

HABIB MOHANA'S NOVELS: A SOCIOECONOMIC FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF RURAL SARAIKI AREA OF DARABIN

Muhammad Akhtar

Lecturer Department of Siraiki Govt. Graduate College, Civil Lines, Multan Akhtarbukhari 1985@gmail.com

Dr. Muhammad Mumtaz KhanAssociate Professor Department of Siraiki
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur
Mumtaz.khan@iub.edu.pk

Abstract

This research article examines two novels of Habib Mohana Allah Lahisi Moonjhan and Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere as significant literary works that critiques the socio-economic disparities prevalent in Saraiki area of Darabin. Through the experiences of characters like Luqman, Shami and Sultanou u, the novels highlight the relentless struggles of the lower class against feudal oppression and systemic injustice. These novels illuminate the intersection of class and gender, illustrating how patriarchal structures exacerbate the plight of women in these marginalized communities. Shami's journey, as well as Sultanou u's underscores the dual burdens of economic hardship and cultural subjugation, revealing the urgent need for social reform. By analyzing the intricacies of power dynamics and human relationships within this socio-cultural context, the study calls for a reassessment of societal values and the empowerment of marginalized voices. Ultimately, both novels stand as a poignant reminder of the resilience of the oppressed and the necessity for advocacy and justice.

Keywords: Socio-Economic Criticism, Feminist Perspective, Gender Discrimination, Feudal Oppression, Rural Saraiki Area, Social Reforms

Introduction:

The geography of the Seraiki region spans across all four provinces of Pakistan. This region includes the southern areas of Punjab, northern parts of Sindh, eastern areas of Balochistan, and some southern regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The culture, language, and historical background of the Seraiki region give it a unique identity, connecting the people of these diverse areas through a shared heritage. History told, that the district of Dera Ismail Khan, now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, was once a part of the province of Multan.

The language spoken by most of the people of Dera Ismail Khan is Siraiki. The area near Ismail Khan, Daraban, is an area where the daily life of the residents is full of difficulties. Here, women, men and children struggle with the difficulties in their lives. live Everyone here does his part. Basic facilities are not available to the people living here. Their life is very difficult. Daily labor is also done here for drinking water. This shows their difficulties. Habib Mohana is one of the Saraiki writers of Dera Ismail Khan who has presented the difficulties in the lives of the people living in this area. How did the people living here cope with these difficulties? There are trials. can be seen in his novels. The analysis of these two novels will clarify these difficulties.

Allah Lahisi Moonjhan

The majority of the population in Saraiki Waseb is rural. Most of this rural population consists of the laboring class. These rural inhabitants live under the influence of landlords, feudal lords, and the powerful elite. The novel *Allah Lahisi Moonjhan* primarily focuses on the lower class. Almost all the characters in the novel represent this lower class, whose lives are filled with hardships. Characters like Luqman, Shami, Sarabu, Dhamru, and others are all overwhelmed by the burden of poverty. The story also mentions the dualities and inequalities between the upper and lower classes. For instance, one of the landlords, despite having registered a school in his name, employs a watchman for the school and pays him half the



salary while Sarabu performs the actual work. This theft of Sarabu's rights illustrates how the wealthy exploit the poor, making Sarabu work but only paying him half his wage, while the landlord enjoys all the government benefits.

"لقمان پچھیا: "توں رمضان ہیں؟" "انئیں استاد، میں سرابوہاں"! "چو کیدار توں ہیں؟" "انئیں! میں چو کیدار نہ، میں عوضی کم کرینداں، چو کیدار رمضان ہے جیڑھاچو ڈھویں داخان ہے، میکوں اَدھی تخواہ ڈیندے۔اے زمین اوندی ہے اُول سکول منظور کرایایا۔" (1)

"Luqman asked: 'Are you Ramzan?'

'No, teacher, I am Sarabu!'

'Are you the watchman?'

'No! I don't hold the position of the watchman; I am just working in his place. The real watchman is Ramzan, who is the landlord of Chowdhawan. He gives me half the salary. The land belongs to him, and he got the school sanctioned." (1)

Landlords and feudal lords consider their subordinates as their personal property. Ordinary people or the lower class are victimized by this injustice for generations. When Sarabu grows older, he will find himself working for the landlord's small livestock for years, and the landlord writes his pension and job rights in his favor. Thus, Sarabu's son, after a generation, becomes a government employee.

"بابا!اور مضان خان، بابا!... اول پنسل چاچھوڑی ہے... ماشٹر صیب!اوودان لوک ہن... انہاں کوں نوکری موکری دی کوئی لوڑنی... اول پنسل گھنن دے بعداے نوکری میڈے پتر دے ناویں کر چھوڑی...انہاں دی افسراں نال بنی ہئی... انہاں دستی قلم چلاکے نوکری میڈے پتر دے نال کر ڈتی... میڈے پتر وی اوندی ڈاڈھی خدمت کیتی ہئی... پورے ڈاہ سال تئیں میڈ اپتر خاناں دے گھاتے کا ٹھیاں ڈھوندار یہا... غلام تے بانہہ بن کے رہے... میڈا پتر انہاں دی گائیں ڈوہندا ہئی... بھانے ملدندا ہئی... چونک دی بوہاری تئیں ڈیندا ہئی۔" (2)

"Yes Yes! Oh Ramzan Khan, Yes, I remember! ... He has left a pension... Master Sahib! They are wealthy people... They don't need any jobs... After taking that pension, they left this job in my son's name... They had connections with the officers... They appointed my son on the post... My son also served them diligently... For a whole year, my son was searching for hay at the landlord's place... He was working as a servant and laborer... My son tended their cattle... He was getting paid... He was delivering to the landlord's gate." (2)

The novel laments the poverty and hunger in Darabin and its surrounding areas. Luqman is a schoolmaster in a very poor village where children are deprived of their education due to poverty. Despite his efforts, he cannot convince the children to come to school. Every member of the poor household struggles against poverty with their earnings:

"They do not develop interest in studies. The children there are not free like the adults and women of this place. They tend the livestock. They graze the goats and sheep. They bring hay from the fields, and they gather firewood from the forest; they do not enjoy leisure." (3)



When the people of the region suffer a calamity, they either migrate to the cities or go to Karachi to work as labourers. The novel vividly portrays the struggles of the lower class. When Darabin is affected by drought, the people are forced to leave their homes due to lack of water.

"The water from the second pond was also drying up. The people of Kodi Hoot announce that from now on, only humans will be allowed to drink water from this pond. No one should use this water for their animals. This pond can now only meet the needs of humans." (4)

The novel also portrays the story of the migration of the Hindus as a result of the formation of Pakistan. The Hindus in the poor villages are wealthy, and the entire community is indebted to them. During the time of the chaos, they became frightened and fled, which led the people to attack them and loot their belongings:

"The people of our community attacked them. They had wealth and jewelry, which were taken away from them, and their boxes were filled with money and gold." (5)

The hero of the novel, Luqman, struggles throughout his life in a government job. His life is difficult because his salary is not substantial. Luqman takes school supplies home and steals gravel from the road to arrange his children's marriages. Luqman represents the lower class, which cannot even meet its basic needs.

"In 2000, the F.W.O. was contracted to build the Dera Ismail Khan Road. The company brought trucks of gravel and sand every day. When it would get dark, Luqman would go there on his bicycle. He would fill half a sack with gravel and bring it home. In this way, he collected gravel to make floors for the concrete houses for his children who were about to get married." (6)

Luqman is the hero of novel and central character and Shami, the heroine. The pain of Shami's character dominates Luqman's story. Shami's suffering is shared by the "women" class. The novelist has portrayed "women" as a particular class. Women has to endure punishment for sins they haven't committed. Men and women represent two different classes, with women being the oppressed one. The injustices faced by Shami reflect the deep pain of her class. The deceit and betrayal inflicted upon the women class are masked by the name of societal customs and traditions. Practices like "Karo Kari" (honor killings) and the norms of migration are those ugly stains that have been imposed on the oppressed women class since time immemorial.



"یار ککریتے چھوہر چھوہر جوشر ہے ہن۔ تال چھور آلیال ڈول چھوہر یال ڈتیال ہن تے ہک ڈاند آنداہانے۔ مہینہ کھن پہلے چوڈھویں وچ ایہو جیہا کم تھیاہئی۔انہال ترائے سو کنال زمین ڈتی ہی تے ڈول پہارو آئے۔اساڈے آپٹے شاہر وچ اٹھارہ سال پہلے ایہوجیہال ویکا تھیاہئی سونُودی دھی نس گئی ہئی۔۔۔'' ''سد زہ کہڑے ہا؟''

"ایہوسونُو! خُدووالا،ایندی دھی نس گئی ہئی،اساڈے شاہر دے آدمی نال،اوں صیب ڈوں ونیاں منگیاں ہن۔ میں سرخود اُوں فیصلے دے وچ ہم۔ مریندے کٹیندے اگلے ہک ونی ڈیون کے راضی تھی گئے... ڈیکھواہے کمیشی منگدے ہن۔" (7)

"When a boy and a girl ran away from Kekri Vasti, the boy's family was asked for two girls as compensation (wani). They gave two girls and a bull as a penalty. Similarly, a month ago, when the same thing happened in Chuadhawen Vasti, they paid a penalty of 300 kanals of land and two bulls. Likewise, eighteen years ago, a similar incident happened in this city when Sono's daughter ran away.

Which Sono?

The same one, our Sono.

She had run away with a man from our area, and they (the girl's family) demanded two girls as compensation (wani). I was personally involved in that decision. They had no choice, and the very next day, they agreed to give one girl as wani. Now, let's see what their demand will be." (7)

Karo Kari is a form of honor killing practiced in parts of Pakistan, particularly in rural areas of Sindh and Balochistan. The term combines two words: "Karo" (meaning "black male") and "Kari" (meaning "black female"). These terms are used to label a man and a woman accused of engaging in illicit relationships or acts considered dishonorable by the family or tribe. When individuals are declared Karo or Kari, they are often killed to restore the family's "honor."

The practice is rooted in traditional, patriarchal beliefs about family honor and the control of women's sexuality. It is a form of extrajudicial punishment, and while it is illegal in Pakistan, it continues to occur due to deep-seated cultural norms, tribal customs, and the lack of enforcement of laws against it.

Wani is a cultural practice in some rural parts of Pakistan, particularly in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and tribal areas. It involves giving away young girls as compensation or settlement to resolve disputes, particularly in cases of murder, feuds, or other serious conflicts between families or tribes. The practice is rooted in tribal customs and is often used as a means to prevent further violence or bloodshed by offering a girl as a "peace offering." The girls given in Wani, sometimes as young as children, are married off without their consent to men from the opposing family or tribe. This practice not only strips the girls of their autonomy but also subjects them to a lifetime of subjugation, often in abusive marriages. Wani has been condemned by human rights organizations and is illegal under Pakistani law, but like Karo Kari, it persists in some areas due to strong tribal traditions and a lack of effective law enforcement.

Dhamru is Shami's uncle. Dhamru has only one son, who elopes with a girl from the village. To resolve the conflict, Dhamru decides to offer two girls in exchange for ending the fight. In return, he makes Shami and his niece a part of this arrangement. Since Shami is an orphan, she is married off to the girl's widowed father. The lives of women who are given in 'wani' are spent in torment. Seeing them, the entire family always insults them, seeking revenge for their dishonor. They constantly remind them that their family has given them into our servitude as a payment for their sins. This torment continues throughout the woman's life,



and she always becomes a victim of oppression. Her entire life is spent in suffering. Shami's story is that of such a victimized woman who endures all kinds of hardships and pain.

"The bride, who was married off as a punishment, is innocent; she is God's creation, a living, breathing human being, yet she has been punished for a crime she did not commit. The crime was committed by her brother, or her father, but the punishment has been imposed on this bride, who must bear it for the rest of her life. She has been sentenced to pay for something she had no part in, and this punishment will haunt her throughout her life." (8)

The narrative presented in the paragraphs highlights the profound oppression faced by women within certain cultural contexts, particularly through the practice of 'wani.' This tradition commodifies women, reducing them to objects exchanged to settle disputes or debts, which ultimately reflects deeply ingrained patriarchal values. By focusing on the character of Shami, the text underscores the emotional and social ramifications of such practices, illustrating how women bear the brunt of familial honor and societal expectations.

Furthermore, the portrayal of Shami as a victim evokes a strong sense of empathy from the reader. Her suffering is not just an individual experience but a representation of countless women who endure similar fates in silence. The narrative effectively communicates the continuous cycle of shame and dishonor that follows women who are subjected to such cultural practices. This aspect emphasizes the need for societal reflection and reform regarding gender inequality and the treatment of women, making the narrative particularly relevant in today's discourse on women's rights.

The text also serves as a powerful social commentary on the consequences of traditional practices that perpetuate injustice. It challenges readers to examine the cultural norms that allow for such oppression, highlighting the necessity for change. The emotional weight of Shami's story calls for a deeper understanding of the implications of cultural practices on individual lives, urging a collective reevaluation of societal values that dehumanize women.

While the writing is straightforward and poignant, enhancing character development and exploring the motivations behind familial actions could add depth to the narrative. A more nuanced approach might reveal the complexities within these relationships and the broader societal structures at play. Overall, the paragraphs present a compelling critique of the cultural norms that lead to the suffering of women, ultimately advocating for empathy, awareness, and progressive change in societal attitudes toward gender equality.

Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere:

Modern Saraiki literature significantly reflects feminist themes, focusing on women's experiences. In this new trend of literature, the voices of women are highlighted. New writers aim for women to become part of society with full recognition and testimony. The feminist movements of the 20th century have influenced the world in literary, social, and political contexts. In literature worldwide, women's roles are examined through a lens of gender balance. The traditional Sindh valley civilization has historically upheld respect for women. Ancient civilizations have testimonies regarding this respect. Today, in literature and oral traditions, women are often depicted as inferior and less intelligent compared to men. The modern Saraiki literature seeks to establish a new social contract in this context regarding women's rights.

Habib Mohana's novel *Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere* embodies the desire to eliminate the traditional injustices faced by women. In Mohana's earlier novel "Allah Lahisi



Munjhann," the protagonist is a heroine named Shami, who shares her pain and victimization through her experiences with the main character, Luqman. Although "Allah Lahisi Munjhann" revolves around Luqman's story, the feminist character of Shami makes it significant, rendering her role timeless. In *Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere* the character of Sultanou u embodies feminist themes as well. The primary subject of the novel is the injustices faced by women. In this narrative, it's not just the upper class that exploits women; even men from their own class oppress them. Shabri, who is a widow, also wishes to establish illicit relationships with Sultanou . She faces continuous sexual oppression from him. Despite being an orphan, poor, and disabled, Shabri relentlessly pursues Sultanou . She repeatedly confronts him to reclaim her lost dignity:

"Shabri was hiding near Sultanou 's door. He jumped on Sultanou u and covered her mouth with his hand. 'Sultanou! Don't be afraid, I am Shabri, don't be scared.""

"Bastard, leave me, otherwise I will call my family." Sultana trembled and clenched his teeth.

Sultanou, listen to me! I am in love with you. I die for you. You go out with me. I will take you to dera Ismail. Why are you rotting here?" (9)

Sultanou 's husband suffers a stroke. Then, famine begins in the area. They have to sell their household items. After selling their cattle, they fall into debt. Their livelihood was connected to the land, but famine brings oppression upon them:

"Wasib now sounds like a witch screaming. The crops of the villagers dried up due to famine. If there was no rain, the bajra would dry up and become tobacco before it ripened. Farmers say that now the land smells of blood. Eventually, people released the animals into their crops. (10)

Life is very difficult for the poor and if the poor is a woman, then it becomes even more difficult. These difficulties can be seen in the role of Sultanou. The character of Sultans illustrates all these difficulties, how an oppressed woman faces constant pain and cruelty, how she runs her house in the face of hunger and thirst and is forced to take debts. More interest accrues on the loan amount because there are no crops due to famine. No one becomes a source of income. Sultans are now raised for money.:

"For God's sake! Do not oppress my son's wife so much. Do not spoil his honor. I fall at your feet. Mercy begged them. Rahmat was crying and hitting her head. Don't be so cruel. I will do your job. Take me with you. I will serve you. I will clear your debt, but leave my daughter-in-law." (11)

Bakshu is a man of mature age and Fakhri is younger. These two brothers fight each other to marry the sultans. This dispute reaches Jhagra Khan, who is the village headman.



He gives the decision that both of you run away, I will keep the sultans until you agree on one thing among yourselves. In the dialogue between Bakshu Fakhri and Khan, it can be felt that the status of women is in the eyes of the tribal men of these areas. How do they see a woman?

"Hey Baksho! Have some shame! Is it your age to get married?"

"You are too old. You should devout your life to prayers. Let your younger brother be with her."

"The chief laughed at it: As long as this matter is not decided, this girl will stay with me.

"If you keep this problem in your own house, then one brother will be at the other's throat. The brothers will be at odds with each other." (11)

Sultanou u begs the Khan, but he is forcibly imprisoned. Khan, enchanted by Sultanou u's youth, seeks pleasure with her. Khan attacks her, and in this struggle, Khan twists his ankle. Khan's anger toward Sultanou u expresses his hatred for the lower class. The elderly maid present in the house could have saved Sultanou u but she did not want to get involved in this matter and chose to look the other way. The elderly maid lacked the power to stop him. One wonders how many times this maid had witnessed the dignity of women being toyed with, as she stands by watching:

"Why not you? All the virgin girls of this village serve. Are you someone special? Don't you want to go to your -in-laws,? Sultanou u nodded her head. "I can take you at your village." (12)

Khan is the wealthy person of the village. He considers all the village girls as his crop that he can harvest whenever he wants. His dialogue about Sultanou and other women is based on derision of women. He is neither fair nor does he have any compassion for women. He is just addicted to his wealth. He is immersed in his lust. Khan views the dignity of women as his possession. His dialogue about Sultanou u mocks the lower class, ridiculing them:

"O Fakira, come here! Put this old pendu and rude woman in front of these brothers. They will eat it raw. Its grain water is now gone from our house. There is no reverence in it. It looks like a pile of dirt" (13)

Bakshu, Fakhri, Sardar and Sardar's servant all consider Sultanou u as free property. They consider women as their property, like women are their slaves. These characters are estranged characters, in this journey of the novel, the play of their blood relations has also been pointed out. Sultanou is dealt another blow when his brother is sold to get him out of jail. The father is forced to agree to sell his daughter despite not wanting it. He asks the daughter to sacrifice to redeem his son. This is the helplessness of the lower class. They are helpless. Poverty is tyranny. The father agrees to trade his daughter by taking money in



exchange for marriage. Here is shown the sacrifice of Sultanou, who does not want to disappoint her father.

""He took a deep breath and wiped his eyes with a piece of cloth (patka) covering his head. Sultanou! Only you can get us this money? Only you can free your brother from prison. (14)

The games of life are also strange. To erase one sorrow, one has to go to new sorrows. Sohnu unwillingly got his daughter married in Shirani tribe with three hundred rupees. This journey of Sultanou 's life also goes through the murder of her husband and tribal rivalries. Sultanou 's husband's sister has been handed over to the deceased's heirs for murder. Thus the woman was presented as a sacrifice for men's ego and honor. Sultanou 's husband was killed despite the payment of revenge for the murder. Now Sultanou is forced to marry her husband's brother. Sultanou was bought because now this family knows that this is our bought slave. Now this family forces Sultanou u to marry Atlush. In particular, Sultanou 's mother-in-law forces her to marry Atlush. Her mother-in-law is also a woman herself, but as a woman she is unable to understand the pain of a woman:

"Don't do this injustice to me for God's sake!, cried Sultanou u."

"Sultanou u, you cannot go back from your agreement, you will have to marry, we have bought you, paid money in exchange for you, how can we leave you."(15)

The novel depicts the plight of a woman who is constantly suffering at the hands of outsiders and strangers. Sultans are victims not only of the hands of others but also of their parents and brothers. The novel highlights the hardships of the people of Daraban. The lower classes of this area also sell their sisters and daughters for their needs. The social behavior of other relatives is also highlighted in the novel. The novel also goes on to expose the behavior of Sultanou's maternal uncles and blood relatives, showing how they mistreat him. The novel sheds light on her difficulties and injustices in her married life. During the three stages, different people take control of her life. Even after her husband's death, her in-laws refuse to let her go. Her mother-in-law, despite being a woman herself, wants to marry her off to her younger son. She leaves the town of Zhob, followed by her husband's brother Atlush. He wants his nephew and Sultanou 's back. Finally he has to hand over her son to Atlush. A mother succumbs to oppression. Once again Sultanou 's uncle sells him to Arif. Arif is a deceitful and immoral man. He wants to procure prostitution from Sultans. Little by little, he tries to drag Sultanou into the same task.:



"My purpose is simply that we are poor people. Poor people will do anything to earn money. I am offering you an easy job. Just as soon as you come, money will start falling into your lap like ripe fruit from a tree."

A week passed after this conversation, and then he asked again, "Have you thought about it?"

"About what?"

"About the easy job, you can earn money while sitting at home."

"I have already given you my answer regarding this."

"That answer is not enough. You have to do this work. We have come to your house for this very purpose."

"Even if the day comes when the sun rises in the west, I still won't do this work."

"If you don't, you will have to leave this house."

"I am confident in my decision."(16)

This novel narrates the story of the female class, highlighting the oppression and injustice faced by women. It critiques the emotional sacrifices women from the lower class in rural areas are forced to endure. Set in the Daraban region of the Sulaiman Mountains, the novel explores the psychology of the local society and their views on women. It presents the plight of oppressed women like Sultanou n, Zareena, and other exploited women, shedding light on the forms of oppression they face. In this novel, womanhood itself emerges as a class. The author aims to raise awareness about the rights of these women through the portrayal of their struggles. Sultanou n makes a vow:

"From now on, I will live for myself. I won't live for anyone else. Does a woman not have the right to her own life?"(17)

Conclusion:

The two novels, *Allah Lahisi Moonjhan* and *Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere*, present a poignant exploration of the struggles faced by the lower classes, particularly focusing on the intersecting themes of poverty, gender inequality, and social injustice within the rural Saraiki Waseb.

In *Allah Lahisi Moonjhan*, the narrative centers around characters like Luqman and Shami, who embody the plight of the impoverished. Through their lives, the novel highlights the oppressive structures maintained by landlords and feudal lords, showcasing how the upper class exploits the labor and rights of the lower class. Sarabu's experience, where he receives half of his due salary while performing the actual work of the watchman, exemplifies the systemic injustice faced by ordinary people. The novel also paints a grim picture of education, migration, and the harsh realities of life in the wake of natural disasters like droughts. It portrays the deep-rooted societal norms that burden women, exemplified through Shami's character, who is emblematic of the suffering and shame inflicted upon women in patriarchal societies.

On the other hand, *Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere* further develops these themes by introducing characters like Sultanou u, who face not only economic hardship but also the brutality of familial and societal expectations. The novel delves into the systemic oppression of women, depicting Sultanou u's struggle against the commodification of her dignity and her eventual sacrifice for her family's welfare. The narrative illustrates how poverty leads to the



exploitation of women, as seen in Sultanou u's forced marriage and the decisions made by her father and brother that prioritize financial survival over her autonomy. The juxtaposition of individual suffering against the backdrop of communal and economic strife emphasizes the broader societal issues that persist in the face of adversity.

Together, these novels serve as powerful critiques of the socio-economic conditions in rural Pakistan, shedding light on the intricate layers of oppression that define the lives of the lower class. They highlight the urgent need for societal change, drawing attention to the intertwined fates of men and women in a struggle for dignity and survival. Through vivid storytelling and relatable characters, both works reflect the resilience of the human spirit amidst overwhelming challenges, calling for empathy and action toward a more equitable society.

References:

- 1. Habib Mohanah, Allah Lahisi Moonjhan, Rahimabad Bhakkar, Awam Dost Foundation, 2010, p. 14.
- 2. Ibid., p. 250.
- 3. Ibid., p. 39.
- 4. Ibid., p. 117.
- 5. Ibid., p. 102.
- 6. Ibid., p. 243.
- 7. Ibid., p. 184.
- 8. Ibid., p. 194.
- 9. Habib Mohanah, Khari Dendi Haan Sanheere, Dera Ismail Khan, Daman Publications, 2013, p. 10.
- 10. Ibid., p. 11.
- 11. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
- 12. Ibid., p. 34.
- 13. Ibid., p. 37.
- 14. Ibid., p. 41.
- 15. Ibid., p. 51.
- 16. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
- 17. Ibid., p. 109.