

SITUATING COLONIAL FEMINISM IN IBN KHALDUN'S THEORY OF 'ASABIYYAH

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“Feminism itself has never been disaggregated from the white gaze. It has become the only kind of feminism we recognize or even have language for. And that means that, most of the time, when women speak ‘feminism’

to overthrow Gadaffi.⁶ When I discuss hegemons, I mean not just Obama bombing Pakistan and Afghanistan,⁷ but also Mike Tyson literally destroying most of historical Tashkent to build a Hilton and a theme park despite local protests.

powers, their leaders, regardless of their race or gender, will promote their nation-state's global interests, maintaining the colonial status quo. Concurrently, international law is framed on the doctrines of state equality and state sovereignty.¹⁴

These intergovernmental bodies also take part in the patronizing mission of defining which development projects would be suitable for indigenous women, often without consulting them on feasibility and sustainability. Rafia gives an example of this when she

providing training on, I grew increasingly disillusioned with the initiative because of my half-white, half-brown, lesbian boss's condescending uprightness. The reason for her behaviour was my unintentional inability to be woke and politically correct. I was not born in Canada, and was therefore unaware of the nonprofit industry's nuances and subtleties. Because I was also new to the country, despite being third generation Canadian, I was also "Fresh Off the Boat," a group that those born in the diaspora try to distance themselves from because the new immigrant represents "back home." And "back home" is necessarily backward.

My un-awakenedness caused my boss to call me out in public on a few occasions. During a work meeting, I was recounting a story I had read in Mumtaz Mufti's *Alakh Nagri*, about a Muslim mother publicly putting charcoal on her son's face and parading him around a village for kidnapping a Hindu girl during the Indo-Pak Partition of 1947.²⁰ Though I was celebrating the mother's justness, I was told off because the act of painting someone's face black was racist. I am baffled to this day how an illiterate brown woman living in a small village in India would ever know that her action was offensive. I met the same fate when I described someone at a conference we attended as "the lady with the afro," unaware that this was problematic. At other times, group members, despite being ethnically Pakistani themselves, mocked my accent and indigenous (desi) habits. I eventually left the organization. In contrast to its claim of being the flagbearer of Muslim wom.9 (e)-1.7 (m)6.e11.2 () tg s7.atk(n)1k(n)1m35nous

profit I was working for proudly published a comic book about a young brown girl facing abuse at home while keeping silent about it at her

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This mode of imparting information about women's rights brings me back to Ibn Khaldun's theory that conquered nations imitate colonizers in their mannerisms without acquiring the characteristics that made the latter conquerors. Since liberal virtues represent the values of the conquering, colonizing nation they eventually seep into feminist discourses amongst the elites in developing states like Pakistan. These elite feminists acquire the language of their colonizers, advocating for the same values, because to them they represent enlightenment even as they alienate the local population.

language that is dignified in keeping with local traditions while getting my point across.

As for the placards' content, I argue that these assumptions about "menstrual phobia" are based on Judeo-Christian views of menstruation as a curse, co-opted from colonial feminism. Under Islamic law, menstruation is a temporary illness which exempts women from offering their five daily prayers while rewarding them of the same in the hereafter. For me, as with most practicing Muslim women, menstruation is a time of relief and joy. Islamic law gives menstrual blood the same ruling as anything that exits from the private parts. It .174 TC /P (m)t4ypoe. H.7 (w)9 11.3 (L)-2 (.)12.9 (1.3 msfo (t)6.3 (i) (1.3)1

overlap. The Commission commented on the Act's failure to recognize the distinct legal protections intersex people required.

Intersex activists in Pakistan denounced the Act for further

Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Chaudhary, asked Bobby's counsel, Aslam Khaki, which word to use for intersex on Urdu language identity cards. Khaki stated that the cards should state "Khwaja Sira," an act he, and Bobby, would later regret.³¹

Khwaja Siras are a unique part of the subcontinent's culture. They constitute both intersex people and eunuchs, though Bobby argues that only the former category are real Khwaja Siras.³² They are organized as "tribes" in different localities with a guru heading each one. Khwaja Siras choose the tribe they want to follow based on its profession.³³ Unfortunately the "professions" available to them are limited: begging, dancing, and prostitution.³⁴ Khwaja Siras acknowledge that they are incapable of bearing children and remain unmarried.

Though the Supreme Court placed intersex rights into the ambit of disability law, transgender rights activists in collaboration with elite feminists used the Khwaja Sira label to extend their own agenda. When the Court originally heard Bobby's petition most Pakistanis including the judges and Khaki were unaware of the distinction between Khwaja Siras, intersex, and transgender. In a conservative country

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educational and employment opportunities they had.³⁶ The Act did not require any medical examination to classify individuals as transgender.³⁷

Bobby and Khaki, along with other Khwaja Sira activists, and Jamaat e Islami challenged the Act's legitimacy at Pakista

but he was one of the first people to advocate against guru culture.⁴⁵ He later created a shelter home and built a mosque for Khwaja Siras. Kashish has also been advocating for creating educational programs directed at parents of both intersex children and those who show signs of gender dysphoria.⁴⁶ He argues that parents often lack the skills to manage their special predicament, a situation exacerbated due to the stigma and shame attached to discussing these issues.⁴⁷ They end up excommunicating their

Kashish lamented his own inability to do grassroots work which reflected the actual needs of Khwaja Siras because funding was tied to promoting a colonial agenda. The Federal Shariat Court, however, recognized Kashish's advocacy and recently directed the Ministry of Human Rights to establish a Child Protection Unit for the welfare of eunuch and intersex children.⁵²