



RESEARCH PAPER

Contextualizing Pakistani Drama and Theater: A Case Study of Ajoka Theater

¹Yu Hao* ²Tahir Mahmood

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of History and Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan
2. Professor, Department of History and Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan

***Corresponding Author:** yuhao@hgnu.edu.cn

ABSTRACT

This research paper is an effort to explore the history and pattern of theaters in Pakistan, with special reference to the Ajoka theater in Lahore. Ajoka Theater is playing a crucial role in the formation of a theater culture in Pakistan that is not only entertaining the people with their performances but also educating them on several societal issues. Furthermore, some of the plays of the leading dramatist and writer Shahid Nadeem are also analyzed to understand the basic ideology and working approach of the theater. A thematic survey of his plays has been done, and the plays related to women's rights have been separated for better understanding. Another theme is the religious aspect, which has been given much importance in the plays of Shahid Nadeem and other plays performed in the Ajoka Theater. For this research, qualitative research techniques along with the historical analytical method are utilized. Theater as a profession and social institution needs more development in Pakistan.

KEYWORDS South Asian Theaters, Pakistani, Ajoka Theater, development of theaters.

Introduction

Historically, the philosophical conception and meaning of theater have changed throughout history. The first formal theater was established in ancient Greece, where the main purpose of the theater was to present a theme and pattern of society, but the themes and content of the drama were more superficial and presented the achievements and glory of the prince and princess (Londré & Berthold, 1999). This is as according to the Greek traditions, in 535 BC, Thespis, an Athenian man, attracted the audiences by leaping on to the back of a wooden cart and reciting poetry as if he were the characters whose lines he was reading (Kitto, 2011). In doing so, he became the world's first actor. This type of activity was also part of other ancient civilizations of the world, but very little of it became part of historical records like the western civilization. Especially the Indian civilization was based on such practices as theater, which happens to be one of the oldest traditions known to South Asia, dating back to as early as the third century BC. In the subcontinent, as a culture growing on the banks of the Indus, theater was heavily influenced by Hinduism at the time. Feeding on immersive Sanskrit literature, it continued to evolve as a form of folk tradition and artistic expression in the South East for many centuries (Varadpande, 1987).

The pattern and forms of the theater changed in the modern period; it became more of a center for entertainment, and that is the period when theater became institutionalized and thought of properly in some of the best universities in the world (Solanas & Getino, 1970). In India, the modern type of theater was introduced by the British. These theaters were also called the first commercial theaters in South Asia. It wasn't until much later in the 19th century that the concept of commercial theater started taking off, with Urdu dramas occupying center stage. The modern theater, which is believed to have been established in India after 1853 AD, was mostly performed in Urdu (Hansen, 2001). During this long period, the British style of theater went through a number of alterations; the themes and

performances of the theater changed with the times because of the cultural and regional diversity of South Asia. Theater was welcomed by all the regional nationalities throughout India, and especially after the partition, theaters were developed on regional bases, among which Punjabi took the leading role in the promotion of theater in Pakistan (Mundrawala, 2014).

Then, in an attempt to re-assert indigenous ideas and values, village theater was introduced in South Asia. Village theater, or Juggat-based theater, was developed in a large number of regional languages from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The theater history of this period corresponded with and often mirrored the political developments in the country. These theaters performed repertoires that depicted extremism and also challenged extremism as well as the depiction of gender, nationalism, and religion (Mahmood, A2018). Drama as a literary genre is realized in performance, which is why Robert Di Yanni (quoted in Dukore) describes it as "staged art" (867). As a literary form, it is designed for the theater because characters are assigned roles, and they act out their roles as the action is enacted on stage. These characters can be human beings, dead or spiritual beings, animals, or abstract qualities. Drama is an adaptation, recreation, and reflection of reality on stage. Generally, the word dramatist is used for any artist who is involved in any dramatic composition either in writing or in performance (Fergusson, 2015).

Literature Review

Theater and drama are playing a great part in the development of human knowledge and highlighting the existing issues in societies. In Pakistan, theater flourished right after independence with several themes and agendas. A number of theater groups were established in different big cities in Pakistan, among which Lahore and Karachi were the most important centers for the development of theater in Pakistan. A plethora of literature is available on theater studies in Pakistan in particular and especially on the Ajoka, which has a big name in this field. Some of the well-known theater critics from all over the world have written about Ajoka. The documents and sources are divided into two groups: indigenous and foreign sources, to better understand and comprehend the sources.

Indigenous Sources

An article written on the role of Ajoka theater in identifying the culture of Pakistan with the title "*The Celebration of the Indigenous Culture and Identity in the Plays of Ajoka Theatre*" is an effort to expose the method of Ajoka to identify the local culture and the way for its presentation to the world. The agenda of the Ajoka Theater is to reveal the imperialists through their plays in different theaters around the world and has shown the rich culture of the Subcontinent, like the depiction of local traditions, villages, lake areas, local music, the local working class and their working style, and the real picture of the cultures of Pakistan and India. Another more important achievement of the Ajoka Theater is to bring forward the local heroes of the Sages like *Bullah* and *Dara Sheikho*, who were ignored by the historians. This research paper has explored both the national and international approaches of the Ajoka Theater and concluded that it *had worked in Pakistan but raised its voice at home by touching on sensitive issues like gender discrimination, dictatorship, identity, poverty, class struggle, and sectarianism. This paper has provided a cultural and linguistic sketch of works done by Ajoka Theater* (Ashfaq et al., 2021).

Another important book written by Mubashar Altaf is "Cultural Activism and Shahid Nadeem's Ajoka Theatre: Strategies of Cultural Activism." Adopted by Ajoka Theatre" is a short book on the cultural activism of the Ajoka theater through their plays, and the main focus in this book is on Shahid Nadeem's plays, which present the ideological theme and pattern of the theater. The author's comments for Shahid Nadeem are very positive, as he believes that the Ajoka Theater is not only a place for entertainment but is also considered an educational institute to educate people on different aspects of culture and society. Shahid

Nadeem followed the method and traditions of Brechtian, who focuses on the cultural dilemmas in his plays. Shahid Nadeem's focus is not the elite class, but he struggles for a classless society and the transformation of society from a colonial mindset towards an indigenous culture and ideology (Franks & Jones, 1999). The author uses music, songs, and dance as a strategy to inspire the hearts and change the minds of the readers for cultural activism. Another crucial aspect of his plays is that he wants the people of Pakistan to be progressive and change their mindset towards making new local ideas for life and culture. The researcher has also discussed the hegemonic theory of Gramsci in the context of Pakistan, where he believes it is necessary to activate people against hegemonic culture. It has been the agenda of the ruling classes to devise and utilize myths to control the masses, as all myths are representations of the dominant ideology. A similar approach has been adopted by Ambreen Bibi in *"Ajoka Theatre as an Icon of Liberal Humanist Values,"* in which she has praised the working pattern of the Ajoka Theater for propagating positivism, liberal humanist values, and humanitarianism. The focus of this research article is to explore the history of the Ajoka Theater and its establishment during the military government of Zia Ul Haq. It was a very hard time to start a theater with such an agenda against the existing government. *The researcher in the present study has the intention to explore the dissemination of liberal humanist values in the plays and performances of "Ajoka" theater. This is very important to understand the struggle of the Ajoka Theater from its establishment to contemporary times. There are a number of other sources that discuss the role of Ajoka Theater in the cultural and identity formation of Pakistan (Bibi et al., 2021).*

Foreign ideas about the Ajoka Theater

The Ajoka Theater is very popular in the world because of its working patterns and themes; it has attracted a number of authors and writers from all over the world. A book edited by Ashis Sengupta and others on *"Mapping South Asia through Contemporary Theatre: Essays on the Theatres of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka,"* in which Ajoka theater is widely discussed and the role of the theater is chewed over for breaking the stereotype and going beyond the restrictive state-sponsored national cultural agenda and intent to provide the true prevailing culture of the region. Theater is also playing a role in the unity of South Asian culture rather than making any differences in any way. This is evident in the dialogues between theater artists, producers, and organizers across nations that led to multinational theater productions like those of *The Sixth River*, a project of Pakistani theater group Ajoka, and *Dukhini*, a collaborative project of Ajoka and the Bangladesh Institute of Theatre Arts (BITA). These collective works in the field of theater are a good omen for peace in South Asia, which is the main agenda of this book (Sengupta, 2014).

Another published thesis on the theaters of Pakistan is written by Asma Mundanwala on *"Shifting the Terrains: The Depoliticization of Political Theatre in Pakistan,"* in which the researcher has chewed over the two main theaters of Pakistan: Ajoka and the Tehrik e Niswan; the first was established in 1984 by Madeeha Ghaur and her husband Shahid Nadeem, and the latter was originated by Sheema Kermani in 1979; both the mainstream theaters were originated during the period of Military dictator General Zia Ul Haq. These two theaters, undermining the financial issues that were very evident, worked on ideological bases and ultimately established a dominant culture. These theaters were used as a tool for the critique of society and political developments in Pakistan (Mundrawala, 2010). Moreover, what was evident through the work done by theater groups under the development agenda was that theater as a tool for social critique was depoliticized and seen as a commodity, transforming its role from self-directed activism to donor-driven activism.

Material and Methods

Theater itself has a rich history in all regions of the world, which started with human civilization during the ancient era. The methods for research on the history of theater are mostly based on fieldwork and qualitative research methods. The research topic mostly covers the history and philosophy of the Ajoka Theater, which is known to have been established in 1984 during the Material Law period in Pakistan. The primary sources are available in the form of plays that were performed in theater, which also reflect the ideology and philosophy of the Ajoka Theater. Another method to obtain primary sources is the interview of the people who are attached to the Ajoka Theatre and are the sole owners of the theater. So, for this purpose, the researcher has personally interviewed a number of individuals, which is incorporated in this poorly designed research paper. On the other hand, the plays written by Shaid Nadeem are widely used to understand the nature of theater. Also, there are a number of journals, books, manuscripts, newspapers, television talk shows, and theater performances that are utilized as secondary sources for this research. Theater history as a modern scholarly discipline began in the nineteenth century, when the "scientific" approach to academic study was on the rise. Theater was understood to be a great tool for social change and an agent of transformation of historical events towards performances and art. Theatre is also taken in the form of criticism of society and a presentation of the face of society, both in contemporary and historical approaches. In theatrical studies, it is very hard to integrate theory and practice together. In this research, the idea and theory of theater as a source of historical and cultural transformation are taken from Ute Berns idea. In the post-modern world, history is featured in a variety of performances, such as verbatim or memory plays, history plays, staged biographies, and several other functions of history in both theory and practice. This is also the nature of post-colonial history, which encompasses new approaches to challenge modern scientific historiography. The Ajoka Theater, consciously or unconsciously, has applied the same theory to present the history of the downtrodden, common people's situation and the historical ups and downs from the 1970s to contemporary times. This is important to understand the major developments in Pakistani theaters, working with several trends (Berns, 2015).

Results and Discussion

Establishment of Ajoka Theater and its Historical Development

Independent and alternative theaters were very common in the culture of South Asia and used to work on a small scale in different national and regional languages. A similar theater was established in Karachi, Tehrik-i-Niswan (Mee, 2007), in 1879 by Sheema Karmani, which was first a platform for women's rights (Afzal, 1997). It is still working in Karachi and playing a key role in cultural building and cultural transformation. Another alternative and political theater was initiated in a house in Lahore in 1984 by Madeeha Gauhur, a leading dramatist and theater performer. Ajoka Theater was formally established in 1984 with a small number of people because of its ideology. The first play that was performed in the Ajoka Theater was *Jaloos*. (Rashid, 2015). The word Ajoka means today, contemporary and in Punjabi, "new dawn of the day", The name was adopted with reference to the political condition of the country during the authoritarian rule of Zia Ul Haq. The main agenda of the theater group was to counter the darkness that was prevailing in society, according to this theater ideology. This was the first theater to work for social change during the authoritarian period; this was one of the greatest initiatives from the artist group against the material law in Pakistan (Bibi, 2021). Since the beginning, the mission that they present publicly is still working and is shown on the official page of the Ajoka Theater.

"Ajoka's mission is to work for a democratic and egalitarian society through arts-based initiatives. It is working to create young, trained theater activists, writers, media professionals, and social activists who can strengthen the forces of social change and progress. It is ready to

fight gender and minority discrimination, environmental degradation, cultural awareness, and heritage preservation. It works in collaboration with like-minded cultural and human rights organizations for the cause of freedom of artistic and cultural expression. Ajoka envisions a society and world based on universal values of justice, human dignity, and human rights. It hopes that Pakistan will be at peace with its neighbors and with its own disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups. It is free of violence, bigotry, and discrimination based on race or gender" (<https://ajoka.org.pk>).

These new agendas are crucial for understanding the ideology and working pattern of the Ajoka Theater, but during the civilian period, the focus of this theater group remained distinctive and focused more on social issues than political ones. So, in this manner, the history of Ajoka Theater can be divided into three different phases (Afzal, 1997). The first phase of the 1980s remained very difficult because of its inception during the dictatorship period against the government; working in this phase became the major trend for this theater group's popularity. The second phase began with the day of deliverance and the end of the Zia-Ul-Haq era of dictatorship with his death. The new government was formed by one of the biggest parties of that time, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto, who was considered to be a liberal socialist Pakistani leader (Kayani & Termizi, 2017).

This was a progressive period in which this theater got impetus and initiated working on its main agenda. Moreover, the state also accepted politics in this period, which was considered a milestone for the Ajoka Theater, which was the biggest political theater in the country (Ashfaq, 2021). The third historical phase of Ajoka Theater is considered from 1999, when a new material law was imposed by General Pervez Musharraf, the civilian government of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was overthrown, and a new phase of authoritarian government was promulgated in Pakistan, which lasted for eight years. In this period, censorship was the major issue, and all the artistic and cinematic activities were censored by the state through different departments, but this was more lenient than the previous era of Zia-Ul-Haq, as that government used Islam and the Islamic laws. During this period, the activities of Ajoka Theater were not curtailed. (Talbot, 2002). Now that the Ajoka Theater has experienced a long history and working period of more than 30 years, the sole originators of this group are now authorities on theater performance and theater studies, and a number of works of literature have been produced by them in the form of books and plays (Shabir & Mahmood, 2020).

As in the beginning, the themes and patterns for the theater performance were taken from western ideas, which revolve around the Marxist ideology of Brecht and Ariel Dorfman, along with some of the leading socialists from Pakistan and India like Fakhar Zaman, Sarmad Sehbai, and Badal Sircar. This theater afterward used the plays of one of its creators, Shahid Nadeem, who wrote a number of plays for the Ajoka Theater, and these plays made the theater theme stronger because Shahid Nadeem is one of the authorities on writing on the socio-political issues affecting Pakistan and south Asia. Shahid Nadeem is now the executive director of the Ajoka Theater.

The Ajoka Theater is playing a key role in the presentation of the culture and society of Pakistan through performances and accommodating a number of people from all over the country. Nonetheless, this theater group has initiated a program through which the field and approach of theater are being upgraded in a distinctive way (Altaf, 2020).

An Analysis and Critique of Shahid Nadeem's Plays

The director of the Ajoka Theater Shahid Nadeem's plays has been very important for the working and shaping its ideology, it is necessary to analyze the nature of his plays and writings for comprehending the agenda of the theater.

Pakistani Women and Ajoka Theater

Barri Acquittal was drafted in 1987 by Shahid Nadeem during his exile in London; this play presents the situation of society and state during the martial law period of Zia-ul-Haq. This play's main focus is on the Islamic laws or ordinances that were introduced by the military government to attain the support of Islamic groups and the general public. In fact, these laws were against the interests of women and minority groups in Pakistan. This play was written on the demand of the director of Ajoka Theater, Madeeha Gauhar, for women's rights in Pakistan. This play by Shahid Nadeem is a conversion of the conditions of the prison and prisoners in Pakistan, especially the women in prison and the women's rights confiscation during the dictatorial period. The main focus is on the family laws introduced by the Zia Ul Haq government. (Shahid, 2008). *Aik Thee Nani/A Granny for All Seasons* is a multi-purpose play written by Shahid Nadeem for exploring and presenting the cultural heritage of the combined cultures of India and Pakistan before the partition. This play is based on the real story of two sisters, Zohra Segal and Uzra Butt. There was once a society where people had to denounce art and humanity's free-thinking; they were disallowed to be what they were and forced to be what they were not. Along with the cultural aspects of the play, the author has also presented the life stories of two sisters and the history of the region. Such plays are also very important for bringing peace between the two nations—India and Pakistan—which are in conflict and war after the partition despite having the same cultural heritage (Shahid, 2008).

Kala Mera Bhes/Black is My Robe is also a play with multi-facet agendas that talks about the woman and how her status can be changed, whether the woman has to wait and look towards the opposite gender to give her rights or should make efforts to change her fate by herself. This was the presentation of society through performance. The story is taken from a true story of the Cholistan desert in southern Punjab. In this play, it is shown that the main character, a woman named Sundri, after facing a number of problems, stands up for her rights. The main lesson given in this play is to tell the women that there is no need to wait for their rights but to make efforts to make their value in society known (Shahid, 2008).

Dukhini/Women of Sorrow: This play is a collaboration of two countries' theater groups for cultural understanding between them, which remained a part of each other for almost 24 years after the partition of India and Pakistan. This play is based on a true story that presents a real-life story and tells about the suicide of a Bangladeshi woman in Pakistan. Another idea is that of human trafficking and human sales, especially of women. These incidents and ideas are not fiction but are taken from the real stories of the societies of Pakistan and Bangladesh (Shahid, 2008).

Religious Understanding and Presentations

Bulha is a play written by Shahid Nadeem on the life story of Bulleh Shah, a Sufi saint from Punjab province. This play shows another side of Pakistani society: how the people believe in a Sufi saint and what his condition was during his life as the Mullah, or religious, opposed praying his funeral prayer. This shows the conflict between the religious Mullah and the Sufi saints. Orthodox religious outfits thought that the Sufis were out of Islam (Shahid, 2008). *Burqavaganza* is one of the most important and popular plays written by Shahid Nadeem, presenting the true face of Pakistani society within contemporary dimensions. This presents the Islamic mindset of the people in Pakistan and in this region. It presented a hypothetical society in which the people used to wear burqas in the Taliban pattern but behaved in a different style. Is the burqa a part of Pakistani culture? Became the talk of the town, but this play shows that this is not the most important ingredient for being a Muslim or a follower of Islam (Shahid, 2008).

Oppressed Class and Ajoka Theater

To work on and present the issues of the common masses of Pakistan has remained the main agenda of the Ajoka Theater. Shahid Nadeem, in most of his plays, has presented the Marxists and Leftists' agendas for understanding the situation of the common people. A similar idea is presented in Shahid Nadeem's play "Teesri Dastak" (The Third Knock) on the exploitation and suffering of the downtrodden in the backdrop of a newly created country, Pakistan. This play also shows the inhuman attitude of capitalists and the strict policies of the military government backed by the capitalist countries, America and the United Kingdom (the Western agenda). This play was written in 1970, after the end of the Ayub Khan Military Government. This play also presents the socio-political history of Pakistan before and after the establishment of a new debacle in East Pakistan. On the other hand, Teeri Dastak is also a story of the shattering of dreams and hopes of the generation of Pakistanis who were the victims of partition riots and unprecedented dislocation of the population on religious grounds. This play is more realistic, presenting the life of a poor family in truth with different meanings, as it is also a presentation of social realities. This play is crucial to being certain about the history of that particular period (Shahid, 2008). Another play performed in Ajoka Theater praised human rights activists and workers, in which Seema is a human rights lawyer and campaigner who is supported by a sympathetic family and devoted team. The cases she is currently involved in are those of Saira, a married woman from Peshawar who wants a divorce from her abusive husband, but her parents are totally opposed to it, and Maira, who has married without her parents' consent and is being pursued by her family. The two women seek shelter in Seema's shelter home, "Aghosh," and become good friends. Saira is stressed and agitated, fearing death at the hands of her family, while Maira is lively and flamboyant. Saira's parents consider her escape an ultimate blot on the family's honor and plan to kill her. Seema fights on every front to seek justice for women, defying virulent character assassination and physical threats by the parents of the two women and their fundamentalist supporters. Her house and shelter are attacked by fanatics. Her husband and teen-aged daughters are steadfast in their support for Seema. Eventually, Seema's position of being on the right side of history is vindicated by landmark court judgments. But these achievements come too late for some.

Conclusion

Cultural understanding and presentation are sometimes easy tasks to perform in a theater in any part of the world where society is peaceful. A country like Pakistan has seen a number of hardships since its inception, where the military has ruled for more than 30 years by restricting all of the citizens' basic rights. The Ajoka Theater was initiated during the military government of General Zia Ul Haq, which is itself a very courageous act by its leading originators in the heart of Pakistan in Lahore. Ajoka played the role of a political theater working against the military government and against the set norms of society, which were considered not to be part of Pakistani culture and society. Hence, the above discussion on the development of the Ajoka Theater shows that the basic themes used in the plays are mostly related to Islam, society, culture, women's rights, history, and the connection of the people of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. A number of writers and authors have criticized the working patterns and ideas of the state and Islamic norms. This approach is rejected by the Ajoka Theater, which has worked for more than 30 years on several themes and ideas. Ajoka Theater believes that it is preserving history by presenting the history of others or the history of ignored people. Such big agendas and activities as Ajoka Theater in a country like Pakistan, where there is not much space for entertainment, require a greater effort. This is one method to break the status quo and present the real culture and history of the country. Now, it is imperative for Ajoka to widen its themes and patterns towards including multilingual activities through which a national cultural pattern can be devised. Although theater is unable to directly devise an ideology for the nation, it can play its part in making a distinct culture and history for the upcoming generation of the country.

Reference

- Afzal-Khan, F. (1997). Street theatre in Pakistani Punjab: The case of Ajoka, Lok Rehas, and the woman question. *TDR (1988-), 41(3)*, 39-62.
- Altaf, M., Tassarwar, R., Malik, M. A., & Tehseen, F. (2020). Shahid Nadeem's Play Dara and the Distortion of the History. *IJOHMN (International Journal Online of Humanities)*, 6(2), 36-59
- Ashfaq, S., Bibi, A., Sharif, K., & Rashid, S. (2021). The Celebration of the indigenous Culture and Identity in the plays of AJOKA Theatre. *International Journal of Linguistics and Culture*, 2(1), 67-86.
- Berns, U. (2015). Introduction: Theater and History-Cultural Transformations. *Journal of Contemporary Drama in English*, 3(1), 1-11.
- Bibi, A., Ashfaq, S., Ullah, Q. M. S., & Abbas, N. (2021). Ajoka Theatre as an Icon of Liberal Humanist Values. *Review of Education, Administration & Law*, 4(1), 279-286.
- Fergusson, F. (2015). *The idea of a theater: a study of ten plays, the art of drama in changing perspective*. Princeton University Press.
- Franks, A., & Jones, K. (1999). Lessons from Brecht: a Brechtian approach to drama, texts and education. *Research in Drama Education*, 4(2), 181-200
- Hansen, K. (2001). Parsi Theater, Urdu drama, and the communalization of knowledge: a bibliographic essay. Center for South Asia, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Kayani, T., & Termizi, A. A. (2017). Literary Representations of Capitalist Dictatorship in Transcultural Adaptations of Brecht's *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui* by Ajoka Theatre in Pakistan. *International Journal of Comparative Literature and Translation Studies*, 5(1), 16-26.
- Kitto, H. D. F. (2011). *Greek tragedy*. Taylor & Francis.
- Londré, F. H., & Berthold, M. (1999). *The history of world theater: from the English Restoration to the present*. A&C Black.
- Mahmood, A. (2018) The Evolution of Puppet Theater in Pakistan. *Journal of Research and Reviews in Social Sciences Pakistan*, 1 (2), 224-230
- Mee, E. B. (2007). A Critical Stage: The Role of Secular Alternative Theatre in Pakistan, and: Poetics, Plays, and Performances: The Politics of Modern Indian Theatre, and: Theatres of Independence: Drama, Theory, and Urban Performance in India Since 1947. *TDR: The Drama Review*, 51(4), 181-184.
- Mundrawala, A. (2014). Theatre Chronicles: Framing Theatre Narratives in Pakistan's Sociopolitical Context. *Mapping South Asia through Contemporary Theatre: Essays on the Theatres of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka*, 103-134.
- Rashid, T. (2015). Theatre for community development: Street theatre as an agent of change in Punjab (Pakistan). *India Quarterly*, 71(4), 335-347.
- Sengupta, A. (2014). Introduction: Setting the stage. *Mapping South Asia through Contemporary Theatre: Essays on the Theatres of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka*, 1-62.

- Shabir, S., & Mahmood, A. (2020). Political Struggle for Women Empowerment: A Comparative Study of General Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez Musharraf Era. *Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences (JHSMS)*, 1(1), 17-29.
- Shahid, N. (2008). *Selected Play*. Karachi, Oxford University Press.
- Solanas, F., & Getino, O. (1970). Toward a third cinema. *Cinéaste*, 4(3), 1-10.
- Talbot, I. (2002). General Pervez Musharraf: saviour or destroyer of Pakistan's democracy?. *Contemporary South Asia*, 11(3), 311-328.
- Varadpande, M. L. (1987). *History of Indian theatre*. Abhinav Publications.