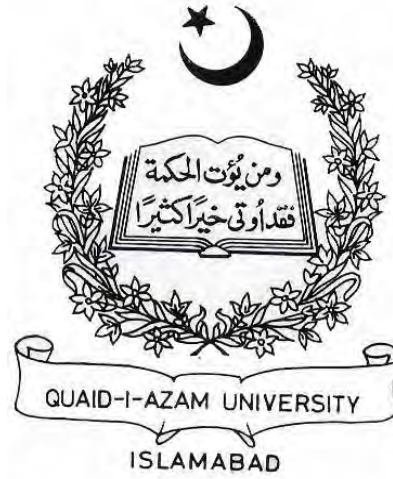


Ethnographic Description of Bride Price Practice (Xhrap) and Social Organization in Chilas

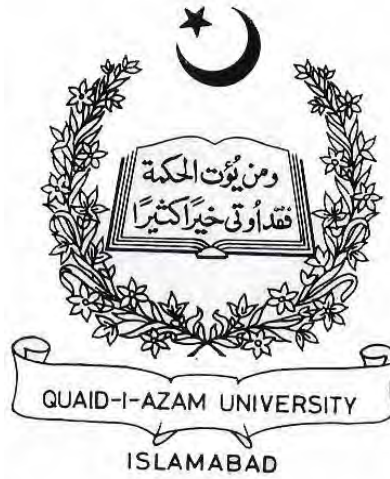


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2019

Ethnographic Description of Bride Price Practice (Xhrap) and Social Organization in Chilas



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Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-e-Azam University
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Anthropology.

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2019

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Islamabad, _____ February 2019

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ABSTRACT

Traditional customary practices lead towards socialization of the community. Cultural traits play an important role for unique characterization of communities. The present study is aimed to explore the ethnographic description of *Xhrap*. The study is imparted in Samigal and Khanbari, which is a Tehsil Darail stationed at the footprints of Diamer District. Certain research objectives were formulization to find out social, cultural, religious and economic significance of *Xhrap*. The purpose of the research was to explore the significance of *Xhrap* for connectivity, interaction and solidarity among different castes of same valley. This is the central force (cultural trait) which is common and significantly practiced to share the economic and labour burden within and outside particular castes. For the study, overall, 50 in-depth interviews were conducted from Yashkun, Sheen, Kamin and Doom. Participant observation tool was extensively utilized to check, re check the valued information through in-depth interviews to find out teaching and practice of *Xhrap*. The study concluded that this is miscommunicated term which has various important aspects of socio-economic lives of natives. The *Xhrap* value is equal to the labour of female done in household and farm work. The study concluded that in every caste the concept of *Xhrap* is different. Yashkun and Sheen are high status castes whereas Kamin and Doom has low economic and social status, a difference of *Xhrap* conceptualization documented that former considered it the matter of prestige and the later as economic burden sharing.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Ethnography, emerging from anthropology, and adopted by sociologists, is a qualitative methodology that lends itself to the study of the beliefs, social interactions, and behaviors of small societies, involving participation and observation over a period of time, and the interpretation of the data collected (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008; Berry, 1991). In its early stages, there was a desire by researchers to make ethnography appear scientific and with this in mind a manual was produced for people in the field, with a set of instructions as to how ethnography should be done (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). As such it was seen to be more accurate than the descriptions of traveler, although not in the sense that scientific experiment or quantitative measurement is deemed accurate. A feature of positivism, the scientific approach is that results can be tested, and the researcher is separate from the research. This was seen by ethnographers as failing to capture aspects of the way humans behave, the setting being artificial (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994).

On the other hand a naturalist approach is more interpretive, cannot be verified by tests, and the researchers own interpretation is part of the process (Mackenzie, 1994). The goal of ethnography then was to give an analytical description of other cultures (Barbour, 2007), an exploration of a particular phenomenon, rather than the testing of a hypothesis (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). The data consisted of unstructured accounts and the analysis, which provided interpretation of meaning, was done by the researcher, using observation, description and explanation (Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008). Ethnography developed as the tool of social science, and involved the social scientific observer, the observed, the research report as text, and the audience to which the text is presented (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or „fields“ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, systematic data collection without being imposed on them (Brewer, 2000).

The present research study mainly deals with overall understanding of Bride Price in Diamer/Chilas region. Diamer District is divided into three regions i.e. Darail, Tangeer and Chilas (city). Overall the phenomenon is prevailing in all three areas but Darial was suitable i.e. easy to approach were selected for the study. The process of bride price mainly engaged Bride and Groom families before taking into consideration.

Some popular concepts of anthropology regarding marriage and types of marriage are as under;

- a. **Monogamy** is used in different ways, and it is important to define its meaning here. The most basic distinction is between formal – that is, legal – monogamy, in the sense of marriage to one spouse; social monogamy, in the sense of exclusive living arrangements; and genetic monogamy, in the sense of exclusive mating and reproductive commitments (Alexander, 1979). A number of anthropologists have done extensive field work in different communities and draw how they conceptualized the bond (Marriage) among them.
- b. **Polygamy** is the practice of having more than one wife at the same time (Fairbairn, 2018).
- c. **Polyandry** derives from the Greek words *poly* and *Andros* meaning „many men“. Among avian and non-human mammalian species, polyandry is defined as the simultaneous pair bond between one female and more than one male (Jenni, 1974). However, for humans, the definition has been changed to necessitate marriage, define it as the simultaneous marriage of one woman to more than one man (Cassidy & Lee, 1989).
- d. **Sororate** is a type of marriage in which a husband engages in marriage or sexual relations with the sister of his wife, usually after the death of his wife or if his wife has proven infertile. From an anthropological standpoint, this type of marriage strengthens the ties between both groups (the wife's family or clan and the husband's) and preserves the contract between the two to provide children and continue the alliance (Sarah, 2010).
- e. **Levirate** marriage is after the death of her husband a widow marries her husband's brother it is called a levirate marriage (Femmes, 1999).

Marriages are socially accepted phenomena among male and female's interaction and child bearing, rearing. Marriage is a contract between one male and female, but number of ceremonies for this contract varies according to culture of the communities. Approximately every culture that adheres to the idea and practices of matrimony, also acquainted with adultery as infringement of the terms of marriage (Danks, 1889). Marriage is an institution which legalizes the sexual relations usually between man and woman so as to preserve the human species, the growth of descent, promotion of love and union between the parties and the mutual help to earn livelihood (Milot, 1997).

1.1 Functions of Marriages

Around the world, marriage is considered functional in following ways;

1.1.1 Marriage Regulates Sexual Activities

Marriage facilitates the cultural and traditional group to control over on population development by delivering excluded system about when it is appropriate to have kids. Regulating sexual activities supports to diminish sexual competition and unpleasant effects correlate with physical activities.

In Islamic perspective, sex without marriage is prohibited; it is considered highest form of forbidden activities in communities. Without any contract or union agreement it is considered like the activity of animals. Human being is the superior creature of the God, which is why God gave some parameters which distinguish him from other creatures. Prophet (PBUH) stated, "God made you with His highness and He gave the pattern of reproduction on His name".

In present research study, sexual activities before marriage are prohibited and its punishment is death. Generally, to avoid such disgraceful act, people of the area practice early marriages.

1.1.2 Marriage Maintains Kinship Groups

In the selected area, kinship is more important because due to scarcity of natural resources it is not easy for nuclear family to sustain its livelihood. So in such areas people practice endogamy to strengthen ties among the ethnic group which facilitates

them economically and socially. The collective representation is necessary for sustainable livelihood. In the locale all four castes preferably practice endogamy but in last two castes some of time exogamy is practiced to strengthen economic aspects of families

1.1.3 Child Care and Socialization

In the surety of the marriage, children prompt to learn their gender roles and other cultural rules and beliefs and well defined role for child care and socialization. It legitimizes children by socially creating their birth rights. Marriage is also the custodian of customary ways from generation to generation that is the continuation of cultural heritage.

1.1.4 Economic Aspect of Marriages

Marriage is not only act of two individuals, it link two families in an appropriate way. Within community both families were part of the society which link together socially, economically and religiously. Both families share their loved ones so they utilize social capital for socio-economic development. In the area because it is hilly, scarcity of livelihood e.g. less land for cultivation, less grassy land for their livestock, transportation issues are some of the factors which are directly linked with marriage contract. If the bride family has more land or grassy area the groom family may use those resources for their survival purposes. This activity can be practiced in Sheen and Yashkun because they both have land and pastures.

Anthropologists have recognized the following practices of economic characteristics of marriages:

- a. **Dowry:** Dowry is normally practiced in cultures where women's responsibility is less valued than men. This kind of exercise requires the shift of goods from the bride's family acknowledgment of the responsibility of her sustained. This is more common in pastoral or agricultural societies where a market substitute is established. Hypergamy arises when a woman uses her dowry to "marry up" and raises her and subsequently her children's social status. With this ceremony the groom's family supplies goods and cash to the bride's father who in gifts them to his daughter.
- b. **Bride wealth:** In the area bride has some commodity characteristics which are

according to the customary laws owned by father and he transfers this ownership to groom under certain rules. In first category, the amount for sexual paid to the bride's first night in groom's home. Interestingly, the conversation of groom and bride at first night:

Mas tooth toom paan bagashay gass

You are free in my home; you have equal right to everything which is present in home and under my use.

After this bride reply,

Mas tooth toom Haq Mehr bagashay gess

I am forgiving my Haq Mehr on stated facilities.

- c. ***Xhrap***: In the community another practice was observed i.e. some amount is given by groom's family to bride's family for their marriage expenses. It was also observed that from this money parents purchase some dowry and facilitate guests on the day of marriage who come along with groom. This amount has significance in the community e.g. the given amount by groom is more than the actual expenditure on marriage ceremonies. A middle man (the process of *Xhrap* amounting and negotiation among both families discussed in detailed in chapter 5).

1.2 Conceptual definition of *Xhrap*

The definition of *Xhrap* as misinterpreted among different communities and scholars in Pakistan. Like *Saar* paisa and *Sa* paisa in Pashtun culture. It has a number of conceptual understandings among the community who are practicing it. *Mehr Moujjal* and *Mehr Ghair- Moujjal* have clear religious understanding at universal level. According to the religious scholars of the area, „*Xhrap* is *Mehr Ghair-Moujjal*“. For the present study the concept of *Xhrap* is discussed according to its second (economic perspective). The *Xhrap* has lot of importance in the area which is conceptualized in statement of problem as well. The conceptual definition of *Xhrap* in present research study is discussed according to its function which is stated under;

In general perspective, girls and boys in selected villages have their own importance. Division of labor e.g. male have to do all hard works i.e. cutting woods, working in

forests, laboring in the area, outside the area and all sort of earning activities. Whereas, female has to do all household activities with additional farm activities, her importance is valued according to her work. As stated earlier, females are considered central part of every household, absence of anyone leads towards scarcity of labor and low productivity. The area is far flung from developed cities of the region; lack of technologically advanced production tools increased the dependency of in-farm labor on human capital. *Xhrap* is conceptualized in the area to avoid such circumstances. If a family marry her daughter, the family in other way loose one productive labor. This lose may affect the productivity of farm and household generally, and economic deprivation specifically. Those families who get married their boys they received additional skilled labor for their farm and household. Which to some extend boost their economic property. The loss of girl's family tries to minimize with *Xhrap*. The amount of *Xhrap* considered economic benefit of the girl collectively. The concept of *Xhrap* is analyzed in this way throughout the thesis.

Economic help is the major aspect which is being studied by different scholars in the concept of Bride Price. Literature is available and documented in this thesis regarding the importance of Bride Price in different cultures around the world. The definition could be same, but the operationalization of *Xhrap* is very different in Pakistan.

1.3 Bride Price

The phenomenon of the "bride price" has significant interest to anthropologists, who study family structure and organization. The transfers of property which frequently accompany marriages in other cultures may be as important in maintaining associations between the spouses' respective kin groups as the marriage itself (Fox, 1967; Rosenblatt & Unangst, 1974).

Bride-price is payment to the family of the bride. Depending on the economic status of the groom, payment is typically done by the groom. However, family members of the groom sometimes help the groom to meet the cost of *Xhrap*. Historically, bride-price is more common in subsistence economies where horticultural or pastoral farming practice exists (Conteh, 2016).

The "bride price," is known as bride wealth or price token, simply the groom will give

the money or property to bride and bride family. The tradition of bride price is ancient practice (300 BCE) which is being practiced today in Indonesian, Burma, China, Thailand and Taiwan, and also in Africa.

1.4 Practice of Bride Price

Matrimony in the Pakistan is identified by transfers of amount made at the time of marriage among families involved. These transfer of money or goods can go in both families from the bride's family to the groom's or vice versa. The former practice is known as dowry, later one is bride price. Although bride price is a common practice in many parts and it is dominant form of marriage transaction in the Pakistan sub-continent (Paul, 2005).

The bride price practices exist more frequently in tribal societies. By comparison of bride price and dowry is typically connected with generous socio economic differentiation and class stratification. This agreement of bride price marriages is reflected in a connection between dowry paying, where the caste system shows perhaps an intense example of social stratification, and the most homogeneous tribal societies of Pakistan that practice bride price.

The empirical documentation on bride price has been an increase of these practices all over the Pakistan. The conclusion about the regularity of bride price practices have expanded over time among the lower caste and low class population. In fact, the real size of bride price is found to have declined between 1975 and 1998 (Billig, 1999).

The major socio-economic growth in recent times is the switch of entire endogamous groups from the bride-price practices. There has been conversion of whole communities, not merely the segment of each which impinges on the organized sector. The bride-price system on account of a decline in female contribution to family income alone, without any other parallel developments, will have a punitive incidence no greater than that of the system replaced.

1.5 Marriages in West

Marriage is one of the essential institutions and it's clearly synchronized. Juvenile men are powerfully enjoined to get married as early as possible to achieve adulthood and solidity in their life. Marriage is an important social act involving multiple reciprocal acts. One significant reciprocal area that helps in understanding social organization is bride price. Meanings of marriage have expanded and are more complex in today's world with LGBTQ rights recognized and permission of queer marriages.

In European history, marriage was additional trade union among two families who agree to the marriage of their children. Idealistic affection and even uncomplicated affection, was not measured crucial. Traditionally, the apparent prerequisite of marriage has been frazzled.

In earliest Greece, no definite social service was obligatory for the creation of marriages; it is only reciprocal contract and the reality that the pair must observe each other as husband and wife. For that reason men frequently married when they were in their 20s or 30s and estimated their wives to be in their premature adolescence (Smith, 2004). It has been recommended that these ages prepared intellect for the Greek because men were generally done with martial examination by the age of 30, and marrying a juvenile girl ensure her virginity (Schaff, 2007). Marring Greek women had a small number of privileges in earliest Greek civilization. An un-married female, whose father dies without heir-at-law for his daughter, she can be imposed to get married to her next-door male relative (Epstein, 2006).

In Middle East, marriages were approved occasionally as early as birth, and these premature pledges to marry were often used to guarantee treaty between dissimilar royal families, the upper class. The cathedral resisted this obligatory union, and enlarged the number of causes for nullification of these arrangements (Regime, 2000).

1.6 Marriage in East

The foundation of the marriage association in Islam is never excitement or passion, nor simple sexual desirability but the type of steady affection that makes expressive

safety, harmony and strength. Marriages in Islam are reflected in various verses of Holy Quran as;

“And marry those among you who are single . . . If they are needy, God will make them free from want out of His grace.” [Qur'an 24:32]

“And He it is who has created man from water; then He has made for him blood-relationship and marriage-relationship. And the Lord is ever Powerful.” [Qur'an 25:54]

“One of His signs is this: that He has created mates for you from yourselves that you might find peace of mind in them, and He put between you love and compassion. Surely there are signs in this for the people who reflect.” [Qur'an 30:21]

Having discussed the Islamic origin of men's role it allows us to observe what has to be declared concerning women. The Hadith says;

“I offer you, treat your women well, as women were shaped from a beam, the division of it that is most twisted is its top, be supposed to you attempt to make straight it you will fracture it, and if you depart it be, it will stay twisted”

A well-known Hadith explains how one should desire his spouse-to-be condition. The present are four reasons why a woman is preferred for marriage i.e. public status, lineage, economic status and beauty.

1.7 Marriages in Pakistan

Marriage in Pakistan is ethnically measured as the major customary and steady existing custom influenced by religion and regional cultural traits. Marriages are not only association between man and woman; they are also measured as amalgamation among both families. Majorly, in Pakistan the marriages are arranged (similar ethnic background) due to cultural and social stratification. Marriages arranged by parents have been a fundamental part of Pakistani culture, and it is conventional for community to have their marriages designed by their parents and other appreciated

relatives. The caste and class structure is followed in marriages; majorly people prefer to marry within caste, sects and class. Endogamy is the prominent character in rural areas of Pakistan. Marriage is not just a bond between two individuals; rather it builds a new relation between two families.

1.8 Marriages in Gilgit Baltistan

Endogamy is preferably practiced in Gilgit-Baltistan. Various castes and tribes are available in the region e.g. Sheen, Yashkun, Rajas, Syeds, Doom and Kamin. Doods and Kamins are lower castes while Syed and Rajas are considered superior castes. The other two Sheen and Yashkun are ranked in between the upper and lower caste. The Sheen and Yashkun castes strictly practiced endogamy. There is a customary tradition in which every caste has its own social and economic stratification in the area. The higher caste does not marry with other castes specifically Doods and Kamin who are professionally drum beaters, and tenants usually. Due to modernization and educational advancement in other parts of the GB, the endogamy is not a big hurdle.

Population of GB is Muslim, but following different sects of Islam; Shia, Sunni, Ismaili and Noor Bakhshis. Majority of the people marry within their own sect but There are some exceptions where people marry outside their sects. Inter-Sect marriages were practiced before the sectarian clash held in 1988; between Shia and Sunni, which killed hundreds of people from both sects. After this incident, the gap of social interaction between the people of these two sects widened and eventually the inter-sect marriages came to an end.

1.9 Marriages in Diamer

Diamer district of Gilgit-Baltistan is predominant by Sunni Muslims living under tribal system. Sheen and Yashkun are the major tribes living in Diamer and these two tribes are always in a state of competition since very old times. Even the politics in the Diamer is based on tribal system. This is the least educated district of Gilgit- Baltistan with very low female literacy ratio.

Marriages in Diamer are totally endogamy; no members of Sheen marry with Yashkun and vice versa. The people of Diamer practice *Xhrap* (locally used for bride price). *Xhrap* would be finalized after engagement before Nikkah and Rukhsati.

Families of both sides negotiate and finalize the amount. The *Xhrap* amount is fixed according to the economic positions of groom, with those amount parents of bride make the dowry.

The indigenous people of Diamer District describe the two basic terms of bride price as “*Sirh and Darh*” price. According to them Haq Mehr paid at the time of Nikkah is considered as “*Sar ki qeemat*” (Literally Price for Head), while *Xhrap* as “*Dhar ki qeemat*”. Haq Mehr is given for religious purposes, while *Xhrap* is a cultural phenomenon. *Xhrap* does not possess religious significance; it is totally a cultural practice.

1.10 Statement of the problem

Major concern of the study was to investigate the concept of *Xhrap* (bride price) which is common practice in Diamer. More specifically *Xhrap* is the money paid by groom or his families to the bride’s parents for marriage expenses e.g. purchase of dowry, meal for procession etc. the present study will high light and try to understand the misconception of *Xhrap* outside the community. In all four castes (selected castes) of Samigal and Khanbari village; the concept of *Xhrap* is differently perceived but outside the area it is associated as bride price. The study will also explore economic and social determinants associated with marriage in the locale. *Xhrap* has significance in social, cultural, economic and religious aspects in the region.

In sheen and Yashkun the concept of *Xhrap* is mainly associated with prestige of the family as well as given status by the groom to his bride, whereas, in Doom and Kamin the economic aspect is more prominent. Both castes are economically poor that is why marriage is a tool of sustainable livelihood. Girls and boys have division of labor e.g. male has to do all hard works i.e. cutting woods, working in mines, laboring inside and outside the area and all sorts of earning activities and female has to do all household activities with additional farm activities and her importance is valued according to her work. *Xhrap* is conceptualized as stated earlier, to resolve the issue of such burden. The division of labor and participation of male and female in daily household or in-farm activities would be analyzed in the context of production at household and farm level. The thesis is the combination of social and economic

stratification under the major influence of *Xhrap*. Up-coming chapters will elaborate the social and economic importance of *Xhrap*.

1.11 Objectives

This research is based on the following objectives;

- To find out Social, Cultural, Religious and Economic Significance of *Xhrap*
- To describe the Performative dynamics of *Xhrap*
- Document *Xhrap* as regulating practice of social organization.

1.12 Significance of the study

This research will be helpful to better understand the concept of *Xhrap* and its significance in various aspects. The study will also highlight the social position of women in the region, because they are the central part of *Xhrap* practices.

Etic perspective is mainly utilized for conceptualization of *Xhrap* as stated in research problem. The study can be the backbone for further researches in the concept of *Xhrap*.

1.13 Limitation of the study

Several challenges rose during field work. I have faced several challenges regarding data collecting due to compact community. The area is considered very hard, people are introvert and male of the region do not allow communicating about their social and cultural issues to any outsider. They are very confident, cultural supremacy and association of honor with castes develop the personality of natives.

As the selected topic is directly linked with prestige, female's life is very apprehensive for males. Furthermore, I was subjected to alien experiences of quite new habitat but I restrained them with continuous aid of my key informants. Language was not the big issue because I spoke Chilasi Shina (Diamer region Dialect), some certain particular dialects of locale were difficult to figure out.

I got major support from the Forest Department. My father is a government servant in the said department, he requested one of his colleagues to support and facilitate me in

Darial, who was resident of the area so, after discussion about my topic with him I selected him as my major key informant like facilitator.

People of the region prominently do not allow outsider even though he/she belongs to Gilgit or Astore region. The other important factor which I had encountered is the sectarian issue that is prevailing in the area.

Continuous visits in the locale, in formal discussions about daily life activities, farm activities with elder females and younger girls decreased my alien view. After two months of regular visits formally I started my interviews and formal field work began.

Interviews were conducted in local languages which were translated and re translated into English to make the phenomenon understandable.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Background of the Study

Bride Price is a classical subject of inquiry for anthropologists; therefore, a plethora of relevant literature exists that deals with Bride Price. This study uses this classic topic to understand the lived experience of women who make sense of their social existence through the bride price. Review of relevant literature is done to identify the gaps in research on bride price. In addition to that the review of literature provides basis for this study as an ethnographic endeavor.

Bride Price is a term that has specific meanings; however, it may be used and understood as synonymous to dower or *Haq Mahar*¹. Marriages by capture, by service and by purchases are often taken as evolutionary stages of marriages.

“The Bride price means rather a compensation for the expense the care and trouble spent on the bride’s upbringing. For the rest it is also a compensation for the complete loss of a worker, as the bride withdraws from her own kindred and hence forth belongs to the husband’s (Vroklage, 1952).”

Different possibilities of Bride Price payment have been recorded by the number of scholars, according to literature the payment could be made during the marriage or before one week of marriage except after marriage; such practice profound regulatory and stability in tribal lives generally; and specifically in family lives (Driberg, Stoneham , & Young, 1930).

The custom of bride price dates back as far as 3000 BCE. The ancient civilizations of Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Hebrews, Aztecs, and Incas all used bride price (Quale, 1988). The Germanic tribes, who date from 2000 BCE and ruled western Europe from the 600 to 1000 CE, required bride price for a marriage to be legal (Hughes, 1985). A valid marriage contract in Islamic law required a form of bride price (Bianquis, 1996).

¹Haq Mahar is the payment in cash or kind or right of property ownership that is gifted to the bride by the groom according to Muslim Jurisprudence as part of initiation rituals of marriage

Such transactions are associated with the Maghreb of the early Middle Ages, Bedouin tribes of the Middle East, and countries previously under the Ottoman Empire such as Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Albania, and Afghanistan (Rapoport, 2000; Quale, 1988). Classical China required the negotiation of a bride price for the validity of marriage, and these transfers continue to be the norm in many rural areas today (Ebrey, 1993). China also seems to be one of the few examples where bride price and dowry coexist, with the bride price being compulsory and the dowry, which is more voluntary in nature, typically financed with a return portion of the bride price (Engel, 1984). Taiwan also seems to follow this traditional Chinese practice of exchanging marriage payments in both directions (Parish & Willis, 1993). Other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Indonesia, and Burma, seem to only transfer bride prices (Cherlin & Chamrathirong, 1988; Spiro, 1975). Bride prices are most prevalent in Africa; more than 90 % of sub-Saharan societies traditionally made such marriage payments (Murdock, 1967; Goody, 1973).

The studies of Tapper (1981) for Afghanistan, Zhang (2000) for rural China, and Mulder (1995) for Kenya suggest that the amount of bride price is relatively constant across families of different income levels. Evidence from Kenya suggests that bride price amounts also do not vary with the rank of the wife in polygynous marriages.

This relationship was similarly found by Papps (1983), who studied bride prices in a 1920s Palestinian village, and Kressler (1977), who looked at data from 1964-1975 among Bedouin living in Israeli towns. The amount of bride price can also depend on the expected number of children a woman will bear. For example, a divorced woman who already has children will receive a lower bride price, whereas women who reach puberty earlier receive a higher price (Dekker & Hoogeveen, 2002; Mulder, 1995).

Berg Schlosser (1984) described the gendered division of labor as clearly defined, with the wife being responsible for household activities and farm work, and the husband regulates the economic resources. These features were established by the 1988 study (Jensen & Juma, 1989). A decade later, the area was described as a 'high polygamy regime,' with a greater desire for many children among the Luhya than among other ethnic groups in Kenya (Ezeh, 1997). In a similar vein, Lee Smith (1997, p. 83) says that woman can only 'survive if they have a husband.' In folktales Bukusu

Women are still represented as victims, dependent on their husbands and with limited control over their own lives (Florence, 2013).

The institution of bride price in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Buryat society, usually referred to as "*kalym*" "in Russian language, was both custom and customary law, a part of Buryat culture and its codification by an increasingly present Imperial authority. Yet Buryats had their own doubts and objections concerning bride price, as revealed in literary texts and media reports beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. Literate Buryats familiar with Russian custom denounced bride price's economic and demographic misrepresentations and promoted romantic love as the true basis for marriage and women's familial duties. The institution of bride price was decried at community meetings (*suglans*), mulled over by wealthy Buryats. Articulations of the need for change in Buryat society reached their most ardent peak during the Civil War era (1917-1922). A new image of the Buryat woman emerged in a widening field of discussion that moved from community gatherings dominated by powerful local figures to enactments of social problems on stage for general audiences.

The description of marriage practices bride price, dowries, bride service and ideas about *kalym* were de rigueur in Russian writing about the peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Siberia. Initially, most of the documentation of the customs, cultures, and institutions of non-Russians was penned by government officials or a handful of state-supported explorers. These reports built a body of knowledge about the empire and others, in hopes of better ruling them.

2.2 Social Stratification

Substantial ethnographic research by anthropologists has aimed at distinguishing between those societies where the burden of marriage payments falls primarily on the groom's family and bride prices are paid, and those where the bulk of the transfer comes from the bride's family and dowries are paid. The general pattern seems to be that bride price exists more frequently in primitive, tribal, and often nomadic societies. Several scholars have even contended that dowry marks a transition to more complex societal structures e.g. Hughes (1985) argues that the historical absence of

bride price in Greece and Rome was an important demarcation of the complexity of Greco-Roman civilization. This contrast with contemporary Indo-European peoples (the Germanic tribes) and also the ancient and more primitive people of the Mediterranean whose legal and religious literature, from the code of Hammurabi to the Bible, records the practice of bride price.

In many ancient cultures, the practice of bride price began to wane, and a transformation to the custom of dowry occurred as these civilizations grew and flourished. This pattern occurred in the Babylonian empire of Mesopotamia as the society slowly began to urbanize after the eighteenth century BCE (Quale, 1988). Similarly, the ancient Egyptians began to emphasize dowry by the sixth century BCE. Ancient Hebrews also experienced the same shifts away from bride price to dowry as they moved from pastoral nomadic on the fringes of Mesopotamia to settled agriculture and city life in the land of Canaan.

A predominance of dowry over bride price in China during the Sung period (960–1279) also corresponded to the development of a more complex social order at that time. This period saw increased emphasis on the acquisition of education in comparison with the prior Tang period, where a small number of ruling aristocrat families precluded the possibility of upward mobility for other classes (Ebrey, 1993). Bride price-paying societies have also been associated with a strong female role in agriculture. Boserup (1970), in particular, has argued that bride price is found in societies in which agriculture relies on light tools (such as the hoe) and thus where women are actively engaged.

The use of bride price has tended to correlate with polygamy (men have more than one wife) and also with the possibility of divorce e.g. bride price is near-universal in sub-Saharan Africa, where more than 95% of societies are traditionally polygynous (Goody, 1973). Polygamy was also permitted in ancient Israel, Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, classical China, and Islamic countries, all of which commonly had the burden of marriage payments falling to the groom's side (Burguiere, Klapisch-Zuber, Segalen & Zonabend, 1996). In contrast, lineage and locality of post marital residence seem to play little role in determining the direction of payments. Both dowry- and bride price-paying societies tend to be patrilineal (children belong to the lineage of their father)

and patrilocal (brides join the household of grooms and their families upon marriage) (Goody, 1973; Murdock, 1967; Quale, 1988).

2.3 The phenomena of Bride Price

The phenomenon of the „bride price“ family is an economic has been of considerable interest to anthropologists who study family structure and organization. The transfers of property which frequently accompany marriages in other cultures may be as important in maintaining alliances between the spouses' respective itself (Richards, 1995).

At first sight, one might view bride-price and dowry as essentially the same sort of payment, with bride-price reflecting a positive value for women and dowry a negative one. However, bride-price and dowry are often paid on the same marriage. Bride wealth and dowry are very far from being mirror opposites (Ivy, Amyra & Lucy, 1983).

According to Becker 1973, Papps 1980, for a nontechnical survey of the literature, “the power of decision to form a new household by marriage is as important as the decision to form a new organization, and may be analyzed and evaluated in terms of a similar body of theory. This implicit that registered economic theory to bride payments may produce some fruitful insights.”

The amount was fixed at a relatively constant level in early legal codes of the Germanic tribes (Hughes, 1985) and in Hebrew law (Alvarez-Pereyre and Heymann, 1996). Among Bedouin tribes, where marriage to paternal cousins was most common, the bride price was often larger if the bride married a more distant relative because in that case, the groom gained rights to a woman and children from a more distant lineage (Bianquis, 1996). This relationship was similarly found by Papps (1983), who studied bride prices in a 1920s Palestinian village, and Kressler (1977), who looked at data from 1964-1975 among Bedouin living in Israeli towns.

2.4 Global Practices

The outstanding changes in matrimony and family in numerous societies of the Third World, as well as changes in aspects of common performance frequently connected with them, have been glowing standard in many brilliant ethnographic account. And analyzed supplementary commonly in a variety of installation of amalgamation. In spite of prosperity of erudition, greatly concerning the processes at work require to be clarifying (Richards, 1995).

In sub-Saharan Africa, cattle and goats are the custom for bride price payments. At Uganda, the matter of bride price is different between the dissimilar tribes. The largest community is the Buganda, typically situated in central Uganda, which uses mwenge or banana wine, customary dresses, and a surplus of other food substances for bride price. Polygamy and arranged marriages also happen within the various ethnic groups. As bride price values can differ around ethnicity in Uganda, this can also be justification for dissimilar behaviors for the marital pairs (Kaye, 2005).

A strong relationship between bride price payment and lower rates of non-marital sexual relationships is discovered for women but not for men. One understanding we deal for these findings is that bride price reflects the price of women's sexual reliability to men. Like most of other Africans, mostly Ugandans men make monetary bride price payments to a girl's family proceeding to marriage. Ethnographical perspectives from Uganda reports that husbands are contemplated as owners of sexual rights over their wives, that illegal sexual contact between a married woman and another man is intended to be holdup promise beside her husband, and that bride price transfers rights ended a woman's sexuality (Parikh, 2007).

Bride-price is not a slave price; what function can it serve? Since it does not usually transfer absolute unrestricted rights over women, why are men prepared to pay often quite considerable sums for their brides? I suggest that bride-price is the discounted value of part or the wife's entire share of marriage output and that the value of this share must at least equal the bride's possible earnings in alternative households (Frederic & Stephen, 1983). Bride price compensation is statistically considerably related with lower rates of non-spousal sexual contact in women, but is not,

Statistically extensively connected with higher rates in men (Reprod, 2009). One of main concerns in Uganda is the norms of bride price refund capability in which a husband who is dissatisfied by his wife can return her to his father in law (David, 2009).

2.5 Economic Aspect

Anthropologists have always been interested in such marriage payments and have produced many curious hypotheses about them, but there appears to be no actual consensus about their role. Numerous types of marriage have been discussed earlier, but the payments of *Xhrap* will be discussed briefly in chapter five. Such type of payments under economic theory had been recorded by Becker (1973) in Palestinian.

A number of factors involved in practice of bride price in Diamer (Gilgit-Baltistan); some of them are quite similar to other regions of Pakistan e.g. KP. This tradition is followed since ancient times; some of factors like force marriages, early age marriages, child marriages, marriage contract violation, economic crisis, and death of spouse as well as ethnic and sect differences are some of the prominent influencing factors of *Xhrap* (Mahmood, 2005).

Payments between families at the time of marriage existed during the history of most developed countries and are currently pervasive in many areas of the developing world. These payments can be substantial enough to affect the welfare of women and a society's distribution of wealth. Recent estimates document transfers per marriage amounting to six times the annual household income in South Asia (Rao, 1993), and four times in sub-Saharan Africa (Dekker & Hoogeveen, 2002).

Botticini (1999) empirically verifies the positive relationship between the amount of dowry transferred and both sides' household wealth, using data from fifteenth-century Tuscany. In Guzzettis (2002) sample of dowries from fourteenth century Venice, average dowry increased with social class, with dowries of nobles almost four times those of commoners. Goiten (1978) similarly points to class stratification in dowries amongst Jews in the Mediterranean during the High Middle Ages.

Similar patterns are confirmed for modern India. Dowries are largest amongst the highest ranking castes (Rao, 1993; Dalmia & Lawrence, 2005). Strikingly similar preferences seem to determine dowry payments in current-day South Asia and in historical Europe. According to Chojnacki (2000), the Renaissance marriage market valued maturity in grooms, chaste youth in brides, and family wealth and prominence for both. Typically, in India, the most important quality of a bride is a good appearance, whereas for a groom it is the ability to earn a living, often reflected in his educational level (Caldwell, Reddy & Caldwell, 1983; Billig, 1992). Payments from the groom's side are either transferred directly to the bride's parents, formally termed "bride-price," commonly known as „dower“.

According to Kressel (1977) *“a cultural norm of engagement stability preferably linked to the full payment of Xhrap otherwise, if groom's family failed to pay the amount to bride's parents; they are free to engage their girl somewhere else.”* In particular cultures the size of bride price payments has become main element of family honor. For the groom's side the aptitude to compensate a large bride price is a measure of wealth, and for the bride's side, the amount received can measure both the social esteem of the family and the moral reliability of the bride. It can also comprise the term bride wealth and bride price is equal with bride wealth (Kressel, 1977).

Any positive bride-price can be characterized generally as a compensatory payment to the family of the female for the production loss they suffer on her departure. But there can be wide variations in the relative importance accorded to the different constituent elements that go towards its specification (Indira, 1983).

Bride price Most of the literature on marriage payments in economics is built on the seminal work of Becker (1991), who developed the marriage market framework to analyzed transfers at the time of marriage. In Becker's model, men and women both possess varying qualities (or potential incomes). Marriage is viewed as a joint venture that offers greater efficiency in production (household, market, or both). Each person chooses the mate who maximizes their utility. The marriage market assigns mates and the distribution of returns among them.

Usually an efficient marriage market exhibits positive assortative mating, where high-quality men are matched with high-quality women, and low-quality men are matched with low-quality women. This outcome follows when husbands and wives are complementary inputs into production and an efficient market maximizes aggregate output, so that no person can improve their marriage without making others worse off. The equilibrium division of the marriage surplus between spouses is determined by these conditions. The division of marital surplus is likely to be inflexible given that household commodities like housing and children, which are jointly consumed, are difficult to divide. Also legal restrictions, social norms, or an implicit imbalance of power within the household could restrict the efficient division of surplus.

Becker's (1991) theoretical framework is consistent with several of the facts presented here. The frequency and magnitude of bride prices should be greater when wives' input into production (like agriculture) is relatively high and in societies with a high incidence of polygamy, where there is greater competition by men for wives. This marriage matching framework can also explain a transition from bride price to a dowry as societies grow more complex. Consider first a primitive tribal society with homogenous men and homogenous women, but where women have economic value of their own, via their input into agriculture production, and hence receive a bride price in equilibrium. Suppose that new wage-earning opportunities open up for men, while drawing women into the home. Women remain a homogenous group with less economic value.

Bronfenbrenner was the first economist to comment that bride price is more frequently noticed when polygamy or other factors decrease the relation of marriageable women to men. An increase of the economics theory explains that male suitors with scarcities, such as a status for sexual promiscuity, might overawed these scarcities by approaching to bride's father with a substantial offer of bride price. On the other hand, a male who lacked resources for proposal to bride's father, capacity to succeed in his proposal of marriage if he had a status for other respectable qualities such as gentleness and sexual fidelity. Thus it can be assumed that the payment of bride price in Uganda would be connected with decreased matrimonial in men (Grossbard, 1973).

The bride price study gives an economic understanding to bride price costs to evaluate whether they provide truthful female sexual conduct. Present studies of sexual relationships in Africa describe the consequences of male wealth and a wife's pregnancy as factors moving male promiscuity, but there has been modest attention given to women's encouragements or discouragements to be sexually credible (Kimuna & Djamba 2005, Onah et. al., 2002).

2.5.1 Economic Burden of Marriage

Hughes (1985) argues that the historical absence of bride price in Greece and Rome was an important demarcation of the complexity of Greco-Roman civilization. This contrast with contemporary Indo-European peoples (the Germanic tribes) and also the ancient and more primitive people of the Mediterranean whose legal and religious literature, from the code of Hammurabi to the Bible, records the practice of bride price.

There is one important lack of symmetry however. A bride-price fetches a bride any loan contracted to pay the bride-price can in principle be repaid from the productive contribution over time of the woman. Dowry on the other hand, fetches nothing equivalent. Thus a dowry cannot be termed a 'groom-price' for it does not fetch a groom in the same sense in which a bride-price fetches a bride (Indira, 1983).

There is a huge and growing literature in economics and other social sciences on the responsibility of dowry expenses from a bride's family to the groom and bride price imbursement of cash from a groom's family to the bride in marriage markets. Economists typically dowries and bride price as the consequence of female competition for grooms in settings in which it is relatively unpleasant for women to stay un married compared to men, for instance because male individual earning capacity exceeds that of females (Becker, 1981; Rao, 1993).

The dowry system will assume a more widely punitive aspect only if expenditures of a non-rotating character i.e. on ceremonial or on individualized gifts, form a larger fraction of the payment than in the system replaced. Without such a parallel development, dowry as a system can be no more widely punitive than bride-price as a system. That there has been such a parallel development is supported by casual

evidence, and is clearly a response to the demonstration effect of organized-sector dowries (Indira, 1983).

In this framework, dowry and bride price acts as prices that maintain balance in the marriage market by equating supply and demand for grooms. Despite the appeal of this analytical framework, empirical and theoretical research into both bride price and dowry has had difficulty counting for the large swings in the levels and participation that have been observed in countries such as Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan over the past few decades (Amin & Cain, 1997). Time trends in all three settings indicate substantial price of bride and dowry expansion and rising participation, despite documented increases in the relative economic value of women and little change in the relative number of brides and grooms on the marriage market (Paul, 1986; Rao, 1993; Anderson, 2007).

Some kinds of marriage output are yielded straight by labor input, for example, preparation of meals, housecleaning, and work on the family farm. Again, one might expect women with more education to be more well-organized and effective in such production and the bride-price should reflect this. In this case, however, there is no public goods element, and therefore, the net effect of education on bride-price is more likely to be positive (Tray, 1974). Since the bride-price is the recent worth of future facilities, it will be lengthier time frame over which those assistances may be received. Thus, younger brides (child marriages) as long as they are not young as to be a net burden should knowledge higher bride-prices.

2.6 Bride Price in South Asia

The wide spread change from bride-price to dowry expenses. Status of Women Committee ends the search for an explanation with the well-known evidence from the decennial population Census on the declining contribution of female in the labor energy, (the decline persists even after adjustment for changes in definitions, which have over the 3ears been increasingly restrictive with respect to participation in the labor force).

The significant aspect characterizing marriages in India is the economic transfer made at the time of marriage among families involved. This diffusion can go in both directions from the bride's family to the groom's, known as dowry, bride price and vice versa. Bride price as dependent institution, using surveying data from the rural economic and demographic survey 1998 national representative survey of India. Relatively little research has studied marriage transfers in the rest of south Asia, though several studies point to bride price payments now happening in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The frequency of marriage compensation in contemporary South Asia. In both India and Pakistan, paying price at the time of marriage is almost universal. In Bangladesh, the possibility of paying a bride price at the time of marriage is increasing (Nazarri, 1991).

The Bukusu culture is patrilineal (father lineage) and described as strongly favoring husbands over wives. Women have no rights to property. Land and cattle are inherited by sons only. The husband has limited sexual rights over the wife. She is expected to tolerate her husband's associations with other women, including polygamy. In case of divorce the Bukusu wife cannot claim anything, including her children. This explanation more than half a century ago has been verified over time. A bride price comprised of 14 cows, 13 of which should go to the father of the bride and one to her maternal uncle. The payment was expected to be returned in case of divorce and thus it stabilized marriages (Wagner, 1949).

One of the most difficult puzzles to explain is the sudden switch in the direction of marriage payments that occurred recently in Bangladesh. In this setting, the dowry system first emerged in the 1950s and has now almost fully replaced the traditional system of bride-prices, making it the only Muslim country in which bride-price is rarely observed and dowry is almost universally practiced.

The hard and fast distinction among marriage by bride-price and marriage by exchange is perhaps small misleading, as marriage by bride-price is also from some points of view marriage by exchange and marriage by exchange does not always suggest the deficiency of some form of payment in commodity (money or in kind). Thus it may be said that all forms of marriage involve the idea of exchange, and that some forms of so called exchange-marriage do not involve exchange in the sense in

directed by the term. For present purposes, however, we shall use the term, “bride-price” or “purchase” of bride and “exchange” in their ordinary accepted sense.

2.7 Key Factors of Bride Price

The key variable, therefore, is the valuation placed upon household work performed by the woman. It is clear that, in this circumstance, it is not even necessary that women should actually leave the labor force. As long as the cost of feeding a female net of her domestic contribution is valued positive, all that is necessary is that female earnings should decline to a smaller number in order for the transition to take place. In the limiting case, a zero valuation may be placed upon her domestic contribution. In that case the dowry which comes into existence will measure in full the present worth of the price of supportive a female over her lifetime if women are pays drop to zero, and something excluding if female earnings contribution is drop below the cost of existence but not all the way to zero.

Two conditions thus need to be satisfied for an unorganized sector transition. First and most important, in the specification of the bride-price, the domestic contribution of the woman must be valued at less than the cost of her subsistence. Secondly, the female contribution to family income must fall below a threshold value given by the net excess of subsistence cost over value of domestic contribution. It is not necessary that the female contribution should drop to zero, i.e. it is not necessary that women should withdraw altogether from the labor force in order for dowry to emerge as an unorganized-sector phenomenon.

There are two prospects of decline in the female involvement to family income. First, that the failure of externally executed by a decrease in demand for the goods produced or services concentrated by the female in the particular group or by both women and men in the group taken together. In either case female labor force participation might either fall in response, or be maintained at old levels but at greatly reduced productivity. It is important to restate that, a dowry system could come into existence in the second case as well provided the cost of subsistence of a woman net of her domestic contribution is valued to be positive and provided the value of her gainful contribution falls below that. The decline in women participation in productive work,

i.e. the growth in female leisureliness may then just something that is buying the community with its increased wealth.

Dowry payment like the bride-price preceding it will have a purely compensatory character. The important point is that, since the amount of this compensation will be essentially determined by the valuation placed by the community as a whole on the subsistence cost of a woman net of her domestic contribution, the compensation sum will be basically uniform. It may not be perfectly information of course: there may be factors that will mitigate or augment the dowry in particular cases. Never the less, where the dowry system comes into existence on wealth of a decline in the women contribution to family pay alone, there is enough underlying uniformity in the valuation of a woman such that these factors will not alter the essential uniformity of the resulting payment. The next issue is of how extensive the disciplinary impact of such a dowry system will be, relative to the bride price system that is replaced.

2.8 Bride Price and Women Autonomy

Many beliefs and cultural practices place a very huge value on virginity at marriage perhaps because the women's fertility is as yet not selected. One would also believe a widow possesses high status than a divorcee, because divorce label a woman as less ranked in social structure and prove her marriage as unsuccessful one. Bride-price for a virgin supposes to be higher than that for a widow, which, in turn, would be higher than that for a divorcee. Under certified circumstances the bride-price is given return to the bride's family for the loss of her services rather than the property (Assets) of the bride herself and strength therefore expect it to depend on the degree of loss practiced by the bride's family. Where the prolonged family is an important economic unit, one would imagine the level of relationship among husband and wife to be significant e.g. if a female marries her cousin her children will be accompaniments to her own larger family, whereas if she marries a stranger her children will be vanished to them.

Thus, the more closely related are the bride and groom, the lower will be the supply curve and thus the lower the bride-price. If bride-price were ritual one would expect it to be balanced for all brides and autonomous of the quality of the bride. On the other

hand, if bride-price were a way of showing the repute of the groom's and/or the bride's family, one would expect it to be dependent on the expression of the groom's and bride's father. In contrast, the bride price will be the same for all brides of the same type, higher for brides of higher quality (with the exception of more fecund brides, discussed above), and independent of the productivity of the groom and of the wealth and status of his family. This analysis has some implications for the incidence of divorce in exchange marriages-a custom commonly observed in societies in which bride-prices are paid.

3 METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methodologies are categorized into four type i.e. Ethnography, Phenomenology, Narrative study and Case study. Present research study is ethnographic study of *Xhrap* so, ethnographic research methods were utilized. From them in-depth interviews, case study methods and participant observations have been used in the study. Ethnography is arbitrary; therefore, this study is contextually specific to this.

3.1 Locale and Context of the Study

Gilgit Baltistan is divided into four regions .i.e. Gilgit, Skardu, Ghizer and Diamer. Present research study has been conducted in Diamer region. More specifically two villages i.e. Samigal and Khanbari have been selected from 6 villages of Darail Tehsil. Both the villages were selected on some characteristics i.e. easy access to the locale, availibity of educational institutes. Both villages were selected because of the presence of *Xhrap* practices among residents. In addition to that, it was accessible for me because of the familiarity of my father in the concern area. These villages are the places where girl's primary schools were burnt in the post research time period.

3.2 Field Facilitator/Gate Keeper

The field facilitator was a high official in Forest Department; his house was known respectable among the community. He introduced me to his relatives, from them after discussion on the topic, I had selected three females who gave me consent and were interested to be the part of research. Each key informant had certain characteristics which I will discuss later. The facilitator was responsible of security and social integration within different groups of both villages.

3.3 Rapport Building

In anthropology building rapport in the community is the first and primary step of where the researcher builds friendly relations with the community particularly with the respondents, makes them feel comfortable to interact, which helps to conduct interviews. According to Bailey:

“For a researcher rapport building is one of the most essential tasks after entering into the field that could be most difficult and consuming task in the field work (Bailey, 1952)”.

I was introduced by the facilitator in the community that “she is here to document some prominent phenomena of the community, she has number of question with her and this documentation/ information will only be used for her academic purposes”. I made several visits to my locale before my field stay. During the course of my visits, my facilitator familiarized me with the inhabitants of the both villages. I used to share room with my facilitator’s daughter Rabia. We shared everyday life experiences and they shared lots of experiences of their surrounding about *Xhrap* practices. Their stories lead me to probe life of many women of the villages.

Within community the selection of the appropriate respondents who give information about said topic is necessary and important. Key informants accompanied me in the villages and introduced me with the community members and asked them to give me some time. From here to onward I became active and introduced myself and topic of the research, main objectives, significance and importance to document *Xhrap* for my academic and for rest of country. This is a unique set of practice in the area which is identification mark for the community. For making the respondents comfortable, I have adopted certain cultural traits .i.e. dressing, acting like the natives do when they are in Elders Company, among women and going outside. I met natives from different social classes to understand the perception about *Xhrap* and their interpretation. I talked with elderly people to apprehend information about the history of *Xhrap*, experiences about *Xhrap* while they were receiver or giver of *Xhrap* practices, their subjective life experiences.

In anthropology, participant observation is used as a key method to collect qualitative data. Since participation in a community lowers social and communication barriers between the researcher and the researched, it allows the former to obtain valid data. It reduces the gap between the researcher and the respondents. This method extensively utilized during the field work because documentation of natives activities need a clear understanding about „what they are doing, what they are saying“. For making natives comfortable with my company a sense of friend ship must be necessary to obtain real

information regarding their daily life affairs. During field work, I met people daily and time to time participated in their daily chaos. I had participated with natives while collecting vegetables from their kitchen gardens and assisted in cooking. This gave me an opportunity to integrate with them like a family.

3.4 Key Informants

According to the Marshall (1996) a key informant is an expert source of information. The key informant technique is an ethnographic research method which was originally used in the field of cultural anthropology and is now being used more widely in other branches of social science investigation. Key informants serve as key source of information particularly regarding life, world and world view of the community. The selection of the key informants is important and needs to be chosen wisely. It is essential for the researcher to describe the objectives of her research to the key informants so that they can help her obtain valid and reliable data. Key informants are often used to triangulate the community regarding any field data.

As stated earlier, with the help of facilitator three well informed females had been selected for the study. Their characteristics are as under;

- Mrs. Haseena was 38 years old well informed lady in Samigal. She was my first key informant and belonged to Sheen caste; she had a good social influence in the locale, people respected her and she was well-versed with the community.
- The second key informant was Mrs. Malika, 45 years old. She had some healing methods to cure general health issues of children. She was the mother of six daughters who were married in different villages of Darail Tehsil. She belonged to Yashkun caste and had honorable position in Samigal village.
- Mrs. Yasmeen was 26 years old woman from Khanbari Village. She was the daughter of Mrs. Malika.

All the key informants were very polite and helpful for identification of the respondents in their respective villages. They spent most of their time to introduce me with the community.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is the method of anthropological research that refers to drawing a sample from the whole population. Sampling literally is the process of selecting desired number of individuals from existing area, gender, education, and demographic information of the area. In the existing type of research the selection of respondents and area is multi-layer. The detail of the process is as under:

- a. With the help of stratum sampling techniques two villages, Samigal and Khanbari had been selected on the basis of *Xhrap* practices. The Tehsil Darial has six villages, evaluated through the practice of *Xhrap* in the area and the communities who are more involved in this practice. With the help of the facilitator and frequent visits to the locale, it was observed and cross checked with the help of informal discussions that stated villages have high prevalence.
- b. After the selection of the locale, the second step was to identify key informants who could act in dual nature i.e. key informant and field facilitator. As stated earlier three key informants had been selected after evaluating their knowledge about *Xhrap* practices, affiliation and interaction with the community, personal and family status, worldview (outside the area). Two key informants were identified from Samigal and one from Khanbari. An ethical consent developed among key informant and researcher (I) for sharing the knowledge and privacy issues of the respondents and key informants as well. After one by one detailed discussion, they agreed to help me during the course of research.
- c. The topic is very sensitive; openly talking about *Xhrap* is restricted in the area because the honor of the family is directly associated with it. With the help of key informants it took two weeks for one respondent from Samigal to show her willingness to discuss the issue. That was turning point and from then onward the snowball sampling process was adopted. First respondent introduced the second, the second to third and so on. This was not only one time interviewing process, with the passage of time those who interviewed also provide assistance in selection of other respondents. After conducting 50 interviews study/ data reached at saturation point which marked the end of the interviews.

- d. Purposively a number of case studies written down to enrich the study. A number of patterns/reasons (why people practice *Xhrap*?) implication challenges and threats to the community were the major thematic areas for selection of cases. SWOT analysis was the second prominent feature for selection of case studies.

3.6 Interviews

The data was collected through interviewing the respondents with the help of interview guide. Before going to the field, after review of literature a number of questions had been developed to document the perception and other objectives of the study. To procure the relevant data from natives, its religious and cultural interpretation, an interview guide was materialized. Open ended questions along with few closed ended questions related to the topic of the research were asked from the respondents. The interview guide is annexed at the end. An interview guide has greater admeasurements of unstructured or open ended questions. I incorporated data through face to face interaction with the respondent. It is a modifiable tool of data collection and the researcher can count or discount the question or can alter the sequence according to the situation.

The interview guide has been categorized into two segments i.e. Natives and others to find out cultural knowledge of *Xhrap* and perspective of traditional authorities and their guidance (religious and cultural) concerning about *Xhrap*.

Overall, 50 in-depth interviews had been conducted. From them 30 were females while remaining 20 males. From 20 males, 14 were commoners and for 4 were religious leaders and 2 were government officials. From each village overall 27 respondents from Samigal and 23 were interviewed from Khanbari village.

3.7 Case Studies

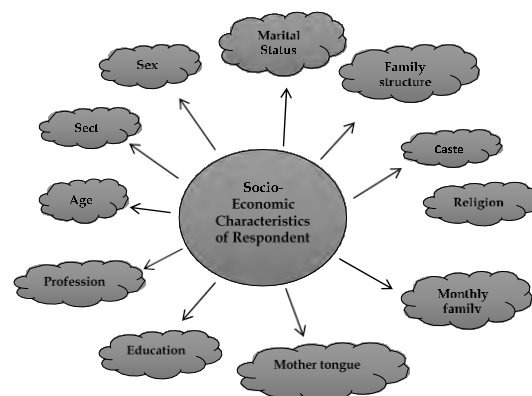
Case studies are in-depth investigations of a single person, group, event or community. Typically, data are gathered from a variety of sources and by using several different methods (e.g. observations & interviews). The research may also continue for an extended period of time, so processes and developments can be studied as they happen (McLeod., 2008). Case studies improved the quality of data in

a great deal. I also raised data through various case studies because it contributed an account to get first hand data from inhabitants concerning folk knowledge of *Xhrap* practices in detail with accordance to the socio-economic characteristics of the respective respondent. During the research I have included various case studies which are discussed under the relevant heading in the upcoming sections.

3.8 Demographic Information

Demographic information gathering technique helped me to get quantitative data. It provided me detailed and complete information about the economic status, educational status, family size, gender division of the family members to understand the status and type of community which is being studied. This method supported my research and made my research more accurate and comprehensive.

Figure 1: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents



Source: Researcher

3.9 Audio Recording

In the era of globalization, different tools and devices have been developed to aid researchers and scholars in academia. Recording devices play an important role in recording of perceptions, life histories, Case studies and certain preferences of interviewee. In present study audio device (which was mobile phone) has been used

with the consent of respondents to make sure no detail was missed during description. The recordings were helpful during write up phase of thesis because whenever I felt there is something missing I listened the recordings to make myself clear.

3.10 Field Diary

Positively, my field experiences in data collection were remarkable and challenging as well. In social research, researcher has to face a lot of difficulties .i.e. co-operation, nature, attitude and level of satisfaction about numerous quires. Categorically, different set of responses and attitudes were notified. Field diary was helpful to make me punctual in meetings; documentation of happenings during the field, as well as it has all contact records of the key informants and the respondents at completion of field work. During the phase of thesis writing when I needed some clarification from the respondent and from key informants, it helped to contact with them.

4 AREA PROFILE

4.1 Introduction of Gilgit Baltistan

Northern areas of Pakistan formally known as, Gilgit-Baltistan are sandwiched between world highest mountain e.g. Hindukush, Himalayas and Karakorum which enhance the beauty of valley. The inhabitants of these mountain communities represent different cultures, traditions, languages and sects. This region is governed under Gilgit- Baltistan Governance Order 2009.

Strategically, Gilgit-Baltistan is an important region of the country, as it has borders with four different countries; China, India, Afghanistan and Russia. Karakorum Highway e.g. (KKH) is the highest paved road connects with Central Asian States, China through Wakhan. Afghanistan is connected through Chitral, while India is boarded through Astore and Baltistan region.

Gilgit-Baltistan is rich with natural resources, wildlife and biodiversity. This region is home to many world highest mountains and peaks, including the world second highest peak K2, Naga Parbat, Rakaposhi, Mashabroom, Ghasbroom and many more. These regions possess the world largest glaciers outside the polar region such as Siachin, Baltora, Hisper and Hoper glaciers. It is home of many rare species of wildlife such as snow-leopard, humalian Ibex, brown and black bear. Some of the world famous lakes are located in GB including, Rush lake, Phander, Khalti, Kachura, Ataabad and Borith lakes.

Gilgit-Baltistan en-comprises of various valleys and administrative units. Administratively it is divided into three divisions; Diamer, Gilgit and Baltistan division. These divisions are further divided into ten different districts. Diamer division consists of Astore and Diamer, Baltistan division is divided into four different districts namely Skardu, Shiger, Ghanche and Kharmang. While, the Gilgit division consists of four districts; Gilgit, Ghizer, Hunza and Nagar. Every division is headed by Commissioner, and districts are administered by Deputy Commissioners. Gilgit is the provincial capital of Gilgit-Baltistan.

According to the census 2017, an approximately 1.5 million are inhabited in Gilgit-Baltistan. Gilgit district is the densely populated with 3, 30,000 souls and district of Hunza is the least populated district having population of only 50000. The population growth of Gilgit-Baltistan is 3.4 % (Census, 2017).

Linguistically, diversity of languages is spoken in the region. The widely spoken languages are Shina, Balti, Brushahki, Khawar, and Wakhi, while some migrants also speak different dialects of Punjabi, Gujjari and Pashto. Shina is local language of GB, widely spoken in districts of Gilgit, Ghizer, Diamer, Astore and some parts of Hunza, Nagar and Baltistan. Balti is mainly spoken in Baltistan region while, Wakhi is spoken exclusively in Gojal and other upper parts of Hunza. Bruskaski is spoken widely by the inhabitants of Hunza, Nagar and Yaseen valley of district Ghizer, and in some parts of Gilgit district.

The people of the region are followers of Islam and following different sects of Islam; Shia, Sunni, Ismaili and Noor-Bakhshi; with few migrants belonging to Christianity. The majority of people belong to Shia sect of Islam. The whole population of Baltistan belongs to Shia sect with few follow Noor-Bakhshi sect. The whole population of district Nagar, majority in district Gilgit, less than half of Astore district and few hundred inhabitants of Hunza and Ghizer also follow Shia sect of Islam. The district of Diamer is pre-dominantly Sunni population, while the majority in district Astore, some parts of Gilgit, Ghizer and few inhabitants of Hunza belonging to Sunni sect of Islam. The majority inhabitants of Hunza, Ghizer and some parts of Gilgit follow Ismaili faith of Islam. The Noor-Bakhshi followers of Islam are found only in district Ghanche of Baltistan.

4.2 Background of District Diamer

Diamer district of Gilgit-Baltistan is the bordering between GB and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The inhabitants of Diamer are predominantly followers of Sunni sect of Islam. Shina is spoken widely in Diamer, with few speakers of Gujjari. Chilas is the capital city of district Diamer and the population of the whole district consist of 2, 30,000 souls. Diamer District is surrounded by Astore District in the east, by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the southwest (separated by the Babusar

Top), Neelum District in the south, the Ghizer District in the north, northwest, and the Gilgit District in the north and northeast.

In 1978, before the construction of Karakoram Highway (KKH) , the only road approaching Gilgit town from the south was a lumpy and uneven track north from Balakot to Babusar Pass (via Kaghan, Naran, Besal, and Gittidas) and further north through Babusar Gah to Chilas. The road up to Besal is now in better condition, but from Besal to Babusar Pass it is carpeted.

Diamer was also formerly called “*kombirstan*” and “*Yagistan*” meaning free land. But lately the region is known as Diamer; a high land. Nanga Parbat (valley of fairies) which is known as The Killer Mountain is situated in district Diamer. The people of the region call themselves as free men or *Yagistani*; as they have never been ruled by any outsider and it has been an autonomous region before independence. From Thalichi to Darail, Tangheer, both sides of the river, who have never accepted untouchable rule of authorities, even in some way the period of British Empire they retained their position. On 1851, the Chilas combat a lot of attacks on Astore and Skardu. In the meantime, Raja of the Astore asked for help from the Raja of Kashmir and attacked Chilas that is why Chilas was more condemned and the result of which Chilas was defeated by Astor (Alam, 2011). The population distribution of Diamer is shown in the following table:

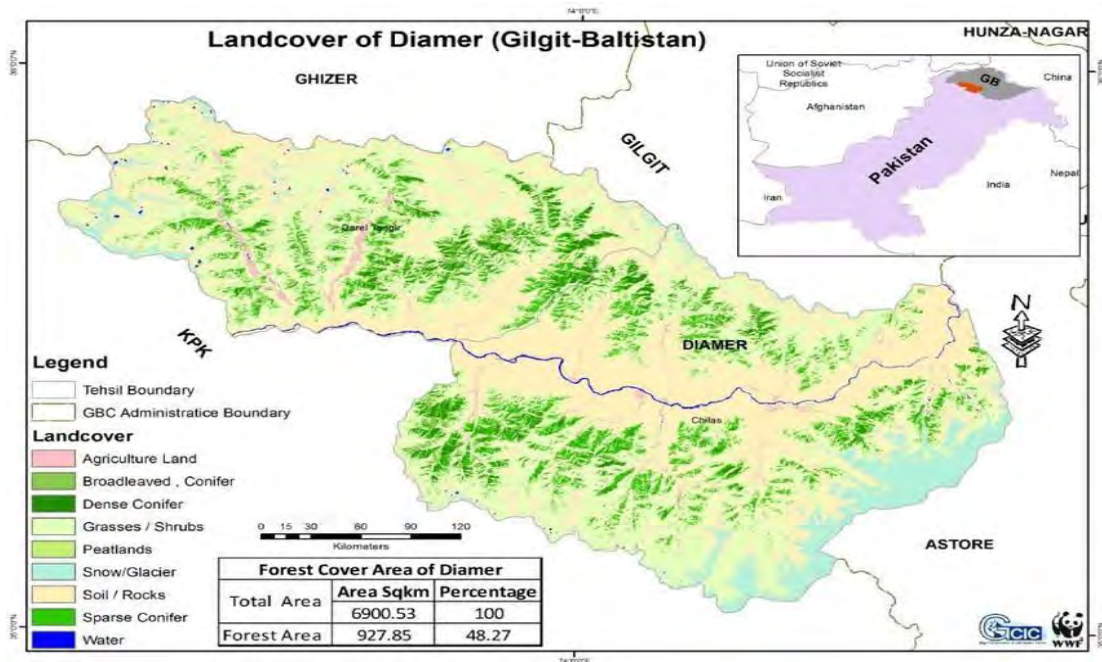
Table 1: Population of the District Diamer

Sr.No	Division	District	Area/(Km ²)	Population 1998	Population 2017
1	Gilgit	Diamer	10,936	131,925	2,30,000

Source: Census 2017

This valley is very significant for their history civilization and religious references in Gilgit-Baltistan. By 1953, the region persisted independent tribes. They used to solve their internal contradictions by Jirgah. (Alam, 2011).

Figure 2: Map of District Diamer



Source: WWF, 2017

After the establishment of Pakistan, Darial and Tangeer annexed with Pakistan with the following terms and conditions:

1. There will be no restriction by the government to keep the weapons.
2. Forestry will be their personal property.
3. No one will do anything against the person who is murdered on adultery
4. After the death of Husband, widow cannot re-marry another home except the home of her in-laws.

This fourth condition is the basic essence of present study; why widow has to be re-marrying in groom's family which is associated with honor of the family.

4.3 Traditional Residential Units

The administrative units of district Diamer are shown in the following table:

Table 2: Traditional Residential Units of District Diamer

Name of District	Name of Tehsil	Number of Union Councils
Diamer	Chilas	10
	Tangeer	03
	Darial	06

Source: Tehsil Office Diamer 2018

The district of Diamer consists of three Tehsil namely Chilas, Tangeer and Darial. Furthermore, the Tehsil of Darial consists of six villages. Darail valley is specimen of beauty and with its full history, six miles above the mouth of the Tangeer stream; the Darail Valley joins the Indus. Though small, this valley is extremely fertile and well-populated. From its head, roads lead into Tangeer, Yassin, Ponyal, and Gilgit. The major villages are Birokot (fort), Doodookot (fort), in the Samigal, Manikal (fort). The whole community, including the dependent valleys of Doodooshal and Khanbari, can muster about 3,000 fighting men, but the people are neither fanatical nor turbulent (Biddulph J, 1880). The union councils and villages of Tehsil Darial are shown in the following table:

Table 3: Villages of Tehsil Darail

Name of Tehsil	Name of villages/ Union Councils
Darial	Birokot
	Doodookot
	Samigal
	Manikal
	Khanbari
	Doodooshal

Source: Tehsil Office Diamer, 2018

The major villages and union councils of Tehsil Darial are Barikot, Doodookot, Samigal, Manikal, Khanbari and Doodooshal. I conducted research in two villages. i.e. Samigal and Khanbari of Tehsil Darial.

In Darail leaders *Jeshtairu*² have autonomous power to resolve the regional or communal disputes of the area and also *Jeshtairu* (Sheen and Yashkun were the prominent castes, They have social status and economically well so from the community they have ascribed status, to resolve internal matters and from each caste they have one noble person known as *Jeshtairu*) is respectable person of the community who is mediator between the Government and the people of Darail.

Person who has political, administrative power and has authority of decision and principles for community

4.4 Locale

The Darail Tehsil consists of six villages, but I focused on two villages i.e. Khanbari and Samigal. Both villages were selected due to easy access, available government i.e. educational institutes, and health units. Socioeconomic characteristics of respondents were documented to make a clear picture of the area for respondents. Overall, depiction of the area and the residents were necessary to make it reliable.

The below table reveal the socio-economic characteristics of respondents.

Table 4: Composition of Respondents from each village

Residential area	Frequency	Percentage
Samigal	27	54
Khanbari	23	46
Total	50	100

Source: Field Data

The above table indicates the number of respondents from each village; majority (54%) of the respondents were selected from Samigal, while (46%) from Khanbari village. The numbers of the respondents were different from each village due to convenience and willingness of the respondents.

4.5 Household Structure

Mainly houses are stone constructed, but meanwhile they are categorized into semi *pakka and kacha*. Every house is traditionally constructed i.e. one central room called *Desi Goth*, sleeping rooms according to members of family. Every house has a courtyard; they have no separate space for kitchen, the kitchen space shifts in veranda (*Manaow*), during summers, whereas in winters main living room (*Shino Goth*), used as kitchen. For cooking they make stoves of stones *trahamulo* and *Angaithi (Bukharii)* metallic stoves. And there is also cattle place in the courtyard, called *Guiyal* while some people make *Guyal* place for their cattle outside of their houses. Bathrooms and toilets are outside the major structure of the house however it is usually close by.

They have open air toilet called *Chukan* and that *Chukan* is covered by CGI sheets and if someone cannot afford CGI sheets than they use ragzeen sheets as roof of *Chukan*. *Chukan* is situated often within the cultivated land, so that the water and wastage is consumed as fertilizer in the fields, and some houses have a proper place for bathing and washing

Table 5: Gender of the Respondents

	Samigal	Khanbari
Male	10	10
Female	17	13
Total	27	23

Source: Field Data

The above table shows the gender of the respondents, from Samigal 17 female respondents were interviewed after their consent. From each village 10 male respondents were selected and bifurcated as 7 respondents from commoners and 3 were social elites. Female respondents of the study were helpful to conceptualize the perspective of victims of *Xhrap*.

Table 6: Age of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Male	Female	Percentage
1.	21-35	6	7	26
2.	36-45	5	10	30
3.	46 and Above	9	13	44
Total		20	30	100

Source: Field Data

The above table shows the age of the respondents. It shows that majority (44%) of the respondents fall in the age brackets of 46 and above years, 30% of the respondents in the age category of 36-45 years while 26% of the respondents were at the age group of 21-35 years old. The data gathered from each category has their own significance i.e. above 36 age respondents were well-groomed in cultural understanding of *Xhrap*, while first category respondents were more inclined

towards their personal choices and more often focused their personal lives.

4.6 Social Organization

A social organization is a pattern of relationships among the individuals and social groups. According to Emile Durkheim “a set of social facts”; Durkheim was interested in answering about “how a society is created” and “what holds a society together” rather than “what is society.” He believed that humans are naturally egoistic, but customs, norms beliefs and values (collective consciousness) form the moral basis of the society, consequential in social integration. Collective consciousness is of significant to the society, its obligatory function without which the society cannot survive (Lemert, Charles 2006).

In locale, the respondents have strong affinal and consanguinal ties within villages. Social structures are basically based on four major castes Yashkun, Sheen, Kamin and Doom. Yashkuns in both villages are superior caste due to education, resource (land) livestock, more in government jobs. Sheen is in second and they are majorly engaged in agricultural activities, they have farm land and love to domesticate animals, to some extent Sheen and Yashkun lie in same social category but both have particular identities. Meanwhile, Doom and Kamin are in same social class. Their major work is to serve Sheen and Yashkun in their Agricultural activities, they have low education rate and occupationally they do petty work. The Yashkun and Sheen practice endogamy while Kamin and Doom are endogamous and exogamous among them. The joint family system is very common in the locale. Nobody is allowed to violate their family norms and rules. The *Jirga* system is very obvious for reinforcement of norms violation. Social structure indicates to the systematic ordering of social connection by act of choice and decision. Noticeable behaviors including modification and variation in social structure are accounted for social organization.

4.6.1 Caste System of Locale

Social structure of the people of Khanbari and Samigal were basically based on four major castes (Yashkun, Sheen, Kamin and Dom), the first two main castes enjoys equal status, with Sheen represent a dominant majority in the region. Since the Doom

and Kamin have almost ceased to exist in both villages, the division has now assumed insignificance there. Other caste is *Soniwal* and *Maruxh* (*Gujjar and Maruxh*, the term Maurat is active Gold washer. The appellation *sonwal* are reporting decedents of settlers who, many generations ago came to the Diamer area from Indus Kohistani, Sawat, Hazara and other Pashtun areas and married Murat women. Another group which needs to be mentioned is the *Dekaans* as farm laborer, who live in adverse conditions and are treated as slaves by the land owners. The majority of *Dakaan* are *Gujjar*

Table 7: Caste of the Respondents

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Yashkun	07	14
Sheen	13	26
Kamin	15	30
Doom	15	30
Total	50	100

The caste system of the respondents describe that 14% of the respondents belonged to Yashkun caste in Samigal and Khanbari, similarly, 26% of the respondents belonged to Sheen caste, 30% were Kamin and 30% of the respondent were Doom. Respondents were selected on the basis of their convenience.

4.6.2 Kin-ties

As kinship ties play a significant role in all social affairs, marriage is other basic unit of social structure. Various categories and basic units of society e.g. kinship, family structure (joint, extended, nuclear), marriage system, re- marriages and status of women in the region is prominent aspects of the study. The women have main role in household care, child rearing and bearing, they also participated in cultivation; domestication of animals, and bring woods for fuel. Many decisions are made on the household level and communal affairs are addressed by the aged people (Jirga) of the area. *Mulah* also play their role in social and religious affairs, because they possess effective status in the region, people do respect their decisions.

4.6.3 Family Structure

Joint and extended families make the larger part of the population in the villages. As kinship ties are very strong among natives that are why they do share residential unit with brothers. After marriage a man does not move apart from his parents and brothers, he must have to reside with his parents. The people of village value kin-relations much stronger than other communities of the area. They consider their parallel and cross cousins as siblings; they have much respect for this relationship. They strictly follow their ethics in their daily lives. Women do not conceal their faces in front of their family and kins but on the other hand they keep *Pardah* from *Na-Mehram*. The relationship is determined by patrilineal descent. Property is usually passed from father to son. Aged person of the family remains head, and they are the representative of the family, made a decision and resolved all the disputed issues in *Jirgah* especially the murder cases.

Table 8: Family Structure of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Nuclear	1	2
2.	Joint	40	80
3.	Extended	9	18
Total		50	100

Source: Field Data

Table reflects the family structure of the respondents. In research locale it is mainly observed that majority lives in joint families. The Table indicates that 80% is live in joint families and 18% were in extended families while only 2% lives in nuclear family structure.

Table 9: Number of Family members

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	1-10	36	9.7
2.	11-20	46	12.3
3.	21-30	84	22.6
4	31-40	72	19.4
5	41-50	56	15
6	51-60	41	11
7	61 and above	36	9.7
Total		371	100

Source: Field Data

This table under discussion shows the distribution of family members of the respondents. Above table describe the family members according to their age from new born child to above 61 years old. Category 3 and 4 has major Portion of the members which indicates that the youngsters are more in the villages. When we look into the category of 1 and 2 it is more than 20% of the family members that indicates the average ratio of children in area as higher.

4.7 Basic Facilities

There are different sort of facilities to fulfill the needs of people e.g. water and drainage system, health, education and communication. The locale is lacking the basic necessities of life. They have water in abundance for drinking, washing and cooking, but there is lack of proper drainage system. Village is near Diamer Basha Dam and so, all waste goes down in the fields. Electricity is available in the village because of Hydro power stations. People have televisions and dish antenna in their houses. They are aware of modern technology and use it as well. For cooking purposes woods; tree sticks, dry dungs and liquid petroleum gas cylinders are used. They do not buy sticks from market, but male, female and children collects it from fields and orchards and most sticks are collected from the forest *Gah/Gaie*.

There are very limited health facilities in both villages; people of the villages have to

go to the private and governmental hospitals of Chilas City for medical treatment. Sometimes the diseases are not treated well, thus people have to shift patient to Gilgit DHQ hospital. According to them they face social discrimination in private and government medical institutions. They prefer to go for ethno medicine (cultural ways of cure) by use of herbs, and adopt cultural ways of cure/healing. The system of communication and transport is good enough in the villages. They use mobile phones for communication.

4.8 Economy

Agriculture is one of the major sources of economy in Samigal and Khanbari people. The people are mostly dependent on the agriculture and livestock, while some *Gujjar* and *sonwalay* do peasantry. The area is surrounded by dense forest which is main source of income of the people. The high dependency of people on forest results in huge deforestation in the area, as people of the area do not have alternatives so this is happening continuously.

The proposed Diamer Basha Dam is also located in Diamer and the people of the area have received their land compensations in huge amount. This resulted in a sudden increase in cash economy and tended to decrease in dependency on forest and other sources.

The people of the area are engaged in agricultural activities mainly for domestic use. Beside men, women and children also work in fields; women help their men in harvesting and cleaning of fields. Majority of the women in Samigali and Khanbari are connected with agricultural production and livestock. There are *Chilgoza* trees, along this wheat and vegetables are cultivated and considered as major crops. The male members of the village are engaged in work in District Diamer, they work at Government offices, different shops on wedges as shopkeeper, taxi drivers, and some doing small level of businesses. Some have their own shops of cloths and crockery in the village, and most men have market exposures, while their females work on fields, cultivate vegetables and are not allowed for direct selling in market.

Table 10: Occupational distribution of Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Government employee	3	6
2.	Private job	5	10
3.	Self employed	4	8
4.	Businessman	3	6
5	Own land Farming	30	60
6.	Student	2	4
7.	Unemployed	3	6
Total		50	100

Source: Field Data

Table shows the occupational distribution of the respondents. Majority (60%) of the respondents have their own land female and male working on it. There were 14% self-employed and only 6% unemployed. There were 4% of students who were engaged in farm activities with their parents. Only 6% were government employees. They all were teachers.

Table 11: Family Income of Respondent

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Up to 10,000	0	0
2.	10,001-15,000	8	16
3.	15,001-20,000	8	16
4.	20,001-25,000	22	44
5.	25,001-30,000	3	6
6.	30,001-35,000	2	4
7.	35,001-40,000	5	10
8.	40,001 & above	2	4
Total		50	100

The table also reflects the monthly family income of families. It shows that 16% of the respondents fall in the income brackets of 10,001-15,000, 16% were headed by income category ranging from 15,001-20,000, 44% of the respondents income marked by category 20,001-25,000, 6% of the respondents income marked by category

25,001-30,000, 4% of the respondents fall in category of 30,000 and above, 10% of the respondent income falls in the category ranging of 35,001-40,000, while remaining were 4% ranging in 40,000 and above.

4.9 Religion

The people of the region are followers of Islam. The district of Diamer is predominantly Sunni beliefs.

Table 12: Religious Sects of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Shia	00	00
2.	Sunni	50	50
3.	Ismailia (Aga khani)	00	00
Total		50	100

Source: Field Data

Table shows the religious sects of the respondents. Anyone can observe the religious Homogeneity; the religious sect of Sunni is dominant in the villages.

4.10 Rituals

In anthropology, rituals are actions with symbolic meaning assumed for a specific cultural determination, such as a right a path from childhood to adulthood, and may support underline community social bonds, as in a marriage. Customs may be minor formal (though no less rigid) unwritten rules and regulations, such as table manners or respecting group conventions to dress appropriately for one's age. Both may comprise religious or secular reinforcement, and performing each correctly often indicates membership or status in a self-defining cultural group.

4.10.1 Marriage Ceremonies

Marriages are celebrated happily and heartedly. The most interesting aspect of marriages in the locale is that the groom's Baraat do not go to bridal house but the relatives of the bride leave the bride at groom's home. The people who came with the

bride are invited enough and groom's family welcome to bridal's relatives, the Baraat usually consists of 30 people. Bridal Jewelry is full of precious stones and silver. For traditional jewelry, there is necklace and a hat which is made of silver. The marriage rituals start up with engagement. First the elder of the family sets a date of engagement, after that the bride's family demands a specific amount as *Xhrap* from groom's family. After that, a day is selected for price negotiation. The 50 mediators negotiate the money of *Xhrap* according to the economic status of groom's family. If the groom's family fail to pay the respective amount to bride's family; the marriage is not possible and has most chances to dismiss the engagement.

Table 13: Marital Status of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Married	42	84
2.	Divorced	2	04
3.	Widow	6	12
Total		50	100

Source: Field Data

The above table shows the marital status of the respondents. It shows that majority 84% of the respondent's encompassed the category of married, 12% of the respondents were the category of widow, while remaining 4% of the respondents in category of the divorced.

4.10.2 Death Rituals

Mourning is celebrated for three days at death. In those days, mourning house is not allowed to cooked food. Neighbors and relatives give food to mourning house. On the third day of death the oblation food may cooked in the house of the death, which is distributed to all the people of the village.

4.11 Education

The literacy rate in the whole district is very low as compare to other districts and valleys of Gilgit-Baltistan. Female education is considered taboo and is not allowed to

get education. Children are allowed to get primary level education and later after primary education, are engaged in domestic activities to help their elders. Recently girls primary schools of locale was destroyed by the local because they do not want to educate their daughters according to the respondents, it impacts the personality the girls adversely.

In the village Samigal, there is a public school for primary to middle education. There are two teachers appointed by the government, these teachers belong to the same village. There are two class rooms and a bathroom in the building of school, in front of class rooms there is a courtyard. Building of the school is situated at the main entrance of the village.

Table 14: Educational Attainment of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Illiterate	34	68
2.	1-5 (Years of Schooling)	8	16
3.	6-8 (Years of Schooling)	4	8
4.	9-10 (Years of Schooling)	2	4
5.	15-16 (Years of Schooling)	2	4
Total		50	100

Source: Field Data

Table reflects the educational attainment of the respondents. It highlight that majority 68% of the respondents were illiterate Education is recognized as an important element in the sustainable development and progress of any nation. 16% of the respondents were the category of primary education, 8 % of the respondents were under metric, and 4% of the respondent"s fall in the category of matriculation, 4 % respondents were graduate and 8% respondents fall into the category of post graduate respectively.

4.12 Dress Pattern

Chilasi men, being relatively more independent socially and having more outside community exposure have changed much of their dressing and many wear Shalwar

“*Cxhanalo/chaoo*” and Kameez “*Kameez*” much like other Gilgiti dress patterns but the carrying style is change where the kameez is normal but the style of Shalwar is carried up above the knees, and men wear woolen handmade waistcoat, *Wasket*, and cap known as *Pattu Khoi*. In winter men used to wear Shawl, *Cxhanali*, which is of sheep wool. Chilasi women, on the other hand have kept continue wearing their traditional dress. Women wear loose clothes, i.e. loose frock and trousers called “*Pochay*”. Women have strictly ordered to cover her head to toe; even they cannot allow coming in front of any non Mehram without covering her face.

4.13 Language

In the locale of Khanbari and Samigal, Tehsil Darail languages and ethnic groups, with several dialects of shina is the most popular language spoken in the region. Shins, Yashkun were speaking shina language with different accent from Gilgiti Shina. The Sonwal, *Maurat* and *Dakhan* speak kohistan and *Gujrai* language.

Table 15: Proto Languages and Geographical Division within Diamer District

District	Tehsil	Spoken Languages
Diamer	Chilas	Chilasi Shina, Shina, Gujrai, Kohistani, Pashto, Hindku and Kashmir
	Darail	Chilasi Shina, Shina and Kohistani
	Tangeer	Chilasi Shina, Gujrai and Kohistani

Source: Researcher

Table 16: Mother Tongue of the Respondents

Sr. No	Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Chilasi Shina	42	84
2.	Kohistani	01	2
3.	Pashto	0	0
4.	Gujrai	07	14
5.	Any other (Hindku / Kashmiri)	0	2
Total		50	100

Table shows the mother language of the respondents. It shows that majority 84% of

the respondents used to speak *Chilasi* Shina language. 2% of the respondent's language is *Kohistani* because they belong to kohistan while 14% of the respondent's mother language is Gujjari.

4.14 Flora (Food & Fruits)

The people of Khanbari and Samigal eat simple food. The men eat food in one plate called *Bari Thali*; they eat together but women are not supposed to eat food in front of males. All women also eat together like men in one big plate. The plate which is used for eating food together is called a *Phouli* in the local language which is made of wood.

These villages are blessed with variety of fruits like grapes, apples, walnut, mulberry, pomegranate, apricot and Chilgozas are most famous in the both villages.

5. RACTICE OF XHRAP

5.1 Background of *Xhrap*

The phenomenon of the "bride price" has significant interest by anthropologists, who study family structure and organization. The transfers of property which frequently accompany marriages in other cultures may be as important in maintaining associations between the spouses' respective kin groups as the marriage itself (Fox, 1967; Rosenblatt & Unangst, 1974).

Xhrap is a local term used for bride price in Diamer, Gilgit Baltistan. *Xhrap* is widely practice in Diamer, particularly in Darial. Typically, *Xhrap* (bride-price) contains the agreement among bride and groom family where cash is paid by the groom to the bride's family in substitute for the bride, in which, it includes domestic affairs to child bearing and rearing.

According to the local belief, *Xhrap* is a traditional practice of the adjacent Kohistan region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Diamer, the economic resources were scarce, people were only dependent on forest and horticulture, and cash economy was very rare. The people of Kohistan had more economic resources than people of Diamer, especially cash economy. Before the construction of KKH, Kohistan was more exposed to outer world as compared to Diamer, and thus having more earning opportunities. The Kohistani men, came to Diamer for searching of spouse, they use cash economy to convince the parents of the bride. That time the People of Diamer had less or no cash economy and they had shortage of money to fulfill their livelihood requirements. Thus the people of Diamer accepted the proposal of Kohistani and giving them their daughters by taking bride price. Gradually, the *Xhrap* became a cultural practice in Diamer as well.

Bride price can applicable that is to buying of a wife as a commodity which results in abuse towards a woman if she does not fulfill her „value“ the bride-price payment cannot be reversed (Matembe, 2004; Ndira, 2004). The people follow the same in the research locale.

5.2 Practice of *Xhrap* in Marriages

Marriages in the research locale are celebrated traditionally with full zeal and zest. The initiation of marriage starts with the selection of spouse. When a boy comes to the age of fifteen, parents start searching for a bride for their son. In some cases, the boy also selects a girl and indicates to his parents. Initially, it is discussed in the family and after mutual consensus of parents and family, they select a girl.

In case of female, parents finalize proposals for their daughters; in some cases, even the girls are not aware of their future partner. The parents of groom approach the parents of bride. The factor behind selection of spouse varies with tribe, caste and class.

In Yashkun, the practice of *Xhrap* has a number of characteristics. Yashkuns prefer endogamy, because they are the superior in the area so when they get girls from lower middle and lower families they also pay *Xhrap* to the family of bride. As stated in Chapter No 1 under heading conceptual definition of *Xhrap*, *Mehr Ghair -moajjal* is given to the parents of bride in the context of marriage expenses on the ceremony as well as purchase of dowry given by bride's parents to the bride (the dowry is not obligatory, it is up-to the well and economic status of the parents). Sheen caste also practices the same. Both are superior castes of the area so the concept of purity with in tribe is always on priority.

In Doom and Kamin castes the *Xhrap* is more prevailing because economically both castes lie under lower economic stratum. In both castes the conceptual definition is slightly different. In some cases *Xhrap* is considered economic aid for the family meanwhile in some other cases it is highly prestigious for the bride's family because the higher *Xhrap*, the higher status.

The people of region agree for the *Xhrap* practice when they belong to upper class in the region, which has no issue to pay the amount for their son's bride. In the region, the parents of bride feel burden to prepare and bear all the financial expenses of their daughter's marriage ceremony. The amount of *Xhrap* demanded by the bride's family is arranged by the groom; due to limited economic resources, the people consider it as

a burden for the groom. The Diamer Basha Dam is being constructed in Diamer, 36+9-where some people of the research locale have their own land. They have got land compensation of higher amounts which enabled them to become economically strong and the result is an ease to pay the *Xhrap* for their marriages.

5.2.1 The Selection of Spouse

The selection of bride depends on the relations with both families of bride and groom. The economic factor also plays vital role in selection of spouse; same economic class within their own tribe is preferred for selection of the spouse. While in case if a proposal is sent to girl of higher economic class, it is rejected (usually such practices have not been seen during interviews because sending proposal as well as receiving proposal is the matter of prestige). If, same case happens in lower economic families with in caste, bride's family is interested to get more *Xhrap* from groom up-to the economic status of boy.

The concept of suitable girl is meanly discussed and conceptualized first among women and then men of the society. The age normally considerable for the suitable girl is 14 years old. If anyone goes down towards 10 years old that may be considered highly paid practices. In spouse selection, age of the bride is the central feature, the higher the age, the lower the *Xhrap*. In the all four categories as stated earlier the concept of suitable girl varies. In first two main castes the girl should be from same castes of slightly lower economic status, age around 13-16 and can participate in household and farm activities. But in the case of lower two castes; the caste of girl could be any, she is from lower caste and able to perform all activities.

For the proposal, female of the family select girl during farm activities because land distribution in the area lies according to caste that is why they know family members and gender description of the families. After the selection of girl now the process of proposal starts. Usually a middle one who from the same locality and specifically from same caste has been selected according to his/her social status and influence among castes. The mediator is most of the time tribal elder or any influential member of the tribe or caste. The mediator conveys the message to the parents of the bride. While, parents of groom (father or elder brother) visits the bride's home to confirm

the proposal for his son/brother. If the economic class of bride and groom is different, then a mediator plays his role to make a comfortable agreement among families. For the first time when mediator approaches the parents of the bride about the proposal; parents of bride not necessarily discuss the matter with the elders of the family. After discussion message is conveyed to the mediator. If the bride is of higher economic class, the parents of the bride accept the proposal with certain criteria. The acceptance and the rejection of the proposal depend mainly on the caste. People prefer endogamy in Yashkun and Sheen, while other two castes practice exogamy.

5.3 Terms and Conditions of *Xhrap*

After accepting the proposal with certain demands, then a date with the consent of both parties is selected to discuss *Xhrap* for the marriage. On the selected date, from groom side elders, notables, tribal elders come to bride's home for a formal engagement (*dua-e-kheir*), and fixing of *Xhrap*. Generally, 10-15 males from groom's family go to bride's home for *dua-e-kheir*. Traditional meals are prepared by the family of the bride and served to the guests.

Before *dua-e-kheir*, bride price (*Xhrap*) is decided. Initially, the family of the bride demands a certain amount according to their social and economic status. This amount is then negotiated by the mediators (tribal and family elders), and then a payable amount on mutual consensus is fixed as bride price (*Xhrap*). After that all the participants pray for both of the families which is known as *dua-e-kheir*. After agreement on *Xhrap*, the bride family then demands to pay half of the bride price in advance. As agreed by both side, a date is fixed (usually a week or two after *dua-e-kheir*), and the groom family then pays the half amount on the agreed date. This amount is spent on marriage ceremony of the bride. Dowry is given to the bride according to the economic status of the parents; this also varies with caste, tribe and caste. As stated earlier in the conceptual definition of *Xhrap*, prevalence of *Xhrap* has been discussed accordingly in the remaining parts of the thesis.

5.4 Amount of *Xhrap* while Receiving and Giving

5.4.1 Yashkun

Data shows the upper and lower limit of *Xhrap* practiced by Yashkun respondents in

the both villages. The amount is higher in second category because as stated earlier more *Xhrap* is considered as more prestige. The concept of *Xhrap* is different in Yashkuns but they practice it to maintain their social status among the castes of villages i.e. a respondent stated, “we don’t need *Xhrap* amount but we are living in different castes so the practices of *Xhrap* giving and receiving is only to maintain the cultural trades among the communities”.

5.4.2 Sheen

Data shows that 13 respondents belong to Sheen castes the upper and lower *Xhrap* price is detailed shows that only 7 families lie in first category and three in the last category which was the highest one. The prestige is same and concept of *Xhrap* practice is same.

5.4.3 Kamin

The table stated the upper and lower limit; it is very interesting to find out that 7 respondents lie in last category which is higher than Yashkun and Sheen as stated earlier. This is due to the practice of *Xhrap* as bride price from the groom’s family. As mentioned, practice of *Xhrap* Kamin and Doom is considered *Xhrap* amount as financial aid to the family economics.

5.4.4 Doom

The first category of the table despite the lower level of *Xhrap*, like stated in a case study this amount was received 22 years ago. The value of money has decreased so if we conceptualize that amount of *Xhrap* today Rs. 50,000/- the categorical description of *Xhrap* shows the importance of economic participation. In different case studies the economic aspect of *Xhrap* has been discussed to share the importance and legal help, to the poor families.

According to the people of Darail Diamer, this tradition shows a significant part in the worth and esteem of her in-laws. Amount of *xhrap* has a lot of effects on her respect, for example; if girl’s *Xhrap* is high, she is treated very respectfully, and her status becomes strong in the family and in society generally.

The indigenous people of the research locale describe the two basic terms of bride price as “*sish and Dim*” (head and body) price. According to them, *Haq Mehr* paid at the time of *Nikkah* is considered as “*Sishey rupai*” (Literally Price for Head), while *Xhrap* as “*Dimay rupai*” (amount of body). The amount of head (*Sishey rupai*) is considered as *Haq Mehr*, while the amount of body (*Dimay rupai*) is bride price (*Xhrap*). *Haq Mehr* is given for future security of the girl, and is obligatory while (*Xhrap*) is a cultural phenomenon; it is paid for her domestic activities including child rearing and bearing, household and farm activities as well. The amount of *Xhrap* received and given is summarized in the table.

Table 17: Amount of *Xhrap*

Yashkun	Amount of Xhrap	Receiver	Giver
	35,000 to 100,000	2	
	100,000 to 200,000	3	2
	Total	5	2
Sheen	20000-50000	1	6
	50000-100000	3	
	100001-200000	1	2
	Total	5	8
Kamin	60,000-100,000/-	2	3
	100,000-150,000/-	2	1
	150,000-200,000/-	4	3
	Total	8	7
Doom	2000-50,000/-		1
	50,000-100,000/-	1	1
	100,000-150,000/-	2	1
	150,000-200,000/-	4	2
	200,000- 250,000/-	2	1
	Total	9	6

5.5 *Xhrap* Practices are Regulating the Social Organization

Xhrap is one-time payment on the occasion of marriages, but impact on social organizations; marriages, family, religion and economy of the families. The negotiation of *Xhrap* is done on the basis of baradri and tribal relations and thus the relations are respected and *Xhrap* is negotiated.

The practice of *Xhrap* is a reciprocal process which is practiced for the social security of the bride. On one hand the parents of the groom pay *Xhrap* to the bride’s family;

while on the other hand, they also receive *Xhrap* on their daughter's weddings. Thus it is a two way process which ensures the circulation of money. On one hand it is a burden for the groom's family, while on the other hand it is also a relief for the bride family.

The people believed that the practiced of *Xhrap* is also endorsed by the religion. It is a type of Haq Mehr which is paid for the social protection of the bride. Thus by paying or receiving *Xhrap*, we are practicing an Islamic way of marriage according to the respondents and key informants.

Endogamy is widely practice in the research locale and it is part of their culture. The *Xhrap* ensures the marriages among same caste, tribe and class. According to the local beliefs, exogamy can cause more social issues, due to class and caste/tribal differences. A girl who is socialized in a different background with different norms and values cannot be adjusted in a different environment after marriages, thus we prefer to practice endogamy. Although there are few cases of Hypergamy but such cases are few and those too are done within the same tribe and caste but within different economic classes.

5.5.1 Cultural Aspects

The *Xhrap* is widely practiced in the research locale, due to its higher significance in the culture. The natives of the research locale strictly follow their traditions and the *Xhrap* is the partial part of marriage ceremonies.

In order to recognize the (*Xhrap*) practices in context of Samigal and Khanbari villages, Diamer District, Gilgit Baltistan, first of all there is need to explore the (*Xhrap*) complex pattern and practice and the cultural norms and tradition nearby marriages practices, in every society marriage is one of the most important event. Also in the study area, men and women, marking the transition to adulthood. It is considered as a precious practice in the Samigal and Khanbari villages. Following points are observed while *Haq Mahar* and *Xhrap* are practiced;

- Firstly, the *Haq Mahr* is obligatory,
- Secondly, the *Xhrap* is cultural practice so people do practice it with prestige and the act which have lot of honor. If high amount is paid to the bride family, the

social status of bride is in her in-laws obviously high. Because after the marriage, the bride not allowed to live in her parents' home, it is against the culture for the groom to move in and live with his in-laws after the marriage.

- Thirdly, the (*Xhrap*) in Samigal and Khanbari can be paid either to attract better quality bride or it can be demanded by the bride's family. But the (*Xhrap*) is less likely to be demanded by bride's family as sons are valued more in the both traditional society and grooms' families always have the upper hand in marriage negotiations especially among in Samigal and Khanbari locale. Specifically in Kamin and Dooks.
- In the context of *Wata-Sata* marriage in the villages, the *Xhrap* amount null and void because one family is receiver and giver at a time, so in this case the *Xhrap* always null and void in the villages.

The amount of *Xhrap* is not refundable in any case, so if anyone intends to give divorce to his wife, he has to lose the money paid in (*Xhrap*). While on the other hand he has to pay another (*Xhrap*) if he is intending to marry again with any other girl. Thus this helps low divorce rate in the region. All the daughters in law in a family are treated according to the bride price (*Xhrap*) paid; the higher (*Xhrap*) is regarded as higher status in the family. The bride with higher (*Xhrap*) is regarded and is involved in household decisions. She is assigned less work in the household, the bride with less *Xhrap* paid has to work more, and are less regarded.

5.5.2 Religious Aspect

Muslim marriages involve the negotiation of a Mehr, in condition as a part of a marriage agreement, which comprise the regulatory transfer of commodity from husband to wife (Carroll 1986).

The *Haq Mahr* is a compulsory payment in Islam that is the cash, compensation or properties promised to be paid by the groom, or by groom's father, to the bride at the time of marriage that legally becomes her property or her Haq Mehr. While the Haq Mahr is mostly money, it can also be anything in which bride can demand such as jewelry, home goods, furniture, a dwelling or some land. Haq Mehr is typically specified in the marriage agreement signed during an Islamic marriage. "Haq Mehr" mentions to the payment from the husband or his family to the wife, mostly to support

her. However, Haq Mahr is different from dower in two methods:

- Haq Mahr is legally compulsory for all Islamic marriages while dower was elective
- Haq Mahr is compulsory to be specified at the time of marriage (when an influenced sum of payment is promised and surefire, if not paid instantly).

Haq Mahr also can be categorized as a practice of "bride wealth", defined by anthropologists as expenses made by the family of the groom to the families of the bride. However, Haq Mahr is paid directly to the bride and not to her parents. In-fact, as her legitimate property, Haq Mahr creates that the bride's monetary freedom from her parents and in numerous cases from her husband, who has no permissible privileges to his wife's Mahr.

Nikah (marriage agreement) does not contain an exact, quantified *Mahr* i.e. the groom's commitment to pay the bride a reasonable amount. The condition of a Mahr is cited several times in the Quran and Hadith.

In the Holy Quran Chapter 4 Surah Nisaa verse 4 Allah pak Says:

“And give the women (on marriage) their dower (Mehr) as a free gift; but if they of their own good pleasure remit any part of it to you, take it and enjoy it with right good cheer”

The “dowry” or “Haq Mehr” and “bride price” are sometimes wrongly used to describe *Mahr*, but Mahr differs from payments in numerous cultures. A *Mehr* traditionally stated to cash and property that a woman onward after *Nikkah*, generally delivered by grooms family while bride price refers to cash or property paid by the groom or his family to the parents of a bride (but not to the woman herself) at the time of marriage.

There are two major types of Mehr.

- *Moujjal*
- *Ghair Moujjal*

The Haq Mahr is frequently compensated to the bride in portions. The *Mahr* payments

given to the bride at the agreement of the marriage is called “*Moujjal* (which is paid at time of marriage (*Nikah*), and the portion that is promised but postponed for payment to the bride is called *Ghair Moujjal* (which is paid after accomplishment of marriage). A postponed undertaking to pay does not make the full amount of the *Mahr* any less legitimately compulsory. There are variances among the flora and fauna of *Mahr*, description of appropriate contract, terms and conditions of enforceability depend according to the *fiqh* practiced by bride and groom, and faculty of Islamic jurisprudence. The main point of *Mehr* in research locale is that, groom/husband pays the *Mehr* of bride in two ways:

- *Shishaiy Rupaiay*/Sir ki Qeemat/Head Price
- *Dimaiy Rupaiay*/Dar ki Qeemat/Body Price

Shishaiy Rupaiay (*Ghair-e-Moujjal*) is the type of *Mehr* that is obligatory to pay the bride on other hand *Dimaiy Rupaiay* (*Moujjal*) is recommended for groom. But the people of Samigal and Khanbari set the price of bride that the local people call *Xhrap*, it is almost comprehensively and spontaneously payment that is, to be paid by husband before marriage.

5.5.3 Economic Aspects

In numerous cultures where the economic features of life are familiarly relationship with group benefits, *Xhrap* bride-price is main source or an arrangement between trades of families that exchange wealth. Sometimes *Xhrap*/ bride price is an exercise of marriage expenses in which the family of bride receives a cash to compensate/reimburse for the loss of a daughter as women labor and the children bearing. Marriage payments are substantially establishing and securing the connection for assigning women's labor power and fertility.

By exploring the responses of Samigal and Khanbari women to the economic significance of the *Xhrap* however, I have presented complicated picture of their role in that making of economic contribution through their marriages. Parents select partner/spouse for their daughters who is able to give respective amount according to their demand. Bride price or *Xhrap* terminology is very rare for others than Diamer society.

The people of Samigal and Khanbari enforce disproportionate economic and social expenses on females of the locale, then it is one-time payment effective for couples to sign such an obligatory agreement between both couples, it convinces groom to affect the price of *Xhrap* as a *Dimaiay Rupaia*/body price for the bride. The bride's family demands a greater amount imposed on the groom and compensate the increased in *Xhrap* amount.

Economic Significance of *Xhrap* in the research locale is that the economic condition of parents is not good and some parents cannot afford the marriage expenses of their daughter so they claim/practice *Xhrap* for their daughters. After the practice, the condition of household gets better because of *Xhrap*.

6 SOCIO-ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF *XHARP*

The chapter mainly deals with the observations and case studies during field work for examining importance of *Xhrap* in social and economic affairs. The chapter also narrates the perspective of givers and receivers in the context of cultural and economic perspective. Number of case studies specifically *Wata-Sata*, implication of *Xhrap* in different marriage practices is part of the study.

6.1 *Xhrap* Affects the Social Status of Women

The following table shows Respondent opinion about of low *Xhrap* affect the social status of women in Samigal and Khanbari villages:

Table 18: Frequency of Impacts on Social Status

Low Bride-price effect the social status	Frequency		Percentage	
Yes	37		74	
No	13		26	
Total	50		100	
Village Responses				
Area	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Samigal	20	40	07	14
Khanbari	17	34	06	12
Total	37	74	13	26
Gender Wise Responses				
	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Female	22	44	08	16
Male	15	30	05	10
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

Table reveal the low *Xhrap* affects the social status of women in Samigal and Khanbari village, (74%) respondents believed that if the *Xhrap* is not given from groom's family she does not get the proposed goods and mannered respect, even the amount of *Xhrap* affects the social status of bride in

her in-law's, while (26%) respondents stated that there is not any impact on the social status if *Xhrap* is low or not paid by the groom; except in exchange marriages where *Xhrap* is not practiced among the families.

Furthermore, out of the (37) respondents who said bride price affects social status of women, (40%) respondents were from Samigal, while the remaining (34%) were from Khanbari. Out of the total 26% respondents who said bride price does not affect the social status of the women, (14%) were from Samigal and (12%) were from Khanbari.

Table also shows that (44%) females respondents who believe low bride price affects the social status of female while, the remaining (30%) respondents were male. (16%) of the female respondents said that low bride price does not affect the social status of female while the remaining (10%) were male.

Table 19: Relation between Caste and Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Caste / Tribe Wise Responses				
Caste/Tribe	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Yashkun	5	10	02	04
Sheen	9	18	04	08
Kamin	11	22	04	08
Doom	14	28	01	02
Total	39	78	11	22

Source: Field Data

The above table reflects that (04%) respondents were from Yashkun caste; who believed that low bride price can affect the social status of female while, the remaining (10%) were in the favor of high bride price higher social

status. There (8%) Sheen stated that low bride price has no impact on social status. While Kamin and Doom were in favor that high bride price is the key to higher social status and economic stability. Doom and Kamin were the major who were in the favor of bride price because they all are economically unstable and poor.

Table 20: Relation between Age and Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Age Wise Responses				
Age	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
21-35	16	32	06	12
35-45	15	30	05	10
45 and Above	06	12	02	04
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

The above table shows that (32%) respondents who were in the age- group of 21-35years said that low bride price can affect the social status of female, (30%) respondents were in the age group of 35-45 years, the remaining (12%) were age of 45 and above were in favor of that low bride price can affect the social status of female. Remaining (12%), (10%) and (4%) respondents were in the age group of 21-35 years, 35-45 years and above 45 years who believed that low bride price doesn't affect the social status of female.

Table 21: Relation between Marital Status and Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Marital status Wise Responses				
Marital status	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Married	31	62	11	22
Divorce	02	04	00	00
Widow	04	08	02	04
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

Moreover, majority (62%) married respondents encompass that the low bride price can affects the social status of female, (4%) respondents who are divorced stated the same and remaining (8%) who were widows said that low bride price can affects the social status of female while, (22%) married respondents were not in the favor of the statement that low bride price doesn't affects the social status of the female, remaining (4%) of the respondents stated that low bride price doesn't affect the social status of female.

Table 22: Relation between Family Structure and Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Family structure				
Family type	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Nuclear	01	02	00	00
Joint	29	58	11	22
Extended	07	14	02	04
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

Table reveals that the Majority (58%) of the respondents live in joint families. They stated that the low bride price can affect the social status of female, because when bride price is low the bride respect is also low in her in-laws, (14%) respondents were living in extended family and (2%) of the respondents encompass that low bride price can affect the social status of female. While (22%) of the respondent live in joint family. They were stated that the low bride price doesn't affects the social status of female and remaining (4%) said that low bride price doesn't affects the social status of female because the female take a same respect from her in-laws.

Table 23: Literate and Illiterate responses regarding Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Educational attainment				
Educational attainment	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Illiterate	25	50	09	18
1-5 (year of schooling)	06	12	02	04
6-8 (year of schooling)	03	06	01	02
9-10 (year of schooling)	02	04	00	00
15-16 (year of schooling)	01	02	01	02
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

Table shows the educational attainment of respondent's and reflection of their concepts towards bride price, majority (50%) of the respondents were illiterate and they stated if the bride come up with huge *Xhrap*, the worth of bride in her in-laws was high, (12%) respondents attained primary level of schooling was also with same response, (6%) was middle pass, (4%) respondents was matriculate while only (2%) respondents was highly qualified but all the educated and illiterates have equal understanding regarding the *Xhrap* and the status of bride. There is only very few 26% from whole sample size was of view that high or low *Xhrap* is not the cause of honor or respect of bride in

family, (18%) of the respondents was illiterates viewed that the low bride price doesn't affects the social status of female, (4%), (2%) (2%); primary, middle and higher educated respondents stated that low bride price does not affects the social status of female respectively.

Table 24: Relation between Monthly Income and Bride Price

Category	Villages		Frequency	Percentage
Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		37	74
Not Affect the social status	Samigal/Khanbari		13	26
Total			50	100
Family Income				
Family Income	Yes		No	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Up to 10,000	00	00	00	00
10,001- 15,000	06	12	02	04
15,001-20,000	07	14	01	02
20,001-25,000	16	32	06	12
25,001-30,000	03	06	00	00
30,001-35,000	01	02	01	02
35,001-40,000	03	06	02	02
40,001 & Above	01	02	01	02
Total	37	74	13	26

Source: Field Data

Table reflects the family income of the respondents, (12%) of the respondent's family income is 10,001-15,000 , (14%) were 15001-20,000 and (32%) of the respondents were the category of 20,001-25,000 stated that the low bride price can affects the social status of female. Whereas, 26% were of the view that the income of groom influences the fixing of *Xhrap*, in other way round, groom is the major actor who prioritizes the honor of female in her in-laws.

6.1.1 Case Study

Shamsa was 36 years old married housewife and had 1 daughter and 2 sons. She was living in joint family system. Her husband was a soldier. She got married in same

caste (Sheen) while her in-laws were not from close relatives. She shared her *Xhrap* experience about as receiver of her parents. She was very much concerned about her *Xhrap*. She stated that her *Xhrap* was Twenty thousand (20,000/-) rupees while her brother's wife got high *Xhrap*, she is enjoying good social status in family otherwise I have just a usual status like the women in lower areas have. I do all household work and farm work but my brother's wife only work for my brother, she is not sharing any other burden with my mother and other family members. She narrated her story, "*Xhrapi asai Rawaji hin*" (*Xhrap* is our cultural practice). I did not have any objection about *Xhrap*, whether this was good practice or bad, we are doing it because it is our tradition and cultural practice. I come to my husband's home with dowry. Moreover, she describes that if in-laws give the high amount of *Xhrap* for bride, the respect and status of bride in her in-laws automatically increases.

6.2 Respect of Bride because of *Xhrap*

Regarding the content of *Xhrap* and dowry, 70% of the respondents revealed about their *Xhrap* experiences either good or bad. From all females respondents 58% stated they were at receiving end and there were 12% males who were at giving end. They conceptualized *Xhrap* in religious, social, cultural and traditional perspectives. Natives stated that if they do not pay the *Xhrap*, their daughters may not possess any value in their in-laws and society. Natives pointed out that if parents of the brides do not take any money; people of the village look at it in very taunting way. If the bride's parents does not take any *Xhrap* amount; she does not possess any respect and may be treated as servant. While 30% of the respondents were of the view that *Xhrap* has not anything with bride's prestige and honors, it is just the conceptual understanding of the natives.

6.3 Hypergamy

When man marries a woman of a lower social status, or the woman marries in 'upper' social class to uplift the position in society is known as Hypergamy. This has been the most common method of marriage in Samigal and Khanbari villages. However, an arranged marriage in equal caste/class was also a communal trend in the region.

In the research locale, *Xhrap* is taken according to the social status as stated earlier. If the groom is rich and able to afford high *Xhrap*, the bride family demands

more, majority (68%) of the respondents stated that the groom's social status affects the demand of *Xhrap*. The social status of bride does not change as per expectation, to get married in high class, the parents demand high *Xhrap* which does not deal with the social status of bride.

6.3.1 Case Study of Hypergamy

A male respondent Mehboob khan, from Yashkun, from Samigal village, had 9 children (6 daughters and 3 sons), he stated his *Xhrap* Hypergamy experience that I got *Xhrap* amount from 20,000 to 500,000/-. At the first daughter's marriage I got only 20,000/- rupees, but when the 5th number daughter (Shafeeqa, 14 years old) got a proposal for marriage I demanded Rs. 500,000/- for *Xhrap*. The in-laws of Shafeeqa were wealthy, so they agreed to pay. I had borrowed money from so many people and had to pay back the money, *Xhrap* amount helped me out to clear all my debts.

6.4 *Xhrap* Giver

The question of perception of *Xhrap* givers were asked to the respondents, they were of the view that to get or take of *Xhrap* was a cultural practice; it is good practice because we pay *Xhrap* to bride family. Those who want their boys to get married they must have to pay *Xhrap* to bride's family. If we discuss *Xhrap* according to the economic status of the natives, as stated earlier the economic class of upper two castes and the dependency of lower two castes, collecting money for *Xhrap* is not an easy task for lower two castes.

At one hand *Xhrap* is for the honor of bride but on the other hand it is also associated with honors and prestige of groom and his family as well. According to natives, if a groom pays high amount of *Xhrap* it becomes example and people use his name or the father's name during daily informal discussions. In chapter 4, we discussed the economic conditions of the village and the benefits of Diamer Bhasha Dam to the Chilasi people, now the amount of *Xhrap* was increased since last two decades. But those who do not have such benefits they mostly use some tactics. They receive high *Xhrap* but pay low (in this case the girl must be from lower class); sell any property (it could again have disadvantages, if they sell the property how will they survive? ") ask friends or family members to help in this regard and the amount will be paid back in

installments. But most of the time last option remains an option; no one has the extra money to help others in that less developed job scarcity area. The situation is different in upper two and lower two castes; upper two caste practice *Xhrap* for their family prestige and remaining for their survival strategy.

6.4.1 Case Study

Abdul Khaliq was 45 years old married male who had seven children. He narrated his *Xhrap* experience as; I was a shop keeper in Khanbari village, the *Xhrap* amount was decided Rs. 60,000/- it was very tough for me to collect the amount. At the time of marriage I was unemployed and occasionally worked as laborer in construction. I was engaged for three years because I was not able to pay *Xhrap* to my in-laws. After collecting the money I got married and now with the grace of God we are living happy and prosperous life.

There is another story of my brother, at the time of marriage he was also jobless and his *Xhrap* was 150,000/-. His father in-law said if you do not pay such *Xhrap* to me in six months, I will call off the engagement and will marry my girl with anyone else who can pay me the same amount. So, in this matter they broke the engagement after six months in Jirgah of both families with mediator.

In my point of view this practice can have some merits but definitely has many demerits. If the amount is nominal (according to the economic status of groom) this practice is good; if the demand is high out of the economic status of groom that would be cause of breakup; sometimes mediators also cannot do anything to continue the affiliation.

I had received the *Xhrap* of my daughters, One who was fourteen years old had Rs. 50,000/- and the other who was ten year old the *Xhrap* was Rs. 100,000. The parents of later groom gave 50% amount at the time of engagement and promised to pay remaining amount at the time of marriage. The groom age was 20 years; she was too young so I demanded more *Xhrap* from them.

6.5 *Xhrap* Receivers

From the respondents 80% were of the view that, if parents receive *Xhrap*, it may

enhance the economic stability of the family and remaining family member can get good benefits from it. People of the area are generally poor; they do not have enough money to spend on their families, number of facilities remain un-touched for the socialization of their children e.g. education etc. As stated in chapter one, girls are more value oriented for the families, they do farm and household work. If parents have more girls it is considered as blessing for the family. Blessing in the sense of money and more hands for labor; in the area it is not easy for the boys to get married, while remaining 20% of the respondents that *Xhrap* is more devastating than blessing for the parents. In groom's context it is very unfortunate, if the groom is from less economic class, marriages get late due to such issues and most of the time groom's parents waste their money if they are not able to pay remaining in the promised time. According to the *Molvi* (religious scholar) who come from down areas after completing their religious education, conceptualize that the *Xhrap* amount is in Islamic perspectives.

6.5.1 Case Study

A female respondent, named Rabia had done matric, 22 years old, from Khanbari village shared her *Xhrap* experience as a receiver. According to her, "my parents received Rs. 45,000/- *Xhrap*; they were not so rich to bear my marriage expenses. My father was a laborer, to reduce the marriage burden, he demanded for *Xhrap*. I have six sisters from which three were engaged. Each sister gets Rs. 50,000/- 100,000 and 75,000/- *Xhrap* from their in-laws respectively". She stated further that the practice of *Xhrap* is very good; this is helpful for the parents of girl to lessen their economic pressure.

6.6 Commodity Use in *Xhrap*

The term "bride price" is misrepresentative because "price" has complicated connotation with the saleable relations of market. The substantial goods and the services that form an obligatory payment at the time of marriage, bride wealth/ Bride Price is not the same as the cash price of a commodity.

The respondents of Samigal and Khanbari do not concern the payment of bride wealth as a commercial transaction although it does have an economic factor in the sense that

Table 25: *Xhrap* practice as a Burden

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Area Wise Responses				
Area	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Samigal	19	38	08	16
Khanbari	15	30	08	16
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table shows that *Xhrap* practice is burden for the respondents of Samigal and Khanbari (68%), because it is very difficult to pay *Xhrap*. Majority of the people in the research locale are unemployed and have very limited opportunities of earning that is why it is not an easy task for them. Inflation and high household expenditures increase economic burden on males so it adds more burden. Thus, in such circumstances paying *Xhrap* serves as burden for the groom's family.

Furthermore, (32%) of respondents described that *Xhrap* is relief for them, in given perspective those who belong to upper class have not any issue to pay the amount in this type of marriage the *Xhrap* is considered as a relief for the parents of the bride. The parents of the bride receive a reasonable amount to fulfill the expenditures of the marriage and remaining amount is used for petty affairs.

Furthermore, out of the 34 respondents, (38%) respondents were from Samigal, while the remaining (30%) were from Khanbari were stated that *Xhrap* practice is burden for them while out of 16 respondents from which (16%) were from Samigal and (16%) were from Khanbari were in the favor of bride price is not a burden.

Table 26: Gender wise Perception about *Xhrap* as a Burden

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Gender Wise Responses				
Gender	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Female	16	32	14	28
Male	18	36	02	04
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

Table shows that (32%) females stated that as giver *Xhrap* is burden while, (36%) respondents who were male also had same opinions. Otherwise, 28% females and 04% male were in the favor of Bride price as relief for the parents of the bride.

Table 27: Caste wise Perception about *Xhrap* as a Burden

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Caste / Tribe Wise Responses				
Caste/Tribe	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Yashkun	2	4	05	10
Sheen	3	6	10	20
Kamin	7	14	8	16
Doom	6	12	9	18
Total	18	36	32	64

Source: Field Data

The table demonstrates that *Xhrap* practice is burden (04%) respondents belonged to Yashkun who believed that bride price is burden for those parents who cannot afford the price. While, remaining (03%) respondents from Sheen who had the same intention about *Xhrap*; (7%) were Kamin, and remaining (6%) respondents were

Doom all had the same response regarding *Xhrap*. While (10%) Yashkun, (20%) *Sheen*, (16%) *Kamin* and (18%) *Doom* said that bride price is relief not a burden for the parents.

Table 28: Age wise Perception about *Xhrap* as a Burden

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Age Wise Responses				
Age	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
21-35 year	15	30	07	14
35-45 year	14	28	06	12
45 and Above	05	10	03	06
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table shows (30%) respondents were at the age group of 21-35years said that *Xhrap* practice is burden and (14%) from same age group were in favor of *Xhrap*. While (28%) respondents stated it as burden at the age groups of 35-45 years the remaining (12%) were in the favor of *Xhrap* as relief. Remaining (10%) were at the age of 45 and above were not favor of *Xhrap* while (6%) think the practice is relief for parents.

Table 29: *Xhrap* as a Burden and Marital Status

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Marital status Wise Responses				
Marital status	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Married	29	58	13	26
Divorce	02	04	00	00
Widow	03	06	03	06
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table shows, majority (58%) married respondents encompassed that the *Xhrap* Practice is burden, (26%) favored , (4%) of respondents who are laying under divorced category stated its burden; remaining (6%) were widows said that bride price is burden while (6%) responded in its favor.

Table 30: *Xhrap* as a Burden and Family Structure

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Family structure				
Family type	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Nuclear	01	02	00	00
Joint	26	52	13	26
Extended	06	12	03	06
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table indicates that (52%) respondents living in joint families stated that paying *Xhrap* is burden, (26%) considered it relief. The (12%) respondents who live in extended family considered it burden but (06%) from same family structure found it favorable. In the last category of field data, only (2%) of the respondents from nuclear families who stated that *Xhrap* practice is burden for parents.

Table 31: *Xhrap* as a Burden and Education

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Educational attainment				
Educational attainment	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Illiterate	24	48	10	20
1-5 (year of schooling)	05	10	03	06

6-8 (year of schooling)	02	04	02	04
9-10 (year of schooling)	02	04	00	00
15-16 (year of schooling)	01	02	01	02
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table reflects the educational attainment of the respondents reflects that whether bride price is burden or relief for the people of the locale. (48%) of the respondents who were illiterate, and favor of the statement that *Xhrap* practice is burden, and (10%) from same considered its reliefs. While (10%) of the respondents who were primary level of schooling (10%) at burden category and (06%) at relief category. (4%) of middle pass respondents lie on both sides; (4%) of matriculate respondents indicated that the *Xhrap* is burden, while in last academic category (02%) lie in each side.

Table 32: *Xhrap* as a Burden and Income

Category	Frequency		Percentage	
Burden	34		68	
Relief	16		32	
Total	50		100	
Family Income				
Family Income	Burden		Relief	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Up to 10,000	06	12	02	04
10,001- 15,000	06	12	02	04
15,001-20,000	15	30	07	14
20,001-25,000	03	06	00	00
25,001-30,000	00	00	02	04
30,001-35,000	03	06	02	04
35,001-40,000	01	02	01	02
Total	34	68	16	32

Source: Field Data

The table shows the family income of the respondent, (30%) of the respondent lie in category of 15,001-20,000; (14%) from the category on *Xhrap* as relief, (24%)

respondents' family income was from 0-15,000, remaining (08%) from same category stated *Xhrap* as relief for parents. From all respondents (12%) who lie under 20,001-35,000 were in the favor of burden and (08%) in relief caused by *Xhrap*. In the last category 35,001-40,000 (02%) were in the favor of each side.

Now a days the economic situation has changed, because of Basha Dam Project, the people of the area have receive high amount from government as compensation for their land/property. Now, the practice is not a burden anymore. High demanded amount is easily paid to the bride's family as well as more *Xhrap* amount as compared to earlier have been practiced.

6.8 Effects of *Xhrap*

A number of impacts have been documented during the course of field work. In some cases it has positive intentions whereas in some cases it impacts the life of women by their in-laws. Some case studies are as under;

6.8.1 Widowhood

The following table shows the effect of *Xhrap* on widow:

Table 33: *Xhrap* affect widowhood

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Samigal/Khanbari, <i>Xhrap</i> not continue the widowhood	43	86
Samigal/Khanbari <i>Xhrap</i> continue widowhood	07	14
Total	50	100

Source: Field Data

The above table indicated the effect of widowhood. As stated in earlier chapters the *Xhrap* is a onetime payment to the parents of bride; if husband of any girl die she must have to marry with in groom's family. There is no concept to go back to parents' home after the death of husband. There are some exceptions e.g. if female is aged, she will not remarry but she always stays with her children. From total sample size 86%

respondents stated that their cultural norms are very rigid, they not allowed to continue widowhood because the *Xhrap* paid women is obligatory to get married with siblings of her late husband, she is not allowed to go back to her parent's home after the death of her husband. The levirate marriage is practiced among all communities. Only 14% women continue the widowhood, because of old age.

Case Study

Nasira was 65 years old lady, from Goharabad and got married in Khanbari. She narrated her widowhood as my husband was in army, 48 years ago when I got married on 2000 *Xhrap*. My husband died after 5 years of marriage, I had 3 kids from him, I got the opportunity in the community first time, the parents and siblings of my husband asked me if I wanted to go back to my mother (my father died and I was living with my step father in the same village), I was the only child of my mother from both husbands. According to her, my mother also faced the same situation after the death of my father. My father's family asked my mother if she wanted to go back to her family they would not have any issue with it. My mother went back to her mother's family but meanwhile the sister of my father died. She came back and re-married to the brother of my father.

The incident is conceptualized in the area as the sin because in the area going back to bride's family is considered disrespected act. This misfortune shaded my mother's remaining life that she disobeyed the cultural practice which was the clear indication from God that this act may not be repeated.

Now after death of my husband, when my in-laws gave me option to go back, I refused the offer due to previous misfortune, because a number of elderly women were of the view if I did the same someone from my in-laws would die. There was no one present with whom I could remarry so I stayed with in-laws and continued my widowhood.

6.8.2 In case of Divorce

The following table shows the relationship of *Xhrap* and divorce:

Table 34: *Xhrap* effect in case of Divorce

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Xhrap</i> effect in case of Divorce	03	06

<i>No Xhrap</i> effect in case of Divorce	47	94
Total	50	100

Source: Field Date

The above table reflects that the *Xhrap* affects the status of female in case of divorce. Majority (94%) of the respondents stated that *Xhrap* does not affect divorce because the divorce ratio is very low, in rare conditions people go for divorce. While (6%) of the respondents were affected by the divorce but the *Xhrap* price is not reversed by the bride family to the groom's family.

Case Study

This tradition plays a role in decreasing divorce ratio. Divorce ratio is very low in this society but if divorce happens, the *Xhrap* is not reversed or given back to in-laws. A female respondent named Andleeb, 22 years old shared her divorce experience as, I get divorced after three months of my marriage. My husband did not like me and he did not want to live with me, he was interested in other girl from his neighborhood. My husband told me the story that he was going to divorce me, he just said to leave his house; I left his house but the *Xhrap* was not reversed by him.

Natives were also inquired about the divorce rate in Samigal and Khanbari, it was very low because of the payment for bride was involved in match making. If the ratio of divorce increases then the loss of groom's family is much obvious.

“talaq asai aal mishit nush. Jaak sai aayak Xhrapi day akot hilal walain, talaq thay raino nosqan bae. Kay tha tou jaik sai ataq haguri Xhrapi dain”.

The divorce is not considered good. People bring brides by giving so much money. There will be big loss of money if divorce will happen; it is cause of money and human capital.

6.8.3 Swear Divorce/*Sagaan Talaq*

The people of Samigal and Khanbari (all over the Diamer District) swear/*sagaan*

divorce was practiced. They divorce their wives on swear. Mean to say, the people of Chilas are good in keeping promises. The valuable asset for them is their Wife, in some severe cases the promise of doing the job on behalf of wife's name is considered very important. In some areas of Pakistan, people do swear in the name of God, in some communities like Chilasi and Gujjar groups they value their wives more so they do swear on the name of their wives. These swear are considered very high and prestigious and give warranty to accomplish the task at any cost. For instance, if they are being asked for returning the loan or property (land) or personal dispute, they used to swear on their wives.

*“Chain mas aday na thas nay o musha mae gain majo phat bae, Mae gain
Talaq bi, Sagaan das ayjay”*

“If I cannot able to keep my agreement, my wife may divorced”

If, he fails to complete the desired assignment/task in specific time; his wife may be considered as divorced woman.

Case Study

Arshad was 45-years-old woman, married in Khanbari. According to her, my ex-husband worked in shop, and he took loan from so many people and was unable to pay back. One day a man who had given him much that amount came and demanded the money back. My ex-husband took swear that if he failed to give back the money on given time period, his wife would be divorced. I had 5 kids aged from 5 months, 2 years, 3 years, 5 years and 8 years old at that time. My ex-husband collected money and went to his lender but he could not reach at the given time. Consequently I was divorced from his marriage contract automatically.

6.8.4 Wata Sata /Exchanged Marriages

Exchange marriages contain the immediate endogamy marriage within families. Subsequently, when inter marriage happens bride's sibling marries groom. This marriage is practiced all over the Pakistan but usually considered the characteristic of rural life style. While in the respective locale, the trend of *Watta Satta* is much

obvious.

People of Samigal and Khanbari love to practice *Watta Satta* because the economical distribution of *Xhrap* price (human capital) gets cancelled from both sides. Neither the family of groom gives anything to bride's family nor does the bride's family give anything to them. The people of the locale stated that when they do *watta satta* marriages the marriage expenses and burdens are reduced. Furthermore, they said that there is a balance in marriages because of *Watta Satta*, both the families have no complaints and demands.

7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

The present study was aimed to explore the ethnography *Xhrap*. The study was imparted in Samigal and Khanbari, in Tehsil Darail stationed at the footprints of Diamer District. The study is designed under the course of certain research objectives including social, cultural, religious and economic significance of *Xhrap*, Performative of *Xhrap* Practices; along with this, the relationship between natives' socio-economic characteristics and their interpretation and experience of *Xhrap* practices. Furthermore, constructions of *Xhrap* narratives are also emphasized. The last objective was about the regulating mechanism of *Xhrap*. In certain societies, bride price is generally regarded as bride wealth and the dowry and marriage expenses done by parents of bride but in Samigal and Khanbari the *Xhrap* has significant value. In other cultures of Gilgit Baltistan *Xhrap* is not much practiced as compared to Diamer District.

Folk knowledge about *Xhrap* has been categorized under several headings such as, concept of *Xhrap* and reality, adoption of cultural practice, classification of *Xhrap* in accordance with religious perspective. Performative rituals associated with the narration of *Xhrap*, religious and cultural aspects of *Xhrap*; accustomed systems by which people interpret particular of *Xhrap*; the social contexts in which *Xhrap* is given and taken are shared (or not shared) and discussed. Last but not the least; the ways in which *Xhrap* is utilized by the parents of bride is significant in the respective society.

CONCLUSION

The people of the locale believe that their elders induced them to strictly follow the *Xhrap* practices in their lives. In some cases, respondents were of the view that it is bad in practice. Two systems of *Xhrap* interpretations existed in the villages i.e. cultural (individual & traditional) and religious interpretation. Furthermore, source of cultural interpretation is embedded in norms, values, traditions and morals of respective culture while religious interpretation of *Xhrap* is nested in Quran and Hadith. The practice of *Xhrap* is also supported with the knowledge of Islam; the *Haq*

mehr system that is *muajjal* and *Ghiar e muajjal* practices when *Xhrap* is practiced. Furthermore, respondents assured that their practice of *Xhrap* as giver or receiver is totally based on Islamic patterns. Respondents were of the view that it has been transmitted from generation to generation- uttered tradition.

The female's respondents reflected that *Xhrap* is source of financial support for their parents because parents cannot afford the marriage expenses. Moreover, they correlate it with their own knowledge, status e.g. socio-economic characteristics; life experiences either good or bad, and family environment, etc. Furthermore, Natives have counted numerous themes and characteristics which they associated with the Bride and cash, and conceptualized it to be good or bad for their parents who are givers and receivers of *Xhrap*. Cultural interpretation of *Xhrap* has been marked by their norms, values, knowledge, traditions, morals etc.

If, *Xhrap* is not given by groom's family; the bride is not given a respectful status among in-laws. *Xhrap* works like a guide for the status of female in selected villages. The study also concluded that importance of *Xhrap* has great effect to co-relate the status of bride and groom family as well as economic burden sharing among the communities. The study is just a try to clear the misunderstanding of *Xhrap* and bride Price to evaluate the subsistence communities of Pakistan. As stated in the conceptualization, *Xhrap* has co-relation with human capital; this is basically the value of work done by female in her father's home. The age is considered more valuable in *Xhrap* amount because more years of work mean more *Xhrap* amount.

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Appendix I

GLOSSARY

Serial No	Glossary	Meaning
01	<i>Angaithi (Bukharii)</i>	Burner , heater used in winter
02	<i>Bari Thali</i>	Large plate
03	<i>Chai, Musha</i>	Husband and wife
04	<i>Chukan</i>	Washroom/toilet
05	<i>Cxhanalo/chaoo</i>	Trouser
06	<i>Cxhanali</i>	Scarf or sheet which men carry in winter
07	<i>Dimaiay –e- Rupaiay</i>	Body Price (Dhar ki Qeemat)
08	<i>Ghair e moajjal</i>	This is paid after accomplishment of marriage). A postponed undertaking to pay does not make the full amount of the mahr any less legitimately compulsory.
09	<i>Guiyal</i>	Cattle house
10	<i>Gah/Gaie.</i>	Water stream
11	<i>Hilal Hiloh</i>	Bride and Groom
12	<i>Khamees</i>	Shirt
13	<i>Moajjal</i>	which is paid at time of marriage (nikah), and the portion that is promised
14	<i>Manaow,</i>	Open kitchen
15	<i>Mulah</i>	Religious scholar
16	<i>Pattu Khoi.</i>	Hat
17	<i>Phouli</i>	Kind of food
18	<i>Pochay</i>	Dress
19	<i>Qatal</i>	Murder
20	<i>Rawaji</i>	Cultural Practices
21	<i>Sishay –e- Rupaiay</i>	Head price of Bride (Sir ki Qeemat)

22	<i>Sagaan</i>	Swear
23	<i>Shino Goth</i>	Traditional room where all the household live together in winter
24	<i>Trahamulo</i>	Burner
25	<i>Wasket</i>	Waist coat
26	<i>Xhrap</i>	Bride Price

Interview (Thematic) Guide

The following research questionnaire was taken into consideration while formulating the interviews and case studies under the screen of anthropological study of Xhrap.

- Demographic information
- Life after marriages
- Life before marriages
- Experience (giver or receiver) of bride price
- Conceptualization of bride price
- How many forms of bride price are prevalent in the area/region?
- Opinion about bride price if it is universal, legal, Islamic and cultural
- How many other cultures and cultural group practice bride price?
- The reasons to practice bride price?
- How it establishes relationship between rich and poor?
- Is it a financial burden for giver?
- What is in the bride price?
- Where does the money come from? Do relatives also help?
- What is the importance of bride price? Do you also take livestock given in the bride price?
- How does the bride price connect people together?
- What are bride price benefits? Should a bride price be made?
- If Bride price is a good thing then why should not everyone adopt it? If you think that bride price is a bad thing, why not leave it?
- What is the reason behind honor / insult for families while bride price is being practice? What is in bride price and what is not it?
- Does bride price strengthen the relationships? What happens in case of a belligerence? What happens in divorce? What happens when a women is a widow?
- What is the age of bride and groom? Who is decision maker in family and who chose bride or groom and other issues resolved in family?
- Are these any fixed amount conditions for bride price in culture regarding age, class, status and gender or it is flexible process?