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From Shrines to Spotify: The Commercialization of Qawwali in the Digital Age

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ABSTRACT

Qawwali, a form of Sufi devotional music traditionally performed at shrines to evoke spiritual ecstasy (wajd) and remembrance of God, now reaches listeners worldwide through YouTube, Spotify, and corporate platforms such as Coke Studio Pakistan. Scholars have warned that this shift turns a sacred practice into a commodity, but few studies have measured what actually changes. This study asks which observable features of recorded Qawwali change as commercial production and digital distribution expand, and how quickly. Using a rubric-guided qualitative content analysis, it scores a purposive sample of 170 recordings (1970–2022) on five categories: Context and Performance Orientation, Musical Style and Structure, Devotional Markers, Media and Production, and Cultural Identity Representation. Average scores rose from 5.0 in the 1970s to 21.0 in the 2020s. Production-side categories rose to the top of the scale, while musical style and devotional markers rose more slowly and stopped at the midpoint, a result the sampling rule partly limits. Because the rubric measures recorded features rather than spiritual experience, the study cannot say whether Qawwali has lost its "soul." It shows that the commercial infrastructure around Qawwali changed rapidly while devotional features persisted in more symbolic form, and it proposes measurable correlates of devotional function for future work.

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, Sufi shrines (dargahs) across South Asia have been places of devotional listening, where poetry and music serve as remembrance of God (Al Faruqi & Lamyal Al Faruqi, 1986). Rooted in Islamic mysticism, Qawwali has been understood as a means of generating spiritual ecstasy (wajd) and shared transcendence among participants (Hammour, 2018). In recent decades, however, it has moved far beyond the shrine. It now reaches audiences worldwide through recordings, film, YouTube, and corporate-funded programs such as Coke Studio Pakistan (Jafri, 2016).

This expansion has raised a familiar worry: that wider access comes at the cost of authenticity, sacredness, and cultural identity, and that devotional songs are increasingly consumed as "world music" detached from their Sufi and Pakistani roots. The worry is usually posed as a question about Qawwali's "soul." That is a fair question, but it is hard to answer from recordings, because what makes a performance sacred is largely what it does for the people present, and a recording cannot capture that. What a recording does preserve is a set of observable features: how the performance was staged, how it sounds, what it says, how it was produced, and how it was distributed. Those features can be described systematically and compared

over time.

This study therefore asks: how have the observable features of recorded Qawwali changed as commercial production and digital distribution expanded, and which features changed most? It tests two hypotheses. H1: indicators of commercial production and distribution rise steadily across decades. H2: features of musical content and devotional presentation change more slowly than indicators of production and distribution. Both are tested through a rubric-guided content analysis of 170 recordings from 1970 to 2022. The study does not measure spiritual experience and does not claim to settle whether Qawwali has lost its soul. It documents how recorded Qawwali has changed, where the change is greatest, and what a better measure of devotional function would require.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Qawwali was selected for this study because it combines music, poetry, and spirituality in a single form. It draws on Persian and Urdu poetry, Islamic devotional songs, and South Asian folk traditions, and these elements are often combined or modified. This makes it useful for studying music hybridity, cultural transmission, and spiritual expression, and its wide performance range makes it a manageable microcosm for other devotional music styles and their audiences.

From Devotional Practice to Popular Performance

Qawwali developed in South Asia from sama, the older Sufi practice of devotional listening with roots in Persia and Central Asia. Schnabel (2020) and Bhattacharjee and Alam (2014) describe its development within the Mehfil-e-Sama, a ritual setting in which music served the remembrance of God. Early Qawwali blended poetry, music, and spirituality, drawing on Persian, Arabic, and South Asian influences to evoke states of ecstatic devotion. Its communal and improvisational structure mirrored the Sufi belief that closeness to the divine can be reached through sound.

In the twentieth century, Qawwali became more public and commercially viable. According to Jafri (2016), early recording technologies such as the phonograph and cassette standardized the length and format of performances, and performances once confined to shrines became public spectacles in cities. Hammour (2018) argues that Qawwali's inclusion in films and concert halls, which he calls "Bollywoodization," shifted it from spontaneous devotional improvisation toward choreographed performance for new audiences. On this view, collective transcendence gives way to individual entertainment. Seidenberg (2019) makes a parallel argument about hip-hop, contending that its original purpose is undermined when profit becomes the driving aim. The move from shrine to stage therefore marks a significant moment in Qawwali's history, one in which technology and mass communication reshaped how the music is experienced.

Globalization and Cross-Cultural Fusions

As Qawwali entered the global stage, its sound and identity continued to change. Heckman (1996) describes how Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's collaborations with Western musicians brought Qawwali to new fans while straining the balance between authentic representation and innovation that would appeal

beyond Pakistan. More recently, Khan (2023) analyzes the Orchestral Qawwali Project, which blends traditional Qawwali instrumentation with Western orchestration for a new, digital audience.

These fusions show Qawwali's adaptability, but they also show how sacred material can be repackaged as "world music." Much has been written about Qawwali's globalization, yet few studies measure it. In particular, there is little systematic evidence of how streaming platforms and international marketing relate to the form, structure, and presentation of recorded Qawwali. This study addresses that gap by developing and applying a measurement instrument.

Historical and Religious Foundations

The term "Qawwali" comes from the Arabic qaul, "utterance," which underlines the centrality of the voice and of poetry (Schnabel, 2020). Common lyrical themes include divine love, devotion, and longing for the metaphysical, and many performances draw on Sufi poetry to direct the listener along a path of spiritual development (Schnabel, 2020). Performances are meant to foster wajd, or spiritual ecstasy, by immersing the listener emotionally and creating a sense of closeness to the divine (Schnabel, 2020). Qawwali can therefore function as a form of worship or spiritual communication.

Historically, Qawwali was performed in Sufi hospices (khanqahs) or at dargahs, the shrines of Sufi saints, in the setting known as Mehfil-e-Sama, a space for devotional listening (Bhattacharjee & Alam, 2014). Sama is a wider spiritual practice that predates South Asian Qawwali and appears across Central Asia and Turkey. Within these ritualized settings, music serves as a vehicle for divine remembrance and reinforces conventions for how Qawwali is performed (Bhattacharjee & Alam, 2014).

Communal participation is among Qawwali's defining characteristics. Shared singing of devotional poetry has been central to Sufi practice, creating emotional and spiritual experiences that connect participants (Bhattacharjee & Alam, 2014). Rockwell (1975) described the form's theatricality as meant to lift listeners into trancelike states. Medieval defenders of sama, including Al-Ghazali, gave listening to devotional poetry theological legitimacy, and forms such as the Persian ghazal supplied much of its text. Because of its emphasis on intense emotion and collective transcendence, Qawwali sits closer to ecstatic communal worship than to individually oriented ritual (Schnabel, 2020).

Sacred Function and Its Observable Markers

This literature points to an important distinction. Nearly every source defines Qawwali's sacredness by what it does: it produces ecstasy, builds community, and binds performer and listener. Function of this kind occurs in the room, among the people present. A recording, by contrast, preserves only what can be seen and heard. Three things should therefore be kept apart:

- **Function:** what a performance does for its participants, such as ecstasy and communal remembrance. A recording cannot show this directly.
- **Markers:** observable signs of devotion, such as lyrical references, imagery, attire, and gesture.
- **Correlates:** observable conditions associated with devotional function, such as setting,

audience participation, length, and improvisation.

This study measures markers and some context. It does not measure function. There is also a conceptual reason for caution. Scoring sacredness as a variable risks implying that devotion can be isolated and handled like any other product feature, which is the logic of commodification this study examines. The rubric is therefore used only to describe how recordings present devotion, not to measure how much devotion they contain.

Justification of the Research Question

Global media has taken Qawwali out of the sacred environment. Jafri (2016) explains that phonographs and cassettes spread mainstream Qawwali far beyond shrines, and digital platforms have extended that process: social media has helped artists such as Rahat Fateh Ali Khan reach millions of fans in South Asian diasporic communities (Chaudhry, 2016). Hammour (2018) argues that global access comes at the cost of the listener–performer relationship central to Sufi music, a relationship that a recorded format necessarily changes. He also describes "Bollywoodization" as contrary to Qawwali's spiritual aims, since staging Qawwali in films, albums, and large concert halls turns it into an object of consumption. Siddiqui (2022) notes that Rahat Fateh Ali Khan's film work adapts Qawwali to Bollywood tastes with guitars, synthesizers, and saxophones for a poppier sound. As global musicians increasingly create East–West hybrids (Husain, 2021), Qawwali may be grouped with "world music" more broadly and detach from its Sufi roots.

Taken together, these claims raise concerns about authenticity, sacredness, and cultural identity, but they are mostly argued rather than measured. This project therefore asks what can be measured: how the observable features of recorded Qawwali changed as commercial production expanded.

METHODOLOGY

Design and Rationale

This study uses a rubric-guided qualitative content analysis of recorded Qawwali performances from 1970 to 2022. Content analysis allows many recordings to be compared consistently over a long period while keeping the close interpretation typical of musicology, media studies, and cultural analysis. It suits a question about how features such as production methods, distribution context, lyrics, symbolic references, and instrumentation change over time, and its transparent procedure lets other researchers evaluate the findings critically (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009; Primack et al., 2008). The design was informed by content analyses of other popular music: Kresovich et al. (2020) on mental-health themes in rap lyrics, Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) on misogyny in rap, Putter et al. (2023) on the lyrics of a crowdsourced pandemic playlist, and a College Board (2017) sample study relating K-Pop musical qualities to musical key.

Ethnographic fieldwork and artist interviews, the main alternatives, would have covered far fewer performances in the time available. Analyzing publicly accessible recordings gave access to a wider span of the tradition while keeping scoring consistent. The study involved no human subjects, interviews, or biographical data on performers. The IRD-IRB determined it exempt from ongoing review

under Exemption 4, which covers analysis of existing, publicly available information (December 13, 2025; Appendix D).

Sample

The sample is a purposive set of 170 publicly available recordings from Pakistan and the South Asian diaspora, released between 1970 and 2022 (Appendix A). It includes 18 artists and groups and four collaborations, and it was drawn to span four kinds of performance context: shrine-based settings, live concerts and televised events, studio-produced recordings, and digital platforms such as YouTube, Spotify, and Coke Studio. Decade counts appear in Table 2.

Three inclusion criteria applied. A recording had to be identified as Qawwali, contain at least one element of devotionality or Sufism, and be performed by a recognized Qawwali performer. Recordings that did not meet all three were excluded. For each recording, the artist name(s) and year of release were verified, and artist, year, platform, and setting were entered in a spreadsheet before scoring.

Two features of the sample shape how the results should be read. First, it is uneven: the 1970s are represented by seven recordings, all by the Sabri Brothers, and the 2020s by five. Second, the second inclusion criterion bounds the scale. A recording with "minimal or no religious or spiritual reference," the top anchor of the devotional category, could not enter the sample by design. The Results and Discussion return to both points.

Instrument: The Commercialization Rubric

An original rubric was developed for this study (Appendix B). It has five categories. (An earlier draft listed six domains; distribution is scored within Media and Production.) Each category is scored 1, 3, or 5 against written anchors that run from Traditional/Sacred (1) to Commercial/Globalized (5), so total scores run from 5 to 25. Table 1 summarizes the categories.

Table 1. Rubric categories and analytic grouping

Category	Scored from	Anchor at 1 (Traditional/Sacred)	Anchor at 5 (Commercial/Globalized)	Grouping
1. Context and Performance Orientation	Setting, audience, and framing of the performanc	Shrine or devotional gathering; audience participates; framed as devotion and remembrance	Produced for mass or global media; passive digital audience; framed around performance,	Production-side

	e		fame, or visibility	
2. Musical Style and Structure	Instruments, vocals, lyrics, structure	Traditional instruments and classical Qawwali vocals; classical Sufi poetry; full Qawwali sequence	Dominantly modern or pop instrumentation; simplified, edited, or secularized lyrics	Content-side
3. Devotional Markers ("Spiritual Expression" in Appendix B)	Devotional imagery, attire, gesture, religious reference	Strong devotional imagery, attire, and gesture	Minimal or no religious or spiritual reference	Content-side
4. Media and Production	Production values, sponsorship, branding, distribution	Live, raw recording with minimal editing; local, shrine-based circulation	Heavily produced; corporate branding; global digital platforms	Production-side
5. Cultural Identity Representation	Positioning and style	Strong Pakistani and Sufi identity	Marketed as "world music"; identity diluted	Content-side

Three clarifications apply. First, the category labeled "Spiritual Expression" in Appendix B is called Devotional Markers here, because its anchors describe observable devotional imagery, attire, gesture, and religious reference, not the spiritual experience of anyone present. Second, criteria that refer to a performer's "intent" were scored only from cues observable in the recording, such as opening invocations, direction of address, staging, and branding. The study makes no inference about performers' private beliefs or intentions, in keeping with the IRB exemption conditions. Third, the categories are grouped for analysis into production-side (1 and 4) and content-side (2, 3, and 5). The grouping addresses a circularity: the rubric defines high Media and Production scores by the same platforms and sponsors whose effects the study examines, so a rise in those scores is expected by construction. It works as a check that the rubric tracks commercial infrastructure. The substantive question is whether content-side features changed along with it.

Procedure

Recordings were located through public archives and media platforms. When a recording exceeded five minutes, only the first five minutes were scored. Traditional performances often run past ten minutes, and some exceed thirty, so a fixed window kept scoring consistent and feasible; the opening usually establishes the instrumentation, lyrical themes, setting, and production style. The cost is that features which unfold over a full performance, such as extended improvisation and the complete Qawwali sequence, are judged only from the opening. Media and Production scores refer to the recording's original context of production and circulation, not to the platform from which it was accessed for this study, since many older recordings are now hosted on YouTube.

The unit of analysis is a single recording. Each row of the scoring sheet holds one recording's artist, title, year, five category scores, and total (Appendix C). Data were checked for completeness and consistent formatting. Scores were compared across decades and then combined into three groups: Traditional (totals of 5 to 7), Hybrid (9 to 15), and Commercial (17 to 25). The analysis is descriptive. Because the sample is purposive and the scores are ordinal, no inferential tests were run.

Reliability and Validity

Scoring used a single rubric, fixed anchors, and a single listening protocol. These steps promote consistency, but they do not establish reliability. All recordings were scored by one coder, and no inter-rater statistic was calculated; a second coder scoring a random subset would allow this (see Future Research). Standard procedures also cannot remove judgment from scoring qualities such as "devotional imagery." Validity is limited in a more basic way: the rubric describes features of recordings, not the function those features serve. The study therefore claims descriptive validity only, meaning that scores summarize observable features against stated anchors.

RESULTS

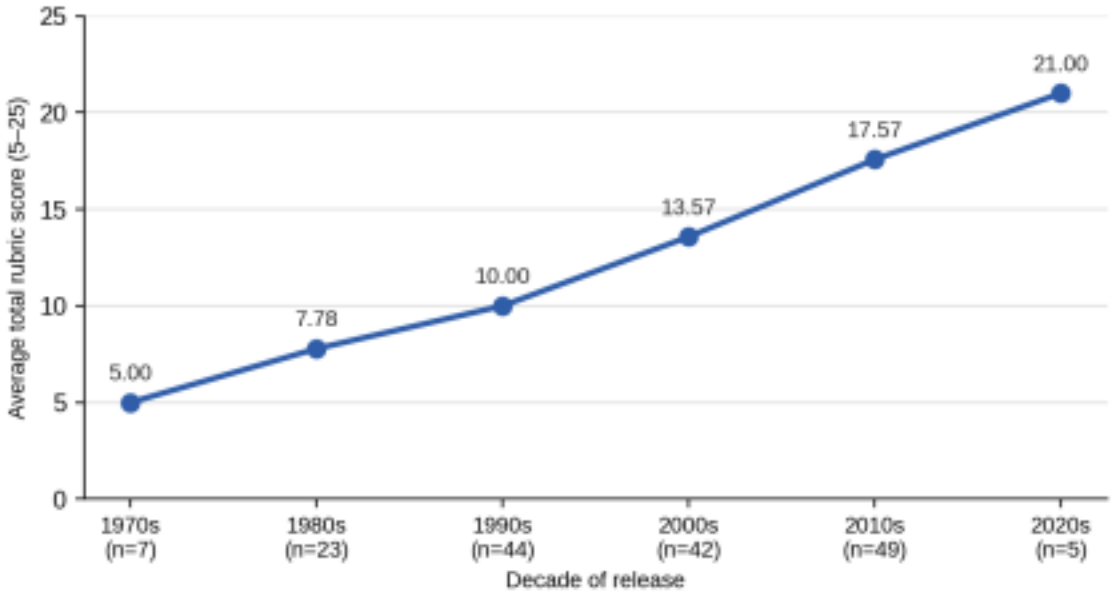
Overall Trend

Average total scores rose in every decade (Table 2 and Figure 1), from 5.00 in the 1970s to 21.00 in the 2020s, with gains of 2.2 to 4.0 points per decade. Two cautions apply. The 1970s average rests on seven recordings by a single group, and the 2020s average on five recordings.

Table 2. Average rubric score by decade

Decade	Recordings (n)	Average total score
1970s	7	5.00
1980s	23	7.78
1990s	44	10.00
2000s	42	13.57
2010s	49	17.57
2020s	5	21.00

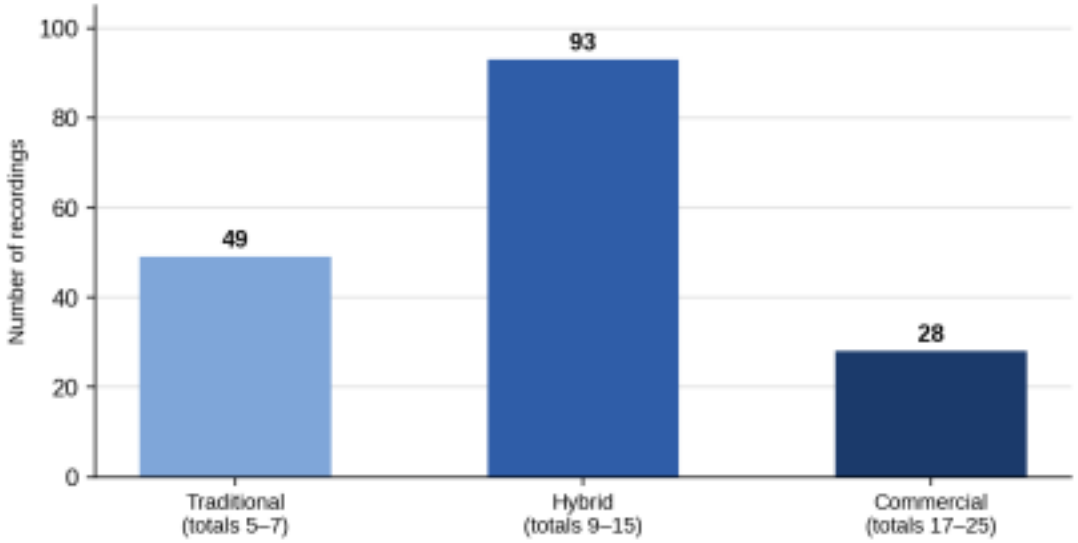
Figure 1. Average total rubric score by decade of release. Labels under each decade give the number of recordings (n).



Total scores clustered at three values. Forty-eight recordings scored 5, 87 scored 15, and 27 scored 21, which together account for 162 of the 170 recordings (95%). The other eight scored 7 (one), 9 (six), or 17 (one). Grouped by total, 49 recordings fall in the Traditional range, 93 in the Hybrid range, and 28 in the Commercial range (Figure 2). No recording scored above 21, so the top of the observed range is 21, not the 25 the scale allows. Because most recordings received the same score on most categories, the rubric behaved more like a three-level classification than five independent measures, and the category-level

results below should be read with that in mind.

Figure 2. Distribution of the 170 recordings by total-score group.



Artist-Level Patterns

Scores were not simply a function of decade, and early prominent artists were not uniformly "traditional." All 17 Sabri Brothers recordings (1970–1989) scored 5, and all 13 recordings by Amjad Sabri (1996–2016) scored 15. Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's 26 recordings, however, ranged from 5 to 21 (mean about 11.7), and Aziz Mian's 15 recordings split between 5 (seven) and 15 (eight). The trend is also not only a product of which artists were sampled in which decade: Rizwan–Muazzam Qawwali's recordings scored 15 through 2016 and 21 from 2017 onward.

The clearest control comes from songs recorded by several artists across decades (Table 3). The same devotional texts score higher as production and framing change. This is a small, non-random comparison, and artist and era change together, so it illustrates the pattern rather than proving it.

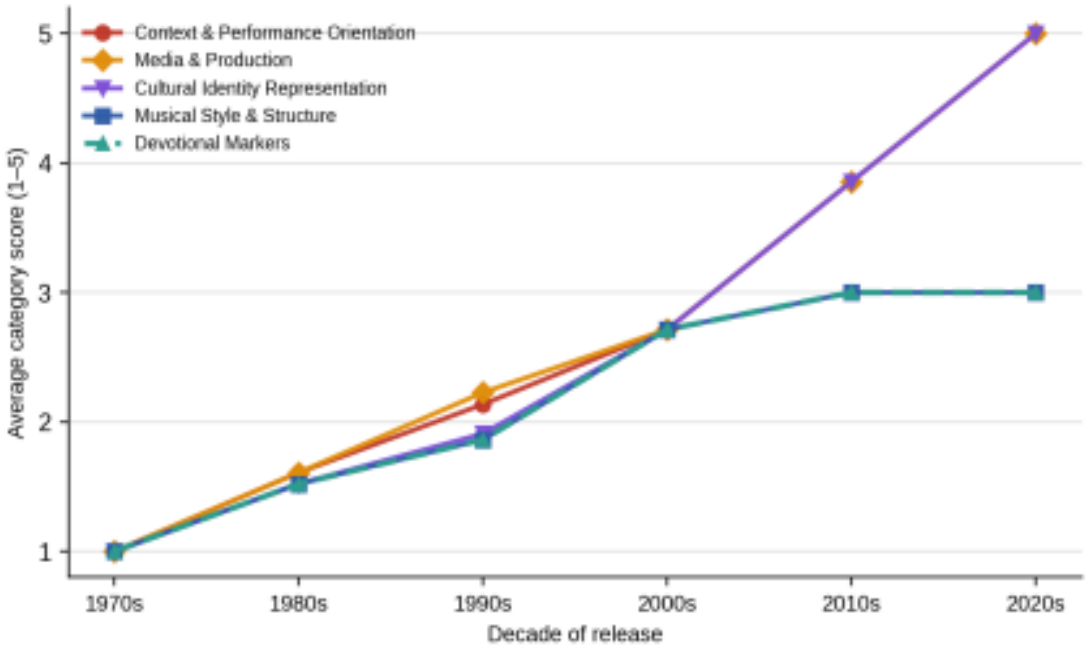
Table 3. Total scores for repeated songs

Song	Version	Total score
Tajdar-e-Haram	Sabri Brothers, 1970	5
	Amjad Sabri, 1996	15
	Atif Aslam, 2015	21
	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, 2017	21
Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Sabri Brothers, 1975	5
	Amjad Sabri, 1998	15
	Adnan Sami, 2015	21
	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, 2018	21
Afreen Afreen	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, 1996	17
	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan and Momina Mustehsan, 2016	21

Production-Side and Content-Side Categories

Figure 3 plots category averages by decade. The production-side categories rose most steeply: by the 2020s, both Context and Performance Orientation and Media and Production averaged 5.0. Because the top anchor for Media and Production is defined by corporate branding and global digital platforms, this rise is partly built into the instrument and is best read as confirmation that the rubric tracks commercial infrastructure. The content-side result is more informative. Musical Style and Structure rose gradually and held at 3.0 in both the 2010s and the 2020s: recent recordings blend traditional and modern sound, but no decade average reached the "dominantly modern or pop" anchor.

Figure 3. Average score by rubric category and decade, computed from the scores in Appendix C. Where lines overlap, the averages are identical: Musical Style and Devotional Markers in every decade, and Context, Media and Production, and Cultural Identity from the 2000s onward.



Devotional Markers

Early recordings typically scored 1 on Devotional Markers, reflecting strong devotional imagery, attire, and gesture. By the 2010s, recordings typically scored 3, meaning devotional elements were retained symbolically, and the value did not change in the 2020s. Within the sample, the category never reached 5. The pattern is a movement from strong to symbolic devotional presentation, followed by a plateau. The repeated-song comparisons in Table 3 show the same thing for a single text: the devotional words persist while framing and production change. The plateau at 3 must be read with the sampling rule in mind, since a 5 would have excluded the recording (see Discussion).

Cultural Identity Representation

Recordings from shrine and other local settings continued to use regional languages, classical poetic forms, and traditional performance conventions, and they scored low. Recordings built for wide distribution more often used fusion, visual staging, and broadly appealing themes, and they scored higher. These adaptations widen exposure, but they also move representation toward what is easily consumed in a global music market. Because Cultural Identity scores track the other categories closely, this finding is consistent with the overall trend rather than independent evidence for it.

Summary of Results

Commercial infrastructure, as scored by the rubric, rose steadily and reached the top of the observed range in the most recent recordings. Content and devotional features moved from the traditional anchors toward the midpoint and then held there. The two patterns are connected in time, but the study does not

show that one caused the other.

DISCUSSION

What the Results Show

H1 is supported. Production-side indicators rose in every decade and reached the top of the observed range by the 2020s. H2 is supported in this sample, with a qualification. Content-side categories rose more slowly and stopped at the midpoint of the scale, while production-side categories reached 5. The change recorded across 170 recordings is therefore mostly a change in how Qawwali is staged, produced, and distributed, with a smaller change in its sound and in how openly it displays devotion.

This addresses a gap in earlier scholarship. Concepts such as "Bollywoodization" and the "globalization of Qawwali" have been argued largely through examples. A scored comparison across six decades documents the pace and shape of the change. It was gradual, with a long transitional middle (93 of 170 recordings fall in the Hybrid range) rather than an abrupt break. The data do not support a clean division between sacred and commercial Qawwali; they describe a continuum.

Reconciling Decline and Persistence

Earlier drafts described devotional presentation as both declining and stable. The two statements describe different things. Devotional Markers did change: they moved from strong devotional imagery, attire, and gesture (1) in early recordings to symbolic retention (3) in recent ones, and devotional elements became subordinate to production and musical style. The category then held at 3. What it did not do is disappear. That second result is partly an artifact of the sampling rule, because recordings with minimal or no religious reference were excluded and a score of 5 was therefore impossible. The sample shows devotional markers persisting in altered form. It cannot show that they persist across all recorded Qawwali, because recordings that had lost them were never included.

The same logic applies to Musical Style and Structure, where the plateau at 3 reflects the requirement that included recordings be by recognized Qawwali performers. These ceilings also mean the rubric cannot register further change in recent recordings. A 2020s average of 21 is the top of what this sample can show, not necessarily the top of commercialization.

What the Study Cannot Show

The study cannot show whether Qawwali has lost its "soul." Soul, as the literature defines it, is a matter of function: ecstasy, communal remembrance, and the listener–performer relationship. A recording does not capture these, and a rubric applied to recordings does not either. The study also cannot show that commercialization caused the changes it records. Decade, platform, artist, and era move together in this sample, so the findings are associations over time. Finally, it cannot show how listeners experience these recordings; some may find devotion in a studio version, and others may not find it at a shrine. The most defensible reading is that the study documents a measurable change in the commercial features of recorded Qawwali and the persistence, in altered form, of its devotional markers. The older framing of erasure versus transformation asks for more than recordings can provide, because it is a claim about

function.

Limitations

Several limitations affect interpretation. All recordings were scored by one coder, and no inter-rater reliability statistic was calculated. The categories were strongly collinear: 95% of recordings received one of three total scores, so the five categories supply less independent information than their number suggests. Scoring used only the first five minutes of each recording, which limits what can be said about improvisation and full-performance structure. The sample is purposive and uneven by decade, with the 1970s resting on one group and the 2020s on five recordings, and artist and era are partly confounded. The ceilings described above restrict the range of two categories. Year of release may also differ from the year of performance, particularly for older material.

Future Research

Three extensions would address the main weaknesses. First, a second coder should score a random subset, for example 20% of the recordings, so that agreement can be reported with a statistic such as Cohen's kappa. Second, the sample should be widened for the 1970s and the 2020s and balanced so that no decade rests on a single artist. Third, and most important, devotional function should be approached through measurable correlates. Table 4 lists observable variables that the literature associates with Qawwali's sacred function. Each can be coded from a public recording without collecting information about performers. They are correlates, not measures of function, and a study using them could say whether they covary with commercial features, not whether any performance was spiritually effective.

Table 4. Proposed observable correlates of devotional function

Construct	**Observable correlate**	**How it could be coded**
Communal participation	Audible or visible audience response, such as clapping, vocal responses, or movement	Present, absent, or unclear; live audience present or not
Improvisation and cumulative structure	Running time; extended repetition and gradual intensification across the performance	Duration in minutes; present or absent
Textual source	Share of lyrics drawn from Sufi poetry versus newly written or secular lyrics	Coded from lyric attribution
Direction of address	Performers addressing the divine, a saint, or the gathering, versus addressing a camera	Coded from framing and staging

Integrity of the performance	Complete performance versus edited or excerpted	Complete or edited

Function itself can be reached only through participants. Fieldwork at shrines and interviews with performers and listeners, which would require an amendment to the study's ethics review, would complement recording-based measures.

CONCLUSION

This study scored 170 recordings from 1970 to 2022 to ask how the observable features of recorded Qawwali changed as commercial production and distribution expanded. Commercial indicators rose in every decade, from an average of 5.0 in the 1970s to 21.0 in the 2020s, while musical style and devotional markers rose more slowly and held at the midpoint of the scale. The change was gradual, with a large transitional middle, and it was not explained by decade alone: the same songs scored higher in later versions, and individual groups moved up the scale over time.

The study also has clear limits. It describes recordings, not worship, and it cannot say whether Qawwali has lost its soul. Its sampling rule and the rubric's ceilings restrict how far the persistence of devotional markers can be generalized, and its scoring relied on a single coder. What the results do establish is a measurable shift in how Qawwali is staged, produced, and circulated, with devotional features retained in more symbolic form. That is a narrower claim than "transformation, not erasure," but it is one the data can support. Qawwali has adapted to new technologies and audiences before, and whether something is lost in each adaptation is a question that recordings alone cannot answer. Answering it will require measures of function and the voices of the people who perform and listen.

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APPENDIX A.

ID	Song Title	Artist	Year of Release
1	Allah Hoo Allah Hoo	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992
2	Mere Rashke Qamar	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988
3	Afreen Afreen	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1996
4	Tumhe Dillagi	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990
5	Tajdar-e-Haram	Sabri Brothers	1970
6	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Sabri Brothers	1975
7	Dama Dam Mast Qalandar	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1985
8	Ali Maula Ali Dam Dam	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992
9	Haq Ali Ali Haq	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992
10	Aaj Sik Mitran Di	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990
11	Man Kunto Maula	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994
12	Chhap Tilak Sab Cheeni	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1987
13	Nit Khair Manga	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1989
14	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1991
15	Kinna Sohna	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994
16	Saanson Ki Mala	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990
17	Ya Gaus Ya Meeran	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990
18	Sanu Ik Pal Chain	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992
19	Je Tu Rab Nu Manauna	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1993
20	Must Nazroon Se	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992
21	Tajdar-e-Haram	Amjad Sabri	1996
22	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Amjad Sabri	1998
23	Mera Koi Nahin Hai	Amjad Sabri	2001
24	Aqa Ka Milad Aaya	Amjad Sabri	2003
25	Kamli Wale Muhammad	Amjad Sabri	2004
26	More Angna Moinuddin	Amjad Sabri	2006
27	Ya Mohammad Noor-e-Mujassam	Amjad Sabri	2008
28	Karam Mangta Hoon	Amjad Sabri	2010
29	Sare La Makan Se	Amjad Sabri	2012
30	Ya Ali Ya Ali	Amjad Sabri	2014
31	Lal Meri Pat	Sabri Brothers	1974
32	Savere Savere	Sabri Brothers	1972
33	Jhoole Jhoole Laal	Sabri Brothers	1976
34	Khabaram Raseeda	Sabri Brothers	1980
35	Taajdar-e-Haram Ho Nigah	Sabri Brothers	1970
36	Saqi Ik Jaam	Sabri Brothers	1982
37	Ali Ali Maula	Sabri Brothers	1978
38	Aye Hasnain Ke Nana	Sabri Brothers	1983
39	Ya Mustafa	Sabri Brothers	1985
40	Zikr-e-Habib	Sabri Brothers	1986
41	Main Sharabi	Aziz Mian	1984
42	Ali Ali Ali Maula	Aziz Mian	1982
43	Hashr Ke Roz	Aziz Mian	1987
44	Yeh Jo Halka Halka	Aziz Mian	1991
45	Ek Nazar Karam	Aziz Mian	1989
46	Pilao Saqi	Aziz Mian	1990
47	Aye Sarwar-e-Duniya	Aziz Mian	1993
48	Faslon Ko Takalluf	Aziz Mian	1995
49	Meri Tauba	Aziz Mian	1996
50	Teri Soorat	Aziz Mian	1986
51	Man Kunto Maula	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	1998
52	Rang	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2001
53	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2010
54	Mohe Apne Rang Mein	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2004
55	Tori Surat	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2006
56	Kangna	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2007

57	Sakal Ban	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2008
58	Piya Ghar Aavenge	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2010
59	Mora Saiyaan	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2011
60	Aaj Rang Hai	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2012
61	Sakhi Re	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2004
62	Ja Mur Ja	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2004
63	Meherban	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2009
64	Yaar Da Muhallah	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2009
65	Saanson Ki Mala	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2011
66	More Angna	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2012
67	Allah Hu	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2013
68	Chhap Tilak	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2014
69	Rang	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2015
70	Man Kunto Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2016
71	Ali Ali	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1988
72	Mast Qalandar	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1990
73	Sajan More Ghar	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1992
74	Ya Ghaus	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1994
75	More Saiyaan	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1996
76	Ni Main Jana Jogi De Naal	Sher Miandad Khan	1989
77	Dam Mast Qalandar	Sher Miandad Khan	1991
78	Rang-e-Haider	Sher Miandad Khan	1993
79	Ali Da Malang	Sher Miandad Khan	1995
80	Peeran Di Tasbeeh	Sher Miandad Khan	1997
81	Tu Kuja Man Kuja	Wadali Brothers	2005
82	Maula Ali	Wadali Brothers	2006
83	Charkha	Wadali Brothers	2007
84	Tere Ishq Nachaya	Wadali Brothers	2008
85	Rangrez	Wadali Brothers	2009

86	Allah Hi Reham	Barkat Sidhu	2002
87	Pee Loongi	Barkat Sidhu	2003
88	Lagi Toot Gai	Barkat Sidhu	2004
89	Chhap Tilak	Barkat Sidhu	2005
90	Mehboob-e-Subhani	Barkat Sidhu	2006
91	Khwaja Mere Khwaja	Qutbi Brothers	1999
92	Ali Dam Dam	Qutbi Brothers	2001
93	Rang	Qutbi Brothers	2003
94	Sajde	Qutbi Brothers	2005
95	Man Kunto Maula	Qutbi Brothers	2007
96	Allah Hu	Najm Saif & Brothers	2000
97	Dum Dum Ali Ali	Najm Saif & Brothers	2002
98	More Saiyaan	Najm Saif & Brothers	2004
99	Sajda	Najm Saif & Brothers	2006
100	Ya Ali	Najm Saif & Brothers	2008
101	More Angna	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1998
102	Mast Nazroon Se	Sher Miandad Khan	1999
103	Allah Hoo	Sabri Brothers	1981
104	Saqi-e-Kausar	Aziz Mian	1992
105	Ya Ali Madad	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1995
106	Dam Dam Ali	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1993
107	Ali Da Pehla Number	Badar Miandad Qawwal	2000
108	Haiderium Qalandar	Sher Miandad Khan	2001
109	Rang-e-Ishq	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2013
110	Sajan Bin	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2014
111	Maula Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2017
112	Ali Ali Kar	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2018
113	Ya Nabi	Amjad Sabri	2015
114	Karam Ho Karam	Amjad Sabri	2016

115	Dum Must Qalandar	Sabri Brothers	1984
116	Ali Wali	Aziz Mian	1994
117	More Saiyaan Tore Rang	Barkat Sidhu	2007
118	Ishq Di Booti	Barkat Sidhu	2008
119	Sufi Rang	Qutbi Brothers	2009
120	Maula Re	Qutbi Brothers	2010
121	Ali Ali Dum	Najm Saif & Brothers	2010
122	Rang Rang	Najm Saif & Brothers	2011
123	Tu Kuja	Wadali Brothers	2010
124	Ishq Bina	Wadali Brothers	2011
125	Dam Dam	Badar Miandad Qawwal	2002
126	Ali Ali Jogi	Sher Miandad Khan	2003
127	Haq La Ilaha	Sabri Brothers	1987
128	Sajna	Aziz Mian	1997
129	Rang-e-Mohabbat	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2015
130	Man Mast	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2016
131	Ali Ali Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2019
132	Ya Ali	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2020
133	Tajdar-e-Haram	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2017
134	Bhar Do Jholi	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2018
135	Maula	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2019
136	Ali Ali	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2020
137	Ya Khwaja	Qutbi Brothers	2011
138	Rang-e-Sufi	Qutbi Brothers	2012
139	Sajda-e-Ishq	Najm Saif & Brothers	2012
140	Ali Dum Dum	Najm Saif & Brothers	2013
141	Allah Hoo	Badar Miandad Qawwal	2004
142	Peeran Da Jhanda	Sher Miandad Khan	2005
143	Sufi Rang	Wadali Brothers	2012
144	Maula Saiyaan	Wadali Brothers	2013
145	Ali Ali Haq	Sabri Brothers	1989
146	Ishq Da Rang	Aziz Mian	1998
147	Man Kunto	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2017
148	Ali Waliullah	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2021
149	Ya Ali Sarkar	Amjad Sabri	2015
150	Tajdar-e-Haram	Atif Aslam	2015
151	Chaap Tilak	Abida Parveen & Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2015
152	Rang	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan & Amjad Sabri	2017
153	Man Kunto Maula	Shiraz Uppal & Ali Azmat	2013
154	Afreen Afreen	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan & Momina Mustehsan	2016
155	Aaj Rang Hai	Abida Parveen	2014
156	Alif Allah (Jugni)	Arif Lohar & Meesha Shafi	2011
157	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Adnan Sami	2015
158	Tum Ek Gorakh Dhanda Ho	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1996
159	Mustt Mustt	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990
160	Nit Khair Manga	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988
161	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1997
162	Ali Ali	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994
163	Dama Dam Mast Qalandar	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2010
164	Allah Hi Allah Kiya Karo	Sabri Brothers	1985
165	Noor-e-Illahi	Abida Parveen	2016
166	Kanhaiya Yaad Hai	Aziz Mian	1992
167	Hu Allah Hu	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2015
168	Yaadan Vichre Sajan Diyan	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988
169	Balaghal Ula Be Kamalihi	Abida Parveen	2021
170	Tu Jhoom	Abida Parveen & Naseebo Lal	2022

APPENDIX B.

Category	**Criteria**	**1 – Traditional / Sacred**	**3 – Hybrid / Transitional**	**5 – Commercial / Globalized**
1. Context & Purpose	Setting & Audience	Performed in shrines or devotional gatherings; audience participates spiritually	Performed in concerts or on TV; mixed audience	Produced for mass/global media; passive digital audience
	Performer's Intent	Focus on devotion and zikr (spiritual remembrance)	Balances spiritual and entertainment aims	Focus on performance, fame, or media visibility
2. Musical Style	Instruments & Vocals	Traditional instruments and classical qawwali vocals	Blend of traditional and modern sounds	Dominantly modern or pop instrumentation
	Lyrics & Structure	Classical Sufi poetry; full qawwali sequence	Mix of devotional and contemporary themes	Simplified, edited, or secularized lyrics
3. Spiritual Expression (Devotional Markers)	Spiritual Depth & Symbolism	Strong devotional imagery, attire, gestures	Some spiritual elements retained symbolically	Minimal or no religious/spiritual reference
4. Media & Production	Production & Sponsorship	Live, raw recordings, minimal editing	Professionally recorded, light branding	Heavily produced, corporate or commercial branding
	Distribution & Engagement	Local, shrine-based circulation	National or regional broadcast	Global digital platforms (YouTube, Spotify, Coke Studio)
5. Cultural Identity	Representat ion & Style	Strong Pakistani/Sufi	Hybrid or fusion presentation	Marketed as "world

		identity		music," identity diluted

APPENDIX C.

ID	Song Title	Artist	Year of Release	Context & Purpose Score	Musical Style Score	Spiritual Expression Score	Media & Production Score	Cultural Identity Score	Total Rubric Score
1	Allah Hoo Allah Hoo	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992	3	1	1	3	1	9
2	Mere Rashke Qamar	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988	3	3	3	3	3	15
3	Afreen Afreen	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1996	3	3	3	5	3	17
4	Tumhe Dillagi	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990	3	1	1	3	1	9
5	Tajdar-e-Haram	Sabri Brothers	1970	1	1	1	1	1	5
6	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Sabri Brothers	1975	1	1	1	1	1	5
7	Dama Dam Mast Qalandar	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1985	1	1	1	1	1	5
8	Ali Maula Ali Dam Dam	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992	1	1	1	1	1	5
9	Haq Ali Ali Haq	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992	1	1	1	1	1	5
10	Aaj Sik Mitran Di	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990	3	3	3	3	3	15
11	Man Kunto Maula	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994	1	1	1	3	1	7
12	Chhap Tilak Sab Cheeni	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1987	3	3	3	3	3	15
13	Nit Khair Manga	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1989	3	1	1	3	1	9
14	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1991	3	3	3	3	3	15
15	Kinna Sohna	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994	5	3	3	5	5	21
16	Saanson Ki Mala	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990	3	1	1	3	1	9
17	Ya Gaus Ya Meeran	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990	1	1	1	1	1	5
18	Sanu Ik Pal Chain	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992	3	3	3	3	3	15
19	Je Tu Rab Nu Manauna	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1993	3	1	1	3	1	9
20	Mast Nazroon Se	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1992	3	1	1	3	1	9
21	Tajdar-e-Haram	Amjad Sabri	1996	3	3	3	3	3	15
22	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Amjad Sabri	1998	3	3	3	3	3	15
23	Mera Koi Nahin Hai	Amjad Sabri	2001	3	3	3	3	3	15
24	Aqa Ka Milad Aaya	Amjad Sabri	2003	3	3	3	3	3	15
25	Kamli Wale Muhammad	Amjad Sabri	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
26	Mere Angna Moinuddin	Amjad Sabri	2006	3	3	3	3	3	15
27	Ya Mohammad Noor-e-Mujassam	Amjad Sabri	2008	3	3	3	3	3	15
28	Karam Mangta Hoon	Amjad Sabri	2010	3	3	3	3	3	15
29	Sare La Makan Se	Amjad Sabri	2012	3	3	3	3	3	15
30	Ya Ali Ya Ali	Amjad Sabri	2014	3	3	3	3	3	15
31	Lal Meri Pat	Sabri Brothers	1974	1	1	1	1	1	5
32	Saiyere Saiyere	Sabri Brothers	1972	1	1	1	1	1	5
33	Jhoole Jhoole Laal	Sabri Brothers	1976	1	1	1	1	1	5
34	Khabaram Rasceda	Sabri Brothers	1980	1	1	1	1	1	5
35	Tajdar-e-Haram Ho Nigah	Sabri Brothers	1970	1	1	1	1	1	5
36	Saqi Ik Jaam	Sabri Brothers	1982	1	1	1	1	1	5
37	Ali Ali Maula	Sabri Brothers	1978	1	1	1	1	1	5
38	Aye Hasnain Ke Nana	Sabri Brothers	1983	1	1	1	1	1	5
39	Ya Mustafa	Sabri Brothers	1985	1	1	1	1	1	5
40	Zikr-e-Habib	Sabri Brothers	1986	1	1	1	1	1	5
41	Main Sharabi	Aziz Mian	1984	3	3	3	3	3	15
42	Ali Ali Ali Maula	Aziz Mian	1982	1	1	1	1	1	5
43	Hashr Ke Roz	Aziz Mian	1987	1	1	1	1	1	5
44	Yeh Jo Halka Halka	Aziz Mian	1991	3	3	3	3	3	15
45	Ek Nazar Karam	Aziz Mian	1989	3	3	3	3	3	15
46	Pilao Saqi	Aziz Mian	1990	3	3	3	3	3	15
47	Aye Sarwar-e-Duniya	Aziz Mian	1993	3	3	3	3	3	15
48	Faslon Ko Takalluf	Aziz Mian	1995	3	3	3	3	3	15
49	Meri Tauba	Aziz Mian	1996	3	3	3	3	3	15
50	Teri Soorat	Aziz Mian	1986	3	3	3	3	3	15
51	Man Kunto Maula	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	1998	1	1	1	1	1	5
52	Rang	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2001	3	3	3	3	3	15
53	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2010	3	3	3	3	3	15
54	Mohe Apne Rang Mein	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
55	Tori Surat	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2006	3	3	3	3	3	15
56	Kangna	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2007	3	3	3	3	3	15
57	Sakal Ban	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2008	3	3	3	3	3	15
58	Piya Ghar Aavenge	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2010	3	3	3	3	3	15
59	Mora Saiyaan	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2011	3	3	3	3	3	15
60	Aaj Rang Hai	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2012	3	3	3	3	3	15
61	Sakhi Re	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
62	Ja Mur Ja	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
63	Meherban	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2009	3	3	3	3	3	15
64	Yaar Da Muhallah	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2009	3	3	3	3	3	15
65	Saanson Ki Mala	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2011	3	3	3	3	3	15
66	More Angna	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2012	3	3	3	3	3	15
67	Allah Hu	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2013	3	3	3	3	3	15
68	Chhap Tilak	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2014	3	3	3	3	3	15
69	Rang	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2015	3	3	3	3	3	15
70	Man Kunto Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2016	3	3	3	3	3	15
71	Ali Ali	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1988	1	1	1	1	1	5
72	Mast Qalandar	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1990	1	1	1	1	1	5
73	Sajan More Ghar	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1992	1	1	1	1	1	5
74	Ya Ghaus	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1994	1	1	1	1	1	5
75	More Saiyaan	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1996	1	1	1	1	1	5
76	Ni Main Jana Jogi De Naal	Sher Miandad Khan	1989	1	1	1	1	1	5
77	Dam Mast Qalandar	Sher Miandad Khan	1991	1	1	1	1	1	5
78	Rang-e-Haider	Sher Miandad Khan	1993	1	1	1	1	1	5
79	Ali Da Malang	Sher Miandad Khan	1995	1	1	1	1	1	5
80	Peeran Di Tasbeeh	Sher Miandad Khan	1997	1	1	1	1	1	5
81	Tu Kuja Man Kuja	Wadali Brothers	2005	3	3	3	3	3	15
82	Maula Ali	Wadali Brothers	2006	3	3	3	3	3	15
83	Charkha	Wadali Brothers	2007	3	3	3	3	3	15
84	Tere Ishq Nachaya	Wadali Brothers	2008	3	3	3	3	3	15
85	Rangrez	Wadali Brothers	2009	3	3	3	3	3	15
86	Allah Hi Reham	Barkat Sidhu	2002	3	3	3	3	3	15
87	Pee Loongi	Barkat Sidhu	2003	3	3	3	3	3	15
88	Lagi Toor Gai	Barkat Sidhu	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
89	Chhap Tilak	Barkat Sidhu	2005	3	3	3	3	3	15
90	Mehboob-e-Subhani	Barkat Sidhu	2006	3	3	3	3	3	15
91	Khwaja Mere Khwaja	Qutbi Brothers	1999	3	3	3	3	3	15
92	Ali Dam Dam	Qutbi Brothers	2001	3	3	3	3	3	15
93	Rang	Qutbi Brothers	2003	3	3	3	3	3	15
94	Sajde	Qutbi Brothers	2005	3	3	3	3	3	15
95	Man Kunto Maula	Qutbi Brothers	2007	3	3	3	3	3	15
96	Allah Hu	Najm Saif & Brothers	2000	3	3	3	3	3	15
97	Dum Dum Ali Ali	Najm Saif & Brothers	2002	3	3	3	3	3	15
98	More Saiyaan	Najm Saif & Brothers	2004	3	3	3	3	3	15
99	Sajda	Najm Saif & Brothers	2006	3	3	3	3	3	15
100	Ya Ali	Najm Saif & Brothers	2008	3	3	3	3	3	15
101	More Angna	Badar Miandad Qawwal	1998	1	1	1	1	1	5
102	Mast Nazroon Se	Sher Miandad Khan	1999	1	1	1	1	1	5
103	Allah Hoo	Sabri Brothers	1981	1	1	1	1	1	5
104	Saqi-e-Kausar	Aziz Mian	1992	1	1	1	1	1	5
105	Ya Ali Madad	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1995	3	3	3	3	3	15
106	Dam Dam Ali	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1993	3	3	3	3	3	15
107	Ali Da Pehla Number	Badar Miandad Qawwal	2000	1	1	1	1	1	5
108	Haideriam Qalandar	Sher Miandad Khan	2001	1	1	1	1	1	5
109	Rang-e-Ishq	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2013	3	3	3	3	3	15
110	Sajan Bin	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2014	3	3	3	3	3	15
111	Maula Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2017	5	3	3	5	5	21
112	Ali Ali Kar	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2018	5	3	3	5	5	21
113	Ya Nabi	Amjad Sabri	2015	3	3	3	3	3	15
114	Karam Ho Karam	Amjad Sabri	2016	3	3	3	3	3	15
115	Dum Mast Qalandar	Sabri Brothers	1984	1	1	1	1	1	5
116	Ali Wali	Aziz Mian	1994	1	1	1	1	1	5
117	More Saiyaan Tore Rang	Barkat Sidhu	2007	3	3	3	3	3	15
118	Ishq Di Boori	Barkat Sidhu	2008	3	3	3	3	3	15
119	Sufi Rang	Qutbi Brothers	2009	3	3	3	3	3	15
120	Maula Re	Qutbi Brothers	2010	5	3	3	5	5	21
121	Ali Ali Dum	Najm Saif & Brothers	2010	5	3	3	5	5	21
122	Rang Rang	Najm Saif & Brothers	2011	5	3	3	5	5	21
123	Tu Kuja	Wadali Brothers	2010	3	3	3	3	3	15
124	Ishq Bina	Wadali Brothers	2011	3	3	3	3	3	15
125	Dam Dam	Badar Miandad Qawwal	2002	1	1	1	1	1	5
126	Ali Ali Jogi	Sher Miandad Khan	2003	1	1	1	1	1	5
127	Haq La Ilaha	Sabri Brothers	1987	1	1	1	1	1	5
128	Sajna	Aziz Mian	1997	1	1	1	1	1	5
129	Rang-e-Mohabbat	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2015	3	3	3	3	3	15

130	Man Mast	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2016	3	3	3	3	3	15
131	Ali Ali Maula	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2019	5	3	3	5	5	21
132	Ya Ali	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2020	5	3	3	5	5	21
133	Tajdar-e-Haram	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2017	5	3	3	5	5	21
134	Bhar Do Jholi	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2018	5	3	3	5	5	21
135	Maula	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2019	5	3	3	5	5	21
136	Ali Ali	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2020	5	3	3	5	5	21
137	Ya Khwaja	Qutbi Brothers	2011	5	3	3	5	5	21
138	Rang-e-Sufi	Qutbi Brothers	2012	5	3	3	5	5	21
139	Sajda-e-Ishq	Najm Saif & Brothers	2012	5	3	3	5	5	21
140	Ali Dum Dum	Najm Saif & Brothers	2013	5	3	3	5	5	21
141	Allah Hoo	Badar Mumdad Qawwal	2004	1	1	1	1	1	5
142	Peeran Da Jhanda	Sher Miandad Khan	2005	1	1	1	1	1	5
143	Sufi Rang	Wadali Brothers	2012	3	3	3	3	3	15
144	Maula Saiyaan	Wadali Brothers	2013	3	3	3	3	3	15
145	Ali Ali Haq	Sabri Brothers	1989	1	1	1	1	1	5
146	Ishq Da Rang	Aziz Mian	1998	1	1	1	1	1	5
147	Man Kunto	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2017	3	3	3	3	3	15
148	Ali Waliullah	Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali	2021	5	3	3	5	5	21
149	Ya Ali Sarkar	Amjad Sabri	2015	3	3	3	3	3	15
150	Tajdar-e-Haram	Atif Aslam	2015	5	3	3	5	5	21
151	Chaap Tilak	Abida Parveen & Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2015	5	3	3	5	5	21
152	Rang	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan & Amjad Sabri	2017	5	3	3	5	5	21
153	Man Kunto Maula	Shiraz Uppal & Ali Azmat	2013	5	3	3	5	5	21
154	Afreen Afreen	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan & Momina Mustehsan	2016	5	3	3	5	5	21
155	Aaj Rang Hai	Abida Parveen	2014	3	3	3	3	3	15
156	Alif Allah (Jagni)	Arif Lohar & Meesha Shafi	2011	5	3	3	5	5	21
157	Bhar Do Jholi Meri	Adnan Sami	2015	5	3	3	5	5	21
158	Tum Ek Gorakh Dhanda Ho	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1996	3	3	3	3	3	15
159	Mustt Mustt	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1990	3	3	3	3	3	15
160	Nit Khair Manga	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988	1	1	1	1	1	5
161	Mera Piya Ghar Aaya	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1997	3	3	3	3	3	15
162	Ali Ali	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1994	3	3	3	3	3	15
163	Dama Dam Mast Qalandar	Rahat Fateh Ali Khan	2010	5	3	3	5	5	21
164	Allah Hi Allah Kiya Karo	Sabri Brothers	1985	1	1	1	1	1	5
165	Noor-e-Illahi	Abida Parveen	2016	3	3	3	3	3	15
166	Kanhaiya Yaad Hai	Aziz Mian	1992	1	1	1	1	1	5
167	Hu Allah Hu	Fareed Ayaz & Abu Muhammad	2015	3	3	3	3	3	15
168	Yaadan Vichre Sajan Diyan	Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan	1988	3	3	3	3	3	15
169	Balaghal Ula Be Kamalihi	Abida Parveen	2021	5	3	3	5	5	21
170	Tu Jhoom	Abida Parveen & Naseebo Lal	2022	5	3	3	5	5	21

APPENDIX D.

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Singapore 049145
T: +65 6372 8778
www.ird.global

Protection of Human Subjects – Declaration / Assurance of IRB Approval

Subject: Notice of Exemption

To: Omar Mehboob

Date of IRB exempt Determination: Dec 13, 2025

Research Study Title: From Shrines to Spotify: Is Qawwali Losing Its Soul?

Study IRB Number: IRD_IRB_2025_12_020

IRB EXEMPTION STATUS: APPROVED
The IRD-IRB has reviewed the study referenced above and determined that, as currently described, it is exempt from ongoing IRB review, per the following exemption category:

EXEMPTION # 4 The research involves analysis of existing, publicly available information and records data without identifiers. The study does not involve interaction or intervention with human subjects and presents no more than minimal risk.

Exemption conditions

- Only publicly available performances and recordings may be used.
- You must not conduct interviews, surveys, or direct communication with performers, audiences, or other individuals.
- No personal or biographical information about performers may be collected or analyzed.
- Analysis should remain focused on the performance and its stylistic, cultural, and production features, not on the personal beliefs or intentions of individuals.

Note that the study is considered exempt as long as any changes to the use of human subjects (including their data) remain within the scope of the exemption category above. Any proposed changes that may exceed the scope of this category must be submitted as an amendment.

Although an exemption determination eliminates the need for ongoing IRB review and approval, you still have an obligation to understand and abide by generally accepted principles of responsible and ethical conduct of research. Examples of these principles can be found in the Belmont Report as well as in guidance from professional societies and scientific organizations.

SUBMITTING AMENDMENTS:
If required, you can submit amendments for this exempt study, referenced above to IRD-IRB.

Signature: The IRB Chair/Designee signing below certifies that the information provided above is correct	
Name / Designation Ms Saira Khowaja/ Chair, IRD-IRB	Date of notification from IRD-IRB: Dec 13, 2025

Interactive Rsch & Development. IRB #1 – IRD is registered with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP) with registration number IRB 00005148 (effective through Dec 19, 2026). In addition, the IRB utilizes electronic signatures compliant with 21 CFR Part 11.