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Social Organization of Christian Community: Emphasize on Minority-Majority Relation

A Case Study of Bashir Abad Colony, Nawan Killi, Quetta



A dissertation submitted to the department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Science in Anthropology.

By:

Muhammad Sabir



Department of Anthropology

Quaid-I-Azam University

Islamabad

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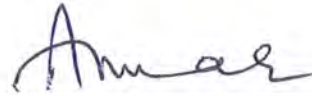
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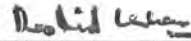
This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Mohammad Sabir. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of "M.Sc in Anthropology".

Committee

1. Dr. Anwaar Mohyuddin
Supervisor



2. Dr. Rashid Khan
External Examiner



3. Dr. Waheed Chaudhry
In-charge Dept. of Anthropology





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Abstract

Pakistan is Muslim majority country with more than 96 percent inhabitants being Muslims. The remaining 4 percent of the population is represented by population belonging to different religions. Christian population is also an important component of the minority population of Pakistan. The relationship between Christian Minority class and the Muslim Majority class present an important sociological and anthropological issue. This thesis is aimed to investigate and highlight the socio economic relationships between the two classes. Different aspects of this relationship are highlighted which reveal the difficulties and challenges faced by minorities in a Muslim majority country. To study this phenomenon, this research used anthropological research tools on Nawan Killi, Tehsil and District Quetta, Baluchistan. The study locale selected is Bashir Abad Colony which is a Christian locality in the heart of Quetta. The people living in the research locale were found to be doing menial jobs and low level jobs because they face discrimination in all spheres of life. This discrimination, which is usually carried out in a subtle and indirect manner, not only results in increased unemployment and poor standards of living of the minority class, but also results in resentment towards the majority. At the same time, although it seems that the discrimination is based on ethnicity, the root cause is the difference in religion. This was observed by the increased hatred and aggressiveness towards the Christian population shown by the local Pashtun (Muslim) people post 9/11. This resentment and discrimination, however, is not prominent if the economic status of the people from minority class is equivalent to or better than the Muslims. The research also finds out the impact of majority and minority on each other which reveals that relationships maintained by Muslims and Christians are mostly limited to non-familial basis. This is due to the fact that both religions do not allow inter- religion marriages. Deprivation and sufferings sometimes become so intense that Christian people have been found to convert to Islam to enjoy better living conditions offered by Muslims to new converts. The reaction from the Christian community, however, is very harsh in such instances. The research also reveals that cultural assimilation and plurality is also happening, albeit at a very slow pace. This means that for certain economic and social benefits, the minority class tries to conform to the norms and practices of the majority class. Interestingly, the assimilation is not unilateral, but has also impacted the local Pashtun Muslim community as well. Based on these findings, it can be said that minorities have a very important role to play in our society by bringing diversity.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 The Topic

Throughout the human history, socially created differences of superiority and inferiority can be observed. Human societies have been divided on the basis of race, ethnicity, nationalism, religious groups, biological traits, social and economic status, and more recently on migration, refugee and diaspora status, and many other such type of divisions. Where socially accepted different groups live and interact with each other, it is natural to find some imbalance or inequality between the relations of communities. Different notions of exploitation of weaker groups have been used through human history; the use of political, social, religious or any other means to obtain economic resources (proposed by Karl Marx) is a good example of dominant class (majority) exploiting the subordinates (minority).

The visible indication of minority group is the differential treatment. Minority group is subject to unequal position in the social setup. A minority's position involves exclusion or assignment to a lower status in the economic, the political, the legal, and/ or the social-associational. Many a times, the minority also voluntarily excludes itself partially or completely from participation in these areas of life, partly as a means of maintaining traditional and cultural differences.

The foundation of Pakistan was envisioned as a progressive, democratic and tolerant society, which while retaining a Muslim majority, would give equal rights to its non-Muslim citizens. Malik (2002) has quoted the father of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah; On 11 August 1947, in his oft quoted speech to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, as:

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in the State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creeds – that has nothing to do with the business of the State. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not so in the religious sense

because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state.”¹

Pakistan is an immensely plural country characterized by religious, sectarian and ethno-linguistic diversities. It is an overwhelmingly Muslim community with more than 96 percent ² of its inhabitants adhering to Islam, while only a little of its population is non-Muslim minorities. There are several Christian denominations, Bahais, Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Kalash, Parsis and Sikhs who identify themselves as non-Muslim Pakistanis. Within these communities there are caste-based, class-based and denomination based divisions; along with age, ethnic, gender, rural and urban distinctions.

After Hindus, Christians make the second largest minority. According to statistics, Pakistan's Christians make up 1.6% of the total population, (2.8 million people). ³ The community is geographically spread throughout the Punjab province, whilst its presence in the rest of the provinces is mostly confined to the urban centers. The Pakistani Christian community is almost 50-50 divided between the Catholic and the Protestant denominations. Cities like Peshawar, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Rawalpindi and Quetta, have always had a sizeable number of Christians engaged in various professions in the service sector.

Christians in Quetta are a religious minority. Majority of the Christians living there belong to Punjabi ethnic group—which is the dominant ethnic group in the country, as it covers almost 60% of the population of the country. Christians share the same culture of Punjabi ethnic group but separate religious identity makes them apart from the mainstream society. Neither Christian nor Punjabi ethnic (Muslim) group accept their identity as one. Religion is source of identification for Christians, and it is valid to say, that Christians are religious minority.

1.2 Problem

Generally, minorities are given a second class citizen status in our society and are often victimized by giving lower status and hatred. Minorities are playing a positive role in the society and to illustrate this role, the research focuses on the Christian (religious minority) community.

¹Malik, I. H. (2002). *Religious Minorities in Pakistan*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

²Census.gov.pk, (n.d.). Population By Religion. Retrieved 12/09/2012, from <http://www.census.gov.pk/Religion.htm>

³Wikipedia, (2012).Christianity in Pakistan. Retrieved 10/11/2012 , from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity>

The process of social relations from the perspective of minorities and the role that they play in social change at the grass root level, are significant factors when considering the social aspects of minority majority relationships.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Quetta is the capital city of Baluchistan and is the most populated city in the province. Different ethnic, religious, social and cultural divisions are found. Baluch and Pashtuns are two main ethnic groups with concentration in specific areas. The third largest ethnic group is the Hazara who are mostly followers of Shias/Shi'ite school of thoughts. Majority of the population of Quetta district is Muslim. Muslim population is further divided into different sects; mainly Sunni and Shia or Shi'ite. Sunnis are in majority while the Shias are concentrated in the specific areas such as Mari Abad, Western Bypass etc. Along with Shia and Sunni other sects like Ahl-Hadith, Kadiyani, Barelavi and others (in small numbers) are found throughout the city. Other ethnic minorities like Punjabi, Sindhi, Saraiki and other communities are present in relatively smaller number. Apart from the majority Muslim population, religious minorities are present but in very small numbers. Commonly Christians (church), Hindu (mandir), Sikhs (gurdawara), Zikris and Parsi (fire temple) religious groups are found in different areas. This study is concerned about the Christians community in Quetta. By studying the Christian minority of Bashir Abad Colony of Nawan Killi as a sample case of generalization, this research focuses on the majority-minority relations in a Muslim majority state. In the research, Punjabi ethnic group is divided into two parts on the basis of religion i.e. Punjabi Muslim and Punjabi Christians (or Christians). The distinguishing factor of a group sharing similar identity is helpful for our purpose, as this shows the relations of groups sharing same culture, same values, same traditions, etc. but different religions. The chief concern is the relations of Christian (religious minority) with the Muslim (religious majority).

The purpose of the study was to analyze the nature and extent of relations of Christians of Nawan Killi, Quetta with majority Muslim population i.e. Pashtuns. Nawan Killi is a semi urban area with majority of its population as ethnic Pashtuns—a group strict followers of the Islamic rules (orthodox). Other ethnic groups are also present such as Baluch, Punjabi (Muslims),

Muhajir (Urdu speaking), Brahvi, Mughal (Persian speaking) etc. but relatively in small numbers. Christians are living in two distinct areas, Yuhana Abad and Bashir Abad Colony.

Studying the relations of Christians, where they are geographically surrounded by Muslim population, becomes an interesting topic of research. Christians have certain visible influences on the orthodox Pashtun society and vice versa. To understand and study such type of societies is the interest of modern social anthropology. To understand the role Christians play in the process of social change in Nawan Killi, is also an intriguing topic. Christians are found in different areas of Quetta city, of which Nawan Killi (Bashir Abad colony) region has been selected because it has a high majority of Pashtun (ethnic group) and the Christian populations. These populations are surrounded by different ethnic populations.

In order to understand the relationship between Christian minority and Muslim majority, the study looks into the basic social institutions i.e. family, education, religion, economic system, political system of the Christian community in Quetta. Furthermore, it tries to understand the relations of these institutions with those of dominant group (Muslim), at micro (individual) and macro (institutional) levels. The relations of minorities with the Muslim majority in Pakistan are not always smooth, and due to this very reason the process of social change is ongoing in the minority populated areas. One of the focuses of this research is to understand the shift of change in the relations of majority-minority forced by numerous events (national and international) in the light of the minority's view. It also looks at role of minority in the process of social change. To understand the majority-minority relations one of the main areas of focus in the study is the interaction of Christian with Muslim and the influence of such interaction on the overall social change process in the society.

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of present research are set in the context to understand dominant-subordinate or majority-minority relations⁴, from the lens of minority group. To understand the nature of ethnic relations, by the minority's perspective, following objectives are kept in mind for this research:

⁴ Relation and interaction are interchangeably used to highlight the contact(s) between humans. Society is a web of social relationships. Relations are built through mutual behavior and social intercourse or interactions between

- To explore social organization of Christians in Quetta.
- To explore the relations of Christians and Muslims.
- To explore the influence of Muslims over Christians and vice versa.
- To explore impacts of external (international) events on local relations between Christians and Muslims.

1.5 Methodology

Methodology is the systematic knowledge (science) and “logic in use” of ways, manners, procedures and techniques to have the reliable concerned information about the phenomenon to be studied. According to Pelto and Pelto (1970);

“Methodology refers to the structure of procedures and transformational rules whereby the scientist shifts information up and down this ladder of abstraction in order to produce and organize increased knowledge”.⁵

No research work can be accomplished successfully without using appropriate research methods. Various methods and techniques (qualitative and quantitative methods) are used for the social research. The aim of the research methodology lies in seeking the answers to questions and exploring a phenomenon, or obtaining useful information about a particular issue in the universe. There are some specific techniques and tools in the field kit of anthropological research. There are many techniques and method available for observing relevant phenomena. This research employed a variety of anthropological techniques for conducting the present research. Some of these techniques utilized during the course of this research are discussed below:

1.6 Observation

Observation is a process through which the researcher observes, notes, or sees respondents or research setting without causing any type of influence whatsoever. This process requires directly seeing the research situation. Through vision the direct picture can be observed and understood in a better way and thus, this technique provides solid data without the involvement of the

members of the society. Social interaction is the reciprocal influences mutually exerted by human beings through inter stimulation and mutual response. In the course of this research both terms are used for the same purpose—to show daily mutual intercourse which determines social life, in the society.

⁵ Pelto, P., & Pelto, H. (1970). *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*. London: Cambridge University Press.

researcher in the action. For this research observation was used on different occasions to understand the relationships between Christians and Muslims, their social interactions, and their behavior towards each other.

1.7 Participant Observation

Participant observation process involves rapport building in the initial phase, which facilitates the observations of the participants.

1.7.1 Rapport Building

Rapport building is very important in anthropological research because this method paves the way for obtaining information from other data collection methods like interviews and key informant interviews. Rapport establishment is also compulsory for the utilization of participant observation. As Bernard (1994) says “It (Participant observation) involves establishing rapport in a community.”⁶

It was the most critical area of my research. It highlighted my reputation as a researcher and prepared the ground for in-depth interviews. The challenging part of my research was that my locale was in an urban area where it was not easy to find respondents as people in urban areas do not have much spare time to participate in research activities like this. The security dilemma in Baluchistan province added to the non-cooperation of respondents. With consistent participation and everyday visits to the field I was able to strengthen my rapport in the study area. The rapport building also helped me fill survey census forms and get the information about my research respondents. Moreover it helped me ensure the respondents and the community that my research was not in any way harmful to their community or lives.

1.7.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation method lies in the core of anthropological studies. It is the most appreciated and unique method which is attributed only to anthropology. The importance of this method is defined by Bernard (1994) by saying that participant observation is the fundamental process of anthropological research, and yet it is the least well defined methodological

⁶H. Russell, B. (1994). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Maryland: Altamira.

component of this discipline.⁷

Participant observation was helpful for this research because it allowed observing not only the obvious aspects of the research question, but also the latent and subtle ones. It was also helpful to develop a level of confidence and trust with the respondents. Participant observation was carried out by taking part in indigenous events and activities. I played different games in the field, attended different marriage ceremonies, helped people in the government offices, and took needy people to doctor. These activities not only helped me observe my research respondents without any hindrance, but also helped me in building my rapport. During this period I met people face to face and observed their activities and captured the disparity in natives' theory and practices regarding to my research topic.

1.8 Key Informant Interviews

Key informants prove to be a valuable source of data and belong to the community being studied. They must be chosen with great care as they provide significant amount of knowledge about the community in order to help understand the local people's perspectives. Key informants provide valuable information but it is the responsibility of the researcher to find out the reality of the statements made by the respondents. Key informants play a role of bridge between researcher and respondents by providing access and certain privileges to those areas or aspects of the community, where a researcher cannot reach on his own.

H. Russell Bernard (1994) cited that good informants are those people who talk easily, understand the information you need, and are glad to give it to you or get it for you.⁸ It was difficult to select key informant(s) straight away. Preference was given to those who had better understanding of research topic and to those who possessed specific knowledge about this research or component of this research. Those respondents who provided access to restricted areas of Christian life also were also considered for key informant category. The effort was to include respondents from different age, gender and religious groups to cover interethnic relations from every possible angle.

⁷H. Russell, B. (1994). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Maryland: Altamira.

⁸Ibid

1.8.1 Introduction to Key Informants

Four Key Informants were selected for this research purpose.

1. Haroon Raja Riaz:

Haroon helped a lot in understanding better the relations between Muslims and Christians. His personality also contained visible influences of Muslim over Christians due to close relations with one another. Haroon helped in selection of other key informants, who possessed knowledge about research topic

2. Madam Shamim Sardar:

She is one of the most influential personalities of Bashir Abad colony. She is well educated (M.A Islamiat) and held a high status in the society. She works at the post of education secretary of province. She had very limited spare time but proved to be the most influential and insightful key informants of all.

3. Mr. Anthony William (Pastor):

Mr. Anthony William's selection as a key respondent was one of the best decisions. Because of his role as a Pastor (religious leader), he has a distinctive position among his people. He provided basic knowledge of Christianity, and helped me gain access to those areas which are normally prohibited to outsiders.

4. Abdullah Khan:

He works as the valve man of Bashir Abad and has good terms with the Christians of Bashir Abad Colony. His interaction with Christians due to his door to door work made him important for this research purpose. He provided information on the Muslim perspectives about Muslim-Christian relationships.

1.9 Socio-Economic Survey

This methodology is very useful to know the latest information regarding the socio-economic and cultural values of the community. Within the first month of the research, I managed to build my rapport as a researcher and started gathering information from people in census forms. I took the support of my key informant Haroon Raja Riaz, for filling census forms, as the people were not ready to provide information about their life, income, family members' information (particularly of females) etc. easily. The data gathered by the form provided a classification of

the residents in various categories ranging from male-female, literate- illiterate, employed-unemployed, as well as religious and social sects. The census forms were composed of questions regarding population, education, family, and religion; relations with Muslim, types and procedures of interaction and daily contact between people. These forms were used to get quantitative data as per the requirement of the research.

1.10 Sampling

Sampling refers to selecting a smaller percentage of people from the research population which represent the whole population. It is not possible to study all population (present in the local), hence a portion of total population is selected in a manner that it can represent the society as whole. For sampling it is important that it includes all possible representatives of the society.

This research was carried out in two phases: Phase 1, which involved special focus on participant observations had a sample size of 30 respondents (out of total 70 respondents); while on the other hand Phase 2, which involved in depth interviews more focused had a sample size of 40 (out of total 70 respondents).

Different sampling techniques were used as per the requirements of the research phases. First, data was collected from 80 houses (out of total 196) and was divided into required fields for sampling process. The effort was to include every possible aspect in the sampling procedure regarding research topic.

For complete research, three types of sampling techniques were used (two in Phase 1 and one in Phase 2); purposive sampling, quota system and snow ball sampling. First two (purposive and quota system) were utilized in Phase 1 and the latter (snow ball) was mostly utilized in Phase 2. These three types of sampling methods were used in different situations. Purposive sampling was used mainly in selection of key respondents. Quota system was used for giving representation to all age and group people. Following table shows selection of 30 respondents in the beginning of the research. Snow ball sampling was mainly used in later (phase 2) of the research.

Table 1: Categories on the basis of Age and Education (sampling: phase 1)

Age	Education						Total
	Illiterate	5 th -8 th class	Matric	F.A/F.Sc	B.A/B.Sc	Above B.A/B.Sc	
10-15 years		2	2				4
15-30 years		1	1	2	1		5
30-45 years	2	1	1		1	2	7
45-60 years	3	1		2	2		8
Above 60 years	4			1		1	6
Total	9	5	4	5	4	3	30

The characteristics of the research sample for this research are:

- The total number of respondents required for this (whole) research was 70.
- The numbers of respondents for the Phase 1 of research were 30.
- Purposive sampling technique was used to find Key Informants through both the phases of the research.
- Using quota system technique 17 males and 13 females were allotted representation on quota basis for the first phase of research.
- These (30) respondents were further divided into age and education categories.
- The remaining 40 out of total 70 respondents were selected by snowball sampling procedure in Phase 2.

1.11 Interviews

An interview is a session between two people for a particular issue in which the interviewer asks questions to the interviewee and makes a note of the answers for further analysis. It helps in understanding someone's thoughts. Interview is a conversation with a purpose to get information.

Semi structured and unstructured interviews were used to gain information from the respondents in this research. Open ended and close ended questions, formal and informal interviews, as well as friendly discussions were utilized during this research. Most of the data was collected by the

means of open ended questions.

1.11.1 In-Depth Interviews

In- depth interview is a class of interview in which the questions are too deep for the issue and may be of personal type invading ones privacy, but are necessary to reach to the main focal point of a particular issue. This technique is the main source of data collection in qualitative research. To get requisite information about the economy, social life, interaction with Muslims and community's history this technique was main source of data collection in course of this research.

1.12 Case Study

Case study technique helped to record related events an important way of getting into depth of interviews of the living individuals. These case studies helped to address research objectives one by one. Main advantage of case study lies in the richness of its description as the subject is deeply studied from different. Prioritizing respondents on the details of information about a particular point lead to several interviews from a single respondent to prepare a case study. Respondents selected for cases studies were interviewed more than one time to know every possible angle of any particular case study.

1.13 Photography and Recordings

Photography and recording techniques are modern techniques in the research. Both techniques were used to collect valid data. Recording method proved an easy and undistracted way of gathering information from the respondents. Recording technique helped address the weaknesses of note taking. Recording also made it easier to ask questions and maintain a direct eye contact with the respondents to observe expressions of the respondents.

Photographic technique helped in obtaining the ethnographic detail of locale. Gathering interesting information about the locale in the form of visual images certainly helped in understanding the physical features of the locale.

1.14 Daily Diary and Field Notes

Writing diary is simple and effective in which one record the experiences and facts find in field, it is memorable and quite helpful when analyzing data after the field. It was used for the daily

record, time and important events relevant to the field. Researcher used diary to write down schedule of whole day in the field, and important incidents that happened during each day on the field. Field notes also helped in recording data where respondents were not comfortable with recording. Detailed notes of the field visits were prepared on daily basis throughout the research, which helped later during analysis of the data.

1.15 Problems Faced During Research

The current wave of terrorism throughout the country added to already challenging life of minorities who are considered socially and economically low in our society. The feeling of insecurity and the daily acts of terror multiplies the problems of minorities in the country. In the current situation of Baluchistan (Quetta), where daily killings of minority group (Shia) is thought to be normal, performing research was a challenging task. Rapport building, therefore, took most of the time because of uncertainties in the community. People did not show trust or interest in the research initially, because of their doubts due to challenging security conditions. Community did not accept researcher readily.

Several people asked, if it was a job for any NGO or any govt. survey which will give them economic benefits. Even some people were suspicious if researcher was working for a secret organization and collecting data for some secret cause. These uncertainties added to the problems. Another problem encountered during the whole research was the non-familiarity of respondents with the subject of anthropology. Even well educated people would not understand what the subject was all about. After explaining again and again they were not feeling confident enough to answer questions about their family members and their private life.

The community studied is an oppressed (socially and economically) religious minority. Surrounded by majority Muslims, (from all four geographical directions) the Christians of Bashir Abad carry a sense of attachment and oneness to each other. Normally they look at Muslim with suspicion. The researcher tried to hold the most unbiased and humanistic approach to study the community. Reputation as a Muslim came as a hurdle in certain places particularly the participation in religious activities and such situations countered by presenting myself as a neutral person without any biasness for any religion or ethnic group.

1.16 Significance of The Study

Minorities in our society are not given their equitable share. Studying minority in the context of their benefits to the main stream society helped in understanding the positive role of religious minorities in the overwhelmingly Muslim majority. Academically this research added to the already available data on the life of minority groups.

The Christians of Bashir Abad colony are socially ignored and live in undesirable conditions, but at the same time the strategies of survival of this small population have certainly visible impacts on the main stream majority. Studying these impacts in a manner to understand the social change and the role of a small religious minority in the change certainly provide a positive status and role to the minority.

This research may also be helpful in the policy making about the minorities and might help in understanding the minority's position in the Government policy making procedure. It can also play positive part in projects of community level on the minority basis. It certainly provided the insights into the lack of facilities for a socially isolated population, which can be utilized to carry out projects on the humanistic approach by NGOs, Government or any other private institutes.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

By reviewing related literature, this chapter enables to operationalize topic and objectives of the research. Starting with the social organization, this chapter will review relevant literature on stratification system in historical context, ethnic stratification, and societies called minority groups. Reviewing literature of renowned works on the subject, different concepts of assimilation, pluralism, prejudice and discriminations in majority-minority relations are also discussed.

2.1 Social Organization

Social organization is simply the way people organize themselves to achieve certain goals: and is characterized by the harmonious operation of the different elements of a social system and depends upon common definition of social goals and on accepted program for their achievements (Elliot and Merrill; 1961). Social psychologist, Argyle (1969) argues that human beings interact (socially) with one another to form groups. These social groups develop patterns of interaction of their own, and when these groups become larger and their activities become more complex, they become organization.

According to Taga (2006);

“An organization means technical arrangement of parts. Social organization means social relationship among groups. Individuals and groups interrelated together create social organization. It is the result of social interaction among people. It is the network of social relationship in which individuals and groups participate.”⁹

The whole society is a big organization in which individuals, groups and institutions participate. It is a vast network of social relationship like the parts of a watch organized together. The group fit them in interaction with other groups in shape to society by organization.

⁹ Taga, A. H. (2006). *sociology and social problems*. Lahore: Nadeem younas printers.

Taga (2006) further states;

“Social organization is the product of social interaction. Interaction among individuals, among groups, among institutions, among classes, among institutions, among members of a family creates a social organization. Organization means interrelationship among members or parts which is an interaction. The members of a family become an organized group by interaction among them.”¹⁰

As the social organization is a dynamic aspect of social system, it is very helpful in understanding and measuring the process of social change which is preferred field for most of the anthropological studies. The ordering of social relations assume different levels on the basis of blood, marriage, friendship, etc. at the minimal level it may form elementary structures such as the family and at the maximal level may be a lineage clan or ethnic group.

In the course of this research, the dynamic aspect of the social organization is focused at micro as well as at macro level. At micro level the research focuses on the family as a unit of the social organization while at the macro level the focus is on institutions rather on the family as the basic units of social organization.

So overall the role of family as a social organization is studied at micro level. The study of social organization at micro level paves the way to understand the role of social organization at bigger canvas i-e at macro level. At macro level the role of different institutions of Christian minority like education, economy, politics etc. in close relations with the Muslim majority is considered. Macro level study of social organization of Christians also enables us to understand its role in the social change and how Christians, as an ethno-religious minority, are playing their role in the process of social change in the society.

2.2 Stratification System

The unequal distribution of society's resources creates a system of stratification. Stratification is an unavoidable social phenomenon which can be understood in the following words of Martin Marger (1997):

¹⁰ Taga, A. H. (2006). *sociology and social problems*. Lahore: Nadeem younas printers.

“Societies may comprise any number of strata, but in all cases, this system of inequality is structured this means that stratification is not random, with groups and individuals occupying different positions by chance; rather, social institutions such as government, the economy, education, and religion operate to assure the position of various groups in the hierarchy”.¹¹

In a society there always prevails an ideology that legitimizes the stratification system, which provides the justification of the resultant inequality. In modern societies we see stratification of different types including class stratification and ethnic stratification Religion, political affiliation, caste, and language are some of the dimensions of stratification in the modern society.

2.3 Dimensions of Stratification

2.3.1 Karl Marx Economic Stratification

According to Karl Marx, the economic dimension of exploiting the subordinate class has served as a dominant paradigm in the circle of social sciences. Karl Marx coined the idea of two encompassing classes: those who own and control the means of production and those who do not. The different economic interests of these two classes become the basis of political struggle and social change.

2.3.2 Weber’s Multidimensional Model of Stratification

Max Weber, an early economist, suggested a more elaborate, multidimensional model of stratification. In addition to a hierarchy based on economic factors, Weber denoted hierarchies based on status and political power, the latter referred to as party. The notion of class is similar to Marx’s. It is the status and power dimensions that differentiates Weber’s model from Marx’s. Marger (1997) defined the other dimensions of Weber’s model as;

“The status dimension, according to Weber, consists of groups that display a particular lifestyle and that are aware of differences between themselves and other status groups. Such status communities manifest themselves in common

¹¹Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

consumption patterns, club membership, residential areas, and school and ultimately, in intermarriage.”¹²

The multidimensional model of stratification was also offered by Gerhard Lenski (1966). Lenski¹³ recognized several class hierarchies, which he calls “class systems,” each based on some key social criterion--- wealth, occupation, education, political authority, and ethnicity and so on. These various hierarchies, or class systems, together make up what Lenski calls the “distributive system,” which can be interpreted essentially as the total socioeconomic structure of the society. So, it is the individuals who provide the basic structure to different class and systems that run in these classes.

2.4 Power and Stratification

Power is the basic concept in the stratification process. Differences in wealth, education, occupation, and prestige are mirrors of a society’s power arrangement, so, too, is a system of ranks among society’s ethnic group. Power is the underlying force behind all forms of stratification. As Parkin (1971) says; “Whether social classes are seen as outgrowth of a society’s production system (Marx), or as derivative of other criteria as well (Weber or Lanski), they are essentially founded on and maintained by differentials of power.”¹⁴

2.5 Stratification and Ideology

Marger (1997) defines the role of power and its utilization by majority or dominant as:

“For government and other supportive institutions of the dominant group to establish and sustain a ruling system that is popularly supported over many generations requires that power be legitimized in less repressive and less direct ways.”¹⁵

To legitimize the system of inequality the dominant class propounds and sustains an ideology which helps to maintain its grip on the system. Although coercion is always at the root of obedience to authority, and all dominant groups use force when the need arises, coercive

¹²Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

¹³Gerhard, E. L. (1966). *Power and Previlige: A Theory of Social Stratification*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

¹⁴Parkin, F. (1971). *Class Inequality and Political order*. New York: Praeger.

¹⁵Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th Ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

techniques are commonly used only in societies where the prevailing system is not accepted by a significant part of the populace.

For the system of inequality to attain stability and permanency it is necessary that people must come to see the inequalities in power and wealth as just and even socially beneficial. When this is accomplished then the system of social inequalities attain strong roots in the overall system. Ruling groups need no longer resort to force as the principal means of assuring their power and privilege.

2.6 Ethnic Stratification System

Ethnic stratification is like other forms of stratification, which involves the structural social inequality of the valued resource of society. In almost all multiethnic societies, the emergence of ethnic group is a hierarchal arrangement that established between the dominant group, (with the maximum power to shape the nature of ethnic relations) and the subordinate group (subordinate exerts less power, corresponding down to the lowest-ranking group, which may wield little or no power). Marger (1997) has defined system of ethnic group as;

“A system of ethnic stratification, then, is a rank order of groups, each made up of people with presumed common cultural or physical characteristics interacting in patterns of dominance and subordination”¹⁶

Sociologists usually point to ethnic stratification framework as majority-minority relations or dominant-subordinate, relations. Let us look closely at nature of both minority and majority groups.

2.7 Minority Groups

Rockett (1981) defines minority group as:

“A group of people—differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion, or language—who both think of themselves as a

¹⁶Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th Ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

differentiated group and are thought of by the others as a differentiated group with negative connotations.”¹⁷

The important elements in this definition are a set of attitudes—those of group identification from within the group and those of prejudice from without—and a set of behaviors—those of self-segregation from within the group and those of discrimination and exclusion.

With variations of degree and forms of characteristics of minorities in different societies, we can hardly draw a distinctive line between different characteristics of similar type minorities. Let's discuss some of the most prominent features of the minority group in more detail. Some of the commonly found characteristics to identify minority groups are as follow;

2.7.1 Unequal Treatment

In the classic definition, Louis Wirth (1945) defined a minority group as;

“a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination”¹⁸

The sense of belief as a group exposed to discrimination in minority is also prevailing. As a community the feeling of discrimination or unequal treatment is part of the definition of the minority. Accepting the concept of unequal treatment or discrimination it is clear that members of minority group are subject to poor job, lower status, earn less income, live in less desirable areas, receive inferior education, exercise of political power of such a group will be limited and are subject to various social indignities. Wirth, pointed out, minority group members are conscious of the fact that they are differentially treated. So the sense of discrimination on their behalf is visible to minority members.

2.7.2 Different Cultural or Physical Characteristics

Minority groups are those groups which receives unequal/fewer of the society's rewards, due to their different cultural or physical characteristics. First it must be understood that physical and

¹⁷Rockett, R. L. (1981). *Ethnic Nationalities in the Soviet Union*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

¹⁸ Wirth, Louis. 1945. *The Problem of Minority Groups*. In: Linton, Ralph (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, New York.

cultural traits on which minority status is based are socially defined. Thus any characteristic may serve as the basis of minority status as long as it is perceived as significant.

2.7.3 Differential Power

The discriminatory treatment of minority group occurs due to their lack of power to negate or counter that treatment. As Yetman (1991) notes majority-minority relations do not appear until one group is able to impose its will on another. Minority status, then, is above all a reflection of differential power. James Geschwender's (1978) definition of minority group includes this important power factor. He defines a minority as;

“any group that is socially defined as different from the dominant group in society, is at a power disadvantage, receives less than its proportionate share of scarce resources due to its power disadvantage, and finds its differential treatment justified in terms of socially defined differences”¹⁹

2.7.4 Non voluntary membership

Minority membership is not accepted voluntary but it is transfer by birth and hence it cannot be transferred voluntary. This status applies to a group, not an individual, status. All the members of the minority gain their membership due to ties with the group. All those who are member of minority group are exposed to differential treatment and subject to discrimination. Thus people cannot voluntarily remove them from their minority position.

2.7.5 Sociological and Numerical meaning

Sociological meaning of minority group differs from that of mathematical (numerical). A group cannot be considered as minority due to population size, but rather, for a minority group the lack of power to counter discrimination characteristic gives identification as a minority group. Numbers have no necessary relation to a group's minority status. For example, nonwhites in South Africa make up over 85% of the population, yet traditionally have constituted a sociological minority. Until recent they were treated grossly inferior opportunities in all areas of social life (under 'Apartheid' laws) comparison with South African whites, who make up less than 15% of the population.

¹⁹Geschwender, J. A. (1978). *Racial Stratification in America*. New York: W. C. Brown Co.

Along with these basic characteristics described above minority groups may or may not have other characteristics that differentiate them from majority. Such characteristics might add to the Group solidarity strong, which underlines certain rules such as Tend to marry within group, can also be considered as the differentiating characteristic of minority.

2.8 Changing Social Definitions

A minority need not be a traditional group with long-standing group identification. It can arise as a result of changing social definitions in a process of economic or political differentiation. The increasing saliency of a certain occupation, for example, can set apart the people who practice that occupation, if occupations are more or less hereditary in the society, and cause them to be considered a minority group. Language or religious variations in a society can be considered unimportant for thousands of years, but a series of political events can so sharpen the religious or linguistic distinctions that the followers of one variation who happen to be without much power in the society are thereafter considered a minority.

2.9 Subordination And Minority Responses

Different minorities give different reaction to their subordination status. Some may be willing to accept their place and wait for a more just world, while others may react relentlessly to reverse their position. Wirth (1945) have suggested four different types of responses of minorities to the subordination process. His four types are as follow:

2.9.1 Pluralistic Minorities

They seek to maintain their cultural ways at the same time as they participate in the society's major political and economic institutions. These groups see contact with the larger society as a kind of contamination and a threat to their cultural integrity. Thus they may not use the public school or participation in mainstream political processes. Even economic matters may be largely self-contained within these groups (Bennett, 1967; Hostetler, 1993; Poll, 1969; Rubin, 1972).

2.9.2 Assimilationist Minorities

Such type of minorities in contrast to pluralistic minorities, seek integration into the dominant society. Assimilationist minorities, aim for the eventual absorption of the group into the larger society.

2.9.3 Secessionist Minorities

Wirth (1945) has defined such minorities as aiming for complete political autonomy from the dominant society and pointed out that such minorities' desire neither assimilation nor cultural autonomy but an independent autonomy. In addition to seeking separation from the larger society, Wirth (1945) pointed out, a secessionist minority may desire integration with another group or society to which it feels a closer cultural and political similarity.

2.9.4 Militant Minorities

Such minorities seek their ultimate goal the dominance over other groups, in the society. In a sense, their objective is to establish themselves as the society's dominant group. Marger (1997) attaches the character of abolishing the status of minority with such a group as states. If militant minorities are successful in their efforts, of course they are no longer minorities. The above mentioned four types of responses by Wirth are general stages in the life cycle of a minority group. Marger (1997) has concluded four stages of Wirth in the following words:

“At first, a group will seek toleration for its cultural differences and, if successful, may then, over several generations, seek incorporation into the dominant group. Blockage of such assimilation, however, will produce secessionist tendencies; which in turn may lead to the objective of domination, abetted by militant tactics”.²⁰

It is worth of noticing that these responses of minority groups are not totally or in some cases voluntary. Rather they very much depend on the power of the dominant group to accept or reject minority group aims. It is not that desire of minority group but what the dominant group desire for it. For example a minority group may seek assimilation but be repelled by the dominant group's aim to keep it isolated.

2.10 Types of Minorities

The term minority can be applied to variety of social groups. As we have discussed physical and cultural traits as the basic differentiating point of minority, there can be several physical or

²⁰ Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th Ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

behavioral characteristics which set off groups of people from the society's main stream, resulting in differential treatment.

For the course of this research, our chief concerns are with two major types of minority groups, i.e. Ethnic (on cultural basis) and Religious minorities.

2.10.1 Ethnic (Cultural) or Racial Minorities

Those groups singled out and treated unequally on the basis of their cultural or physical differences from the dominant group are collectively included in the circle of ethnic or racial minorities. So the shift is on the most conspicuous groups with marked differences in skin color or structure, any different appearance from the dominant group, or those that maintain unusually divergent cultural beliefs and behaviors, or even different lingual groups.

The treatment of ethnic minorities varies from group to group and from time to time. Some groups may be consistently singled out and deprived of social rewards, and others may experience only minimal discriminatory treatment (Rex and Mason, 1986). There are also ethnic minorities whose identification is not so clear because they do not experience such flagrant, institutionalized forms of discrimination and because many individuals in these groups have gained access to important occupational and political positions.

Glass (1964) refers to such a groups as; "hidden minorities", who "do not wear a striking label of inferiority". Without any visible sign of being minority, there are certain points (when observed closely) that show the mark of minority in individual. As Glass (1964) further explains that;

"If one looks closely, one can see that there is still a blank patch on the collar where such a label can be pinned on; and at any time of general social stress, it may indeed be stuck on again"²¹

2.10.2 Religious Minorities

Religious minorities can be put under the wider umbrella of ethnic minorities, as ethnic minorities include those groups who possess the subordination status on their cultural basis (religious affiliation, nationality and language). For example, Gurr (1993) argues that in essence, communal [ethnic] groups are psychological communities: groups whose core members share a

²¹ Glass, R. (1964). *London: aspects of change*. London: Mac Gibbon & Kee.

distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits and life ways that matter to them and to others with whom they interact.

Religion is part of cultural entities so, religious minorities can be studied in wider sense as cultural minorities, but for the course of our interest of understanding Christian minority in Pakistan, it is important that we deal religion as separate variable of assigning minority status.

Groups, who have a religion other than the dominant faith, are called religious minorities. A minority religion is a religion held by a minority of the population of a country, state, or region. Minority religions may be subject to stigma or discrimination. An example of a stigma is using the term cult with its extremely negative associations for certain new religious movements. People who belong to a minority religion may be subject to discrimination and prejudice, especially when the religious differences correlate with ethnic differences.

2.11 Assimilation

Sociologist J. Milton Yinger (1981) defines assimilation as, “a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies or of smaller cultural groups meet”. Similarly, Harold Abramson (1980) defines it as “the processes that lead to greater homogeneity in society.”²²

If we take a society at the ideal assimilation point then there should be no longer distinct ethnic groups, but a homogenous society in which ethnicity is not a basis of social differentiation and it (ethnicity) plays no role in the distribution of wealth, power, prestige. For Marger (1997)

“This does not mean that other forms of social stratification such as age, gender and class do not exist; it means only that the ethnic forms are no longer operative. In essence a society in which all groups have perfectly assimilated is no longer a multiethnic society.”²³

²² Both of these definitions stress process. Rather than a fixed condition or state of relations, as simulation is best seen as a path, or trajectory, on which ethnic groups may move.

²³ Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th Ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

This complete form of assimilation, however, is rarely achieved either for the society, as a whole or for specific groups and individuals. Instead, assimilation takes different forms and is evident in different degrees.

2.11.1 Cultural Assimilation

The cultural dimension of assimilation involves the adaptation by one ethnic group of another's cultural traits--language, religion, diet, and so on. Some have referred to this process as acculturation (Gordon, 1964; Yinger, 1981). The assimilation process is from both the direction, with variation of degree.

2.11.2 Structural Assimilation

Structural assimilation refers to an increasing degree of social interaction among different ethnic groups. Specifically, with structural assimilation, members of minority ethnic groups are dispersed throughout the society's various institutions and increasingly enter into social contacts with members of the dominant group.

Structural assimilation may occur at two distinct levels of social interaction: the primary (or informal) and the secondary (or formal). The primary sector includes interpersonal relationships that are intimate and personal, such as families and groups of friends, neighborhood etc. The secondary sector consists of groups and organizations that are more public, task oriented, and impersonal. Organizations in the secondary sector are often large and include businesses, factories, schools and colleges, and bureaucracies. At the secondary level, structural assimilation entails equality of access to power and privilege within the society's major institutions—the economy, the polity, education, and so on. We might say that assimilation at this stage involves in its ultimate stage, the elimination of minority status.

2.11.3 Biological Assimilation

Biological assimilation is also referred as amalgamation. At this point, intermarriage occurs to such an extent that there is a biological merging of formerly distinct groups. A complete biological assimilation requires length of time for several generations.

2.11.4 Psychological Assimilation

This type of assimilation is focused on the role of individual rather than on group as a whole. Psychological assimilation members of ethnic minority group (individuals) undergo a change in the self-identity. Individuals feel themselves as part of the dominant society rather than an ethnic group, hence they are psychologically assimilated. As Wilkie, (1977) states that; “this level of assimilation consists not simply of becoming culturally like members of the mainstream society but also the place where personal ambitions are formed, achieved, and enjoyed”.²⁴ For Wilkie (1977) it also means accepting that society as the home base, the prime focus of allegiance.

2.11.5 Two Theories of Assimilation

Theories of assimilation have dealt with the immigrants mostly (in the United States); as a result their findings and the hypothesis are limited in scope. Two theories of assimilation can be seen as wider application and have been especially influential.

- **Park’s Race Relations Cycle**

Robert Ezra Park was one of the first who presented a cycle of race or ethnic relations through which groups would pass in a sequence of stages, leading ultimately to full assimilation. In an essay originally published in 1926 Park states:

“The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contacts, competitions, accommodation and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible.”²⁵

Park’s cycle of relation starts with a contact which results in competition, often characterized by conflicts. Some form of accommodation eventually emerges from the competition leading finally to assimilation of the groups. Park’s cycle also contains the sequence of progressive and irreversible. Basically Park’s theory is a functionalist approach to the ethnic relations. The hypothesis is that modernization and industrialization will gradually weaken the importance of ethnic, racial, and other inscriptive criteria, and lead to a stratification system with an emphasis on achieved characteristics. The logic of this hypothesis clearly rests on the assumption that

²⁴Wilkie, M. (1977). Colonials, Marginalians Immigrants: Contributions to a Theory of Ethnic Stratification. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19 (1), 67-95

²⁵ Park, A. (1950). *Race and Culture*. Glencoe: Free Press.

industrial society has certain functional needs that can only be satisfied by rational decision making.²⁶

Park's model has been subject to criticism from several people; some has noted the cycle's lack of applicability to many groups (Lyman, 1968a), others (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965) pointed to the lack of completeness of such cycle; that is there are too many truncated instances.

▪ **Gordon's Stages of Assimilation**

Milton Gordon presents a more recent formulation of the assimilation, identifying seven stages a minority group will experience along the path to total assimilation. Gordon (1964) posits that acculturation is likely to occur first and may or may not be followed by the successive stages that are indicated below:

1. Cultural assimilation or acculturation—change of cultural patterns to those of the host society;
2. Structural assimilation—large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society, on primary group level;
3. Marital assimilation or amalgamation—large-scale intermarriage;
4. Identificational assimilation—development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society;
5. Attitude receptional assimilation—absence of prejudice;
6. Behavior receptional assimilation—absence of discrimination;
7. Civic assimilation—absence of value and power conflict.²⁷

The first two, cultural and structural assimilation, are the most important. Acculturation, though a prerequisite, does not assure movement to the next phase. Gordon explains that groups may become very much like the dominant group in behavior and values but still remain structurally segregated. The stage of structural assimilation is the most critical one seen by Gordon, for it is the key to all subsequent stages. Gordon states that

²⁶ For the classic exposition, see Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison, and Myers, 1964

²⁷ Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

“Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow”.²⁸

The structural assimilation refers to the primary or informal assimilation, which we have already discussed. Minorities may take all or most of the traits of dominant groups cultural but still be refused entry into primary relations with its members.²⁹

Shortcoming of Gordon’s model is its understanding of structural assimilation, stage two, as entailing interaction with the dominant group only at the primary level. Intergroup relations, as discussed earlier occur at secondary level as well at primary level in any significant degree. Marger (1979) studies African American groups, these groups have realized substantial integration in work and government, which is secondary structural assimilation, while they have not accomplished an equivalent level of interaction with whites at the primary level.

Overall Gordon’s model with modification is valuable to the analysis of interethnic relations primarily because it spells out the particulars of the assimilation process and the various forms and degrees it manifests. Assimilation as Gordon, demonstrates, is clearly not a simple, straightforward movement, as earlier theories had seemed to imply.

2.12 Subordinate Theories

The subordination or conflict theorists hypothesize that the subordination of one ethnic or racial group will persist, being largely unaffected by such factors as modernization and industrialization. It is evident enough even in the most advanced societies where inter societal subordination or conflict occur between different ethnic and racial groups. Three major perspectives to subordination are: classical colonialism thesis, internal colonialism, and Schermerhorn’s dialectical approach.

²⁸ Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

²⁹ For details see Marger (1987), on Coloreds in South Africa, who culturally are indistinguishable from the dominant white group but remain segregated in most institutional spheres.

2.12.1 Classic Colonialism

With the end of colonization era the classical form is scarcely in existence today, however the theory of colonialism is important because it has served as a basis of contemporary internal colonial perspective. Robert Blauner (1972) has defined colonialism as

“The establishment of domination over a geographically external political unit, most often inhabited by people of a different race and culture, where this domination is political and economic and the colony exists subordinated to and dependent upon the mother country.”³⁰

Robert Blauner (1972) further identifies five basic components of colonization process, which are summed up in the following points:

- “forced entry into territory and its population
- alteration or destruction of indigenous culture and patterns of social organization
- domination of indigenous population by representatives of invading society
- justification of such activities with highly prejudicial, racist beliefs and stereotypes
- separation between the labor status exist between the colonized and colonizers”³¹

2.12.2 Internal Colonialism

The basic concept of internal colonialism is similar to that of classical colonialism, in which one group of people subordinates the others. Internal colonialism heavily relies on the experiences of subordinate, nonwhite people in the United States, Mexico, and French Algeria. Blauner and Liu (1976) emphasize that the features listed above (in classical colonialism) are characteristics of both classical and internal colonialism; the major difference is that the former is a geographically separate from the mother country, while the latter rests within the territorial boundaries of mother country.

The major shortcoming of the internal colonialists has to be their failure of recognizing acculturative patterns of behavior that the ethnics may adopt in hopes of enhancing their socioeconomic position.

³⁰Blauner, R. (1972). *Racial Oppression in America*. California: Harper & Row.

³¹ Ibid

2.12.3 Schermerhorn's Dialectical Approach

R.A. Schermerhorn proposes a synthesis of the power-conflict model and the systematic approach. By doing so, he is able to analyze interethnic conflict within a societal context that leads him to such dialectical (as defined by Schneider 1969) or paradoxical notions as the fact that conflict may promote societal integration. In integration (according to Schermerhorn) both the groups come to some agreement as to what their relationship should be. He further elaborates these relations as, that dominant group will exhibit "centripetal tendencies" which call for the assimilation and incorporation of subordinates, or the "centrifugal tendencies" which demand the exclusion or at least segregation of the subordinates. The tendencies either centripetal or centrifugal will exhibit from the minority side. The collaboration of same tendencies by both the groups will lead to the integration.

In sum the subordination theories focus on the exploitation and subordination of racial and ethnic minorities. Internal colonialism suggests that there may well exist, a colonial sort of relationship between the subordinate and the dominant groups of the society within the territorial boundaries of the same country.

2.13 Cultural Pluralism

A third and final broad theoretical framework is that of cultural pluralism³². We can say that it is the possible midpoint between the two extremes of assimilation and colonialism, as it shares common features with both extremes but is still distinctive in its tolerance for cultural diversity. Abramson (1980) defines pluralism as conditions that produce sustained ethnic differentiation and continued heterogeneity. In short it is the process which encourages the diversity and the maintenance of group boundaries. It is a condition that many scholars regard as being "unstable". It is one of the three theories of assimilation in the United States, along with Anglo-conformity and the melting pot³³. Gordon (1964) posits cultural pluralism is;

³² Pluralism as applied to political systems refers to the relative dispersion of power among various interest groups in a society. This is different from its usage in describing ethnic relations. See Marger (1987)

³³ Melting pot, is a process in which different groups come together and contribute in roughly equal amounts to create a common culture and a new, unique society. Contrary to the melting-pot, assimilation in the United States generally has been a coercive and largely one-sided process better described by the terms Americanization or Anglo-conformity. [For details see Joseph F. Healey (2012). *Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class: The Sociology of Group Conflict and Change*, 6th Edition]

“A point of view which offers legitimization of the preservation of sub-national communal life and some cultural differences for the nation’s (the United States) various ethnic groups, and justifies the result as providing a more democratic, more interesting, and more dynamically fruitful culture for all Americans than one in which uniformity was the norm.”³⁴

For Gordon the scenario is the European immigrants to the United States, and the theory simply proposes that while those people who have entered into the mainstream U.S. educational, legal, and economic institution, they still have managed to preserve their cultural identity in the form of religious traditions, family patterns, and customs.

Marger (1997) has two forms of ethnic pluralism in multiethnic societies;

- **Equalitarian pluralism:** those groups that maintain cultural and structural autonomy but remain relatively equal in political and economic power; moreover, their separation is mainly voluntary.
- **In-equalitarian Pluralism:** such groups maintain structural segregation and perhaps cultural distinctness as well but are unequal in political and economic power; further group separation in these cases is ordinarily involuntary.

To summarize, theories of ethnic relations, it is difficult to formulate a single universal paradigm of such relations. Park’s bold formulation of a natural history of ethnic relations was probably the closest approximation to a paradigm of sociological research on race and ethnic relations. Even his theory fits poor to the empirical evidences in most cases and a number of conceptual problems regarding the identification of stages and the transitions between stages led to impasse in further research (Lyman, 1968).³⁵ Other scholars, [most notably Barth and Noel (1972), Lieberman (1961), Noel (1968), Schermerhorn (1970), Shibutani and Kwan (1965), and van den Berghe (1967)] have put forth theories, most generally in the form of typologies, to order the field of race and ethnic relations. But it seems fairly clear that none of these theoretical perspectives have become dominant paradigms for research. Scope of these theories is limited to

³⁴Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

³⁵For an alternative assessment, see Geschwender, 1978: Chapter 2).

certain societies³⁶. In general, the basic relationships in these different theories are expressed in fairly abstract terms and are then illustrated with examples from a few societies. What is to be explained—interethnic stratification, political or economic dominance, assimilation or lack of it—varies considerably between and within theoretical perspectives, and it is often assumed that these quite different dimensions all co-vary together.

2.14 Prejudice

It is a generalized belief, usually unfavorable and rigid, applied to all members of a particular group. Mason (1978) has defined prejudice as a judgment based on a fixed mental image of some group or class of people. He further relates that this concept is not related particular individual but it is applied to all individuals of that class without being tested against reality. It is often defined as a prejudgment or pre-concept but Klineberg (1968) has pointed out more emotion, feeling, and bias than it is judgment. According to Barlo, (2012); “Prejudice is multidimensional, and the negative attitudes people maintain towards ethnic groups vary not only in intensity but also in consistency”.³⁷

Marger (1997) has explained following specific features of ethnic prejudice:

- Categorical or generalized—individuals are judged on the basis of their group membership, not their personal attributes.
- Inflexible—individuals develop emotional attachments to certain beliefs and will not discard them in the light of contrary evidence.
- Negative attitudes—the specific traits ascribed to targeted groups are inferior and socially undesirable.
- Stereotypes—prejudice is based on enormous or inadequate group images.

Prejudice is not only negative perceptions about specific groups, but it leads to the phenomenon of social distance, which Park (1924) defined as a degree of intimacy that people are prepared to

³⁶ The assimilation theories came in the context of large scale ethnic immigration to the United States

³⁷ Barlo, F (2012). Negative Contact Predicts Increased Prejudice More Than Positive Contact Predicts Reduced Prejudice. *The Contact Caveat*, 38(12),

establish in their relations with others. It is in a sense an indication of how accepted or objectionable are various ethnic groups.

2.15 Discrimination

Feagin and Feagin (2003) define discrimination as,

“Actions or practices carried out by members of dominant groups, or their representatives, which have a differential and negative impact on members of subordinate groups”,³⁸

Ordinarily the prejudicial behavior leads to discrimination, as Simpson and Yinger (1972) note, prejudice and discrimination are most frequently mutually reinforcing. Discrimination like prejudice is applied on the basis of group membership, rather than to individual attributes. As Antonovsky (1960) explains it is a situation in which;

“Individuals are denied desired and expected rewards or opportunities for reasons related not to their capacities, merits, or behavior, but solely because of membership in an identifiable out-group”³⁹.

Discrimination can be used in most simple way, in disparaging of certain terms and phrases like Nigger, Indian giver, Jews down etc.⁴⁰. Discrimination can be more serious which involves denial of access to various life chances such as job, housing, health, education, justice and political participation. It can also be as fatal that it involves the act of aggression against minority ethnic group, ranging from isolated incidents of violence to the deliberate destruction of an entire group. Examples can be attacks on ethnic minorities in different areas of the world. To simplify matter we can divide discrimination into two general types, individual and institutional.

2.15.1 Individual Discrimination

It is the most easily understood form of discrimination as actions taken by individuals or group of limited size to injure or deny something of members of minority groups. In such a case the

³⁸ Feagin, J. R., & Feagin, C. B. (2003). *Racial and ethnic relations*. California: Prentice Hall

³⁹ Cited from; Marger, M. N. (1997). *Race and ethnic relations: American and global perspectives* (4th ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

⁴⁰ Slogans and attributes attached to different ethnic groups living in American society.

actions taken against minority are intentional and it appears to be the implementation of prejudicial attitude. But prejudice does not need to be the root cause of discrimination behavior on an individual. It is the actor's beliefs and attitudes that are reliable with their actual behavior do not negate the damaging effect on those who are the victims of the discriminatory actions.

2.15.2 Institutional Discrimination

In the case of institutional discrimination can be legal or customary, it is not socially unexpected or disapproved but is legitimized. On the individual basis it may be violation of societal norms but on institutional basis it (discrimination) is practiced as the societal norms.

- **Direct institutional discrimination**

It is not limited to specific cases of negative actions taken against members of particular groups but is firmly incorporated in the society's normative system. Mostly such institutional discrimination is guided by laws, but much was also based on the development of customary practices. An example from Pakistani society can be the laws of blasphemy and Muslim head of the state.⁴¹ It is not merely laws that produces such discrimination but the societal norms (in this case the religious base) that guides such discrimination.

- **Indirect Institutional Discrimination**

It is mostly difficult to detect in modern multiethnic societies. Unlike other forms of discrimination is it is unintended. It exists as a product of the normal functioning of the society's institutions. Such discrimination is difficult to perceive easily because it does not use ethnicity as the subordinating mechanism.

⁴¹ For details see, Amjad Nazeer (2011). "*Rights Of The Christian Minority And Blasphemy Laws In Pakistan*".

Chapter 3: Area Profile

This chapter will deal with the area profile of the community of ‘Nawan Killi’. This will help in understanding the living pattern of the people and understanding the ecological pattern. This chapter will give a glimpse of the ecological features at district (macro) level and at the end we will discuss on demographic details, environmental conditions, dress codes, physical features and life facilities of the locale in details.

3.1 Macro Area Profile

3.1.1 Overview of Locale

Present research was conducted in Nawan Killi, *Tehsil* and District Quetta. The word ‘Nawan Killi’ is derived from two words of Pashtu language, *Navai* (means new) and *Kalai* (means village). This village became popular in 1980s when huge number of Afghan refugees migrated; and was named *Navai Kalai* with reference to the newly migrated refugees.

Bashir Abad Colony (part of union council Nawan Killi) was named after Bashir Masih. He was representative of minorities in Provisional Assembly (Member of Provisional Assembly) of Baluchistan, in the era of President Zia-ul-Haq (sixth President of Pakistan from 1977 to 1988). Bashir Masih worked hard to get a piece of land from Government for Christians, who were expelled from cantonment in those days.

3.1.2 Baluchistan Province

Baluchistan is situated in the southwest of Pakistan. It is Pakistan's largest province by area constituting, 43.6% of Pakistan's total land mass. It covers an area of 347,190 square kilometers (134,050 sq. mi). The province is bordered by Afghanistan to the north and north-west, Iran to the south-west, Punjab and Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas to the north-east. To the south lies the Arabian Sea (Balochistan.gov.pk, n.d.)⁴².

Baluchistan lies at the mouth of the Strait of Hormuz and provides the shortest route from seaports to Central Asia. Its geographical location has placed the otherwise desolate region in the scopes of competing global interests like Afghanistan for all of recorded history. Baluchistan is

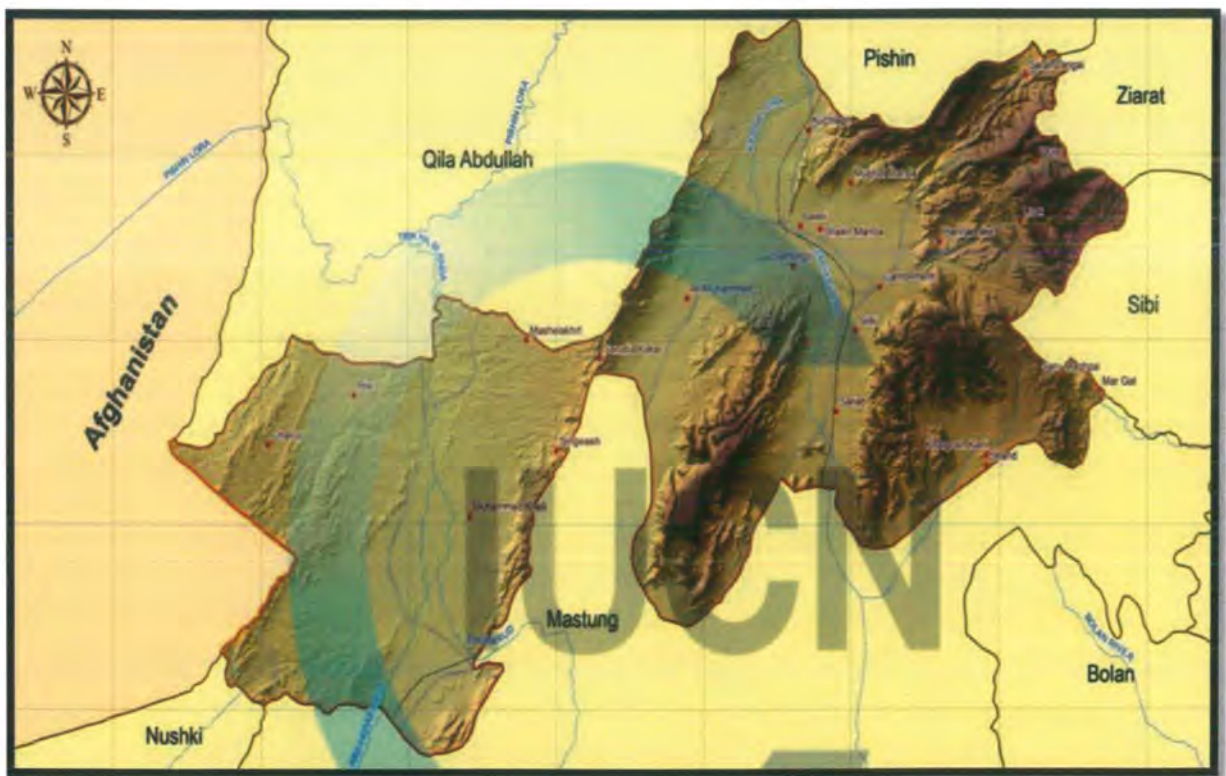
⁴²Balochistan.gov.pk, (n.d.). About Balochistan. Retrieved Oct 28, 2012, from <http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/top-menu-explore-balochistan/top-menu-about-balochistan.html>

rich in exhaustible resources; it is the second major supplier of natural gas in Pakistan. The province's renewable and human resource potential has not been systematically measured nor exploited due to pressures from within and without Pakistan. Local inhabitants have chosen to live in towns and have relied on sustainable water sources for thousands of years.

3.1.3 Quetta -Capital of Baluchistan

The capital city *Quetta* is located in a densely populated portion of the Suleiman Mountains in the north-east of the province. It is situated in a river valley near the Bolan Pass which has been used as the route of choice from the coast to Central Asia, entering through Afghanistan's Kandahar region. The British and other historic empires have crossed the region to invade Afghanistan by this route.⁴³

Map of Quetta District



Source: Google Maps⁴⁴

⁴³Bolan Pass – Encyclopedia Britannica Eleventh Edition

⁴⁴ <http://maps.google.com/>

3.1.4 Brief History of Quetta Tehsil and District

Nawan Killi administratively comes under Tehsil and district Quetta. Quetta (Pashto: کوټه Urdu: كوئټه) is the largest city and the provincial capital of the Baluchistan. The name Quetta originates from the Pashtu word "کوټه" (spelled as Kuwatah) which means a fort. In the beginning, the town was situated within the walls of fort "A Miri" which is now used as an arsenal. The district is bounded on the north by district Pishin; on the east by Ziarat; on the south by Mastung and on the west by district Killa Abdullah.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of Quetta district is identical with the history of Kandahar. In the eleventh century it was part of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire. After that it remained under the Kingdom of the Amir Sabuktagain and Mahmood Ghaznavi till the thirteenth century. In the 14th century Taimor dynasty ruled this region and from 1530 to 1545 Mughals took control of Kandahar (Quetta was part of Kandahar at that time) in the leadership of Mirza Kamran. Safavid dynasty ruled here till 1709 and later Ghilzai came into power and ruled the area. Later on history relates that Ahmed Shah Durrani finally conferred Quetta to the Khan of Kalat as a shawl (present).

The British Government occupied Quetta for the second time (first in 1839) during the Afghan war in 1876. They extended the roads and railway network to Afghanistan and Iran. This situation remained unchanged till the partition of the Sub-continent in 1947. After abolishing the unitary system (1955 to 1970)⁴⁵ Quetta was declared as Capital of Baluchistan. Till 1975, Quetta and Pishin were under a single administrative unit, after which Pishin was declared as a separate one.

Very little is known about the human settlement in the district. The Pashtuns appear to have entered the district from the north east, emigrating from their home round the Takht-i-Sulaman. *Kasis*⁴⁶ are said to have migrated about eight centuries ago. With the passage of time, Quetta began to expand and soon it turned into a beautiful small town. The British paid special attention to its cleanliness. However, 31 May, 1935 was a black day in the history of Quetta. An

⁴⁵ Under the one-unit system Quetta and Kalat were the administrative units in West Pakistan.

⁴⁶ A branch of Afghan Pashtun ethnic group, who claims to be the first settlers in Quetta district and the claims are supported by certain historical writers as well.

earthquake destroyed Quetta city completely. The Cantonment area survived to a great extent. The reconstruction started soon after.

Till 1947 Quetta was a small town. People used to call it small London. But rapid population growth in terms of rural - urban migration, and influx refugees from India and Afghanistan (during the late 1980s) increased the population at Quetta. New settlements in the form of housing schemes like, Satellite Town, Jinnah Town, Samungli Town, Shahbaz Town etc. started. Kachi Abadies, slums also begun to develop. Today Quetta has turned into an over-populated city.

3.1.5 Archaeological Sites

There are some mounds and *karezes* of ancient time in the district. The most important archaeological site is a Quetta *Miri* (a mass of indurated clay). The *Miri* is now used as an Arsenal. Among other noticeable mounds are one between Katir and Kuchlak, known as the Kasiano Dozakh, Tor Ghund near Baleli and Tor Wasi between Panjpai and Muhammad *Kheil*. Besides, some *karezes* of archaeological interest are found at Kirani, Sariab and Kachi Baig.

3.1.6 Flora and Fauna of the District

The major tree species found in the district are Obusht, Wild Ash and Shina. The main shrubs and bushes are Janglee Badaam, Sparac, Tharkha, Oman, Makhi, Khakshir, Zralg, and Surae (*Rosa* spp.) In the plains, the wasteland contains mostly Tharkha, Gaz with random mixture of ripe seasonal forage plants; thus supporting thousands of animals, both local and nomadic ones. Other flora includes white and black Shahtoot, Almond, Apple, Apricot, Grapes, Peach, Plum, Pear, Pomegranate, Pistachio, Wheat, Barley, Cumin, Fodder, Onion, Potato, Water Melon, Sarda Garma, and Cucumber.

Among mammals the common species are Suleman Markhor, Chiltan Markhor, Hill fox, Asiatic Jackal, Cape hare, Porcupine, Afghan Hedgehog, etc. Among birds the common species are Chukar, See partridge, a number of sparrows, Finches, buntings, seasonal/migratory waterfowls, hawks, bustards and sand grouse etc. Among reptiles the common species are Afghan Tortoise, Saw-scale viper, Levantine viper, etc.

3.1.7 Climate

The climate of the district is generally dry. Fairly arid climate prevails in the Quetta valley. The district is situated at an altitude of 1,700 meter. Therefore, the weather is extremely dry. The winter is very cold and the minimum temperature ranges from -15 to -7 degree Celsius. Summer is relatively mild and the maximum temperature ranges from 32 to 35 degree Celsius; July is generally the hottest month.

The district lies outside the range of the monsoon currents and the rainfall is scanty and irregular. The average annual rainfall for Quetta city is 226 mm, whereas in the Hanna area, the average is about 312 mm. In the spring and summer seasons there is very little rainfall. The heaviest rainfall and snowfall occurs in January and February.

3.1.8 Soil, Minerals Vegetation and Environment

▪ Soil

Physiographical the soils of Quetta district may be described by four main units.

1. Piedmont plains (very deep and well-drained soil).
2. Piedmont basins.
3. Gravelly piedmont fans and aprons bordering the mountains and loess plains.
4. Salinity and Alkalinity.

Each physiographic unit is different in parent material. As for soil erosion, both stream erosion of soil and wind erosion are occurring in the district. The stream erosion takes place in the piedmont plain along the banks and beds of streams. The wind erosion occurs in the valley floor where the material of soil is mostly clay and silt.

▪ Minerals

Three mineral resources, coal, limestone and building stone are found in the district. The coal mining activity has been in operation at so range for the past hundred years. Only male labor is involved in its production and marketing. It is marketed through middle men (commission agents) who transport it to the Sindh and Punjab where it is mostly used in Brick kilns. Private sector is actively involved in the mining sector.

▪ Vegetation

Quetta district is sparsely covered with vegetation. A variety of species is found on the hills and areas surrounding the hills. The vegetation cover is quite high in the protected areas as compared

to unprotected areas. This is simply because of absence of disturbance of humans and animals.

▪ **Environment**

Air pollution, especially in Quetta City, is the number one problem. The atmosphere in the city is so polluted that thick layers of the lethal gases like carbon - dioxide, lead particles, and unburned hydro- carbons always exist in the environment. Increasing number of vehicles and defective automobiles are the main source of lethal emissions. Water scarcity is another major problem in the district. Population growth and deficiencies in the management of water can be held responsible for shortage of water. According to World Health Organization estimation Quetta will run out of water within eight years if further supplies are not found.⁴⁷ Similarly the sewerage and drainage system are inadequate. Puddles of sewerage water can easily be seen everywhere.

3.1.10 Location and Surroundings of the Colony

⁴⁸Geographical positioning of locale is at 30.24362 Latitude and 67.00879 Longitude on the goggle map (Universimedia, 2012).⁴⁹Nawan Killi is a semi urban area and it is just 6.2 km away (to the North West) from the main city of Quetta. It is adjacent to Quetta cantonment and at a distance of 10 km (to the North East East) from Quetta International Airport.

Bashir Abad colony is surrounded by the Muslim population from all four sides. To the south is Khilji Abad; north side is Akhiri Stop (last bus stop); to east the main road from Nawan Killi to Quetta city and to the west is Mughal Abad. The colony has closed premises and is a small area covered by wall from all four sides.

3.2 Micro Area Profile

3.2.1 Brief History of Bashir Abad Colony (Locale)

Quetta cantonment came into existence in 1902 and many local Christians were employed in different sectors of army. Most of the local Christians were converts and performed low level work. In the early-1980s those civilians who were living in Quetta cantonment were expelled

⁴⁷Balochistan.gov.pk, (n.d.), About Baluchistan. Retrieved Sept 28, 2012, from <http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/top-menu-explore-balochistan/top-menu-about-balochistan.html>

⁴⁸ The people of Nawan Killi know Bashir Abad colony as the Masih colony because of the Christian people living there in majority. The word Masiha is used for Jesus Christ (PBUH) in Urdu literature which means 'cure' (<http://www.urduseek.com>) and the followers of Masiha are called as Masih. Although no socially accepted definition of cure is attached with Christians it is just the following of a particular way of life (Christianity) that gives the name to this colony and to the inhabitants of it.

⁴⁹Universimedia (2012). Geography. Retrieved Sept 22, 2012, from <http://universimedia.pagesperso-orange.fr/geo/loc.htm>

from there, as the army was expanding the cantonment and making separation between civilian population and armed forces. In return the families were provided lands in different parts of the city. Lack of political power made the 24 families of Christians to live in the 'Baby' graveyard (a Christian graveyard), as they were not given lands in return of their homes (destroyed).

For almost two years these exiled families lived in the graveyard presenting a symbol of death being living. On a visit of president Zia-ul-Haq to Quetta cantonment the Christian families (living in graveyard) set in the protest by the main road. When they presented the case to the president (and the president was criticized by his opposition on this issue then) he ordered to provide homes for those families who were living in the graveyard. Following the order Govt. of Baluchistan provided the piece of land (11 acre) in Nawan Killi, to the minority MPA, Bashir Masih, who started initially the construction of only 24 houses on this barren piece of land. At that time Nawan Killi was a backward and neglected area. With limited facilities of transport, no electricity, gas and water was available. On the 13-August-1990 the Christian families of graveyard were presented with keys of their own homes (24 Quarters) and hence the first Christians started living in Nawan Killi. At present the colony has 196 households.

3.3 Segments of colony

Bashir Abad colony is divided into three segments;

3.3.1 Chobees Quarters (twenty four (24) quarters)

This is a one street area which contains the houses of those 24 families who came first in this area. This segment consists of one street located to the extreme west of the colony; it is the boundary wall at the west side of the colony. It has an open area at one end of the street, which is utilized as a playground for young children.

3.3.2 Dhukaney (Shops)

This area is in the middle of the colony, after entering the main gate the first encounter comes with this area. It consists of main road of the colony. This place is the 'center of activities'. Here are small shops, different indoor games places, places for sitting and discussions, a marriage hall and open area for children play. Almost all the streets of the colony open into this area.

3.3.3 Rest of the colony

The other parts of the colony consist of 8 big streets (minimum 15-20 houses) and 10 small streets (min. 6-10 houses). Almost all the major streets of the colony open into the main gate road (*Dhukaney*).

3.4 Number of Households

The total number of houses in the premises of Bashir Abad colony is 196. On the religious basis the colony is divided into two groups, i-e Christians and Muslims. Total numbers of Christian's houses are 186 which make 94.9% of the total number of houses, while 5.1% houses belong to Muslim families.

Table 2: Ethnic Division and Total number of Houses

Christians	Muslims	Total
186	10	196

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

3.4.1 Housing Patterns

Three different types (*Kachha*, *Paka* and semi *Paka*) of houses are found in locale. The houses are relatively smaller and consist of small covered area but most (83.7%) of the houses are paved (*Paka*). Houses with only one room were also observed in the field. With very limited open area in the houses the chances of different diseases increases and produce a risk for the people's life. Only 10.7% houses are *Kachha* houses and 5.6% are in the state of neither *Kachha* nor *Paka*.

Table 3: Division of Houses on Structure Basis

House type	No. of houses	Percentage
<i>Kachha</i>	21	10.7
<i>Semi pakha</i>	11	5.6
<i>Pakha</i>	164	83.7
Total	196	100%

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

3.5 Gender and Age Base Distribution of Population

The total population living in these 196 houses is 1148. The data show almost equal gender based distribution of population in the locale. So for every 100 women there are 104 men. Physically, most of the people are healthy, especially males. They have bulky bodies with dark brown complexion.

Table 4: Gender base distribution of total population

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	586	51.04
Female	562	48.95
Total	1148	100%

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

From the data in the socio-economic census forms the population is further categorized on the age base division. Total population (1148) is further divided on the basis of age factor keeping 10 years of gape between each two categories. The following table shows the statistical data of the total population divided on the age factor.

Table 5: Age base distribution of total population

S. No	Age group	Number	Percentage
1	0-10	255	22.2
2	11-20	193	16.8
3	21-30	159	13.8
4	31-40	140	12.2
5	41-50	122	10.6
6	51-60	112	9.7
7	61-70	99	8.6
8	71-80	53	4.6
9	81 & above	15	1.3
Total		1148	100%

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

3.6 Average Population and Castes Based on Household's Population Ratio

Average population of locale is 5.85, which is lower as compare to the overall average population of the district which is 8.60 according to 1998 census (census.gov.pk, 2012)⁵⁰. Caste system is also a source of division in the locale. Members of same caste although not resident in one street but pays certain importance to one another and provides help to each other in need time. Although weaker division on caste basis prevails in the colony as compared to ethnic and religious basis, still caste system plays important role in the certain social situations like marriages.⁵¹

There is difference in the number of members per household in different ethnic groups and castes. Commonly those Muslim (Pashtun) families present in premises of colony have higher number of individuals than families of Christians. Christian families are smaller in size and are less congested comparatively.

Table 6: Average population and caste based household population of the locale

Caste and Sub castes		Households	Average Population per household	Total population
Pashtun	Tarakai	2	7.00	14
	Kakar	3	6.33	19
	Khilji	5	6.20	31
Total		10	6.40	64
Muhajir(Urdu Speaking)		8	5.62	45
Punjabi	Bhatti	74	6.09	451
	Matto	33	6.60	218
	Butt	18	6.05	109
	Kalyar	25	5.60	140
	Arai	9	6.44	58

⁵⁰Census.gov.pk. Census Pakistan. Retrieved 17 October 2012, from <http://www.census.gov.pk/MajorCities.html> details of population of major cities of Pakistan according to the data from the census of 1998

⁵¹ Endogamy in the caste is prohibited and caste is given a higher priority while considering marriage decisions.

	Mitro	13	4.84	63
	Jhatt	6	7.00	42
Total		178	6.08	1039
Grand Total		196	5.85 (average)	1148

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

3.7 Languages

Three languages are spoken in Bashir Abad colony.

1. Punjabi
2. Urdu
3. Pashtu

In the locale different languages are spoken in different situations and locations. All the Christians families have native language Punjabi, so commonly spoken language is Punjabi. Outside the colony or communicating with Muslims the medium of language use is Urdu. Because of more interaction with Pashtuns many Christians (especially young ones) can speak fluent Pashtu, so Pashtu language is used as communication source with Pashtun living outside and inside the colony.

Table 7: Native Languages Spoken Household Wise

Punjabi	Urdu (Muhajir)	Pashtu	Total
178	8	10	196

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

3.8 Ethnic Groups and Castes in locale

There are two main ethnic groups and small number of Urdu speaking community inside the colony. The two main groups are;

1. Punjabi
2. Pashtun

92.3% of the population of Bashir Abad belongs to Punjabi ethnic group. There are several sub castes in the Punjabi. Pashtun families (10) also live in the colony who relates themselves to the main stream society. These families have certain resemblance to Christians in living style,

especially in the Purdah observing of females, which shows the influence of Christian community they are living in. Five *Muhajir*⁵² families (Christians) also live in the colony, their native language is Urdu but they can fluently speak Punjabi and to some extent Pashtu as well.

3.9 Dress Patterns

Commonly people of the colony wear *shalwar* and *kameez*, but *paint* and *shirt* is also used. Young male prefer jeans and t-shirts. During the winter a blanket or a coarse *chaddar* is wrapped around the body in addition. The female dress consists of a *shalwar kameez* and a *dopatta*. The observance of purdah depends on the strictness of family. The dress patterns—especially of male—are quite similar with that of Pashtun society, which shows the influence in the cultural traits borrowing from dominant group.

3.10 Food Patterns

Main food ingredient of the people is wheat flour and rice. Usually the village people take meals three times i.e. morning *Nashta* with *Parata* and tea early in the morning. At afternoon *Rotti* is taken from 11 – 12. All male and female members of the family would sit together (especially on holidays) for *Rotti*. They all would sit on kitchen/room floor for this purpose. The meal would consist of wheat bread and pulses. At night heavy food is taken in *Raath Ka Kahna* (dinner). The last meal would consist of mainly rice and pulses, vegetables or meat of buffalo or chicken.

3.11 Religious festivals

There are two major celebrations in a year i.e. Easter and Christmas. Easter's celebration date varies between 22 March and 25 April, it is a Christian festival celebrating the resurrection of Jesus Christ on the third day after his crucifixion at Calvary. And Christmas is celebrated on the 25th-dec. every year. This festival reminds of the birth of Jesus Christ and is celebrated by billions of Christians throughout the world.

⁵²*Muhajir* is a common noun used for migrants. Those who are Urdu language speakers are mainly immigrants from India or their descendants who, at the time of partition in 1947, opted for this predominantly Muslim homeland and left the Hindu-majority India. In the locale *Muhajir* word is commonly used for those who have migrated from Afghanistan and living in this area.

3.12 Politics

Politics play a dominant role in the Christian society of Bashir Abad. There are different political forces that work on local and national level. Different ethnic and religious political parties of the country try to collect more than 500 registered votes of Bashir Abad colony. All the parties show their strength and power in different ways that can be different construction projects or can be help in a difficult situation on the community basis. The affiliation with political parties has become a source of power and prestige inside the colony. This affiliation also provides a certain privileges in the majority community. Unfortunately there is no regular political authority from inside the Christian community, which can ensure the fulfillment of the promises made by the political authorities at the time of vote casting. The lack of proper strong authority on community basis give chance to the other outside forces to bring differences in the people of Bashir Abad colony. People living in one street and belong to same caste and religious group think negatively about each other and try to harm one another.

3.13 Education

The education ratio of colony is higher than that of nearby areas. The literacy rate is 64.9% in the colony. The very reason for it is the sense of feeling in the Christian community that education is the only way out for them to make a secure future and social position in the society. In the case of minority in the modern world, education is a hope for lifting up the standards of life and turning the prejudice and discrimination into more desirable conditions which give more acceptable position in the society. People with higher education enjoy good social position in Muslim community as they have better economic position comparatively. Those people who has good job and are economically sound and stable, are treated differently to other Christians. For Christian it is clear that only through higher education they can lift up their economic status which will ultimately raise their social position in Muslim majority.

Formal education is attained through many private institutes as well through government school. Children are encouraged to go to school by church and also force by family. Those children who cannot attend school due to any reason or have already passed their schooling age go to community center and get formal education there. The literacy rate is shown in the following table.

Table 8: Population by level of education

Educational level	Person	Percentage
Illiterate	402	35.1 ⁽⁵³⁾
Primary and middle	364	31.7
Matriculation	168	14.5
Undergraduate	147	12.9
Graduate and above	67	5.8
Total	1148	100%

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

The literacy rate of Bashir Abad colony is very high as compare to that of other areas. There is difference in the ratio of education between male and female is minimum (1.4%). If we look at the higher education the female have greater share than the males because of the early family support duty for the male member of the society, although females also do jobs and help in the economic requirements of the family but mostly its male's responsibility to provide economic facilities and requirements of basic needs. That's why the male ratio in higher education is lower comparatively.

Table 9: Literacy ratio by sex (gender)

Educational level	Male	Male %	Female	Female %	Difference in % Male - female
Illiterate	205	17.85	237	20.64	-2.79
Primary and middle	197	17.16	167	14.55	2.61
Matriculation	88	7.66	50	4.35	3.31
Undergraduate	56	4.88	71	6.18	-1.3
Graduate or above	36	3.13	41	3.57	-0.44
Total	586	50.68	562	49.29	1.40
Total population					1148

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

⁵³ Illiterate also include children of 5 years old.

3.14 Facilities in the Colony

From the facilities of basic needs, the colony is the most neglected part of the city. There are hardly any visible signs of communal based facility product from the government. Some the facility available, were built under communal notion of *Apni Madad Aap* or self-motivation based and also some humanistic aid based NGOs project provided some basic necessities of life. Some of the facilities provided by government—such as a small medical center—were either missing personnel or were stopped because of inadequate supplementary items. All those facilities which were available to the villagers were,

3.14.1 Medical Facilities

There was not any proper hospital in the colony. A small non-functional medical center was present, which in reality was only a structure and most of the time it used for playing and burning fire in the winter by young adult. In the government papers this structure was registered as an active health care center,⁵⁴ with two allotted MBBS doctors (one male and one female) and three nurses. Monthly medicines were and salaries were issuing on the paper of the health ministry but on the practical ground there was not any sign of any medical facility in this building.

There was one private clinic, run by an MBBS doctor—Muslim who was living in the same colony. There were also traditional healers, like Hakeem, and homeopath doctors for the treatment of various diseases. Priest of the church also played the role of curer through the citation of various prayers and spelling them on the ill person. Two lady health workers were also working in the area. Due to the lack of any proper medical facilities people avail the medical facilities of private and government hospitals of Quetta city.

3.14.2 School

In the locale parents had extensively positive attitude towards formal as well as informal education of their children. They were also in favor of girl's education and more in higher education. This school was recently upgraded from middle to higher (during the research period) by a private NGO by the name of "Water Environment and Sanitation Society" (WESS) with cooperation with "Save the Child".

⁵⁴ Confirmed personally by the researcher from the government health office

The governmental setup in this sector was also on the nil side. There was only one girl's middle school, where almost 300 students were studying in just five roomed structure. Four officially registered female teachers for this school. The most striking thing about this school is that over 70% the girls students are Muslims. As education is most preferred by Christians and due to the unavailability of proper formal institutes from government, most people have no other choice but to look at the private institutes. The heavy burdens of fees in private institutes take most of the income of a Christian family. Children of Bashir Abad Colony are studying in various private institutes of the city.

3.14.3 Streets and Houses

Streets of colony are narrow, but paved and well clean. On the number of houses, two types of streets are presents. Those who lead to main road (out of colony) or *dhukaney*, have 15-20 houses per street, and they are termed as main streets. There are total 8 main streets. Second type of streets and narrow and they lead to main streets with one closed end, and there are 10 such streets which have 5-10 houses in a row. Normally the houses are very small and have no open area. From one room to five rooms houses are present here. Congested houses are present which usually produce unhealthy environment. Streets are small and paved; some streets have the Sewerage lines in the center and with the open gutters producing bad smell and unhealthy environment.

3.14.4 Churches

Church is a place of socialization and a source of religious education in Christian community. There are four churches in Bashir Abad colony. Churches belong to different religious sects. One church belongs to Catholics (greater in number), one to Pentecostal, one to Pakistan Gospels of Assemblies (PGAs) and one to Bhai Mission.

Relations between different church members are not as smooth as it seems from outside of the colony. Pentecostal would raise different objections about Catholics, Bhai mission declares others deviated from the way they represent Christianity. They all blame one another of not following Christianity in its full spirit and of introducing deviated ideas in religion. As one of my key respondents Madam Shamim an attender and priest of Pentecostal church says "Catholics are deviated and they are not following bible".

3.14.5 Community Center

A community developed school for adult is present in the locale. This school runs on the notion of *Apni Madad Aap* and people of the colony collect mutual fund and spend on this community center. Those people who have already passed their schooling age or those children who work during day time, study in this center in the evening. Teachers do not have salaries and they teach them free and encourage those who want to study but cannot because of any social reason.

The other aspect of community center is the teaching of different skills to the youngsters. The community center is not only providing formal education but also certain other skills. Musical classes are arranged and female students are taught different art—seeing, beautician courses etc. in this center. Boys who perform duties as musicians in weekly Sunday's prayers are the students of very same center. Many well trained students of this center perform practical jobs from the education they have got from this center. Community center has a specific portion for computer studies, where students are taught different computer based skills. Diplomatic programs such as IT, ADIT, Designing etc. are taught to the computer learning students, in the eve

3.15 Modern Amenities

3.15.1 Water pump

Water level of Quetta valley has dramatically fallen down in last decade. The water resources of the whole valley fallen to the lower and traditional methods of getting water—wells, *Kareez*, hand pumps etc.—have went scarce and now the only source of water for the domestic use are the deeply dig water pumps which are run by heavy motors.

There was proper pipe line in the colony which was the only source of getting water. One water pump, powered by a heavy electrical motor provides water to the whole colony. As the only source of water for household through the electric pump, so the constant short fall of electricity result in the short fall of water, which result that the residents had to buy water from tankers.

Two valve men are appointed for the job of supplying water to the colony. The valve men perform their duties with two shifts. The maintenance of water pump and salaries of valve men are gathered through mutual funds from the colony or the natives wait for a humanistic organization to help them, when the water pump is broken or damaged.

3.15.2 Energy Source

The main sources of light are electricity, gas and kerosene oil, whereas major sources of fuel are

gas, electricity, cylinder gas, kerosene oil, wood and animal dung. Total electricity connections in the province are 152,364, out of which 93,347 are domestic followed by commercial connections (54,499). Agricultural connections are 3,424, while 1,094 are industrial connections. Total gas connections are 72,867 of which 71,188 are domestic followed by 1,613 commercial and 66 industrial connections. Among other sources of energy, fuel wood, cylinder gas and animal dung are the most important.⁵⁵

The colony has access to natural gas or sui-gas for cooking purpose, so they use sui-gas as the prime source of burning and cooking. Other means of energy such as LPG cylinders and kerosene as is also utilized in short fall or unavailability of sui-gas. Some families also used wood as they lack gas facilities and could not afford new gas connections. Wood was cheaper as compared to gas cylinders for those families who lacked proper gas connections.

Table 10: Energy Source as Per Circumstances

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Natural gas (Sui-gas)	192	98%
Wood and kerosene	4	2%
LPG cylinders (circumstantial)	162	82%

Source: Socio economic survey

3.15.3 Electricity

Electricity was available in almost all the houses. Only 3% of the houses were not equipped with electricity as they do not have electric meters. The electric wires were not laid underground and electric poles carry wires on top are seen in all streets. Some people do took electric wires from their neighbors and pay them monthly. Many changes had occurred due to electric facility in the colony. They started using many electrical appliances like sewing machine, fans, electric irons, radio, television, etc. it had made their life easier as compared to their previous generation who do not had electric facility.

3.15.4 Telephone and Communication:

Pakistan Tele Communication Limited (PTCL), a landline service was available in the colony

⁵⁵Balochistan.gov.pk, (n.d.). About Balochistan. Retrieved Oct 28, 2012, from <http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/top-menu-explore-balochistan/top-menu-about-balochistan.html>

but usually people were not using it as majority of the people were found to be using cell phones to keep in contact with their relatives. Many of the people do have internet facility in their houses. The more educated family the more communication sources were observed in the locale. Computer, laptop, mobile, radio, T.V etc. are the sources to connect with the world.

3.15.5 Mass Media

Television sets have now become a necessity in every house. In the colony Television sets were found in 98% houses and they also had access to cable. People do like to spend their leisure time watching TV programs. People were well informed about different happenings in the country and they discuss it among themselves. Geo is the most popular and most watched channel. Men had access to news and information wherever it was disseminated or wherever they gather, for example at the market place or *dhukaney*. In the area, of center of activities or *dhukaney*, people would be talking, about interesting news on Geo T.V last night.

Indian drama serials are popular among women. Women had detailed knowledge of what was of interest to them in their colony and in the city. Such knowledge was mostly about the domestic conflicts, marriages, etc. Most of the households had radio which operates through battery cells. Black and white television was not seen in the area as people had bought new and the lower class had old television set which they kept for their entertainment in house.

Chapter 4: Family Structure and Social Norms

In this chapter the family structures and social norms of locale are discussed. The basic unit of analysis for this research is family which is the founding stone of the society. In this chapter, different family structures are discussed with respect to Christian population of Bashir colony. Furthermore, this chapter also explains how recent trends are influencing different changes in the family structures, the authority figure in the family, and rites of passage from birth till the death of a human being.

4.1 Family

Family is a group of people emotionally related either by blood, marriage or adaption, responsible for the reproduction, rearing of children and living together. The member of a family are closely related to one another, the tie between them is the blood relationships. The spirit of sacrifice and service is the guiding principle for the members of the family. According to Maryam (1988);

“The basic social institution, one or more men living with one or more women in a socially sanctioned, and more or less enduring sex relationship, which socially recognized rights and obligations together with their offspring”.⁵⁶

While Horton & Hunt (1976) define family as members of a group certain human behavior that includes rearing of children and for certain other human needs.

Looking at the family as a basic unit of social organization the role of the family in different aspects of life is of considerable attention. In the locale, family was the central point of economic activity and social organization. It is the responsibility of the family to give the education to its members about their communal life and the way they should operate in the social setup. The other basic function of the family is to provide the economic necessities of the individual by regulating certain orders.

4.2 Structure of the Family

These relationships are determined on the basis of role and status of the members of the family.

⁵⁶ Maryam, D. S. (1988). *Social Anthropology*. Delhi: Gian publishing house.

These bonds of relationship create structure of the family. These members compose a family.”⁵⁷ In the locale the family structure is divided on the basis of kin members living at one place. Nuclear family has only a married couple and one or more unmarried children. Joint family has more than one married couples. An extended family consists of three consecutive generations living as family unit. The joint extended family consists of parents with their sons married and unmarried and their children.

Table 11: Family Structure in colony

S.NO	Families	Number of Families	Percentage
1	Nuclear Families	99	50.5%
2	Joint Families	53	27.0%
3	Extended Families	29	14.8%
4	Joint Extended Families	15	7.6%
5	Total	196	100%

Source: Socio-economic survey

4.2.1 Conjugal Family (Nuclear family)

Nuclear family is found in many societies, the trend is mostly common in urban areas than rural areas. This type of family is based upon the marital relationship. Husband and wife make core in such families. In colony majority (50.5%) of family structure was nuclear. As we know the overall family structure found in Pakistani society is not the nuclear, so this shift in the structure of family shows some related forces in this encounter. According to the data collected there were very few nuclear families when this colony was build. With the passage of time and different other reasons such as low income pressure, quality education of children, unavailability of space inside the family, love marriage, familial conflicts and many other such types of forces added to the preference of nuclear family over the other types. Another strong argument in the support of nuclear family was that it is a modern form of family and many people started living in separate houses because of the reputation of this form of family. With advantages of nuclear family there are certain disadvantages of this type of family. One of the biggest is that mothers and fathers were both working their children were being ignored as parents were not able to give them

⁵⁷Taga, A. H. (2006). *Sociology and Social Problems*. Lahore: Nadeem younas printers.

enough time. So there was lack of childcare, whereas in joint family the care of children was done by other members of the family.

4.2.2 Consanguine Family

This family is founded upon blood relationship of a large number of kins relationships. The consanguine family is an extended clan of blood relatives living together with their mates and children. This family is based on biological relations and is the main basis of kinship. We can divide consanguine family into three types of families, joint, extended and joint extended families. It is the group of brother and sisters along with their children living together. Example of such families is also found in Pakistani society.

According to Taga (2006),

“In Pakistani society unmarried brothers and sisters live together with parents. It means uncle and aunts also live together within nuclear family. It is a group of kinsmen large in number. Practically such large families are found today in Pakistani society where father is strongly dominant.”⁵⁸

4.2.2.1 Joint Family

Joint family was the traditional way of living in the locale in which adult brothers live together with their respective families of procreation. In addition to maintaining common residence they hold property in common, and assume joint responsibilities for the growth and socialization of young siblings. The current ratio of joint families in colony was 27% which used to be the dominant, if not the only type of family type.

On the practical grounds joint families do have a lot of benefits; the work load was shared among different family members, and children were taken care off in case of absence of their parents from home. It provides a respectable position in the society and strengthens the image of the family as the socially approved values are maintained. Social prestige and political powers are also enjoyed by the joint or large family's members. Children share the fellowship of their cousins and become more close to their kins. The children were never left alone as mother and father both were working, whereas in nuclear families parents were always worried about their parents when they were at their jobs, sometimes they leave their children with their relatives or

⁵⁸Taga, A. H. (2006). *Sociology and Social Problems*. Lahore: Nadeem younas printers.

mothers take their younger children with them on their work. The unmarried boys and girls were living with their parents, but after marriage those who can afford live separately from their family of origin with their nuclear family. Those people reside near their own families, so that in time of need they can help each other.

4.2.2.2 Extended Family

In the extended family three generations (with one parent couple and two under generations) live together under the same roof. Several married siblings, their spouses and offspring's and the grandparents together form a residential economic and educational unit. This type of family structure was very common in early 20th century and is still found in cultures of the world. Now this type of family is growing less common as modernization/westernization had brought changes with it, and had also affected the family systems. Economic forces, requirement of social setup, modern life style, are some of the factors affecting the extended family structure and forcing changing this structure at a rapid speed.

Extended family is a kin based unit found in the colony that most often supplements the nuclear family. This type of family was very economical as expenses were equally shared; there was a large companionship of siblings and cousins. Parents had the support of their family with their childcare and their problems were also shared. But these types of families also had some disadvantages as there was lack of privacy because of a larger group of kins and there was constant crowd in the house. In locale we do not found much prevalence of extended family. The ratio was quite low as compare to nuclear family or joint family, only 14.8% extended families were found to be living there.

4.2.2.3 Joint Extended Families

The joint extended family consists of parents with their sons married and unmarried and their children. It is like extended family but with the difference of brothers and uncles living in the same house. Here also three generations live in the family but the size of the family differs as compare to that of normal extended family. Although there are no specific rules to distinguish between the families on the basis of their size, but normally (from the data collected) the size and house structure of the joint extended family differs from that of extended family. The patrilineal uncles and their children live in the same house and add to the overall family structure. The

overall relations and status of the individual differs to that of the extended family. For example the senior most of brothers is considered as the authority holder after father in joint or extended family, while in joint extended family the same authority shifts to uncle. This type of family is common in the majority population (Pashtuns) around locale but it is not popular inside the premises of the colony. Only 15 out of 196 families were joint extended families, which is 7.6% of the total.

4.3 Trends towards Nuclear Family

As it was stated earlier that family was a basic institution. All institutions accept changes and because of integration found among them they were also responsible for changes in each other. Joint family was the traditional pattern while extended and joint extended patterns were the dominant in the surroundings of the locale but people were changing it gradually. The order of abolishing from (joint) extended to nuclear family includes the step of joint family in the locale. Most of the nuclear families present in the local have broken from extended to joint and then later to nuclear family (with exceptional cases). Certain internal and external factors lead the process of change from extended to nuclear family. For the purpose of easy understanding we will take the joint family as the basic normative form of family and will discuss the different factors involved in its change to nuclear family. The major factors are discussed as follow:

- Lack of Space in the House

Another important trend toward nuclear family was lack of space in the house. The average family size was less than six (5.85) and most of them were living in house composed of one or two room. After marriage it was difficult for them to reside and manage in the same house, so they shift to another house with their wives.

- Migration

The movement of higher number of population from different areas of the district to colony gave rise to nuclear family. The sense of protection and security as a member of the minority brought many people in the premises of this colony. People from different areas of the province come to the urban center in search of better economic opportunities. Mostly people migrate in the form of nuclear families. For the members of minority groups the first choice is to find a community of their own kind and feel secure in difficult circumstances.

- **Division of Labor**

Due to emerging of modern techniques family was breaking down and women were also able to earn with their husbands. Previously the role of women was limited to her household, but now with economic hardships and increased inflations they were working out of their houses to provide their families their basic needs. Children were also helpful in earning a living.

- **Conflict among Family Members**

This was another reason of breaking of joint family. Different statuses of married women under one roof produced conflicts and leading to daily quarrel situations in the family which grew further and resulted in the breakdown of the family structure. The mother in law and daughter in law was a strong relation but institutionally troublesome. The mother in law exercise of power over the bride was nearly absolute. That leads to various conflicts in the family which results in the breakup to Nuclear family setups. The treatment of difference of women on the basic of seniority of marriage was also noted in certain cases a source of conflicts between the family members.

Case Study: Modernity and Preference of Nuclear Family system

Name: Junaid Masih's Family

Education: Both Parents Educated

Junaid Masih is 32 who live with his wife Mehvish is 28 years old. They have 3 children. Junaid was senior in Mehvish's school, and after completing his under-graduation and Mehvish's F.A, he proposed her to marry him. With the acceptance of the proposal Junaid send his parents to her home and they decided the further process for marriage.

They live in a small well decorated house. At the beginning of their marriage they were living in the house with Junaid's parents, where his brothers, their wives and children were also living. At that time the total number of the family members was 19, which has now reduced to only 5 individuals.

Due to the regular pressure of conflicts in the family Junaid and Mehvish decided to move out. Mehvish was also working as a teacher in a school while the wives of other two brothers were not educated and also not working outside their house.

The decision of living in a separate house was influenced by Mehvish's constant insistence on changing home and the regular pressure of domestic quarrels which were growing day by day. For Junaid it was not easy to go against the norms and values of the society. But when it became unmanageable, he decided to move out. Junaid said that it was a difficult decision as he went against the rules of the whole *bridari* and faced every critique daringly.

For Mehvish it was the best opportunity for her to know that she will live in a separate house, where there will be nobody who will taunt her for her undone things. She thinks that living in a small family with authority of decision making was her dream. She thinks of their type of family as the best and most fitted type of family of the modern life. She and her husband are providing best education to their children as both of them work and earn enough money to effectively bear the expenses.

However, Mehvish cited that she has to face some difficulties when she is not home. She has no one at home to take care of her young children. For this purpose, Mehvish has hired a maid. Mehvish says 'both of us try to give the most of our time to our family but honestly we are not able to take out enough free time from the busy life'. Even it becomes difficult for them to go and collect the monthly progress report of their children from the school.

This is a typical case of familial conflicts, prerecorded ideas in favor of nuclear family as it is considered as the modern form family where everyone particularly female enjoys more freedom and power in decisions making. It also highlights the weakness of nuclear family, and the ever increasing demands from economic pressure. Another negative effect visible in this case, is on the process of socialization of children, as the parents do not find adequate time and no other member of family members is present to take care for the children.

So the trends of moving to nuclear family depend on various reasons. Certain internal and external factors lead the process of change from extended to nuclear family. Where modern life style mostly propagated in the media sources is also contributing to the shift from more traditional to relatively new form (in the locale) of family structure.

4.4 Kinship

Kinship is the most basic principle of organizing individuals into social groups, roles, and categories. However, the nuclear family household is still the fundamental institution responsible for rearing children and organizing consumption. As Schwimmer has put it together: “they often serve as basic units of production, political representation and even as religious bodies for the worship of spiritual beings, who are themselves considered members of the kin group”.⁵⁹

As marriage is not merely mating, kinship relations are not merely biological ties. Generally kinship is defined as the combination of culturally utilized rules, including marriage, residence, rules of succession and inheritance, and rules of descent which place individuals and groups in definite relationship to each other within a society. The study of kinship requires the discovery of a society’s kinship statuses and roles, and fundamental processes that flow through the system and seen to hold kinship structure together. Kinship was another word for the system of defining and organizing one’s relations. Every culture provides its own system of relationship for dealing with human biological necessities for reproduction, training and passage from one generation to another.

Kin related by blood ties are called consanguineal kins while those related through marriages are called affinal kins. Kinship plays important role in regulation and solidarity of society. The relation between parent’s siblings and sibling’s children was formed through patrilineal descent.

4.4.1 Kinship Terms

In every culture there are a set of terms used to describe relatives. But it is important to note that not every society uses the same category’s to group relatives or make the same distinctions between different kinds of relationships. Classifications of relatives as maternal and paternal both the sexes are differentiated and different terminologies are used in locale which differs to the ethnic group. Every relation has its own term, and they are addressed as matter of respect.

Elders are never called by their own name, even the wife does not call husband by his name, instead *merrah or sarai* in Pashtun while *khavind or shohar* is used in Urdu speaking families. While in Christian family husband is usually called by his own name and there is no special term

⁵⁹Schwimmer, B. (1997). Kinship - Introduction.. Retrieved 21 December 2012, from <http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/anthropology/tutor/fundamentals/index.html>

for addressing the relation. Three types of families are found inside the premises of the colony and all of them have different terms for addressing relations. Most commonly used terms are presented in the following table.

Table 12: Kinship Terminologies in Locale

Anthropological terminologies	Christian's Terminologies	Pashtun's terminologies	Urdu's terminologies
Father's Father	Barey Abo/papa	Neekah	Dada
Fathers Mother	Bari mama/ama	Ana	Dadi
Father	Abbu, Aba, papa	Palar, Baba	Abo, Papa
Mother	Ami, Mama,	Adey, Mor	Ami, Maa
Father Elder Brother	Barey Abo	Aka, Haji Kaka	Barey Abo
Fathers Brother	Chacha	Kaka, Aka	Chacha
Mothers Brother	Mamu	Mamah	Mamu
Mothers Sister	Bari Ami	Khala, Thorori	Khala
Fathers Sister	Bari Ami	Aamah, Thorori	Phopi
Sister	Baaji, Phan	Khor	Behan, Baji
Sister's Son	Bhanja	Khoreyai	Bhanja
Sister's Husband	Jijah	Akhshai	Behnoyi
Brother	Paai, Bhya	Woror	Bhai, Bhya
Elder Brother's Wife	Jethaani	Worendar	Jethani
Brothers Son	Bhateeja	Worarah	Bhateeja, Nephew
Brother Wife	Dewraani	Worendar	Bhabi
Husband Sister	Nanaan	Indoror	Nanaan
Father Brother Wife	Chaachi	Thindar	Chachi

Source: Socio-economic Survey Forms

4.4.2 *Bradri and Kheil*

In the locale the kin group or lineage is known as *bradri* in Christians and *kheil* in the Pashtun, it is a collection of related households. Both *bradri* and *kheil* has same basic structure but varies in their function in respective societies. Zekiye Eglar says:

“A *bradri* is a patrilineage, all men who can trace their relationship to a common ancestor, no matter how remote belong to the same *bradri*. One does not break ties with one’s *bradri*. The *bradri* is supposed to give respect, honor and prestige, the more the members of *bradri* present at ceremonial functions the more the *bradri* is thought to be socially and economically strong.”⁶⁰

Bradri helps each other in time of need and were ready to take a stand in matters of depending on their *bradri* people. In locale *bradri* plays an important role to resolve conflicts between the members of Christian community. The active role of *bradri* is limited to the disputes resolution at the level of ethnic group. It fades out when the conflict circle stretches outside the premises of ethnic relations of Christians. For example, *bradri* can’t help in disputes with the majority (Muslim), which is considered a matter of communal concern. Other role of *bradri* is the existence of exogamy rule. Endogamy in *bradri* is not allowed and one has to find a spouse outside its *bradri* group, especially in the Christian community.

The *bradri* is known as the *kheil* in Pashtun majority. The common word for patrilineal descent group is *kheil* and most men, whatever their caste is able to name a *kheil* to which they claim to belong. *kheil* is stronger than *bradri*, and social obligations are attached in the *kheil* relationship. The act/problem on an individual or a family is considered as the matter of the whole *kheil*. Economic and social preferences are delivered on the basis of *kheil* relations.

There is no obvious mechanism for the assimilation of strangers into this system (*bradri* or *kheil*). A person's position in it is unequivocally defined by patrilineal descent. But outsiders cannot be assimilated. It should however be emphasized that they do not form corporate groups for the purpose of political action.

⁶⁰Zekiye, E. (2010). *A Punjabi Village In Pakistan: Perspectives On Community, Land And Economy*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

4.5 Authority Pattern Within Family

Father is the head of the household and he is responsible to make decision. The decisions concerning use of money in daily matter or expenditures of the house are made mutually by husband and wife, who are the head of the house. If the elder son is sensible enough he can also give his opinion. Authority shifts to the single parent or adult son in the case of death of one or both of parents. The matters concerning marriage, death ceremony arrangements, ritual performance, etc. are done with the consent of elders of the family example, grandfather, *Barey Abbo* (father elder brother), *Chacha* (father younger brother). They had the authority to make the final decision.

Among the people in the colony, class authority lies in the hands of male members, but as women are also working to earn money and are independent economically, they have different status as compared to others. Their economical level is much better than the families whose females are not working. Women with proper income resource in the family comparatively enjoy more authority in the decision making process. Authority is equally divided between eldest male and female members and both stands on almost equal ground in the process of decision making. Women of upper class are housewives and are dependent on their husbands, although they can give their opinion whenever consulted, but the final authority lies in the hands of eldest male members of the house.

4.6 Role And Status

It is a status that is apposition with certain rights and duties, and then we can refer to the behavior appropriate to that position as a role. A role refers to the expected behavior in a particular situation. The traditional position of father entails the role of bread winner, disciplinarian, decision maker and general head of the house hold. The role and status are inseparable. The role of parents is the basic one in reproduction and acculturation. As adults they transmitted the tradition of their society to the coming generations by providing the practical example in their daily life. They provide food and clothes, protect them in danger, and select the spouse for them.

In the colony parents have a high status, the role of husband and wife is the second sphere of colony kinship, its importance for the establishment of a family. Woman has a status not much

lower than man; their role in the family is much more of the provider. From the birth of her first child woman not only has to look after her child but also maintain a house and in all circumstances please her husband. The share of burden of income for the family adds to the status and role of a woman in the family.

4.7 Rites of Passage

Anthropologists utilize the term 'Rite of passage' to outline the class of ceremonies that check the section of an individual through the life cycle, from one stage to an additional as time passes, from one part or social position to a different, integrating the human cultural experiences with biological destiny: birth, marriage and death.

A rite of passage is a ritual even that marks a person's progress from one status to another. It is a universal phenomenon which can show anthropologists what social hierarchies, values and beliefs are important in specific cultures. Rites of passage are ceremonies surrounding events such as milestones within puberty, coming of age, marriage and death.

4.7.1 Birth

People celebrate birth of a child regardless of the sex of the child with great joy. The celebration takes place on the third day of the birth of the child. They call musicians and child's family members would pay to the musicians. Sweets are distributed among neighbors and all close relatives. Then they take the child to a pious person who would chew a date or any other sweet thing and would put in the mouth of child, this ceremony is called *Ghutti*. The *Ghutti* ceremony is found rare in the educated people.

On the birth of a new child the parents of new mother brings gifts for their daughter, her in-laws and their grandchild. These gifts usually consisted of clothes for in laws and the girl. For the child they bring toys, bedding, and cot and if parents of girl are rich they do bring a gold ring for the child as well. The other relatives also give toys and clothes to child.

On the 40th day of birth another ceremony is arranged, in which all the close relatives are invited and they bring gifts for the new born baby. A feast is arranged by the family member and enjoyment is made by musician and dancing and singings of young ones. Such a celebration

depends on the economic situation of the family, the families who cannot afford the expenses usually do not celebrate it and there is no fix rule like in wedding.

For child birth the pregnant women consulted lady health workers and doctors. The concept of midwives has lost its importance. Now the babies are not delivered at home as complication could arise. The pregnant maids do not leave their work during the time of their pregnancy as their family need their financial support and they also have to save money for the expenditures faced on the delivery and for their new baby. They also get material benefit from their employer at that time and their work load was also decreased.

4.7.2 Death

There is no specific graveyard for the people of Bashir Abad colony and the dead ones are buried in the graveyard of *Gora Qabrastan*⁶¹. This graveyard is 3 km away from Nawan Killi, and is close to the city. It is an old and historical graveyard, built in the era of British colonizers this graveyard still contains the dead bodies of British officer, soldiers and their family members. The Christians of many areas of Quetta still use this as place for the burial of dead ones.

Ritual of the death has become shrunken as well, the time span of mourning has come from 7 days to only 3 days. The economic pressure has forced this change in the social system. The family cannot afford if the earning people (male and female) sit at home for 7 days, when the only source of income is day to day work or wage labor.

Christians do not visit the shrines of the dead ones and religiously such an act is looked with disgrace. The only visit is made on the 3th day after the burial.

4.7.3 Marriage

According to Maryam (1988):

“Marriage is an institution admitting according to men and women to family life, that is, to living in the institute personal relationships of husband and wife for the primary purpose of begetting and rearing children. This institution has social approbation and religion sanctions.”⁶²

⁶¹ Quetta's Christian Cemetery - popularly called "Gora Qabrastan" (White Man's Graveyard) in local parlance

⁶² Maryam, D. S. (1988). *Social Anthropology*. Delhi: Gian publishing house.

Marriage is a socially accepted and recognized permanent sexual relationship between a male and a female for the purpose of procreation, for the continuity of family and civilization at large.

Anthropologists generally consider that the prime function of stabilized marriage union is to provide a secure setting in which children are socially identified, nurtured and brought up. Notably marriage channels the handling of property. It provides an intimate 'home' group for eating, sleeping, working, and relaxing together.

All societies had more or less institutionalized set of rules governing the selection of spouses. Among all peoples marriage was forbidden within some well-defined incest group. Every human group apparently has some form of marriage in the sense of a public or legal recognition of a more enduring pair relationship and responsibility. A couple may have seen each other before or they may be totally strangers.

4.7.3.1 Marriage Patterns

Marriage provides husbands with certain rights over the women he has acquired. The most vital of these rights are the use of women productive capacities procreative as well as economic and domestic, and the rights to affiliate to his agnatic groups, the children born to the course of their union. A wife acquires in turn the rights to be fed, clothed and treated properly and also the right to get gratification, from her husband.

Many different marriage patterns exist all over the world. The form of family and marriage organization is to a large extent shaped by the specific kinds of problems which people must solve in particular environment. Families desire their offspring to marry within their own religious sects and ethnic group as well as within their socio-economic status.

4.7.3.2 Marriage Ceremonies

Wedding is highly formalized affair with high religious or other ceremonial feasting and passing of wealth. There are several customs attached to the ceremony of marriage. These functions prolong the pleasure of marriage functions. Ceremonies are attended by close relatives and neighbors. Morally the people were obliged to attend the ceremony when invited and usually this is the time to resolve conflicts or to express open hostility. There are various ceremonies which are performed during marriage and all relatives participate in it. The gathering on wedding, food

serving and the gifts given to bride and groom depends on the economic status of the giver and receiver.

Nikkah (legal agreement) is the most important step of whole wedding. This process takes place in the religious institute i-e church. Bride and groom wear special dresses for this day and the *nikkah* is celebrated in the church of bride's sect, e.g. if the bride belongs to catholic sect then this ceremony will take place in a catholic church. With religious prayers and recitation of holy Bible the couple is announced as wife and husband by the priest. This formally concludes the *nikkah* process.

▪ *Nindra and Sahwan*

A specific tradition by the name of *nindra* is observed in marriages. In this tradition the close relatives bring gifts of specific values and this way they help the family in the marriage arrangements. A loud public announcement is made for every family and the gift they have presented. The record of gifts is kept on by the family as they have to return the gift of equal and or more value to the family on their marriage occasion. In *nindra* relations the return of higher value of gift is must and the family keeps a complete record of who has given what? If it is not returned back this will lead to a fatal situation in the relationship between families and can lead to the end of every relations between them.

When the family wants to limit the relations then they announce *sahwan* which means the end of *nindra* relations. After returning the gift of equal value that the family has received, nothing extra is paid and the announcement is made that from now on these two families are in *sahwan* (want to end their *nindra* relations). Such an announcement does not affect the other relations between the families and they are kept continued on normal basis. The last day of wedding was *walima* in which a feast was served to all the guests by groom family.

4.7.4 Endogamy

According to Gina (1982): "Endogamy is the custom forbidding marriage outside a given group".⁶³ Endogamy is the practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group, class or social group, rejecting others on such basis as being unsuitable for marriage or other close personal

63 Gina. J. (1982). *Women in Muslim rural society: status and role in family and community*. New Jersey: Lamski Press.

relationships. According to Peoples and Bailey “Endogamy (in marriage) means that an individual must marry someone in his her own social group”.⁶⁴

Endogamy is common in many cultures and ethnic groups. It is strictly applicable on the religious division, according to Islamic rules the non-Muslim male cannot marry a Muslim woman but this rule reverses for Muslim male and non-Muslim women with the acceptance of Islam for the woman after marriage. Christians identifies this as a strong discrimination and do not allow marriages with Muslim.

In Christianity the first cousin marriage is also prohibited. Endogamy within the caste is not allowed as two people (male and female) who belong to Bhatti tribe cannot marry each other. Marriage can also take place outside the *bradri* but not within the same caste and thus enters into a relation of a new series of people. Marriages with the people outside the colony premises and even outside of district and province are also common.

4.7.5 Changes in the Marriage Ceremonies

Marriages are celebrated with great joys. The celebration has shrunken from time to time. Once the marriage celebration used to be 10-11 days are now completed in 2-3 days. The change is forced by the weak economy; the stay of family guests for 10 days puts an extra burden on the family that is already struggling with economic problem. Certain rituals are taken out from marriages as they are supposed to belong to Hindu religion and not originally part of the Christian community.

Previously those who can afford opt for marriage halls celebrated weddings in hall but now due to the security reasons marriages are arranged in the vacant land of the colony. Other people prefer to arrange marriages in colony as their relatives and neighbors help them in preparation of marriage, it was more convenient for them.

Previously on *mehndi* (or henna) the relatives brought sweets to bride and groom houses, but now that tradition has changed. Now people bring sugar instead of sweets as it can be utilized by the families of bride and groom in the marriage.

⁶⁴James, P., & Garrick, B. (2011). *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing.

Chapter 5: Economic Organization and the Politics of Relations

This chapter deals with the economic conditions of Christian society of Bashir Abad Colony, Nawan Killi. Discussing occupations of Christians it highlights the state of Christian-Muslim relations from economic point of view. This chapter also deals with the state of Christians' politics and role of political parties in Bashir Abad Colony. This chapter also deals some other points of social organization such as social control, socialization process and hierarchal positions in Bashir Abad Colony are discussed with relations to Muslim. In last portion of the chapter some discriminations on the basis of religious identity against Christians of Nawan Killi, are also discussed briefly.

5.1 Christian's Economic Condition

Socially neglected section of the society a Christian family has lower income than Muslim. The Christians community is economically not much advanced. Most of them belong to lower or lower middle class without having made any significant advancement in trade, finance, or business. Normally the Christians perform socially (described) polluted jobs like sweeping, cleaning sewerages and roads in the city. Because of the reputation of the jobs Christians perform, they are considered as low level citizens. Socially considered polluted works are performed by the illiterates, and those who have exposure to education are involved in better economic activities. The evil of low income brings certain forms of discrimination against Christians, because of performing socially polluted jobs.

5.1.1 Christian's Occupations

With profile of lower category citizens, Christians perform different jobs in the city. Most common jobs for males are sweeping and cleaning, public services, and wage labors. Private sector jobs are another attraction for Christians, particularly young people who want to break out of the vicious circle of poverty. A few males perform private sector jobs like; media related works, teaching, management, NGOs, and others. Many young well qualified people are jobless because they want a good job which is socially not for Christian status, although he may be best suited for it. With limited job opportunities and bad economic positions most of the Christians perform private works (22.5%) in shops, medical stores, hospitals (private), etc. and some 12%

work in other private institutes as sweepers which is socially associated with Christians.

The category of job depends on the skills and education of individuals. Those with good knowledge skills and better professional skills attracts private sector more, but private sector jobs are less permanent and lacks any additional facilities. A Christian, who can find job in private sector with his skills and abilities, cannot do so in government offices, although he may be very deserving and best suited choice for a particular job.

Table 13: Occupational Division of Male Members

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Drivers	23	4.6
Wage labors	62	12.5
Cleaner and sweepers (private)	55	11.1
Teachers	32	6.4
Govt. services	139	28.0
Private jobs (offices etc.)	112	22.5
Others	74	14.9
Total	497	

Source: Socio economic survey

Traditionally male is the bread winner for family, but with increasing financial burden, females are also becoming part of the economic cycle. Their jobs, however, are restricted to jobs related to their skills like embroidery, stitching, sweeping and cleaning, house maids, beauticians, nurses, office staff, school teachers etc. Inside house economy generational jobs—such as stitching cloths, embroidery, beauty parlors, private tuition centers etc.—are most common and occupy 31.7% of total women’s jobs, while private offices and NGOs has 13.8% of the total women workers.

Table 14: Occupational Division of Female Members

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
House maids	13	7.8
Teachers (private)	29	17.4
Wage labors	22	13.8

Govt. services	14	8.4
Nurses	13	7.8
Private jobs (NGOs etc.)	23	13.8
Others (home related jobs)	53	31.7
Total	167	100%

Source: Socio economic survey

Teaching is also one of the most preferable and easily available jobs for Christian women. In orthodox Muslim society—where female education is tabooed—it becomes a window of opportunity for Christian females, to find teaching jobs easily. In Muslim community female are not subjected to work (in normal circumstances) as it is the sole responsibility of male to fulfill family's economic needs. Well educated Muslim females do not perform any job outside their homes, because of less support from the family. This provides an opportunity for Christian educated females to earn handsome amount from teaching job. Girls' schools, colleges and coeducational institutes, provide a wide space of opportunities to educated female Christians.

Such economic opportunities prepare ground for higher female's education than males in the Christian community. Statistics shows that higher education ratio in Christian females are higher⁶⁵ (9.75%) than that in males (8.09). The difference is visible because of more easy economic opportunities for higher educated Christian females. In other words, we can say that better economic opportunities drives preference of higher education for females in Christian society. The notion of economic benefits has become a source of acquiring education in females of lower status (economic) groups—particularly in a society where female public sphere is limited to household chores.

5.2 Economic Opportunities and Relations

With several prejudices and discriminations on practical basis from the policy makers (in government institutes), Christians prefer to maintain relations at individual level to gain certain economic benefits. For example a person might develop or strengthen already developed relations with a Muslim individual or group for the purpose of good job opportunity, or for borrowing money, or for demanding of extra time to return borrowed sum etc. The limitations of

⁶⁵ Undergraduate, graduate and above levels

familial level interactions with certain groups contain economic benefits as one of the factors. Why Pashtuns are preferred rather than Baluch or Punjabi (Muslim) is due to the higher influence of Pashtuns in the business sector. And more clearly Pashtun families are (comparatively) economically sound and stable to those of other ethnic groups. Christians seek more economic advantage in relations with Pashtuns as compare to others.

Pashtuns have overwhelming control on the trade and economic sector in Quetta city. An estimated more than 80% business belongs to Pashtuns ethnic group in the city. Using their economic position Pashtuns develop good relations with Christians for the purpose of cheap labor source. Pashtun ethnic group in Quetta can be divided into two sub groups—first is local Pashtun, who are the inhabitants of this area and second is *Muhajir* (migrants) from Afghanistan, who came here during Afghan-Soviet war and in the scenario after that—and these have further tribe based divisions. Former group is economically strong while latter is weaker with struggling economy. Local group with higher privileged status in economic sector uses migrants and Christians as source of cheap labor.

For Christians first priority is get closer to local Pashtuns for better economic gains. Many young well qualified people of Christian's are jobless in search for good jobs which are socially described as tabooed to Christian, although he may be best suited for it. With limited job opportunities and bad economic positions most of the Christians perform private works in shops, medical stores, hospitals (private), etc. which mostly belong to local Pashtun ethnic group. In summary the differences in relations on basis of ethnic identity have roots in economic benefits.

5.3 Economic Status and Relations

Economic supremacy is one of the influential factors in Christian-Muslim relations. For Christians good economic status provides privileged position in political sphere, societal decision making, small dispute resolution, etc. It will not be wrong to say, that for Christian, economic status defines overall status of an individual or family.

Stable economic status defines level of interaction with Muslims as well. Those Christians who has higher job or has good economic position enjoy certain privileged in Muslim society as well. Status wise distinctions are visible and it provides opportunity for relations with Muslims—particularly elite class or those who enjoy higher government posts.

Case Study: Economic Status Determines Social Position

Name: Adnan

Age: 37 years

Education: M.sc (commerce)

Occupation: NGO (private)

Adnan has done Master (commerce) from Baluchistan University. He is the youngest among his siblings (fifth). He is married and has one daughter. Adnan has stronger family economic background as compare to a common Christian family. He is highly educated and has a job that provides him with money more than five times an average Christian. So Adnan's economic position is stable as compare to an ordinary Christian.

Higher money income and good job, gives Adnan upper hand and a certain privileged position in interaction with his Muslim counterparts. Adnan says that in his office there are other Christian workers, who work as sweepers. His Muslim colleague's attitude with him is different as compared to their behavior with others. His colleagues in the office meet him without any hesitation and they feel proud when he joins them in their meals or sits with them. But the same colleagues of him do not eat or drink with other Christians who work as a sweeper. He has witnessed several incidents of his coworkers to refuse drinking the water in the same glass in which a Christian (sweeper) drinks water, but they won't oppose to drink water in the glass of Adnan.

Adnan says that economic position describes the status of a person both in Muslim and Christian societies. He says; "Religion does not matter when person has a good economic position and can afford to face the crises situations. Muslim's relation changes completely with the economic position. A person, who is secretary or has a higher position, has a better value (status) than the one who is sweeper". He further says that, this change of status not only affects relations with Muslim but also with Christians. Christians also treat economically strong person differently to those who are not economically independent.

Adnan says that interaction of him and his Christian sweeper with his colleagues is different in meeting procedure. His colleagues do not meet or shake hands with sweeper Christian, but with

him (Adnan) they meet by lap and shake hands. He says that meeting procedures with my colleagues differs to the degree of closeness with the person.

The above case is a representative of several cases of discrimination of individuals due to their job or economic status. Those who are performing undesirable or socially polluted jobs are subject to prejudice and discrimination. Members of the same community who has good economic status or good job are treated in different manner. This double standard in relations has contributed to thoughts of Christians that education acquirement is only source of avoiding social discrimination. Christians are preferring higher education and reason is that in Pashtun and Baluch the ratio of education is low comparatively. So for the Christians it becomes easy to find a good job. "As a nation we are sure that the only way that can raise our status in the society is education".⁶⁶

5.4 *Sheikhs* (Converts)

Bad economic conditions and peak of crises force individuals to become a *sheikh*. In local term Christians use word 'sheikh' for those who converts their religion for sake of money or economic benefits. Such people who convert religion for the sake of money or any economic benefits are regarded as traitors, double-dealers and a shame for society. Act of conversion for money or becoming a *sheikh* is highly disliked and regarded as an act of cowards and mentally ill people

Converting from Christianity to Islam has other reasons as well, but economic benefits are the dominant in conversion regards. Almost 100% of the respondents told that they have encountered offers from Muslims to convert to Islam. Commonly offers of conversion are presented by colleagues at work and also by specific delegations for preaching of Islam (*Tablighi Jumat*). For Muslims it is an obligatory responsibility to invite non-Muslims to Islam. Using the concept of *Tabligh*, Muslims invite Christians to convert and influence them through presenting an attractive picture of the afterlife. It was observed that many *Tablighi* people also try to lure Christians by telling them that they will not be discriminated if they convert. Those who are struggling with economic and financial tensions and face discriminations, due to their statuses are easily attracted by such an offer.

⁶⁶ From the interview of Adnan

The act of conversion is highly disregarded by Christians. In spite of the disregards, Christians are not able to stop individuals from conversion to Islam, because that converts acquire protection from mainstream majority and by the laws of the country. For example; a father cannot stop his son/daughter leaving Christianity and joining Islam, because of the threat of action against him by Muslims, who regard protection of converts as their responsibility.

Cases of conversion of individual for money have been reported, where Christians of Bashir Abad Colony outcast such individual (converts) from their society. Although all converts are regarded unacceptable, but sheikhs are of particular hatred and prejudices by Christians. They are supposed to have converted for sake of bread. They could not control their stomach hunger and left their most precious resource (Christianity). Muslims collect money and give certain other products for newly converts as a help in building their new life in the circle of Islam.

People who have converted do not like to talk of their past life. These converts regard their act as a process of enlightenment towards the truth. But others (Christians) regard them as traitors and their act of conversion is regarded as purely for money. There were individuals who regarded their conversion for money and as acting for economic benefits. They say that he/she has only converted temporarily and do not believe in Islam as their religion and will become again Christian as Muslims forget the highly appreciated occasion of their conversion. But such individuals are also not accepted as part of the Christian society and are expelled from the boundaries of social relation.

Case Study: Money Compels to Become a *Sheikh*

Name: Michael John (Abdullah)

Age: 49 years

Social status: *Sheikh*

Michael John (Abdullah) is a middle aged man. He has no one else in his family and lives alone. His wife (Shehla John) died of ill health ten years back as he had no money to pay for her hospital expenses. He has only one daughter who is married and lives in Pishin district. Michael John works in his small shop (*Kuka*) and fulfills his basic needs of daily life by hard working.

Michael John converted to Islam two years back. Michael John regards his economic conditions as the reason of his conversion. He used to work as a painter on daily wage basis. The money he

used to get from his work was hardly enough for his daily expenses. In the meantime his wife got ill with a serious disease of heart. A disease of such category requires huge amount of money which John's work could not have provided for his entire life. Michael John tells about his plead to different people to provide him with money, so that he could pay for Shehla's treatment. He got disappointed from his most reliable people (Christians) and no one helped him. When all his hopes were lost, he got the idea to pretend to be a convert.

Michael John asked one of his co-worker, Aslam Khan—who always used to tell John that he should convert to Islam, as it can end up his miserable life and give him a better afterlife—that he wants to convert to Islam. Aslam Khan readily accepted took him to Moulvi Sahab (priest of the mosque) and told about John's request. At the same time Michael John's new name Abdullah was announced and people started supporting him with their collected money. He used the newly got money for his wife's treatment who could not survive more than a month.

After his wife's death, when he wanted to go back to his community, they exiled him and terminated all social contacts with him. He tried to clarify his point by presenting his miserable life but no one listened to him, even his own daughter.

The expulsion from own society and by family members forced Abdullah to join mainstream society. He has built a small shop (*Kuka*) outside the colony and also left his house in the colony and started his new life in Muslims populated area. Discussing his faith Abdullah says that he is not able to fully attach himself to any particular religion. His has spent his life as a Christian and now he is a Muslim. The treatment of his community members (Christians) forced him to become a Muslim. A person who converts usually leaves the area and tries to settle in Muslim population to avoid daily based discrimination against him.

5.5 State of Minority's Politics

Political life of Christian community is limited and there is no proper representation of them on the political arena. At the government level minorities are given specific quota of representation in national and provisional assemblies. But in reality these allotted seats are monopolized by political parties and representatives of minority after attaining authority, they exercise the will of their party instead of their own people (minority). There are three reserved seats for minorities in Baluchistan provisional assembly. Mostly two members from Hindu minority and one from

Christians represent others minorities in provisional assembly. To look at practical grounds these representatives have failed to give rights to their people and represent mandate of their affiliated political parties, even if they are contrary to their people choice.

5.5.1 Political Parties inside Bashir Abad Colony

Politics play a dominant role in the Christian society of Bashir Abad. People like to talk about politics of country. There are different political parties that work on local and national level. Different ethnic and religious political parties of the country try to collect the 500 registered votes of Bashir Abad colony. Flags of different nationalist parties wave over the top of houses. Even different parties flags waves on single roof, which show affiliation of single family members with different parties. Parties show their strength and power in different ways that can in shape of different construction projects or can be help in a difficult situation on the community basis.

There are political representatives of Christian minority in the provincial and national assemblies, but they do not pay any heed to the grievances of Christians. Individuals try to attach themselves to different parties to gain their societal and personal interests. The lack of proper strong authority on community behalf, gives chance to the other outside forces to bring differences in the people of Bashir Abad colony. People living in one street and belong to same caste and religious group think negatively about each other and try to harm one another. Political parties exploit situations—such as those at the time American attack in the response of 9/11 incident—to gain sympathies of Christians. Political parties represent themselves in Bashir Abad Colony through their Christian members. Such incidents are exploited by political parties to gain maximum outcome from the community. For example, nationalist Pashtun Khawa Milli Awami Party, during the situations of threats from mob to demolish the colony (in the reaction of war on Afghanistan by American) helped Christians of Bashir Abad Colony by providing personnel security to the colony. In such situations where government is not willing or unable to provide security, the role of political parties become prominent. People certainly give positive response to role of political parties. This way politics of parties within Bashir Abad Colony runs on crises situations. Sometime political parties prepare situations of crisis to gain certain benefits.

5.6 Social Control Inside Bashir Abad Colony

Family is the basic source of social life control for an individual. Family determines most actions of an individual and his/her way of doing things. Whom to meet and who to avoid is decided by family members. If we look at social actions' control, church also has dominant role. Because distinguishing identity to inhabitants (Christians) of Bashir Abad Colony is attached due to affiliation with church. Church decides state of relations between Christians and Muslims. Another factor important in social control is the shift of social hierarchy towards economically stable individuals and also to those who has good relations with Muslims particularly with political parties. Affiliation with different political parties, provide solid step in social hierarchal positioning. Individuals affiliated to stronger party that has strong role inside the premises of colony, enjoy better position in community based decision -making process. The concept of social hierarchy has changed with political affiliation in Bashir Abad Colony. Individuals have affiliation with different political parties, using this influence they Bashir Abad Colony

5.6.1 Church as a Hub of Social Organization

One of the most influential institutes in deciding the nature of relations with Muslim is the church attendance. The status of minority is assigned to the people of Bashir Abad Colony, on the basis of their affiliation with the church. Although most of the people of this colony belong to the Punjabi (language) ethnic group, which is considered pre-dominant (on population and control of resources) in Pakistan, but it is the attainment of church that gives people of Bashir Abad Colony a different identity—minority. The institution of the church is central to both religious and communal expressions of collective action. While Sanders (2002) sums role of ethnic churches as follow;

“.....these churches promote a sense of the community and ethnic awareness while encouraging acculturation (Min 1992, Warer& Wittner1 998). Schisms are common and divisive to the community (Shin & Park 1988, Yang 1998a), but these quarrels tend not to push members away from the ethnic community as a whole. However, the younger generation is more likely than elders to lose interest in the ethnic church when it is rocked by factionalism.”⁶⁷

From the data of my field research, it is clear enough that Church promotes a sense of the community and ethnic awareness. Church teachings have dominant role in every sphere of life;

⁶⁷Sanders, J. M. (2002). *Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies*; *Annual Review of Sociology*,28,327-357,

the internal solidarity among the people arises from the institution of church. It is the feeling of oneness in the church that consolidates the internal bonds among people, and the glue for such bonds is provided by the church teachings. But the data do not support the argument that church promotes assimilation rather it is the source of moving more in the direction of pluralism than assimilation in the main stream society. The thought of keeping a separate identity is a regular part of the church's teachings. Certain selective cultural traits are adopted by Christians (we will discuss later in details) but if we see overall the church is very much responsible for keeping a separate identity (Pluralism) of people of Bashir Abad Colony.

The data also counters the point that young generation has lost interest in the church teachings as compared to their elders. Younger generation are, in fact, more conscious of keeping separate identity than elders, and the attenders of church were also more young people than old. Data presents that 73% of the respondents of the age range from 10-50 years, visited on regular basis to Sunday prayers in their respective sects church. While those above the age of 50 years were merely 48% attending church prayers at regular basis. The ratio of ethnocentrism was also higher in young generation as compare to the elders.

5.6.2 Church and Decision Makings

The discouragement of keeping strong familial relations with Muslim has become a part of the weekly payers of the church. Priests keep on reminding the consequences of keeping such close relations. It was clear enough from interviews of different priests.

“We teach our children not to keep relations with Muslims. It is one of the first priorities of our church's teachings. We have suffered from this relation. Majority of these relations have led to betrayal to our families and mostly convicted are our young girls. We have seen many of our young girls are taken from us by those who pretend to be our best friends. We allow them to our homes and they betray us”.⁶⁸

Church has the most dominant role in the decision making of relations with Muslims. Although it is more of individual's decision whether to build or maintain relations, but church is the source of influencing these decisions. Church provides the feelings of oneness and the reason they are

⁶⁸ quoted from the interview with, Madam Shamim, who runs the church of Pentecostals and claims to be the only woman in the whole country who runs a Church.

stacked together (adherents of same religion), so its guidance and teachings are considered important.

5.7 Socialization and Relations

Human infants are born without any culture. They must be transformed by their parents, teachers, and others into cultural and socially adept animals. The general process of acquiring culture is referred to as socialization. Through enculturation process,⁶⁹ we also learn and usually adopt our culture's norms. Socialization is important in the process of personality formation. While much of human personality is the result of our genes, the socialization process can mold it in particular directions by encouraging specific beliefs and attitudes as well as selectively providing experiences. Socialization is product of two broad types of teaching methods—formal and in formal education. Where former is what primarily happens in a classroom, it usually is structured, controlled, and directed primarily by adult teachers who are professional "knowers." While latter involves imitation of what others do and say as well as experimentation and repetitive practice of basic skills. By the virtue of socialization individuals acquire world view. Personality development is also product of socialization of an individual.

For the purpose, our chief concern is with socialization process and its effects on relations of Christian individuals of Bashir Abad Colony with Muslims of the area. In Bashir Abad Colony, an individual learns his socialization from two sources, i.e. family and society. Family is the very first step where individuals learn personality development. Family is also restraints social relations of Christians with Muslims. In Christians of Bashir Abad Colony the role of society is as important like family in maintaining or developing relations with Muslims. The feeling of separate identity from main stream on basis of religion provides solid role to church in developing individuals' personality. We have already discussed role of family in relations with Muslims and role of family in socialization process. We have also discussed the role of religion (church) in socialization process. How the teaching of church effects Christian's (of Bashir Abad Colony) relations with Muslims.

Social relations with Muslims are determined by overall social life of Christian community. From outside members of colony present a view of single family—where all efforts are directed

⁶⁹While socialization refers to the general process of acquiring culture, anthropologists use the term enculturation

for betterment of family solidarity. For Christians keeping shared identity for outside world is first priority. In situations dealing with outside threat, all inner divisions/gaps contract and eliminates, whole focus shifts towards outside threat. Presenting uniqueness of solidarity for external threat, Christian community life teaches individual how to maintain relations with Muslims. Individual accepts changes in his/her personality for solidarity of whole society.

5.8 Social Hierarchy

Concept of social hierarchy for an individual has changed in two main things. One is economic status of the individual which is commonly gained by higher education and other is political affiliation with stronger political party in the area. Combination of both of these qualities in an individual gives prestigious status. The prestigious people can manipulate and influence societal decision with ease.

The affiliation with political parties has become a source of power and prestige inside the colony. This affiliation also provides a certain privileges in the majority community to minority's member. For example; Michael Mushtaq is a well-known and famous person in the colony and in Pashtun population around colony. He has no other reason of his familiarity but his strong affiliation with Pashtun Khawa Milli Awami Party, which is a Pashtun nationalist party. Michael Mustaq is well familiar and there is no community based decision without his will. Whether it is construction of water pump, approval of area for playground for children, resolution of conflicts with Muslims, and so on, all these sort of decisions require involvement of Michael Mushtaq. People proudly discuss role of Michael Mushtaq and other influential individuals during time of mobs and other hard times.

Social hierarchy is also based on economic factor as well, whereas for Christians to change their economic condition it is solely education. Because only by attaining higher education, one can get better economic position. An example of economic stability and importance of higher education in social hierarchy is present in the personality of Madam Shamim. She has good well recognized position in her people. It is the virtue of her education that she is on the post of education secretary of the province. Her stable economic position provides her with opportunity to influence communal decisions of her people. Muslims also try to build good relations with her; it is the course of her higher job position that gives her importance in Muslim community as well.

Traditional systems of conflict resolution such as *Jirga* and *Punchayat* have gone weaker with time. Christians being Punjabi ethnic group followed *Punchayat* system while Pashtun and Baluch as tribal societies preferred *Jirga* system for solution of conflicts in their respective societies. Western educational system has led to this change in traditional system. People prefer to solve conflicts through courts and other government institutions instead by their traditional systems. The role of *Jirga* and *Punchayat* is somewhat replaced by individuals with higher economic position, political affiliation and degree of relations of individual with Muslims. Individuals with such qualities are socially appreciated and has dominant role in decisions on societal base.

5.9 Discriminations

This research focuses more on nonreligious variables of discrimination than on religious variables. In this research religious discrimination was not reported. Not a single incident of direct discrimination in religious practices was reported in the course of research. Religious practices are never stopped or banned by government or any public force. Other discriminations on the basis of religious identity were frequently reported, which have their roots in nonreligious elements (Fox, 2000)⁷⁰. Religious identity is used in political discriminations, institutional discriminations in public offices, more frequently in economic discriminations.

Along with the discriminations at higher governmental policy making level—such as that in constitution of the country—there are certain other types of institutional discriminations against minorities of Pakistan. Limited Job opportunities, deprivation of allotted quota for minorities, harsh conduct in departments, alien police's conduct, not given allotted quota in the army, issue of domiciles certificates instead of local, such are some of the examples of discriminations in the institutional setup against Christians. Christians have been living in this area (Baluchistan) before partition but are not accepted as locals. Government does not issue locals certificate but domicile certificates to Christians which deprive them from obtaining certain gains as locals of the area. Some of major discriminations on ethno-religious identity for Christians of Nawan Killi are as follow;

⁷⁰ Fox, J. (2000). *Religious Causes of Discrimination against Ethno-Religious Minorities*. *International Studies Quarterly*, 423–450.

5.9.1 Wine Store is for Christians

In an Islamic state wine stores are illegal and there is no permission to allow wine selling stores but only for non-Muslims. Any non-Muslim is allowed to sell or buy wine in an Islamic state unless he/s she does not sell it to a Muslim and only if his/her religion allows him to do drink wine.

Government has legalized and issued licenses to wine stores on the excuse that these shops are for Christians and other minorities. Christians scholars, writers and religious leaders have numerously denied this blame and proved that Christianity does not allow drinking wine, hence it should not issue any licenses on the name of Christians, but government never change its policy. Although the product or wine sold in these stores are out of reach of a common Christian or any other minority member, but still there are several wine stores that government has issued licenses to them by the excuse of utilization of their product by non-Muslims.

Muslim individuals build relations with young Christians to provide them with wine from these stores. In such relations both look at gaining benefits from one another. Muslim obtains wine by showing identity card of his/her Christian friend while Christian enjoys drinking wine—which is beyond his personal approach—in the expense of his Muslim friend. Such relations are not long lasting and remains to individuals. Individuals both Muslim and Christians hide these relations from their family members and society.

5.9.2 Christians Do Not Need Drinking Water

A typical example of institutional based discrimination against Christians in Nawan Killi, was evident in a recent, drinking water supply pipelines distribution project. The government announced the project to spread pipelines of domestic use water in Quetta city because of the short fall of water level. In Nawan Killi the whole areas are given pipelines except the area of Yuhana Abad (Christian's area) which was left in the middle of Muslim population. When the people complained about this injustice, the government made the excuse that this place was not included in plan. Even pipeline went beyond this area but the population of this particular area was not provided with drinking water. Lack of political power and limited representation of their rights brings many other injustices and discrimination of such type to Christians.

5.9.3 Demand of Official Promotion means Death

The bad security situations in Baluchistan provide space for more discrimination against Christians. On the one hand Christians are facing discriminations as a religious minority while at the same time they are target as an ethnic group as well. Several cases of depriving Christians from promotions in their respective departments—by threatening them to send them to Baluch areas if they demanded any promotions—were reported. Whereas for a Punjabi ethnic group it is impossible to work in the Baluch concentrated area because of the hostile Baluch's attitude towards Punjabi ethnic group. Current security situations are responsible for the gap between Christians and certain Muslim ethnic groups like Baluch.

People cannot demand legal right of promotions as per their service, because they are threatened to be sent in areas of the province where situations are hostile and there are regular cases of killings of government officials. Security threats and life dangers halt promotions of Christians who are serving from many years in different government institutions.

Bad security conditions also contribute to poor economic conditions of a Christian family. Those who started jobs at low salary 10-15 years back are still paid the same amount. On one hand daily life accessories are reaching peak and becoming more and more expensive, while on the other hand individuals are paid same amount that is not enough to sustain compulsories of today's life.

Chapter 6: Social Relation of Christians of Bashir Abad Colony

This chapter deals with social relations of Christians of Nawan Killi with Muslims living near Bashir Abad Colony. Categorizing relations with Muslims in three levels—familial, individual and societal—this chapter discusses the state of Muslim-Christian relations. Here impacts from interaction of both societies are also discussed. This chapter deals global effects and their impacts on local relations. The incident of 9/11 terrorist attack in United States of America as a mid-point in the shift of relations between Christians and Muslim in Nawan Killi, provides impacts of international events on local relation structures. In the light of international process of assimilation and pluralism of Christians of Bashir Abad Colony are also discussed.

6.1 Relation with Muslims

Social relations or social interactions⁷¹ with Muslims are limited as compare to Christians. The limitation in relations with Muslim has deep roots in harsh experiences, as there are several cases found of familial conflicts because of such relations.

The security situation in Baluchistan and the problems face by the minorities in Baluch belt (area) enabled good strong relations with Pashtuns. A continuous shift of Christian families from Baluch areas—because of hostile conditions—shows the unsecure feeling as an ethnic group in those areas. Strong caste based division in Punjabi ethnic group separates Christians from overall group. Cases of caste based discrimination—where individuals were discriminated on the socially attached label of low status—also resulted in gap with certain ethnic based relations. For example, a Punjabi (Muslim) will not eat or drink with a Christian, because of the socially defined lower or un-pure status attached to them. While it is not the case with Pashtuns and Baluch, where the caste based division is weaker (comparatively) and this brings Christians closer to these ethnic groups.

⁷¹ In the course of this research relations and interaction terms are used interchangeably to show the same process—daily mutual intercourse which determines social life, in the society. Social interaction is the unit of social relations. It is clear enough that either of these terms (relations or interactions) are used to address similar process.

Here we will divide the relations with Muslims into three types or types—Familial level, individual level and societal (communal) level. There are significance differences between the relations at these levels. Where familial relations are kept on the minimum—because of several reasons, and also according to ethnic basis—the other two individual and societal or communal levels are used to obtain certain benefits, and even to some extent relations of latter two levels are affiliated with pride and status of prestige in the community (Davies et al, 2011; Dovidio et al, 2001)⁷².

6.2 Familial Level Relations

Christians of Bashir Abad Colony, maintain a certain gape between their familial relations ⁷³ with Muslim (as compared to Christians) and this shows the hard experiences of closeness with Muslims. Limitations of Muslim relations are not from the beginning but it has risen from the experiences of such relations. The limitation in familial relations varies between ethnic groups, for example one family may have familial relations with a Pashtun family but will not maintain any relation with a Baluch or Punjabi (non-Christian) family. 85% of the families, during research, reported that they did not want to maintain a familial relationship with Muslims, while the rest of the showed neutral or positive response.

Table 14: Respondent’s Preferred Familial Level Interactions with Ethnic Groups

	Pashtuns	%	Baluch	%	Punjabi	%	Hazara	%	others	%
Familial level	49	70.0	4	5.7	9	12.8	3	4.3	5	7.1

Source: Personal interviews with individuals

Christians relate this gap in relations referring to several cases where family lost their honor and pride, as their female eloped and married Muslim man and converted to Islam.

⁷²Davies, K, Tropp, L, Aron, A, Pettigrew, T, & Wright, S. (2011). *Cross-Group Friendships and Intergroup Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review*. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 15(4),

Dovidio, J, Eller, A, & Hewstone, M (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group Processes & Inter group Relations*, 14(2),

⁷³ Familial relation, (in this research) means the regular or occasional visits between individuals as members of particular families.

Several cases⁷⁴ especially the of young girls were reported where the family has to face shame in *Bradri*. The social circles of such family (whose female member marry Muslim) become very limited even in the own *Bradri*. Family members especially the male members, who feel the control over the female as their pride and dignity, become isolated from their social activities. Such an act (marrying a non-Christian) of a girl becomes a source of shame for the whole family and *bradri*, and even results in serious psychological problems for closely related individuals. There are severe consequences of such an act (marrying or running out with a Muslim) for members of the Christian family. Along with cut off from the family there is a social break up in relations in society.

Although the members of family and *bradri* relates such an act of individual as a shame for them in the society, but other people do not talk openly about such an issue. Every person is worried that it can happen to him as well, so everyone tries to avoid talking and discussing such matters. People seldom discuss incidents of such a category in public.

Case Study: Marriage, Conversion and Discrimination

Name: Samuel Masih

Age: 70 years

Caste: Gill

Samuel Masih is an old man, he is 70 years old. He used to work (sweeping) in cantonment and got retired after completing his tenure and now gets a pension of Rs.4000. He has a small *kuka* (small mobile shop) on the main road of the Bashir Abad colony. He has three sons and six daughters. Four of his daughters are married and one of his sons is also married.

One of Samuel's daughters had married a Muslim boy. His daughter 'X'⁷⁵ was educated; she had studied till class 9th and was working in a beauty parlor. The beauty parlor belonged to a Muslim owner called 'A', who was Punjabi by caste. A's brother 'B' was running this parlor.

B proposed to X to marry him to which she agreed. Her family used every possible tactic to refrain her from marrying a Muslim guy, but she converted to Islam to get protection by law.

⁷⁴ A typical case study is presented in the end of this discussion.

⁷⁵ Original names are not mentioned as for the request of respondent and keep the ethical standard of research)

This gave protection by law to X and she married B. She married B and her family members could not stop her.

The only thing poor Samuel could do against the act of his daughter was a boycott for many years. Later on X tried numerous times to convince her family and to forgive her. For four years her family did not forgive her or allow her to enter their home. After passage of time, however, they accepted her marriage with the Muslim guy. Samuel was not happy about his family pressurizing him to meet his daughter. Eventually she was allowed to enter the house, on the promise of not discussing a single word of what she has done and how is her life now. The consequences of X's marriage, however, has been harsh for her family. Her father and brothers consider her action a disgrace to their social position, and her mother became mentally ill. Her family stopped visiting the *bradri* out of fear of being disgraced in public.

Now Samuel does not allow his others daughters to work outside home, and does not keep any contact at family's level with any Muslim. Samuel's family does not keep any relations with any Muslim—inviting Muslims to home or visiting to Muslim's home. Samuel says 'I do not allow Muslim to come near my home'. He and his sons never want to bring any Muslim to his home nor do they have any visits to Muslim's home. He thinks that Muslim when they are allowed to enter inside home will have a target in his mind and will pretend to be a friend until he achieves the target. He says that he is ready to help a Christian at mid time and he will do whatever he can do for his own people (will give his blood for them). But for Muslims door of his home is closed and he will never allow any Muslim to enter his home.

Samuel says, that "this is one of the biggest injustices with minorities in this country. We will not complain of our family members, who convert to Islam, as everyone is free to choose, what he wants and prefers, but Muslims kill a person who wants to become a Christian and puts flowers on those who convert to Islam".⁷⁶ Eyes full of tears Samuel says, "I wish she (X) would have died before bringing such a shame to us".

6.2.1 Discrimination in Keeping Familial Relations

Christians look at monopoly in marriage relations with Muslim as a discrimination against them. Islam formulates strict rules in the concern of interfaith marriages. The general rule of Islam is

⁷⁶quotes from Samuel's interview

that Muslims should marry Muslims. Islam is consistent with itself in prohibiting the Muslim man to marry a *mushrik*⁷⁷ woman and vice versa, but it has different rules for the marriages with people of the book (*ahl al-Kitab*).⁷⁸ Muslim men are allowed to marry women from *ahl al-kitab* but Muslim women are not allowed to marry with *ahl al-Kitab*. A Muslim male or female should not marry a non-Muslim male or female. The only exception is given to Muslim men who are allowed to marry the chaste girls from among the People of the Book. Why Islamic rules follows such a discriminatory rules is somewhat not related to our topic of discussion. Certain arguments are given in the support of these rules, which need detail discussion.⁷⁹

For Christians this one sided rule of Islam quite frequently used as source of discrimination, Christian girls are married by Muslims who comes and built good relations with them. But the marriage of a Muslim female to Christian male is not tolerated at all, and even such an act of an individual turns to a conflict to the whole society. Although such cases where Muslim female have married a Christian male are scarce but somehow, Mr. Anthony William Pastor (who was one of my key informants during this research) told of an incident that had happened few years back. On the other side the marriage of Christian female with Muslim male are quit common and happens on regular intervals.

Whenever a case of such category occurs, where Muslim boy marries or run out a Christian girl, the relation becomes blurry between the two groups. In the early time such cases were dealt with traditional justice systems *Jirga* or *Punchayat* but due to the weakening of these institutions and the complication of relations between these societies, such cases are decided in courts. When the matter reaches to court till that time both the parties try to solve it on their own.

6.2.2 Muslim Girl's Marriage

Only one case (told by Mr. Anthony) of a young Muslim girl named Zarina who ran out of her home, with a Christian boy Peter Nikol, was reported, which resulted as an assault on the colony from the members of girl's family. Family member of Zarina came and took the girl with them

⁷⁷ All those who believe in more than one God or '*mushrik*' is one who associates others with Allah or worship idols, such as Hindus, Buddhists, etc.

⁷⁸ Islam refers to followers of Abrahamic religions—Christianity and Judaism—monotheist religions as 'people of book' or 'ahl al-Kitab'.

⁷⁹ For details of Islamic marriage rules and prohibitions, see Sheik Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, in his well-known book, *The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam*, which clarifies the concepts of 'Halal' and 'Haram' in Islam.

by force, and threatened to hand over Peter Nikol as well, who was hiding in his home for several days. Family members of Zarina and others Muslims, who accompanied them, threatened that they will burn Peter's home and kill his family members and anyone who helps him, if they do not handed Peter to them. After some time as the matter came to little rest by involving people of influence from Muslims, it was decided that Peter Nikol, has to leave this area along with his family. Then after several efforts from elders form both side it was decided that Peter's family has to leave this area. No one actually knows what happened to Zarina, some speculates that she is killed by her family members; other says that she was isolated and chained in a room, which resulted in a suicide later on.

It is not only the convergence of individual's to Islam that has forced in keeping distance from the ethnic groups of Muslims (although it is one of the dominant factors), but there are other factors effecting widening this gape and there are certain changes which are brought by this social gap. Continuous changes in the behavioral patterns are associated to the friendship of Muslims. For example Christians associate the use of drugs by well educated people, young ones getting involving in robberies and thefts, and many other such kind of social evils/crimes are considered to have grown out of such relations.

6.3 Personal or Individual Level Relationships

Individual based relations are somewhat different of that of familial level. Individual keeps relations with Muslim to obtain certain material needs from them. But all such relations or interactions are kept to personal basis and are not extended to the familial level. A person who has good relation and even close friendship with his colleagues would not want to stretch his relations to family visits or to convert it to familial relations. He always tries to maintain such relations to his personal interest. Help in providing job, borrowing money, political goals, gaining prestige in own people, influencing decision making in community based conflicts and such other, are the benefits that individual gains from relations with Muslims especially from the socially higher status Muslim individuals.

Personal and individual level of interactions is influenced by the familial level of interactions. The familial background influences the individual's personal relations, with certain ethnic groups. It is the family who teaches who are to be taken as friends and who cannot be considered

as friends. A person may not think negatively about building/maintaining relations with a certain group (with an individual from a particular ethnic background or with an ethnic group as a whole), but his family forces him to keep limitation of such a relations or at least keep these relations to his personal level. Most of the respondents maintain personal based relations with individuals from ethnic groups, with whom they do not like to have familial relations. Statistically, 84% respondents develop or like to develop and maintain relations with individuals from different ethnic groups at personal level.

Those respondents interviewed presented different reasons for their preferred individual based relations. Individual based interactions are mostly due to day to day contact or “unfocused interaction” (Goffman; 1961), while other “focused interactions” of which are economic or job, mutual interest, schooling together, playing together, or any other particular reason for interaction. Out of which 28.6% prefer relations with Punjabi, 51.4% with Pashtuns and remaining with Baluch and others groups to their personal level.

Table 15: Personal level interactions with individuals of different ethnic groups

	Pashtuns	%	Baluch	%	Punjabi	%	Hazara	%	others	%
Individual level	36	51.4	5	7.1	20	28.6	4	5.7	5	7.1

Source: Personal interviews with individuals

Personal level of interactions varies gender wise and ethnic basis wise. Females are kept on lower side with interaction with males from the other society, and mostly their interactions are limited to their own gender—females.

6.4 Societal or Communal Level

The relations at societal level are mostly concerned with macro level relation which is one of our chief concerns to understand the process of assimilation and pluralism in the Christians of Bashir Abad Colony. We have discussed the role of family in decision making for relations with Muslims, two other social institutions of Christians that are religion (Church) and economic sectors which determine the nature and level of relations with Muslims. Economic opportunities and discrimination in the government institutions determines the nature of societal level of interactions.

At this level, those relations are included which maintain connections between both communities. Such interaction occurs between different institutions of both communities and the influence of societal relations is from both sides with variation in magnitude. In this level the Majority (Muslim) comparatively has more upper hand, as their institutions have visible effect on the Minority's institutions. Visible sign of Muslim's culture were observed in the life style of Christians, such as change in dress patterns, observation of female's Purdah,⁸⁰ speaking Pashtu language by most youngsters, change of names to that of Muslims etc. are the products of interactions with Muslims. In this level we can observe the institutional influences of one society on the other (assimilation).

This process is not one way rather from both the side with variations in magnitude. If women of Christian have adopted Purdah from Muslim culture on the other hand Muslim women are encourage to participate in the activities outside their home—like getting formal education in schools and colleges, which is a visible influence of Christian's on Muslim.

6.5 Consequences of Limited Relations

Limiting the relations with Muslim has both positive and negative effects on lives of individuals. From the Christians point of view it is the way to keep their pride and dignity (female) safe from the eyes of Muslim (individuals) who only make relations for wrong purpose. One of the visible effects is the physical isolation of houses from Muslim population, which has turned Christian area into a four sided closed colony. The physical isolation has several other reasons along with limiting relations.

6.5.1 Physical Isolation of Colony

Bashir Abad Colony was not isolated physically from the rest of Nawan Killi. There are different reasons that the colony has moved from a more combined and strong relations to isolation. Certain small events of theft, robbery, quarrels etc. build the ground for thinking about isolation. It was more the cultural differences and religious identity's demand that produces dominant voice in the isolation of colony from Muslim population.

⁸⁰ Wrapping a shawl to cover the body and sometimes also covering head with the same shawl. A strictly followed Islamic and Pashtun culture's rule that women are supposed to follow, and it is considered compulsory for women.

The rapidly mixing up cultural traits and the disappearance or weakness of their cultural values put the option of physical isolation for Christians of Bashir Abad Colony. Christians were rapidly adopting the ways of life of Muslims (Pashtuns) and they were losing their original identities in the larger society. Frequent visits between families and intensive interactions were blurring the religious identity of Christians. So the decision of physical isolation (although unconsciously) from Christians, became as a reaction to the assimilation forces from the dominant (Muslim) group.

A particular incident of killing of a Christian man Majah Masih⁸¹ during a night robbery by some thieves became the incident that brought loud voices of physical separation from Muslim for better security reason. It took long strikes and several days of protest till the government announced that Christian will be given separate four side walled colony for their protection.

6.5.2 Isolation as a Strategy

The physical isolation has come as a response from minority to subordination and can be considered, as a strategy that minority adopts to contain more pluralistic process and maintain their separate identity. Adaptation of such a strategy can be considered at the extreme point as the group decides to isolate itself to preserve its identity. It had certain advantages and also disadvantages to the population of Bashir Abad Colony. They might have gained secure from the rapid flow of assimilation into the main stream society, but at the same time, they have lost other important gains from the combine undivided living.

⁸¹Majah Masih was an old man (almost 50 years old). He was living with his wife and two daughters in a small compound in the premises of colony. He had relations with some young men from Muslims, who were alleged of selling drugs in the area and supplying it to others. Majah Masih was drug addicted and used to sit and played gambling with those drug dealers.

One night when Majah Masih was sleeping in his home, some robbers broke into his house. Majah tried to stop robbers and in the meanwhile, one of them opened fire on Majah and he got two shots in his head. (Some say, that robbers tried to take Majah's daughter with force, due to which Majah resisted). After the death of Majah Masih, Christians put forward their voice for separation from Muslim population. Although this thinking of separate place were prevailing earlier than this incident, and has its roots in prior harsh experiences of Christian-Muslim relations, but this particular event (death of Majah) prepared the ground to physical isolation on practical ground. Dead body of Majah Masih was laid in front of Governor House for couple of days, with thousands of minority members of different communities, protesting and shouting for their basic right. Challenges of security were presented in the arguments of physical isolation, and finally the government approved separate place in the form of colony to Christians of Bashir Abad Colony.

Christians as part of Punjabi ethnic group due to the physical boundaries isolated themselves from their ethnic group living in the Nawan Killi. They have divided their Punjabi ethnic identity (which is dominant ethnic group in the country) into Muslim Punjabi and Christian Punjabi due to their physical isolation. This cut off their major identity from a dominant ethnic group to a religious minority.

Due to the walled boundaries they have limited their extension beyond the already confined boundaries. The area of the colony cannot be extended anymore, which is resulting in congested houses, narrow streets, and over populated houses. Such circumstances where facilities are limited and population is increasing while the area is limited become more suitable for serious issues such as daily conflict situations for individual and families, serious diseases, regular tensions, depression etc. as societal norms.

Physical isolation, presents a separate identity for its inhabitants, but it has also become the source of prejudice and discrimination against individuals and community. For example, at the time of American attack on Afghanistan (after 9/11), colony became under direct attacks of words and propaganda for the local Mullahs. Individuals were discriminated on the affiliation to the physical boundaries of Bashir Abad Colony.

6.6 Effects on Socialization

The gap in the Christian-Muslim relations has effects on the familial life, especially on the socialization process. Families try to maintain a gap between their children and those of Muslims'. Many families encourage young children to go and play with Christian fellows and not avoid Muslims. Church's teachings also carry weight in these teaching (to some extent). Children are encouraged to visit Sunday church and participate in prayers, where a constant message of keeping distance between themselves and Muslims is propagated.

This type of teaching from family and (enhanced by) church produces certain psyche of the children. Children are kept limited in their relation outside the premises of the colony, which has a visible effect on their socialization process. Such children lack factors of tolerance and produces negative prejudice about the Muslims. Limited exposure to the

people, who are controlling most the society's resources, reduces good opportunities for the bright future as well.

Case Study: Socialization and Limited Interaction with Muslims

Name: Jawad George (Muna)

Age: 14 years

Education: 9th class

Jawad George (Muna) is the eldest son of his parents (total 3 children) and wants to become a doctor to eliminate the poor conditions of his family. Muna is a position holder in his class and the only dream 'Muna' is growing with is to give comfort to his father and to wipe out the poor conditions of his family. He also knows that for his dreams to come true there is only one way and that is education. He has to become a doctor and only this way he can counter this unwanted guest of poverty.

Muna does not like the attitude of his class fellows, who call him 'son of sweeper'. He does not have many friends in school. He had one best friend Ayaz who lives at a distance of 15 minutes from his home. He had been regularly going to Ayaz's home. But since his parents has forcefully stopped him from meeting and visiting Ayaz's home, now he has no friend to play with. Muna says his parents do not allow him to go and play outside, especially out of the colony. His Parents want him to play with his own community's children. But Muna do not have friends in colony and want to go outside and play computer games with Ayaz. He sometimes secretly goes outside the colony to play with friends.

His parents regularly take him to the church and tell him to participate and listen carefully to 'father' (priest) who always tells him how to control the relations with Muslims. He observes the teaching of the priest with great interest and follows his instructions carefully. Priest presents different examples of the daily life experiences of those who kept strong relations with bad people. He tells that our first responsibility is to keep our religion pure and first demand in this is to maintain a gap between ourselves and Muslims. He always kept on thinking all the time, why Muslim's do not make them friends and why they hate Christians?

His parents encourage his friendship with Christians and Muslims are afraid to let him go out with friends. The only reason they restrict him to go to Ayaz's place is because they fear that

their son might get hurt by other because of his religion. One day heard the story of a boy who was badly beaten by his Muslim friends, during a fight on kite flying. After that Muna got scared and did not visited Ayaz's home anymore. Muna does not feel Ayaz would do any harm to him but he feels unsecured and unsafe (as his parents tell him) on the way while going to Ayaz's home. His parents also keep on reminding him how hard is it for them to make him continue his studies with very limited income. He should not waste time in moving around with his friends.

All the mental tensions have visible influence on Muna's health and studies as well. He has dropped his position from 1st to 4th position in last year. He does not want to study with Muslims and do not ask anyone to help him in his academics. He has also grown less in weight. All the teaching of church and family forced Muna to cut himself from those people who understands him (his best friend Ayaz). He has grown a negative feeling about relations with Muslim and even thinks negatively about Muslims. The combination of continuous pressure exerted by family members, the regular teaching in church, and the pressure of removing poverty forced Muna to change his life style and now he has no friend to go and play with.

It is clear the familial conditions (economic or any else) affect the socialization process. It also effects the personality development of an individual. Muna from his small age is in search of ways that can eliminate the bad economic conditions of his family and has already developed prejudices about relations with Muslims from teachings his is observing from family and other different sources. Combination of certain situations has brought psychological pressure and tension to a little boy in the early stage of his life. Overall family and religious teachings have solid roles in the process of socialization and personality building of a person. When such a role becomes negative then there are serious consequences which can become fatal in future.

6.7 Impacts From Christians

The effects of assimilation are not one way or unilateral, but can be from minority to majority as well. Certain visible marks of Christians are seen in the life of Muslim individuals and families as well. One of such dominant mark is the adaptation of education for girls in the Pashtun society.

Pashtun code of conducts or *Pashtunwali*⁸² limits female to the premises of their house, and the responsibility to perform all the activities outside the house is put on man's shoulder. It is men's responsibility to provide the basic necessities to woman and her job is supposed to stay at home and perform domestic chores, child rearing, etc. inside the house. If a woman gets out of the home (for any unavoidable reason), she has to observe Purdah and use veiling⁸³. If the woman does not observe Purdah strictly or is seen by any stranger then it is supposed to be against the rules of *Pashtunwali* and can bring severe problems for such a woman. So, we can say that women are deprived from attaining school and education in the shadows of *Pashtunwali*. In this way the female role in the economic activities outside their home is also limited as women are confined to the premises of their homes.

Population around Bashir Abad Colony are Pashtuns (locals and migrants from Afghanistan), who are strict followers of *Pashtunwali*. Due to the interaction with Christians certain families crossed the lines of *Pashtunwali*. A visible influence in crossing such lines is the preference of education—especially of female education, in Pashtun living inside and close by Bashir Abad Colony. Christians view education as the only source of gaining a respectable position and good economic opportunities for themselves. So the ratio of education is higher in Christians as compared to Muslims.⁸⁴ Higher female (formal) education is more common in Christians than that of males. There is a visible influence of preference of education of female of Christians on that on the Muslims. Seeing the importance of education and the economic benefits of woman to the family, some families of Pashtuns have gone against the rules of *Pashtunwali* and feels not hesitating to send their daughters/sister to school and colleges. Members of those families who send female to school and colleges, do not hesitate to propagate the importance of modern education for women, (which was a rear thing some years back).

⁸² The word *Pashtunwali* is referred as *Pakhtunwali* by other authors (S.A Akbar, Fredrick Barth etc.) but in the course of this research local term (*Pashtunwali*) is used. It means 'the way of the Pashtun'. *Pashtunwali* is comprised of the sum of the total values and social norms, which determine the way of life peculiar to the Pashtuns. Pashtun cultural values are reflected in a code of ethics and honor, this is a governing social system of the Pashtuns.

⁸³ For details on the importance of veiling in Pashtun society see:

Jon W. Anderson (1982). *Social Structure and the Veil: Comportment and the Composition of Interaction in Afghanistan*. Published by Anthropos institute

⁸⁴ See chapter 2 for statistical data on education.

Case Study: Muslim Female and Modern Education

Name: Abdul Jabbar

Age: 38

Cast: Tarakai (Pashtun)

Education: Illiterate

Abdul Jabbar lives in Bashir Abad Colony in a rented house. He is married and has three children (two daughters and one son). His children Zareena (daughter), Wasifjan (son) and Bakhta (daughter) are 12, 10 and 7 years old respectively. He lives in a joint family with his father and mother and two brothers (one married and one unmarried brothers). He is economically weak and works as a daily wage labor to fulfill his family's needs. He and his brother support their family by working hard to provide daily life needs to whole family—with quality education to the youngsters.

Abdul Jabbar and brother next to him (married) are illiterate; the youngest brother (20 years old) is studying in college. All three children of Abdul Jabbar are studying in school. Abdul Jabbar feels sorry for himself and brother who missed the opportunity of going to school. He does not think that it was his parents fault for their illiteracy. His parents might or might not have wanted them to be educated but it was more factors of social system (*Pashtunwali*) that took their education. He attributes the cause of his illiterate to the social system rather than the weakness of his parents.

He wants to provide every possible opportunity for his children and youngest brother to study in the best affordable (in his economical reach) school. Before coming to Bashir Abad Colony his ideas about the female education were like those of Mullah's⁸⁵, who always speak negatively about the female role outside the house. He says that he never knew the importance of education and was unaware of benefits of education for female.

He admitted his son in school at a small age, but not his daughters, as he thought that it was against the rules of his pride and dignity. By spending time with Christians and looking at the girls going to school, his daughter Zareena demanded from him to buy a school uniform for her and Bakhta, and to let her go to school like her other Christian friends. Abdul Jabbar's wife

⁸⁵ Religious leader or a person, who leads the prayers in the mosque

Shahista was also influenced by her Christian friend Sanobar who is a nurse at private hospital, to send her daughters to school because education makes a person secure and confident.

After thinking a lot and discussing the issue with his close friends, Abdul Jabbar finally came to the decision to send his daughters to school too. One of his close friends Jamil Ahmad told about the importance of female education and the importance of an educated mother. Although he was feeling hesitant in the beginning because of the pressures from his caste, he took the decision to educate his daughters nevertheless. He attributes the decision he took to spending time with Christians and the practical example of Christian's females in their behavior as well as economic benefits they bring to the family. His ideas about female are completely changed to that of traditional Pashtun.

The above presented case study is one of the many examples of that Muslim (Orthodox Pashtun) families had changed their views about female education, because of contact or interactions with Christians. Influence in female education is one of the angles of cross cultural transmission of traits, there are other similar exchanges brought by Christians and Muslims relations.

6.8 Social Relations with People of Other Areas

A strong affiliation is kept by the people of Bashir Abad Colony with the Christians of other areas of the city. These relations are on the basis of religious affiliations, marriages affiliations, job related etc. People feel comfortable in relating themselves to the overall Christian community rather than being part of the majority Muslim population. Several respondents' response to why the relations only with Christians, was that; they do not want to get mixed up with Muslims. The relations are kept on the religious basis as well. Religious teachings become a source for connections with other areas of the country. Different religious scholars visit from bigger cities like Lahore, Karachi etc. Few years back scholars from other countries also visited for religious teachings.

The relations extend beyond the city and even the provincial level in the case of marriage. Endogamy in the caste is prohibited and thus the consanguineal relations are found with people outside the city and even in different provinces. Visits to/from different areas are made on celebration occasions. Visits occur on the occasions of happiness or sadness.

6.9 Sense of Relatedness to Wider Religious Community

As an observation on the part of researcher, Christians of Bashir Abad Colony relate themselves to overall Christian community. Acting in local circumstances but relating themselves with internationally stronger groups of Christian community was evident in the behavior of people. People feel proud and prestigious by relating to an international event of members of Christian community. Any social act such as international Christians' charity organizations, NGOs of Christian missionaries etc. are discussed with pride and happiness. Reason of attachment to international community rather than to local mainstream groups perhaps lies in several discriminations against people of Bashir Abad Colony by Muslim of area.

6.10 International Events and Relations

Defining globalization Kearney (1995) says that it is:

“The intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”.⁸⁶

World has become a place of intensified connections, led by the use of intense technology and advancement of travel of information from one part of the world to another. One of the most critical point of this interconnectedness is the influence on the relations at local and national levels from the events which has no connection with locals sphere and that are thousands of miles far off (global) and vice versa.

In the case of Christian-Muslim relations of Bashir Abad Colony, there are visible influences of those events which are far off from here, and have no connection with local population. The dramatic change of healthy relations to hostile is the product of events that have no connection with none of the communities. We will take the incident of 9/11⁸⁷ as a major point in the shift of relations between Christians and Muslims of Bashir Abad Colony. To understand the effects of

⁸⁶ Cited in; Kearney, M. (1995). *The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism*. Annual Reviews. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155949> (Accessed: 02/01/2013 16:28)

⁸⁷ The attack and destruction of Twin Towers in United States of America, on 9th-Sep-2001, which caused thousands of casualties, allegedly by terrorists from Muslim countries, which brought a major change in the world relations. A new war by the name of “Terrorism” sparked in the reaction of bringing these terrorists to justice, which is going on till the date.

such international events, we will divide the era in two parts: Relations Pre 9/11, and Relations Post 9/11. The incident of 9/11 is used as a mid-point in relations between Christians-Muslims. Positive and negative impacts of pre and post 9/11, incident are discussed in this section.

6.11 Relations Pre 9/11

The history of Christians in Nawan Killi, tells that there remained a peaceful and calm atmosphere in this area in the beginning of the settlement of Christians. People used to help and participate with one another. There were no physical boundaries between Christians and Muslim population. Strong communal based interactions were present and a high degree of co-operations were evident enough in both the societies. A high degree of tolerance was the norm of both the societies.

Economically weak Christians were finding their benefits in the main stream society by keeping strong relations with members of the community. The close relations produced a high degree of assimilation for Christians with Muslim norms and values, but overall it provided peaceful and tolerated atmosphere for both the communities. It can be evident that not a single case of communal religion based discrimination was reported in the era pre 9/11, which is give a glance of mutual cooperation between both the communities. There were weekly and monthly communal discussions on religious affairs between both the communities and solutions for different odds in the society were found through mutual discussions. Numerous cases of social justice through the *Jirga* and *Punchayat* systems were reported which highlights the respect of one another social justice systems. Open religious debates on social issues were the peak point of good relations.

Case Study: Harmony and Peace Era

Name: Madam Shamim Sardar

Education: M.A (Islamiat)

Age: 40 years

Marital status: Married

Madam Shamim is one of the most popular persons in the colony of Bashir Abad. She is district secretary in the education department at the grade 19. She enjoys a lot of authority in the government and has the power to use it. She is follower of Pentecostal school of thoughts

(protestant) of Christianity. She runs the church of Pentecostals and (claims) to be the only woman in the whole country who runs a Church. She has got the diploma of 3 years (Seminary) from the bible college (Religious institute of Christians like Madrasa of Muslims). Madam Shamim is married and has three children, two sons and a daughter (youngest). She has an impressive personality and talks at the peak of confidence. The most interesting thing about her personality is that she has M.A degree in Islamiyat. It is surprising to hear her thoughts and knowledge about Islam. She also publishes her columns in newspapers on different issues.

She had a vast knowledge of history of Muslim-Christian of Bashir Abad Colony. Madam Shamim told that her influence of getting a degree in Islamic studies was drawn from the peaceful and calm atmosphere that prevailed in this area a few years earlier. Social interactions were very broad and we never felt unsafe from anyone in those days. She tells about the debates between the individuals and groups for resolving social issues. “There was no hatred between these two communities in religious any affairs.”

She told that there were regular debates on religious similarities between the individuals and groups of educated people from both societies and there was no harm or negative thinking about one another’s religion.

Her father Sardar Masih was an influential person in the area and also had an influential role in decision making in Christian community. Her father had very good and close relations with Muslims and there were strong familial relations with Muslim families. Madam Shamim says that she used to sit in different conversations with her father and used to listen to the dialogues between two different religious views. She wanted to highlight the common factor of Christianity and Islam, as both religions are very close to each other and has certain points in common. She got the inspiration of studying religious education of both the communities, which later on resulted in getting a master degree in Islamic studies.

Madam Shamim says that cultural influences from Muslims were visible and we were accepting them without any hesitation, in fact people encouraged positive acculturation from Muslims. We never thought different from them in any way, as we have kept all religious differences aside. Wearing dress patterns similar to Muslims and speaking languages of Muslim were becoming the societal norms. Church’s role was never as negative as at present to limit the interaction to

minimum. Church encouraged strong relations that are beyond the religion sphere and all the time propagated to live like a single community with Muslims.

The incident of 9/11 brought a higher fluctuation in our relations and we came to realize our status and place in Muslim society. This enabled us to know the reality of their hatred against us. An incident that had no connection with us was used as a source to put discriminations against us. She tells that this incident changed the scope of our social relations with one another. “After 9/11 a great change in the relations of Muslim-Christian has occurred. We have faced many problems which were not seen before. There was time when we had meetings together, we had discussions and we were living in peace. Muslim and Christians were having open discussion about religious issues and everyone participated openly and there was no problem at all. Now we have become the enemies of one another and hating one another.”

Relations prior to 9/11 were smooth and quite calm and there are visible signs in the cultural adaptation of Muslims by the Christians. Influences of Muslim (especially Pashtun) culture are evident enough in the youth which illustrates the closeness of relations few years back. The case of Madam Shamim shows how deep the interactions were, which led her to learn to get a degree in the field which is relevantly unfitted for a non-Muslim.

6.12 Positive Acculturation

From the cultural assimilation perspective cases of influence from Muslim were evident, which are products of early close interactions, between Muslim-Christian groups. Cultural norms and values adaptation from Muslim by the youth clarifies the influence of Muslims over the Christians. Speaking fluent Pashtu (language of the Pashtun ethnic group), paying ‘Salam’ for greeting, observing of Purdah by females (in Islamic teaching’s manner), change in dress patterns (wearing traditional hats and waistcoats), use of Islamic nomenclature, change of physical appearance of individuals (certain individuals have kept beard to look like Muslims), and many other such factors highlights the influence of Muslim on Christians from their close relations. The close relations do not necessarily hold single way traffic, as we have already discussed the influence of Christians on Muslims by the adaptation of education and giving importance to female education.

Case Study: Visible Signs of Acculturation

Name: Saleem Victor

Age: 24

Education: F.A

Marital status: Unmarried

Saleem Victor is a young man. He has a F.A degree and wants to join police man. He is an enthusiastic young man; he is member of the most influential (ethnic) political party in the area i.e. Pashtunkha Milli Awami Party (PMAP).

Saleem speaks fluent Pashtu language. Researcher's first introduction with Saleem was an interesting one; the meeting was in the small snooker club in the colony. Saleem started introducing himself in Pashtu language (researcher's native language). His fluency in Pashtu language confused researcher—whether he was talking to a Pashtun or non-Pashtun—it was difficult to actualize. During the conversation Saleem was using words that are specifically used by Muslims, such as “*Inshallah, Mashallah, etc.*” In his arguments with researcher, Saleem gave several quotes of Hazrat Ali and the holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) and also of HazratEssa (PBUH).

Saleem like other Christians regularly uses, “*Asalam-o-alaikum*” for greeting which is purely Muslim greeting procedure. Wearing dress of typical Pashtun culture, with a cap (*Khulai*) and waistcoat (*Sadrai*), Saleem represents his community's youth. Saleem uses typical words of Pashtu language, some of them even unknown to most of native speakers of this language. His talking style and sympathies with ethnic Pashtun party PMAP shows the concentration of Muslim (Pashtun) culture within his personality.

Saleem's family lives in Chaman, a city on the border of Afghanistan. Saleem's father is leader of PMAP in Chaman. His father is a popular person in that area and especially in his own community. Saleem wants to promote his father's political party here in Bashir Abad. He lives in his uncle's home. In this regard, he has opened a youth wing of PMAP in Bashir Abad colony, where the young boys inspired by the work of Saleem come and join the party and help their people. By the power of his linguistic skills and familiarity with Pashtun living style Saleem enjoys certain privileges in PMAP. He has strong communication skills and using these skills he

tries to solve problems (such as CNIC problems, courts procedures, police station's cases, domicile problems etc.) of his people through the channel of PMAP.

Saleem is highly inspired by Pashtun ethnic group and want to look like a Pashtun in every aspect but he only want to keep his relations limited to him. According to Saleem he always wanted to look like Pashtun from his child age, and he had been impressed by Pashtuns which led to learn Pashtu language as well. But neither Saleem nor his father want a mix up of familial relations with Pashtuns or any other Muslim group in-spite of his complete resemblance in physical appearance like a Pashtun. Saleem thinks that relations with Muslims are not the same as it were few years back. The relations that inspired him in his childhood are not present now. It is the very reason he does not want to keep any relations at family basis.

Overall Saleem thinks Muslim-Christian relations are on the equality basis. He says; "those who complain from Muslim's conduct will never say that how was there life before coming to this area, they will never tell their own treatment with Muslims". Talking about the history of Muslim conduct, Saleem says "no one has ever given any problem in our rituals, so if they do not disturb us in religious activities, what can be other issues, in all other issues Christians also share and they equally contribute to problems."

From the case of Saleem it is certain that majority's influences are visible—through physical appearance, cognitive process influence, sympathies, language, etc.—of the individuals of the minority. Such influences are conveyed consciously or unconsciously by the majority. The state, procedure and magnitude of influence may differ from individual to individual. For Saleem it is the political benefits from the majority that has convinced him to not only resemble to the majority but also to think like them. Saleem also criticizes his community's behaviors and puts the burden of lacks on his community's shoulders. But in reality he is promoting the idea to keep distance from Muslims. Saleem's behavior of unwilling to have familial relations with Muslims is very much an individual's gaining strategy. Every physical aspect of him is influenced by the Pashtun culture but he is not ready to create any relations between his family members and Muslims. This is a visible sign of difference in the community based and the individual based behavior. No matter how strong Saleem attaches himself with PMAP, it is just for political and certain other gains. This gaining process of individuals is visible from different other cases.

Certain discriminations at institutional level are also result of gaps between Christians and Muslims.

6.13 Relations Post 9/11

There is a visible difference it pre and post 9/11 relations. Visible shifts in relations especially the hostile behavior of Muslims towards local Christians brought change in relations of both communities. The distances between both communities went widen by the non-familiar stereotypes and several Muslim individuals actions against Christians.

After the night of 7 October 2001, as American troops started bombardment in Afghanistan a strong reaction of Muslims came against the local Christians. Loudspeakers of mosques started announcement of taking revenge for killing of Muslim brothers and Mullahs provoked people against Christians by announcing that it is a religious war against Muslims and Christians all over the world are responsible for it. They announced that every Muslim has to take revenge of other Muslims, and this can also be done by killing the infidels (*Kafirs*) living by their side, as the all the *Kafirs* have gathered against Islam. These stereotypes produced a wave of terror in Bashir Abad Colony and many people left their homes for several days. Those who cannot afford to leave the area were stuck in their homes and were on the mercy of violent protestors in the area. People adapted strategies to counter Muslim aggression by limiting themselves from social life.

Case Study: I Will Burn My Daughters Alive

Name: Peter Sampson

Age: 56

Education: Illiterate

Pitter Sampson has four children. He has three daughters and a son who is just 10 years old. Pitter works in the municipal community and has a service of twenty years. His wife Nosheen Sampson works as a housemaid. Sohni the eldest daughter of Pitter is a tailor and stitches cloth at her home and she supports other three (two sisters and one brother) to study and pays their tuition fees.

Sampson has experienced the most hostile relations from Muslims after the attack on Afghanistan by Americans. Sampson tells that when there were rumors all around that we will be attacked and our women and children will be on their mercy, and they were hearing loudspeakers shouting against them. Protestors were shouting outside the premises of the colony and there was an atmosphere of uncertainty all around. They were just waiting what will happen next. Sampson cannot did anything, and he was just waiting for any support. He became more worried when saw other people moving out (by the help of their Muslim colleagues) of the colony and were moving to other areas. Sampson had no Muslim friends who could got his family out of there, even if he had a support to leave the area, he had not no other place to take his family there. He was all on the mercy of shouting angry mob. He went to other Christian families for help but he found them more helpless, he has to return his home back. Sampson being father of three young girls had most concern about his daughters. He tells about his only choice of decision he had to take at that time. He went out of home and brought a gallon full of gasoline. He told his daughters that he will burn them alive if he fails to protect them and wouldn't let anyone touch them. He presented his weakness to his daughters and told them if he fails to protect them, they have to save their pride by burning themselves. He says, that his daughters promised him that they wouldn't allow anyone to touch them and it will be easy for them to die then to be taken by anyone. (Sampson was crying during whole interview).

After days of protest and threats from angry mob to demolish the whole colony, some people from different political parties came to rescue them and there were no particular big happenings. But for more than ten days the social life Sampson remained dried. Neither he nor his wife went to their jobs. Later Sampson was worried to go and join his job and he didn't send his children to their educational institutes as well, till he felt secured. Such incidents show the hostility of group who had no tension with Christians at all. I was all from the stage of anger from an event that had no connection with people of Bashir Abad Colony. Almost 50% of the population of Bashir Abad Colony left the area and went live with their relatives in different areas.

There were several cases of individual discriminations—physical beating of individuals—but no communal based discriminations were reported. All the propaganda was limited to violent demonstrations and threatening by certain groups. The government was either unwilling or didn't take the matter serious, to provide any security. Those individuals who were protesting may had

any particular reason for hatred against Christians and this incident provided the opportunity to come to front and show their personal hatred in the shadow of a far off event. Fortunately all these protests remained limited in their actions, as other more powerful people (from the same Muslim community) resolved the problems by providing security to the colony. Christians and some individuals attached to certain political parties managed to provide security to the colony by carrying weapons to protect the colony and threaten the mob against any act. Personnel of Muslim political parties provided security to the Christians in those days by stressing on government and those who aimed violence against the inhabitants of colony.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary

Pakistan is a country where different ethnic classifications are seen in terms of racial, ethnolinguistics, and religious classes. Due to the diversity offered by these classifications, different social changes are bound to occur in the pluralistic country of Pakistan. On the religious front, Pakistan is a Muslim majority country with 96 percent of the population belonging to Muslim community. The rest of the population is made up of different religious classes like Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Kalash, Parsis and Sikhs. These minorities play an important role in socio economic aspects of our society.

Christian community of Pakistan is also an important component of Pakistani society. It is therefore an interesting area of investigation to understand the relationship between Muslims and Christians from a social anthropological perspective. The purpose of the study was to analyze the nature and extent of relations of Christians of Nawan Killi, Quetta with majority Muslim population i.e. Pashtuns. Studying the relations of Christians, where they are geographically surrounded by Muslim population, becomes an interesting topic of research. The research locale has 94.9% Christian households, while Muslims constitute just 5.1% of the locale. This high percentage of Christians made this area the prime location for carrying out this research. More than 83% of the respondents live in Pakha houses, while the rest live in semi Kachhca or Kachha houses. Similarly, the male –female ratio is 51-49, thus making the research local very well balanced. Almost 50% of the families live in a nuclear family setup, while the rest are made up of joint, extended, and joint extended families. This high percentage of nuclear families is found in Christians as opposed to very close knit extended family system in Pashtun Muslims of the area. The trend towards nuclear families is observed in the Christian families because of the excessive economic burdens they face because of their religion. The economic conditions of the Christian families under investigation are not very stable. Almost half of the population works in private and public firms, while the rest of them work as daily wage workers doing menial works in the capacity of sweeper, drivers, cleaners etc. The Christian females also take those jobs which require lesser skills and education. 31.7% work from home using their skills like sewing etc. The

rest of them take up low paying jobs in NGOs and private/ public firms, and as nurses etc.

Christians have certain visible influences on the orthodox Pashtun society and vice versa. To understand the role Christians play in the process of social change in Nawan Killi, was also an intriguing topic. Christians are found in different areas of Quetta city, of which Nawan Killi (Bashir Abad colony) region has been selected because it has a high majority of Pashtun (ethnic group) and the Christian populations.

The investigation of Christian community in the study locale revealed that they are subjugated to indirect ways of neglect or are suppressed at various forums. Christian community is economically not very advanced and established. Most of them belong to lower or lower middle class without having made any significant advancement in trade, finance, or business. One of the reasons leading to the poor economic conditions of Christians is the lack of education amongst them which forces them to take up menial jobs. Most common jobs done by males are sweeping and cleaning, public services, and wage labors. Private sector jobs were found to be very appealing to the younger, relatively educated Christians who want to break out of the poverty cycle. Like Muslim families, traditionally male is the primary bread winner for family, but is not solely responsible for the job. For the poor Christian families where making the both ends meet become challenging, females also contribute towards the economic development of the household. One reason cited during the research behind the backwardness of the Christian community was the presence of invisible discriminatory practices in organizations.

However, Christian community prefers to maintain healthy personal relationships with the Muslim community. These relationships are also largely driven by their economic needs or the needs of conformity with the Muslim society. Since most of the businesses are owned by the Pashtuns of Quetta, Christians prefer to get closer to local Pashtuns for better economic gains. With limited job opportunities and bad economic positions most of the Christians perform private works in shops, medical stores, hospitals (private), etc. which mostly belong to local Pashtuns. Family determines most actions of an individual and his/her way of doing things. Whom to meet and who to avoid is decided by family members. Church also has a dominant role in driving the social relationships. Because distinguishing identity to inhabitants (Christians) of Bashir Abad Colony is attached due to affiliation with church. Church also promotes a sense of community and ethnic awareness thus ensuring that the Christian followers do not forget their roots and teachings. Church teachings have dominant role in every sphere of life; the internal

solidarity among the people arises from the institution of church. It is the feeling of oneness in the church that consolidates the internal bonds among people, and the glue for such bonds is provided by the church teachings.

It was found that the social relations with Muslims are determined by overall social life of Christian community. From the outside, the members of colony present a view of single family—where all efforts are directed for betterment of family solidarity. This is explained by the efforts of Christian community to safeguard and protect their faith, religion, and community. Because of being in minority, they find it even more important to stay united and strong to maintain solidarity. The sense of community drives the extent of social relationships with Muslims. Therefore, benefit of the community is preferred over personal gains in Christian community.

Another aspect of social relationships studied during the research was the political life of Christian minority. Political life of Christian community is limited to their own community because of the lack of any minority representation. At the government level minorities are given specific quota of representation in national and provisional assemblies. But in reality these allotted seats are monopolized by political parties and representatives of minority after attaining authority, they exercise the will of their party instead of their own people (minority). Christian community also has influential political personalities, but they fail to draw attentions to the problems faced by their minority clan. The lack of proper strong authority on community behalf, gives chance to the other outside forces to bring differences in the people of Bashir Abad colony. Social relations with Muslims are determined by overall social life of Christian community. From outside, the members of colony present a view of single family—where all efforts are directed for betterment of family solidarity. For Christians keeping shared identity for outside world is first priority. In situations dealing with outside threat, all inner divisions/gaps contract and eliminate, whole focus shifts towards outside threat. Presenting uniqueness of solidarity for external threat, Christian community life teaches individual how to maintain relations with Muslims. Individual accepts changes in his/her personality for solidarity of whole society. Individual based relations are somewhat different than the familial relationships. Individual keeps relations with Muslim to obtain certain material needs from them. But all such relations or interactions are kept to personal basis and are not extended to the familial level. Help in providing job, borrowing money, political goals, gaining prestige in own people, influencing

decision making in community based conflicts and such other, are the benefits that individual gains from relations with Muslims especially from the socially higher status Muslim individuals. Inter religious marriages are not appreciated within the two communities and is looked down upon by both.

Yet another aspect of lives of Christians is the constant invites they get from *Tablighi Jamats* (preaches) to convert to Islam. Many a times, bad economic conditions and peak of crises force individuals to become a 'sheikh' (one who converts his or her religion for sake of money or economic benefits). Such people who convert religion for the sake of money or any economic benefits are regarded as traitors, double-dealers and a shame for society. Converting from Christianity to Islam has other reasons as well, but economic benefits are the dominant in conversion regards. Almost 100% of the respondents told that they have encountered offers from Muslims to convert to Islam.

Individual relations between the two communities are mostly driven by the need to obtain economic or social benefits by the Christian community. Having good relationships with Muslims sometimes help them in getting a good job, or obtaining political and social goals. The relationships between the two communities often become charged with political tensions as well. For instance, after the eruption of post 9/11 war, the relationship between the two communities became tense as Muslims became enraged with the USA and poured out their aggression on the Christian community. This shows that although, on the exterior, the discrimination looks to be ethnic in nature, it is actually driven by religious differences.

In spite of all the challenges faced by the Christian minority, these people have adopted many socio cultural norms of Muslim population, which are exhibited in their way of talking and dealing with other people, their language, and their dressing. Interestingly, this assimilation has not been limited to Christians alone, but there has been profound impact on the Muslim population as well. The Pashtun Muslims, who were never in favor of girl education, are now changing and adopting their ways by observing how Christian girls are becoming more confident by acquiring education.

7.2 Conclusion

The analysis of the in depth interviews and the case produced reveal some astonishing findings about the socio economic relationship between the Christian minority in Bashir Colony and Muslims living nearby. The cases of ethnic discrimination, social outcast, and limited relationships are evident among the two ethnic classes. More importantly, the segregation and discrimination had been due to ethnic differences, and social norms rather than religious differences. This is evident from the fact that people do not discriminate Christians who are economically sound and successful. The discrimination is largely observed in cases where the minority class is subjugated to work menial jobs and lowly jobs. Furthermore, it was found that the families do not want to maintain familial ties with each other because of the religious differences. Christian community does not appreciate people who try to convert their religion to Islam either due to worldly reasons, or other reasons. Thus, the inherent differences in the religion become the major driving cause of social interaction and social relationships between the majority class and the minority class. At the same time, this fact cannot be ignored that the impact of both the classes has been on each other. Christian community has adopted many practices which are prevalent in the Muslim households, which depict the assimilation of the cultures. Similarly, many Muslim Pashtun families have also adopted certain practices from Christian households. The relationships between the two communities are also influenced by the external forces, like national and international events.

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GLOSSARY

Apni Madad Aap	Self-motivation and help
Barat	The wedding ceremony whereby the groom takes the bride to his home from her parent's home
Bradri	Kin group
Chobees	Twenty four (24) houses in colony
Dhukaney	Shops
Dupatta, Chadar	A long, wide piece of cloth worn by women to cover their heads and chests
Islamiat	A study discipline focusing on the teachings of Islam
Janaza	Body of the deceased ready for burial
Kaccha House	House made of mud which does not have concrete ceilings etc.
Kalai	Pashtu language word which means 'Village'
Kareez	Traditional digging of wells
Kheil	Lineage
Lungi	A big piece of cloth worn by men as an alternate to trouser
Madrasa	School for religious education
Mehndi	Henna
Merrah or Sarai	Husband in Pashtu language
Miri	Arsenal
Moulvi	A religious scholar who provides various services to masses

Muhajir	Refugees
Navai	Pashtu language word which means 'New'
Nazim	Mayor
Nikkah	Muslim marriage ceremony
Pakka house	House made of bricks and mortars
Paratha	Wheat bread prepared with butter, ghee, or oil consumed mostly for breakfast
Saafa	Clothing item of men consisting of a head covering
Saag	Spinach or sesame leaves cooked for food
Saddar	City Center, downtown
Shadi	Wedding
Shalwar Kameez	Pakistani dress consists of a long shirt (Kameez), and a trouser (Shalwar).
Shariah	According to the principles of Islam derived from Quran and Sunnah
Shia	A sect of Islam
Sunni	A sect of Islam

List of Plates of the Locale



Plate 1: Streets View of Bashir Abad Colony





Plate 2: Pakistan Gospel Assemblies Church



Plate 3: Water Pump of Bashir Abad Colony



Plate 4: Middle School for Girls



Plate 5: Researcher With Key Respondent Madam Shahmim Sardar



Plate 6: Typical *Kuka* store of Bashir Abad Colony



Plate 7: Playground of children



Plate 8: Catholic Church



Plate 9: Arrangement of food for marriage party



Plate 10: Researcher with christian family at meal



Plate 11: Researcher and Respondents in the field

Interview Guide

- Children dealing with the education system while studying in Muslim school and type of education preferred.
- Types of jobs usually Christians do. Sources of family's income.
- Marriage system/patterns of Christians. And death rituals.
- How and who decides spouses selection.
- Christians marrying a Muslim or vice-versa
- Kite flying/ Basand festival.
- Problems while practicing religious ceremonies.
- Muslim rituals affect your everyday activities.
- Activities during the month of Ramadan.
- Eid and Christmas occasions.
- Joining of Muslims/Christians in each other celebrations.
- Celebration of Christmas/Ester and holidays from your job/institute.
- Can you live among Muslim population? Vice versa
- Like to show your identity or hide it.
- Invitation of Muslim to Christian's home.
- Meeting procedures with Muslims.
- Conduct of Muslims' in public transport.
- Police's conduct
- Going to Govt. offices and conduct there.
- Connections with Christians outside Quetta/country
- Govt. Policies about minorities.
- Participation in elections.
- Participation in the Muslim/Christians marriage and differences from time to time.
- Have you visited to a mosque/church? If yes
- Women performing parda.
- Any change in the conduct of Muslim felt from time to time.
- Difference felt in Muslim's conduct after 9/11.

- Feelings encountered any hatred especially after 9/11.

Census Forms

Village: Nawan Killi Muhalla : Bashir Abad Colony House # _____

Total Members : _____

S/N	Name	Age	Sex	Religion		Marital Status					Remarks	
				Main	Sub	Single	Married	Divorced	Widow	Remarried		
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												

S / N	Caste/Qaum		Family system			No. of Children				Level of Education					
	Main	Sub	Nuclear	Joint	Extended joint	Children		Grand children		Primary	Secondary	Matric	Undergraduate	Other	None
						M	F	M	F						
1															
2															
3															
4															
5															

S/N	Occupation					Income				Remarks.
	Wage labor	Govt. servant	Business man	Private	Any other	Daily	Monthly	Seasonal	Annual	
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										

S/ N	Friends			Reason of Friendship				Living at the present place					Remarks
	Muslims	Christians	Others	Childhood	Family ties	Co-workers	Any other	Less than 5 years	1-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	Above 15 years	
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													

S/ N	Frequency of Contact in a day				Reason of contact					Meeting Procedure			Remarks
	Once	2 or 3 times	4 or 5 times	More than 5 times	Job	Friendship	Likeness	Accidental	Any Other	Hand shake	Lap	Other	
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													

S/ N	Muslim's conduct Experience			Level of Conduct				Which one influence interaction?				Remarks
	Good	According to Islamic laws	Bad	Individual Base	Community Base	Islamic Teaching Base	Other	Money	Power	Familiarity	Any other	
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												