# MARRIAGE AS A SYMBOLIZING
# AND REGULATORY SYSTEM
# AMONG "JHUGION WALE"



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## Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Maria Tabassum It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of M.Sc in Anthropology.

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# DEDICATION

─I dedicate this dissertation to my dreams, my art, my failures, my success, my imperfections, my sixteen year journey of education, my hard work, my sufferance and to myself ─

# FORMAL DECLERATION

I hereby declare that this is my own work without anyone else help except those mentioned here.

This work has not been submitted or published for any degree or examination in any other university in identical or similar shape. All the other sources used in this work have been mentioned as complete reference.

 I am exclusively responsible for the content of this thesis and I have the sole copyright of it.

Islamabad 2020.

**MARIA TABASSUM**

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*"I have a deeply hidden and inarticulate desire for something beyond the daily life.''*

*-Virginia Woolf*

# Table of Contents

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Jhugi Wale: The First Introduction

About 22km away from my city (Wah Cantt), is my village (Burhan) on the road to Attock. I occasionally visit my village and whenever I go, I am always with my family. In the midst of my city and my village dwells an unusual community called_ *"Jhugi wale"*. It is not my proclivity to chatter during travelling. Therefore, I prefer to remain silent. Meanwhile I observe and look everything that passes by from the pane of the car. These *Jhugi wale* live in declivity and at a distance from road along with the railway line. However, their jhugis and these people can be seen very clearly by the passengers and pedestrians. Usually people do not pay any attention to them. Besides, I was the one to observe them keenly while travelling. They used to be roaming around, their washed clothes hanging on the wires, a group of one sitting and gossiping, the other group is performing some other task. Their children running and playing with each other. They seem very interesting and striking to me. Sometimes I really wanted to stop the car and to go to them and for a time being be a part of them but this hidden desire always remained unfulfilled.

As *John Keats* said:

> *"A thing of beauty is joy forever"*

I like every kind of beauty around me; from nature to folks. I like to explore this beauty which is ignored most of the times. I was curious to know what stories and happenings lie behind the *tepri* of their jhugis. How do they live? How do they marry? What are their views about life? And so on… However, these questions remained unanswered.

As soon as I came to know that in Anthropology, the students are supposed to conduct research on a community. The idea of *Jhugi wale* resurfaced. As an amateur anthropologist, I eargerly looked forward to going to the research field and conducting participant observation.

## 1.2 The First Visit

As advised by my supervisor, I visited my locale once as to estimate the feasibility to conduct research there and to explore the potential research topics.

Therefore, one day, I along with my mother decided to visit the locale. I explained the whole assignment to my mother and requested her to dress up simply so that the jhugi wale are not overwhelmed by a stranger's visit. I attired simply in *shalwar kameez* and covered myself with a large piece of black cloth – *chadar*. I made an effort to look plain fashioned so that those people could feel comfortable with me.

In the morning around 11'o clock, we left the house. We went by a rickshaw to that the desired place. One has to change two rickshaws because the destination cannot be reached directly. It costed us one-twenty rupees each day. We paid the fare and got off.

Now the next question for us was from where to enter the field and begin research? The area was steep and there were heaps of garbage here and there. At last, we found a clean way and with careful steps we stepped into the declivity, the area of *jhugi wale.* On seeing me and my mother roaming around, some of the women stood still and stared at us. We went to them and said *Assalam alaikum!* We shook hands with everyone. They looked delightful with this gesture, and soon many of them gathered around us. I asked their names, which they told and in exchange they asked mine. There were also small children from six months to three years, the bodies of little children were undraped while the older ones were wearing either full clothes or just a trouser. Their ears were full with piercing and they were wearing earrings in all the holes. It was unusual for me and I opened my mobile's camera and asked them to capture their pictures. They became very happy and in their native language, they told their men that I have come to take the pictures of their children. They referred to me as *chori,* meaning a girl, the only word I could understand. They made their children stand in a row and advised them to stand still. It seemed, as if I were a professional photographer with a DSLR in my hand to publish their pictures in some magazine. Their men also said *Salam* to us and asked me why I was there. I explained to them the purpose of my visit. Apparently, they had no issue. During our general conversation, I came to know that this group originally belongs to Balochistan but they lived in Sindh till their ancestors were alive and came here

for economic purposes. They seemed happy with my visit and wanted me to stay longer. One of them said:

―*Baji tum betho na tum se mil kar boht acha laga hai. Log to yahan nhi ata. Log nafrat karte hen ham se kyu ke hm ghareeb hen"*

(We feel delighted to meet you, spend some more time with us. People do not come here, as they hate us because we are poor)

I reciprocated their warm welcome and promised that I would come again. There were seven *jhugis* and they said that all of them were relatives. They were wearing clothes with the same designs of embroidery on it but different in colours. They also told us that many of them had gone to work.

We then moved from to another cluster. There was an uncountable number of *jhugis*. They also met us pleasantly. The people in this cluster belonged to Sindh and all of them were talking in *Sindhi,* I could not understand a single word. Many of them seemed indifferent to our visit doing their routine chores; cooking etc. We talked with them and I came to know that most of them were *Hindus.* Many maiden were sitting with their hair open, with no *dupatta.* Some of them were holding a shabby hand mirror, seeing their image in it; they were putting *kajal* and applying *lipstick.* It seemed that these women liked to adorn themselves. Majority of them kept doing what they were and did not pay attention to me. Summing up, these people did not seem to be interested to our questions probably they did not like to be interfered.

On the other side of the railway line was another cluster consisting of six to seven jhugis. As we reached, we saw a woman sitting on the floor outside her jhugi. She was around fifity to fifty-five years old with jet black hair which she had not tied yet She was wearing a huge nose-ring and curiously gazing at us while peeling an orange. We went to her, paid her *Salam* (local greeting), and shook hands. She answered and offered us oranges and asked for our purpose of coming which I explained. Then she welcomed us to her jhugi. There was also her husband sitting on a *charpai.* I paid *Salam* to him and said him *Chacha*[1]. Wearing a dhoti and

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[1] Chacha is a local term of designation and address for paternal uncle. However, it is used in place of English term uncle as well as for all men who are of one's father's age irrespective of relationship, to show respect.

khusa[2], chacha was an old man who had carefully drenched his hair into black dye. He called me *putar*[3]. The use of this term indicated that the family was *Punjabi,* when asked it was known that they were from Faisalabad Punjab. This couple introduced us to their family members. They told us that those all *jhugis* were theirs. I tried my best to speak Punjabi in their accent. They also had a huge number of pigeons. I was so adored to see those. I also had conversations with their daughters, sons, and daughter-in-laws. Some of them had television in their *jhugis*. Interestingly, this cluster had solar panels which none of the other ethnic groups had. After spending a few hours, we said goodbye to them, informing them that we would come again. We then moved forward.

There were cow-dung hither and thither. We were walking carefully. It was the time of spring, the wind was pleasant but with full of stink. While I did not mind it,my mother did. There was small field of mustard that looked quite beautiful. Along with this was a little shrine. We visited that. There was nobody inside. There were *alams* erected with the main grave. Also a mud sculpture of a lion was there. In one corner, the shrine had a small room door of which was closed. My mother felt a little scared asked me to leave as nobody was there. The walls were full of calligraphic words like *"ya Ali madad, maula Ali, mushkil kusha etc."* This revealed that this small shrine was belonged to the *Shia* sect. We again went to that Punjabi family and asked about the shrine. *Chacha* told us that this *baba* has come from Peshawar and his father was buried there. He has recently got married. One of the daughters of *chacha* insisted us to meet the newlywed bride. She went along with us. The bride of the *baba* was a teenage plump girl  and long hair braid.. She told us that that she has come from Lahore. She lived in that room and if she wanted to go out, she was just allowed to visit the Punjabi family, where she would sit with the girls and gossip. She offered tea to us but we thanked her and politely refused. It seemed that the bond of the *baba's* bride was very strong with the Punjabi family.

Closing this first visit, I was contented. I thanked my mother because it was all possible because of her. My mother was a huge help in breaking the ice and was always ready to

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[2] Dhoti is loose fabric wrapped and tied around wasteline and is usually ankle length, while khusa are traditional shoes made of leather, similar to pump shape._____

[3] Putar is a Punjabi term of designation as well as address that literally refers to male child. It is also used to address any person who is significantly younger in age irrespective of gender.

initiate interaction. It was due to her presence that I felt myself secure, she sat with the women of her age and gossiped. This is how we left the place with questionable, astonished, curious, sparkle, weird, cheerful, staring glances of the people

I decided to choose *Balochi* and *Punjabi* groups because they seemed willing for the research compared to the Sindhis who seemed reluctant.

## 1.3 A Narrative Research

A narrative research has become widely used in social sciences. It examines new ways of researching, enquiring, creative solutions and finding problems. It establishes its links with literary fields as well. It is very useful in ethnographic, cultural and anthropological studies.

**What is narrative?** A broad inclusive definition is that a narrative is a set of signs, which may be written symbols, verbal or other sounds, visual, acted or made signs. Narrative also have some particular, rather than only general meanings that through their sequencing or movement, construct more meanings. Because a narrative progress it does not only describe. Because it is particular, it is not a theory; it narrower and more tied to specific conditions. And because it constitutes human beings, there are going to be social and historical limitations on where and when it can be understood and by whom.(Squir, 2008)

Sometimes it is also called *narrative inquiry* involves working with narrative materials of various kinds. Sometimes, they already exist, for instance, if somebody is studying a video game, a novel, a film, a speech, or the kind he has just read. Sometimes the narrative materials come into existence as part of the research. In this second case, the researcher might ask their participants to produce stories. These could be spoken life stories, or photographic self-portraits, or day-by-day journals of events. A researcher simply encourage their participants to talk at length about their opinions about something that matters strongly to them.

With the help of these *narrative stories*, a researcher produces his data accordingly into a narrative research. They analyze these stories more keenly and examine stories as stories. The concern is with the structure of stories; their linguistic and thematic organization is particularly strongly in relation to written stories called *narratology*. Secondly, researchers might be interested in a more constructed way in *narrative content*, themes, and meanings,

such as the personal, family and national histories, struggles and resistances. *Narrative analysis* involves analyzing, narrative aspect of stories. Not just analyzing stories in anyway, one chooses. More narrative researchers are keen to examine stories as stories.

There are many other broader definitions of narratives. They may focus on stories as temporal progression, or developing or expressing personal identity, or telling about the past, or making sense of mental states or emotions, or having particular social effects, or demonstrating formal linguistic properties. Often the definitions contain more than one component; many definitions overlap, it is not possible them to categorize neatly.

**What do narrative researches do?** There is a great diversity of approaches to narrative research. Some researchers are interested in what stories say about people and the world. In that case, they may be concerned about the truth of stories, that is, their representation of physical realities. However, researchers may also be interested in story meanings that include psychic and social realities. They may then be dealing with a number of narrative ‚*truths.*'(Squir, 2008). In all these cases, they are concerned with stories as resources for research. In addition, though, they will often take stories themselves as the *themes* of research (Squir, 2008) addressing, how narratives work and how they affect people's understanding and actions in the world. In these cases, narrative researches will be less concerned with the truth or truths of stories. Whether or not they think such truths exist. Jane Elliott has described this dichotomy in narrative research as an epistemological between *naturalists,* that is, narrative as resource, and *constructionist,* that is, narrative as theme, approaches. _While the naturalist view is that the social world is in some sense _out there‘, an external reality available to be observed and described by the researcher (Squir, 2008), the constructionist approach aims to explore how meaning is constructed in narratives in relation to available cultural, social and interpersonal resources.

The *humanist narrative psychology school* viewed lives as actively storied in ways that help us understand people socially and emotionally. The two main figures within this tradition used by narrative researchers today are probably the philosopher Ricoeur‘s (1984) work on narratives as making human sense of time and the psychologist Bruner‘s (1990) work on narratives as _stories we live by‘. However, social scientists were questioning culturally and politically specific, and often discriminatory, assumptions attending concepts of the _humans‘

(Squir, 2008) and ‗experience' (Squir, 2008) and thus undermining some of the key assumptions of the human-psychological approach to narrative research. However, the impetus to make narrative research a somewhat uncritical, people based social science, within which stories have intrinsic value as knowledge, representation of experiences, and the foundation of progressive social and cultural change, remains.

Narrative research does not ‗give voice' to oppressed, let alone excluded people. It is more that people give their voices to the research (Squir, 2008) not always with the consequences they want but that narrative researchers then tell their own stories about the research and sometimes themselves.

With my experience to my field, I concluded up to conduct a narrative research that is beyond merely giving a statement of the problem and then trying to solve it. I find myself vulnerable to account for a narrative ethnographic research. Probing a topic and then with the methodology suitable for the community I wanted to listen to the stories and analyze them that way.

## 1.4 Introduction

Marriage refers to a public vow made between a man and a woman who promise to love and be faithful to each other for the rest of their lives. It is a universal institution, but defining it adequately presents a challenge. One authoritative definition focuses on perhaps the most common characteristic_children:

‗Marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognized legitimate offspring of both parents"

Marriage is a legitimate and socially recognized union of a man and a woman who, as a result of parental consent and fulfilment of societal requirements, agree to live together as husband and wife to procreate. Yamah (2012) defined marriage as an alliance between a man and a woman, which legitimizes sexual access and the children, which result giving them an ascription in the society as members of a particular lineage and family. He looks at marriage as a legal means of biological satisfaction. To some, marriage is one of the difficult concepts to be assigned any generally acceptable meaning. They further justified that it exists in all societies but have different forms, meanings and functions. Such differential is influenced by

various social factors which make its definition more difficult.Whatever the angle at which each scholar looks at the concept of marriage, there is a striking phrase that is common to them all: *"a man and a woman".*

Other definitions generally emphasize that the marital union is socially and legally recognized and establishes a family as a social unit that regulates sexual activity, produces and raises children, implies some reciprocal rights between the spouses and between them and their offspring and constitutes a basic economic unit. In short, marriage could be seen as a set of rights that gives access to the spouse's sexuality, labor and property. Although not all of these aspects are necessarily present in all marriages.

Marriage is a social institution by which society is organized. However, the basic function of marriage is regulating sexual relations between male and female but it also organizes the community. It creates and extends the family, which is the basis of social organization of the community. Marriage also creates consanguinal and affinal relationships between different families and groups. Marriage regulates social functioning of both the sexes.

Marriage patterns vary from society to society. Every culture practices marriage according to its own rules and norms. It may be that one thing is seen normal and abnormal in other culture.

*Jhugi wale* in my research are the people who do not settle at one place and move from one place to another with their belongings. They are the very poor and marginalized people of the society and most of the time unknown to the extravagant world. They organize their social life through marriages because most of their marriages are endogamous.

In my locale, no research has been done since yet. After my two visits to the locale and interacting with people, I intended to choose the topic of their marriage system and how they make their social life organized through marriage. My research is a narrative qualitative research.

The duration of my fieldwork is one month, which includes from building rapport to the final discussion. As it was summer, it was more feasible me to visit the locale in the evening. Thus, the timings of my visits were around 4:00pm to 7:00pm and sometimes until 6:00pm.

## 1.4.1 An ethnographic aspect

*Hassan Abdal* is the city located in *District Attock*. It is located 40km away from the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad. Hassan Abdal is the Tehsil of District Attock. It has a huge importance. One, because it is a linkage way to northern areas of Pakistan. Second, because a railway track passes in the middle of the city. Thirdly, it is a pilgrimage place, a holy place for the believers of *Sikhism*. Every year in the month of April thousands of *Sikhs* come to *Gurdwara Hassan Abdal* to offer pilgrimage. *Gurdwara* is located in Panja Sahib. It has narrow alleys and quite symmetrical long buildings. Nobody can enter into Panja Sahib or *Gurdwara* except the Sikhs because it is a sacred place for them.

There is also a very famous *Pahari* (mountain) called *zinda Sakhi Baba* (a saint who is still alive). People travel barefooted up hill. It is said that the *peer sahib* is still alive and comes in his room but nobody can see him. In the days of *Bisakhi* Sikh walk here barefooted. It is their holy custom to not to wear shoes. There is a great hustle and bustle in the city in these days. Therefore, the business of the people gets more significance. People lend their houses for rent to the Sikh guests. The shopkeepers also get the chance to earn more than usual.

Historically significant, Hassan Abdal is a very crowded and commercial city. Where no one can sleep empty stomach. It can be seen in a multi-dimensional way:

**Economy:** The market of Hassan Abdal is vast as there can be seen many traders and shops of each kind. Hawkers and street venders also use to wander and at the end of the day, they earn enough amount to feed their families. People of the nearest villages come here for shopping. Every kind of grocery is available, butcher's shop, electric materials, clothes and much more. People have great opportunities to earn here. There are a lot of wandering beggars everywhere in the city and even they earn to the maximum that they can run their parents and siblings. Along with the market people have made their own small means of earning like a *Sale Mela* where everything is worth 20 rupees etc. It is so approachable to those who cannot afford the high standards of living. It is said to be a supreme city because of its sacredness.

**Education:** There are many schools, high schools, colleges and Cadet College. Separate colleges and schools have been built up for male and female. There are also high number of academies.

**Health:** There are many hospitals and private clinics in the city, which can be accessed anytime in the day or night. People feel no difficulty in emergency cases because the staff is always available.

**Occupational life:** In this city one can find any job, there are shoe makers carpenters, jewelry makers, labors who work on daily wages, tailors, bangle sellers, audio and video Dvds, a huge *Landa Bazar*, traditional healers and the mid-wives. There is an uncountable number of occupations in this city. Moreover, because of its diversity and occupational opportunities many people move here in search of work.

### 1.4.2 Locale of the study

The locale of my study is ―Fouji Mill" near Tehsil Hassan Abdal District Attock. This area is located 15km far from Hassan Abdal. *Jhugi wale* are situated along with the railway track. They have been expelled from the main city, Hassan Abdal that is why they inhabited to the nearby place of the city. They belong to different provinces of Pakistan. Their background has a crucial effect on their ethnicity. This is a vast barren land so they can live here without the fear of being accused by the agencies or people. These people stay reserved only to their own ethnic group and thus the other to avoid ethnic disputes. That is why there is no interaction within all of groups due to their ethnicity biasness.

## 1.5 Objectives

➢ To explore what is marriage for them
➢ To explore how their social life is organized through marriage

## 1.6 Research questions

1. How they conceptualize marriage?
2. How their social life is organized through marriage?

## 1.7 Statement of the problem

My statement of the problem is ―A narrative study of Symbolizing marriage in jhugi wale and their social organization".

Here by social organization I mean relating marriage with social organization. Just as how marriage is regulating their social life. I will do this study with the perspective of ―Symbolic Interactionism".

## 1.8 Significance of the study

Anthropologists are always in search of methods to understand a society and culture in a comprehensive way. They try to develop an integrated approach while studying the culture of a community, But even in the presence of an integrative-scientific attitude to the multiplicity of human socio-cultural organization, there are severe challenges for the researcher to study any community and especially about the people whose origin and history are mythical and undocumented.

Understanding their marriage system through symbols of intimacy, love, happiness, gender role, sexuality, religion, the marriage institution and applying symbolic-anthropological perspective to those people for whom a lot of effort and determination is required. Each of the socio-cultural component relies on each other and being an anthropologist one has to observe, relate, and find distinction in each reality.

*Jhugi wale* did not have any documented and written history but stories and myths about their origin.

All these components make the study a challenging one and at the same time significant from an anthropological point of view. By the completion of our research, we shall hopefully arrive at an approximate understanding of their culture. After all what else is there for man to be proud of except ceaseless curiosity, painful wondering, endless search and fruitful discovery!

# 1.9 Methods of research

Firstly, I would like to describe the method and techniques of research, which I utilized during the course of my stay with the community.

Secondly, I would like to throw some light upon the relationship of the research techniques with the observed social reality.

## 1.9.1 Building rapport

*Clifford Geertz* writes about his experience of fieldwork at Balinese *Cockfight*:

*"Everyone was extremely pleased and even more surprised that we had not simply pulled out our papers but had instead demonstrated solidarity with what were now our co-villagers".*

Considering himself fortunate, the anthropologist casts his net wide taking home a catch of not just cockfights, but witchcraft, irrigation, cate and marriage – the complete package. The ethnography, it seems to us, suggests that this event in fact marks Geertz's entry into *anthropologyland* and the field as such. (Jenkins, Bourdieu, & Nice, 1993)

It is a very important component before starting the research. In order to establish a good communication, I attired myself into a very simple old *shalwar kameez* and covered myself with a wide black *sattar wali chadar*. I powdered my face into a dark bronze tone to make my complexion a bit dark. I used to apply a very dense *kajal* into my eyes and spreading it on my eyelids. I also wore a nose pin and wore simple flip-flips. I used to apply some of visible oil on my hair and then tied my hair into a braid. The purpose of my disguise was to come up to the level of attire like them so that they would feel comfortable with me and consider me as an ordinary creature as they are. I proceeded to clad myself this way throughout my research.

I used to give snacks to the children like candies, chips, lollypops, bubbles etc. I used to distribute among them equally. Their mothers felt delightful to me. I used to call them by their names or *baji, khala, bhai, chacha*. I used these local terms so they consider me as a part of them. Young damsels bashfully narrating their personal stories to me.

If somebody got sick ever as people of older age, I bought medicines for them like painkillers. I had my personal conveyance but I preferred not to drive to the field as they could be in awe seeing me like that. Rather I always used rickshaw for my visits.

My mother played a vital role in bridging the gap between them and me. She used to sit with the women of her age, who effortlessly vent their heart out to my mother. Adult men also used to pay *salam* to us and asking my mother, *baji* how you guys are. I put my efforts as hard as I could to speak in their native languages and if not, then at least I could speak the simplest Urdu to them so they could better understand me.

## 1.9.2 Participant observation

Malinowski first used participant observation and then it became a compulsory part of an ethnographic research. Simply as an observer, I found myself in direct contact with the material aspects of their culture. These aspects include, their architectural pattern, dressing, living spaces, cooking, washing, their standard of gossiping with each other, manners, attitudes, the time of eating meal and drinking tea, the beautiful scene of the arrival of the train etc. sometimes the observation was overt. For example, if a woman was washing clothes, I sat with her asking her, whose clothes she was washing etc. On other times, I just sat silently at a distance from them and watched them pensively.

## 1.9.3 In-depth/informal interviews

I would sit with them and talk about whatever would come to our notice. All this was very informal and at the same time very informative. Through this informal style of interviews, I was finally able to probe the data I wanted. Though it was not easy because they were busy all the time and it took an hour or so on just a one person. First general *chit chat* with them and then coming to the topic making it easy as possible as I could do. I developed a higher level of communication with *jhugi-wale* through passive presence, making myself like them and asking questions regarding their problems etc. this created an air of confidence, mutuality and love. I found myself totally transformed into their culture and then everything became crystal clear.

### 1.9.4 Daily Diary

They did not allow me to transcript interviews there. Opening up my diary and pen did not work. So I just did orally informal interviews. Keeping those interviews in mind, I then after coming back to home wrote them based on my stream of consciousness and memory. It was necessary for me to write down just after coming to home and with routine. If it would take a longer pause, I could have not been able to memorize.

### 1.9.5 Gatekeepers

I used the technique of gatekeepers.

Saunders (2006) wrote:

Gatekeeper: the person who controls research access. For example, the top manager or the senior executive in an organization, or the person within the group or the community who makes the final decision as to whether to allow the researcher's access to undertake the research. Gaining access to undertake social research is often problematic. Friends, colleagues and other may be willing to vouch for a researcher and the value of the research and act as research sponsors. However, unless permission has been granted by a gatekeeper from within the group, community or organization in which it is planned to undertake the research, it is unlikely that access will be allowed in practice.

I had no key-informant who could introduce me to the community or would have acted as a bridge. When I went to the community for the first time, a woman was sewing the clothes and making the cultural dress of Baluchistan. She thought that I was there because I wanted her to make a dress for me. Meanwhile, her family members gathered, her mother-in-law welcomed us in her jhugi and asked us to sit with her. We sat with her and she started telling about herself, her family, her culture and so on. In that chatter, she told us much information that I needed. She was kind and polite and also very greeting this is how she made the ways easier for me to reach others. When I walked towards Punjabi jhugis, a woman in her 50s was sitting outside the jhugi cooking for the lunch. We came across her and she did a handshake. She also invited us to her jhugi. We went inside and her husband in his 60s was sitting there. The man had a warm heart. He was a wise man and had all the information about the area and people. He introduced us to her family and jhugis. They helped me a lot

during my research, introducing me to everyone else and guiding me. Thus, those acted me as gatekeepers for me.

## 1.9.6 Sampling

The United Nations, for statistical purposes, defines _youth', as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, without prejudice to other definitions by Member States. This definition was made during preparations for the International Youth Year (1985), and endorsed by the General Assembly (see A/36/215 and resolution 36/28, 1981). All United Nations statistics on youth are based on this definition, as illustrated by the annual yearbooks of statistics published by the United Nations system on demography, education, employment and health.

I decided to add both sexes of age 15-24 but later I had to exclude male from my study because of cultural restrictions. I interviewed both married and unmarried young girls.

## 1.9.7 Mapping

I have tried to make a map of the place and the settlement pattern of each ethnic group by myself.

Punjabi Jhugis

Slope

Railway Line

Slope

Balochi Jhugis

Path leading to Jhugis

← To Peshawar    To Lahore →

INTERNAL MAP OF SETTLEMENT
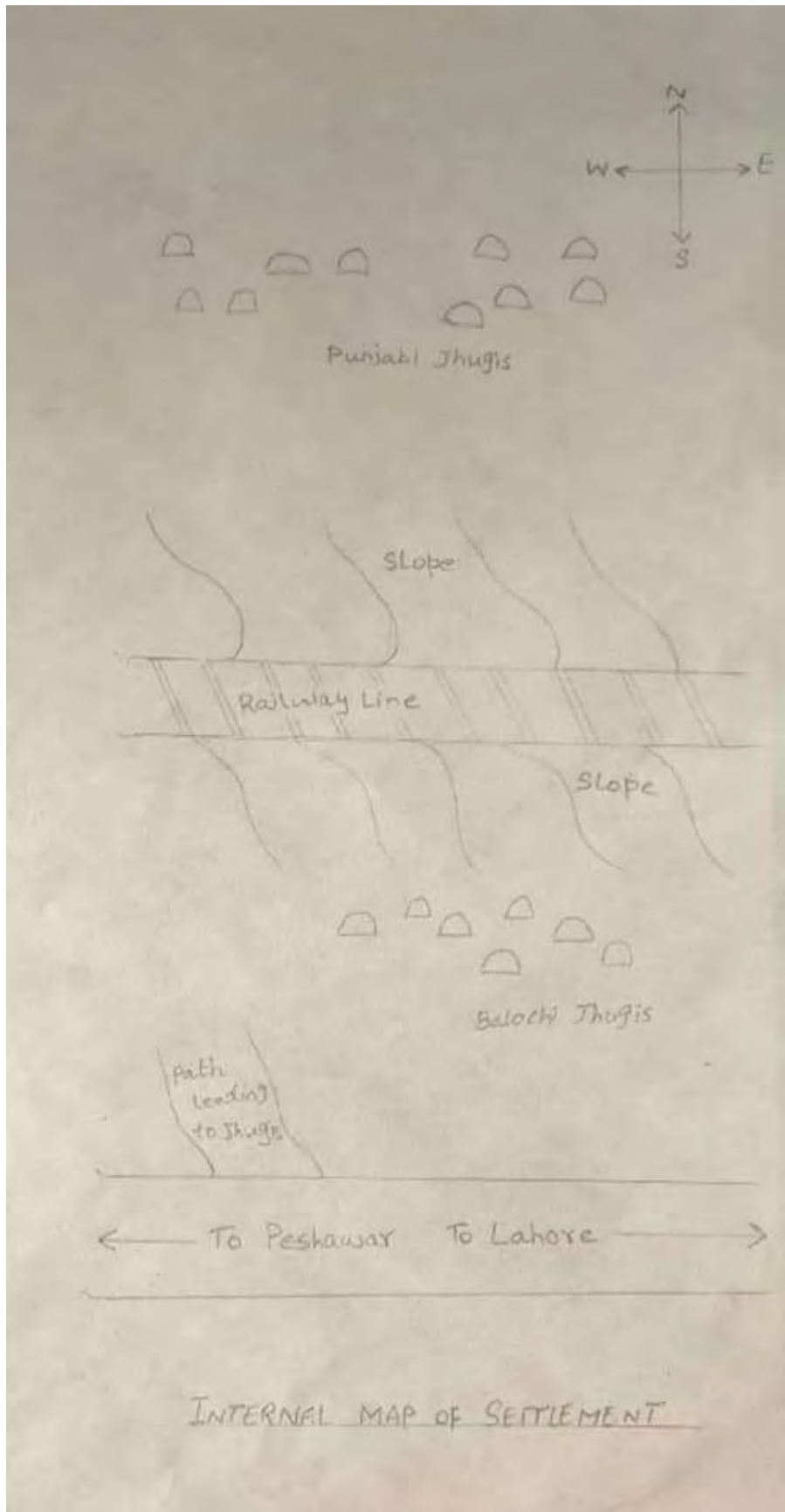
## 1.9.8 Sketching

I have drawn sketches of the *jhugis* into two kinds:

- A *jhugi* that is fully constructed along with its tent
- A *jhugi* which is under construction and only has the infrastructure



BUILT JHUGI
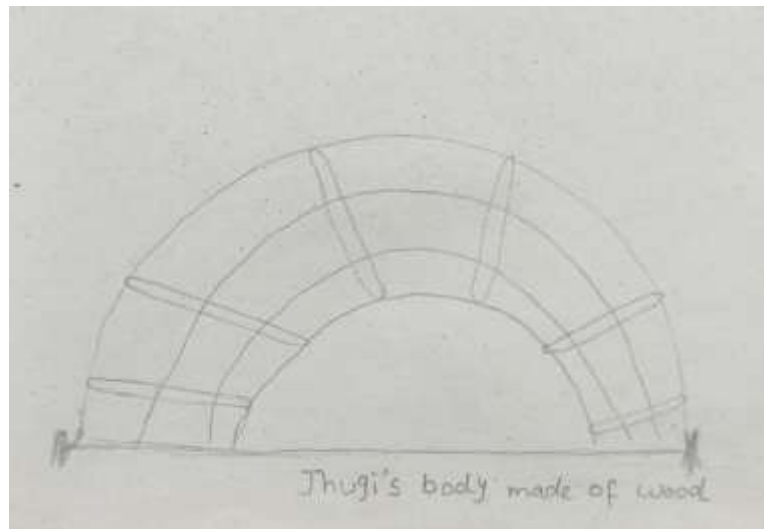


JHUGI STRUCTURE MADE OF WOOD

### 1.9.9 Photography

 I have captured pictures of children, animals, jhugis, and the small shrine with their informed consent. I did not humiliate the ethics of the research by taking pictures of male and females nor did I do any audio or videography.

# 1.10 Reflexivity

Reflexivity pertains to the ―analytic attention to the researcher‘s role in qualitative research" (Gouldner, 1971). It is both a concept and a process. As a concept, it refers to a certain level of consciousness. Reflexivity entails self-awareness, which means being actively involved in the research process. It is about the recognition that as researchers, we are part of the social world that we study. Reflexivity as a process is introspection on the role of subjectivity in the research process. It is a continuous process of reflection by researchers on their values and of recognizing, examining and understanding how their ―social background locations and assumptions affect their research practice". The key to reflexivity is ―to make the relationship between and the influence of the researcher and the participants explicit" (Jootun, 2009). This process determines the filters through researchers are working including the ―specific ways in which in our own agenda affect the research at all points in the research process". However, this does not mean limiting what one can know about social realities. The researcher‘s personality does not exist independently of the research process nor does it completely determine the latter. Instead, this must be seen as a dialogue – challenging perspectives and assumptions both about the social world and of the researcher himself. This enriches the research process and its outcomes.

Reflexivity entails several challenges. For instance, Van der Riet (2012) identifies the challenge of how to manage the emotions of our research participants. She argues that total detachment is unrealistic and can hinder the research process. Further, she posits that researchers should be mindful of their behaviours and actions and should be aware of the ―Hollywood plot" that makes the research findings seem more positive than they actually are. It is difficult not to influence and be influenced by the research participants. Nevertheless, the

reflexive research recognizes that any finding is the product of the researcher's interpretation (Jootun, 2009).

During the research process, we find ourselves ruminating on the ways in which our own aspirations, characters, values, philosophies, experiences, belief systems, political commitments, and social identities have shaped the research. We also pondered about how the research may have touched, affected and possibly transformed us, as professionals, as researchers and as persons. After all, Reay (2007) argues that reflexivity is ―about giving as full and honest an account of the research process as possible, in particular explicating the position of the researcher in relation to the research". Reflexivity contributes to making the research process open and transparent. The awareness of the reciprocal influence of both participants and researchers on the process and outcome is important to ensure rigor in qualitative research (Jootun, 2009).

The concept of reflexivity has serious epistemological implications. According to Deer and Cecile, researchers may find themselves asking one question after the other in the process of conducting research such as: how has the research question defined and limited what can be ―found?" how have the design of the study and the method of analysis ―constructed" the data and the ―findings?" how could the research questions have been investigated differently? To what extent would this have given rise to a different understanding of the phenomenon under investigation? These questions encourage or push the researchers to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made in the course of the research, and it helps us to think about its implications to the research and its findings. The concept of the reflexivity challenges the assumption that there can be a privileged position where the researcher can study social reality objectively, that is, independent from it through value free inquiry (Cécile & Deer, 2010). Ackerly and True (2010) posits that the researchers have to take seriously this commitment to reflexivity: constant reflections and review of theoretical approaches and perspectives. We have to be reflexive researchers who does not only listen to everyday process but must be able to give more voice to the participants, get close enough to what they are saying and their representation about themselves.

*"The universe teaches us many lessons, both through pleasure and pain, like how a storm can destroy us, but sustain us through its rain"*

At first, in my sampling, I also added male but when I went to the field and took several interviews of the females then I realized that how hard it is to take interviews of the female, and then it would be hardest to take interviews from the male. As per my topic is related to marriage and contextualizing marriage in terms of sexuality, love, childbirth, hopes about the marriage etc. Born in an eastern society and at the top —girl" it is not allowed for girls to talk with male strangers. Albeit, I could have interviewed men but I myself as being young girl was so bashful to ask these questions from them. Until I realized that, I had to skip the male from my sampling. How could I ask them these questions? I asked from myself. Though several times I tried to, that I should go and take interview of that particular men, because some I have sensed that were appropriate to my topic. But again resistance came. One major reason is that they were found collective in a group all the times. Calling on of them to come to me and listen the questions about marriage visibly seems eccentric. Often it happened that I had this difficulty of asking questions from the female as well because whenever I started my interview all of the other women who were out of their work and free, used to sat along with us. Anxiously interested in what I would ask. Again an embracing moment for me. At last, with the help of my mother I persuaded them somehow to not to take interest in my interviewee and me. My mother saying:

*"choro larkian hen apni batein kr rahi hen rehne dein, hamara kya kam unko karne den. Hm apni baatein karte hen"*

(They are girls let them talk freely, let's have a gossip of ours)

This is how we tried to make them unconcerned of the interviews taken by me. I was shy because I am unmarried and asking these questions on part of me, it is not in our culture.

I also wanted to stay at evening or night but I was not supposed to do that. I had to take my mother to the field because I could not go alone besides, she had to sacrifice her routine and somehow to manage house chores, cooking etc. I wanted to observe their night activities but I could not before dusk I had to return to home.

My most important learning is to acknowledge that research has both its power and limitations. There were a number of times during the data collection when I felt I could do

nothing but to empathize with the plight of the participants and assure them that the study will definitely serve as a tool for change if utilized accordingly by policy-makers and government agencies. But to make the research a full-fledged a researcher has not to be biased, if happens so a research can lose its objectivity. We should give emphasis on the unique, holistic and dynamic aspects of human experience. We should also continue to uphold the presence of multiple realities, which we elicit using multiple ways of understanding. Reflexivity is indeed the journey of learning and unlearning.

A research makes a researcher to look deep into the unbearable realities of life. Seeing people suffering in poverty, lack of food, lack of sanitary system and at most not even a proper place to sit and sleep. But what makes it beautiful that despite all these realities, these people are surviving with vulnerability. They are enjoying and sharing the every moment, they have. They are at the utmost level of adaptability. The conditions of the climate the harsh cold and itching hot does not bother them. They have compensated with their lives whatever they had. This made me thankful of my life. As *Ernest Hemingway* says:

*"A man can be destroyed but not defeated"*

## 1.11 Altruism

Altruism means unselfishness as a beneficial virtue. It is an internal peace for _doing a right thing'. Humans are, by nature, self-serving beings, but social ones nonetheless. Everywhere a person goes; there is a community of people with whom he or she is expected to interact. These environments are all unique; from school to college and from college to university. Also into a professional life. A quality of life is impacted by the attitudes and aptitudes of the people who interact. For instance, by promoting positive and an inclusive atmosphere. An environment that is composed of altruistic, helpful individuals is far more likely to be pleasant. The selfless deeds of one person are bound to cause the people around him feel better about their shared environment, which would cause them to be more likely to return the favour. Thus, a cycle of generosity is established, and the reward of altruism is once again greater than the cost.

Altruism is finally an emotional satisfying doctrine. The feeling of doing _right thing' is undeniably, a satisfying one. A sense of empathy established by sharing one's fortune is one

that is natural and helps a species continue, or perhaps it is what sets humans apart from the majority of the animal kingdom. Either way, the gratification of helping another person out is one is filling, both mentally and emotionally. Thoreau related it to a ‗simple way of living', a way that emanated one's inner desire to ‗do good'. Of all the priceless and irreplaceable virtues advised by Thoreau, possibly the most undervalued yet indispensable is altruism. It is the force that restores ‗hope for humanity' and binds those who have much and those who have little. Without it, many major faiths are left, hollow: from the Buddhists to Hindus who believe in karma, to the teachings of Jesus and Martin Luther and Gandhi. All are at least partially rooted, in a sense of selfless giving, and how through others returning the favour, the positive impact on the world full of negativity, to a sheer joy of doing nice things for others, it is not only effective but necessary for human survival. (K. E. Kamiko, 2016)

In my experience of altruism, I went selfless in many cases. For example, I had to sit on the dusty floor without a chair or rug, cow-dung lied everywhere and it was a very stinky smell to endure through nostrils. Besides, knowing the fact that there were many creepy insects and reptiles. I ate with them; I had to drink with them. Children used to share their snacks with me and I could not say no to them. The weather was very hot and I had taken in-depth interviews without even a fan. Clad in a wide *chaddar,* sweat was pouring out of my body. I had to wait for them until they got free because I had to, because it was my concern to interview.

Altruism is very important in qualitative research as per my experience, because if one continues to be stubborn and coquette, the objectives of the study cannot be fulfilled. One has to leave his status, ethnicity, dressing values and other morals at home while going to field and has to disguise as his/her participants are.

## 1.12 Problems encountered in the field

The problems which I observed and faced during my field research can be classified as follows:

  i.   Resistance
 ii.   Cultural difference
iii.   Communication problems

## 1.12.1 Resistance

Although I had made a good rapport with these people and they called me _Beti' yet when I actually started interviewing and I opened up my questionnaire, they got curious and asked me what that was? I told them that these are the questions. When I started to note down the first interview on my field diary, one of the elder woman of the *Balochis* came and she took off my diary and my questionnaire. She said that she would keep that. I did understand that she got scared. I somehow managed to get my paper back as others scolded her for her rude behavior and asked her to turn that back to me. She said about the respondent that *"Iska naam upar chala jaiega"* (Her name will be misused by me and I will give it the government). I realized at that time that it is not easy the way it looks like. I explained her and made her sure that I will not use the names also I am not a government agent. Somehow, at last they all looked fine. Next day none of them cared about me, they neither sat with me nor talked. This made me a bit confused and worried about my research I did not have a clue that what should I do. Then a man from the nearby locale came and asked me who I am? I showed my letter to him and told him everything. He then explained it to the people and asked them to be polite and cooperative to me (though they were very kind to me except this mishap). Anyhow, it created a more smooth way for me to get into the community. They apologized me for that incident. They cooperated me and told me whatever I asked. As a result, after that mishap I did not open up my questionnaire nor did I write anything in front of them. I just started with random *„gupshup'*and gradually go to the topic. Another difficulty is that my topic and questions are conceptual and also those people are very busy in their lives. They are all the time working, cooking, taking care of the children, washing etc. So I had to wait for them until they got free as I do not want them to be disturbed nor I could force them. It took me almost 45 minutes to talk to one person and to gradually go to the topic and made them understand in simple words, as simple as I could. Once it happened that when I reached there, half of the people were gathered at the pavement (from where one passes by to reach the jhugis). One of the women asked me to not to pass by that and then I saw there was a huge lizard type insect on the ground. It was so huge. People were standing and asking what is this thing? At last, some of the male members picked that and threw away. It took about one hour to solve this matter. Once a boy of 10 to 12 years was hit by a motorbike. When I reached, it was pale silence. They told me about the incident. I went to

the particular *jhugi* to see the boy. His forehead was injured and covered with straps. He was sleeping may be because of the effect of the certain medicine. I consoled his mother and gave some amount. She became very thankful. I tried to be ‗participant as observer'. I tried to be the part of everything during my period of stay. I can say that most of my time went fruitless in such kind of activities every day.

## 1.12.2 Cultural difference

I attired myself in simplest way but I had to face this problem during early days of fieldwork. It was in their culture that all of them had three doted tattoos on the bank of their eyes or in the center of the eyebrows. They convinced me a lot to get myself tattooed by them. *"Tm boht pyari lago gi karwa lo"* (you will look pretty). But as I knew that it was permanent, once it is needled onto my skin it would never go away. So I got rid of this phenomenon with so much exertion.

In early days, their usual habits disturbed me but then I went beyond myself and found it rather remarkable and cheerful.

## 1.12.3 Communication problems

Communication was another problem that I had to face. Only a few could speak slang Urdu others used to talk in their native language then some of them who knew, translated to me. Their language was utterly different of Punjabi except a very few words which I could understand. I spoke Urdu with the Balochi group because if I would speak Punjabi they would not be able to understand me nor I could be able to understand their language.

For the other group, though I know Punjabi but their Punjabi belongs to the midst of Punjab that is very different for *Hindko* speakers like me. It created a lot of problem for me to communicate in eloquent sophisticated Punjabi accent and style. I spoke *Hindko* with them. However, our dialect was different but we were able to understand each other. After a few days, some of their indigenous terminological uses of Punjabi words in a different communication style, I was able to understand.

# 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

## 2.1 Literature review

David M. Schneider regarded American kinship as a cultural system consists upon ―blood‖ (substance) and ―code for conduct.‖ The question arises that what is kinship? Morgan classifies it into two categories: consanguinity and affinity. Malinowski in terms of how sexual relations are regulated and family is formed. Levy defines kinship with reference to biological relatedness. In the light of these facts the main concern is that how a particular society organizes its cultural forms. Culture is defined as a system of meanings and symbols, means that every culture is composed of interrelatedness of some units. So one sees that how these units are made up how they function, what effect do they have on people and how their meanings are interpreted. The author studies American kinship with the native‗s point of view. There are two kinds of relatives in American culture: those related by ―blood‖ and those related by marriage. Blood relations are the outcome of a sexual intercourse by mating of female egg and male‗s sperm. It is a biological fact, a natural phenomenon which cannot be denied- a concrete fact. Those who share the common blood share the same identity. So the writer calls it a ―natural act‖. Marriage is opposite to it. It is not the act of nature nor is it permanent. It can be terminated anytime by death and divorce. Persons related by marriage follow a code for conduct: a particular behavior in the realm of ―law‖. For example, a step-mother is not a mother by blood but by a particular law she is related to a step child. The order of law is imposed by man consists in rules and regulations customs and traditions. Action of government is also involved and it is the sense of law which creates harmony among relations. Thus: ―Blood‖ (substance) = the order of nature ―Marriage‖ (code for conduct) = the order of law So according to the author here is the list of relatives: In Nature: the natural child, the natural mother, etc In Law: husband, wife, step-in-law, etc By Blood: mother, father, sister, brother, uncle, aunt, etc Love is an explicit symbol in American culture. There are two kinds of love there: Conjugal love: erotic, including sexual intercourse or making love. Cognatic love: blood relationship, love between parent child and siblings. Through this symbol of love we see that love in the sense of sexual intercourse is a natural act with natural consequences and at the same time it also stands for unity.

Other symbols are home and money. What one does at home is for the sake of love and what one does at work is for the sake of money. Money is a material thing and love is spiritual. Money does not matter where love is. Relation of work and money is temporary whereas love is personal. In work it does not matter who a person is but how efficiently he performs so money is impersonal.  The different symbols of American kinship seem to say one thing that they are all concerned with unity: the unity of those related by blood, the unity of those related by love, the unity of those related by law- a relationship of ―diffused enduring solidarity". They are diffused because they are in different persons and different groups. A relationship of endurance for the well being of solidarity, the right things to do and whatever is good for the family is to be done. (Schneider & David, 2015)

The author broadly discusses the feminists approach what they think about marriage, their short comings and their strengths and what critiques of marriage say about it. He discusses it in three sections; Marriage has been a subject of feminist investigation for as long as there have been feminists. It has created the tensions about marriage in sexes, as marriage a proper legal institution for gender relations. There are as many versatile comments on marriage as many feminists are. The first of these is that most feminists theorize marriage as an institution. The second theme follows from and extends the first: most feminist analyses of marriage tend to favor either its reform or outright rejection.  When marriage is called an institution it is because it has been long practiced and socially accepted- an organization and a ―done thing". Most non-feminists regard it as an institution of kinship. On the other hand according to feminists marriage is a site of gendered power relationships, fixed social structure that draws women‗s participation in maintaining, organizing, and reproducing a sexed/gendered order. In which women become the subordinates; reproducing and managing household and this subordination of women is the main cause of feminist politics. Yet it is distinct from women‗s lived experience.  When feminists describe marriage as sexist institution, they criticize it by saying that marriage has unfair consequences on wives. They become the subordinates and men become the power. What women do to run the household, goes neglected and what men contribute to material property is always praised. It tends to disadvantage women. If only women have equal access to money, employment and their roles, marriage can be a strong and better institution then. Other set of sexist institution says

that marriage is male biased they only produce about marriage what they want and usually women remain unknowledgeable about marriage. The results are unfair because women and men are not treated as equal. By the end of 1990 the subordination of women has been abolished. Nowadays, according to Spender, marriage is merely another ―consumer choice‖ in which one‗s spouse is exchangeable and, ultimately, expendable: ―For so many women now, marriage vows are conditional. When earlier generations of women were married, the contract was for life. . . . Today‗s young women, who are more conscious of their own worth, rarely put themselves in this invidious position . . . These days a girl can have as many weddings as she wants. She can be a bride as often as she likes‖ (1994, 16, 18). When feminists criticize marriage as an institution of patriarchy, the argument is that marriage is structurally and necessarily oppressive toward women. , marriage is linked to the exploitation of women‗s domestic labor, men‗s (hetero)sex rights, sexual-domestic violence, and the household economics of dependency. Feminists criticize marriage as patriarchal institution is oppressive towards women. It is led by men to serve men‗s interests. In many such critiques, marriage is linked to the exploitation of women‗s domestic labor, men‗s (hetero) sex rights, sexual-domestic violence, and the household economics of dependency. Sexist feminists say that unequal consequences of marriage can be reformed rather feminists of patriarchal institution say that these reforms can only treat the symptoms but not the root of problem. It is clear, then, that although marriage organizes social relationships in various fundamental ways, it is neither regulated nor experienced in any necessarily uniform fashion. This suggests that we need to reexamine what ―marriage‖ is and does. The task, here, is to find ways of theorizing marriage that build on the strengths of existing feminist critiques without replicating or exacerbating their shortcomings. We need an analysis that takes account of the long and valuable history of feminist marriage critique but also accommodates the diverse and plural nature of contemporary marriage. To promote such an analysis, it is necessary to stop conceptualizing marriage as an institution and instead theorize it as a site of more or less ―permanent provocation‖. Marriage might then be understood as a site of various and dynamic relations, in which new conceptual tools in political and social theory might be put to work. (Soares, Cruz, Paula, & Anna, 2013)

In every society men need women and women need men for society's survival. Both strive equally to run the strain of life. In some societies people produce more children because they will contribute in subsistence. In some societies polygyny (where a man has several wives) is widespread and polyandry (where a woman has several husbands) in others. Conjugal love is hardly there and spouses are selected by the kins. Marriages are perceived more in between groups rather than two people. Americans believe in conjugal love whereas Massai people call it evil for their business. In European and Asian societies, dowry is practiced in which bride brings gifts from her old home to the new home mainly furniture goods ad clothes etc. it also can be a part of inheritance and to secure the future of the bride. In African societies bride wealth is practiced where groom's kin pay to bride and if not the marriage may be void. The groom works for the bride's family for one or two year. This creates solidarity among the kins group and make the bond more secured. A woman marries to the brother of his husband after his death-levirate so the lineage of the children remains same. A man marries to the sister of his wife after her death- sororate. In some societies marriage within family is favoured-endogamy. In some, marriage outside the family is occurred-exogamy. Simplest form of marriage is exchange of female is highly practiced- ―I give my sister to you and you give your sister to me". Moiety system is widespread in Australian people- cross cousins. They can marry outside of the gender group to whom they want. The Kriera use the single kinship term to describe different persons. They use a single term to describe father and his brothers and males of the same clan. One cannot marry persons considered siblings. On the other hand children of mother's brother and father's sister are marriageable. Another example is the Yanomano people who practice cross cousin marriages. Levi-strauss perspective is that all kinship systems are elaboration on four fundamental kin relationships; brother-sister, husband-wife, father-son and mother's brother-sister's son. Levi-strauss regarded this ―elementary structure" or kinship atom, inspired by similar structures from structural linguistics. He emphasizes that elementary systems have positive rules; they do not only specify whom one cannot marry but also whom one can marry. Complex systems, prevalent in modern societies and based on individual choice, have only negative rules and are therefore unable to create long-term alliances between kin groups. The mother's brother is an important character in Levi-strauss's kinship atom. He is the guardian of his sister's children. He says that the exchange of females was valid only for unilineal descent. Kinship

terminologies vary from culture to culture. In one culture all brothers of father are called father and in others not. Some are more close to cross-cousins, first cousin as compared to second cousins. Different forms of kinship are biological, affinal, symbolic and classificatory. Kinship also interferes the labour market. Kin-based organization is based on kin relation-caring for the kinsman called nepotism. Bureaucratic organization believes that everyone should be treated according to the laws and rules. It is based on formal rules and weakens the kin bonds. (Eriksen, n.d.)

The crux of Borneman's article appears to be that kinship theory in anthropology has linked together the categories of marriage, gender, heterosexuality, and life, and by doing so has failed to conceptualize adequately the relation of marriage to privilege, closure, death, abjection, and exclusion. As feminist anthropologists who have ourselves been engaged in rethinking kinship theory, we welcome attempts to revitalize the study of kinship by challenging its conventions and categories. Feminists recognize that all histories, including histories of anthropological theory, are selective and incomplete. All are written from particular viewpoints, to support specific projects, and to enable new theorizing. Their position and theoretical project, however, have led them to a different understanding of marriage and death in kinship theory that the one outlined by John Borneman. First, they think that death-far from being ignored-was central to the development of kinship theory in anthropology. The anthropologists who developed "classic" (i.e., British structuralism functionalist) kinship theory wanted to know how kin-based groups could persist through time given the deaths of individual men. The problem of the continuity of corporate groups-and, consequently, of social structure-lay at the heart of theorizing about the function of kinship in societies lacking Western jural institutions. Descent theorists focused on succession and inheritance because of their concerns about continuity and social stability; they reasoned that sex might create children, but marriage-as a legally recognized and enforced relationship created legitimate heirs and successors. Through marriage men ensured both the continuity of the social order and the continuity of their social selves. Marriage enabled men and societythe two were often conflated-to transcend the physiological facts of birth, growth, death, and decay, which classic kinship theorists associated with women, sex, and the mortal body. The focus on rights and duties and on the links among kinship, religion,

ritual, and cosmology recast relations among women, children, and men into relations between men and law in the politico-jural domain. While women's deaths were left in the realm of the profane, men's deaths were elevated to the realm of the social sacred. (Borneman, 2016)

Levi-Strauss work was motivated by the question of how arbitrary social categories (such as those within kinship, race or class) had originated. He was also concerned with explaining their apparent compulsory quality or presence with the ―natural order‖ in societies. In the Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949), Levi-Strauss turned to kinship to try to answer these questions. His model became known as the alliance theory of kinship. In Levi Strauss opinion exchange of women is necessary. He says that women are scarce only because of polygamy. In every society some men take on more than one wife and in some cases the chief of the clan may actually claim all women for himself leaving the young men celibates or bachelors and even homosexual. Sometimes, polygamous societies also have polyandry where men in more unequal situations may combine and take a bride. In polygamous societies however, the sexual bindings on women are too compelling and younger women may frequently find men closer to their age to satisfy their erotic needs. The marriage of cousins seems to be mediation between two kinds of mental activity of the primitive man; there is incest which prohibits the marriage between close kins and there is the rule of marriage of cousins which prescribes marriage among certain kins. In terms of biological closeness, those who are prohibited from marriage may be further removed than those who are prescribed for marriage and this vindicates Levi Strauss‘s thesis that incest is social and not biological. The idea of cross cousin marriage is when father‘s sister‘s son and mother‘s brother‘s daughter marry each other. There could be also a marriage between the father‘s sister‘s daughter and the mother‘s brother‘s son. In primitive societies, the giving up of a woman in marriage represents a loss while obtaining a woman through marriage is a gain. In case one marries the father‘s sister‘s son, one is again giving up a woman to the same family and increasing loss. However, when marries the father‘s sister‘s daughter one is compensating for the loss of the father‘s sister by bringing in her daughter. There are levirate and sororate marriages when a woman is obliged to marry her dead husband‘s brother in the former and a man may marry a group of sisters in a sororate marriage. In the case of a

levirate marriage, loss of woman is minimised while in a sororate marriage the loss is maximised. Expectedly then levirate marriage, along with polyandry is practised by poorer people while sororate is practised by privileged people as kings and chiefs. , cross cousin marriage is a leveller, an equaliser and according to Claude Levi Strauss, the ideal formula for marriage among the primitives among who incest is social and not biological. It is a way of getting at an equal exchange; equal exchange is a difficult notion among primitives where the main form of exchange is dominated by gifts which are necessarily of unequal value. Looked at in this manner, the idea of cross cousin marriage seeks equality in exchange and a much more immediate recompense of losses of women. (Moore, Levi-Strauss, Bell, von Sturmer, & Needham, 2006)

David S talks about different units and symbols of American culture. Symbol is something which stands for something else other than itself. A unit in a particular culture is anything that is culturally defined. It may be a person, thing, state of affairs, feeling, fantasy, hallucination, hope or idea. In American culture such units are: uncle, town, blue, progress, a mess, hope, art are culture units.  An American government is a good example. One is national and the other is local government. Both are related to each other by law. It is important to take a culturally defined and distinguished unit as object itself. Words are culturally constructed units and their meanings too. For example, by the word Dog, a concrete image comes in our mind of an animal-and it is defined in certain ways a culture unit. So it seems that language is the major part of the culture- the grammar, syntax, vocabulary, words and their relationships to each other- a complete system of meanings. But culture is not only composed of language, there are other units as well. Which are complex and they have no name. It is important to put the lexeme of same meanings into one category and others in the other. Language is culturally constructed and a word can have many meanings in a culture. It is necessary to realize that which meaning is to apply when, and which of the many meanings do not apply and what are relevant under what circumstances. Every culture provides a list of rules or guides to its people that how people should behave in any circumstance. In American culture, there are culturally constructed units and rules are linked with them. Unit is one but rules are the branches of it. For example, police is a unit but its branches are: traffic police, police of law, street police etc. When we observe regularity in behaviour over long period of time, we come to know that what people do how they act

under a certain law and that is through participant observation. By doing this a researcher forms a hypothesis. Cultural units are not static, they arise, they grow, and they change. The question is how are the cultural units located, described, and defined? By what methods are the observations made which yield cultural rules, constructs, units, symbols, and meanings? What data should be collected for this purpose and by what methods? Anthropologists use the method of informants. Key informant is very important in anthropological study because an anthropologist does not know anything about a culture, their language their rituals etc. Informant tells him what to do and what not to do and one of the important things he has to learn is language. Informants have been living in that area for a longer period of time so they know the every aspect of that culture. They provide an insight and give aesthetic ideas to the researcher as a volunteer, arise some questions which are always of some values. They know the language so they can communicate well. Language is an actively used tool in the fieldwork through which a wider range of questions can be asked and hypothesis can be tested and facts can be guessed. So an anthropologist learns from informant. He tries to bridge up the gap between the researcher and natives. And he will help him throughout his research. When a field worker clearly knows that what is he after the more likely he discovers the native's cultural categories; how the natives define them, construct them and manipulate them, or what they mean to the natives. An informant never provides wrong or fabricated data. The author collects the data about is there as many kin groups in America as there are different sub groups or whether there is a single system or variant systems. He found that there is not a single kinship system in United States rather they are many. American kinship regards kinship as a part of nature; blood and marriage. What is out in the nature is in the kinship. The legitimate and proper sexuality in American is heterosexuality, genital to genital between husband and wife. All other forms are illegal and morally wrong. Family in American culture is a biological state and marriage is a sexual union. One is the natural act and the other is order of law that distinguishes humans from animals which involves reasoning- proper kind of behaviour. The problem of variance can only be solved by listening to the informants. (Schneider & David M, 1980)

## 2.2 Theoretical framework

There are some branches of my theoretical framework, which I want to discuss separately.

## 2.2.1 What is a symbol?

The development of symbols in human phylogeny has irreversibly broken the chain that immediately connected humans to the world. A new distinctly human space of mediated existence opened up. An existence that relates one thing to another through concepts. An existence that extends beyond the senses, around the world to places we have never seen, to the distant past, and into a projected future (Mead, 1932). An existence in which things are known rather than simply reacted to; where knowledge and self are enriched, developed and innovated through communication with others (Mead, 1934); an existence in which we question who we are and the very fact of our existence.

These are the features absent from animal life, whose worlds are non-symbolic. Many other species from societies, act together, influence each other's behavior through various forms of communication, pass on primitive forms of culture – e.g. a stick chimpanzees have designed to catch ants – and may even reach each other's intentions. However, only human beings share symbols with one another, represent one thing in terms of another in their communications and then direct these communications back at themselves – that is ―talk to themselves‖ – to regulate their own behaviours. Only humans have enveloped themselves in a variety of symbol system, such as, art, religion, science, games, technology and morality, all of which have shown exponential growth throughout human history.

The first half of the twentieth century saw numerous scholars heralding the study of symbols as the ―key‖ to unlock the mysteries of the complex human animal. *Cassirer* explored the vast diversities of cultural products across societies in search of unity in ―symbolic forms‖: *Pierce* created a complex typology of signs and worked out their combinations in the process of thinking; *Freud* interpreted the workings of the unconscious through its symbolic manifestations in pathology, dreams, slips of tongue, myths and jokes; *Vygotsky* studied how symbols enable human beings to master themselves, as tools allowed them to master the material world. The last major synthesis on the topic of symbolic processes and their function in human life was *Heinz Werner* and *Bernie Kaplan'*s *classic symbol formation*, published in 1963.

*Symbolic transformation: the Mind in the Movement Through Culture and Society* – was the earlier achievement of Werner and Kaplan. The second reason for this tittle was to focus on our attention on unfolding processes – hence the words ―transformation‖ and ―movement‖. Thirdly, the title emphasizes the mind as embedded in ―culture and ―society‖. ―Symbol‖ is the intermediate connecting the two; it is the mechanism by which culture and society grow into mind, form and transform mind. The goal of *symbolic transformation* is to understand this emergent human medium, its structure and function, its power over experience and behavior, and its micro-, onto-, socio- and phylogenetic development. *Pierce* quoted as:

*"Something that stands for something else in some respect or capacity"*

A ―symbol‖ represents one thing with another. A bald eagle in United States symbolizes the nation and the freedom; an antique clock symbolizes the deceased relative who owned it; a swastika is a symbol of evil in the West and of religion in the East; a dream symbolizes one's psychic conflicts or a future yet to come; a name is given to a newborn because it is a symbol of certain personality – e.g. a famous person, a kinship group, a character disposition. Something is a symbol if it stands for a tangible object, an event, a deep-motivation, a concept, social group or social institution. In all cases, one thing is used to represent another. However, we have seen that traditions differ substantially as to how they understand the relationship: whether it is personal, interpersonal or collective, conscious or illusive, motivated or arbitrary, regressive or progressive, etc. in any case, the power of symbols to transform our experience of the world is clear.

## 2.2.2 Theory of Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interaction is something people do in everyday life. It is the active, reflexive, creative, and communicative doings of people in which meaning is fashioned – a uniquely human quality that bestows the capacity for both self and society at the both fundamental level. Symbolic interaction is also a perspective and analytical method for doing social science and understanding our social, cultural and communicative worlds. (Dennis & Waskul, 2008)

Symbolic interactionism theory falls under the micro level analysis which aims to understand human behaviour in relation to the society with the use of symbols (which form meanings) and consequently shape attitudes and behaviours. The early pioneers of this theory was George Herbert Mead who developed the self-concept as one of the ways to learn how symbols are negotiated through interaction of an individual with the society (the significant others). In adopting the view held by Mead, Herbert Blumer, a symbolic interactionist, proposed the use of three principles such as meaning, language and thought to further investigate social interaction that relies on use of symbols. To apply these principles, cases such as marriage and cohabitation are useful to study how people symbolizes these two by attaching different meanings to it. With the meaning of marriage in Brunei, it is regarded as a socially approved union of two adults (a man and a woman) through proper ceremony and cohabitation, means a couple living together without commitment or being married in the USA. It is an essential perspective to study social life.

Clifford Geertz was an American anthropologist who is remembered mostly of his strong support for and influence on the ―symbolic anthropology". In this term, his most considered work is named as ―Balinese cockfight". To start from the bottom line, Clifford Geertz's essential notion expressed in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1972) is that a people's culture is an ensemble of rituals which are in themselves ensembles, and these texts are what the anthropologist is trying to decipher.

"Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" is one of Clifford Geertz's most influential articles which illustrates not only the meaning of a given cultural phenomenon, the Balinese cockfight, but also Geertz's interpretative approach that sees a culture as a set of texts to be read by the anthropologist. Geertz shows how the Balinese cockfight serves as a cultural text which embodies, at least a portion of, what the real meaning of being Balinese is.

Despite being illegal, cockfighting is a widespread and highly popular phenomenon in Bali, at least at the time "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" was written (1972). Geertz reports that the Balinese people deeply detest animals and more specifically expressions of animal-like behavior. However, they have a deep identification with their cocks (yes, with their cocks) and "in identifying with his cock – cock is precious he is a mighty hero and the lady-killer and though the author suggests that cocks are symbolic expression of their

owner's self, these symbols actually seem to overshadow ―mere humans" giving this fetish some sense of mysticism that the author refers to ―the power of darkness".

Although gambling is a major and central part of the Balinese cockfight, Geertz argues that what is at stake is much more fundamental than just money, namely, prestige and status. Geertz distinguishes "deep fights", with high wages, and "shallow fights", usually with low wages of both gambling and prestige. Following Bentham, Geertz defines a "deep fight" as one in which the stakes are so high the people lose their rationality. In the case of the Balinese cockfight, a deep fight is one in which results are unpredictable, the odds are more even and the bets are more balanced. With bets fairly even in the case of a deep fight, financial gain is not the center of the event, but rather everything that is expressed in the concept of "status". Cockfighting is a fight for statuses, with bets serving only to symbolize the risk. But it is a momentary gain or loss, the status is only gained or lost momentary following the fight but is maintained in the long run, with cockfights assisting in making sure of that.

Participants of the "deep fights" are usually dominant members of society. However the fight, according to Geertz, is not between individuals but is rather a simulation of the social structure of kinship and social groups. People never bet against a cock from their own reference group. Fighting always takes place between people (and cocks) from opposing social groups (family, clan, village etc.) and is therefore the most overt manifestation of social rivalry, and a way of addressing these rivalries. The Balinese cockfight is, as Geertz puts it, a way of playing with fire without being burned. Social tensions are represented through the cockfight, but after all, it is just a cockfight.

Geertz also notes that the higher the status of the participants in the cockfight, the deeper the cockfight is, and the deeper it is, the more a person identifies with his cock and the more the financial aspect of gambling associated with the fight is marginal in comparison with the symbolic aspects of it.

The "deep play" of the Balinese cockfight, says Geertz, is like artworks which illustrate an essential insight into our very existence.  It is a symbolic manufactured representation of

something very real in our social life. It channels aggression and rivalry into an indirect symbolic sphere of engagement. The fights both represent and take part in forming the social and cultural structure of the Balinese people which are dramatized through the cockfight.

Rituals such as the Balinese cockfight, Geertz concludes, are a form of text, which can be read. It is a society's manner of speaking to itself about itself, and is therefore of prime interest for the anthropologist.

### 2.2.3 Symbolic Interactionism and the meaning of marriage

A research was conducted among the African Americans to know the meaning of marriage for them. According to Blumer (1969), three basic tenets of SI exist. The first tenet, and the one the researchers focused on in the current study, is that individuals act toward symbols— things, physical objects, other people, categories, institutions, guiding ideals, activities of others, and everyday situations—based on the meaning the symbol has for them. The second is that through interactions with others (such as family members, friends, relatives, neighbors, societal influences, etc.), these symbols take on meaning. Lastly, through an interpretative process, meanings are understood or modified to help individual's process of symbols they encounter in their everyday lives.

Marriage, as an institution, is symbolic (Berger, P., & Kellner, 1964). Meaning is created about this symbol of marriage through an interpretive process contingent upon interactions with others. Furthermore, marriage is thought to provide an important __nomic'' function, in which individuals from different backgrounds come together to create a reality that is consistent with the social norms and values that surround them and in which reality is created and reinforced, resulting in a feeling of belonging for the marriage participants (Berger, P., & Kellner, 1964). Marriage has been shown to have many benefits for physical and emotional health, including greater happiness, life satisfaction, and lower mortality, compared to unmarried individuals.

 Further, despite decreases in marriage and increases in cohabitation and unmarried parenting, family life, and especially marriage, remains important to individuals. For example, the great majority of individuals believe that marriage is for a lifetime and should not be ended except under extreme circumstance. Also, the vast majority of young people are

optimistic that once married, they will remain married and agree that having a good marriage and happy family life is _extremely important‘‘ to them. Though cohabitation may be more acceptable for young adults, it is still not commonly viewed as a substitute for marriage.

Children and adolescents model behavior about family formation based on what they see in their own families. Teens who live with both biological parents express the strongest support for marriage (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2008), and women who live with both parents during childhood are less likely to experience the breakup of their first marriage than women raised without two parents during childhood. In contrast, children from divorced, step-parent, or single parent households report lower expectations for marriage and have more positive attitudes toward cohabitation. Such meanings of marriage will likely dictate how individuals view their own romantic relationships and influence future generations of individuals.

Beliefs about marriage and relationships have been explored in previous studies of adolescents or young adults, albeit in samples of predominately White college students. For example, in one study, participants responded to a list of 30 statements about marriage. From the study, five dimensions of marriage emerged, including marriage as a special status versus other types of relationships; mutuality; romantic ideals and beliefs; role hierarchies; and beliefs about self-fulfillment (Corvino, 2015).

**2.2.3.1 Meaning of marriage for African Americans**:
In the few studies that have been done on African Americans, several themes about the meaning of marriage have emerged. In a qualitative study on 30 married African American couples regarding their happy, enduring marriages, participants reported themes such as finding time for family given the demands of life and work; being able to rely or lean on a committed spouse; working through and being able to resolve intra-marital conflict; and unity and trust between committed partners. In another qualitative study of cohabiting and married African Americans about when participants realized they were in a _coupled‘‘ relationship, emergent themes included relationship markers such as when couples moved in together or when they become engaged; affection and sex; having and rearing children together; and time and money. In one quantitative study, a significant percentage of African

American adults identified ideal marriage partners as reliable, monogamous, affectionate, financially stable, and African American. (Curran, Utley, & Muraco, 2010)

All of these studies are important are helpful to understand the meaning of marriage for African Americans. To extend beyond this small but growing literature, in the current study, the researchers asked African Americans about their meaning of marriage. They decided to remain singular in their focus and chose not to compare the responses of African Americans to other minority groups or to Whites. They asked this question of African Americans across relationships (those not in romantic relationships, or singles, and those who are married), across ages (19 to 55), and across samples (students and nonstudents). Instead of offering hypotheses, they used the first tenet of SI to frame their question about the meaning of marriage and to examine the respondents' emergent themes. Also to understand more about the meaning of marriage, they inquired about African Americans' attitudes toward the concept of a bad marriage versus no marriage at all, and for those who were not already married, they asked whether they would like to get married in the future (Curran et al., 2010).

Following of the themes have been emerged in the results of the study:

**Theme 1: Commitment**

Themes about commitment were stated by 15 individuals (10 females and 5 males). Of the women, 5 were in coupled relationships, and 5 were single. Of the men, 3 were in coupled relationships, and 2 were single. Regardless of gender, 8 were in coupled relationships and 7 were single. The age range for this theme was 19 to 50.

*Truth, loyalty, and the ability to stick together through tough times. (Female, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 21)*

*Union between man and woman; commitment; love; trust; friendship. Pulling together through any situation and making the best of it. (Female, married, age 27)*

*That you have a partner in life that you share the same interest with and are willing to spend the rest of your life. I think of my parents and their commitment to one another. (Male, married, age 47)*

*Marriage means a lifetime of having a companion at your side, ready to go to war with you. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 22)*

*Two people sharing a bond that they feel will last forever. (Male, single, age 21)*

*Spending the rest of your life with that person. (Male, single, age 19) Marriage means deciding and promising to spend the rest of your life with the person you love. (Female, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 19)*

**Theme 2: Love**

Themes about love were stated by 12 individuals (8 females and 4 males). Of the women, 5 were in coupled relationships, and 3 were single. Of the men, all 4 were in coupled relationships. Regardless of gender, 9 were in coupled relationships and 3 were single. The age range was 19 to 47.

*It means a serious commitment between two individuals who love each other. I think of a happy couple who has minimal problems and love being with each other. (Female, single, age 20)*

*Family, love, understanding, partnership, friends. (Male, married, age 47)*

*Marriage is the connection of love that two individuals want to share in a sacred event that people do. It is claiming love for one another in front of all your and her loved ones. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, 21)*

*I think that marriage is when 2 people love each other and commit to love each other for the rest of their lives. (Female, single, age 19)*

*Unconditional love. (Female, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age19)*

*Security, love, thankfulness, warmth, work. (Female, married, age 31)*

**Theme 3: Partnership=Friendship**

Themes about partnership and=or friendship were stated by 6 individuals (4 females and 2 males). Of the women, 3 were in coupled relationships and 1 was single. Of the men, both were in coupled relationships. Regardless of gender, 5 were in coupled relationships and 1 was single. The age range for this theme was 19 to 47.

*Marriage is important to me. My husband and I have been married for 21 Years. He is my partner and my best friend. It is nice to live with my husband. (Female, married, age 45)*

*I would describe marriage as two people becoming a „„we‴ Living and experiencing life together while sharing the good and the bad times. (Female, single, age 19)*

*Family love understanding partnership friends. (Male, married, age 47)*

**Theme 4: Trust**

Themes about trust were stated by 5 individuals (3 females and 2 males). Of the women, 1 was in a coupled relationship, and 2 were single. Of the men, both were in coupled relationships. Regardless of gender, 3 were in coupled relationships and 2 were single. The age range for this theme was 19 to 27.

*Marriage is trust and happiness between 2 people. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 20) Commitment honesty trustworthiness. (Female, single, age 19)*

*Loving one person for the rest of your life and being committed to them. Being able to trust your partner. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 21)*

**Theme 5: Family**

Themes about family were stated by 5 individuals (2 females and 3 males). The 2 women were in coupled relationships. Of the men, all were in a coupled relationship. In other words, regardless of gender, all 5 individuals here were in coupled relationships. The age range for this theme was 29 to 55.

*Having a family. Working hard to take care of them. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 29)*

*Family, compromises, sharing values and love. (Female, married, age 45)*

*Marriage is very important in our society and for family and children. A good marriage is essential for bringing a well-rounded child. A good or bad marriage affects your children′s future relationships. (Female, married, age 55)*

**Theme 6: Covenant**

Themes about covenant were stated by 4 individuals (3 females and 1 male). One woman was in a coupled relationship and the other 2 women were single. The one man was in a coupled relationship. Regardless of gender, 2 individuals were in coupled relationships and 2 were single. The age range was 20 to 55.

*Covenant between 2 people. (Female, single, age 20)*

*I feel that marriage is...a covenant under God promising to love trust and cherish that person. (Female, single, age 20) I think marriage is a picture of a person′s relationship with God. (Female, married, age 55)*

*Marriage is the connection of love that two individuals want to share in a sacred event that people do. (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 21)*

Finally, as can be seen in the discussion above, most responses were positive. Although some individuals talked about ‗‗tough times'' these instances were usually in terms of commitment, love, or both. Although not as common as the other themes, 2 individuals (1 male and 1 female) found the meaning of marriage to be unnecessary and not fulfilling, although even within their responses, they still discussed something positive about marriage. Their responses are below.

*Marriage in theory is a great engagement that promotes family and community. However, based on my own experience and through observation of other married (male) friends, marriage falls short of its promises. I find that most people lack the preliminary skillset(s) for working as a team toward goals. Frankly, I feel that marriage does not offer any of the implied benefits (regular sex, emotional support, financial support, cooperation=teamwork). (Male, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 41)*

*A decision to make a commitment to one another to go through life together as partners. Marriage makes the commitment legal and acknowledged in our society. If not for the legal aspect, I would not feel it is necessary. (Female, unmarried and in romantic relationship, age 50)*

In spite of lowered marriage rates for African Americans in recent decades, the researchers found that meanings of marriage were overwhelmingly strong and positive among the sample. Not only did unmarried participants in the current study desired to marry in the future (82.6%), but the vast majority of their sample (77.4%) strongly or mildly disagreed with the statement ‗‗abad marriage is better than no marriage at all.'' Only one person strongly agreed.

These positive views of marriage were in accordance with Symbolic Interactionism, or SI such that marriage is generally thought of in positive terms in the United States. The responses they received specifically addressed the first tenet of SI, which is how individuals act toward symbols, based on the meaning the symbol had for them. Even though, behaviorally, rates have been changing in recent decades, positive attitudes and beliefs about marriage continued to be strong. Marriage in particular continues to be viewed positively, in their study as well as in other studies of marital meaning. (David, 2005)

They assessed African Americans who were single as well as married, across various ages, and across samples, including both students as well as nonstudents. The major themes that emerged in the current study were that of commitment and love, with four other minor themes, which included partnership=friendship, trust, family, and covenant.

*Commitment*, or being able to rely or lean on a committed spouse, was an important theme in a qualitative study of African Americans in happy, successful marriages. The same was true in the study, with the largest number of responses in the form of commitment. As one example, the man who noted a marriage companion as ‗‗ready to go to war with you‗‗ anticipates not just life difficulties but further obstacles in life that must be won with help from the partner as an integral component. Although participants may have used slightly different words to describe commitment (i.e., lifelong, spend rest of life with, tough times, stick together, good and bad times, etc.), the theme of commitment was ultimately significant.

From an SI perspective, commitment should be a major theme in terms of the meaning of marriage. Despite the increasingly more prevalent option of cohabitation in the United States, individuals still consider marriage as most ideal for themselves and others, perhaps because commitment is an important component of marriage, as evidenced through symbols such as wedding vows. Further, the association of commitment in the meaning of marriage is supported by research that finds that the majority of individuals are optimistic that once married, they will remain married.

The next prominent theme was *love*. With the exception of bell hooks' work (2000, 2001, 2002), love is often understudied in African American relationships despite the fact that ‗‗just like every other population group, loving, nurturing, and supportive relationships are the cornerstone of strong Black families and communities‗‗. Love has been deemed as especially foundational for marriage in individualistic Western cultures (Veneziano, 2017).

Given that commitment and love were the two major individual themes of African Americans in the current study. The researchers noted here that several individuals listed both of these themes in their response of marital meaning, as exemplified by the following statement of one woman: ‗‗Marriage is a commitment to happiness and love between two people who want to share the rest of their lives together. I think about a lifelong partner to

share wonderful memories together and many meaningful times.'' To explain these overlapping meanings of both commitment and love, Sternberg's (1986) triangular theory of love, which includes intimacy, passion, and decision=commitment, is illustrative. Specifically:

It is important not to neglect the decision=commitment component of love just because it does not have the __heat'' or __charge'' of the intimacy and passion components of love. Loving relationships almost inevitably have their ups and downs, and there may be times in such relationships when the decision=commitment component is all or almost all that keeps the relationship going. This component can be essential for getting through hard times and for returning to better ones. In ignoring it or separating it from love, one may be missing exactly that component of loving relationships that enables one to get through the hard times as well as the easy ones (Curran et al., 2010).

## 2.3 Relationships differ across cultures

Within society, friendship seems to serve the purpose of socialization and enculturation. The way children and adults learn to approach the friendship relationship may be related with how they are socialized, thus their culture is based on their value system, which places importance on issues like collectivism and individualism. Some researchers hypothesized that in individualistic culture, relationships are voluntary, and independence is valued. These cultures promote individual goals, self-identity, and emphasize personal achievement. In contrast, collectivistic cultures, encouraged each person to do what is best for society as a whole, and people see themselves as a community, family or nation. Studies in North Korea have shown that adolescents tend to form smaller friendship networks than their peers in Indonesia and the United States (Melissa, 2010). Overall, children from collectivistic cultures usually do not become independent as quickly as those from individualistic cultures. Friendship in the United States was fast-paced and very competitive. Americans label their friends in categories: friends form work, friends from school, family friends, acquaintances, and neighbors. As a result, individualistic cultures develop less intimate connections with friends and short-lasting friendships.

In another context, mate selection and courtship patterns vary significantly across cultures. Several hypotheses propose about the attraction that exists when choosing a partner for a

romantic relationship. For example, the matching hypothesis emphasizes the physical attractiveness; the similarity hypothesis proposes that people with the same age, religion, culture, education and so forth, tend to attract each other; and the reciprocity hypothesis suggests that people like others who are unlike them. With globalization, collectivistic cultures like India are engaging in mate selection without parental knowledge or consent. Throughout India's history, parents have influenced and determined children's mating choices. Indian parents facilitate and regulate children's environments. They also facilitate interaction with other families and arrange marriages in an attempt to preserve the heritage's cultural value system. Even though parental control over mating selection has decreased over the past few years in India, it still exists in some areas as a cultural obligation.

In addition, some studies found that chastity in China, India, Taiwan, and Iran was viewed as an extremely importance aspect in mate selection, while in Netherland, Sweden, and Norway it was not considered as valuable. In many countries, women place value on how good an economic provider a man is. Women take into account the men earning's capacity, education, and family background. Men on the other side put more emphasis on physical appearance. Moreover, the majority of Latino countries do not believe in arranged marriage. They believe that mate selection is based on attraction and connectivity. For Latinos, mate selection is a free choice.

Another important topic to discuss is how marriage and love differ across cultures. People from Western countries are amazed by the fact that Indians and Muslins get involved in arranged marriages and experience happiness. In arranged marriages, parents choose the partner. Families do not put in consideration if the couple is in love or share any physical attraction. Furthermore, it is customary for Indians to marry within their religion. It is believed that romantic love is controlled by several contextual factors such as affluence, gender power parity, and education. Despite the fact that there are some common criteria across many societies, each culture illustrates marriage differently. Studies reveal that emerging adults in India are open to experimentation before getting married, but the ultimate goal is to culminate into marriage. Nowadays, technological advancements such as the Internet are increasing opportunities of interaction between emerging adult women and emerging adult men in modern India. The Internet has provided an array of choices to form social networks, which facilitates the growth of romantic relationships. (Karandashev, 2015)

For Western cultures, romantic partners are expected to fall in love first and then get married, while in collectivistic cultures individuals place less emphasis on romantic love and enjoy more the commitment in marriage. Muslim countries believe on commitment. They have always modeled respect, loyalty, and care for each other.

Another important issue to raise is the divorce rate in individualistic cultures. These cultures rate love as the most important part of a marriage. Thus, loss of love, lack of individual fulfillment, and mutual benefits were believed to be reasonable grounds for divorce. In collectivistic cultures like India, divorce is strongly discouraged. If a woman or a man want to get a divorce, then it became a moral dilemma for everyone.

Sexual practice varies depending on the society; every culture is different, and has varying morals and lifestyles. Likewise, premarital sex and extramarital sex differ depending on the type of society. Some cultures see sexual pleasure more naturally; whereas, other cultures view sex as abnormal or sinful. In Western culture chastity, this is viewed as old- fashioned, while in other cultures from the Middle East it may be crucial for women's acceptance. Depending on the culture and its historical context there are different attitudes toward particular types of lifestyles. For example, homosexuality is accepted in Western countries, whereas in other countries is seen as a shame or dishonor.

Understanding how collectivist and individualistic cultures function can help us maintain healthier relationships across various cultures.

# 3. SYMBOLIZING MARRIAGE

## 3.1 Marriage

A marriage is a socially, legally and religiously approved sexual economic and political union, which is sexually happening between a man and a woman

## 3.2 Marriage planned and Marriage Naturalist

Most of my respondents said that one should be settled before he gets married. It creates further problems if they are not doing any work. Therefore, they fall into the category of **marriage planners**. In most of the cases men and women both work. For example, a man is a labour or he makes buildings or he does any other work, the woman will be a beggar or a bangles seller or making embroidery clothes for other people. So in this way they both contribute to run a house. Sometimes they also send their children to the nearby markets for begging.

## 3.3 The purpose of marriage

Marriage has multiple purposes such as; cooperation, partnership, love, sex, spiritual calmness. It includes all aspect of human from physical to spiritual sphere.

Based on the above premise my respondents told me purposes of marriage as fellow:

**Union between male and female:**

Marriage unites men and women in lofty and dignified manner. It is compulsory for both the genders because there are some tasks to be done by men and some by women. One cannot spend his or her life all alone. To create harmony in relationship and gender role, men and women have to unite. They both work to continue to the mechanism of life.

**Reproduction:**

Reproduction is the natural phenomenon of the marriage. It is necessary to continue the generation of human existence. If marriage does not happen then human species will eventually die. It has to be continued until the life comes to an end. In addition, it is blessing of God for one.

**Cross-cultural interaction:**

Marriage makes it possible to interact cross culturally and at a global level. That is how relations came into being into nations on a national level or at an international level.

**Completion of faith:**

Marriage gives a sense of faithfully completion of sexual desires by not committing any sin. It boosts up one's self esteem. As he according to his religion has lawfully entertained the marital status.

## 3.4 The practice of marriage

Marriages are *endogamous*. They do not marry outside of their families. Whatever happens they do not go outside of their families for mate selection. As people live in large families, they fix the mates among them. Cousin marriages are always occurred because no one is allowed to marry outside of the family. First cousin marriages are mostly preferable. Exchange of females or marriages of *„wata sata"* are often practiced. According to them it makes the family relationships more strong and worthy and people can enjoy feelings of love, closeness and belonging. In *Balochis,* there is no difference in parallel and *cross cousins*. Both are cousins and can be married with each other. But in Punjabis, *parallel cousin* marriages are not practiced. It is strictly prohibited. According to them, they are like sisters and brothers. If one wants to be dagger and excluded from the family, he should go and marry with his parallel cousin. As one of respondent said;

> *"Kady sari family nuu chadna wa tay dushmani palni aa tay ja k chachy di kuri ya munde nal viyah kr lao ty fir dekho"*

(If one wants to marry with his uncle's daughter and has urge to turn them into enemies, then he should go and marry and see what happens next..)

It shows that how firm they are to not to marry with a parallel cousin.

The solution to this problem in the Islamic shariah is the giving of permission to men, under special conditions, to marry more than one woman. This principle of polygamy, as enshrined in the Islamic shariah is designed to save women from the ignoble consequences mentioned above. This commandment, although apparently general in application, was given only as a

solution to a specific social problem. It provides an arrangement whereby surplus women may save themselves from sexual anarchy and have a proper stable family life. That is to say, it is not a question of adopting polygamy rather than monogamy. The choice is between polygamy and sexual anarchy.

If the commandment to practice polygamy is seen in the abstract, it would appear to be biased in favour of men. But when placed in the context of social organization, it is actually in favour of women. Polygamy is both a proper and a natural solution to women's problems. The permission to practice polygamy in Islam was not given in order to enable men to satisfy their sexual urges. It was designed as a practical strategy to solve a particular problem. Marrying more than one woman is possible only when there are more women than men. Failing this, it is out of the question. Is it conceivable that Islam, just to satisfy man's desires, would give us a commandment that is neither possible nor practical?

Sometimes in Balochi families, marriages are *polygynous* but both of the (can be more than two) women live with the mutual harmony and never fight with each other as I asked, *„kbhi lare nhi ho?* (Have you ever quarreled?) and their answer was like *„kyun larein kis lie larein?"* (Why should we quarrel and for what?). Instead, they put a question to me. One of the main reason behind these polygamous marriages is that when there are more females and less males in a family, so to be remained into the endogamous group one has to marry with more than one woman.

## 3.5 Marriage and sexuality

Greta Christina, a freelance writer who writes about sex, grappling with the question of what sex is, writes the following:

⸺I am having trouble here. Even the conventional standby – sex equals intercourse – has a serious flaw: it includes rape, which is something I emphatically refuse to accept. As far as I am concerned, if there is no consent, it is not sex. But I feel that's about the only place in this whole quagmire where I have a grip … At what point in an encounter does it become sexual? If an encounter that begins nonsexually turns into sex, was it sex all along? What about sex with someone who is asleep? Can you have a situation where someone is having sex and the

other is not? It seems that no matter what definition I come up with, I can think of some real-life experience that calls it into question".     (Christina 2008, 27-28)

Christina's questions point to a crucial issue: it is difficult, if not impossible, to define what —sex" is. Specifically, it is very difficult to define particular concepts of sex, such as —sexual act" or —activity", —sexual desire," and —sexual pleasure," and it is difficult to define types of sexual practices, such as —adultery," —casual sex," and —prostitution." Of course, we can usually identify some acts as sexual: intercourse (vaginal or anal), fellatio, cunnilingus, and masturbation are examples (others we may have trouble with). But the issue is not whether we can identify some acts as sexual, but whether we can define —sexual act," including types of sexual acts (e.g., —adultery") (Halwani, 2018).

However, a simple notion of marriage includes that marriage gives a couple sexual legitimacy of sexual intercourse between husband and wife.

For most of the *jhugi-wale* marriage is just about having the pleasure of sex. Which they say that – is an addiction once he/she indulges in. By using the word *maza* (pleasure) and a sense of possessiveness that in the whole world, one, from head to toe is all his/hers. Telling me secretly, their cheeks were blushing with bashfulness and they were grinning out of joy by putting their *duppata* repeatedly on their mouth.

Generally, *jhugi-wale* are highly expressive in their emotional and sexual relationships. They are less conscious about sexual interactions. As I have observed, they are highly _physical and do not conceal their body gestures and exhibit them openly. Their women used to breastfed their infants openly, carelessly laying on floor, regardless of their body posture and position. Boys and girls were freely meeting, talking and eating together within their ethnic group.

Most of the women and girls do not wear dupatta or even no awareness of their bodies – glimpsing through their clothes. They used to wear tightly fitted clothes with the skin. For instance, one sitting out after taking bath with wet open hair and wet clothes.

So, as with the men, carelessly screaming one girl's name to call her and sitting among them. The crux is that they do not hide most of the happenings from each other – I mean men and

women or may be it is because they cannot hide because of their public sphere. It is rather still a question…

## 3.6 Marriage in Islamic perspective

The aim of marriage in Islam is not merely reproductive. It is also unitive and relational being that men are encouraged to marry women who are both of ―child bearing‖ age and affectionate.

Islam‘s attitude towards sex may be understood and appreciated only if one makes a sincere effort to study the Glorious *Quran* and *Ahadith*. The Glorious Quran tells us that all that exist in this universe have been created in pairs as is evident from the following verse:

"And of everything we have created in pairs so that you may receive instruction." (Quran, 51: 40)

Moreover, the Glorious Quran confirms that the primary objective for creating everything in pairs is to facilitate each species to procreate its own kind:

―He has made for you pairs (mates) from among yourselves and pairs among cattle: By this does, He multiply you.‖ (Quran, 42: 11)

Islam, therefore, recognizes sex as a natural desire, but cautions that it is the institution of marriage, which legitimizes the fulfillment of the sexual desire, which is otherwise forbidden. This is why both the Glorious *Quran* and *Ahadith* exhort Muslims to marry.

That is why Allah states in the holy *Quran* Chapter (3:14) as thus:

―Fair in the eyes of men in the love of thing they covet: women and sons, heaped-up hordes of gold and silver, horses branded (for blood and excellence); and (weather) cattle and well-tilled land. Such are the possession of this world‘s life; but in nearness to Allah is the best of the goals.‖

In addition, the *Holy Prophet* (SAW) is reported to have said:

―Three items for this world were made attacked (or likeable) to me, women, perfume (but) the (utmost) pleasure of my eyes (soul) is in prayer‖. (Bukhari)

In fact, Islam forbids controlling and deprivation of the sexual behavior. This is simply because Islam is the natural religion commensurate to pure human innate. Islam does not, at any time, conflict with the requirements and desires of the humans. *Islam* rather attempts to answer and fulfill all human needs and requirements. It does so by setting certain lawful limits and restrictions to ensure satisfying those needs in a right and lawful manner. Also, Islam endeavors to keep sex within the framework of human needs and elevates it above the savage and uncivilized way. This is in accordance to the Sayings of *prophet Muhammad* (SAW) that says:

―People enter *Janah,* (paradise) mostly based on *Taqwa* of Allah (Full respect and obedience of the commandment of Allah and His messenger) and based on their good conduct. (While) most people enter the hellfire because of the (ill-use) of the mouth and private parts".

(Muslim)

But, the only acceptable way for sexual satisfaction in Islam is lawful marriage. Islam urges Muslim to seek Marriage and encourages them to practice it. This is in accordance with the message of Prophet (SAW) in which He says:

―Whoever is financially capable of marriage but does not marry, he does not belong to me (that is, my follower)" (Muslim)

Even though, if a male Muslim cannot afford to marry because of poverty, he is commanded to chastise himself as follows:

―Let who find not the where withal for marriage keep themselves chaste, until give them means out of his Grace" (Q24:33)

Again, the Prophet (SAW) gives advice that make easier to certain extent for a person who is unable to marry for dearth of marriage expenses. The advice encourages his desire not to marry and enable him to control his sexual desire as follows:

―Oh young man whoever is capable (financially and other wise) to (afford the expenses) of marriage, let him do so. (Marriage) helps one control his eyesight and chastise his private parts. But who cannot afford the marriage expenses let him observe fast as it would cast as a protector for him" (Bukhari, Chapter 2, no. 5060)

In my respondents, marriages are held very modestly; in their original homes, at their region. Marriage lasts for just one day. The brides do not go to the beauty parlours, they do their make-up at homes by just following a very few steps of make-up. They must apply *henna* on their hands and feet by just spreading it and not merely creating a design. They told me that in *dowry*, they are given with very few items. For instance, through which the survival of the couple continues. On the other hand, those who are not given with *jahez (dowry),* they are given with some domestic cattle like goats, either one or two. After their marriage, they leave their official houses for economic purpose and come back to their *jhugis*.

A very number of my respondents has read the *Holy Quran*. None of them has got education. As one of my Balochi respondent told;

> *"taleem ko hamare logo mein boht bura smjha jata hai or koi agar koi parhne ki koshish kare to sab usko taane dete hen"*

(Education is cursed amongst us and if somebody want to get education, he/she is gets taunts from other)

Therefore, they cannot give education to their children. I have found only one of my respondents who has got religious education. She has read the holy *Quran* and *namaz*. Many of them want to give their children religious education but people do not like them and do not talk to them. This can only be possible when they will be in their area, everybody knows them there and they are free to do everything.

### 3.6.1 Islam and celibacy

Illicit and same sex relations reflect irresponsibility and are categorized by the *Shari`ah* as major crimes. The prescribed punishments, for example, for those who engage in illicit sexual intercourse are of a severe nature (Quran, 24:2) and are meant to serve as deterrents. In contrast, in the western world, there is tendency to disguise sexual crimes by referring to them in such a manner to make them appear dignified. For example, adultery is termed as extra marital relationship and a young male and woman (not united in marriage) who are going out together are said to be courting or dating.

Diseases that are spreading through non-marital sexual relations in the West. The religion of Islam forbids sex out of wedlock and unnatural sexual relations and safeguards society from

these disasters by encouraging marriage and conjugal community. Sexual intercourse is forbidden throughout the duration of a woman's menstrual period for it carries infected germs and an ‒open wound surface" - favors infections. Unnatural methods of sexual intercourse carry high inflection risks.

In Islam, sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who are not married to each other is called ‒Zina". It is immaterial whether one or both parties have their own spouses living, or are unmarried. It is also immaterial whether it is with the consent of the parties. The word ‒Zina" according to Doi, (1982) is applied to both Adultery (where one or both parties are married to a persons or persons other than the one involved in the sexual intercourse) and Fornication (where both parties are unmarried). Islam regards it in any case as a great sin as indicated in the Holy Quran as thus:

‒Do not come near to adultery for it is a Shameful Deed and evil, opening the road to other evil". (Q17:32)

This verse considers ‒Zina" not only as a great sin but also as an act, which opens the gate for many other shameful acts, which destroys the very basis of the family and leads to quarrels and murders, which ruins reputation, properties and which also spreads numerous diseases, both physical and spiritual (Eniola & Dr. Sikiru, 2013).

In my respondents, I found one couple who before marriage, used to meet each other. As they were cousins, so on any occasion in the family, they used to hide somewhere – making love to each other. However, they did not commit *zina* but there was the intimate relation of the bodies.

## 3.6.2 The age of marriage

As soon as the girl gets her first menstrual cycle, she would be married. All of my respondents were of very young age of 15 to 21 but all of them were married. One reason they say that according to Islam, it is better that one should marry as soon as possible. The other reason they told me that, because they were living together as endogamous families, so the parents desperately wait for their children to reach the age of puberty and to be handed over to their fiancés.

## 3.7 Conjugal love and arranged marriage

Western societies idealize the concept of romantic love. Americans always glorify the theme of romantic love it can be seen everywhere in their culture. On the contrary, Stone (1998) suggests that there is no romantic love in non-western societies except the elite countries who have the resources to cultivate romantic love. Doi says that romantic love is almost absent in some cultures like China and Japan. However, in recent studies, anthropologists are indicating a different or almost new perspective that romantic love is a universal phenomenon and they found its evidences from different societies. It is due to globalization that emotional love is seen as crucial among young people. Young lovers are more passionate about love and to the notion of love marriage (Karandashev, 2015).

Culture however have a powerful influence on romantic love and defining sex, some of them differentiate between the two while other regard it one which may somehow create disturbance in young lovers. **Individualistic cultures** such as; united states, Britain, Australia,, Canada and the countries of northern and western Europe focus more on self-interest and the interest of one's immediate family, personal autonomy and making one's own decisions, individual initiative and independence. **Collectivist cultures** such as China, many African and Latin American cultures, Greece, Southern Italy, and the pacific Islands, on the other hand induce people to subordinate personal motivation to the group's interests, being loyal to the group that may turn looks after their interest. They encourage interdependence and suggest that group decisions are more important than individual ones. In individualistic culture, one is self-dependent to choose a mate for himself; in collectivist cultures, Groups come first. Since everyone is a part of existing relationships so people do not feel it necessary to ask verbally or to take permission from the one who is going to get married, as they love somebody else or somebody else loves them. It has a significant impact on people's perceptions that how do they conceptualize love (Karandashev, 2015).

Pakistan is a **collectivistic culture.** Here _what parents do is best for the children' is the slogan. In my research, arranged marriages are seen more and less are the love marriages. Two of my respondents did love marriage and both were happy. They said that one should marry with their own will and choice and parents should listen to the wishes of their children. One of them also says that it might goes wrong sometimes so in these cases, arrange

marriages are better than love because nobody can blame the girl or the boy for that. If one marries by his/her own will and the relationship goes wrong, everyone would blame them. So for them arrange marriages can prone to have a better-married life. My Balochi respondents also told me that love marriages are not considered a good thing in their culture. Whatever their parents decide for them, are the lasts words for them. This is one of the reason that why they get married at very early years of life. They have told me that when a girl gets her first menstrual cycle, she is considered a mature girl and soon after that, she gets married. Thus, the age for the marriage is noted between 16 to 20 years. Their proposal is fixed in the very early childhood from age 2 to 3 years and when one reaches to adolescence, he/she is married. The reason for this early childhood proposal is that they do not want their children to decide for themselves or to select a spouse by their own will. That is why they are tied in the early childhood so this way they would cling to their match only. They grow by realizing this fact that their _to be spouse' is fixed by their parents and they have to obey them and there is no space for conjugal love for them.

## 3.8 Gender roles

Communication that includes partners discussing expectations related to employment and household chores, questioning traditional assumptions, and thinking ―outside the box" when problem solving may become increasingly important for the well-being of men and women in marriages of the future (Ogletree & Shirely, 2010).

Marital relations are seen as egalitarian. I was amazed to know this fact that a couple never fights but occasionally, and that is not really a severe dispute. They soon come up on the table as they were before. Men are not dominant in those people. They respect their wives, they care for them, they even help them in household chores like cooking, gathering water and in caring their children etc., and some of the newly wed couples sometimes go the nearby city where they enjoy the hustle and bustle of the city life. They eat together a good food as one of my respondents said;

*"acha khana khate hein; murghi or botal peete hein. Ghoomte phirte hein. Baatein karte hen. Saath sath chalte hen to mujhe boht acha lagta hai."*

(I really enjoy it when we go to the city, eat good food, walk together, gossip, we eat chicken and cold drink, I cherish those moments).

That is how they sometimes enjoy their bond by separating from their family and just being in their own company. In some of the cases, if a woman is sleeping. Her husband will not wake her up for the breakfast rather he will make himself. In other cases, some males do not participate in household works but they appreciate the efforts of their wives. One of my respondents said;

*"woh konse mard hote hein jo larte hein or kyun larte hein yeh smjh nhi ati, hmare to nhi larte"*

(I do not understand who are those men who quarrel and why do they even clash). They shared element of care, love and respect makes their relationship healthier. Therefore, I have not seen any of the distressed relationship.

## 3.9 Young people's expectations about marriage

Unmarried adolescents were very few among them. All of others are married. I could only find one unmarried girl. She has not found any good match for her. Many proposals came for her from her family but according to her all of them were scoundrels and drug addict so she refused. She told that marriage occurs once in life and if we already know that the mate is not good for us then we should speak for it and never go for it. According to her one should not marry because life is full of crooks. She will marry with the one who will listen to her and who will not be aggressive. He should be of a good character, that everybody respect him and will be seen as an honourable man of the society. Her family members told me in her absence that she pointed out mistakes in every proposal. They forced her to get married but she kept on refusing as per saying that the proposal is not worthy enough to marry her.

## 3.10 An ideal husband

For most of my respondents, an ideal husband is the who understands her wife. Others also said that wealth play an important role because they belong to a very remote and poor culture so they have to face disputes just on the matter of money. To them, money can make one's life better in almost every way. They have to work hard but they only get a tiny amount, which is not sufficient to accomplish the needs of all children. A good husband might be for

them is the one who does not do consumption of drugs. If he does, he would have a frail reputation in the society and in fact, he would not be considered as ‗man of character'. He must be good in communication this means that if ever they come up to any misunderstanding, they would communicate about the trouble that is going on. A woman's husband should be faithful to her in public and in private domains. He should be a compassionate lover to her. He would be enough be provide her sexual comfort and to take her confidence. Some of them also said (as most of their husbands were) that he should be cooperative and helpful towards her wife in oiling the wheel of the life.

## 3.11 High fertility rate and sexual dysfunctioning

Child birth rate is high among these people but it does not feel eccentric to them. For example; if somebody has six or seven children he/she will say, *"kidhr ziada hein 6 he to hein".* (6 children is not a big number). They are not seen as burden. Most of them like sons, so they continue to have them. One of my respondents who was pregnant said that ‗if this time she will have a son she will stop the process of reproduction'. Majority of them feel happy on the birth of the child. They are not afraid of their future. They say

*"jis ki dain hai whi behtr kare ga"*

(The Almighty will do better for them)

They answered with anguish in their eyes for whomever I asked this question of high birth rate. They said that it was Allah's blessing, so they could have numerous children.

One of the other girls who was pregnant told that she was happy and sad at the same time; happy because she was going to be a mother the most honourable relation of the world and sad because of the future of the child that would he live in a jhugi. Would he spend his life like her? She wanted to give him a better life and the better environment but she seemed desperate by knowing that she could not…Sexual dysfunctioning is not seen in the community except one case of infant's death. Four infants of one of my respondent's, were died just after birth. She had five children and she was in a very bad health. One of her child was one month old. He too, was in a very bad health and his mother was very afraid because of her previous experiences. She prayed for her infant's life and she said that she was fearful of losing him in the heart. She has removed the ovaries by the birth of sixth child. She got

every kind of treatments from doctors to religious healers but nobody understood the reason of her infant's repetitive deaths. We can see here the case of disease that comes out from the cousin marriages.

## 3.12 A happy marriage

Every couple wants to be happy in marriage; and if possible to make their marriage tie last for their lifetime.  However, despite that, marriage is designed to last until the death of one party; there are many that do not survive. There are those that ended divorced, legal separated, or annulled. For example, in Canada and Wales, according to the Office for National Statistics (2013); their 2011 data showed that the percentage of marriages ending in divorce increases more rapidly in the first 10 years of marriage. In America, according to the U.S. Divorce Rates and Statistics, the overall divorce rate peaked at 22.6 divorces per 1,000 marriages in 1980, 20.9 in 1990, and 18.8 in 2000.  In the Philippines, Sabangan (2008) said that in 2007, there were 7,753 cases of annulment and legal separation filed at the Office of the Solicitor General, a 71.5 percent jump from the 4,520 cases filed in 2001. From 2001 to 2007, the OSG received 43,617 cases of annulment and separation. The figure could have been higher if more married people have the means to break their ties legally.

Marriage is like a journey, an odyssey that presents many surprises; some exquisite, others painful. Unforeseen ―terrain‖ can present unexpected obstacles, some of which may seem insurmountable. Nevertheless, many people make this journey successfully and happily, with only minor mishaps. Indeed, success in marriage is not measured so much by the highs and lows of the journey as it is by how couples deal with those ups and downs. As such making your marriage happy and everlasting is a business couples should never take for granted (Engr. Arsenio Unajan Baquilid, n.d.).

Reuben (1973) said:

*"Marriage is like a long trip in a tiny rowboat: if one passenger starts to rock the boat, the other has to steady it; otherwise, they will go to the bottom together"*.

That is why it is said that marriage is not always easy and simple, and there is never any assurance that couples will last the journey and uphold their marriage vows of ―till death do

us part". But if a family helps together and one another to cultivate love – strong enough to fight against all odds; such marriage will have an endless way to go.

According to Huervana:

*"Married life always begins in the warm glow of love or in heat of passion with a great expectation of a happy and prosperous family life in the near future. However, as the marriage grows by months, then by years, expectations seem to be blurry"*.

When this happens, the matrimony becomes a rough sailing. This is natural in married life. When this happens, do something positive to strengthen the relationship to prevent the collapsed of your marriage. Swallow your pride, if it is necessary for the good of your family (Engr. Arsenio Unajan Baquilid, n.d.).

A good happy married life demands love, satisfaction, respect, tolerance, endurance, to be a good listener to each other. One of the respondents said that a man should listen to his wife and so the wife to her husband. If they do not listen and understand each other the relationship will not work. One said that they should give an intimate time to each other. They should go on strolls together, shopping, eating and outing. The other one said that tolerance is the key to happy married life:

*"kady ik, hik gal kare tyay dooja agu do kare, tay fir gila kis kolo karyee"*

(If both keeps on argumentation and fighting then whom should we blame).

Some said intimacy in contextual way. It can be both; intimacy in terms of togetherness, affinity, closeness, affection, support and attachment. The other way of intimacy only in terms of sexual intercourse, sexual relationship that is more prone to bind the couple. Lack of sexual interest can loosen the belt of marital relationship.

## 3.13 Marriage as an institution

For them, one has to marry because he has to and because everyone else is marrying. To continue life process marriage is compulsory. To most of them, marriage is an important institution and one must marry. It is the fascinating experience in life. One should not blame

marriage if something wrong happens. Rather one's *naseeb* decides the fortune of the man. One should try his best to make it work and the rest he should leave on Allah. Only one of the respondent said that marriage is not necessary and one should not marry. It snatches the freedom of one's self. One is bound to obey the orders and commands of the husband. If he does not want his wife to go somewhere, she cannot. She has to ask permission from him for every purpose. It makes a wife slave of the husband. Albeit, the rest of them were in favour of marriage.

# 4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Broom and Sulznick:

   ―An organization means technical arrangements of parts. Social organization means social relationships among groups. It is the result of social interaction among people.‖

Organization is type of collectivity established for the pursuit of specific aims or goals, characterized by a formal structure of rules, authority relations, division of labour and limited membership or admission. The term is used mainly to refer to large scale or complex organizations, which pervade all aspects of social life in modern society, e.g. business enterprises, schools, hospitals, churches, prisons, the military, political parties, trade unions, etc. Such organizations involve patterns of social relationships, which differ from other groups such as family, peer groups, and neighbourhoods that are largely spontaneous, unplanned or informal.

Organization is also any purposeful arrangement of social activity or set of activities. Organization in this sense implies active control over human relations for specific ends. For example, work organization, to specify the allocation and coordination of tasks, patterns of authority, and forms of recruitment and employment relationships.

Organizations have goals either reifies the collective concept ‗organization‘ or assumes that the goals of an organization are identical to those defined by the power holders at the apex of the organization. Clearly, organization, as, have no goals. Rather, groups and individuals within organization may hold a variety of different and competing goals. Organizational controllers may attempt to establish over-arching goals for the organization through selection, training, rewards and punishments, and the perpetuation of an ‗organization culture‘ but the nature and extent of compliance by subordinates and the degree of cooperation and conflict within an organization can only be established by empirical research. This issue is reflected in the distinction between *formal* and *informal* organization. Functions of organization: Division of labour; Combination of labour and Coordination.

It is the network of social relationships in which individuals and groups participate. All the social institutions are the social organization. Associations, clubs and all other formal institutions are social organization. Social systems are also examples of social organization. It is an organized body; its member gets into one another on basis of roles and statuses. The interaction among the members sets them into organization. The mode of such interaction is called social organization.

The most important social functions of marriage is to form a connection between two families or to renew and strengthen an already existing connection.

## 4.1 Marriage – as a regulatory function

An element of harmony and peace was found in the studied *jhugi-wale*. I have not seen fighting them in any of my visits. Marriages were always endogamous so it balanced all the other relations and social life. For example, when one is married within the family and with first cousins, it mechanically creates flow in the relations. It is because they already know the customs, rules and in fact every bit of everyday life. The entire endogamous group lived together. Uncles, aunts, brother, sisters, daughters, sons, stepmother, grandmothers, grandfathers, mother in laws, father-in-laws, unmarried daughters and sons.

They generally did not distinguish their bond of relationship. It did not matter if the food was not cooked in one *jhugi*, the other one would cook and all of them would eat together. For example, in *Balochis*, five brothers had a kind of shop in which they kept cold drinks, snacks for the children etc. All the children of the same endogamous group would eat from there. I have seen that kids, one after one went to the mini shop and ate whatever he liked and nobody resisted him.

Women sat at one place under a tree (possibly protecting from sunrays) and their males fetched water for family. From that water, they washed the clothes, prepare food, cleansed their *jhugi*. The clothes were put in a heap, women sat together and start washing them without differentiating that if the cloth piece was theirs or somebody else'. They had punctuality in every task. If one was washing clothes, the others too. If someone was dusting, the others would too. When an infant would cry and his mother was not free, any of them picked him up and tackled him with the same love and care.

All the children used to play together. They sang songs in their language and dance carelessly with their naked bodies. They put a drum in the middle and all of them used to beat that with sticks. It used to make them ecstatic. They chose the youngest kid and made him sit in a cart (which was meant for fetching cans of water) and all of them pulled its rope. The little child got so happy and he giggled and clapped, so his fellows who were pulling him. All of the children eagerly waited for the arrival of the train (as they live by the railway track). When the train came, they screamed with joy and start running along with the train. Personally, I loved to see that scenario happening every day, this was so enchanting and for me that used to be the ‗most worthy' moment of my day:

*"Live the full life of the mind, exhilarated by new ideas, intoxicated by the romance of the unusual"*

*(Ernest Hemingway)*

Children who had been engaged in their infantile, also played together; unaware of their mere innocence of the fact that were ‗to be' spouses for each other.

Women did embroidery on their clothes, as they were not accustomed to purchase from the market. They made them by their own efforts. They told me it took about a month to complete one dress. They wore their traditional Balochi frocks and they did not wear anything else even in the very burning weather. When I asked them why they did not use any other stuff for the summers as lawn for that hot weather? Their response was:

*"Baaji ye hamara rivaaj hai hm iske ilawa or kuch nhi pehn sakte"*

(it is our custom we cannot wear anything other than this)

They used to take tea four times a day. One of the women told that they did not care if they did not get meal but ‗they cannot survive without tea'. Thus, at 5:00pm, they used to take their evening tea, which again made with mutual cooperation. One gathered the woods for fire and arranged those underneath the kettle, while other lit the fire, one made tea and all of them – the whole family drank together. All the men sit together on a bed like thing (which was made of woods and upon it, a mattress was spread with colourful applique bedsheet on

it) and had their gossip. That bed like structure was so high from the floor that those men could be seen strikingly faraway. They usually smoked together.

If one got sick all of them would take care of the sick person; going to the doctor and spending money. All of the women talk to the male members without obstruction of the group so as the male. They do not do *„sahræ pardah"* or any custom like that according to society or *Sharia*. Women openly comb their hair, breastfeed their children etc. They say *"hm sab ek hein hmara ek he khandan hai"* (We are all one belonging to one family). Elder women did not do any of the house chores they just used to lay down all the day or had been yakked. Sometimes they were found roaming around as to have a bird's eye view, or as to assure that everything was going well.

As far as Punjabis were concerned, they also practiced endogamous marriages. When I asked them why they did cousin marriages? As it causes hormonal diseases into the next generation. They said that doctors lie; they did not have any knowledge so they just misguide people. It was the custom of their *„biradrī"* and also it aroused their power. They all lived together also. However, they had separate *jhugis* but they gossiped together, cooked together and ate together. As soon as it started spreading evening like 5:00pm, the female head of the family started cutting the grocery for the night meal. They told me that because they did not had refrigerators to store the left items, so they used to make fresh food for the next meal. Then one of the girls gathered wood bars, one lit the fire, one cooked and one kneaded the dough. This is how by mutual cooperation they prepared the food to eat.

The *Punjabi* males were *"kabootar baaz"*. They fed the pigeons. Their children also played together but they fought sometimes and beat each other. Kids were treated with more care and love.

Geography also plays an important role in the formation of family. *Balochis* were *big hearted* people and they gave respect to their guests. When someone cams to their *jhugis* they felt delighted and I suppose this is like running in their bloods – the passion of hospitality. *Punjabis* said that they belonged to the place where no one was poor or rich. There was no differentiation of class and creed. Everyone was given equal respect. That is why they believe that only there is one Supreme Being, who is above all – that is Almighty Allah.

They felt accused being at that place because people, who lived nearby, gazed them with hatred. That surrounded inhabitants did not want to have any relation with *jhugi wale* though these people wanted to give their children religious education. One of them took a deep breath and said that yes they missed their ancestral place.

I observed that *Punjabi* group was so strong about its ethnicity. They just restricted to their own ethnic group. They did not really talk to other ethnic groups. On the other hand, those neglected ones never actually cared about it, as they were settled and happy within their own group and family.

# 5. DISCUSSION

Jhugi wale are the marriage planners. They believe that if a man earns and is not dependent anymore, then it is his perfect time to get married. According to the respondents the purposes of marriage are: union between male and female, reproduction, completion of faith. In order to promote harmony and contribution, marriages are always endogamous. Exogamous marriages are not practiced or we can say that not allowed. Marriages within the group strengthen the bond of the family. Cousin marriages are preferred. Polygynous marriages are found and what makes it astonishing that women do not fight with each other rather they live with integrity. They share mutual love and care. By performing polygynous marriage, one makes sure that all the women are in the endogamous group.

They are expressive in their sexual interactions. They freely express their feelings. For them, marriage authorizes them over sexual intercourse or reproduction. Nobody has gained education or religious education except the one informant. Education for them is not necessary. Marriages are practiced at a very young age mostly when one reaches to puberty. Arrange marriages are given prestige. The choice of parents are the last words. One cannot go against them. In order to be in endogamous group and to avoid love marriages, the proposal is fixed in the very childhood.

Marital relationship is egalitarian. Man is not superior to his wife. They respect each other to maintain the relationship. Men help their wives in household and women help their husbands in earning. Young respondents expect from the marriage to be an ideal one and with the honourable man of the society. They want a faithful spouse who can provide a well spent life. They have high fertility rate. Children are their asset. However, in some cases, the sprouting diseases of cousin marriages are seen. A happy marriage requires intimacy in terms of togetherness, affinity, closeness, affection, support, attachment and sexuality. According to them men and women should be good listeners to each other. They should talk and in case of any dispute, they should solve it with negotiation.

Marriage has proven as a crucial institution. It cannot be denied and it is the most important element to run the life cycle.

Marriage regulates their social life. Endogamous marriages play a vital role in oiling the social life. Jhugi wale are punctual. They live in harmony. They eat together, sit together, gossip together, play together moreover, they do everything collectively. Everybody contributes in the daily life.

Human life is full of symbols. From a smallest task to the bigger task we experience it everyday rather we realize it or not. We wake up in the morning and first of all we watch the time on our clock: this is not only relating to the fact that what time is it on the clock rather it can be seen as a symbol of some important task, to wake up early or late, having missed a call a meeting or anything.. in the same way I tried to evaluate or to conduct this study in a symbolic way. As in the theory of Symbolic Interactionism Clifford Geertz says that every notion in the society is a symbol. From his study of cockfight, we come to know that it is not only related to just fighting the cocks rather it shows the numerous other important facts about that culture. When I symbolize marriage in the much marginalized people, who do not even have an id card being a citizen of this country. Who have not even the enough water the basic need of life. They conceptualize marriage in different terms. They marry because everyone else is marrying and because they have to marry. The institution of marriage is practiced since histories and to this era, they believe that without marriage, life is nothing, life has no meaning and no charm. Because when one gets married, he/she has so much more to probe out in li9fe. Thus they experience a new life and a new experience. The major aspect which has been evaluated in this study that they marry because they want children. They become a major income resource for the family. To stabilize their financial circle they want children so they marry. The other important reason is that to promote the harmony and strength within a lineage they marry. Marriages make their bonds stronger with each other. It creates unity. It creates the sense that they all are one. They have one identity, one ethnicity on one platform. This concept of ―oneness" is found the most significant in them.

In this study, we have seen that patriarchal historicity and that normative pattern of conjugal relationship is challenged and suspended. In a rigid patriarchal society where a man is not considered prestigious if he shows affection and love towards her wife. He cannot express the notion of intimacy explicitly. Moreover, if a man helps her wife in cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children, he is not considered a man. The set pattern of patriarchal societies

are that a man must rule over his wife. He should maintain his manhood by his authority and aggressiveness. This notion is seen vice versa in the studied community. Jhugi wale respect their wives and help them in household. They express the intimacy towards their wives openly. They feel no embarrassment in it. Thus, they believe that marriages should be egalitarian and based on conjugal love.

Therefore, we conclude that a symbol expresses something more than itself. Commitment, trust, love, togetherness, family, reproduction, health and belief system are all combined to make the word _marriage' a meaningful.

## Limitations and recommendations

I could not take the interview from the male population, which is my limitation. In addition, I could not stay at the night and observe their night routine. I could only stay for some hours during the day. Therefore, I further suggest this study to be continued by somebody who would be able to take the interviews from the male as well. I also suggest that since this topic is very unusual and striking, the researcher can take any other symbol and study the community with that aspect.

# Appendix

Following is the list of the pictures which are taken by the respondents consent during the research:

# Glossary

Following is the glossary of meanings of different local words used in the thesis:

**Words**                          **English meanings**

Chacha                             uncle

Charpai                            a bed made with for legs made of wood and ropes

Baji                               sister

Tepri                              tent

Putar                              son/daughter

Sattar wali chaddar                a long fabric used to cover body and face

Beti                               daughter

Gupshup                            gossip

Hindko                             a dialect of Punjabi spoken by the people of

                                   Hazara

Biradri                            group of people belonging to the same lineage

Kabootar baz                       one who raises pigeons and sell them

Chori                              girl

Sindhi                             people who belong to Sindh

Balochi                            people who belong to Balochistan

Kajal                              a black pencil, black powder or black chalk like

                                   substance to make the eyes look black and bold

Wata-sata                          a form of bride exchange, involving the

                                   simultaneous marriage of a pair (brother & sister)

Dupatta                            a scarf

Khusa                              a fancy traditional Punjabi footwear

| | |
|---|---|
| Alam | a holy black flag which is given prestige by the Shia sect |
| Shia | a member of the second largest movement in islam, based on the belief that Ali, a member of Muhammad (S.A.W) family and the teachers who came after him were the true religious leaders |
| Baba | a religious person |
| Gurdwara | a holy place of assembly and worship for Sikh |
| Pir sahib | a saint |
| Bisakhi | a Sikh festival held annually to commemorate the founding of the Khalsa by Gobind Singh in 1699 |
| Sale mela | a cheap shop where everything is sold for twenty rupess |
| Landa bazar | a market of used clothes and stuff |
| Bhai | brother |
| Khala | aunt |
| Naseeb | destiny |
| Dhoti | a long fabric used to cover the lower part of the body by traditional Punjabi men |

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