with public transport systems and thus makes travel patterns and mobility behavior "one of the most clearly gendered aspects of life" (Allen, 2018, p.10).

According to the World Bank statistic of 2018, females make 48.54% of the total population in Pakistan. Even though women constitute nearly half of our population, they remain significantly immobile and are reported to make minimal daily trips (Adeel, 2017). Their mobility patterns continue to be severely impacted than men "due to their special mobility needs in the conservative sociocultural settings of the state", which are made worse by poorly-designed public spaces and lack of

security (Adeel, Anthony & Zhang, 2013). Despite this, the scholarship on the lived experiences of gendered-mobility in Pakistan, specifically in Karachi, remains scarce.

In this research, mobility as a concept is not confined to the physical traveling of people within a certain geography. Instead, we believe that mobility patterns are socially and variably produced within space and time, and have visible effects on women's empowerment, identity, and safety, and access to public spaces. Therefore this qualitative case study explores how gender, at the intersex of class, impacts women's mobility in the gendered spaces of urban Karachi, and how that results in the differing mobility behavior and patterns. It attempts to explore the following: what opportunities are curtailed for working-class females as opposed to upper-middle-class females due to their differing mobility patterns; how does being a female affect the access and the safety, resilience, and perception of danger that one has towards public transport; and, how does the architecture and structure of public transportation reaffirm patriarchy within society. The paper also studies the way class binaries are built into the material realities of the city, and how public transportation is used as a means to maintain those boundaries.

# Literature Review

Adeel (2017) in his study, Gender inequality in mobility and mode choice in Pakistan, reveals that 95% of women, from low-income backgrounds in Pakistan, rely on non-motorized trips for their daily mobility. Since they do not have a stable source of income, women cannot afford automobiles, and hence have to rely on public transport or on-foot for most of their travel (Adeel, Anthony, Zhang, 2013). Thus, income becomes a key factor in determining access to transport.

Due to lack of proper footpaths, discontinuous sidewalks, and poorly

designed public spaces, women also face major issues whilst traveling (Allen, 2018).

Mobility does "not merely refers to the mobile individual," but also the kind of interaction and connection one has with public spaces and people in their surroundings, thus making the larger socio-cultural context a very important aspect in determining one's mobility behavior (Adeel, 2017, p.2). Gender is a socially constructed phenomenon, whereby gender norms and social mores inadvertently come to define one's mobility pattern; feminists have long explored how women's stereotypical association with domesticity determines the purpose, the length, the time, the route, the destination and the mode of choice of their traveling (Hanson, 2010; Adeel, Anthony & Zhang, 2013; Ali, 2011). Women fear incidents of catcalling, glaring, physical abuse and thus the movement of women in urban cities is deeply impacted by occurrences of public harassment and local surveillance (Adeel, 2017; Ali, 2010)

Ali (2010) in his study, Voicing Difference Gender and Civic Engagement among Karachi's Poor, elaborates on how Pakistani women, especially from the working-class, are regarded as family honor, and therefore any unnecessary interaction – sexual or non-sexual- with male strangers in public spaces can result in the loss of social honor. Thus, men maneuver public spaces with greater ease and liberty than women because women's interaction with routes and spaces is "constrained by moral discussions about their sexuality" and societal conformity (Ali, 2010, p.317). Nevertheless, Ali (2010) also suggests how, despite their social and sexual vulnerability, working-class women come to negotiate and counter-act such occurrences of harassment with confidence and resilience.

Furthermore, Uteng (2012) argues that the architecture of public transportation in developing countries is designed in a way that reinforces patriarchy and class binaries. His study highlights that

traveling and movement involves bodies via gendered contextualized spaces, which is that traveling and movement involves bodies via gendered contextualized spaces, which is mediated through transport technology that is also often acutely gendered (Uteng, 2012). Hence, traveling does not occur through neutral physical spaces. This is supported by Winner (1980) in Do Artifacts have Politics? who explains that the design of technology comes with an inherent bias and is laden with political and power asymmetries aimed for maintaining a certain social order and effect. He describes how the design of the over-bridges of park ways of Long Island in New York were designed in a that the public buses bringing "poor people and blacks, who normally used public transit" were kept out of the Jones Beach that was dominated by the white upper-class (Winner, 1980, p.124). Hence, the modern material culture should not be solely judged for its efficiency or otherwise, but for "the ways in which they can embody specific forms of power and authority". (Winner, 1980, p.121)

This is why Hanson (2010) proposes that women's voices should be included in the planning process and policy framework, as they are crucial in designing an effective, intersectional urban transport infrastructure.

# Methodology

In order to explore human attitude towards female urban mobility, this study makes use of an ethnographic research conducted from October to December 2019, in Karachi, Pakistan. Participant observations are widely used for capturing human perceptions, as they allow us to transcend the role of an observer by actively engaging with the lived reality of the participant (Malinowski, 1992). Therefore, combined with informal conversations and observations on the streets of Karachi, the chief strength of participant observation in our research was to contextualize what people said in terms of what they actually did. Our personal experiences as engaged researchers served as a valid source of experiential data, which helped us interpret the views and actions of others.

Through purposive sampling, a female participant from a lower working-class background was identified, who worked as a maid in Gulistan-e-Johar, Karachi, Pakistan. She was chosen because she belongs to a low-income group and travels on-foot and via public vehicles - widely used modes of transportation by working class - that are the focus of our research. A semi-structured, narrative interview of the participant was also taken on October 27, 2019, at her house. Alongside this, we held numerous conversations with her during our multiple visits to her house, her relative's house, and the places she goes to. The approach of using mixed methods of data collection (participant observation, semi-structured interview, on-ground conversations) on the same phenomenon, known as triangulation, was employed to increase the validity of our findings and to avoid any possible biases that may have arose from the use of a single method (Salkind, 2010). Triangulating our data helped us obtain a more evidence-based and comprehensive picture on women's mobility behaviors.

The contents of the interview and our informal on-field conversations with the participant were transcribed verbatim, and, in order to avoid losing the essence and meaning of the spoken native language in the process of transliteration, they were not translated from Urdu to English (Regmi, Naidoo, & Pilkington (2010).

Before accompanying the participant on-ground, informal meet-ups were also done to build a better rapport and mutual trust, so that she felt comfortable in letting us travel with her. Bearing in mind the ethical considerations, the participant's informed consent was audio-recorded, and she also consented to be identified by name.

## Participants' Profile

Azra Parveen is a 37-year-old maid who lives in the *katchi abadi* (informal settlements) of Gulistan-e-Johar, Block 7, Karachi, Pakistan,

and offers domestic services like cleaning, mopping, laundry and cooking among other things to multiple households in Gulistan-e-Johar, Block 7. She has two sons and two daughters; three of them go to school while one daughter is married. Her average monthly income is PKR.15-18,000. Azra's husband does not have a stable source of income, as he rarely works, though he sometimes drives a rented rickshaw. This makes Azra the sole breadwinner for five family members including herself. Azra travels on-foot or sometimes in a qingqi (motorcycle with six-seater carriages attached) to and from her work. She uses buses only when she has to go to far-off places.

For this study, we as two, upper-middle class women travelled using public transport in order to conduct participant observations, which served as a first-hand experience. It also allowed us to compare our mobility experiences against Azra's, which helped us obtain insights about the differing patterns in female mobility across social class. Since our own experiences are a part of this study, below is a brief profile of both the researchers.

Hiba Shoaib is a twenty-one-year-old undergraduate student at Habib University. She is a full-time student and apart from internships, does not work. From her university to home in Gulistan-e-Johar, she usually travels in her father's car, or by using a rickshaw.

Zara Imran is a twenty-year-old undergraduate student at Habib University. She is also a full-time student and apart from internships, does not work. From her university to home in North-Nazimabad, she travels by carpooling with a friend, or by using semi-private Careem or Uber.

# **Findings**

Gender-Norms Affect Mobility Patterns and Opportunities

"Mein bahar kam karti hun. Mein sabzi khareedti hun.

Kabhi kabar, mein apni beti ko school se leti hun, or kubhi apni poti ko doctor k pas lekar jati hun." (Azra, 2019; interview)

(I go outside for work. I do grocery. Sometimes, I pick my daughter from school and other times I take my granddaughter to the doctor).

Azra's statement above reveals how most of her movement outside her home is directed by the need to look after her house and her family members. Whether it was to accommodate her household grocery, children's school-hours or their sick days, the trips that Azra made were related to her domestic chores. This supports the idea that women in Pakistani society are largely relegated to the status of care-givers, whereby strict gender roles dictate much of female mobility patterns and thus contribute "to the persistence of gender inequalities" within our society (Allen, 2018, p.11) Female mobility patterns are primarily rooted in the stereotypical gender roles that they are expected to conform to, which altogether impacts their route, mode of raveling, purpose, time, etc. Throughout our conversations with Azra, she never spoke about any trips she took for leisure or self-care, thereby reflecting the view that when a female goes outside, it largely must be for the benefit of her household. This is supported by Hanson (2010), who discusses how perceived gendered ideologies between men and women define their daily mobility patterns and interactions with the public. Women and femininity are equated with shorter movements, household trips and private spaces (as indicated in Azra's statement), whereas men and masculinity are equated with public spaces, expansive movement, and longer business trips (Hanson, 2010).

"Betey k pass bike hai. Miyan k pas rickshaw. Woh jub or jahan chahein chale jate hain. Mera beta mujhe kam par chor nahi sakta kyonke woh school chala jata hai." (Azra, 2019; interview)

(My son has a bike. My husband has a rickshaw. They go outside wherever and whenever they want to. My son cannot drop me to my work because he has to leave for his school).



Figure 1: Qingqis in Karachi. Photo by, Fahim Siddiqi (2014)



Figure 2: Asra walking on-foot towards her house. Photo by, Hiba Shohaib

The male members of Azra's family own personal automobiles and use it for their own benefit, while the female members are left with the option of non-motorized modes. This illustrates that the ownership of automobiles is highly gendered; within a larger context, women mostly do not own automobiles, which is why their main mode of traveling is on foot or via public transportation (Uteng, 2012). Thus, women make

a higher percentage of trips on foot and also travel on slower modes of transportation like *qinqgis*.

The fact that women are unable to access efficient transport sources to the city, in turn, adversely impacts their employment opportunities. Consequently, they tend to restrict their search for jobs closer to their home, unless they have their own personal cars, as Azra further stated:

"Mein roz chaar gharon mein jaati hun, sub ek dosre se qareeb hain aagey peechey gallion mein tou sahoolat rehti hai."

(I go to four houses every day. All of them are close to each other in different lanes, so it is convenient for me)

This demonstrates that women tend to seek employment opportunities not far from their own area even if they have to compromise on their salary package. Their lower degree of participation in the labor market is reflected in their limited travel patterns, which explains why women find it increasingly difficult to fight poverty and income inequality (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Hanson (2010) views mobility as a means of empowering people and an access to opportunity. For him, there lies a strong connection between women's ability to get to places (offices, parks, hospitals) and their economic independence and livelihood. In third-world countries, including Pakistan in the context of this case study, women's inability to travel long distances has significantly curtailed their economic opportunities in comparison to their male counterparts.

"Ab meine apni beti ko government school mein karadia hai kyonk private school buhat dur tha. Ab osko kon roz chorey or ley school se. Mujhe hamesha uski parwa rehti thi. Iss government school mein parhai itni achi nahi liken kamaskum yeh qareeb tou hai ghar se, or saasta bhi." (Azra, 2019; interview)

(Now, I have shifted my daughter to a government school because the private school was very far away from my house. Who would drop and pick her from school every day? I was always concerned for her safety. The curriculum in the government school is not so good, but at least it is close to my house and cheap too).

This statement further shows how educational opportunities for young girls, especially from rural areas, become limited when schools are far away from homes. Azra was forced to shift her daughter from a private to a government school, despite the poor education quality, due to a lack of physical access to the school. This is consistent to what Uteng (2012) explains how the unavailability of cheap mode transportation is one of the "important contributing factors to girl's low educational achievement" (p.22); according to the 2010 statistic, "for every 10 boys enrolled in primary school, only 8 girls are enrolled" in Pakistan (Asian Development Bank, 2015).

In addition to this, Azra was also concerned about sending her daughter to the school because of the dangers associated with girls traveling alone to far-off and isolated places. This is why, girls tend to have poor educational achievements because parents prefer to withdraw their daughters from school if they have to walk alone in public spaces that are perceived as unsafe (Adeel, 2017). Here, it should be noted how Azra's concern about her daughter's safety is in stark contrast to the mobility patterns of Azra's son, who not only owns a bike of his own, but also enjoys the liberty of traveling to places far from home.

## Poorly Designed Public Spaces

#### Azra further stated:

"Koi sahi chalne ka footpath nahi hai. Barishon mein kitni baar khadon mein girjati hun, pata nahi chalta gutter kahan se behraha hai. Ooper se bijli ki taar pani mein girjae tou current lagskta hai. Islie mein apni beti ko zada door nahi jane deti." (Azra, 2019; interview)

(There are no proper footpaths. In rainy days, I have fallen into ditches a lot of the time. I can never know from where the sewage line is flowing. On top of that, if the electric wire falls into the water, then one can get electrocuted as well. This is why I don't send my daughter to far-off locations).

Azra's worry for her daughter and her safety is amplified because they travel on foot and a lack of proper footpaths, drainage, or sewage system makes their travel increasingly difficult. Azra mentions that when it rains, there is a danger of getting electrocuted as wires fall down in the un-concealed potholes and ditches. We see here how the condition of the roads and footpaths are extremely unfriendly to women who are travelling throughout the city onf oot. Even During our visits to her house and her workplace, we observed a lack of street-lights, proper and separate walk-ways; we had to maneuver our way alongside rickshaws and bike riders that moved on the same lanes as us, and sometimes, they used to closely pass by us in such a high speed that it would give us shudders. Side-walks were also often filled with parked cars, cycles and motorbikes, all of which made it increasingly difficult for us to walk on-foot.



Figure 3: No proper walkways; rickshaws and bike-riders moving on the same lanes as us. Photo by, Hiba Shoaib (2019)

Moreover, women, especially if they were chauffeuring kids and/or the elderly or had grocery bags, were often seen standing and waiting at the edge of the wide, signal-free lanes that were continuously inundated with heavy traffic. Sometimes, we had to wait for about 10 to 15 minutes for the traffic to slow down just so we could cross the road safely. The pedestrian over-head bridges were either inadequate or not properly located. Whereas the men standing beside us would quickly cross the roads whilst running, uncaring of anything else because they were mostly lone travelers.

A study conducted by CIVITAS (2016), Smart choices for cities, Gender equality and mobility: Mind the gap!, similarly explains how poorly designed public spaces such as inadequate crossing-nodes, narrow pavements, "too many car parking bays along inner roads" (p.31), lack of streetlights, all contribute in an unpleasant travel experience, especially for women as they make up a larger portion of the walking population (Adeel, 2017). Hassan and Raza (2015) explain how people in Karachi often find alternative arrangements like "like cutting the barrier in the middle of the road so as to squeeze through or to jump over" but women find this difficult to do so (p.33) This illustrates how the infrastructure of the city reinforces that women must make shorter and minimal trips outside of the house for the sake of their safety.

Safety Concerns in Public Spaces

Upon asking Azra if you had ever experienced any instance of harassment, she replied:

"Badtamaeez tou har jagah hote hain. Dou teen dafa tou aisa hoa k admion ne gari roki, aur poocha, aao chalna hai?" (Azra, 2019; interview)

(Shameless people are everywhere. A couple of times,

drivers stopped their cars in front of me, and asked: do you want to come along?)

We faced a similar incident whilst waiting for a *qinqgi* at the Askari Park stop. A man on a motorbike stopped in front of us and stared at us uncomfortably for a couple seconds. Then without uttering a single word, he pointed towards the back of his empty motorbike seat in an attempt to offer us a lift. We immediately stepped back and turned our face away from him, choosing to act as if we never noticed him.

This is reflective of how women traversing public spaces are not safe from harassment, regardless of the transportation mode (Allen, 2018). Lack of proper and sheltered bus stops makes the waiting even worse.

We often took the bus from Habib University (Gulistan-e-Johar) to NIPA (Gulshan-e-Iqbal), and while we would wait for the bus to arrive, we would be leered at and catcalled by men passing us. Other women standing near us, waiting for buses or rikshaws would undergo similar harassment, and would huddle silently in a corner or would keep moving around which is consistent to what Ali (2010) explains that "women may be subject to harassment in narrow alleys…long waits at the bus stops of the unpredictable public transport system" (p.315).

Once while we were taking a bus back from Saddar to Gulistan-e-Johar, we had to wait for twenty minutes, and in that time, we kept walking around the area, as standing in one position made us feel more vulnerable.

Another time when we accompanied Azra to one of her workplaces, we noticed a group of men sitting at a distance, and Azra instantly switched to a longer and more inconvenient route. Very cavalierly, she told us that this is something she had to do, which demonstrates that women's safety in public spaces is greatly influenced by the "unknown" people on a daily basis (Ali, 2010, p.316).

It shows how, most times, women, out of fear are compelled to take longer and more difficult routes just to avoid possible instances of harassment.

In addition, this also reflects how public spaces are greatly dominated by "ghair (unrelated) men" (Adeel, 2017, p.3). Adeel (2017) elaborates that, within the context of South-Asian communities, women's "unwanted interactions with men" may even lead to a "loss of honor" (Adeel, 2017, p.3). This indeed stands true to the culture and mentality of Pakistan, whereby female mobility is often associated with family's social code of honor (Adeel, 2017; Ali, 2011). This is one of the reasons why "veiling" becomes so important for women as it is linked with respectability and is also believed for providing a sense of safety to them (Adeel, 2017, p.3). This is why, every time we would travel in public spaces (on-foot or on a public vehicle), we would ensure taking a black chaadar (a big shawl) covering us from head to toe. Despite the fact that we do not take chaadars in our normal lives, and that handling the chaadar, which would often slip, while boarding and moving made our trips increasingly difficult, but we continued taking them under the assumption that a chaadar would help deter unwanted stares from us. Hassan and Raza (2015) similarly describe how it is "common for women to wear the hijab or cover their heads while travelling and to remove them once they are in their work place" (p.33).

However, as Uteng (2012) notes, the proximity to these *ghair* men, "veiled or unveiled" does not matter (p.11); women still fear instances of heckling and constant staring at a distance from men whereas, in crowded spaces, women are afraid of being pinched and physically molested. This was true in our case because taking a *chaddar* did not help deter the usual male gaze from us.

Furthermore, women are hesitant to be outside in the dark and prefer being accompanied by a male member of their family just to ensure their own safety. This was brought to our notice when, one time, we



Figure 4: One of the researchers wearing a black chaadar as she walks on -foot in a public space in Gulistan-e-Johar. Photo by, Hiba Shoaib (2019)

were supposed to walk with Azra to her relative's house and the sun was about to set. She called her son very anxiously and said: "aaj daer hogae hai, andhera hone wala hai, tum ajao jaldi." (Today, it has gotten late, it is about to get dark. Come fast) He came to pick her up just so he could walk with her and, by extension, us.

Similarly, when one of us have to take a rickshaw back to our house after taking evening classes, we choose to take a longer route because the usual route from the university does not have street lights. We only take the usual shorter route in the morning, or when we are being picked by our father. Otherwise, we deliberately opt for a longer one that although costs us a higher fare, but the dark hours after sunset, make us feel more vulnerable.

Firstly, these acts reveal how women's mobility patterns are directed according to the time of the day. That is to say, in the day-light hours women feel safer about their mobility whereas "travelling out of daylight hours are considered risky" (Allen, 2018, p.16). Secondly, it also serves as a reinforcement for notions of masculinity and femininity; a man is considered to be brave and strong, Azra's son's simple presence, despite his young age, is a source of protection for the women travelling with him. On the other hand, a woman being alone on the street in the dark is seen, but also is vulnerable. Being accompanied by men makes it much safer for women walking on the streets, as Adeel (2017) also states, having a male "escort" becomes important for women for walking trips (p.3). At the same time, it, yet again, solidifies the belief that women require the protection of men every time they have to step outside of the house, and are thus better off staying in-doors (Adeel, 2017).

We also noticed how acts of harassment affect working-class and upper-middle-class women differently. When Azra narrated to us how often she got solicited by cars, we noticed her casual and nonchalant tone as if these instances were just another mundane occurrence and "roz marrah ki batein." (An eyeryday occurrence).

In contrast, one time, when we were harassed on the bus as a man poked us from behind, we were paralyzed from fear. We stood silent and helpless, and could not confront the perpetrator. At another instance, when we were waiting for a rickshaw at the NIPA bus stop, we realized that we were being followed by a man who constantly kept on staring and was moving towards us. Panicked and scared, we immediately boarded the bus in front of us, just so we could be in a crowd, even though that bus would not take us to our intended destination. We chose to alter our route out of concern for our safety, despite it being more inconvenient for us.

"Tumhara haal tou mein aisa kardun, khudi joote maro. gireban se pakrun, dou teen thapar lagaun." (Azra, 2019;

interview)
(I'd beat you up myself; grab you by the collar and slap you twice).

At another instance we were sitting in a *qinqi*, with a girl beside us, whose dressing made it apparent that she belonged to a low-income household, and saw her confront the man sitting in front of her: "*Boorey mia, ab kara tou hashar dekhna*" (Old man, if you do it again, just see what I do to you). We were surprised to see how she was able to take charge of this situation and was able to scold a man who constantly kept staring her.

From this example, we can see this idea of resilience; resilience that is bred out of necessity and hardship. Women from the lower-working class have no choice but to get out of the house and earn even if they get followed around by men. Dwelling on these instances would provide them with nothing, so they choose not to, think about them or report them. Ali (2012) in his study, Women, Work and Public Spaces: Conflict and Coexistence in Karachi's Poor Neighborhoods, also highlights how working-class tend to "counter and contest" (p.592) their social vulnerability and economic uncertainty as an everyday practice. Although working-women also relay their fear, discomfort and vulnerability in connection to public spaces, they still " seem very confident about their public lives" and are ready to "...answer back and scold those who made lewd comments..." (Ali, 2010, p.318). Ali (2012) further writes,

"Poor women brave urban public transport systems without the social protections that class bestows on elite women" (p.596).

As upper-middle class women we are not used to travelling in public modes of transportation or on-foot because our socio-economic status bestows us with enough privilege and money to use semi private transport services like Uber, Careem or Airlift. We tend to save ourselves from instances of possible harassment that occur in public spaces and public transport almost on a daily basis. When such instances, however, do occur, we find it difficult to take charge or to counteract since we are so unused to them. During the early days of our fieldwork, we were sitting in a bus once and a man kept poking us. We never confronted him, just kept squirming out of his way and our first thought was that we had was to stop taking the bus now. This reflects how our thoughts and attitudes are based on the social protection and economic security afforded to us by our class. Since upper-middle class women rarely have to worry about meeting their ends financially, they seek more expensive, semi-private alternatives that, to an extent, guarantee a relative amount of safety. Adeel (2017) further states that the share of walking-trips among women significantly decreases "in the top income quintile households, that reflects an increased automobile reliance among women from the higher income households" (p.11). This shows that working- women, who struggle with making ends meet have no other option but to travel on-foot or/and cheap, also unsafe, public vehicles like buses and qingqis. Therefore, working-class women "need to negotiate" with such unpleasant experiences "on a daily basis" so much so that they tend to adopt a rather nonchalant, "confident" and a resilient attitude towards such 'mundane' occurrences of harassment (Ali, 2011, p.596).

# Class Dictates Mobility Attitudes

As researchers, we tried our best to fit in within our surroundings but our socio-economic status was always apparent in the way we spoke and stood on public transport. This difference in attitude between classes was made more evident by others' behavior towards us. For example, the bus conductor always spoke to us at a volume level lower than his normal one, and most times would not even return the change owed to us and neither did we ever haggle for money. However, this one time, after waiting for a few minutes (assuming that the conductor would return us owed money himself) we deliberately asked for the cash back, and he gently replied: "jee baji bs aap he ko khula derha tha" (Yes, sister. I was just actually giving you the change)

This is in contrast to Azra's statement who told us,:

"Ek baar conductor ne mujhe mere Rs.5 wapis nahi diye. Meine osse kaha k tum zada kiraya maang raheo, yeh rate nahi hai. Pehle tou who gussa hoa or badtameezi ki liken phir osne mere baqaya paisey wapis kardie kyonk mein lare jarhi thi" (Azra, 2019; interview)

(One time, the bus conductor did not return Rs.5 to me. I told him that you are charging me more than the actual fare. At first, he got angry and was being rude, but then he gave me the money because I would not stop arguing)

This shows the unspoken rules of commuting with people from different classes. Our strong financial standing was apparent to the conductor. He knew a mere Rs.10 or Rs.20 would not make a difference in our lives and that we would not make a scene. However, according to Azra's statement, and even in his behavior with other working-class women, we observed that he always spoke a little more harsh and loud. Even in Hassan and Raza's (2015) study, one of their interviewees from a low-income background explained how she has "sleepless night thinking of the haggling she will have to do with the bus conductor the next morning so as to retrieve the extra money" (p.33). This indicates how a person from a particular class tends to behave differently, adopts various tactics, and embodies an altered body language in order to communicate with people from a different class on public transport.

Gender Bias and Class Binaries within the Architecture of the Transport System

In a standard-sized bus, there are twenty-four seats and only six of them are in the women's section in the front of the bus, which is segregated by a metal cage. The fact that women have been allotted a tiny space reflects a gendered belief that women do not make long business trips and thus, do not require a lot of seats. The infinitesimal allotment of seats for women also reinforces that women should stay indoors unless

seats for women also reinforces that women should stay indoors unless absolutely necessary since there is no place for them outside. The metal cage reinforces the gender roles between men and women as the segregation is reflective of how society thinks men are the breadwinners whereas women make small and insignificant trips outside of the house. The construction of the bus validates and reinforces the patriarchal nature of our society, where the transport system actively discourages women to step outside of the house. This is just one example of how women are victims of systemic patriarchy.



Figure 5: Women's small section in front segregated by a metal cage from men's bigger section at the back. Photo by, Saiyna Bashir (2020). Retrieved from:

https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/26/world/asia/pakistan-coronavirus-tablighi-jamaat.html

On public buses, the steps are steep and the support bars are very high as Azra mentioned: "Meri height choti hai. Mera hath ooper dandey tak nahi puhanchta. Meri liye buhat mushkil hojata hai. Buhat dhake parte hain." (I have a shorter height. My hand cannot reach the bar of the bus. It gets very difficult for me. People push me all the time). During our bus rides, the bus would often come to a stop with a lurch and all women passengers who were standing had to hold onto the bars very tightly to avoid falling. For women, this is hard as it demands physical

strength and height to reach out to grab the support bars.

Apart from this, there are a plethora of issues that are specifically faced by women on bus rides. For instance, it was also observed that bus rides especially become difficult for women who have small kids because they have to make sure their children get on the bus as well while the bus drivers won't slow down (Hassan & Raza, 2015). Additionally, women's clothing can also become an impediment as Azra said, "Ek baar bus mein charhte hoe mera dupatta paun mein phansgya tha or mein girte girte bachgae." (One time while climbing onto the bus, my scarf got stuck in my foot and I almost fell). Given that women are mostly wearing shalwar kameez, dupattas, veils, etc., their clothing becomes an extra hassle. In contrast, men usually don't face such problems since they are often lone travelers, and the architecture of the bus, with its high bars and assigned seats do not put them at a disadvantage. Even when bus seats are full, men can sit on the roof of the bus, whereas women are squashed into a tiny place with all their kids.



Figure 6: A usual sight of a public bus in Karachi. Photography by, ARY (2019). Retrieved from: https://arynews.tv/en/karachi-transport-ittehad-withdraw-strike-call/

At first glance as well, the public bus is a masculine space, it is dominated by men sitting inside or on top of it, men standing, and hanging to its doors. These observations and experiences are in accordance with Uteng's (2012) study that examines the "built environment" of the city (p.12). He elaborates on how physical infrastructure is a manifestation of patriarchy, which is mediated by in turn, tends to embellish that. the power-asymmetries in the production and control of time and space between men and women (Uteng, 2012). The transport infrastructure is not only embedded with gender bias but also reproduces and maintains class binaries, creating boundaries within the material realities of the city. The fact that public buses barely go to Shahra-e-Faisal and areas in Defence (the commercial and rich parts of Karachi) is a direct reflection of how material boundaries are maintained through the transport system itself; by limiting the buses that go there, the inequality in our society is automatically maintained (Winner, 1980).

Azra told us, "4-5 saal se mein Defence nahi gai. Zaroorat he nahi or jana bhe asan nahi." (It has been 4-5 years since I have been to Defence. It is not needed and neither is it easy to go there). It was truly astonishing to learn that working-class women have such limited access to this city as compared to upper-middle-class women like us. We have no problem commuting to places like Defence, since we use travel services like Uber and Careem, despite how expensive travelling to Defence or Clifton can be from our residences. Most of the times when we travel to Defence or Clifton it is for leisure purposes; to meet up with friends, for shopping or to dine at restaurants and cafes.

This makes us realize how a lot of the recreational spots that Karachi has are also located in the area that is commonly known as 'the other side of the bridge.' To name a few: Seaview, Hawks Bay, the massive Benazir Bhutto Park, and Port Qasim Park are all in Defence or Clifton. These areas are supposed to be accessible to the public, they are meant to be enjoyed by everyone, regardless of their class. But, are they really 'public places' when a large part of the population is unable to visit

these places at all? Azra's statements shows us how class and gender both restrict her mobility and the access she has to the city. While it is difficult for working-class men to these areas as well, it is not as difficult as women from the same class. Men are not burdened with the responsibilities of the household, some (like Azra's son and husband) have access to motorized vehicles, and, they do not fear for their safety, as women do while they are out.

Winner (1980) in *Do Artifacts Have Politics*? explores how city planning, architecture and technologies of public spaces "embody a systematic social inequality, a way of engineering relationships among people that, after a time, becomes just another part of the landscape" (p.124). He discusses how physical arrangements are inherently embedded with modern politics that they automatically restrict the movement of "racial minorities and low-income groups" to specific areas (Winner, 1980, p.124).

In light of Winner's study, we must pay attention to how the transport system discriminates, specifically against working class women. Firstly, the public transport system of the city itself creates and maintains class boundaries limiting the number of poor people in the rich, swanky areas of the city; buses that incorporate these areas in their routes are rare. Secondly, she is a woman, her travelling is restricted by the role she inhabits as the caregiver of the house. Thirdly, public transport, needless to say, is already a huge inconvenience to women even if they are making short trips to nearby places. With so much hassle, it is no wonder that Azra thinks she has no need to go to a part of the city that to her feels like another city altogether.

### Conclusion

Our research demonstrates that mobility of women in Karachi is restricted both by class and gender. The lived experiences of women enable us to fully understand the nature and consequences of these restrictions, through which opportunities like employment and education for women are largely curtailed. It further reflects how women have to navigate the patriarchal architecture of the public transport busses, male-dominated public spaces, countless instances of public harassment, and the restrictions imposed rooted in strict gender roles and cultural norms of Pakistan.

Furthermore, our research indicates how female mobility varies across class as well. Owing to differences in economic and social protection bestowed to women of upper-middle class against working women, mobility patterns and response to instances of harassment in public spaces consequently differ. Working-class women, out of poverty and limited income, are forced to use cheap and unsafe transportation modes, and thus their encounter with unpleasant occurrences, almost on a daily-basis, mold them to be stronger and more resilient in comparison to upper-middle class women who are provided a relative amount of safety because of their class. In addition, our findings also show how the transport system itself maintains class binaries that are built within the material realities of the city. The man-made technical arrangements serve as forms of order, such that the movement and access of women from low-income groups is discouraged towards rich neighborhoods, commercial and posh parts of the city. Thus, reflecting how the physical infrastructure of the transport system, within a inherently socio-political context. is bias and marginalizes working-women over upper-middle class women.

Although a case study focused on three participants and therefore the findings cannot be generalized, but the kind of in-depth information and evidence-based experiences that were obtained via a mixed method approach, it can be used to suggest intersectional and gender-sensitive policies for designing more inclusive urban public transport systems in Karachi. Our findings have also been corroborated by numerous secondary sources that make them consistently reliable. Therefore, this

study enhances the existing scholarship on issues regarding women's mobility in urban spaces. More importantly, our study provides a context-specific example relevant to developing nations, and thus provides avenues for further research in Pakistan, such as how does a person's class affect the feeling of belonging one has to the city; how do women feel about a city, when they do not have access to large parts of it? It highlights the importance of incorporating women's needs, hailing from both lower and upper socio-economic backgrounds, in the planning and policy process of urban planning.

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### Analysis of Iqbal's "Masjid-e Qurtubah"

### OSAMA YOUSUF

### **Abstract**

his essay presents a metrical analysis on Iqbal's *Masjid-e Qurtubah* (The Mosque of Cordoba), which is considered by many to be the greatest Urdu *nazm* (poem) ever written. The paper discusses the technicalities of the metrical *structure* of the poem, which Iqbal very carefully balances to establish his beautiful signature imagery in context of the poem subject, spanning a breadth of eight stanzas. It was written during Iqbal's trip to Europe in 1931-32 and was published in his second collection of Urdu poetry titled *Bāl-e Jibrīl* (The Wing of Gabriel). The metrical analysis is preceded by a thematic stanza-wise overview and is followed by a literal translation and a transliterated rendition, adapted from Pritchett's diacritic serial glossary (Pritchett, Mosque of Cordoba), of the poem in its entirety.

### Thematic Overview

The primary emphasis and perhaps the most consummate expression present in Iqbal's Masjid-e Qurtubah, a masterpiece of poetic inspiration and artistic expression, is on love. In terms of beauty of diction and richness of emotion, it is unsurpassed. Its eight stanzas are thematically quite distinct, but are linked together in a naturalistic progression of vivid ideas, revolving around the theme of the potency and efficacy of love. Iqbal, radically moved by the visual sumptuousness of the mosque and under a spell of fervent emotions coursing through him as a consequence of this encounter, swooned upon entering it (Noorani, 1999, p. 237). The poem opens with a brief description of the destructive power of time which is responsible for ultimately laying low even the highest and the mightiest of beings. It proceeds by establishing that human life, happiness, and beauty, all must pass away. When one views human life on the grand scale of history, the futility of human ambition and endeavor seem emergent emergent and leap out; but even then, there are blessed moments in which one which one is able to witness a glimpse of immortality and eternity. For Iqbal, the Mosque of Cordoba is such a symbol, which had escaped destruction due to it being built with hands of love (Hassan, 2005, pp. 73-74). Reading the poem aloud grants a subliminal sense of revelation and ecstasy; it feels almost as if Iqbal had experienced a strong vision of the ideal in the Mosque. The poem ends with a striking note of prophecy, where the Muslim world is seen to be seeking a revolution that would grant it a new soul and in turn a high status in the society. In terms of individual stanzas, the theme of the poem is established as follows:

#### Stanza 1:

Iqbal describes the nature of time as being an unending and cyclical chain of days and nights which is nevertheless only an apparent reality; everything that man creates is thus transient or ephemeral, and the end result is annihilation. Iqbal also describes time as a two-colored silk

thread. This image is symbolic of the ambiguous character of time which seems to distribute rewards and punishments among humans, irrespective of their motives and efforts.

#### Stanza 2:

Here the main theme of the poem, Iqbal's notion of true and spiritual love – passion – is first introduced. He describes that the only indestructible quality in life that can transcend and escape the scythe of time is this passion. He further describes passion as a free-flowing tide which can counter, and from which stem, all other tides of time, and continues to present various descriptions of passion; all of which together frame prominent and beautiful imagery of the concept. Hereafter, the theme of passion is persistently articulated in the poem.

### Stanza 3:

In this stanza, Iqbal connects the aforementioned concept of passion to the Mosque of Cordoba. He argues that it was this true love – love whose light shines undimmed while all the world is crumbling into dust – which created the Mosque. Because of this love, the Mosque had eternally conquered the destructive force of time. The Mosque bestows upon the prayer a unique verve and warmth of prostration, and this places man in a more privileged state, more superior than the forms of light. created the Mosque. Because of this love, the Mosque had eternally conquered the destructive force of time. The Mosque bestows upon the prayer a unique verve and warmth of prostration, and this places man in a more privileged state, more superior than the forms of light.

#### Stanza 4:

The glory and beauty of the Mosque causes Iqbal to ponder over the nature and qualities of a true believer, the Momin, whose refuge in times of trouble is in the declaration of faith and in the existence of the Almighty. In the totality of the Mosque's appearance and effectiveness, is a material manifestation of the Momin for Iqbal. In its beauty and

elegance, height and width, gracefulness and solidity, fineness and strength, it is his exact replica. Its imposing pillars remind Iqbal of the oases of Arabia. In its balconies and latticed windows, he sees the gleams of heavenly effulgence. He considers its towering minarets to be the descending points of divine mercy and the halting places of the angels. Iqbal depicts astonishing visuals of the Mosque, and the overall articulation of the imagery is truly exemplary.

### Stanza 5:

Here Iqbal outlines numerous characteristics of a true believer. He argues that God's hand is the same as a believing man's hand, and that the man possesses numerous qualities of the Creator. He is dominant, creative, resourceful, consummate, and in the cosmic communion, is the warmth of the gathering. Iqbal saw the Mosque as a cultural landmark of Islam. In its architecture and engravings, he saw a moving portrait of the believer's moral excellence, aesthetic refinement, high-mindedness, sincerity, piety, and devotion.

#### Stanza 6:

Iqbal draws parallels between the Mosque of Cordoba and the Ka'bah based on their respective centralities to Islamic Spain and Islam in general. Iqbal also eulogizes the positive impact of Islam on Spain and Europe, asserting that the Mosque is a true symbol of the beliefs, thoughts, and aspirations of the Muslim milieu. Just like the Ka'bah is free from the narrow bounds of race and nationality, the Mosque of Cordoba too signifies universal fraternity.

#### Stanza 7:

Here, Iqbal expresses discontent over the waning of Islam in Europe, and outlines the great upheavals that swept Europe from the 16th to 18th centuries. It is worthy to point out that even in this discontent lies a subtle yet strong sense of hope. Iqbal inherently expresses a desire of bringing about a change to the situation, observing that a similar turmoil currently existed in the Muslim world.

### Stanza 8:

This stanza is Iqbal's prophecy of revolution and reform, as well as a summary of the poem's message. For Iqbal, the Mosque's visual splendor is a conduit for the vision of a new world; it is an instrument for translating the *mard-e-khudā*'s (believer's) creative conduct into a language of splendorous visual forms (Latif, 2011, p. 129). The believer is above territorial limitations, his world is boundless, and the beauty and warmth of his message is, in the hopes of Iqbal, all-pervading.

### **Metrical Analysis**

The factor which sets Iqbal's *Masjid-e Qurtubah* apart from presumably all other Urdu poems is the choice of meter. The poem is filled with rhythmic repetitions, internal rhymes, as well as resonant phrases. Iqbal uses a broken meter, the *munsariḥ musamman matvī maksūf* (Pritchett & Khaliq, Urdu Metre: A Practical Handbook, 1987), which grants the poem extremely unique sonic qualities in terms of rhythm and sound patterns. Formally speaking, the poem packs eight stanzas (*band*), each of which is made up of a seven-verse *ghazal*, followed by an internally-rhymed verse with different rhyming elements (technically, a *matla*) which is presented almost as if it is a punch-line to the preceding *ghazal*.

The rhyme scheme of each stanza is exclusive of one another, meaning that no two stanzas follow the same scheme; however, their rhythmic arrangement is kept consistent. For example, the ghazal-esque  $ash'\bar{a}r$  (couplets) from the first stanza follow the rhyme scheme a,a,b,a,c,a,d,a,e,a,f,a,g,a, followed by the punch-line  $sh\check{e}'r$  (couplet) with rhyme scheme h,h. Similarly, the second stanza follows the rhyme scheme i,i,j,i,k,i,l,i,m,i,n,i,o,i,p,p; here again each even-numbered  $misr\bar{a}$  (single couplet line) terminates at the rhyme set forth by the first  $sh\check{e}'r$ , with the exception of the last  $sh\check{e}'r$ , which breaks not only the rhyme

scheme but also indicates a shift in the thematic subject of the poem, as already discussed. This exact same alliteration pattern is replicated throughout the poem, and these rhythmic repetitions lend the poem a unique prosodic posture – one which demands to be read aloud, with feeling.

The  $matv\bar{\imath}$  meter consists of four feet, two of which are repeated in metrically identical halves. These are mufta'ilun and  $f\bar{a}'ilun$ , and they appear in succession twice with an optional caesura, allowing a cheat syllable, at the break and at the terminating point of each  $miṣr\bar{a}$ . For purposes of explication, consider the scansion of the following  $sh\check{e}'r$ :

As can be seen, the  $miṣr\bar{a}$  in example [i] scans in the meter without any cheat syllables. This allows a soft and relaxed vocalization of the line, whereas in comparison, the  $miṣr\bar{a}$  in example [ii] does make use of one cheat syllable towards the end. This forces the scansion to consider an extra short syllable at the end foot, turning the  $f\bar{a}$  ilun (=-=) to a  $f\bar{a}$  il $\bar{a}t$  (=-=-). The effect that this has on the recitation of the  $sh\check{e}$  is that the reader is forced to adjust pace gradually, starting from a slow tempo with long pauses but ending at a fast tempo with short pauses. This in turn induces a deep echoic feeling into the poem reinforcing its message which is also being gradually built up. The broken meter makes this cheat valid, but one must still be careful of not elongating syllables beyond their scan length, as doing so would simply break the meter. For

instance, in example [ii], the reader is forced to vocalize يهى as a single short syllable; not doing so would lead to abrupt pauses and would hurt the sonic poetic feel of the intended articulation. Furthermore, in example [i], the meter forces the vocalization of an *izāfat* in عصر, and this occurs naturally to the reader even if it is missing, granted that the reader possesses a sense of meter.

Similar rhythmic patterns can be observed in almost every  $sh\check{e}'r$  in the poem. All  $ash'\bar{a}r$  start slower than they end, and Iqbal's careful use of the intermediate caesura grant them a hymn-like authoritative tone, with the middle break signaling an inherent "interruption by silence" (Haq, 2015). Consider the following  $sh\check{e}'r$ :

[iii] مفتَ عِلن فا علاتُ مفتَ عِلن فاع لاتُ مفتَعِلن فاعلاتُ مفتَعِلن فاعلاتُ

[iv] مفتعلن فا علاتُ مفتعلن فا علاتُ مفتعلن فا علاتُ مفتعلن فا علاتُ

Again, if one possesses a sense and feel of the meter, one will be naturally inclined to develop a rise in intonation when proceeding to read the second  $miṣr\bar{a}$  after the first, and a similar rhythmic effect is present in all the  $ash'\bar{a}r$ . Consequently, the poem is filled with unique sonic qualities and sound patterns. In both the  $miṣr\bar{a}s$  in example [iii] and [iv], short cheat syllables have been employed at the middle break as well as at the end, as indicated by the complete absence of  $f\bar{a}'ilun$  in the scansion. As was the case in the previous example, the meter forces the reader to rush through the second  $miṣr\bar{a}$  in example [iv], but this time with a mild and peaceful change in pace with soft and easy pauses.

Iqbal seizes the opportunity to play around with the meter fully; he continually shifts between different combinations of syllable placement. He uses different sound patterns that emerge from these combinations to introduce rhythmic connections, coherence, and resonance with the ongoing theme being narrated in the poem. These combinations, easily exhaustive yet responsible for the infinitely complex play of sonic manipulation, are listed below:

[1]	muftaʻilun	fāʻilun	muftaʻilun	fāʻilun
[2]	muftaʻilun	fāʻilāt	mufta <sup>c</sup> ilun	fāʻilun
[3]	muftaʻilun	fāʻilun	muftaʻilun	fāʻilāt
[4]	muftaʻilun	fāʻilāt	mufta <sup>c</sup> ilun	fāʻilāt

Also notable in the poem is the frequently occurring presence of internal rhyme, and Iqbal's magnificence must be appreciated here as it overlaps with the aforementioned combinations of the meter, resulting in a truly beautiful dancing rhythm. The  $misr\bar{a}$  in example [iii] consists of a single changing internal rhyme (firoz/soz). Even more beautiful is the following  $sh\check{e}'r$ , example [v], consisting of a double internal rhyme – one of which is unchanging ( $fan\bar{a}$ ), and the other is changing ( $\bar{a}khir/z\bar{a}hir$ ).

### Translation & Transliteration

### Stanza 1

silsilah-e roz-o-shab, naqsh-gar-e ḥādisāt silsilah-e roz-o-shab, aşl-e ḥayāt-o-mamāt

day and night succession, forger of events day and night succession, origin of life and death

silsilah-e roz-o-shab, tār-e ḥarīr-e do-rang jis se banātī hai żāt apnī qabā-e ṣifāt

day and night succession, two-colored silk strand from which Being makes its robe of qualities

silsilah-e roz-o-shab, sāz-e azal kī fiġhāñ jis se dikhātī hai żāt zer-o-bam-e mumkināt

day and night succession, wail of the tone of eternity through which Being shows the treble and bass of possibilities

## تجه کو پرکهتا ہے یه ، مجه کو پرکهتا ہے یه سلسلهٔ مروز و شب ، صیرافی کائنات

tujh ko parakhtā hai yih, mujh ko parakhtā hai yih silsilah-e roz-o-shab, ṣerāfī-e kā'ināt

this tests you, that tests you day and night succession, the Jeweler of creation

tū ho agar kam-'ayār, maiñ hoñ agar kam-'ayār maut hai terī barāt, maut hai merī barāt

if you would be of low quality, if I would be of low quality
death is your fate, death is my fate

tere shab-o-roz kī aur ḥaqīqat hai kyā ek zamāne kī rau, jis meñ nah din hai nah rāt.

of your day and night, what other reality the movement of one age, in which is neither day nor night

# آنی و فانی نمام معجزہائے ہنں کامرِ جہاں بے ثبات! کامرِ جہاں بے ثبات!

ānī-o-fānī tamām mu'jizah'hā-e hunar kār-e jahāñ be-sabāt! kār-e jahāñ be-sabāt!

momentary and frail, all the miracles of ingenuity the work of the world - without stability! the work of the world - without stability!

avval-o-ākhir fanā, bātin-o-zāhir fanā naqsh-e kuhan ho kih nau, manzil-e akhir fanā

first and last - oblivion, inside and outside - oblivion be it an old form or new, the final destination - oblivion

### Stanza 2

hai magar us naqsh meñ rang-e sabāt-e davām jis ko kiyā ho kisī mard-e- khudā ne tamām

but in that print is an aspect of eternal stability which some man of the Lord would have made complete

## مردِ خدا کا عمل عشق سے صاحب فروغ عشق ہے اصل حیات ، موت ہے اس پر حرام

mard-e-khudā kā 'amal 'ishq se ṣāḥib-furoġh 'ishq hai aṣl-e ḥayāt, maut hai us par ḥarām

the action of the man of the Lord - through passion, the possessor of radiance passion is the source of life, death is forbidden for it

tund-o-subuk-sair hai garchih zamāne kī rau 'ishq khvud ik sail hai, sail ko letā hai thām

quick and light-travelling is although the movement of the age passion itself is a flood, it also stops the flood

'ishq kī taqvīm meñ 'aṣr-e ravāñ ke sivā aur zamāne bhī haiñ jin kā nahīñ ko'ī nām!

in the calendar of passion, besides the current age there are other ages too, which have no name!

# عشق دمِ جبرئيل، عشق دلِ مصطفى عشق خدا كا مرسول، عشق خدا كالمرا

'ishq dam-e jibra'īl, 'ishq dil-e mustafa 'ishq khudā kā rasūl, 'ishq khudā kā kalām!

passion the breath of Gabriel, passion the heart of Mustafa passion the Prophet of God, passion the word of God

'ishq kī mastī se hai paikar-e gul tāb-nāk 'ishq hai ṣahbā-e khām, 'ishq hai kās ul-karām

from the intoxication of passion is the rose's form radiant passion is new wine, passion is the generous cup

'ishq faqīh-e ḥaram, 'ishq amīr-e junūd 'ishq hai ibn us-sabīl, us ke hazāroñ muqām!

passion the jurist of the Ka'bah, passion the leader of the troops passion is a son of the road; it has thousands of stages!

ʻishq ke miẓrāb se naġhmah-e tār-e ḥayāt\ ʻishq se nūr-e ḥayāt, ʻishq se nār-e ḥayāt

from the plectrum of love, the tune of the string of life! from passion the light of life, from passion the fire of life

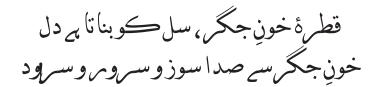
### Stanza 3

ay ḥaram-e qurtubah! 'ishq se terā vujūd 'ishq sarāpā davām jis meñ nahīñ raft-o-būd

Oh holy Cordoba! from passion is your existence passion wholly eternal in which there's no passage in and out

rang ho yā khisht-o-sang, chung ho yā ḥarf-o-ṣaut mu'jizah-e fan kī hai khūn-e jigar se namūd!

whether it be color or brick and stone, whether it be the lute or word and voice the manifestation of miracles of art is from liver blood



qatrah-e khūn-e jigar, sil ko banātā hai dil khūn-e jigar se ṣadā soz-o-surūr-o-sarod!

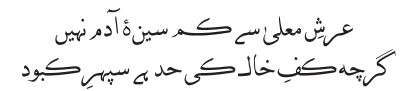
a drop of liver blood turns a stone into a heart from the liver blood, voice, burning and joy, and the song!

## تیری فضا دل فروز ، میری نوا سینه سوز تجھ سے دلوں کا حضوس ، مجھ سے دلوں کی کشود

terī fazā dil-firoz, merī navā sīnah-soz tujh se diloñ kā ḥuzūr, mujh se diloñ kī kushūd

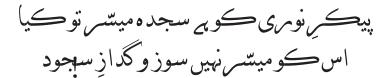
your aura heart-illumining, my plaint a breast-burning song

from you, the royal-presence of hearts, from me, the opening of hearts



'arsh-e mu'allâ se kam sīnah-e ādam nahīñ garchih kaf-e-khāk kī ḥad hai sipihr-e kubūd

not less than the lofty empyrean is the breast of Adam although the limit of the handful of dust is the azure sphere



paikar-e nūrī ko hai sijdah muyassar to kyā us ko muyassar nahīñ soz-o-gudāz-e sujūd

the Form of Light is granted prostration, so what? he does not obtain the burning and melting of the act of prostration!

### کافر ہندی ہوں میں ، دیکھ مرا ذوق و شوق دل میں صلت و دمرود ، لب په صلت و دمرود

kāfir-e hindī hūñ maiñ, dekh mirā żauq-o-shauq dil meñ şalât-o-durūd, lab pah şalât-o-durūd

I am an Indian infidel, look at my relish and ardor in my heart is prayer and blessings upon the Prophet, on my lips is prayer and blessings upon the Prophet

shauq mirī lay meñ hai, shauq mirī nay meñ hai naġhmah-e allâh hū mere rag-o-pai meñ ha

ardor is in my tune, ardor is in my reed-flute the melody of Allah-hu is in my veins and sinews

### Stanza 4

تيرا جمال و جلال ، مردِ خدا ڪي دليل وه بهي جليل و جميل ، تو بهي جليل و جميل

terā jamāl-o-jalāl, mard-e khudā kī dalīl vuh bhī jalīl-o-jamīl, tū bhī jalīl-o-jamīl

your beauty and grandeur, proof of the man of the Lord he too, grand and beautiful, you too, grand and beautiful

terī binā pā'edār, tere sutūñ be-shumār shām ke ṣaḥrā meñ ho jaise hujūm-e nakhīl!

your foundation firm, your pillars innumerable as would be, in the desert of Syria, a grove of date-palms

tire dar-o-bām par vādī-e aiman kā nūr terā minār-e buland jalvah-gah-e jibra'ī

on your door and roof the light of the Auspicious your lofty minaret the place of manifestation of Gabriel

miṭ nahīñ saktā kabhī mard-e musalmāñ, kih hai us kī ażānoñ se fāsh sirr-e kalīm-o-khalīl

the Muslim man can never be erased, for from his calls to prayer is revealed the mystery of Moses and Abraham

us kī zamīñ be-ḥudūd, us kā afaq be-śuġhūr us ke samundar kī mauj, dajlah-o-danyūb-o-nīl!

his land without boundaries, his horizon without borders the waves of his ocean, the Tigris and the Danube and the Nile

us ke zamāne 'ajīb, us ke fasāne ģharīb 'ahd-e kuhan ko diyā us ne payām-e raḥīl!

his times extraordinary, his stories strange to the old era he gave the message of departure

sāqī-e arbāb-e żauq, fāris-e maidān-e shauq bādah hai us kā raḥīq, teģh hai us kī aṣīl!

cupbearer of those with taste, horseman of the field of ardor
his wine is pure, his sword is well-made

mard-e sipāhī hai vuh, us kī zarah lā-ilâh sāyah-e shamshīr meñ us kī panah lā-ilâh

he is a soldier, his every heart-beat is 'la-ilah' in the shadow of the sword his refuge is 'la-ilah'

### Stanza 5

tujh se hu'ā āshkār bandah-e momin kā rāz us ke dinoñ kī tapish, us kī shaboñ kā gudā

through you revealed the believing man's mystery the burning of his days, the melting of his nights

us kā maqām-e buland, us kā hiyāl-e 'az īm us kā surūr, us kā shauq, us kā niyāz, us kā nāz

his lofty station, his noble thought his joy, his ardor, his humility, his coquetry

# ہاتھ ہے الٰہ کا ، بند ۂ مومن کا ہاتھ غالب و کا ہر آفریں ، کا ہر کشا ، کا ہر ساز

hāth hai allâh kā, bandah-e momin kā hāth ģhālib-o-kār-āfirīñ, kār-kushā, kār-sāz

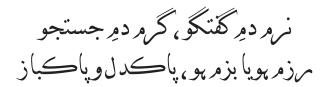
God's hand is the believing man's hand dominant, creative, resourceful and consummate

hākī-o-nūrī nihād, bandah-e maulā-ṣifāt har do-jahāñ se ġhanī, us kā dil-e be-niyāz

terrestrial with celestial aspect; a being with the qualities of the Creator wealthy with all the worlds, his non-needy heart

us kī ummīdeñ qalīl, us ke maqāṣid jalīl us kī adā dil-fareb, us kī nigah dil-navāz

his hopes small, his goals glorious his manner heart-stealing, his glance heart-cherishing

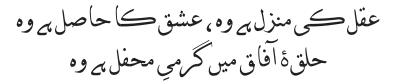


narm dam-e guftagū, garm dam-e justajū razm ho yā bazm ho, pākdil-o-pākbāz

gentle at conversing, fervent at searching be it a battle or a social gathering, pure of heart and pure of action

nuqtah-e parkār-e ḥaq, mard-e-khudā kā yaqīñ aur yih ʿālam tamām vahm-o-tilism-o-majāz

the point of the compass of Truth, the belief of the man of the Lord the rest of the world - illusion and enchantment and supposition



'aql kī manzil hai vuh, 'ishq kā ḥāṣil hai vuh ḥalqah-e āfāq meñ garmī-e maḥfil hai vuh

he is the wisdom's destiny, he is passion's harvest in the cosmic communion, he is the warmth of the gathering

#### Stanza 6

Ka'bah of those with skill! majesty of faith made visible! through you, of the rank of a holy place is the Andalusians' land

Ka'bah of those with skill! majesty of faith made visible! through you, of the rank of a holy place is the Andalusians' land

hai tah-e girdūñ agar ḥusn meñ terī nazīr qalb-e musalmāñ meñ hai aur nahīñ hai kahīñ\

if beneath the celestial sphere there is your equal in beauty it is in the heart of a Muslim and is nowhere else

āh vuh mardān-e ḥaq! vuh 'arabī shah-savār! ḥāmil-e " khulq-e 'azīm ", ṣāḥib-e ṣidq-o-yaqīñ

Ah, those men of truth, Those proud Arab cavaliers bearers of "the noble nature," possessors of righteousness and faith

## جن کی حکومت سے ہے فاش یہ سرمزِ غربِب سلطنتِ اہل دل فقر ہے ، شاہی نہیں!

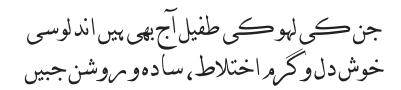
jin kī ḥukūmat se hai fāsh yih ramz-e ġharīb sultanat-e ahl-e dil faqr hai, shāhī nahīñ!

from whose governance is revealed this strange mystery the kingship of the people of the heart is abstemiousness, it is not royal

## جن کی نگاہوں نے کی تربیتِ شرق و غرب ظلمتِ یوس پہ میں تھی جن کی خرد سراہ بیں

jin kī nigāhoñ ne kī tarbiyat-e sharq-o-gharb zulmat-e yūrup meñ thī jin kī khirad rāh-bīñ

whose glances trained the East and the West in the darkness of Europe, whose wisdom was trail-blazing



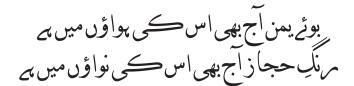
jin kī lahū kī tufail āj bhī haiñ añdlusī khvush-dil-o-garm-ikhtilāt, sādah-o-raushan-jabīñ

by means of whose blood still today the Andalusians are effable and warm-hearted, Ingenuous and bright of countenance

# آج بھی اس دیس میں عام ہے چشمِ غزال اور نگاہوں کے تیر آج بھی ہیں دل نشیں

āj bhī us des meñ 'ām hai chashm-e ġhazāl aur nigāhoñ ke tīr āj bhī haiñ dil-nashīñ

still today, in that country, gazelle-eyes are common and arrows of glances still today are heart piercing



bū-e yaman āj bhī us ki havā'oñ meñ hai! rang-e ḥijāz āj bhī us kī navā'oñ meñ hai!

the scent of Yemen, still today, is in its breezes the color of Hijaz, still today, is in its tunes

### Stanza 7

دیدهٔ انجم میں ہے تیری زمیں، آسماں آہ! که صدیوں سے ہے تیری فضا ہے اذاں

dīdah-e anjum meñ hai terī zamīñ, āsmāñ āh! kih şadyoñ se hai terī fazā be-ażāñ

in the eyes of the stars, your earth is the sky ah! for centuries your atmosphere has been missing the call to prayer

## کونسی وادی میں ہے ، کونسی منزل میں ہے عشق بلاخیز کا قافل ہ سخت جاں!

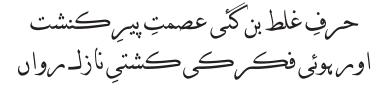
kaun sī vādī meñ hai, kaun sī manzil meñ hai 'ishq-e balā-khez kā qāfilah-e sakht-jāñ!

in which valley is it, at which stage is it disastrous passion's tough-lived caravan?

dekh chukā almanī shorish-e işlāḥ-e dīñ jis ne nah chhore kahīñ naqsh-e kuhan ke nishāñ

Germany has already seen the turmoil of the reform of faith

which did not leave anywhere traces of the old form



ḥarf-e ġhalat ban ga'ī 'iṣmat-e pīr-e kunisht aur hu'ī fikr kī kishtī-e nāzuk ravāñ

infallibility of the church sage began to ring false the ship of reason, once more, sails unfurled

## چشمِ فرانسیس بھی دیکھ چکی انقلاب جس سے دگر گوں ہوا مغربیوں کا جہاں

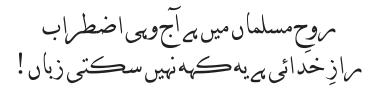
chashm-e firānsīs bhī dekh chukī inqilāb jis se digr-gūn hu'ā maghribiyon kā jahā

the eye of the French too has seen revolution which changed the colors of Western living

millat-e rūmī-nizhād kuhnah-parastī se pīr lazzat-e tajdīd se vuh bhī hu'ī phir javāñ

followers of Rome, feeling antiquated worshipping the ancientry,

also rejuvenated themselves with the relish of novelty



rūḥ-e musalmāñ meñ hai āj vuhī iztirāb rāz-e-khudā'ī hai yih kah nahīñ saktī zabāñ!

in the spirit of the Muslim is today that same restlessness

this is a divine mystery, the tongue cannot utter of it

## دیکھیے اس بحرکی ته سے اچھلتا ہے کیا گنبدِ نیلوفری رنگ بدلتا ہے کیا!

dekhiye us baḥr kī tah se uchhaltā hai kyā gunbad-e nīlofarī rang badaltā hai kyā!

see, from the depth of that ocean, what leaps out how the azure dome changes its color

### Stanza 8

vādī-e kuhsār meñ ģharq-e shafaq hai saḥāb la'l-e badakhshāñ ke ḍher chhor gayā āftāb

in the yonder valley, clouds are drenched in roseate twilight heaps of rubies of Badakhshan, the sun has left behind

sādah-o-pur-soz hai dukhtar-e dihqāñ kā gīt kishtī-e dil ke liye sail hai 'ahd-e shabāb!

simple and doleful is the song of the peasant's daughter for the boat of the heart, tender feelings adrift

# آبِ ہروانِ ڪبير! تير بے ڪنام ہے ڪوئي ديكھ مها ہے كسى اور زمانے كا خواب

āb-e ravān-e kabīr! tere kināre ko'ī dekh rahā hai kisī aur zamāne kā hvāb

great moving river! on your shore someone is seeing a dream of some other age

'ālam-e nau hai abhī pardah-e taqdīr meñ merī nigāhoñ meñ hai us kī saḥar be-ḥijāb

the new world is as yet behind the veil of destiny in my sight its dawn is unveiled

pardah uṭhā dūñ agar chahrah-e afkār se lā nah sakegā farang merī navā'oñ kī tāb

if I would lift the veil from the face of my thoughts the West would be dazzled by its brilliance

## جس میں نہ ہو انقلاب، موت ہے وہ زندگی سروح امہ کی حیات کشمکشِ انقلاب!

jis meñ nah ho inqilāb, maut hai vuh zindagī rūḥ-e umum kī ḥayāt kashmakash-e inqilab!

one without revolution, that life is dead the spirit of the peoples - the struggle of revolutio

ṣūrat-e shamshīr hai dast-e qazā meñ vuh qaum kartī hai jo har zamāñ apne 'amal kā ḥisāb!

keen as a sword in the hands of destiny - that nation which in every age keeps an account of its deeds

naqsh haiñ sab na-tamām, khūn-e jigar ke baghair naqsh haiñ sab na-tamām, khūn-e jigar ke baghair!

all forms are incomplete without the liver blood soulless is the melody without the liver blood

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## LOW-SKILLED LABOR MIGRANTS: STRUGGLES OF A PAKISTANI LABOR MIGRANT IN SAUDI ARABIA

### HIBA SHOAIB

### **Abstract**

his paper discusses the findings of primary research that aimed to explore the lived experiences of low-skilled Pakistani labor migrants in the Arab States. It is an in-depth case study centered on the journey and struggles of a Pakistani labor migrant who worked as a driver for a rich Saudi family and was subjected to exploitation and forced labor. After two years, he returned home understanding the right to his freedom and with a stronger sense of attachment towards his Pakistani nationhood. Based on a narrative interview, this study serves as a firsthand account of the migrant himself. It highlights major themes like exploitative labor conditions in Saudi Arabia, institutional short-comings, practices of coercion, emotional vulnerability, collective acts of resistance, and a loss of social capital that altogether underpins the complex system of transnational labor migration. This qualitative investigation is geared towards raising awareness and giving visibility to migrant voices that largely remain silent in Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Low-skilled; Labor Migrants; Pakistan; Saudi Arabia; Transnational Migration; Institutional Short-comings; Forced Labor; Exploitation; Lived Experience; Local Migrant Voices.

### Introduction

#### Introduction

Low-skilled labor migrants are one of the groups that are most vulnerable to forced labor (Kagan, 2017). Low-skilled work mostly includes entry-level jobs that do not require high education or expert skills. Due to financial constraints and familial responsibilities, low-skilled workers, mostly from Developing Countries migrate to Developed Countries, often to become a victim of exploitation and marginalization. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Middle Eastern Arab States¹ house several manual and domestic² laborers, and are therefore regarded as one of the major destinations of migrant workers globally (Kagan, 2017).

As per the International Labor Organization (2016) report, Where to go for help: Pakistani Migrant Workers' Access to Justice at Home and in Gulf Cooperation Council, "some 8,598,000 Pakistani workers went abroad for employment between 1971 and 2015. From this number, the vast majority of them (96 per cent) went to a Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) country"<sup>3</sup> (p. xi), out of which the largest flow of workers was to Saudi Arabia at 50.3%. From the approximately 1.4 million migrant workers who went to the GCC countries during this time, 41% of them were employed in manual and low-skilled job categories while only a small portion was employed in an expert or highly-skilled capacity (International Labor Organization, 2016). Despite these overwhelming statistics, there remains limited scholarship on the hardships and struggles of Pakistani labor migrants in the Arab region. Therefore, this research attempts to take a step further in bridging this gap by presenting a qualitative case-study on the journey and experiences of a Pakistani labor migrant in Saudi Arabia.

### **Research Methodology**

For the purposes of this research, a narrative interview was conducted

with Muhammad Rashid, a domestic worker employed as a driver in Saudi Arabia for two years, after which he returned to Pakistan in 2017. He was selected as a participant based on purposeful sampling. The interview was conducted by two researchers. To maintain a conversational atmosphere and extrapolate an in-depth narrative, an open-ended interview guide was used. The interview was recorded via audio and video with the informed consent of the participant who has agreed to be identified for this research. The contents of the interaction were transcribed verbatim and then translated from Urdu to English. The interview was translated only for the purpose of coding. This was done keeping in mind that the interviewee's chosen language of communication holds more meaning than mere translation and/or transliteration can express (Regmi, Naidoo & Pilkington, 2010).

Based on the findings of this interview, as well as secondary research, an analysis of Rashid's various experiences that, for example, includes poor working conditions, institutional short-comings, loss of social capital, etc., was done.

### Reason(s) for Migration

Out of economic necessity and ever-increasing familial responsibilities, Rashid had decided to migrate to a new country in 2015. He stated:

"The deteriorating conditions of my home forced me to go there. There were tensions and financial issues. So, with the intention of earning well over there, I left. I wanted to do something for my kids. I couldn't study myself, but I wanted my kids to go to a school. God has blessed me with a daughter now, so I have little dreams for her" (Rashid, 2019; interview) <sup>4</sup>

According to the neo-classical model of migration, a person's decision to migrate is driven by a push-pull framework (King, 2012; Castles &

Miller, 2003). Poor conditions like unemployment, low-wages, political repression, etc., in their hometown, push them to leave their origin, whereas factors like "... job prospects, better education, welfare systems..." in the destination country pull them towards it (King, 2012, p.13). As King (2012) states, this model underpins the "neoclassical economics paradigm" whereby migrants are assumed to be making a "rational choice" to maximize their utility (p.13). In light of this theory and Rashid's statement above, Rashid could be regarded as a rational agent whose decision to migrate was based on the existence of better economic opportunities in Saudi Arabia. However, simplistic-macro model fails to take into account the complex socio-cultural ground reality of transnational migration that revolves around factors like institutions, emotions, gender, race and ethnicityall of which constitute the lived experience of a migrant.

### Institutional Shortcomings and their Practices of Coercion

Persuaded by false promises of high wages, Rashid's recruitment agent <sup>5</sup> manipulated him "with big dreams of getting rich over-night" <sup>6</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview). He was informed that his salary would be 2000 Riyals. However, upon reaching, he was paid only 1700 Riyals as his monthly salary.

Furthermore, Rashid added that he was kept unaware of his substandard living conditions by his recruiter. He said: "I mean, these details [living conditions] must have been in my contract that I signed in Pakistan, but I did not have any knowledge of them when I left Pakistan" <sup>7</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview).

Although Rashid chose not to provide us with elaborate details about his recruiter in Pakistan, but two things could be deduced from his statements. Firstly, it is perhaps common for recruiters to deceive their clients by luring them with promises of an attractive remuneration and

secondly, that the living conditions in the destination country are hardly desirable to workers when starting out.

At the institutional level, this shows how low-skilled migrant workers, in exchange for hefty fees, are often betrayed by the third-party recruiters. Being the only source of information and responsible for all operations and migratory procedures, these recruiting agencies usually lie and give incomplete or false information to migrants (Jureidini, 2016). Most of the time, no proper pre-departure orientations are conducted for the migrants (International Labor Organization, 2016). The vulnerability of these migrants is further exacerbated by their lack of education and knowledge due to which terms and conditions are often unclear to the migrants, and they are thus easily manipulated and cheated by these informal agents.<sup>8</sup> Rashid told us that he is too an "anghoota-chap" <sup>9</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview).

Moreover, the authorities in Saudi Arabia also failed to grant legal protection and labor rights to Rashid. For about three months, his status in Saudi Arabia remained unclear as his formal documentation was delayed. Rashid shared:

We get our work-permit and license three months after our arrival. So, we cannot run away in the meantime. If the person does not work, they don't give you your license, i.e. your work-permit. They even confiscate your passport so that even if the person runs away, he can't escape outside" (Rashid, 2019; interview) 10

This largely reflects slow procedures and short-comings on part of the intuitions situated in the host country, Saudi Arabia in this case, that are responsible for granting legal rights to the in-coming migrants (Fargues, Shah & Brouwer, 2019). Since they are denied any form of

legal identification by the host country, these migrants also find it increasingly difficult to avail services that require their identity cards (International Labor Organization, 2016).

This unjust set of conditions are exacerbated by the Kafala System. Under this system, the migrant workers are under the authority of a sponsor, typically their employer, referred to as a *Kafeel*. He is able to exercise an unreasonable amount of control over the legal status of the migrant and "the sponsorship rule may entail elements of servitude and slavery, where sponsors might concede employees to others without their consent and might withhold their passports to prevent any possible escape" (Jarallah, 2009, p. 9).

In Rashid's case, his employer was his *Kafeel*. Rashid lived at a distance of 2 km from his *Kafeel*'s house, and was responsible to take *Kafeel's* kids to school by 7:30 am every day. Rashid would get up early at 6 in the morning so that he could be at the *Kafeel's* house by "7 am at any cost [6:26]" (Rashid, 2019; interview). Under his employment, Rashid was subject to rigid schedules, salary withholding, excessive work with no breaks and holidays, and a low wage which entrapped Rashid into forced labor. When relating his experience, he mentioned that,

"I would have to wake up at 6 in the morning, but there was no fixed time for when I would get off It [working hours] could go up to 12:00, 1:00 or even 2:00 am, and you can't say no to them in the meantime. If you don't do the work, they threaten you with cutting your salary... Imagine how sad one would feel if they don't get their salary at the end of the month, even though they had provided their services for the entire month" 12 (Rashid, 2019; interview).

#### He also shared:

This is a very big responsibility. In case something goes wrong, then we are in big trouble. If the kid says something and we reply to them, then the Kafeel or their mother immediately calls the police, and they blackmail us a lot" <sup>13</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview).

Upon asking if he ever got a chance to visit his family during his two-year stay in Saudi Arabia, Rashid replied:

"I asked Kafeel twice. One year had already passed, I told him that I want a leave. But I didn't get one holiday. Even if you are sick, they need work. The only break you have is the Friday break, that too for an hour or so" 14 (Rashid, 2019; interview).

This shows how Rashid was mistreated and forced into a vulnerable position whereby he was exploited in a poor working environment. Rashid's status and freedom were tied to an individual, the Kafeel, who not only denied him leave despite Rashid's persistent requests, but threatened to blackmail him under various circumstances. In addition to this, Balasubramanian (2019) argues that the Kafala system makes it difficult for migrants to switch their jobs or leave the country, thereby making it increasingly difficult for them to escape the ongoing abusive treatment.

Moreover, Rashid's complaint and advocacy against his Kafeel was also silenced by a Saudi organization (Rashid did not reveal the name), and he was instead charged with a penalty. Upon inquiring about the Saudi organization and if the Saudi government facilitated him in anyway, Rashid told us:

organization and if the Saudi government facilitated him in anyway, Rashid told us:

"You can call it a sort of an NGO. In case you are new and you have a problem, you can go to them to seek help. You go there with a hope of getting relief. I went to them twice, but instead of helping me, they lodged a complaint against me to my Kafeel. They told my Kafeel that I was complaining against them. They also took away my work permit and license, and for six days I was not allowed to live in my quarters. I told my Pakistani friend about my problem...so for six days I lived at his place. He was a good Pakistani" 15 (Rashid, 2019; interview).

#### He further added:

"It (passport) was taken away which meant even if I wanted to escape, I couldn't"  $^{16}$  (Rashid, 2019; interview).

The practice of confiscating a migrant's passport is regarded as a form of coercion that is often adopted by the institutions in certain destination countries (Fargues, Shah & Brouwer, 2019). It is indicative of forced labor as it limits the migrant's freedom of movement. Instead of paying heed to migrants' concerns, migrants are often punished (International Labor Organization, 2016). Although Rashid managed to reach a worker's organization, his opportunity to seek justice was curtailed because of unfair and ineffective complaint handling mechanisms (Jureidini, 2016). His attempt to file a grievance complaint resulted instead in an unfavorable outcome that left Rashid stranded without a passport and a shelter. This not only reflects incompetency but also an absolute lack of accountability on the part of legal authorities that play an integral role in this complex system of transnational labor. The short-comings on the part of governmental

structures and a gap in the legal framework tend to exacerbate migrants' difficulty (Balasubramanian, 2019). Such directives enable the Kafeels to impose exploitative labor conditions, thereby leaving the workers extremely vulnerable to mistreatment (Fargues, Shah & Brouwer, 2019).

## **Poor Living Conditions**

In addition to the anxieties he faced regarding his working conditions, Rashid revealed that he was provided with inadequate housing facilities that consequently confined him in poor-living conditions. Aside from electricity, his small quarter was deprived of necessities such as cooking gas and water-supply. Therefore, upon arriving, Rashid was forced to make all the important purchases like a "gas cylinder and food supplies" (Rashid, 2019; interview). He further added that "whatever else you want, you have to bring it yourself. I also had to manage my own food within that salary (1700 Riyals)" (Rashid, 2019; interview). The living conditions he was restricted to is consistent with what Jarallah (2009) explains about how migrant workers are usually forced to live in cramped and poor cottages with unsanitary conditions that are often detrimental to their physical and mental health.

## Language Barrier

To aggravate the matter further, the language barrier is one of the foremost challenges that migrants face upon their arrival in any new country. Not only was Rashid unable to fully integrate into the host society, but his lack of language competency created interpersonal issues for him. He revealed that he was unable to converse with his *Kafeel*:

"My Kafeel used to converse in English or Arabic, and I couldn't understand either. This caused a lot of problems

for me, and this is why, more often I was pulled into arguments with my Kafeel. They misbehave and bully a lot if you can't understand their instruction. They even fight. For about six months, I struggled in understanding their language" <sup>19</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

Rashid further shared that his inability to understand the language also led to his failure at successfully navigating routes and reading traffic signs in Arabic which often pulled him into verbal arguments with his employer. He said, "when you are new you don't even know the names of the routes, they say... (Arabic)... that is left and right in Pakistan. So, language also became a problem in the start" <sup>20</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview).

This reflects how the inability to speak a similar language may increasingly restrict the potential economic and social gains for low-skilled labor migrants which, in turn, may lead to their social exclusion from the community (Kagan, 2017).

## Stereotyping and Marginalization

In addition to these challenges, Rashid's identity as a Pakistani made him a target of stereotypes and marginalization as well. He stated,

"They think that entire Pakistan is as if their servant. They want to rule you. They want us to agree and accept everything and anything they say, otherwise they degrade you; they give you names, be it an Indian or a Pakistani or an Indonesian. If you ignore them or can't understand them, they maltreat you" <sup>21</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

Upon asking if a similar treatment was adopted with other labor migrants that he may know of, Rashid replied:

"It's the same thing. And it wasn't just with me, but with all the drivers working over there in the vicinity, everyone was treated low like this" 22 (Rashid, 2019; interview)

This gives us a window into the deeply-rooted ethnic stereotypes against South Asians that thrive in Saudi Arabia. South Asian groups often experience 'othering' which propagates expressions of inequality and prejudice based on their group-identities (Powell & Menendian, 2018). Othering includes, but is not limited to, sex, ethnicity, religion, class, etc., that consequently establishes the superiority of one group over the other. Iqbal (2018) writes how Pakistani migrants, post 9/11, are often labeled as extremists in host countries. These "deep-seated attitudes of prejudice and xenophobia" against South-Asians adversely impact their self-esteem and mental health (International Labor Organization, 2017, p.15). Rashid, too, was often treated like a second-class citizen and was directed by his *Kafeel* to perform odd jobs which he considered to be outside his actual job description. He shared,

"He used to say...(Arabic)... go pick up dates for me, clean the garbage in the neighborhood. I used to reply...(Arabic)... I am your driver not a garbage cleaner" (Rashid, 2019; interview) <sup>23</sup>

These odd jobs such as cleaning garbage in the neighborhood were not a part of his job, and made Rashid feel degraded and abused, thereby igniting a sense of slavehood and servitude.

#### **Acts of Resistance**

In order to earn more money, Rashid, involved himself in what he described as "*Hera Pheri*" <sup>24</sup>. Alongside other Pakistanis and Indians, he would secretly drive his *Kafeel's* car as a taxi at night and would pick up passengers from Jeddah to the airport.

"I was forced to cheat because my family members at home were tense, and I had to buy a phone as soon as possible. Therefore, I used to pick passengers from Makkah to Jeddah, and I used to drop them to the airport. This way I could afford my living expenses every month. A trip per day was enough for us as we used to earn almost 600 riyals in a round trip. We would try doing this on alternate days to avoid any suspicion from anybody and our Kafeels, otherwise I would have been stuck. So, this how I used to cheat" <sup>25</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

Rashid shared that he "was informed about this technique by a fellow Pakistani" who explained to him "that this way I could manage both my living expenses and family at home. He helped me" <sup>26</sup> (Rashid; 2019; interview).

Firstly, this shows that Rashid alone was not experiencing such hardships but his peers within the labor migrant community were also struggling and thus resorting to illegal means to make their ends meet. Secondly, it reflects how labor 2migrants mobilize into subcultures of resistance and "collective acts of defiance" whereby they tend to indulge in illegal activities so nonchalantly that these practices become normalized among them (Pande, 2012, p.18).

Rashid narrates another incident where his poor economic standing compelled him to perform pilgrimage, illegally. By paving his way out through a tunnel inside a hill, Rashid committed to an illegal journey of seven hours alongside thirty other men to reach Makkah. Although crossing the tunnel "was difficult" <sup>27</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview), but the fear of getting caught was not enough to deter these men from performing pilgrimage.

Social Action Theory by Max Weber is relevant in this context because it highlights how the actions and reactions of individual agents occur in response to the behavior of others and are thereby oriented in their course. That is to say, how "agents are largely considered to negotiate between their personal desires and the limitations imposed by their social context" (Flamad, 2017, n.p). The use of illicit, also illegal, strategies by Rashid to earn more money and to determine his physical movement - if reviewed in light of Social Action Theory - explains how migrants determine and negotiate between their desires and the social pressures that influence their choices. Pande (2012) suggests that more than often, in the face of structural inequalities and social marginalization, migrants "enact resistive acts and forge alliances" (p.3). They are often forced to resort to illegal means like criminal activities, cheating and manipulation. Such alliances allow the otherwise powerless groups to come together based on their shared and rather desperate circumstances to resist against domination (Pande, 2012, p.18). Thus, in order to challenge unjust societal orders and to improve their conditions, Rashid, alongside his migrant group, adopted reactionary measures to subvert the structures of subordination and power imbalances forced upon him by his circumstances.

## Changes in Social Network

During his journey, Rashid's connection with people changed depending upon the different circumstances and occurrences he found himself in. Ergo, his system of social network was marked by both positive as well as alienating experiences. It is interesting to note how Rashid began to create a strong affinity with people, with whom he might not have shared any ethno-cultural connection, but who seemingly understood the struggles of the working class. In describing his journey of performing the pilgrimage while circumventing its legal procedure, Rashid mentioned that he was caught by a *shurta* in Makkah. A *shurta* is a police officer in Saudi Arabia.

"...we begged the shurta and pleaded for his help. He made us three men sit in his car and took us to Mina, Arfaat and upto Muzdalifa. Then in Makkah he made us do Tawaf, and in the end, he made me cross the check posts as well" (Rashid, 2019; interview)<sup>28</sup>

Upon asking that why would a shurta help him in doing something illegal, Rashid replied:

"I don't know for sure but maybe he felt our pain. He knew that we were poor and if we get caught, we will have to pay a lot of money which we did not have" <sup>29</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

From this, it could be deduced that although the two men did not share any cultural association, but the *shurta* seemed to understand the pain and struggles of the working class, and might have personally resonated with Rashid and his peers at some level. This brings to light how people from the working class, especially in a foreign land, perhaps tend to connect only on the basis of their socio-economic background regardless of their cultural or geographical variations. To this date, both Rashid and *shurta* continue to maintain their connection through social media as Rashid shared that he still has *shurta*'s "pictures on my Facebook ID" <sup>30</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview).

Moreover, he would often find solidarity and unity within the transnational community that included migrant workers from a similar ethno-cultural background. From sitting with an Indian or a Bengali friend because they knew Urdu to being facilitated by an Indian driver for navigating routes, Rashid shared proximity and built kinship with people belonging to similar culture and areas of origin. This behavior of Rashid is in line with what Castles & Miller (2003) explain regarding how migrant minority groups "based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values" form ethnic communities create self-definition of belonging amidst the majority dominant groups (p.33).

However, yet again, Rashid's *Kafeel* would impose his authority and try to alienate him from this community.

"If we would sit together, Pakistanis with Pakistanis, or Pakistanis with Indians, then they [Kafeel] would call us later in the evening and scold us a lot and question that why were you there with them? Maybe they feel that we are planning to go to another Kafeel" <sup>31</sup>

At another place, he also shared:

"Indeed there were several Pakistanis over there with me, but if I would sit with them or eat with them, then my Kafeel would question me for being in connection with fellow Pakistanis. So, of course, then I would remember my mother, father, sister, brother" <sup>32</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

Although Rashid's aforementioned statement is not representative of all Saudi employers, but this goes without saying that besides reflecting the state practices of control, the Kafala System indeed "gives employers the misguided sense of possessing the workers" that subsequently creates the basis for much of the abuse (Pande, 2012, p.6). They not only regulate migrant's work but, by trying to isolate them from their friends, they seem to interfere in their personal lives as well.

Furthermore, Rashid was also distanced by his family members back at home. The small amount of cash, 300 Riyals, that he had brought to Saudi Arabia were utilized "within the ten days of my arrival" <sup>33</sup> in buying house supplies and food. Rashid told us that "after six months I had the chance to buy a cell phone and only then could I talk to my family" <sup>34</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview). Whenever he had money, he would buy a cell phone card that was worth 10 Riyals but it would only last for a 12-minute conversation.

This means that he felt distant from his family members as well which added to his sense of alienation. It shows how high cost becomes a major obstacle for them in maintaining a connection with their families back at home (Fargues, Shah & Brouwer, 2019).

Emotional Structure of Precarious Migrant Labor, also explores the emotions of the labor migrants that are often understood as a private matter and are therefore separated from migrant's working conditions. However, as Loustaunau (2019) denotes, "emotion and experience are co-constitutive: how the workers feel while they are working is part of what the work experience is" (p.28). Migrants' inability to speak the same language, loss of social status and social network, rigid working conditions, expensive living are only a few factors that push them into a state of helplessness, despair and anger.

In this case-study, Rashid recalled crying and feeling powerless about his situation where he missed family celebrations like Eid-ul-Fitr and more. Rashid describes his Eid in Saudi Arabia in these words:

"On Eid, I was shivering at high temperature. I was crying. My Kafeel kept on calling me again and again. I couldn't even stand up. In whatever clothing and condition I was, I took him [Kafeel] for the Eid prayers. But my condition was not right. I didn't have the energy to go to work. I was just crying a lot at that time, I was missing my family terribly [21:56]" (Rashid, 2019; interview)

#### He further added:

"I used to sit alone and just cry. That time, my mother was severely ill... I wanted to do something for her, but I couldn't even talk to her... My mom would then start crying, she used to ask me to come back. This made me feel helpless" <sup>34</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

In addition to that, his *Kafeel*'s demanding attitude and ruthless behavior just exacerbated his sense of emotional distress and homesickness.

This gives us a window into how the management authorities tend to evoke and generate feelings of helplessness among migrant labor

## **Emotional Vulnerability**

For Rashid, his stay in Saudi Arabia was marked by stress and psychological anguish. Loustaunau (2018) in her study, Exploring the Emotional Structure of Precarious Migrant Labor, also explores the emotional structure of labor migrants that is often understood as a private matter and is therefore separated from migrant's working conditions. However, as Loustaunau (2019) posits, "emotion and experience are co-constitutive: how the workers feel while they are working is part of what the work experience is" (p.28). The migrants' inability to speak the same language, loss of social status and social network, rigid working conditions and expensive living are only a few among plethora of factors that push them into a state of helplessness, despair and anger.

During his interview, Rashid also recalled crying and feeling powerless about his situation when he missed family celebrations like *Eid-ul-Fitr* and more. Rashid described his *Eid* in Saudi Arabia in the following words:

"On Eid, I was shivering at high temperature. I was crying. My Kafeel kept on calling me again and again. I couldn't even stand up. In whatever clothing and condition I was, I took him [Kafeel] for the Eid prayers. But my condition was not right. I didn't have the energy to go to work. I was just crying a lot at that time, I was missing my family terribly" <sup>35</sup>(Rashid, 2019; interview)

#### He further added:

"I used to sit alone and just cry. That time, my mother was severely ill... I wanted to do something for her, but I couldn't even talk to her... My mom would then start crying, she used to ask me to come back. This made me feel helpless" <sup>36</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

In addition to this, his Kafeel's demanding attitude and ruthless behavior

exacerbated his sense of emotional distress and homesickness.

This gives us a window into how the management authorities tend to evoke and generate feelings of helplessness among migrant labor groups. They use the migrants' emotional vulnerability in maintaining discipline and command over them, thereby indicating that emotions are not just personal but also a "social and political phenomenon" (Loustaunau, 2019, p.29). At the same time, Loustaunau (2019) further suggests how emotional distress may potentially "mobilize workers to change or resist this dehumanization" – something we noted above when Rashid adopted illicit strategies to improve his living conditions (p.29).

## Returning Home with a Changed Perspective

When Rashid returned to Pakistan, he realized that his two years in Saudi Arabia had given him life-long lessons. His perspective towards identity politics and nationalism had now drastically changed.

#### Rashid shared:

"I had an Indian friend from Kerala over there, who would help me in navigating the routes. At night when we would drive the car secretly as a taxi, we would do it together and pick passengers from Jeddah" <sup>37</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

#### He further added:

"I would sit with an Indian or a Bengali because they knew Urdu. Then, they used to teach me Arabic bit by bit" <sup>38</sup> (Rashid, 2019; interview)

Despite the India-Pakistan rivalry that has existed long after the split of the subcontinent in 1947, Rashid's friendship with an Indian made him challenge the internalized conflict with his neighboring nation. He was able to connect with an Indian and a Bengali on the shared grounds of language and culture. This reflects how migrants in a foreign country tend to find solidarity among their ethno-cultural peers regardless of any political and nation-state rivalries that may exist between their homelands (Castles & Miller, 2003). Not to our surprise, Rashid now possesses a stronger sense of patriotism for his country. He values the importance of living as a citizen in a free nation and is not ready to move to a foreign land under any circumstances. He shared:

"All I have learnt is the value of Pakistan as a free nation. We should value our country more than we do at present. This is a country which is free. Abroad, you do not have any freedom; I would only suggest them [Pakistanis] to go there with the intention of Hajj [pilgrimage], not for work. These people [Saudis] do not deserve our services" (Rashid, 2019; interview) 39

#### He further added with passion:

"No matter how much someone offers me to go abroad, I will not leave Pakistan. Even if I have to earn only Rs.10,000 here, for example, I will still manage somehow. But I will not leave Pakistan, never in my life will I want to go to another country. Never ever" 40 (Rashid, 2019; interview)

The way Rashid's sense of loyalty and patriotism towards his Pakistani nationhood grew, similarly, the return of migrants is usually marked with a heightened and a renewed sense of nationalism towards their hometown. Whereas, on the other hand, their sense of identity and belonging towards the host nation-state is often marked with alienation, detachment and home-sickness (Gmelch, 1980). Most times, they tend to develop a negative, perhaps even an extremist perception towards the foreign land which is in response to their degrading experiences, "strangeness of the language, people, and customs", and the

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#### **Notes**

- 1. "The Arab Sates region comprise of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, Qatar, Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Oman" (Kagan, 2017, p.1)
- 2. Domestic work is "performed in or for a household or households. This work may include tasks such as cleaning the house, cooking, washing and ironing clothes, taking care of children, or elderly or sick members of a family, gardening, guarding the house, driving for the family, and taking care of household pets. In the Arab States region, domestic workers are often divided into those who are live-in domestic workers undertaking general household duties (generally women) and cooks/gardeners/ butlers/concierge, who are not live-in (and generally men)" (Kagan, 2017, p.1)
- 3. Signed in 1981, the Gulf Cooperation Council is a political alliance of six Middle Eastern countries that comprise of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman.
- 4. "bs halat ki nazar se wahan jana para, pareshania thein ghar mein, halat sahi nae they, tou kuch kamane ki soch se gae they wahan par; Bs mein yeh chah raha tha k matlub bache houn tou unke lie mein kuch karskun, ya mein tou nahei parh saka, tou apne bachon ko parha sakun. Ab allah pak ne mujhe beti di hai tou mere chote mote khuab hain k mein inke lie kuch karskaun" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 5. Recruitment agencies facilitate the process of migration. In Asia, privatized recruitments are very common that include brokers who maintain informal contacts in the destination country. Recruitment agencies are usually characterized by fraudulent practices such as demand for high fees (Fargues, Shah & Brouwer, 2019).
- 6. "yahan par log khuab dekhate hain dosron ko k aap aoge tou raton rat ameer hojaoge" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 7. "agreement jo tha osmein btaya hoa wa tha, liken mujhe nae pata tha jub mein yahan se gya" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 8. Government recruitment agencies do exist but from what Rashid revealed to us about his working conditions and the lack of social security he faced in Saudi Arabia while working there, reveals to us that he had gone through an informal recruitment agency.
- 9. 'Anghoota-chap' is someone who can't read or write. So, they use their thumb impression as their signature.

- 10. "iqama or license bhe teen mahine baad banta hai, tou banda bhag nahi sakta phir. Agar banda bhag jae ya kam na karey tou osko na he iqama milta hai or na he license milta hai, aur passport bhe apka woh rakhlete hain, woh zabt karlete hain k agar banda bhaag bhi jae tou kahin ja na jaskey" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 11. "7 baje se pehle pehle mujhe puhanchna hota tha" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 12. "subha 6 baje jana hota tha, phir aane ka time koi nahe hai. 12, 1 2 bhi baj sakte hain, is doran ap naa nahi kar sakte unko. Na karienge tou phir apko salary nahe denge woh....agla mahina ka end arha hai tou apko salary nahe mili tou kitna insan ko dukh hota hai key meine pora mahina kam kia or mujhe salary nahe mil rahi" (Rashid, 2019; interview).
- 13. "Yeh bhe bari ek zimidari hoti hai k agar kuch bache ko hojae, tou buhat mushkil hoti hai humein, agar koi baat karde bacha or agar osse aage se jawab dedia, tou peeche phir jo kafeel hota hai ya oski waldah hoti hai phir who foran he police bola lete hain, aur buhat zayada blackmaik karte hain" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 14. "Meine os sey dou baar kaha. Ek saal mukamal hogya tha, meine osko kaha k mujhe choti dedein, liken nahi di; Ap beemar bhe houn tou unko kam chye, koi chuti nahe hai, bs juma namaz ki time par 1 ghante ki choti hai" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 15. "ek matlub sifarat khana kehlein, jo ek ajnabni ata hai osko koi parehsnai ho tou osmein jasakta hai, osko relief milne ki omeed hoti hai, liken dou bar mein wahan gya liken unhone mere kafeel ko ulta bola lia, k yeh apki shikayat lagarha hai, bajae os nein mera iqama bhe lia or license bhe lelia, or 6 din tak mujhe makan par nahe rehne dia; Ek Pakistani k sath, meine okso btaya k yeh masla chalrha hai ... tou 6 din meine wahan oske sath guzare". (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 16. "han woh zabt karlia tha ek bar k banda bhaagna bhe chahe tou woh kahin na jaske" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 17. "cylinder lia, khaaney ki cheezin lein" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 18. "baaqi ap kuch bhe laein gey ya kuch karna chahein tou apni taraf se layen, khana bhe apna hota hai osi salary mein" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 19. "jaise wahan gae tou sirf age jo mera kafeel tha, who english mein baat karta tha ya arbi mein baat karta tha, tou mujhe pareishani hoe, jub inki baat sahe se samjhe na banda tub yeh badtmeezi karte hain, larai bhe karte hian. tou taqreeban 6 mah tak pareshani hoi zaban smajhne mein" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 20. "tou jub naya banda ata hai tou osko raste ka bhe nae pata hota. Woh kehrae hain...Arabic... yahan par left right kehte hain, tou zaban ka masla bhe hota tha shoro

- 21. "matlub who is tarah samjhte hain k Pakistan unka gulam hai. Unko hukoomat karni hai. jo bhe baat woh kahenge tou unki maanlo, werna gali khao; Kafeel galian deta hai, koi bhe ho chahe woh Pakistani ya Indian ya "Indonesian ho, jub unke baat ignore karo tou ya nahe sahe se samjh sakta, tou galian dete hain" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 22. "ek he baat hai, woh sirf mere nahi balke jitni bhe driver wahan waadi mein kam kar rahe hote hain, woh sub ek jaise hote hain" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 23. "matlub woh kehta tha k khajoor tor kar leao, kachra para hai galiyon mein yeh saaf karo, mein osse bolta tha...Arabic... mein driver hun, mein tumhara safai suthrai wala nahi hun..." (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 24. Hera-Pheri, is an informal word that is used in Pakistan to define an activity/ practice that involves cheating, manipulation, deception.
- 25. "beyamni karna buhat zaroori hogya tha, kyonk ghar wale pareshan they or mujhe phone bhe lena tha... tou apna kahrcha wahan se nikal leta tha mein pore mahina ka; bs ek round jane ka aur ek ane ka lagta tha tou humara kam hojata tha, humare dou chakar ban jatey they, 600 riyal kama letey. Ek din chor kar try kartey they k aisa na ho kisi ko pata chale, ya kafeel ko pata chale werna phans jaunga mein, tou chori karte they wahan par" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 26. "yeh bhe mujhe wahan par ek Pakistani ne btaya k ap is trah karoge tou apka ghar ka manage hojaega or ap bhe yahan par manage karloge. madad ki osne meri" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 27. "mushkil hoi thi humein" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 28. "phir minat ki shurta se, buhat minat ki. Shurtey ne teen bandon ko gari mein bithaya tha. Mina mein, Arfat mein, Muzdalfay tak, wapis Makkah mein tawaf karwaya, phir osne mujhe wapis huddod bhe cross karwadi" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 29. "mujhe sahi tou nahi pata liken woh shayad humara dard samjha hoga. Woh janta tha hum gareeb hain or agar hukoomat ne pakarlia tou humein buhat bara jurmana dena parega jo hum nahi desakte they" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 30. "jee oske mere pas pictures bhi mujood hai mere facebook id par" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 31. "Agar hum log apas mein bethjaein, Pakistani ek dosre k sath bethjaen, ya Indian or Pakisatni betjhaen tou osko sham mein buhat sune ko milti thi k ap wahan kyon bethey they, shayad unko lagta tha k woh banda tanazul utha kar dosre Kafeel k pas na chaley jaen" (Rashid, 2019; interview)

- 32. "matlub Pakistani buhat they wahan par, agar kisi k sath koi khara hota hai tou phir kafeel tang karte hain k ap kyon khare hoe, phir yaad tou aati thi, waldah ki, walid sahib ki, behan bhaiyon ki bhe" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 33. "mere pas jo 300 riyal they, woh puhanchte he khatam hogae taqreeban 10 din mein" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 34. "taqreeban 6 maah k bad mobile phone lia tou ghar par baat ho sakti thi meri" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 35. "Ramzan ki Eid par mujhe bukhtar tha buhat ziyada, mein rorha tha, kafeel mujhe bar bar phone karha tha, or mujhe taez bukhar tha k mein khara nahi hosakta tha, meine jaise bhi kapre pehne we they, oshi mein osko namaz k lie lekar gya, meri halat nahi thi, mein nahi jaskta tha os time, mein buhat rorha tha os time mujhe ghar walon ki buhat yaad arhi thi" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 36. "mein roya tha, mein buhat roya tha, akele beth kar roya tha mein. Os time mere waldah buhat beemar thein... unke lie mein kuch karna chah raha tha, baat nahe hosakti thi,.. phir ami rone lagjati thien k tum wapis ajao" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 37. "mere sath ek Indian tha, jisne mujeh help kia, raste waste mujhe smajhae, woh kerala ka tha, raste bhe dikaha tha. Rat mein jub nikalte they chori ki gari kark, woh bhe chala tha mein bhe chala ta tha, dono phir Jeddah ke lie sawari uthate they". (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 38. "tou phir mein ya tou Indian se baat karta tha ya Bengali se kyonk woh urdu bol saktey they tou phir who mujhe zaban sikhate they thora thora kark" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 39. "meine bs yehe seekha hai k Pakistan ki buhat ehmiyat hai, Pakistan ki qadar karni chye, yeh aisa mulk hai k azad mulk hai, bahar jaker koi azadi nahi hai" (Rashid, 2019; interview)
- 40. "Mujhe zindagi mein koi kitni bhe offer kare mein Pakistan se bahar nahe jaunga. Yahan 10,000 bhe kamalun, ek baat hai, tou mein isse mein manage karna gawara karunga, bahar nahe jauna. Kubhe zindagi mein bahar nahe jaunga Pakistan se bahar. Kabhi nahi" (Rashid, 2019; interview)



## ایں سخن رافاش تر گفتن خطاست ابلیس:ایک قابل ستائش کر دار

عبيد على فاروقي

## زندگی کو مزیدر نگین بنانے کے لئے ایک شیطان کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے۔ ال

مقد مہ ابلیس، و نیائے اوب کا ایک قدیم موضوع ہے جے راقم آج قلم بند کرنے کی کوشش کر رہاہے ۔ مشرق سے لے کر مغرب تک ابلیس کا مقام و کر دار شعر او، محققین اور علاء کے ہاں قابل بحث بھی رہاہے اور زیر موضوع بھی ۔ مولانارو می، جون ملٹن، ابن منصور حلاج اور اقبال سب ہی نے ابلیس کے اپنے مرتبے سے گرنے اور ابلیس سے شیطان بن جانے کے سفر کوکسی نہ کسی طرح اپنے کلام میں بیش کیا ہے ۔ گو اقبال نے جس طرح ابلیس کا شخصی خاکہ تھینچاہے وہ ملٹن اور حلاج کے خاکوں سے مماثلت رکھتا ہے مگر اس کے باوجو دوہ اپنی انفر ادیت، اور اپنے شعری جلال و جمال کی بدولت ان تمام خاکوں پر بازی لے جاتا ہے ۔ جس کی ایک وجہ اس سیالکوٹی باد شاہ کا شعری فہم ہے جو اردوو فارسی کالام کوشعری بجر کے موتی میں ہیرے کی طرح پرودیتا ہے۔

اقبال نے اپنی منظومات، 'جبریل وابلیس'، 'ابلیس کی عرضداشت'، 'ابلیس کی مجلس شوری'، 'ناله ابلیس'، 'نقذیر'، اور نمو دراشدن خواجه اہل فراق ابلیس' بیس ابلیس کا تذکرہ جن شاندار الفاظ واند از سے کیاہے وہ ہمیں یہ سوچنے پر مجبور کر دیتاہے کہ آیا ابلیس ایک قابل نفرت کر دار ہے یا قابل ستائش؟ کیاوہ متکبر و مغرور شخصیت ہے یا محبّت وعشق کامارا ایک مجبور؟ کیاوہ آدم کادشمن ومخالف ہے یا آدم کو ان کا اصل مقام بخشنے والا؟ ابنِ منصور حلاج شیطان کو ایک عاشق کے طور پر بیان کرتے ہیں (2)۔

## واتى مخەزلىل

## بے شک میں وہ عاشق ہوں کہ جس نے بڑی ذلت اٹھائی ہے

حلاج کے نزدیک ابلیس ایک ذلیل عاشق ہے مگر اقبال اسی ذلت کو اہلیس کے فخر کا باعث بتاتے ہیں۔ یہ ایک ایساعاشق ہے جواپنے محبوب - خدائے بزرگ وبرتر - کو چیین سے نہیں رہنے دیتا۔

#### ر میں کھٹکتا ہوں دل برداں میں کانٹے کی طرح

اقبال کی نظم'جبریل واہلیس'-جسسے مذکورہ بالامصرعہ لیا گیاہے-کوپڑھنے کے بعد اس کا قاری اہلیس سے نفرت کرنے پر آمادہ نہیں ہوسکتا-بلکہ اسے اہلیس کے جر اُت مندانہ جو ابات کا قائل ہوناپڑ تاہے جو اس مکالمے ("جبریل واہلیس" مکالمے کی طرز پر کھی گئی نظم ہے ) کے دوران اس نے جبریل کو دیے ہیں-اسی نظم کے آخری تین اشعار اقبالی اہلیس کے خدو خال کو واضح کر دیتے ہیں خضر بھی بے دست و پا، الیاس بھی بے دست و پا
میر سے طوفال میم بہ میم، دریابہ دریا، جو بہ جو
گر مبھی خلوت میسر ہو تو پوچھ اللہ سے
قضہ آدم کور تگین کر گیا کس کالہو
میں کھٹکتا ہوں دل پر دال میں کا نٹے کی طرح

#### توفقط الله بوء الله بوء الله بو

ا قبال کے قلم سے وجود میں آنے والی ابلیس کی بیہ صورت گری بلاشبہ اسے ستائش کے قابل بناتی ہے – ابلیس باغی ہے ، خطاکار ہے ، مگروہ اپنی جو انمر دی پر نازاں اور اپنے مقدر پر ڈٹ جانے والا ہے –وہ مقدر کہ جس نے ابلیس کواس کی شاخت عطاکی ہے –وہ مقدر جو آدم کو مجبور سے مختار بناتا ہے – حبیبا کہ اقبال جاوید نامہ میں ککھتے ہیں۔

#### شعله بااز کشت زارمن ومید

#### اوز مجبوری به مخاری رسید

ابلیس کاشیطان بننااس کاوہ انکار ہے جو اس نے آدم کو سجدہ کرنے سے کیا۔اس انکار کاسب ابن منصور حلاج کے نزدیک ابلیس کی خداسے محبّت ہے۔وہ محبّت جو نا قابل اشتر اک ہے۔وہ محبّت جس پر صرف خداکاحق ہے کیونکہ ابلیس کے لئے اس راستے کے سواکوئی راستہ ہی نہیں جو خدا کی طرف جاتا ہو۔ابلیس نہ صرف ایک سچاعاشق ہے بلکہ وہ ایساموحد ہے جس سے بڑامو تحداور کوئی نہیں (2(سوائے حضرت محمّد کے۔

## ومالحان فى الل الساء موحد مثل ألبيس

## اد هر آسان کے باسیوں میں خدا کی مکتائی اور اکائی کو سیھنے اور ماننے والا ابلیس جیسا کوئی اور نہیں

اقبال، حلاج کے اسی نقطہ کو بنیاد بناتے ہوئے یہ کہتے ہیں کہ گواملیس در گاہ ایز دی سے دھتکار دیا گیاہے گئر پھر بھی وہ جسی اور نیستی کاہم سے زیادہ آشاہے - ہمیں المبیس سے توحید کے متعلق درس لیناچاہئے کہ ہم جاہل اور المبیس عارف ہے - جاوید نامہ میں اقبال کی نظم 'زندہ رود مشکلات خو در پیش ارواح بزرگ میگوید' اقبال کی ان ارواح جلیلہ سے ملاج اقبال سے -جوزندہ رود کے تخلص سے اس نظم میں موجود ہیں - مکالمہ کرتے ہوئے یہ کہتے ہیں۔

ماجبول، اوعارف بو دونبو د

كفراواين رازرابر ماكشود

حاكس بيرانهن تقليدرا

تابياموزى ازوتو حديدرا

ابلیس کی عارفیت، اس کاعشق اور خدا کی و حدانیت کے اعتقاد کی بدولت آدم کو سجدے سے انکار اپنی جگہ - لیکن کیا یہ سب مثیت الٰہی کے بغیر ممکن تھا؟ اقبال کے نزدیک شیطان نے وہی سب کیا جو اس کی تقدیر میں لکھا جا چکا تھا- اقبال اپنی نظم 'تقدیر'، جو کہ ابن عربی کی تحریر سے اخذ کی گئی ہے اور جو خدااور ابلیس کے در میان ایک مکالماتی نظم ہے، میں لکھتے ہیں۔

## حرف التكبار تيرب سامن ممكن نه تفا

## ہاں، گرتیری مشیت میں نہ تھامیر اسجو د

نہ صرف یہ کہ اقبال یہاں یہ نقط بیان کررہے ہیں کہ شیطان کے انکار کی وجہ اس کا فخر وغر ورنہ تھا بلکہ رضائے اللی تھی۔وہ یہ بھی کہہ رہے ہیں کہ ابلیس تواس صورت حال میں ناچار ہی گر فقار ہوا کیونکہ آوم کی تخلیق سے لے کر ان کے زمین پر اتارے جانے تک کا تمام فیصلہ تو پہلے سے طے تھا کیونکہ خود اللہ نے قر آن میں ارشاد فرمادیا تھا کہ وہ 'زمین' پر اپنا ایک خلیفہ مقرر کرنے والے ہیں ( 8 – اقبال مشیت الٰہی کے اسی تصور کو 'ابلیس کی مجلس شور کی' میں بھی دہر اتے ہوئے یہ سوال کرتے ہیں کہ آج یہ جو د نیا تباہ ہور ہی ہے اس سے خداراضی کیسے ہے ؟

## اس کی بر دادی یہ آج آمادہ ہے وہ کارساز

## جس نے اس کانام رکھا تھا جہان کاف ونوں

ا قبال انسان اور انسانیت سے سخت ناامید نظر آتے ہیں اور شیطان کو انسان سے برتر گر دانتے ہیں کیونکہ انسان اہلیس کے سامنے بے حد نازک اور کمزور ہے (4)اور اہلیس اس بات پر افسر دہ ہیں کہ اسے اپنے مخالف کوزیر کرنے کے لی مے کسی قشم کی محنت نہیں کرنی پڑتی - 'نالہ اہلیس' میں اقبال اہلیس کی فریاد کویوں پیش کرتے ہیں۔

لببت ازوآل جمت والاے من

وائے من ، اے وائے من ، اے وائے من

فطرت اوخام وعزم اوضعفي

تاب كي ضربم نازداي حريف

اقبال کے نزدیک اہلیس ایک قابل ستائش کر دارہے جو کہ۔

#### معرفت راانتهانابودن است

کی زندہ جاوید مثال ہے - یہ اہلیس مضبوط، طاقتور اور اپنے مقدر کے حصول کے لئے کوشاں ہے جس میں وہ کافی حد تک کامیاب بھی ہو چکا ہے - اس کر دار کی بنیاد مطلق عشق و وحدانیت پر استوار ہے یاانااور تکبر پر - اس کافیصلہ تورہتی دنیاتک نہیں ہو سکتا - لیکن اہلیس رہتی دنیاتک سر اٹھائے ہمارے سامنے موجو درہے گا۔ کون کر سکتاہے اس آتش سوزال کو سرد جس کے ہنگاموں میں ہوا بلیس کاسوز ورول جس کی شاخیں ہوں ہماری آبیاری سے بلند کون کر سکتاہے اس تخل گہن کو سر تگوں

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# خوا تین تے تہذیب داو کھر ابوجھ: ورثة لم دافیمینسٹ معائنہ دعاسمبر

اے پیپراک انڈو پاکتان فلم ور ش'(1) دے اتے گل کردا ہے جہد ہے ق ن ظاہر ہونداا ہے کہ بارڈردے دو ہویں طرف عور تا ن نوں کئی خواہشات دام ہور بناد تا جاندا ہے۔ کئی واری اہناں امزگاں دا ہو جھے گینا صرف او کھاای نئی بلکہ ناممکن وی ہوندا ہے۔ ایہ پیپراہناں غیر منصفا نہذ مہداریاں دی گل کردا اے جہدے وچور شامل اے جہناں نوں خواتین اے جہدے وچور شامل اے جہناں نوں خواتین دے سرکرد تا جاندا اے۔ ایہ پیپراس بات نوں دھیان وچر کھدے ہوئے ایہ گل چاہنداے کہ شرافت دا معیارا تھے انساناں دے نال ہوندا اے ایک کہ ماڈرن روایات نوں ترک کرکے۔

فلم ور شدی کہانی دوگھر انیاں دی ہمیگی جوا پناملک چھڈ کے تے آسٹریلیادے وچوسے ہوئے نیں۔ان گھر انیاں دے پیواک دو جانال کسی زمانے وچیار ہوندے سے۔ایہ کہانی فیر دوہاں دے بچیاں تے فلمائی گئی اے جہناں نوں رنو بر تے نواز نے اپنی قدر راں دے اتے وڈ آکتا اے۔ رنو بر دے دونوں دے دوبال نیں۔اک پُت جیہد اناں یوراج ہیگاتے دو جی کڑی جیہد اناں میت اے۔اے دونوں اپنے پیووا نگ اپنے دیس دی قدراں نوں بھلا چکے نیں تے ہرشم دی برائی و چملوث ہیگئے نیں جیہدے وچمنشیات، آوارہ گردی وغیرہ شامل اے۔ دوجے باسے نواز دامنڈ اامان اے جیہڑ اماڈ رن ہون توں

(1) فلم دے اِرےاج جانن کئی ہلیوگرا فی و مکیاتو۔

بعدوی اپنی قدران دافنهم رکھدااے۔ بوراج تے امان دوست ہمیگے نیں۔ بتینوں بہن بھراا کو ای کالج وچ پڑھدے نیں۔ بین سے براج پہندا اے۔ اِس گل دے پھیلدے ای پڑھدے نیں۔ بوراج اپنادل اوستھے اِکٹری ماہی تے ہار بیہندا اے۔ اِس گل دے پھیلدے ای لوک ماہی نوں بری نظران نال ویکھن لگ جاندے نیں۔ امان اِس واسطے بوراج نوں اپنی حرکتاں توں باز آن دی تلقین کردااے۔ جدوں بوراج گل من لے ماہی دا بچھاچھڈ دیندااے تے اوہنوں احساس ہوندااے کہ اوہ وی بوراج نوں بیندکردی اے۔ دو ہویں محبت داا قرار کرلیندے نیں۔

دوبال دے رشتے نو کٹیس اُس ویلےلگدی اے جدوں نشے دی حالت اوچ پوراج ماہی نوں نجداو مکھے کے اہونوں زیادتی دانشانہ بنان دی کوشش کردااے۔ ماہی اپنے آپنوں چھڑا کے او ہناں دار شتہ تو ڑدیندی اے تے او ہنوں دَس دیندی اے کہ اومدے دل اِچ ماہی کئی کوئی پیارنئ ہی۔ یوراج کئی واری او ہنوں بھلان دی کوشش نے کر داائے مگرنا کا مر ہندااے ۔ اِس دوران اومدے دا دا اوہنوں عیاشی توں دوررہن دی تے سیائی تے شرافت دی طرف راغب ہون دی نصیحت کردیے ہیں۔ اوہ اوہ نوں یقین دلاندے نیں کہ ماہی نو ںوی اُس نا لمحبت اے ۔ایس کر کےاوہ گر دوارے جان لگ پیندااے تے بڑمائی تے وی دھیان دین لگ بیندااے۔اوہ ماہی تو ں معافی منکن دی کوشش کر دااے کیکن ماہی اوہنوں او مدی دی ہوئی ذہنی اذیت دایا دکر اکرمعافی تو ں انکار کر دیندی اے۔جدیوراج دااینی بہن دی نا فر مانی دی وجہ تو ں حادثہ ہو جاندااے تے او ہدا گر داتبدیل کرن دی لوڑ داوی انکشاف ہوندااے۔ پوراج نو ں جدگر دالبھ جاندااے تے پتالگدااے کہاو ہداڈ ونزنو از سیگا، جنے اوہدی جان بچائی۔ ماہی پوراج نال ہسپتال دے باہر صلح کرلیندی اے تے اوہ او ہنوںسب توں ملا وی دیندااے۔ فیصلہ فیرایہ ہوندااے کہ سب واپس انڈیا جاون گے تا کہ ماہی دارسماً ہتھ منگ سکن ۔الیس طرح ایناں ساریاں دااینے ورثے نال رشتہ صحیح معانیاں اچ بحال ہوجانداا ہے۔ الیں فلم دی جوگل چنگی اےاو ہاہے ہے کہ کر داراں دااخیر وچ انجام چنگا ہوندااے۔

جیہناں کرداران نوں وی سدّھی راہ تے آن دی لوڑ ہوندی اے اوہ کچھ سکھلیند انیں۔ایس کم نوں ایفلم بڑے فی سلیقے تے خلوص نال کردی اے۔ بھلے اوہ پوراج تے میت داکردار ہووے یار نوبر تے نواز دی دوستی یا فیر جوگندر شکھدی پنجاب واپسی۔ پرنال نال مینوں اِس فلم دے مبق ولّو ں گہری تشویش ہمیگی اے۔میری نظر اِچ افلم محبت تے رشتیاں دے متعلق خطر ناک معیار دافعین کردی اے۔ ایس فلم وچ خواتین نوں کا فی لا ابا لی و کھایا گیا اے۔ ایس دی اک وجد اے ہمیگی کہ فلم دافع و رور ثے دااد ب کرن خواتین نوں کا فی لا ابالی و کھایا گیا اے۔ ایس دی اک وجد اے ہمیگی کہ فلم دافع و رور ثے دااد ب کرن تو تین دی کشش اس کل اتے محیط کردی جاندی اے کہ اوہ دو جی کڑیاں توں متعلق نے نال نال پارساوی مون (Puwar & Raghuram, 2003)۔ ایس وجدتوں او ہمناں تے زمانے دا دباؤیایا جاندا اے جنہوں اے فلم اپنی ورثے دی کہانی دے اعتبار واسطے استعال کردی اے۔ اے بہتی کہ جاندا اے جیہا ہونا چا نئیدا کے اوہ ہناں گئ آپ ہڑا نقصان دہ اے۔

جذبات دی کوئی قدر رہندی اے۔ جدیوراج ماہی نوں زیادتی دانشا نہ بنان توں بعد معافی منگدااے

تا وہدی ترکت چھوٹی جئ غلطی من گئی جاندی اے ، جد کہ ماہی دی گل توں اتفاق کرنا بن دااے ،

یوراج دی ترکت توں ظاہراے کہ اوہ کدی وی ماہی نال سچا پیارٹی کرداس (Carey, 2018)۔ ناای ماہی دی آز مائش نوں عزت دتی جاندی اے بلکہ یوراج نوں عیاش من کے ماہی نوں اوہ نوں معاف کرن دا کہیا جاؤند ااے۔ اے گل فلم بنان والیاں دی سوچ دی عکا سہیگی اے جہناں دی لئی یوراج دی حرکت او بدے کرتوت اک دی حرکت او بدے ماڈرن تے عیاش ہون نال منسلک ہی۔ جد کہ میرے کی ظنال او بدے کرتوت اک فطرطاً بھیٹر اانسان ہون دی دی دی اس بھیٹری صفت تے ہر مے خمیر ال داقصور وار مغربی قدر را نوں و کھایا گیا اے۔ ایس پوری فلم اچ بھیٹری صفت تے ہر مے خمیر ال داقصور وار مغربی قدر را نوں و کھایا گیا اے۔ اید و کھایا گیا اے۔ اید و کھایا گیا ای مشرقی قدر را ن دی بیروی نال منسلک اے۔ اور تان نوں مرداں دی غلطیاں نوں رفع دفع کرن دادر س دینا تے او ہناں دی تکایف داتو ڑا ہے و رتان نوں دوری دسنا میرے خیال اچ ہڑی زیادتی ہیگی۔ اپنی و را شت نال قربت تے اچھا انسان ہونا وروک کھشیواں ہوندیاں نیس سانوں چائیدا اے کہاسی ہر حال و چاک اچھا انسان بین دی کوشش دورے کھوکہ کھیواں ہوندیاں نیس سانوں چائیدا ہے کہاسی ہر حال و چاک اچھا انسان بین دی کوشش

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