



Revisiting Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans*: A Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received: May 18, 2022

Revised: June 28, 2022

Accepted: June 29, 2022

Available Online: June 30, 2022

Keywords:

The Pathans

Critical Discourse Analysis

Misrepresentation

Funding:

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

ABSTRACT

This article critically evaluates Olaf Caroe's book "The Pathans" by using the framework of critical discourse analysis". The book consists of a total of four hundred thirty-eight pages. The study explores how the author has wrongly ascribed the authorship of some passages to Khushhal Khan Khattak. Moreover, it also investigates how certain events of Pathan's history have been misrepresented. The study is significant as it highlights loopholes in one of the most important books of Pathans history. The text which forms the data for the present study is the chunks selected from "The Pathans". After evaluating the text, it is found that the author of the book, in some places, presents his weak appraisal of the events and expresses statements that do not conform to the ground realities. Lastly, after a careful analysis of the evidence, the study concludes that the author has insufficient knowledge of the historical events; particularly those concerning Khushhal Khan Khattak, which, ultimately resulted in misinterpretation of the historical facts. Hence the study recommends that there is a dire need to rectify some of the historical events from their true historical perspective.

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1. Introduction

The author of *The Pathans*, Olaf Caroe, was a British administrator in the United India. Born in 1892, he enjoyed his appointment as a civil officer in the Indian Civil Service during British Empire. Initially, rendering his services as an Assistant Commissioner, he was promoted a Foreign Secretary in the Indian government and finally reached the climax of his career when he was appointed as the Governor of the North West Frontier Province (now KPK) in 1946. He spent most of his times with the Pathan tribes and he enjoyed his stay among them as he starts his book with an interesting remark: "There is a strange fascination in living among the Pathans" (Caroe, 1957). In his book, Caroe writes about the history, cultural habits, customs and traditions of the Pashtuns.

Critics and research scholars have diverse views about *The Pathans*. According to Khan (2020), in the entire ten chapters that the book contains, one would "feel like driving the road of Pukhton culture" (p.1). However, Yousaf (2019) argues that Pashtun tribes have been historically represented as "violent" and "warrior-like", in the oriental literature. But he claims that this portrayal is based on generalizations and stereotypes that were formed and propagated during the British military expeditions (p.1). This article investigates how Olaf Caroe has historically portrayed the Pathans in his book, *The Pathans*. Moreover, it particularly focuses on how the events related to Khushhal Khan Khattak's life have been described.

Khushhal Khan, a poet, a philosopher, a warrior and a reputed chieftain belonged to one of the most influential Khattak tribes among the Pashtuns. His father, Shahbaz Khan died

as a result of the wound that he received in a battle with Yusufzais. Khushhal Khan inherited chieftainship from his forefathers, and after the death of Shah Jahan, Khushhal continued to serve his son, Aurangzeb. However, as a result of machinations of his adversaries, the relations between Khushhal and King Aurangzeb got strained and Khushhal fell under the displeasure of the monarch. Consequently, he was sent to Gawalior, India, where he remained in imprisonment for several years. The obedience changed into revolt as he engaged himself in several wars against the Mughals as well as against the conspirators (Raverty, 2020).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a method of research which focuses on the study of language as a social practice, giving representation of the events in the real-world situations. According to Van Dijk (2005), the aim of critical discourse analysis is to explore how dominance, social power manipulation are legalized, exercised, recreated and resisted by text and talk in the socio-political contexts. He further states that the task of critical discourse researcher is to take an unequivocal position for understanding, revealing and resisting the social anomalies. Text is not an isolated entity, but it encompasses the ideological stance of the author. Fairclough (2012) is of the view that language and ideology have reciprocal relationship. Language is the source of gaining social power and control. Likewise, ideology is expressed through language, and therefore, one of the key themes of contemporary social sciences is the exposure of ideological nature of language. Further, socio-political and historical aspects become noticeable in CDA as it enables the researchers to explore both text and context.

The current research explores how these factors are highlighted in the text. In addition, it uncovers how the historical details regarding the Pathans are misrepresented. In other words, it explores the issue of misrepresentation of historical facts, keeping in view the following research questions.

- What aspects of Pashtuns life have been described in *The Pathans*?
- How have the social, political and historical events related to Khushhal's life been represented/ misrepresented?

2. Literature Review

Critical discourse analysis aims at methodical investigation of association of causality between texts and discursive practices in a wider social as well as cultural context. Further, it explores how such types of practices and events occur and are ideologically molded by the power and struggle over power (Locke, 2004). The current research unfolds how the Pathans historically became known and made their homeland. It reveals how their tribes migrated and engaged themselves in inter-tribal conflicts as well as with foreign Mughal emperors. Van Dijk (2005) is of the view that the aim of critical discourse analysis is to explore how the encounter and uneven relationship exist between various societal groups in the social and political hierarchy and how resistance is exercised via text and talk. In other words, the key focus of critical discourse analysis is to study the connection between language, ideology and power.

Ideology means an organization of practices and ideas that distorts social, political and economic connection between the dominated and the dominant classes. It is a way by which individuals understand their lives as well as the political and ideological institutions. It enables them to make sense of the discourses and hail others, by giving them identities (Althusser, 1971). Though ideology and power are alternatively used, Foucault (1969) has other opinion. According to him, ideology should not be linked with inflexible, established conception of truth. Truth, he says, is created and recreated by the supporters of ideology. Consequently, he replaced ideology with discourse. He accepts that power is dispersed through the impact of ideology. Moreover, it is disseminated in the society and relationship between children and parents, employees and employers and between lovers, is all based on power. This enables us to look at such relations in action in every human interaction along with its possible resistance. Power is usually displayed as an unstable and volatile element that can be opposed (Foucault, 1969).

Fairclough (1995) argues that the domination or supremacy of a group over another within discourses naturalizes its ideological meaning as well as practices. He states that the subjects show resistance by virtue of their positions in the order of discourse. He states further

that ideology exists within the text and it is usually situated in events and discourse conventions. In contrast, the conventions drawn from the actual discourse events are invested ideologically in certain ways (Fairclough, 1995).

Wodak and Meyer (2015) also supports Fairclough's argument about ideology, critique and power in her approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). She states that the three terms are fundamental for every critical discourse analytical approach, irrespective of the fact that they are often used with different meanings. She contends that the history of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is intricate and the supporters of CDA use discourse analysis for challenging the unwanted political and social practices. She is of the view that the three terms are applied as major points of discussion in CDA. To this vein, Wodak and Meyer (2009) describe four fundamental features of ideology. First, ideology is more important than cognitions. Second, it has the power of guiding the individual's assessments. Third, it also offers the necessary guideline via action. Finally, it should be coherent in terms of logic.

The next two points are: ideology and power. Power is associated with the uneven relations among social players who take over various social positions in the social hierarchy or are associated with different social groups. Weber (1980) states that power relates to the probability of exercising one's will contrary to the interest or will of others inside social relationship. He applies the term 'actional power' for the use of power as a physical strength and violence. That is to say, it is the controlling of masses through different ways such as means of production, weapons and means of transportation etc. According to Wodak and Meyer (2015), power is always an important concept in CDA and the researchers in CDA take interest in the way how discourses enact and reproduce social dominance. What the researchers do is to reveal the difference between the use and the abuse of power. She claims that the word 'critical' implies impartially evaluating the data, keeping in view the social perspective, expounding the political standing of participants in discourse and focusing on self-reflection while conducting research (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). Furthermore, criticality demands we should doubt and assess our own ideologies, values, rituals and see how logical and acceptable they are. It demands freedom from all the political, social and cultural shackles that we are wearing right now.

DHA, according to Wodak, "should make the object under investigation and the analyst's own position transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others" (Wodak, 2017). In this context, the present research explores how the author of *The Pathans*, while having an important/dominant position approaches and describes the social and political and historical events associated with Pashtuns in general and Khushhal Khan, in particular.

Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans* historically covers the gap between Indus and Persia. It looks as if the dangers and doubts of the strange valleys in the back of Khyber-pass had bewildered the British-Indian administration, had equally baffled the historians. But, this confusion was removed by Olaf Caroe as he has given the detailed description of the Pashtun tribes. However, it is hard to find the factual evidence of comparing a modern Pathan militiaman with Alexander, the Great and the mixture of Greek blood in Afridis. Moreover, the vague early centuries of the first Christian millennium is unlikely to appeal to English mind, keeping in view the conditions, existed at the time of first British contacts in the West of Indus. Similarly, the narration of the events related to Khushhal's life is based on weak sources. Further, the political and social changes that occurred during his lifetime have been impartially dealt with by the author.

3. Methodology

The research approach is qualitative in nature and the research methodology used in this study is discourse historical approach. The theoretical model/framework applied in the present research is grounded in linguistic and interpretive frame, bearing in mind the paradigm of CDA. To this vein, while recognizing and identifying the contents of the discourse, the current study conducts textual analysis. The focal point is to investigate how the social, political and historical events associated with Pashtuns have been represented and misrepresented. Moreover, how the life of Khushhal Khan Khattak has been depicted, particularly in the 14th and 15th chapters of the book.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

According to Wodak and Meyer (2015) some groups of people, particularly elites and politicians act as shapers of public view and interests because they respond to the atmospheric expectation of alterations in public view and to the enunciation of varying interests of particular social parties and affected groups. Those who are dominant in the society affect public view. She argues that in contemporary world as well as in the swiftly changing societies, the association among people, politics and media is always very complex. In such a scenario, questions such as who affects whom and in what way, and the way these effects are directed may not be befittingly answered by using a simple model. In Wodak and Meyer (2015) view, the answer to establish such association clearly is in the discourse analytical approach. The current study applies the discourse historical approach as a theoretical framework delineated in Wodak and Meyer (2009) as well as in Wodak and Meyer (2015). By using this theoretical framework, the study focuses on social, political and historical features of the text. The textual data is taken from the book *The Pathans* written by Caroe (1957). The model is suitable for the present research as it aims at social critique. The model has the following characteristics:

- Text/discourse oriented critique that aims to identify inconsistencies, dilemmas and paradoxes in the internal structures of text or discourse.
- The socio-diagnostic critique focusing on unfolding the overt or covert, manipulative or persuasive discourse practices. Further, it also permits the critical discourse analyst to go beyond the internal vista of text or discourse, using his/her contextual knowledge for exploring the discursive event in wider political and social relations, practices and circumstances.

4. Analysis and Discussion

Olaf Caroe's book has covered ages as he has traced back the history of the homeland of Pashtuns to five hundred years before Christ (500 B.C. up-till 20th century NWFP. The name of the province has been recently changed as KPK. However, historically, very little is known about the time when they became known and made their homeland. It is only in the final years of the fifteenth century and at the start of sixteenth century that we find them making their own history. They made tribal migrations and expansion movements and engaged themselves both in internal inter-tribal skirmishes as well as external conflicts with the Mughal invader, Babar. He was the originator of the Mughal Kingdom in India as he established the empire by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat in 1526. It was only a half century later, during the reign of his grandson, Akbar that the Pashtuns rose themselves in their homeland against the powerful empire of the great king.

The fifteenth chapter of *The Pathans* covers almost hundred years of Pashtuns' history and is perhaps the most eventful in terms of discussing the political, intellectual and literary achievements. It particularly focuses on the struggle of Khushhal Khan Khattak, a resolute fighter against the Mughals and a prominent figure in the Pashto literature. Sir Olaf acknowledges the greatness of Khushhal Khan in the following words:

It is worthwhile to dwell at some length on Khushhal's life and thoughts for he is Pathans of Pathans. With all his weaknesses, with all his vainglory, there is something splendid about the man. He compels affection and even love. And to understand him is the beginning of knowledge for him who would know Pathans (Kamil, 1968).

The above statement shows that Caroe admires the good qualities of Khushhal, but the author's admiration of him is not without highlighting his drawbacks which, in a sense nullifies his statement. According to Advanced Oxford Learner's Dictionary, the word 'vainglory' means the state of "being too proud of your own abilities or achievements" or the boastful vanity over oneself (Advanced Oxford Learner's Dictionary, 7th edition, p. 1692)

Before coming to the time of Khushhal Khan, Olaf Caroe, has focused on a few important events that constitute the necessary links in the chain of Pathan-Mughal skirmishes. In the course of the whole book, Caroe uses the word *Pathans*. It seems that Caroe uses the Hindustani term, generally used for the Pashtuns of the Indian subcontinent. However, it is

necessary to emphasize that genealogists, historians, ethnologists and philologists have always used the term *Pashtuns* and rarely *Afghans* and very seldom *Pathans*, whether they are true Afghans or those by affiliations such as *Mattis* and *Karlanis* and so on.

The fourteenth chapter of the book discusses the rule of King Akbar, a Mughal emperor. Further, no separate chapter has been allocated to the conditions during the rules of his son and grandsons Janhangir and Shah Jahan. Therefore, some important events that occurred before King Aurangzeb and King Shah Jahan function as a bridge before the author comes to the actual topic. Coming to the rule of Jahangir, the author writes, "the struggle for Kandahar did not absolve Akbar's successors from tribal trouble much nearer home" (Caroe, 1957). In this way, Caroe initiates the discussion of the struggle of Frontier tribes against the Mughals during the rule of Akbar's successors. The time when Jahangir ascended to the throne, many Pashtuns rebelled against the Mughals because of the influence of the Roshanites. Jalal Udin (also called Jalala), who was the youngest son of Bayazid engaged his armies against the Mughal King Akbar, and despite several successive reverses persistently defied his power and gave him trouble. Jalal Udin was replaced by his nephew and son-in-law Abdad, son of Sheikh Umar and the leader of the Roshanites.

While narrating the above events, Caroe makes some erroneous statements, including attributing the writing of particular passages to Khushhal Khan, apparently quoted from *Tarikh-i-Muarasa* of Afzal Khan, son of Khushhal Khan's eldest son Ashraf Khan. Moreover, commenting on the marriage of Adad, after ascending to the throne, Sir Olaf writes: Ahdad had married Bibi Alai, Jalalah's daughter, a woman of great beauty and character, beloved of all the Roshanis, says Khushhal Khan, as always stirred by a pretty face" (Caroe, 1957). It is pertinent to note that *Tarikh-i-Murassa* which is a very voluminous book, was written and composed by Afzal Khan, who was the grandson of Khushhal Khan. One third of the book is the translation Nia'matullah Hivari's *Makhzan-i-Afghani*. The remaining book is Afzal Khan's own with some extracts from *Bayaz* (The diary of Khushhal Khan). The extracts which Olaf Caroe has taken do not belong to Khushhal's diary. This shows the author's lack of acquaintance with the original work. He has relied on Raverty's Notes on Afghanistan where some of the extracts associated with Afzal Khan himself has been wrongly ascribed to Khushhal Khan. Caroe moves on to Khushhal Khan's ancestors and his early career as he writes about the death of his father and grandfather in these words:

In 1641, his father Shahbaz Khan, like Akoray and Yahya Khan before him, was killed fighting against Yusufzais, Shah Jahan confirmed Khushhal as the chief and guardian of the King's highway to Peshawar (Caroe, 1957).

This narration is based on reality only in case of Shahbaz Khan who was seriously injured in a fighting after his attack on Yusuf Zai Village on 12th January and died on 18th January. On the other hand, Khushhal's grandfather, Akoray and Yusuf Khan, his son, were killed by Nazo Khan, who belonged to Boolaq tribe of Khattaks. Following his death, his son Yahya Khan avenged the death of his father by killing several Boolaqs whereas some of them were imprisoned (Kamil, 1968).

Commenting on the distinguishing character and distinction won by Khushhal Khan as a result of his successful movements during the rule of King Shah Jahan, Caroe writes: He went to Delhi court and attached himself to Amanat Khan and Salat Khan, leading nobles and in their train took part in various campaigns in Kangra, Balkh and Badakhshan where he won considerable distinction (Caroe, 1957).

Out of the two nobles to Amanat has been incorrectly pointed out by Caroe as Balakh and Badakhshan campaigns occurred in the second decade of Shah Jahan. According to *Badshah Nama*, the list of office holders and nobles include only the name of *Mansabdar*, *Asalat* Khan and not Amanat Khan. The rank of *Mansabdar* in Mughal ruling system was equivalent to 1000 personal. Keeping in view his rank, he cannot be called a leading noble. Amanat Khan actually died in the eighth year of the second decade of reign of Shah Jahan. Leaving aside him as a leader, he is not described as taking part in any of the two campaigns. Khushhal Khan fought under the two leading nobles Asalat Khan and Bahadur Khan. The first campaign started at the end of August, 1641. After two months Bahadur Khan joined the operation with twelve thousand troops (Kamil, 1968).

After briefly describing the story of Khushhal's partaking in the Turkestan and Kangra fights, Olaf Caroe gives a short description of Yusuf Zai and Khattaks' skirmishes. Khushhal started his campaign against Yusufzai with a renewed effort, persuading King Shah Jehan to include the land of a few of Yusufzai's villages in his Jagir. According to Caroe, Bhagu Khan successfully won the favour of Prince Dara Shukoh and dispossessed Khushhal Khan of Yusufzai's land. Consequently, the author narrates that in the war of succession, Khushhal Khan favoured Aurangzeb and he appointed him as a chieftain. Coming to the age of King Aurangzeb, he writes:

At that time Mohabat Khan was a Governor of Kabul. This is not the Mahabat Khan whose name figures so largely in the annals of Jahangir's reign—he had died in Deccan in 1634—but another, the son of Ali Mardan Khan, the Safawi noble who had betrayed Kandahar to Shah Jahan. This is the Mahabat Khan, commemorated in Peshawar in the name of the chief mosque of that city. He had been favourable to Khushhal Khan. Aurangzeb transferred him to Deccan and appointed Sayyid Amir in his place, with one Abdur Rahim as his deputy in Peshawar (Kamil, 1968).

Caroe wrongly describes the name of Sayyid Amir, the successor Mahabat Khan. In fact, his name was Sayyid Mir and his title was Amir Khan. This biographical information is given in *Maasir ul-Umara* (Kamil, 1968). The author of *The Pathans* proceeds to the significant topic of the cause of imprisonment of Khushhal Khan. He writes:

Abdul Rahim, it seems, favoured the Yusufzais in the reason of Bahaku Khan and obtained an imperial mandate for the abolition of the collection of tolls for crossing the Indus. ...Since Akbar's time the collection of the Attock tolls was a right which had been vested in Malik Akoray and his successors, and it follows that Khushhal was hard hit by the new orders and greatly resented what had been done.

As far as the abolishment of the road-toll on the transfer of different articles, excluding the "Frontier" is concerned, there is no strong evidence in the existing records except one of the copies of *Tarikh-i-Murassa* in which that particular line reads differently from the other copies. Moreover, according to the official record available in *Alamgir-Nama* and *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, the abolishment of the collection of the road tolls was applicable to all parts of the kingdom. The following line reads as follows:

نکر اکرام عام حضرت شهنشاهی و بخشیدن باج غله و دیگر اجناس و حاصل راه داری کل ممالک مپروسه

The account of the general munificence of His Imperial Majesty, and the remission of the tax on food grains and other articles, and the abolition of the collection of the road-tolls in the whole domain (The original text and translation cited in Kamil, p. 37). It means that the abolishment of tax on food grains and other supplies was also applicable to other towns and cities where it was imposed before.

All these events are described to have happened in the second year, whereas Khushhal Khan's imprisonment took place after 4 years in January 1664. Therefore, attributing the reason of abolishment of road toll to the arrest of Khushhal has no valid evidence. Moreover, Khushhal Khan was not the solitary victim, but it also includes other chiefs or *rahdars* in all parts of the kingdom.

Caroe also ascribes Khushhal Khan's imprisonment to his treacherous actions. He personally criticizes Khushhal Khan's demerits by arguing that his weaknesses were because of his race as he argues, "Khushhal Khan Khatak had certainly the defects of a race never constant on himself, as he saw it" (as cited in Mehmood, 2017, p. 94). Moreover, referring to his imprisonment at the hand of King Aurangzeb, the author says that he "would have been justified in cutting off his head and the fact that he did not do so, shows his magnanimity" (Kamil, 1968).

These remarks by the author clearly show that he harshly criticizes Khushhal Khan as being guilty. He seems to be convinced that Khushhal's crime was serious; therefore, beheading him or 'cutting off' his head would have been the right thing on the part of King

Aurangzeb. Further, Caroe argues that by not punishing Khushhal shows "magnanimity" of the latter. However, Khushhal vehemently defends his case as he states that his imprisonment was based on conspiracy and false reasons, with no guilt committed by him. His arguments are expressed in the following verses:

I was tortured without guilt or
Fault of mine.
For three or four years I was
Aurangzeb's captive.
On becoming free I became
Impatient for revenge (translated & cited in Kamil (1968), p. 81).

5. Conclusion

All this discussion shows that the way *Pathans* have been represented gives a quite distorted picture of them. Using discourse historical discourse analysis, the researchers find that *The Pathans* has not been quite a success which it should have been in terms of their representation. Truths and realities have been manipulated and mal-represented. At certain places, the names of the people have been changed. Moreover, the author, Caroe shows lack of acquaintance with many of the works that he utilizes in his book. He has also wrongly ascribed many of the historical things to Khushal Khan. Hence, there is a dire need to rectify some of the historical events in their true historical perspective.

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