Recipes for Life with Heat during Ramzan

A publication by Cool Infrastructures:
Life with Heat in the Off-grid City
Cool Infrastructures is an international, interdisciplinary team of anthropologists, geographers, engineers, urban planners, architects, and epidemiologists studying exposure and adaptation to heat in cities across south Asia, southeast Asia and west Africa.

Our multi-disciplinary perspectives set out to inform planning interventions and climate change policy, as well as our understandings of thermal politics. Our empirical work foregrounds the intersections between socio-economic and gendered inequality, and draws attention to people's everyday practices for managing chronic and acute heat.

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Recipes for Life with Heat during Ramzan

Resep untuk hidup dengan panas selama Ramadhan

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How to stay cool during Ramzan?

The holy month of Ramzan (also spelled Ramadan) is a medium for Muslims around the world to rejuvenate their piety to the Creator.

Each year, somewhere in the world, the month of Ramzan coincides with a period of seasonal or unseasonal heat. Against the backdrop of rising global temperatures, this collection asks: how do people and institutions manage the heat of Ramzan while fasting?

This multilingual collection examines the gendered relationship between consumption, mobility and piety during Ramzan. The collection brings together participant observation and social analysis, with an archive of found materials from print and online media.
Part 1  Consumption
WATER • FOOD • COMMERCE

by Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia
• Kolak: Togetherness in a Bowl

by the Karachi Urban Lab, Pakistan
• Rooh Afza: The Heavenly Elixir
• Rooh Afza Through Time: An Analysis of Advertisements
• Iftari Spreads
Kolak is food that was used for spreading Islam in the past. In the past, people in Indonesia did not know what Islam is. Then, the scholars used food as a medium of Islamic “da’wah”. Kolak is taken from the word “Khalik” which means the Creator. There is a spiritual meaning behind every ingredient used. For example, the banana used is banana “kepok” (Musa paradisiaca L). Banana kepok comes from the word “kapok” which means not repeating mistakes.

Cassava, which grows in the soil, reminds humans of death. Then coconut milk is taken from the word “pangapunten” or apology. The unification of the three main ingredients is the basis of an encounter with the Creator.

During Ramzan, kolak is usually eaten with family and relatives when breaking the fast. The sweet taste of kolak creates a feeling of togetherness. So, a bowl of kolak is not only about something spiritual, it is also a physical thing. The mixing of the different ingredients in kolak has its significance. That is, in every unified difference, there is a manifestation of God.
A BOWL OF KOLAK IS NOT ONLY ABOUT SOMETHING SPIRITUAL, IT IS ALSO A PHYSICAL THING

Ingredients

- Banana / Pisang
- Cassava / Singkong
- Coconut Milk / Santan
- Palm Sugar or Brown Sugar / Gula Aren atau Gula Merah
- White Sugar / Gula
- Pandan Leaves / Daun Pandan
- Salt Water / Air Garam
- Ginger / Jahe

- Boil the palm sugar with water.
  *Rebus gula aren dengan air.*
- Add pandan leaves and salt.
  *Tambahkan daun pandan, dan garam.*
- Cook until boiling.
  *Masak hingga mendidih.*
- Add some bananas.
  *Tambahkan pisang.*
- Pour the coconut milk and sugar and stir constantly until it boils.
  *Tuang santan, gula pasir, aduk terus sampai mendidih.*
- Turn off the heat; it’s ready to serve.
  *Matikan api, siap disajikan.*
Rooh Afza is based on a Tibb-i-Unani (Persio-Arabic traditional medicine) formulation and is named after a Persian word that means ‘one that enhances the spirit and uplifts the soul’. The rose-coloured coolant was manufactured by Hamdard Laboratories, founded by Hakim Hafiz Abdul Majeed in Delhi in 1906.

Rooh Afza, also known as Mashroob-e-Mashriq (Summer Drink of the East), is a concentrate made from fruits, herbs and rose extract. It was formulated as a remedy for hot summers, particularly the Loo (hot summer winds). Rooh Afza was popularized to cure illnesses like heat stroke, dehydration, and diarrhoea, making it a popular drink during the scorching South Asian summers.

**Rooh Afza Ingredients**

- **Juices From Flowers:** Rose, Kewra, and Water Lily
- **Sandalwood and Mint Extract**
- **Spinach, Carrot, and Dried Grape Extract**
- **Refined Sugar**

In all three countries, the companies use the same formula for making Rooh Afza under the name of Hamdard. The companies are registered as ‘Waqf’: a non profit organization under Islamic law.

—Twitter thread by Azhar Jafri, 2020

**Timeline**

1910
Hakim Hafiz Abdul Majeed, an Unani practitioner, launches Rooh Afza at a small shop named Hamdard in Old Delhi.

1947
Post Partition, his elder son stays in India while the younger son, Hakeem Muhammad Said, migrates to Pakistan and starts Hamdard Laboratories.

1971
After the creation of Bangladesh, Hamdard's operations there are transferred to local businessmen.
50% OF HAMDARD’S ANNUAL PRODUCT SALES ARE GENERATED BY ROOH AFZA. 30% OF WHICH ARE MADE DURING RAMZAN.

–Zaheer 2010

Drinks Popular for Cooling

Watermelon Juice
Thaadal (milk, fruit and spices)
Kaanji (fermented beetroot and carrot)
Doodh Soda (milk and soda)

Seeing a bottle of Rooh Afza at my iftar table still makes me feel I am not far away from my mom. Although over the years many eating habits have changed– people have cut down on fried foods, added more fresh fruit and juices, healthy salads, and snacks in their iftar menu– one thing which still remains the same at my table, and I think, in most homes is Rooh Afza.

—Ghosh, 2018

Meme Analysis

Rooh Afza is sold throughout the year, but in the month leading up to Ramzan the red syrup bottles become increasingly visible on store shelves. Rooh Afza bottles are displayed centre stage in grocery stores around the city. This is not only for customer convenience, but also a marketing strategy that reinforces the drink as the star of the month: as represented by this meme of the woman in a red dress.

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—Ghosh, 2018
This meme is a reference to the ongoing tussle between Rooh Afza and its competitor brand in Pakistan, “Jam e Shirin”, a product of Qarshi Industries. Even though there are other rose syrup drinks available in the market, such as ones made by Nauras and Burhani, loyalties towards Rooh Afza drive consumers to dismiss the authenticity of Jam e Shirin. In this meme, the tussle between supporters of the two brands is represented as a battle akin to the proportions of civil war in the Marvel movie, Avengers.

Amir Liaquat is a televangelist in Pakistan with a large fan base. In his Ramzan show he routinely endorses Rooh Afza over other flavoured drinks. His endorsements fuel a lot of popular memes and debates that circulate over the internet throughout the month of Ramzan. In this meme for example, his approval of Rooh Afza and dismissal of other drinks is an indication that Ramzan is around the corner.

The atmosphere of piety associated with Ramzan also spills over into peoples’ dietary habits. While this meme specifically points to the transition from alcoholic drinks (prohibited in Islam) to Rooh Afza, it is also representative of the overall shifts in practices, such as listening to naats and nasheeds instead of music.
Rooh Afza Through Time: An Analysis of Advertisements

1907
The first paper advertisement in Delhi popularised the red drink’s effectiveness for preventing heat illness.

1940s-1960s
The advertising campaigns became focused on functionality, taste, colour and Rooh Afza’s identity as the drink of the East.

1980s
Rooh Afza established itself as a pioneer, using slogans such as “Every new syrup is red, but every red syrup is not Rooh Afza”.

Present
Rooh Afza is positioning itself as a family drink and moving beyond its association with Ramzan, focusing instead on being a year-round choice.

1990s
With annual sales dropping, the company decided to completely rebrand under a new CEO, catering their advertisements to a younger population.

The values and nostalgia tied to the Red Drink of the East are not merely coincidental; these have been cultivated over a century to define its refreshing qualities, its efficacy in dealing with heat, and its strong association with Islamic values, particularly during the month of Ramzan. Rooh Afza’s ad campaigns have thus oscillated between positioning it as the ultimate summer drink, and as the self-proclaimed official drink of the pious month of Ramzan. Thus, it is not surprising that Rooh Afza has had a long and rich history of such advertisement campaigns. These campaigns tend to reinforce cultural norms and gender roles and claim to “cure” heat related illnesses. The highly popular advertisements have enabled the Rooh Afza brand to maintain its status as the drink of choice amongst many South Asians, especially during Ramzan.
Despite the evolution of its marketing strategies, Rooh Afza continues to adhere to certain codes in their campaigns. Advertisements must be:

- Cultural
- Islamic
- in line with Hakim Saeed’s image
- Not at all risky
- Not expensive
The role of women in Rooh Afza commercials is limited to that of the caring housewife responsible for serving food to the family and maintaining calm. For instance, in a summer 2010 commercial, a husband has just arrived from the office, waiting for his wife to get ready for dinner. While waiting, he loses his temper because of the heat and starts shouting. Instinctively, his wife offers him a chilled glass of Rooh Afza, and he instantly calms down. At the end of the commercial, a tag line appears on the screen: “Thanda thanda peyo, meetha meetha bolo” (drink a cold drink, speak sweetly).

In a 2016 commercial series tagged as “Ramzan Main” (In Ramzan), a family is waiting at the table for Iftari with only one member absent: the mother/housewife, who is busy preparing Rooh Afza. In other videos tagged as “Khel Main” (In play), kids are celebrating winning a trophy at a sports event, the mother brings the Rooh Afza to show her maternal support.
During Ramzan, communal distribution of food at Iftari time is a common practice and can be observed on median strips in busy areas of the city. Iftari spreads are important sites of community interaction; people from various sectors of the community convene over food and shared religious and cultural practices. We mapped 9 different Iftari spreads along University Road, a wide main road in District East. We analyse and compare these spreads based on the following factors: size, organising party, type of seating, types of food/drinks served, and visitor demographics. The maps on the right expand on each of these domains.

We observed that while some large-scale NGOs host Iftari in permanent set ups that offer free dinner throughout the year, most spreads organized by small-scale organizations or private groups are laid out on the ground utilizing a variety of temporary, lightweight materials, from daris to plastic sheets, for seating. Cooling devices such as electric fans and canopies are only observant in permanent set ups; smaller spreads are located on median strips in open air.

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Generally, Iftar comprises of fresh fruit and chilled drinks, which aid in hydration after full-day fasts. Few stalls serve packed dinner (biryani) in polythene bags, but it is not meant to be consumed on site. Suzuki pickup vans were observed delivering food to the organizers in large pots (deygs), as well as blocks of ice to several different spreads. This indicates a broader supply chain network which might be operating in proximity for spreads in the area.

We also observe that proximity to mosques is not a significant consideration in the placement of the spreads. Iftar spreads are not organized by mosque staff or representatives, and offer no religious activity such as namaz preparations, ablution area, or donation boxes. The primary function of these spreads is to offer refreshments to those who do not have access to substantial Iftar otherwise.
A family led Iftari spread uses plastic sheets.

A NGO-organized large scale Iftari.

A man lays down daris in front of metal tables.
A man prepares drinks in an ice cooler.

A man slices watermelon and other fruits for Iftari.

A man naps on a dari before Iftari.
Men and children wait in a queue to get Iftari.

Children occupy a dari spread for Iftari.

A group of men unload ice while waiting for Iftari.
Part 2  Cooling and Mobility
ROUTINES • WORK • MIGRATION

by Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia
•  Reconciliation of Heat and Faith
•  AIR! AIR! AIR! Water and Heat During Ramzan
•  Ramzan as a Commodity
•  Media Analysis: Heat is still the Hot-Talk
•  Exodus: Against Government Law
•  The Story of Silvermen

by the Karachi Urban Lab, Pakistan
•  Cooling Practices
•  Negotiating Heat in Daily Practices
•  Heat and Social Media
During Ramzan, the obligation to suhoor changes the circadian rhythm of Muslims. While in Jakarta, the working hours changed slightly for office workers, but not so much for informal workers. They had to reconcile their faith, their heat issues, and their working hours. This image shows an informal trader resting in the shade of a tree holding a Quran in hand. Not only on the streets, the opportunity to enhance piety can also be done digitally. As day to day mobility was more or less restricted due to the pandemic, in Ramzan 2021, The Bank of Jakarta released a QR code that was placed everywhere throughout Jakarta for Muslims who wants to give alms.


2.2 AIR! AIR! AIR! Air dan Panas Selama Ramadhan

 Splashing Water is the best way to deal with the heat and remain active

There are several people work as water carriers. These people walk around from noon until late at night. While selling water, they used to shout, “air! air! air”. Water sells for 6 thousand rupiahs per gallon. Even though they work hard during the fasting month, they don’t complain about the heat. Every time they get hot, they splash water onto their feet as well as their towel, to cool their head. Splashing water is the best way to deal with the heat and remain active without reducing their pace of work.

In the middle of intense heat, water is commonly used as the immediate solution for cooling. From rehydration, shower, watering the garden, the road, the building etc. If you ask Jakarta's citizens, they all probably agree that water can cool their bodies immediately.

The problem lies in how a society gathers, distributes, and redistributes water. During Ramzan, the Association of Bottled Water (AMDK) predicted that water consumption increased, including 2021 Ramzan.
Predicting the arrival of Ramzan is very easy. Look at advertisements on Television, and Pasar Kaget. There is a tendency that people are more likely to spend more in Ramzan. The urge to buy something appears at least once a day for takjil or sweets to break the fast. This causes many people to sell it on the main roads, with some makeshift stalls.

In Jakarta, this problem adds to the already severe traffic problem. The moment of Ramzan is also seen as an opportunity for entrepreneurs. Especially since the Covid-19 pandemic, e-commerce advertising has become synonymous with Ramzan. Emotions and memories of consumers are a significant strategy to liven up business.

Another problem that usually arises during Ramzan is the increase in the price of basic necessities. Prices of basic necessities in the market increased due to high demand. Indonesia has some seasonal fluctuations and the biggest one is during Eid. Three months before Idul Fitri, all shipments, especially raw materials, will be high. After two months until D-day, the next highest shipment is the consumption of goods. Currently, traders are using it as an opportunity to maximize profits because people's purchasing power has increased with the holiday allowance (THR). Inevitably, the mafia is still often encountered during Ramzan, where they control prices in the market.


2.4 Media Analysis: Heat is still the Hot Talk
Analisis Media: Panas masih “Panas” untuk dibicarakan

Not only in the real world, the issue of Ramzan and heat is also hot in the cyberspace. Netizens complain a lot about how hard it is to fast in hot weather. The media analysis that we have done shows the fluctuation of complaints about heat in the media, both in social media and non-social media platforms. The non-social media reached up to 8527665 at its highest point. Meanwhile, social media reached 57831 at its highest point per day.

The issue discussed by netizens is not only about the heat. The word cloud analysis that we have done shows that the word “cold” is the most talked about. Where they also show how to do coping mechanisms there. Such as: staying in the room, using water, and so on. Netizens also talk about how heat coping mechanisms for children.


NOT ONLY IN THE REAL WORLD, THE ISSUE OF RAMZAN AND HEAT IS ALSO HOT IN THE CYBERSPACE
The government prohibits exodus during the pandemic. The prohibition is stated in the circular letter of the Head of the Covid-19 Handling Task Force No. 13 of 2021 concerning the Prohibition of Exodus in the month of Ramzan and Eid al-Fitr in 1442 Hijrah during 6-17 May 2021. Through this letter, the government has strictly prohibited people from carrying out Eid homecoming activities this year to prevent the transmission of the COVID-19 coronavirus.

For more details, in the H-14 period before the cancellation of going home (May 6, 2021, to May 17, 2021) as intended in the Addendum to this Circular Letter, it will take effect on April 22, 2021, until May 5, 2021. In addition, the H+7 period post- the cancellation of going home (May 6, 2021, to May 17, 2021) referred to in the Addendum to this Circular Letter is valid from May 18 to May 24, 2021. So the Circular and the Addendum will complement each other. So broadly speaking, there are changes in the form of a testing validity period for travelers and extending the time limit from April 22 to May 24 to encourage people to stop going home during the pandemic.


Breaking the Law
However, in the implementation of these regulations, many people did not obey government regulations. Professor of the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Airlangga (FIB UNAIR), Prof. Purnawan Basundoro, said that urbanization made people miss their hometown. This reality is exacerbated by the government's actions that have been inconsistent in responding to the pandemic. The example is, thousands of home comers are refused to be turned around by the joint officers. As a result, there was a severe traffic jam up to 9 kilometers. Then, the limited number of joint officers finally lost power and allowed thousands of home comers to break through the blocking post. This condition shows that the people no longer trust their government, due to the government’s inconsistency in implementing restrictions on the mobilization of people.

Melanggar hukum
They are entertainers who always stand at the traffic light, no matter rain or heat. They said to never go home before nightfall. By using a mixture of screen printing paint, cooking oil, and special powder, they are willing to feel the itch and heat to make a living. They said, "we aren't fasting because if we are fasting, we don't eat" While joking like that, the sweat on his forehead couldn't lie. They said that working while fasting was very hard. They also have to be chased by the police. But, that is their worship. Worship on the street.

In Pakistan, Ramzan has coincided with very hot summers over the past few years, and temperatures have risen as high as 43 degrees Celsius in cities such as Karachi. Each year, a variety of recommendations on how to keep cool circulate on media channels and digital platforms, and these are often accompanied by warnings of expected heatwaves. The recommendations range from simple techniques to bizarre ideas for keeping cool.

Some general suggestions include:

- Wearing light coloured, loose fitted cotton clothing
- Keeping hydrated and taking cold showers
- Staying away from the stove/oven
- Avoiding tea, coffee and other warm drinks
- Icing/Making ice packs
- Soaking feet in cold water
- Altering outdoor patterns of exercise
Other recommendations are more experimental, using everyday items in innovative ways:

- Sticking sheets in the refrigerator/freezer for a few minutes before bedtime
- Pointing box fans towards windows to push out hot air
- Dampering a sheet/towel with cold water and using it as a blanket
- Placing a bowl full of ice in front of a fan to create a cooling mist
- Hanging a wet sheet in front of an open window
- Storing lotions/cosmetics in the refrigerator to keep cool for use
- Installing awnings over windows and doors

Some recommendations are likely to be inapplicable in the local context. For instance, the repeatedly cited technique to adjust ceiling fan settings in order to turn blades anti clockwise: a feature that is not commonly found in fans in the local market. Effective practices of cooling are seen within everyday contexts in Karachi. For example, umbrellas are not a common accessory, even during Monsoon season, but extreme heat in recent years has made them fairly common, particularly among university students and individuals who travel long distances on foot. Another frequent sight is vendors selling large blocks of ice throughout the day. Drivers in private cab services such as Uber and Careem install small fans to ventilate and cool their cars, as shown in the pictures.
During Ramzan, many religious organizations collect donations through volunteers across the city. The volunteers are often assigned tasks which involve prolonged exposure to heat and the sun.

A volunteer set up a collection box 100 metres from a mosque located at the intersection of Karachi's busiest transit routes (Shahra-e-Faisal and Drigh Road). Armed with an umbrella and a chair, the volunteer sat in the spot daily from 6 AM to 6 PM during the first week of Ramzan. With the onset of a heatwave, it became difficult for the volunteer to stay put in the spot. So much so, his health was compromised as he began to experience heat exhaustion.

The volunteer took a few days to recover. When he returned to his spot, he divided his work into two shifts: the first from 7 am to 11 am, and the second from 4 pm to 6 pm. This enabled him to avoid the hottest time of the day. The volunteer moved away from the original spot and found a new one that was shaded by a wall of concrete blocks.

Throughout the day, the volunteer sat at the same location, using one arm to hold up his umbrella to avoid the direct sun. This story sheds light on the changing rhythms and arrangements made by people to navigate heat outdoors, especially during Ramzan.
Heat and Social Media

Social media is replete with different visual and graphic expressions that convey people's experiences of heat in Karachi, particularly during Ramzan and heatwave events. People build creative narratives to express their frustrations with rising temperatures in Karachi.

Some graphical representations use humour as a means to express experiences of heat. The light-hearted analogies compare the city to mundane things such as being placed in a microwave oven, or more extreme things like labelling the city dozakh, or hellfire. A viral tweet poked fun at the idea of thanday mulk (colder countries) not having to experience Ramzan during the heat. Others share information about the state of buildings, such as apartments, and microclimates. The tweets represent the importance of heat in everyday contexts of peoples' lives, and the various means used to cope with it.

A particular issue addressed repeatedly on social media is water. Water is a means of cooling but in tweets, people question its efficacy as a coolant in a context where cold water pipes heat up during the summer, and water is no longer seen as a source of relief.
Part 3  Piety
PRACTICE • DISCIPLINE • FAITH

by the Karachi Urban Lab, Pakistan
• Defining a Holy Month

by Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia
• The Journey Continues.
3.1 Ehteraam-e-Ramzan (1981)  
Defining a Holy Month

The Ehteraam-i-Ramzan Ordinance was introduced in 1981 by Pakistan's martial law administrator and president, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. This ordinance was introduced to enforce respect for the holy month of Ramzan among all citizens by outlining certain regulations for public spaces in line with the Islamic practice of fasting. Although the ordinance is directed towards Muslims, cases have been reported of non-Muslims being arrested for not following the law.

In January 2018 the Federal Cabinet approved an amendment to the ordinance proposed by a senator from the ruling party at the time, for the enhancement of punishments concerning violations during fasting hours. Titled 'Ehteram-i-Ramzan (Amendment) Bill 2017, the fine for a person found eating, drinking, or smoking during fasting hours was increased from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5000; and any eateries, restaurants, or hotels found serving food during fasting hours were to be fined Rs. 50,000 (Wasim, 2018). Even though the bill is applicable only to the Federal Capital, Islamabad, people are being fined and arrested in other parts of the country as well.

Section 3

3. Prohibition of eating, etc., in public places.—(1) No person who, according to the tenets of Islam, is under an obligation to fast shall eat, drink or smoke in a public place during fasting hours in the month of Ramazan.

(2) Whoever contravenes the provisions of sub-section (1) shall be punishable with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

Section 4

Prohibition on serving eatables in certain public spaces.

Section 6

Cinema houses, theatres, etc. to remain closed during Ramzan.

Section 10

Ordinance to override other laws.
RELIGIOUS MINORITIES & RAMZAN

The ordinance imposes yet another form of restriction on religious minorities in Pakistan. Although minorities are not penalized under the ordinance, they are particularly careful in the month of Ramzan when the 'defenders of piety and religion' are ever vigilant.

This evening, when every Muslim was greeting each other with the blessings of Ramzan, I was thinking about the minorities of Pakistan. Willingly or not, minorities living in Pakistan must fast with their fellow Muslims. The laws of this country force everyone to go hungry during the month of Ramzan.

— Shamim Masih (2016)
“Ramzan Transmissions” take place daily as 20-hour long shows that are dedicated to interactions between audiences and celebrity hosts who play different games to win prizes ranging from electronic items to bikes and travel tickets. The emergence of game shows hosted by celebrities during prime-time hours has meant consumers are glued to their television sets before and after Iftari time. Amir Liaquat, a popular televangelist has been hosting Ramzan transmission shows for well over a decade. In his shows, Liaquat deliberately uses crude remarks and demeaning commentary about participants’ weight, colour, clothing, and other aspects to sensationalize the atmosphere. His clips have become viral for “unholy moments” during the holy month (Hamid, 2016) - clips of awkward snake dances and flirting with celebrity guests - a testament of how not to act in the holy month of Ramzan.

Similarly other celebrities, like the popular actor Fahad Mustafa who hosts the game show “Jeeto Pakistan” (win Pakistan), gain higher ratings in Ramzan even though their shows are transmitted throughout the year.
Throughout Ramzan, drummers walk through streets at sunrise to wake people up for Sehri.

Near the end of Ramzan, many migrants travel away from the city to spend Eid holidays with their families.

Large crowds gather in mosques for Taraweeh prayers. Mosques collect donations during Ramzan to install air conditioners for such events.

Fried foods such as pakoray and samosay are considered essential for Iftari.

NGOs and private parties arrange free-access Iftari spreads along road sides.
After Ramzan, even though the obligation of fasting ends, the journey of maintaining piety continues. Regarding the heat issue, in Jakarta, we see there are two gaps that need to be filled by the government.

• There is a need to improve water management, both in terms of infrastructure and institutions. Look at the fact that water is very important for a cool-down workout.
• The need to improve government consistency in policies, as well as maintain authority for each policy setting.

>> Usai Ramadhan, meski kewajiban puasa berakhir, perjalanan menjaga takwa tetap berjalan. Terkait masalah panas, di Jakarta setidaknya kita melihat ada 2 celah yang perlu dipenuhi oleh pemerintah.
• Perlunya peningkatan tata kelola air, baik dari segi infrastruktur maupun kelembagaan. Melihat fakta bahwa air sangat penting untuk latihan pendinginan.
• Perlunya meningkatkan konsistensi pemerintah dalam kebijakan, serta menjaga otoritas untuk setiap pengaturan kebijakan.