Cross Sect Marriages and its Impact on Family Life

(A Case Study of Potohari Village, District Chakwal)

by

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Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Zaheer Abbas. 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 "Master of Philosophy in Anthropology".

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DECLARATION

The author certifies that this thesis represents his own original work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution. Information derived from published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

Human research ethics considered in conducting this research.

Zaheer Abbas

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INTRODUCTION

1.1   The Background

Society is regarded as a network of interdependent institutions. Family is the oldest institution on earth and is the beginning of human life on earth when Adam and Eve were sent on the earth, they constituted a family and in this way life had started. Pedestal of society is dependent on family and disturbance in the family cause social disorganization in society. Family institutions consisted of sub-institutions like, marriage. People marry for several reasons, including but not limited to legal, social, emotional, economical, spiritual, and religious relationship[1]. Marriages are significantly influenced by norms prevailing in the society where changes in norms lead to change in marriage patterns. The families across the world have undergone radical changes over the last decades due to multiple factors. In previous generations, the church, synagogue, mosque, temple were main meeting places where couples were tied in a relationship. Consequently most marriages took place between individuals of the same religion having the similar beliefs. With the large scale abandonment by older teens and young adults of organized religion, the rising trend of meeting through social networks over internet, educational institutions, enlightening moderations and women empowerment, more single people are meeting each other from different

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[1] Wheaton, R. 2011. Images of Kinship.Journal of Family History. 2011, 36 (3).PP.1-2

denomination and even from different religions therefore an increasing rate of marriages is inter-faith marriages. In view of aforementioned factors, traditional marriage patterns like endogamy and arranged marriages were undergoing rapid change.[2]

1.2   Utility of *Biradri* System

Descent was reckoned patrilineally, so only those affiliated with male ancestors were considered relatives. The *Biradri* or group of male kin (the patrilineage) plays a significant role in social relations. Its members neither hold movable property in common nor share earnings, but the honor or embarrassment of individual members affects the general standing of the *Biradri* within the community. A common proverb expresses this view: "One does not share the bread, but one shares the shame." Members of a *Biradri* are residents of a single village. In some areas, however, land fragmentation and generations of out-migration have led to the dispersal of many members of the *Biradri* among various villages, regions, and cities. Patrilineal kin has continued to maintain ties with their natal village. Members of a *Biradri* used to celebrate the major life events together. Patrilineal kin were expected to contribute food and to help with guests in the ceremonies accompanying birth, marriage, death, and major religious ceremonies. The *Biradri* has traditionally served as a combined mutual aid society and welfare agency, arranging loans to members, assisting in finding employment, and contributing to the dowries of poorer families.

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[2] -Taga, A. H. 2009. An Introduction to Sociology. Abdu Hameed Taga and Sons. Lahore. Pp292-298.

There was considerable pressure for patrilineal kin to maintain good relations with one another. *Biradri* members, who become hostile, resolved their conflicts before major social occasions so that the patrilineage could exhibit unity before other *Biradris* of the same village. People where their sons and daughters were approaching maturity has perceived earlier the significance of maintaining better social relationships within his family as non-social families within a *Biradri* were deemed to be a poor marriage prospect. Although descent was viewed as patrilineally yet females used to keep their affiliation with their natal families throughout their lives. The intensity of involvement with maternal kin varies with ethnic groups and regions of a country. The bond between siblings was inherently strong and affectionate; females sought to have a better social tie with her siblings envisioning for their support in case she got divorced or widowhood during her marital life. Besides, where intensity of relationship with maternal families was considerably higher, it assisted in evaluating potential spouses within the maternal families in case of absence of the same within paternal families[3].

Thus *Biradri* system has provided a platform to ally two families where romantic attachments had a little role to play. The spouses were primarily representatives of their respective families where such a relationship was typically negotiated between two male heads of two households. It was, fundamentally, the parents and older sibling's responsibility to arrange marriages for their children. Two different families when socially affiliated through marriage bond, used to participate

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[3] -Teachman, Jay. 2003. "Childhood Living Arrangements and the Formation of Coresidential Unions." Journal of Marriage and Family 65:507-524.

in social gatherings and events where they share their affiliation and sometimes valuables are exchanged on occasions like birthday parties, marriages, engagements ceremonies etc, which further strengthened their relationships. Successful marriages led to further connection between new couples and repeatedly the process continued. Presently *Biradri* system has been weakened on account of enlightening moderation, improved living standards, exogamy, love marriages, women autonomy and improved literacy rates[4].

1.3 Traditional Marriage Patterns

In traditional societies, the joint or interdependent family system was the norm. The traditional system of mate selection was characterized by a marriage arranged by the families of the individuals. The notion of arranged marriages is not unusual in South Asian communities. The majority of marriages in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka were arranged. Moreover, such patterns were also practiced in ancient Egyptian civilization. Such marriage was defined as contractual agreement, written or unwritten, between two families, rather than individuals. Here, the principle of familialism and interdependent social relationships were dominant, especially for females. The individual's interests, needs, and happiness were considered secondary to the interests of the family and community. This type of marriage has helped in maintaining social traditions by allowing one to fulfill religious and social obligations towards the family, community and society. As a love marriage presumes an early engagement in a relationship prior to occurrence of marriage, it was perceived as a threat for family dignity and honor and hence discouraged by the families, the

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[4] Teachman, Jay. 2003. "Childhood Living Arrangements and the Formation of Coresidential Unions." Journal of Marriage and Family 65:507-524.

community and society as well. Family background, economic position, general character, family reputation, value of the dowry, the effect of alliance on the property were all important matters which were considered prior to any decision of marrying.. Depending upon family's educational, economic, and social backgrounds, arrange marriages relied on a continuum of interaction. In planned type, parents worked out through the entire process based on family and community variables i.e. absence of interaction between prospects. The individual consented only against presentation of photograph of other and was not discouraged to meet his/ her prospective mate until the day of marriage arrived. Second, was the delegation type or supervised interaction, male children specifically expressed their preferences, likeness and attributes regarding choice of his wife. Parents persuaded to meet the expectations shared by their children. Finally, in joint-venture type, both parents and children were active to arrive at a final choice. The responsibility of maintaining honor *(izzat)* in the family was totally dependent upon women. Hence women, due to the gender power differential, were often married at a younger age and were more likely to have an arranged marriage[5].

Endogamy was the practice of marrying within a specific religion, sect, ethnic group, class, or social group, rejecting others on such bases as being unsuitable for marriage or other close personal relationships. Several ethnic religious groups were traditionally more endogamous, although sometimes with the added dimension of requiring marital religious conversion and adoption of partner's culture. People have a tendency to marry within their social group or to marry a person who was close to them in status. Although many characteristics play a role in the choice of spouse, social scientists have most often examined endogamy and homogamy with respect to

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[5] www.mydearvalentine.com/relationships/marriage-relationship.html

race/ethnicity, religion, and socioeconomic status. Endogamy encourages group affiliation and bonding. It could serve as a form of self-segregation and helped a community to resist integrating and completely merging with surrounding populations. It thus has helped minorities to survive as separate communities over a long time, in societies with other practices and beliefs[6].

Upon advent of different modes of marriage patterns, traditional marriage patterns were exposed to retreating. In arrange marriages, senior most members of the family finalized the best match; presently the same was being resisted by new generation specifically in love marriages. They treated arranged marriage as jumping into a well blind folded. In love marriages, acquaintance and understanding between couples were significantly higher and hence it had produced successful marriages. Nowadays, the breeze of globalization, which came from the West, has also influenced the trend of relationships in our country. In past, men were autonomous to take decisions and execute them likewise, while women were confined to the four walls of the house or left to slave away in the kitchen. Women have now striding up the social ladder. Presently, norms of marriage have been changed and women are decision makers in unison. Women in marriage have proved to be equally prudent executives of decision makers. The combined efforts of both have helped to make this relationship a

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[6] Taga, A. H. 2009. An Introduction to Sociology. Abdu Hameed Taga and Sons. Lahore. Pp202.

major success in some cases; however fatal failure in a few other cases cannot be overlooked[7].

1.4   Interfaith marriages

Interfaith marriage in the present context has been defined as, "a marriage where one partner professes a religion different from that of his/her spouse". Under the influences of modernization and globalization, interfaith marriages are increasing. While some religious doctrines prohibit such marriage while others do allow it. An ethno-religious group's resistance to interfaith marriage can constitute a form of segregation. Some religious groups forbid all inter-faith marriage. Others, like Islam, typically enforce a limited form of endogamy – Muslim men can take chaste wives from neighboring non-Muslim populations but Muslim women are normally forbidden to marry outside of the Muslim community[8].

1.5   Cross-sect Marriage

A cross-sect marriage was a special type of interfaith marriages. It occurred within different sects of a same religion. Various sects have had their own theories on the origin of marriage. One example may lie in a man's need for assurance as to paternity of his children. Cross-sect marriages have a few more challenges to face than

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[7] Chan, W. 2001 .Children And Marital Instability in the UK. Department of Sociology University of Oxford. Pp3-5.

[8] Sherkat, E. 2004 . Religious intermarriage in the United States: trends, patterns, and   predictors. Social Science Research. No. 33. Pp. 606–625

couples of the same faith. Religious differences in interfaith marriages may create problems for interfaith couples, but usually these problems can be lessened when there is communication about the religious issues[9].

1.6   Family Laws in Muslim Societies

Muslim societies were commonly assumed to strictly abide by *sharia*-based rules in personal and family law matters, including issues related to marriage. The religious scholars of the different law schools have developed elaborate rules regarding marriage, including marriage between Muslims and people of other faiths. Theoretically, differences may cause conflict, and this is true for social relationships and relates to the concept of *kafa'ah* (equality) in marriage. According to Islamic marriage law and traditional norms, a wise person marries a partner who shares similar traits. Similarity between spouses will help the spouses to understand and adjust to one another. Because religious identity often overlaps with ethnic origin and cultural and social diversities, the difference of religious affiliation also results in a difference of social and cultural identity. Religious diversity therefore usually accompanies broader differences that could greatly affect the harmony of family. From this anthropological point of view, the discouragement of interreligious marriages is a protection for society from religious and social-cultural-ethnic differences that could destabilize marriages. Although inter-religious couples face a variety of difficulties, both before

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[9] The Jewish Virtual Library. 2008. Mixed Marriage, Intermarriage. ww.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource

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and during marriage, love is not often a planned affair. This means that interreligious marriages do and will continue to occur. This is true even though the idea of changing either secular or religious law to allow these marriages is in open conflict with the ideas of Islamic religious authorities. However, inter-religious couples who hope to marry must do so very carefully. For, while love may be blind to religion, society and legal structures are not. Inevitably, because lovers ignore religion and religions are intensely interested in marriage, interreligious marriages leads to conflicts between love and belief that may lead to unhappiness for interreligious marriages couples and families. Hence, any couple with different religious backgrounds must found their marriage on principles that protect and guarantee household stability by love, respect, and toleration that will allow them to overcome discrimination, both as they get married and as they stay married.[10]

1.7   *Kafa'ah* (**Equality**)

Confirming the concept of *kafâ'ah*, Mulia (2004) extends her arguments for the discouragement of cross-sect marriages. She argues that the more diversity amongst husbands and wives, especially in terms of religious belief, the more fragile the marriage. In turn, religious differences will affect the children's stability in the family. According to traditional norms, marriage is not merely an individual contract, but an arrangement that unifies two extended families. While it is often true that inter-

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[10] Aini, N. 2008. Inter-Religious Marriage from Socio-Historical Islamic Perspectives. 40th Annual International Law and Religion Symposium, Brigham Young University, USA.pp.6-7.

religious marriage spouses have been successful in transcending religious differences, their families may find acceptance much more difficult. This issue is especially true for the many Indonesians burdened with socio-religious tensions[11].

1.8 Sunni and Shia Islam

Sunni and *Shia* sects are two major representative of Islam having a bit diversified views, beliefs and religious practices. Apart from affiliation with Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), *Shias* also express their strong affiliation with twelve *Imams* while the rest of the sects gave due weightage to companion of Holy Prophet (PBUH) as well. *Sunnis* were reported in majority in almost Muslim communities; in South East Asia, China, South Asia, Africa and most of the Arab world. *Shias* are reported in majority in Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Bahrain, and Lebanon while *Sunnis* are in majority in other Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, China, South Asia, Africa and the rest of the World. The historic background of the *Sunni–Shia* split lies in the schism that occurred when the Islamic prophet Muhammad (PBUH) died in the year 632, leading to a dispute over succession to Muhammad (PBUH) as a caliph of the Islamic community spread across various parts of the world which led to the Battle of

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[11] Mulia, M.S. 2004. Menafsir Ulang Pernikahan Lintas Agama Perspektif Perempuan Dan Pluralisme [Reinterpretation of Irm: Feminist and Pluralism Perspective. Pp127.

Siffin that divided the Islam into the different sects. Today there are differences in religious practice, traditions and customs as well as religious beliefs.[12]

1. Distribution of *Shia-Sunni* Population in World

The demographic breakdown between the two groups is difficult to assess and varies by source, but a good approximation is that 70%-80% of the world's Muslims are *Sunni* and 20%-30% are Shia. *Shias* make up the majority of the population in Iran (90-95%), Azerbaijan (85%), Bahrain (75-85%), Iraq (65%), Lebanese (55%), Yemen (55%), Kuwait (40%), Turkey (40%), Tajikistan (35%),Uzbekistani (25%), Niger(25%), Saudi Arabia (25%), Syria (15-20%), Senegal (20%) and Pakistan (25-35%). *Shia* are estimated to be 21-35% of the Muslim population in South Asia. Sunnis are a majority in other Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, China, South Asia, Africa and the rest of the Arab World.[13]

1.10 Sectarianism in South Asia

Over the years *Sunni-Shia* relations have been marked by both cooperation and conflict, often with deadly violence. A period of relative harmony during most of the 20th century has been replaced by conflict, particularly following the start of the Iraq War. But now, Sectarian violence persists to this day from Pakistan to Yemen and is

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[12] www.newworldpedia.com/Shia_Islam

[13] www.neworldpedia/Islamic_schools_and_branches

the most common element of friction throughout the Middle East. *Shia* in India faced persecution by some *Sunni* rulers and Mughal Emperors. *Shia* are estimated to be 21-35 % of the Muslim population in South Asia although total number is difficult to estimate due to the intermingling between the two groups and practice of *Taqiyya* (to hide their faith due to any sort of danger) by *Shia*[14].

1.11   History of *Shia-Sunni* relationship in Pakistan

Pakistan, the country with the second largest Muslim population in the world, has seen serious *Shia-Sunni* discord. Almost 80% of Pakistan's population is *Sunni*, with 20% being *Shia*, but this *Shia* minority forms the second largest *Shia* population of any country, larger than the *Shia* majority in Iraq. Until recently *Shia-Sunni* relations have been cordial, and majority of people of both sects participated in the creation the state of Pakistan in 1940s. Despite the fact that Pakistan is a *Sunni* majority country, *Shias* have been elected to top offices and played an important part in the country's history. The founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Bhutto family are *Shia* Muslims, as is Benazir Bhutto and several top Pakistani Generals such as General Yahya Khan and General Musa Khan. About 4,000 people were estimated to have died in sectarian fighting in Pakistan during 1987-2007, 300 being killed in 2006 alone. Most violence took placed in the largest province of Punjab and the country's commercial and financial capital, Karachi. There have also been

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[14] www.neworldpedia.org/Shia_Islam_in_Pakistan

conflagrations in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Azad Kashmir[15].

In this discussed scenario, cross-sect marriages become a potential threat due to internal and external elements if they are not properly addressed. Religious authorities of both sects never perceived it ideal specially in case of giving daughter.

1.12 Marriage Patterns in Pakistan and New Challenges

Pakistan is primarily Islamic state, it has a continuous contact with other cultures also, and accordingly changes are also occurring in Pakistani society. This process of modernization also had an impact on interpersonal relationships and resulted in a more open society. The degree of homogamy between husbands and wives is an important indicator for societal openness; social changes enabled people to be freer and less pragmatic in the selection of spouse. Emerging adults face a number of new challenges related to intimate relationships that can be understood within the context of broader social and cultural changes. There is need to be very careful to explore how young adults' dispositions toward marriage vary by gender, race/ethnicity, and social class, while also examining how other institutional factors (religious involvement) and demographic patterns (educational and workforce commitments) influence intimate partnerships for young. In Pakistan, the marriage was mostly arranged by the parents or through match-makers, while in some parts of

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[15] www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a%E2%80%93Sunni_relations

the country the prospective husband has to buy his partner by paying a handsome amount to the parents of the girl. Marriage takes place with certain rituals, which are more or less formal ceremonies through which the male and female enter into new bonds. An individual normally cannot question these ceremonies. These are universal in nature and anthropologically very important. Rituals prepare the couple psychologically for their roles in society and help them to adjust themselves to new roles. Mostly the people in Pakistan are "endogamous" i.e., marriage of an individual take place within one's caste, ethnic group or class. But we find certain deviations in this respect, which can be attributed to social changes in our society. As regards the forms of marriage, our society is both monogamous and polygamous. The modern family is considered to be unstable. The patriarchal system in its classical sense has lost its hold in the Western countries due to changes in the economic patterns in the society. In the same way changes are also occurring in Pakistani society. The frequency of divorce, separation, desertions and other such disharmonies in the marriage and family institutions of Pakistan is on rise.[16]

1.13   Role of Religion in the Stabilization of Marriage

Religious communities, practices, and beliefs were of central importance in maintaining, supporting, and stabilizing their marriages in the face of time, stress, and other challenges. Religion is comprised of at least three dimensions: faith communities

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[16] Masood, S., Z. Batool and S. Abbasi. 2007. Sociological Study of Marriage Patterns and Adjustment in a Selected Community in Faisalabad City (Pakistan). J. Agri. Soc. Sci., Vol. 3, No. 3, Pp1-2.

(active participation and involvement in a congregation, synagogue, mosque, etc.), religious practices (prayer, rituals, study of sacred texts, etc.), and spiritual beliefs. All of these need attention if we are to develop a rich, meaningful and three-dimensional picture of how families are influenced by and draw meaning from religion. There are two critical ways in which religious involvement is sometimes a marital challenge for these participants. First, faith community involvement or service that separates couples for extended periods can add stress and strain to families. Second, inter-generational relationships can be damaged when one converts to a faith different than that held by the parents or through marrying "outside of the faith" that is central to one's origin of family. Both the barriers and supports that religion can present to marriage need to be born in mind. It is important to note that religious affiliation without religious "activity" is not typically a significant factor in marital relationships, while shared or similar religious attendance is a correlate of marital quality and stability.[17]

1.14   Parents Authority and Imposition of their Faith

Parents who impart religious beliefs to their children by the exercise of perceived intellectual authority are not guilty of indoctrination. It does not follow that their actions are morally defensible. Under normal circumstances, the use of perceived intellectual authority to impart not-known-to-be-true beliefs is an unambiguous abuse of power. The apparent wrong doing involved is twofold: first, the parent is guilty of

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[17] Marks, l. 2005. Marriage & Family Review, Vol. 38(1). The Haworth Press, Inc. pp. 108

failing to correct her child's misapprehension that she is an intellectual authority on religious matters; second, she is guilty of using that misapprehension to impart not-known-to-be-true beliefs. Young children, it is plausible to suggest, have an emotional need to believe in their parents' omniscience. To be made aware of their parents' intellectual fallibility before they have reached a certain level of maturity may represent an affective loss far outweighing the cognitive gain so parents should not abuse the power it confers on them by deliberately imparting controversial beliefs[18].

1.15   Children Responses to Parents Faith Imposition

Religious beliefs tend to be constitutive of personal identity. Controversial beliefs which tend to be constitutive of personal identity ought not to be imparted to children on the grounds that, should the children subsequently decide to reject those beliefs, they are likely to find the process of rejection psychologically disruptive. But this objection was unpersuasive for two reasons. First, an exactly parallel argument could be used to support the opposite conclusion. Children who were raised without religious beliefs and subsequently decide to adopt them are equally vulnerable to psychological upheaval. Second, and more importantly, it is far from clear that children protected from shifts in personal identity. Acts of adopting and abandoning identity- constitutive creeds and causes were a normal part of adolescence, and it is

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[18] Hand, M. 2002.Religious Upbringing Reconsidered. Journal of Philosophy of Education 36 (4):545–550. Institute of Education, University of London. PP. 10-16. www.philpapers.org/rec/HANRUR

difficult to see how a person could come to have an identity which was authentically her own unless she had performed such acts. In the great majority of cases we shall want to say that the adult's right not to be deceived by those she regards as intellectual authorities outweighs any benefit she stands to gain from the deception. But in fact this question is largely academic, for plainly it is not practically possible for parents to use this method of imparting religious beliefs indefinitely. Most children realize long before they reach adolescence that their parents are not intellectual authorities on religious matters. They learn that there are other equally well-qualified adults who hold different religious beliefs or none at all[19].

1.16   Inter-parental Conflicts

Parents serve as models to their children and children tend to imitate their parents' behaviors in their own relationships. Observing and practicing behaviors within the family context such as conflict handing behavior have strong influence on the children. Adolescents observe conflict management behaviors in their own parents and then practice these behaviors with them as well as with their sibling, and finally with their romantic partners. Marital conflict processes spill over into other family processes such as parenting and parent–adolescent relationships and these will processes such as parenting and parent–adolescent relationships and these will consequently have an impact on adolescents' well-being. Children and adolescents

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[19] Hand, M. 2002.Religious Upbringing Reconsidered. Journal of Philosophy of Education 36 (4):550–557. Institute of Education, University of London.PP10-16. www.philpapers.org/rec/HANRUR

exhibited a high rate of internalizing behavior problems, particularly when they are witnesses or sufferers of conflicts. In more specific, children living within a family or a home with conflicts and are witnesses of their parents' violence, have been found to become goals or victims of abuse, neglect, and homicide themselves. Regardless of the type of inter-parental conflict, be it in the forms of inter-parental, mother-adolescent or father-adolescent, it is a consistent predictor of internalizing behavior problems. Meanwhile, there are consistent relationships between inter-parental conflict and internalizing behavior problems, such as self-esteem and depression. The high level of inter-parental conflict has been found to be related to an increased risk in the development of such problems. These relations have been found in both girls and boys during their childhood and adolescents. Inter-parental conflict leads to internalizing behavior problems, because it creates emotional impact. If this is true, then the factors that promote emotional feeling of emotional security must be decreased. The level of depression and helplessness feelings within a child and adolescent is caused by the exposure to inter-parental conflict, and these results in emotional and behavioral disturbances. When there is inter-parental conflict, the children and adolescents are found to show anxiety, depression, fear, helplessness, low level of self-esteem, and poor social behaviors conflict[20].

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[20] Esfandyari B., R. Baharudin and l. Nowzari. 2009. Background of Inter-Parental Conflicts and Internalizing Behavior Problems among Adolescents. European Journal of Scientific Research. Vol.37 No.4 . pp.601-60

1.17 Statement of Problem

According to an International Crisis Group report the *Shias* are 15-20%, *Deobandis* and *Barelvis* are 77% and the *Ahl-i-Hadith* are about 6%. While sectarian conflict, usually between the two main sects of Islam the *Sunnis* and the *Shias*, started and continued since then. It is time that some empirical facts about the potential for positive pluralism or intolerance in Pakistani society, especially as related to religious identities, are determined[21].

In a cross-sect marriage, difference in ideological, religious and sectorial practices have brought disharmony in social and marital lives of couples. Further, it has adversely affected the children which resulted in child identity crisis. What need to explore was the conflict management strategies amongst cross-sect families in order to eliminate the probability of conflicts or at least lessen the affects thereof.

1.18 Objectives of the Research

This study has explored the anthropological impacts of cross-sect marriages on family's life by addressing the following objectives:

❖ To find out the nature of cross-sect marriages in the community;

❖ To explore the possible causes of the cross-sect marriages;

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[21] Aga Khan University.2006. Pluralism and Intolerance in Pakistani Society Attitudes of Pakistani Students towards the Religious 'Other'. www.aku.edu/news/archives/ismcconf-tr

❖ To document the spousal relationship and to identify the problems faced by spouses in the cross-sect marriages;

❖ To record the process of socialization of the children in cross-sect marriages and to identify its impact on child identity.

1.19   Significance of the Study

Family is generally regarded as a major social institution and a locus of much of a person's social activity. It is a social unit created by blood, marriage, or adoption. Family is the base of society; so pedestal of society is dependent on this institution. It begins with a marriage and any type of disturbance in the spousal relations can be a major threat to marital stability and children socialization so it cause social disorganization in society especially in the case of cross-sect marriages. Children are assets and future of every nation and must be brought up in proper social environment. Study has provided scientific understanding of cost and benefits of cross-sect marriages with a special focus on its impacts on spousal relationship and children. It has provided basic understanding to the persons who were interested in cross-sect marriage to re-evaluate their decision twice, before it happens. It has also contributed in theoretical and applied dimensions of anthropological knowledge. In view of discussed factors, cost and benefit analysis of cross-sect marriages is possible.

1.20   Assumptions

Researcher has reduced the research problem to following assumptions;

❖ Religious ceremonies have particular controversial reactions in both spouses because they want the validation of their respective practices which is impossible.

❖ There is identity crises of child identity which emerge in cross-sect marriages due to particular ideology for socialization.

1.21   The locale of the Study

The study was conducted in a remote village titled *Bullhay Bala* situated 12km away from *Chakwal* city towards *Neelah Dulha* road with majority of its population having *Sunni* sect as part of their belief. The village had 174 households having an approximate population of 1310 individuals. Most of the people were engaged in small scale farmers and others rendering their services with Pakistan Army.[22]

1.22   Research Methodology

Scientific methodology has been practiced in some form for at least one thousand years. It doesn't describe specific methods; nevertheless it does specify several processes that need to be followed. These processes constitute a generic framework. They may be broken down in sub-processes, they may be combined, or their sequence may change. Methodology may refer to nothing more than a simple set of methods or procedures, or it may refer to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study relative to the scientific method. For example, scholarly literature often includes a section on the methodology of the

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[22] Benazir Income Support Programme. 2011. Poverty Survey/Census report of district Chakwal. Pp286

researchers. Scientific method refers to a body of techniques for investigating phenomena, acquiring new knowledge, or correcting and integrating previous knowledge. These methods are conventionally divided into quantitative, qualitative and participatory each with differing underlying approaches, tools and techniques. Quantitative, qualitative and participatory approaches have different disciplinary origins, developed distinctive tools and each has developed its critique of the other approaches[23].

1.22.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation has helped researchers to learn the multiple perspectives (emic, etic and interplay between these two) held by study populations. It was also useful for better understanding of the physical, social, cultural and economic context wherein study participants were living; the relationships among and between native ideas, norms and events; and people's behaviors and activities – what they do, how frequently, and with whom. Rapport is one of the most important features or characteristics of subconscious communication. Building rapport was used to build relationships with others quickly and to gain their trust and confidence.

For the study, researcher endeavored to make himself a part of the community. He dressed simply as the people in village did, ate what they ate and never presented himself as an outsider. Researcher participated in the events and ceremonies of social

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[23] Bernard, R. H.1994. Research methods in anthropology,. pp34.

importance that includes; marriage ceremony, funeral and mourning processions, political meetings, cricket and football matches. Besides, researcher has also participated in day to day affairs like sitting at tea stalls, sharing a cup of tea, gossiping at grounds, reading newspaper in gathering and responsible commenting over it. It has helped researcher to socialize himself with the people in the study area and to attain their confidence and level of comfort in order to collect reliable data. Researcher has made careful objective notes about general perception of the community, recording all accounts and observations as field notes in a field notebook. Informal conversation and interaction with members of the study population were also recorded in the field notes. Data obtained through participant observation served as a check against participants' subjective feeling of what they believe and what they do. At a large part, participant observation data was consisted of detailed field notes and maps. There was also quantification of socioeconomic data to produce numerical data.

1.22.2 Key Informants

In addition to participant observation, key informant method was also important source of information. It was an excellent way to gather information about past events or ways of life that were no longer obvious. For this study, two *Imam Masjid*, one shopkeeper and one school teacher have not only provided the information regarding village profile but also about the prevailing cross-sect marriages beliefs and practices in the community. Both Imam Masjid of *Shia* and *Sunni* sects were well informed about the current practices, conflicts amongst *Shia-Sunni* families and remedial thereof. School teacher (lady) was also a key source person for her

assistance in conflict management as arbitrator while shopkeeper was also a key person as most of the individuals (both males and females) come to shop for purchase of general store items and food stuff. Relationship between individuals and shopkeeper was based on ages and hence people have a trust over him. He was very friendly and hence people shared their day to day problems with him. The information provided by the key informants was also cross-checked through participant observations and applying other techniques.

1.22.3 Purposive sampling

The researcher took the sample of 35 households from a total household of 174 with an estimated population of 1310. On the basis of information gathered from key informers, maximum available cross-sect families totaling 35 were explored and selected through purposive sampling technique; other household were not included in above said sample of appropriate data of cross-sect marriages.

1.22.4 Survey Method

To collect the base line data of locale *(Bullhay Balla),* researcher conducted a socio-economic survey of 35 out of 174 households. Village was divided in two parts known as upper part and lower part. Upper part had 98 households while lower part had 76 households. Stratified sampling was applied on both strata i.e. upper and lower part of village. Twenty and 15 households with cross-sect families were selected from upper and lower part respectively. From each stratum, every 5th household was selected by simple random sampling technique. Socio-economics forms were filled by

the respondents in person and lady school teacher accompanied the researcher.

1.22.5 Interview

A written list of questions in an appropriate order pertinent to specific objectives was prepared that helped in informal and in-depth interviews. Researcher had designed interview guide with the help of supervisor, literature cite and preliminary field visit. It was comprised of 4 broad categories viz. nature of cross-sect marriages, determinants of cross-sect marriages, spousal relationship and socialization of children that helped in conducting the 35 in-depth interviews. It was administered at later stages of fieldwork when the researcher had a strong rapport with the respondents.

1.22.6 Case Study

Case study has provided in-depth detail of cross-sect marriage and their impacts on family's lives. For this purpose, three instances of cross-sect marriages; two of three cross-sect marriages concluded at divorce between couples were selected. Worth to incite that in these two cross-sect divorces, perception of divorcee in each of the two cases were recorded viz. in 1st case, male was *Shia;* while in 2nd case, female was *Sunni* and hence both perceptive were taken into account. In third cross-sect marriage, controversy over child socialization was highlighted.

1.23   Problems Encountered During Fieldwork

Researcher spent the entire initial week in establishing contacts. In the

beginning, all people were curious to know why the researcher was staying in the village without his parents and family and what he would do there. When the researcher explained the purpose of the study, then a few of people understood well and then they described it to the others.

Another problem the researcher has confronted was sensitivity of the subject study i.e. cross-sect marriages. Quite often people got emotional and researcher faced difficulty in asking in-depth details. This problem eased at later stages when researcher had gained trust of the community.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Cross-sect marriage is a recent focus in social sciences so researcher found it difficulty in getting the relevant and enough research publications. The collected reviews was on variety of topics, relevant to the, family ,concept of social change in Islam, change in family institution in Pakistan, marriage and its scope, , inter fait and cross-sect marriages, spousal conflicts, marital stability, children and parents relationships, child socialization n and identity. Different related theoretical analyses were also part of review. This section was presented in logically rather than chronological order.

2.1.   Role of Marriage Institution

Bartkowski (2010) explained that marriage is beneficial to men, women and society at large yet it is difficult to determine whether marriage actually fosters greater health, wealth, and happiness among young people. A person who exhibits positive characteristics may likely to be "selected" into marriage because they would be seen as the most desirable marriage partners. Feminist scholar argues that marriage may be beneficial to both; but due to patriarchal dividend, it is men who benefit more than women. Marriages are complex relationships that not only involved hard work (e.g., housework, routine child care) but also deeply satisfying forms of interpersonal bonding (e.g. sustained emotional support, parent-child attachment). Some facets of

married life yield positive returns and generate lasting satisfaction, others prove to be quite trying[24].

2.2.   Norms of Mate Selection

Nisa *et al.* (2006) reported that marriage is the most important event in the life. Society is changing rapidly; it is the need of the time to realize the importance of changing trends for marriages and effects thereof. Mate selection is a culturally defined complex process that varies from society to society. Love and sexual compatibility are not always the basis for selecting a spouse, however, when romantic love is an important criterion, physical beauty is a key factor. Age, body shape, personal adornment and especially facial appearance are usually the concern. Personality, education, wealth and other individual characteristics are also important mate selection criteria. Arranged marriages have been very common due to two principal considerations. First, a marriage unites two families, not just two people. In addition, marriages can be valuable tools in creating alliances and therefore, must be considered carefully and even negotiated. Secondly, mate selection is seen as being too important, a decision to be left up to inexperienced young people, especially if they have had little contact with members of the opposite gender. Parents are

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[24] Bartkowski, J. P. 2010. Refashioning Family in the 21st Century: Marriage and Cohabitation among America's Young Adults. University of Texas, San Antonio. PP. 5-7

presumed to have the experience needed to help their children find a mate, who is appropriate for them[25].

2.3.   Role of social status in mate selection

Benjamin (2010) stated that the status value theory of power assumes that status characteristics produce power. The resources held by higher status actors are perceived to have a greater status value than resources held by lower status actors. In turn, possession of valued resources is allowed power exercise for higher status actors. Status theory predicts that men of a non-core group exchange their socioeconomic achievement for marriage with a less successful spouse of higher ascribed status. In wake of higher social status, people even deliberately overlook caste, religion, ethnic group, tradition etc[26].

2.4.   Trend of secularization

Beekink *et al.* (1998) concluded that processes of economic modernization have a major impact on interpersonal relationships. The dramatic expansion of education, the increased mobility and the shift from ascription to achievement as the measure of a person's status in society, usually result in broadening of people's horizons and an increase in their autonomy. The broadening of ideological horizons

[25] Nisa, Z., S. Rehmam and R. Safdar. 2006. Women's Perception towards Mate Selection. J. Agri. Soc. Sci., Vol. 2, No. 3.PP3-5.

[26] Benjamin. P. 2010. Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University Ethnic Capital and Intermarriage: A Case Study of American Jews. Pp 2-3

might result in a decline in people's preference for members of their own group. Modernization led to an increase in religiously mixed marriages on the grounds that the broadening of people's ideological horizons would lead to greater tolerance for partners of different religions as well as a shift in attitude as regards social contact between members of religiously disparate groups. Increased personal autonomy would also diminish the effectiveness of sanctions imposed by members of a person's social network. Modernization could also contribute indirectly to religiously mixed marriages in that it is a catalyst for secularization: higher educational levels lead to increased secularization which in turn leads to integration of different faiths. The above factors have also encouraged cross-sect marriages[27].

2.5.   Secularization and cultural assimilation

Sherkat (2004) examined that intermarriage provides an intimate link between social groups and is one of the best indicators of social distance between status groups, ethnic and racial groups, and religious groups. At the societal level, rates of intermarriage provide an indication of group boundaries, allowing researchers to track cultural assimilation and accommodation and the degree to which status groups protect their positions through inheritance. At the individual level, intermarriage provides insight into the preferences and choices of individuals as they make what is among the most important decisions of their lives. Increases in religious intermarriage may

[27] Beekink, E., C. A. Liefbroer and F. Poppel.1998. Changes in Choice of Spouse as an Indicator of a Society in a State of Transition: Woerden, 1830-1930. J. Historical Social Research, Vol. 23, No. 1. PP1-7.

indicate a decline in the salience of religion, or the inability of religious groups to influence the family decision making of younger members. Intermarriage may also indicate declining social and cultural boundaries between formerly distinct groups. In the first case, increases in intermarriage can be seen as a function of secularization, since religious preferences are less determinative of family choices, and/or religiously generated social constraints have less of an impact on partner choice. Friends, relatives, and coworkers will influence marital choices through approval and disapproval. Parental and family approval/disapproval can have a profound impact on marital relations. Even if an individual does not personally care about the religious faith of a potential spouse, the opinions and actions of parents, siblings, other kin, and friends can reduce or increase the likelihood of marriage. When parents, friends, and other social ties also share a common religious faith, these social influences can be quite strong. Religious groups that promote regular social interaction will help consolidate social ties and reduce the likelihood of intermarriage[28].

2.6.   Social Change in Pakistani Scenario

Kakepoto1 (2001) that change is endemic therefore all societies have to change. Islam has its own unique vision about social change, which is not found in other ideologies and religions. Islam agrees with the necessity, unavoidability,

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[28] Sherkat, E. 2004 . Religious intermarriage in the United States: trends, patterns, and predictors. Social Science Research. No. 33. Pp. 606–625

irreversibility and universality of change. Therefore, it advocates the necessity of changing human societies particularly Muslim in accordance with Sharia requirements. Family in Pakistan is well knitted with greater social control over its members. Father is considered as the head of the family. Modernization is considered as a process of change in people's food habits, dress habits, speaking styles, tastes, choices, preferences, ideas, values, recreational activities and so on. The whole web of social relationships got drastic changes and installed new ideologies in the place of traditional ones. Social change is although positive but at the same time it has also marred moral values of family as an institution. Family cooperation is losing ground. Social respect of elders has lessened to some extent. Electronic media has glamorized the concept of marriage. It has changed the family in its very essence. Arrange marriages are on sharp decline. Love marriages are on the increase. Parents are not looked after and cared as they used to be when joint family system was common. Cousin marriages are common in villages but in urban areas the marriage bond has weakened to certain extent. Females are aware of their rights. Industrialization and urbanization has eased and totally ushered a new family life. Social change has a direct impact on the basic structure and functions of the social institutions. The institutions of family, religion, morality, marriage, state, property have been altered. The marriage contract is going to be considered not as a No doubt, the technology has elevated the social status of women in the family. But at the same time it has put the fabric of social relationships at stake. Much distress has been witnessed in the social relationships between husband and wife. Religion has also lost ground. People are becoming more secular, rational and scientific but less religious in their outlook.

Nuclear family is considered as a direct outcome of social change. Traditional Marriages patterns has been challenged and exogamy is resulting in form of cross-sect marriages[29].

2.7.   Spouses with dissimilar faith

Kalmijn *et al.* (2005) stated that when husband and wife have dissimilar characteristics, their marriage is more likely to end in divorce. One reason to expect this relationship is that differences in religion, ethnicity, and other social characteristics, are correlated with differences in tastes, values, and communication styles. Such differences make it more difficult for spouses to understand each other, reduce the number of activities they enjoy doing together, and limit the degree to which they can confirm each other's values and world-views. A second reason to expect divorce to be more likely is that marrying someone with different characteristics implies crossing a social boundary in society. Because marrying outside the group is often normatively disapproved of, mixed marriages may receive less support from the social networks of the respective spouses than other marriages. Although lack of social support does not necessarily make a marriage unstable or unhappy, support or disapproval from friends and family members probably does make a difference when the relationship is troubled. The notion that heterogamy increases the probability of the marriage ending in divorce is a 'textbook hypothesis'

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[29] Kakepotol, H. 2001. Sociological Impact of Social Change upon Institution of Family with Special Focus on Pakistan. Department of Sociology, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan. pp. 26.

in the social sciences and is widely believed to be true in the general public. Highest risk of divorce will be observed for mixed marriages when one partner is orthodox and the other unaffiliated. Another potential problem lies in the possibility of conversion. Heterogamous couples may become homogenous before their wedding if one spouse switches to the faith of the other. Religious switching is a frequent response to intermarriage and it can occur both before and after marriage. Marriages in which conversion had taken place were equally stable and in some cases more stable than homogenous marriages[30].

2.8.   Islamic perspective on inter-religious marriages

Khwaja (2010) narrated that inter-religious marriages are prohibited in Islam. When such marriages occasionally do take place they are looked upon as unfortunate social accidents and generate a lot of tension or resentment within the concerned families and also society in general. Such marriages are not tolerated but merely endured by the family. One frequently hears of parents disowning their son or daughter. Inter-marriages are rejected due to social psychological or cultural factors. Moreover every large religious group always comprises sub-groups or sects based upon internal distinctions or differences of various kinds. As a result of these internal distinctions any dichotomous classification of the members of the group becomes extremely misleading. Children of a mixed marriage are exposed to conflicting

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[30] Kalmijn,M.,   P. M. Graaf and P. G. Janssen. 2005. Intermarriage and the risk of Divorce in the Netherlands: The effects of Differences in Religion and in Nationality. Population Studies, Vol. 59, No. 1. pp. 71_85

religious messages in their formative years due to the opposed practices of their parents and family members. If both the parents are indifferent to religion than children are spared the evil effects of the divided concerns of their parents, but then they are in the danger of losing all concern for religious and spiritual values altogether. Religious differences may not prove detrimental in the early years of marriage but with the passage of time the mischief begins unless one of the spouses subordinates him or herself to the other. Possession of a common or similar religious background is very helpful in promoting family harmony but having a common or similar cultural and economic background is no less important. The objection that the clash of religious rituals, ceremonies and festivals prevents the couple from sharing their religious life does not hold good. No religious doctrine can, possibly, be proved in the scientific sense. It is, therefore, essential to accept and tolerate the diversity of faiths not as a thorn in the rose but as different flowers in the garden of the human family[31].

2.9. Couple's expectancy

Duan and Claborne (2010) analyzed that in intercultural marriages, the attraction of differences in cultural background may serve more commonly than the attraction of similarities as breeding ground for later expectancy and conflict. At the beginning of the development period of intercultural marriages, a couple from contrastive cultures inevitably holds communication expectancies beyond their culturally based assumptions, beliefs, and habitual communication patterns. These

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[31] Khwaja. J. 2010. Inter-Religious Marriage and Islam.pp3-5

culturally based pre-interactional factors create expectancies for others' conflict behavior. Marital conflict often occurs because of violations of normative culture's expectations in a communication episode. Many aspects of relationship are influenced by the spouse' individual cultural expectancies, from styles of communication to child rearing values. These different expectations could lead to serious marital conflict. Specifically, the differences in rules governing inclusion and exclusion of others in the marriage and the rules about power and authority particularly organize expectancies about marriage both internally and in relation to extended network. These contradictions in expectations stemming from different cultural norms about relationships eventually contribute to marital conflict[32].

2.10. Cognitive development and identity

Buccioni (1998) that social cognitive development has been viewed as proceeding from an awareness of others. Moving towards an awareness of the underlying goals of others and then to an understanding of how the perspectives of more than one person are integrated within a social interaction. In infancy, babies learn how to take turns, how to talk to someone and they have learned procedures for influencing others. In early childhood, toddlers develop the concept of "self' and "other". They can represent other people as agents which act independently of the

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[32] Duan, D. and G. Claborne.2010. Marital Interaction in Intercultural Marriage: An Application of Expectancy Violation Theory. University of Arizona. PP. 15-20.

child's own actions. The ability to integrate two or more internal states into a dynamic social interaction does not appear until approximately 10 years of age where relations are viewed as ongoing, and persons share thoughts and experiences within these relations. Exposure to marital conflict is not an equivalent stressor to children of all ages. The way in which children understand and attribute events appears to change as social cognition develops. Children of different ages differ in their perceived involvement in conflict and they also show different reactions to it. Being exposed to marital conflict may elicit emotional distress in children. Children's emotional responses to inter-adult anger have been found to vary with age with young children showing more emotional distress than older children. Young children's behaviors have been found to change in response to background anger between adults. Distress has been found to be a prominent reaction in toddlers. Anger between adults heightened two year old children's distress reactions such as changes in their body posture or movements. Children did not simply learn specific aggressive behaviors nor did they imitate the specific actions they witnessed as the adult's quarrel was verbal, and children displayed acts of physical aggression. The arousal of distress and exposure to marital conflict may sensitize children, leading to a negative bias in their interpretation of subsequent events[33].

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[33] Buccioni, J. 1998. Children's Understanding of Marital Conflict and the Marital Relationship. Department of Human Development and Applied Psychology. Institute for Studies in Education.University of Toronto.PP 1-10.

2.11. Transmission of faith in children

Schwartz (2006) argued that for many adolescents, religious faith is a developmental structure that is subject to the influence of various social factors that are numerous (e.g., parents, peers, schools, religious institutions and the effects of these sources can be direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious, and broad or narrow. It is within this crowded context that this needed to explore both the unique and the complementary roles of parent and friend faith. Religious socialization may be depicted as a unilateral "transmission from" parent to child, whereby the child is seen as a relatively passive recipient of religious beliefs and practices originating from the parent. Children were actively involved in initiating and expressing their religious ideas within the context of mother-child and father-child dialogues. Parents and peers accounted for significant variance in both adolescents' religious importance and their experience of God, with parents accounting for slightly more variance than peers. Thus, there appears to be support for the notion that, above and beyond the consistent individual contributions of parents and peers (via transmission and transaction) to adolescent religious faith, parents may intentionally move their adolescent children toward peer groups and friendships that may ultimately match or even succeed their own faith influence.[34]

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[34] Schwartz. D.2006. Transformations in Parent and Friend Faith Support Predicting Adolescents' Religious Faith. The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 16(4), 312–314

2.12. Religious identity of children

Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue (1992) reported that sharing faith with our children is a significant act in our lives. Thus, when children arrive in an interfaith family, an acute question arises: What religious identity will the children be given, if any? When the parents' religion is personally important to them, they want to share it with their children. Interreligious families experience the need to teach respect for two religions. Yet the question of a child's particular religious identity and instruction remains. If there is homogamy, children learn the beliefs and practices of one religion, without confusion and they have a clear identity and are unembarrassed when playmates ask questions. If not so then a certain distance could develop between the children and the parent of the other religion. Children should never be placed in the battleground of a family's conflicts, religious or otherwise. Questions about the raising of children should be discussed thoroughly prior to a couple entering into an interfaith marriage. Many couples fail to do this as they concentrate upon their love for one another and assume they will face future challenges when they come. But it is the actual conception and birth of a child that often brings to the surface feelings not anticipated by one or both members of the couple. At the most extreme, this can mean even an inability to live out agreements made earlier about the religious identity and upbringing of anticipated children. An early decision after the arrival of a child often revolves around infancy ceremonies or rituals —naming ceremonies, ritual circumcision for male babies. Any ceremony that is purely cultural may not raise long-term issues but all religious ceremonies must be taken seriously for the life decision

they represent. Whenever possible, parents should discuss their decision together with leaders of their respective religious communities, both before marriage and at the time of a child's birth.[35]

2.13.   Impact of parental conflicts on children

Asher (2005) concluded that children are more likely to develop personality and behavioral problems in unhappy, unloving families in which the parents fight continually than in any other kind of family situation. Parents must realize how much children suffer when they are embroiled in parental battles and take steps to manage their anger responsibly, shield children from parental conflicts, and work with cooperation in child's best interest. Parental cooperation, or at least the absence of overt conflict, is essential for children secure adjustment. Children believe they are responsible for all of the major occurrences in their lives—including parental fighting. If both parents join the parental battle, children lose emotional access to both of them. There is no safe shelter from the storm. But if one parent can exercise restraint and not retaliate destructively, children lose psychological access to the other parent but still have emotional contact with the restrained parent. Some children do side with one parent or the other following a separation or divorce. In other families, loyalties are so deeply divided that different children end up allying with a different parent. However, from the children's perspective, the biggest problem often is not choosing the right

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[35] Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. 1992. Children of Interfaith Families. Reflections on Interreligious Marriage: A joint study document, the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue and the World Council of Churches Office on Inter-Religious Relations (1992), PP2-5.

side but having to choose at all. Most children do not want to be forced to take sides with one parent against the other, and as fervently as they may wish for reconciliation, children's foremost desire often is for their parents to stop all of their fighting.[36]

2.14   Role of father in child socialization

Eggebeen (2008) described that fathers play an important role in helping their children make the transition to adulthood. Much remains that we do not know about the link between fathers and their children. Yet the first "stage" of work, that of establishing that fathers matter, is well advanced. The next stage, exploring the unique contributions of fathers as compared with mothers or other adults, remains less well developed. Both parents as the primary agents of socialization, they look at the role modeling of both. How mothers and fathers care for their children is strongly influenced by their human capital—the skills, knowledge, and values that they possess and that are associated with occupational success. Parents with high levels of human capital, typically indicated by years of education, are more likely to do the kinds of things that enhance their children's cognitive abilities and school performance. They are likely to provide a stimulating home environment by limiting television and encouraging reading. They are more likely to take their children to museums, libraries, plays, and other enriching activities. Father's education affects children independently from a mother's education. If the father has a poor relationship with his adolescent, the

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[36] Asher,A. 2005. The Effects of Parent Conflict on Children.San Francisco.
www.insightpsychological.com

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adolescent reports lack of closeness, the father has a low education level, and the father does few activities with his adolescent, the more likely both male and female adolescents are to show depression symptoms, regardless of the mother's characteristics. Fathers also matter a great deal when it comes to delinquent behavior. The higher the father's social capital (quality of father-child relationship and closeness) the less likely both boys and girls are to engage in delinquency. All these indications of the father's influence appear to exist regardless of the mother's social and human capital and her role-modeling behavior[37].

2.15.   Children socialization in inter-faith marriages

Tammy (2010) concluded Intermarriages are complex marital systems due religious and cultural differences. Couples possessing differing religious stances may be affected in many arenas, including conflict with one's spouse, domestic violence, divorce, and struggles regarding fertility. The formation of a marriage and a family involves the creation of a new culture that has never existed before. Even if the two people come from the same racial, ethnic, and geographic background, their families of origin will be very different, and so their union will inevitably involve the creation of a new world of meaning. Previously buried religious differences may surface when making decisions about the religious upbringing of children. Those couples wherein one partner is not highly affiliated with his or her religion appear to have less

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[37] Eggebeen, D. 2008. Do Fathers Matter Uniquely for Adolescent Well-Being? Center for Marriage and Families .Institute for American Values. Research Brief No. 14 . pp. 1-5.

difficulty establishing religious, spiritual routines for their children. Parents with equally high levels of religious and cultural attachments were the most likely to describe enduring disappointments and conflicts related to their efforts to help their children acquire a religious identity. Family, friends and religious organizations may pressure couples when they are deciding how to raise their children within a religious context, and they face negative reactions likes, lack of understanding from family and friends and disagreements regarding religious aspects of family life and their children's upbringing. Discussions amongst couples with religious differences should occur prior to the marriage. Open, positive exchange of ideas throughout marriage can lead to increased intimacy and appreciation between couples.[38]

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[38] Tammy, J. 2010. Interfaith Marriage and Counseling Implications. Article 10. pp. 96.

Chapter 3

THE VILLAGE PROFILE

Village profile carries a vital importance in the anthropological research. It provides a deep insight into the socio-economic and religio-political observable facts as well as gives information about normative structure and ongoing life of the community. The study area was village Bullhay Bala, situated in district and tehsil Chakwal. It is situated in *Potohari* region of *Dhani*. In this chapter profile of village is presented in broad socio-cultural and historical context ending up by providing details at micro level.

3.1   The Pothohar Plateau

The *Pothohar* is a plateau in the province of Punjab, Pakistan and the western parts of Pakistan-administered Kashmir. It is bounded on the east by the Jhelum River, on the west by the Indus River, on the north by the Kala Chitta Range and the Margalla Hills, and on the south by the Salt Range. The terrain is undulating. The Kala Chitta Range rises to an average height of 450-900 meters and extends for about 72 kilometers. The Swaan River starts from nearby Murree and ends near Kalabagh in the Indus River. Sakesar is the highest mountain of this region. The Pothohar Plateau was the home of the ancient Soan valley civilization, which is evidenced by the discovery of fossils, tools, coins, and remains of ancient archaeological sites. The Indus Valley

civilization flourished in this region between the 23rd and 18th centuries BC. Some of the earliest Stone Age artifacts in the world have been found on the plateau, dating from 500,000 to 100,000 years ago. The crude stone recovered from the terraces of the Soan testify to human endeavor in this part of the world from the inter-glacial period. The Stone Age people produced their equipment in a sufficiently homogeneous way to justify grouping the inhabitants of this area into one. Around 3000 BC, small village communities developed in the Pothohar area, which led to the early roots of civilization. The people of *Pothohar* speak *Pothohari.* However, the people of Chakwal and the *Dhanni* area (now known as Chakwal Tehsil) do not speak *Pothohari* and are ethnologically not regarded as *Potoharis*. They speak a *Chakwali* or *Dhanni* dialect of Punjabi, which is closer to *Shahpuri,* a dialect spoken in the Shahpur-Salt Range area.[39]

3.2   Chakwal

Chakwal is located in the *Dhanni* region of the *Pothohar* Plateau in northern Punjab, Pakistan. It is located 90 km south-east of the federal capital, Islamabad and is named after Chaudhry Chaku Khan, chief of the Mair Minhas Rajput tribe from Jammu, who founded it in 1525 CE during the era of the Mughal Emperor, Zaheer ul

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[39] Govt. of Pakistan. 1898. District Chakwal. Statistics Division, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Islamabad, Pakistan. Pp.216

Image No. 2. Map of Pakistan

(Source: www.mapzone.com)

Deen Babur. It remained a small but central town of the Dhan Chaurasi Taluka for many centuries. In 1881, during the British era, it was declared the Tehsil Headquarters. It was finally upgraded to district status in 1985. The area of Chakwal city is about 10 square kilometers. The total area of district Chakwal is 6609 square kilometers, which is equivalent to 1652443 acres, and as enumerated in the 1998 census the total population is 1059451, 87.7 percent of which lives in rural areas and 12.3 percent in the urban areas, making Chakwal a predominantly rural district pivoted on an agrarian economy with a very small industrial sector. Chakwal lies in the subtropical region and its climate is typical of the area, with the exception that it varies a little on the cooler side, owing to its elevation, from central Punjab. Winter temperatures normally range between 4° C and 25° C, and summer temperatures average between 15° C and 40° C and may go up to a maximum of 15° C. At present district Chakwal consists of 4 subdivisions - Chakwal, Talagang , Shah, and Kallar Kahar, 23 qanungois and 198 patwar circles. The police subdivisions correspond with those of the district administration and there are 11 police stations- Chakwal City, Saddar, Kallar Kahar, Dhumman, Nila, Dhudhial, Talagang City, Saddar, Tamman, Lawa and Choa Saidan Shah. Chakwal is a semi-arid area with a shortage of irrigation systems and water sources for agriculture. Over 70% of the population engages in agriculture, mostly subsistence agriculture dependent on rainfall. Most villages have no irrigation system.[40]

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[40] Govt. of Pakistan. 1898. District Chakwal. Statistics Division, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Islamabad, Pakistan. Pp.219

3.3   Geographic location of Locale

Study was conducted in Bullhay Bala village in district Chakwal. The village is situated on the Neelah road at the distance of 12km in the north of the Chakwal city. There are a few small villages, adjacent to this village. Lakhwal dam is situated in north, Chakwal city is the south, motorway Balkasar interchange through Maingun village is in west at the distance of 7km and Juyamair oil fields are in the east of the village. Their land is part of the Dhanni region of the Pothohar Plateau in northern Punjab, Pakistan. The village is divided into 3 Mohallahs as a mark of identification which are named at the name of dominating castes i.e., Mohallahs of Lillas, Jats and Harals.

3.4   Climate

Hot summer and cold winds are common every year. Climate influences the lives of people. It is assumed that due to harsh seasons children get puberty soon. Due to hard climate nature has produced resistance and patience in them to combat with odd circumstances. Rainy seasons are very beneficial for crops and vegetation.

3.5   Historical Background

There is no recorded history of the village so researcher collected the possible information about the village from its inhabitants. According to the information,

Bullhay Bala village was founded nearly 200 years ago before that this land was an agricultural land owned by a landlord Bullah Khan. Later he gifted this village land to his daughter in the dowry. The village is named after that landlord, Bullah Khan. *Jats* of this village still feel pride and they claim that they are actual owner of this village and called themselves as *Maaliks* (owner).

3.6   Language

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by inhabitants of the historical Punjab region (north western India and in Pakistan). It has different dialects, spoken in the different sub-regions of greater Punjab. The people of Pothohar speak *Pothohari* dialect. However, the people of Chakwal or the *Dhanni* area in particular do not speak Pothohari and are ethnologically not regarded as *Pothohari.* They speak a distinctive *Chakwali* or *Dhanni* dialect of Punjabi, which is closer to *Shahpuri,* a dialect spoken in the Shahpur-Salt Range area and also has a slight element of *Saraiki* and *Pothohari.*

3.7   Demography and Castes Distribution

According to Planning and Development Department, Chakwal, the population of Bullhay *Bala* is 1,400 living in 174 households[41].

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[41] Government of the Punjab. 2008. Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, Bureau of Statistics, Planning and Development Department, Lahore, Pakistan.pp 86. ww.pndpunjab.gov.pk/user_files/File/Chakwalf

Table 3.1.   **Distribution of respondents with respect to their Caste**

Caste	No. of Respondents
Syeds	2
Chaudrial,	3
Jat	7
Phajwal	3
Janyal.	3
Harals	3
Lilla	3
Qazi	2
Cobbler	1
Mason	2
Rajput	3
Nai	3
TOTAL	**35**

There are nine ethnic groups in the village but *Syeds* are considered as most prestigious. Majority of the population belongs to the *Jat* caste. They are further divided into sub-castes which includes; *chaudrial, gondal, phajwal, madyaal* and j*anyal*. These are very much influential in the community. *Lillas* are the migrant farmers in the community and are in great numbers after *Jats*. They are *Jats* by caste

but they are named as *lilla* as they migrated in from *lilla* and started cultivation. *Harals* are also *Jats*. They are small scale farmers and good hunters too and lived in dense forest areas. They are more resistant to change and vey traditional than any other caste. The other castes in village include; *Qazis* are engaged in providing the basic religious education to community by the institution of mosques as they are imam masjids. *Cobblers* are engaged in their traditional skills of shoes making and repairing and a few of them working in local factories. *Masons* are experts in their particular role of home constructions and *Nais* provide the services to the all castes and community major events and they are also providing the services of barbers in the area.

3.8   Family Structure

Family Structure	Frequency
Nuclear	7
Joint	17
Extended	11
Total	**35**

Joint family pattern is prevailing but due to threat of modernization and domestic conflicts this is declining. There is hierarchy of authority by grandparent,

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parents and sons in the family. People like to have 3-5 children as ideal so family size is large in the area.

Women play a vital role in the overall social life of the village. They play an important role in agriculture and in managing live stocks. Some poor women also work as maiden in some houses. They perform all domestic chores from nurturing the kids to fetching water, looking after the cattle, bringing wood from forest etc. spousal abuses is a very common practice and women are usually afraid of their husband's aggressive mood. They remain busy from dawn to dusk.

Youth is asset of any society. Most of the younger men are doing jobs in army. After matriculation boys join army. Unemployed pass their time at hotels, bus stop and play grounds. Sports are also one of recreation. Roaming in the streets and in village market is one of major activity of jobless boys. Smoking is common among men in the village. They keep quail as pet with them, visiting and standing at hotels and bus stop. They attend cock fighting, pig hunting and gambling, playing football, cricket and volley ball and dog fighting ceremonies. But a few boys continue their education after matric and get admission in colleges of Chakwal city. Girls on the other hand, continue their education till graduation through distance learning and get married afterwards. After marriage, either they mostly perform household chores or do job along with their responsibilities as house wives. They play hide and seek, roping and enjoy dolls marriages in childhood.

3.9   Economy and Agriculture

Two major sources of income generation are agriculture and jobs. Farmers own small patches of land. They cultivate both cereals and cash crops. Pea-nuts and melons are very profitable crops. Since the area is arid zone therefore total dependency on rain. Drought may result due to continuous absence of rain water. Farmers have small herds of goats, buffalo, cow and sheep. The milk of these animals is sold or churned to produce milk products (*lassi* and *Ghee*). Farmers possess donkeys for the portable stuff.

Profession	Frequency
Agriculture & live stock	21
Govt. employee	5
Public sector employee	5
Private business	4
Total	**35**

More than 70% of total population is directly related with agriculture and second major profession is army. Many people are shopkeeper and driver. Besides this, manual labor like, laborer, tailoring, cultivation vegetables, cobblers, barber, artesian and musician as well. Some people are professional gambler.

3.10   Religion

Sect	Frequency
Sunni	25
Shia	9
Devbond	1
Total	**35**

All the people of village are Muslims by religion. Sunni sect is predominately common with its two sub-division sect of *Brailvi* and *Deobandi* while *shias* are in minority in the villages. Religious textual orders are normally followed by all sects. There are 5 mosques in the village including one *Shia* mosque. Each *Mohallahs* has own mosque but there is only *jamia* mosque where Friday prayer is offered. All mosques are functional due to self-help basis. Children are given basic religious education in all mosques.

Like all other places of the country, Chakwal has been frequented by a number of saints who came here to spread Islam. Mausoleums and shrines of these holy men were built after their deaths by the followers, more famous of these shrines are;

- Darbar, Sakhi Saidan Shah Shirazi, (Choa Saidan Shah)
- Darbar, Hazrat Ahoo Bahoo, (Kallar Kahar)
- Chila Gah, Hazrat Sultan Bahoo, (Kallar Kahar)
- Chila Gah, Hazrat Baba Farid Gunj Shakkar, (Kallar Kahar)
- Darbar Pattalian
- Darbar Alawal Sharif
- Darbar Pir Waliat Shah, Karsal
- Darbar Pir Khari Sharif

There are famous shrine in the village called *ziarat* of Baba Jan Muhammad. *Brelvis* have great devotional attachment with these shrines and they celebrate annuals ceremonies at shrine. People go on the shrines of other surrounding areas for the spiritual satisfaction.

3.11 Amenities of Life Available In the Village

The locale is considered relatively deprived as compared to other surrounding villages in context of following available facilities in the area.

3.11.1 Education

Table 3.4.   literacy rate of the respondents

literacy rate	Frequency
Illiterate	21
Literate	14
Total	35

People are well educated as compared to other villages in the surrounding areas. Boys have high literacy rate up to matric level while girls have higher after matric level education. It is due to fact that after matric common trend is of job in army or private sectors. There are 2 Govt. schools in the area, one primary school for

boys and one middle school for girls. While there is a private school that is providing education up to matric level.

3.11.2 Electricity

The village was electrified in 1992. A few scattered households are deprived of this facility. Electricity consumption is low in this area.

3.11.3 Health

There is one private clinic in the area. Community is deprived of modern health facilities. People also go to city DHQ for health seeking. Malnutrition is also common. Vaccination teams visit village regularly. Sometime free medical camps provide the treatment to the patients.

3.11.4 Transportation and Communication

The village is 1km from the main road. City Chakwal is at distance of 12km from village. There is no formal bus stand for road transportation. Few vans and private cars provide people pick and drop service. Public transport is not sufficient according to the need in the area. Most of the people who go daily to the city for earning, own bikes. There are many streets in the village which are interlinked with each other. Some are broadened while others are very narrow. Most of them are cemented and walking on these in rains is not a problem.

Communication facility is relatively better than transportation. Majority of people have landline and wireless telephones in their home. Most of the people possess personal mobile phones of different cellular companies.

3.12   Ritual and Customs

A ritual is a set of actions, performed mainly for their symbolic value. It may be prescribed by a religion or by the traditions of a community. A ritual may be performed on specific occasions, or at the discretion of individuals or communities. It may be performed by a single individual, by a group, or by the entire community; in arbitrary places, or in places especially reserved for it; either in public, in private, or before specific people.

The purposes of rituals are varied; with religious obligations or ideals, satisfaction of spiritual or emotional needs of the practitioners, strengthening of social bonds, social and moral education, demonstration of respect or submission, stating one's affiliation, group identity, to create social bonds, nourishment of interpersonal relationships, obtaining social acceptance or approval for some event—or, sometimes, just for the pleasure of the ritual itself. The social function of rituals has often been exploited for political ends. All religious rituals are celebrated with devotions and full participation. Both of *Eids*, *Eid-ul-Azha* and *Eid-ul-Fitr* are celebrated with zeal and zest. Besides this each sect celebrates their particular events includes, *Shab-e-Mehraj,*

Eid-e-Meelad Ashoora-e-Moharam and *Eid-e-Ghadeer*. Annual ceremonies are conducted at the shrines of Baba Jan Muhammad.

Chapter -4

NATURE OF CROSS-SECT MARRIAGES

Marriage is a contract between husband and wife and is legally, socially and religiously recognized. Pakistan is primarily Islamic state with a permanent contact with other cultures that are subjected to rapid & continuous changes. The frequency of divorce, separation, and domestic disputes are ever increasing. The aforesaid factors constitute instabilities in the marriage and family institutions that can be invariably noticed in cross-sect marriages. A cross-sect marriage has been considered as a potential threat to the spousal relationships on account of unaddressed internal (i.e. within families) and external elements (i.e. community involvement, peer groups, religious and political authorities). Religious authorities have never acknowledged cross-sect marriages as an ideal particularly in context with female's family. This chapter focuses on the nature and causes of cross-sect marriages discussed in the following headings.

Table 4.1 exhibits that the majority (14, 13) of the cross-sect spouses have an age of 15-30 years while senior spouses (5,3) have also been the part of this trend. Above placed data reveals that cross-sect marriages are popular in younger generation that is responsible for a major determinant of change.

Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents regarding their ages

Age (years)	Frequency
15 to 20	14
20-30	13
30-40	5
40 and above	3
Total	**35**

Table 4.2. Distribution of respondents with respect to their sex

Sex of the respondents	Frequency
Male	21
Female	14
Total	35

Table 4.2 shows that majority (21) of respondents were male while 14 female respondent were also part of research so both prospective has been considered in the research.

Table 4.3.   Distribution of respondents with respect to their literacy rate

literacy rate	Frequency
Illiterate	21
Literate	14
Total	35

Table 4.3 demonstrates that majority of the cross-sect spouses were illiterate indicating the intellectual state of a society and was miserable; while 14 spouses were literate. Qualitative data revealed that out of 14 literates, only 3 were college/ university graduates.

Table 4.4 Distribution of respondents with respect to their family structure

Family Structure	Frequency
Nuclear	7
Joint	19
Extended	9
Total	35

Table 4.4 exhibits that majority of the spouses in cross-sect marriages has been living in joint and extended (19, 9) family patterns respectively while this trend is very low in nuclear family (7) as traditional family structure is un-nuclear. Severe

clashes had been reported in the cross-sect marriages due to in-laws and other family authorities.

Table 4.5. Distribution of respondents regarding time period of marriage

When they got married	Frequency
Within last 5 years	11
5- 10 years beyond	13
10-15 years beyond	7
More than 15 years beyond	4
Total	35

Cross-sect marriage has been recently popularized trend in the marriage institution that had been unacknowledged during past although it had not been absent at all besides prevalence of negligible incidents of sectarian extremism. Table 4.5 shows the prevalence of cross-sect marriage during last two decades. It is evident that most of the respondents got married within last ten years while a few were married within last 10-15 years. From past record of the village, it was learnt that no cross-sect marriage has been taken place beyond the last 2 decades. This trend has been increased during last 15 years and has been optimal from 5-10 years beyond. But for the last 5 years, this trend has once again decreased as compared to 5-15 years on account of inherent contradictions in cross-sect marriages.

Table 4.6. Distribution of respondents with respect to their relation with their spouse

Relation to the spouse	Frequency
Cousin	8
Relative	13
Out of family	14
Total	35

This table reflects that most of the cross-sect marriages (8+13=21) had been taken place in cousins and within the relatives. But this trend is lowest among cousins (8) with highest of cross-sect marriages (14) happened out of family. Hence it can be inferred that endogamous and exogamous factors are basic elements of cross-sect marriages.

Table 4.7. Distribution of respondents with respect to their social status

Social status	Frequency
Lower	18
Middle	10
Upper	7
Total	**35**

Table 4.7 shows that cross-sect marriages had been popular in the lower class (18) and middle class (10) while it has not been practiced, so commonly, in the upper class (7) on account of their prestige in the society and availability of numerous alternatives for a better choice.

Table 4.8.   Monthly income of respondents

Monthly income (Rs.)	Frequency
Up to 7,000	14
7,000-12,000	11
12,000-17,000	7
More than 17,000	3
Total	35

Table 4.8 reveals that majority of cross-sect spouses (14) had been earning up to Rs.7,000/- per month, 11 households had been earning between Rs.7,000-Rs.12,000 per month, 7 had been in the economic earning category of Rs.12,000/-Rs.17,000/- per month while a small number (3) had a monthly earning of Rs.17,000 or above. It is evident from above table that trend of cross-sect marriages is popular in lower and middle economic classes.

Table 4.9.   Prior incidence of cross-sect marriage in family of respondents

Prior cross-sect marriage(s) in family	Frequency
Yes	13
No	22
Total	**35**

Table 4.9 shows another determinant of cross-sect marriages i.e. prior incident(s) of cross-sect marriages in a family. Thirteen out of 35 respondents shared that such marriages have already been taken place in their families while majority (22) of the respondents have no such history of cross-sect marriage(s) in their family.

Table 4.10.   Distribution of respondents with respect to the nature of cross-sect marriage

Nature of cross-sect marriage	Frequency
Love	8
Arranged	16
Both	11
Total	35

Table 4.10 describes that love has been a key determinant in cross-sect marriages. Though majority (16) of respondents married in arranged passion yet the trend for love marriage (8) and hybrid marriages (11) can never been overlooked.

Table 4.11. Distribution of respondents with respect to their marital status

Marital Status	Frequency
Combined	24
Temporary Separation	4
Widow/ widower	4
Divorced	3
Total	35

Table 4.11 illustrates the recent marital status of the households. Majority (24) of the respondents were living with their spouses while a few (4) of respondents experienced severe clashes in their marital life leading towards temporary separation between them. There were 3 cases of divorcees while 4 spouses were widow/ widower.

In view of aforementioned, it is learnt that cross-sect marriage is a recent phenomenon that has not been popular in last few decades; however its existence cannot be overlooked. Being a recent phenomenon, majority of families had no prior

cross-sect marriages history. Further, such marriages were most common in youngsters. An increasing trend of love marriage and hybrid (love marriage coupled with arrange marriage) has been noticed that promotes the cross-sect marriages. Besides, majority of such marriages occurred in the joint and extended families. Most of the cross-sect spouses were illiterate with an affiliation with lower and middle social class. Cousin marriages for cross-sect marriage were on the lower side while most of the cross-sect spouses married out of family.

4.2. CAUSES OF THE CROSS-SECT MARRIAGES

Marriage is regarded as social union or legal contract between individuals (male & female) that create kinship. It is an institution in which interpersonal relationships, usually intimate and sexual, are acknowledged in a variety of ways depending on the values of culture or subculture wherein it exists. People marry for several reasons including but not limited to following: legal, social, libido, emotional, economical, spiritual, and religious. These may include arranged marriages, family obligations, legal establishment of a nuclear family unit, legal protection of the children and public declaration of commitment.

Marriage has not changed over the years. Today's marriage is hardly anything like the marriage of a generation ago, much less any more intervals back into the history of Pakistan and the world. Economic and paternalistic and changes in society along with media pressures have made today's marriages completely different from yesterday's union. The family institution around the globe has undergone radical

changes over the last decades due to multiple factors. Under the influences of modernization and globalization, intermarriages, mixed and interfaith marriages are ever increasing. The boundaries between different sects within Islam have been demolished, resulting in cross-sect marriages. A cross-sect marriage is a special type of interfaith marriages. It occurs within different sects of a religion. Cross-sect marriages not happening due to a particular frame of mind but data from the field showed a number of prospective which are discussed and analysed.

Table 4.11. Causes of the cross-sect marriages

Causes of the cross-sect marriages	No. of cases
No other choice	4
To raise the social status	3
Economic and Materialistic Gains	4
Love Marriage	3
Preference of own Biradri/caste	8
Family History	13
Total	**35**

5.1 No other choice

One of the major determinants of cross-sect marriage was the non availability of the alternatives. If anybody could not find any compatible spouse then he/ she does not hesitate to marry in any other sect of his/ her own choice. It has become a serious concern for females to find a partner at an appropriate age on account of their biological constraints of fertility period.

One of the respondents argued that he couldn't sleep as his daughters were approaching maturity so he tried to explore & find best possible match for each of his daughter within the family or otherwise and sect is immaterial to the subject concern. With a sigh of depression & helplessness, he further shared that what we should do? Where we could take our daughters if they had borne to us? We found ourselves tired of blatant social pressure of the society followed by family's disapproval and social discrimination and hence when we could not find compatible one - though unwilling yet we go for cross-sect marriages. He further advocated that two decades back, being head of the his family, he married his younger sister to a *Shia* boy and it proved to be a bitter experience and marriage was unsuccessful on account of faith differences thereafter he affirmed himself not to repeat such blunders. Unfortunately, twenty years later he has confronted the same situation when he looked for a *Sunni* spouse for his daughter. Despite of his persistent probe for a *Sunni* male, he couldn't find the compatible one. As his daughter was getting old, once again he married his daughter with a well-established and economically sound *Shia* boy. Though the marriage is

compromised-cum-successful, however, female is still taunted for her swift growing followed by opposite faith.

5.2   To raise the social status

Competition amongst families for social status and prestige has also been noticed in rural community. People prefer to marry their children in a family with better social status. One of the respondents affirmed to feel more pride when recognized as a family member of families with higher social status; while another respondent stated that he had good socio-economic status followed by relatively lower social status in his family and hence he preferred a Shia spouse dwelled in the immediate vicinity of his own village. Though she was elder to him yet had well known family status amongst community and had her own motor car as well. He always feels pride to claim that he is son-in-law of a counselor.

5.3   Economic and Materialistic Gains

Economy is a very prime institution for its overall interaction in the society. Possession of valuables has a major role in deciding the prestige of a person and is an indicator of social and economic status. A well-educated male respondent disagreed with agreed cross-sect marriage. Consequent upon his parent's untried insistence for his marrying with a Shia female cousin having sound financial position, handsome valuable dowry and reasonable bank balance in the name of bride, he finally accepted the proposal and married to his Shia female cousin i.e. cross-sect marriage against coercion followed by materialistic gains. He incited that it had made him economically

more stable and worthy. Upon my probe regarding ideal for Shia female family, later I found that they were looking for an educated and handsome male; so both of the families were in close match to each other and hence accepted proposal. Another respondent had a very common reason for marrying amongst his family whereby his father-in-law, well settled in the Gulf State, first arranged a visa for him and later he used to influenced the mother for the marry of respondent to his daughter. His mother was more inclined towards the proposal as she had an opportunity to have a handsome dowry and a better social status to prominent the position of her family in the eyes of his family and to dominate her rival relatives and villagers. Earlier his father resisted on account of cross-sect proposal but finally consented to the same due to his indebtness to the visa provider, who was also a family member.

In view of aforesaid, it has been experienced that materialistic gains (Bank balance, car & dowry) in the rural society do matter and is a phenomenon of modernization. Further, marrying in a family in accordance with the expected volume of monetary interests has also been emphasized. Consequently, cross competition amongst financially sound families was noted. Families with dominant financial position were warmly greeted while families with bleak financial health sacrificed the potential relationship. Marx has explored that such a change in religious and cultural ideologies can lead to disharmony within the society (marriage and family). Economic valuable (bank balance, motor car, dowry etc.) and social valuables followed by wealth (infrastructure) were deemed to be main drivers of superstructure religion (ideological and symbolic aspects). Hence past perception about inherent

incompatibility amongst cross-sect couples ceases to address and it has led to increase in cross-sect marriages.

5.4   Love Marriage

It is said that love has no culture, class, boundaries, race, religion and sect and is a universal and natural phenomenon. There are a good number of cases where such incidence can be learnt like stories about Heer vs. Ranjha, Sohni vs. Mahiwal, Sasi vs. Punnu, Anarkali vs. *Shahzada* Saleem and popular Bollywood star Shahrukh Khan vs. Gauri Chibber. Present generation has been found very impressed with the stories of aforesaid couples and quote their examples where they found any resistance. The same is also observed in cross-sect marriages where respondents shared that while their families were against cross-sect marriages, they presented and well-defended their cases through reference to aforesaid legend lovers. They had never indulged in controversies despite their parents warned them time and again. Hence it is has been established that love had an influential part for cross-sect marriages.

Three cases of cross sect-cum-love marriages were being reported in the study area. Two of them had ideal marital lives while one of the three couples eventually ended up in divorce due to socialization of children controversies and clashes with in-laws due to extreme views about religious doctrine. According to divorcee it was unmanageable to live with cross-sect in joint family. Two of the successful couples advocated cross-sect marriages on the strength of inherent love and better

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understanding between spouses. They were of the view that compromise and recognition of differences between couples is the key that ultimately comes with love. Further to above, it is all about how you manage your social and marital life in a joint family system. However it was noticed that in former cases, the marriages were taken place within the same family while in latter case, husband of divorcee was from out of family and was a Govt. employee. Divorcee was a school teacher and she voiced for her rights that ended up in divorce.

5.5   Preference of own *Biradri*

A marriage, in Pakistan, is commonly considered as a joint venture of the two different families with same caste, tradition, culture, values, norms and ethics. It is evident that social structure (caste/ *Biradri)* are the sociocultural adaptations that people think to be essential in ups and downs of life. In such cases they do not hesitate to form any coalition like cross-sect marriage. One of the respondents, having *Shia* belief, was unwilling to marry her *Sunni* cousin but his father influenced him to do so as both families had the same caste within the same community and hence limiting any possible choice of the respondent from outside of his own family/ caste.

5.6   Prior Incidences of Cross-Sect Marriages in the Family

It has been learnt that history of cross-sect marriage(s) within a family can be an influential determinant in the cross-sect marriages. The individuals scared of the

consequences of cross-sect marriages take such happy long living marriages positively and always take a closer look of such relationships. Upon their learning through such instances, a family with broad vision and tolerant attitude acknowledges the right of cross-sect companion and accepts such proposals.

Chapter-5

SPOUSAL RELATIONSHIPS IN CROSS-SECT MARRIAGES

Getting married is a challenging yet a significant learning experience for the couples as the institution of marriage teaches them something or the other at each moment in their marital life. Marriage does not only entail having fun and making each other rejoice all the way, it also signifies the responsibilities that come along with the marital connection. The norms of any relationship demand understanding and consideration but marriage demands a lot as it also implies giving one's his/her rights and sharing of duties, responsibilities and decisions. The institution of marriage acknowledges ones rights and signifies sharing of life and decisions jointly and taking responsibilities in complete harmony with the circumstances at any given time. In case of a love relationship one cannot claim enough authority or supremacy on each other's life and decision but the marital bond provides authority to share decisions and to advice each other on different issues. Transparency is essence of the institution of marriage which provides environment for the relation to flourish between two individuals. Patterns of interaction between spouses exhibit how satisfied they are with their relationship. Couples assess themselves with one another according to multiple culturally determined criteria. It operates such that initial criticism leads to disengagement that if not redressed leads to further confrontation. Marital conflict has deleterious effects on mental, physical, and family health.

5.1   Spouse with dissimilar faith

Sunni and Shia sects are two major representative of Islam having a bit diversified views, beliefs and religious practices. A cross-sect marriage was a special type of interfaith marriages. It occurred within different sects of a same religion. Cross-sect marriages have relatively more challenges to face than couples of the same faith. Religious differences in interfaith marriages may create problems for interfaith couples, but usually these problems can be lessened when there is communication about the religious issues. When someone has a faith but his/her spouse does not share the conviction, it becomes even more challenging. In such situation, it was likely warned that it could have troubling consequences.

Marital satisfaction is the subjective evaluation of one's experience in their marriage. By subjective evaluation means that marital satisfaction can only be rated by each person in response to his/her own question, "How satisfied am I?" The level of satisfaction cannot be determined by anyone else neither there exists a stick yard to measure the same. Marital satisfaction depends upon the individual's needs, expectations, and desires for the relationship and satisfaction of such needs, expectations and desires. Marital stability refers to the stability of the marital relationship rather than to the condition of individual spouses. Stable marriages are solid in that there is either no or lesser probability of divorce.[42]

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[42] Snyder, D. 2011. Marital Satisfaction Inventory.www.mhs.com

5.2   Discrimination of faith

Perception of a spouse develops from the family and community socialization and cultural normatic behavior. *Shia* and *Sunni* have a specific perception for each other sect shaped by their families due to their ideological differences. Most of the respondents argued that they were prejudiced for other sect without having any prior knowledge of their sectorial beliefs that had become the major problem and resulted in marital disharmony. Such controversial ideologies under the same roof have been threatening. It adds fuel to the controversial cross-sect marriage further deteriorating the stability of the relationship. Premeditated views about each other's sect were found to be responsible for increasing the controversies due to their respective socialization. Most of the marriages were arranged, so factors like love and affection were not much influential to reduce the conflicts. Sectorial faith has always been dominant factor in the study areas whereby extreme attachment with one's sectorial belief resulted in divorce in the love marriage even on account of reason of attending *Shia majlis* by the female spouse. According to a respondent with extreme attachment to his sectorial belief, "*to eat with shias is even forbidden in Islam as they disregard companions of Holy Prophet (PBUH)*".

5.3 Agreement on ideological differences

Soon after marriages, spouses start expressing and imposing their faith and tried their level best for their agreement on a single sect. *Shia* spouse especially husband were found to be more agile and female spouse were too behind. They used

to preach each other and later tried to impose their ideology. On refusal the spouses were abused, separated or divorced.

5.4   Interference in community religious affair

Most of the spouses were in competition to convince the companion through explanation of their ideology. Conflicts of interest aroused where *Shia* wife expressed and started preaching her faith and defended her ideologies to the community women. Due to patriarchal society, gender biases are threat for *Shia* wives to preach as their husbands reacted instantly at that interference. Occasional augment and few extreme level tensions were reported in the field. A spouse told that her Sunni husband insulted her friend when she came to her home to learn the basic religious believes. Another dilemma faced by well-educated *Shia* wives was strong resistance followed by a teaser that they were educated illiterates. *Sunni* wives had not extreme reaction in the field as they had not actively involved in preaching their faith on account of one reason or other. One of the *Sunni* female respondent affirmed that her *Shia* husband banned her attendance in *Sunni's Mehfil-e-Meelad* held next to their house. Such types of annoying imposition were very common in families with cross-sect marriages. It was also learnt that when *Shia* wives were victimized, majority of the community left her unattended while whenever *Sunni* wives become victims, the result were totally different. *Sunni* religious authorities became active and were actively involved and discriminated her husband and his family.

5.5 Funeral ceremony

As religious authorities and community members were involved in the funeral ceremony so it had become the controversial difference between above said two groups. A respondent told that her father was *Sunni* but after his death her *Shia* mother and brothers invited *Shia* scholar for funeral prayer but his cousins and *Sunni* relatives resisted that deceased was a *Sunni* Muslim. Finally, it was offered by *Sunni* scholar but his maternal family boycotted the funeral ceremony. Another respondent shared that at the death of his *Shia* mother, two separate funeral prayers were offered by each sect.

5.6 Rituals after death

Not in the lives of spouses with cross-sect marriages were miseries but they had also left the controversies after their death. Family of *Shia* went to involve their mosque and *Sunni* went for their religious authorities. In above two cases of study area, there were division in both families and each of the two families received guests at their own home, coming for obituary and condolences.

5.7 Domestic violence

Domestic violence may take many forms including physical aggression (hitting, kicking, biting, slapping, throwing objects), or threats covert abuse (e.g., neglect); and economic deprivation were reported by most of the females in the cross-sect marriages. Physical torture resulted in injuries further remained unattended for

medical care, and depriving the victim to have a peaceful sleep were also reported. Emotional abuses i.e. threating efforts to isolate or divorce in case of any contact with their friends or family were also common in both *Shia* and *Sunni* female spouses. It was intended at eliminating the last resort of the spouse. According to a female respondent, isolation results in damaging her sense of internal strength, feeling helpless and unable to avoid the situation.

5.8   Power and control

In some relationships, violence was reported after perceived need for power and control over the spouse and other family decision. Spouse efforts to dominate their partners have been attributed to low self-esteem or feelings of inadequacy, unresolved childhood conflicts, the stress of poverty, hostility and other socio-cultural factors.

5.9   Depression in spouses

Marriage is good for mental and physical health of the spouses. It is crucial for couples to know that partners are protected from the negative effects of stressors in a mutually satisfying relationship. Cross-sect marital conflict has been linked to the onset of depressive symptoms including poor parenting, poor adjustment of children, increased likelihood of parent-child conflict, and conflict between siblings. Marital conflicts that are frequent, intense, physical, unresolved, and child related have a particularly negative influence on children.

5.10   Conflict management

Conflict in marriage is inevitable. Encounter in crops-sect marriages was a struggle between family members with opposite needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Physiologically spouses responded to conflict in one of two ways -- wanted to "get away from the conflict" or they were ready to "take on anyone who came in the way." It was how spouses choose to handle conflict that determines whether, in the end, there is resolution. Patterns of dealing with conflict within a relationship were often set early in life when children watch their parents arguing. Most of the time, mothers were passive and chose to withdraw or compromise. In cross-sect marriages, spouses were always in competition to preach, introduce and impose their ideology and practices to each other's families. It becomes more dangerous when children become the part of this triangle.

Most of the times, spouses avoided or postponed conflict by ignoring it, changing the subject etc. According to a newly married couple, avoidance proved to be useful as a temporary measure to have time or as an expedient means of dealing with ideological conflicts between *sunni-shia* spouses. At the start of marriage intention is usually to work together to find a mutually beneficial solution. Uncontroversial religious practices and ceremonies were performed with in-- collaboration of both spouses that stabilized the relationship. In more severe cases, conflict avoidance weekend the relationship especially in love marriages. The spouses (husbands/wives) who were relatively not powerful and influential surrendered wishes to accommodate the other party, it was happened in case of wives, especially if newly

married but later on it was proved to be controversial in case of child socialization where young children were also a part of that conflict. Compromise brought the problem into the open and had the third person present. The aim of conflict resolution was to reach agreement and most often this ended in a compromise. It happened when wives were powerful or she had younger children.

5.11   Separation and divorce

Marital dissolution is a crucial topic in social sciences. Separation and divorce do not seem to be good alternatives to staying together. This can produce serious problems when two spouses come from different religious traditions: An inter-faith couple typically followed a pair of religions that teaches very different beliefs and practices about deity, humanity and the rest of the universe. Conflicts were not easily resolved. People believed that their religious beliefs were revealed by Gods and are thus absolutely true. Further, they believed that other religions were invented by humans and were thus lacking in validity. There was often no room to compromise without one spouse giving up some of their beliefs. There were 3 cases of divorce due to cross-sect marriage and a lot of couples were in separation after severe conflicts. Some contributory factors in the process of separation and divorce identified in the study include trivial arguments, egotistical issues, and low levels of literacy, early age marriage and frequent arguments with the mother-in-law. As wives, women also felt that they feel they could afford to take more risks with their marriages by showing their power through developing a close relationship with their children to attract them to their beliefs. Divorce was of male initiated divorce although it was in response as it

has been told by a two respondents. Women were simply thrown out of their homes or packed off to their natal families.

5.12   Case study # 1

The study of a person, a small group, a single situation, or a specific "case," is called a case study. It involves extensive research, including documented evidence of a particular issue or situation -- symptoms, reactions, effects of certain stimuli, and the conclusion reached following the study. A case study may show a correlation between two factors, whether or not a causal relationship can also be proven. It may sound complicated, but it's really quite simple.

Heterogamy increases the chances of divorce. Raheem Khan was 38 year old farmer. He was one of the leading *Shia* authorities of the village. His father was a shopkeeper. He has four daughters and one son. All has been married in *Shia* relative except his son who has been married two years ago with a *Sunni* spouse who is from other family of nearby village. It was exogamy but totally arranged marriage. Reason for marrying outside of the family was reported the unavailability of a spouse within his own family so his father approached his family friend who consented the proposal due to his socio-economic status. Both spouses were literate and had enough knowledge about religion. Groom's family half-heartedly welcomed this coalition as they had no such alternative within the family. An interesting thing in above cross-sect marriage was case of mother of the husband, who was *Sunni* but all *Sunni* community regarded her as *Shia* because of her *Shia* children. As Raheem Khan told that his

family was small so his parents also wished that exogamy would result in increased social & family status that will further strengthen his family.

After one week of this marriage, *Shia* community started to discriminate the bride and called her a hypocrite Muslim due to her sectorial faith and religious ideology. There was a ritual in the Shia community that after the marriage all *Shia* brides visits S*yeds* home for prays as they were their religious authority. Newly married bride opposed and denied to follow on account of his belief and her husband became violent and abused her. She told her family as there was no support for her in the husband's family. Her brother came up to support his sister and asked for such an imposition of their own belief. The husband lost his nerves and claimed that the bride has insulted their religious values and will be cursed by Allah as those were descendants of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.). Bride cleared that she would never indulge in the religious practices contrary to her own faith and belief.

The most controversial issue in their family was the way she used to offer her prayers and was unacceptable to the male family because of their status in the *Shia* community. Women of the same village also added insult to the injuries by taunting his mother and sisters for absence of the bride from *Majlis*. Her refutations in such issues always added fuel on fire. She said weeping and mourning is unethical, un-religious and *shirk* also. Exchange of hard words amongst them were routine now and the single major determinant was harming religious interest that were not compromised. The matter got further worsens when she accepted black dress as a present from his sister-in-law but refused to dress the same in *Moharam* and she called

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it "dress of hell". Confrontation started and husband's parents intervened. She isolated herself from the rest of the family and limited her activities to her room. She was not allowed to visit neighbors as it was believed that she goes there to propagate.

Mr. Raheem told that after two years of marriage he had no child. Her mother blamed that it is due to dishonoring the *Shia* practices and was reported a great curse. He discussed this issue to *Imam Masjid* and he gave him a *Taveez* and some water for bride to drink to conceive. But again the bride strongly opposed and disregarded this belief. She argued to the family at this issue and went back to her mother's home. After a couple of days, her mother along with her elder sister visited the family and shouted at the wife of Mr. Raheem. They blamed that she was misguiding the bride and trying through evil practices of magic to control her.

Meanwhile he went abroad where after the things got worse. The bride had never become the part of any of religious activities advised by mother-in-law and further never compromised in S*hia* practices like *Niyaz* (holy food) etc. She was unwilling to surrender under critical circumstances of family matters even. Rather she demanded a separate home from her husband who was outlandish at that moment. The condition was unfair and hence rejected by her husband. The matter was taken up with elders and also tried to resolve it through mediation but it proved to be unproductive.

While he (husband) came back to his home in Pakistan, he visited her along with his parents with an ardent hope of settlement but again it resulted as denied. After a great deal of depression and disappointment followed by persistent humiliations on

part of her wife and her family, he deemed it fit to get rid of this bone of contention and hence finally it resulted in divorce between the couple who married two years before.

5.13   Case study # 2

Nousheen Naz is a *Shia* girl of 35 years. She got married at the age of 19 with her cousin, Mr. Qamar Abbas who was a blue-collar worker. One year past to his marriage with Nousheen Naz, he got expired in a road side accident. After the death of her husband she came back to her step mother's home as her real mother died when she was 6 year old only. As reported, her step mother was anxious about her future life and hence she intended to remarry her. It was claimed that her step mother used to consider her a burden and started taunting at her as witch and wretched.

As the time past, one of her step mother's friend arranged a proposal for her in agreement with her step mother. Later her mother informed her about her intention of remarrying her with Saleem who was from a *Sunni* Family. Her father was true gentleman and hence remained calm at the matter as he did earlier. Her mother had a dominant autonomous role in the family matters. Following the customs, she did not ask Nousheen Naz about her own likeness or decision about the proposal. Consequent upon her voice due to sectorial difference, her furious mother abused her and accused her as ill-character women. Nousheen Naz could not retaliate; upon persistent influence by her family, especially by her step mother, she deemed it fit to agree and remarried with Saleem, a member of the same community. As narrated earlier, groom

was Sunni while bride was Shia; another cross-sect marriage. Nousheen Naz had a matriculation certificate while her husband had secondary education and was a peon in a private school. They both had the same economic and social status while the only difference reported was their sects.

In spite of her aching efforts, none had paid any heed to her wish of *Shia Nikah*. Finally *Sunni* scholar performed the ceremony of *Nikah* that made Nousheen Naz very depressed, the moments while a new relationship had established i.e. disagreement of choices with absence of compromise, lack of esteem & regard for ones strongest wish. Her husband had five siblings. Both sisters and one out of three brothers were also married. Two of her brothers were unmarried and were living in joint family pattern.

As reported, she had faced numerous critical circumstances for being a *Shia* lady. Her husband's attitude was unbearable as she used to stick around her *Shia* practices. Upon her participation in *Shia Majalis* held at different times as per martyrdom of the beloved family of Holy Prophet (PBUH), her in-laws had showed their grave concern over her participation especially in programs held at twilight. Once one of her brother-in-law spoke ill of her faith and felt no hesitation to abuse her even. She warned her brother-in-law to address the domain that made her husband furious and he tortured her brutally. Further, she was directed not to leave home without their prior permission especially but not limited to attend any religious & sectorial ceremony. She was even refrained to visit her class fellow dwelling next to her home. She started compromising to some extent; however, she had kept her affiliation with

black dress (*Shia* community consider it a symbol of grief in *Muharram*) that her family used to ostracized. Upon her persistent affiliation with *Shia* sect followed by refusing to shun *Shia* practices, she had taunted as *yazeedi*. Her husband and in-laws mocked at the way she used to offer her prayers and detested at her other *Shia* practices like *Wazoo, Matam,* Fasting, etc. They rejected her rationale for religious practices including but not limited to *niyaz* and *Hadth-i-kissa* etc. She were taunted at her Kalma and addressed as *Mushrik*. Her husband had never redressed her grievances and had never paid any heed to her feelings and emotions. Her family had now started teasing her and planned to get rid of her for which they had provoked her husband so that he can divorce her. Her husband threatened her to shun *Shia* prayer refusing to such he would divorced her. She had disapproved the condition and considered it the death of her faith and so is the purpose of her living on this universe.

She had a son and daughter having age 5 and 2 years respectively. Her in-laws had kept the children with them and had accused her for the growing up of her children as per her own *Shia* practices. She was not allowed to teach her children the basic religious education like *Kalima* and *Namaz.*. Her mother in law went very biased to her and had started monitoring her activities in a suspicious manner. Further, she provoked her husband about her religious activities and charged her for *Jadu Tona & Taveez Ganda*. One day her mother-in-law blamed her and spoken ill of her that made her husband crazy and he lost his nerves ended at brutal physical torture

With a great sign of relief, she further reported that once her daughter was unwell and was suffering from fever. She requested her mother-in-law to take her to *Shah Jee (*Religious authority) for *Dam and* any other suggestion for her child. In turn, she got annoyed and spoke ill of her. Further, she ordered her to left the home forever. Upon their forced expulsion, she had left that dwelling and came back with her brother where she used to stay these days. Two months had passed and people didn't come up to resolve the conflict.

Chapter- 6

CHILD SOCIALIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS

Marital conflict adversely affect children's personality and brought up including but not limited to lack of confidence, inferiority complex, misbehavior, likelihood of parent-child conflict, and conflict amongst siblings.

6.1   Socialization of children

Human infants are born without any culture. They are transformed by their parents, teachers, circumstances and the environment in which they are used to brought up. The general process of acquiring culture refers to socialization. In cross sect marriages, both spouses and their respected families try to incline their children towards their particular ideology. This process starts with birth of children and continues throughout his life. Following are the particular stages that become controversial in cross-sect marriages;

6.3. *Ghutti*

Ghutti is given to the infant with a belief that newly born baby will acquire same qualities/ habits in his life as that of the individual who gives ghutti to the child. In most of the cases, religious authorities are preferred to be the man of *Ghutti* for being noble, kind, and spiritually strong backed by good moral character. Further, Ghutti by the elders of the family is also a common norm. The spouses always try if

the individual given *Ghutti* belongs to his/ her own sect. A Shia spouse revealed that she had deceived her husband and her mother covertly gave the *Ghutti*. Another respondent told that she resisted when her Shia husband was giving the *Ghutti* for which she were kicked off the room followed by bunch of abuses. It had worsened the environment where husbands were not present at home due to their jobs and the family with opposite sect performed the custom of *Ghutti*. Further, it has been learnt that to the whole family, new born male baby was of greater importance as far as custom of *Ghutti* is concerned; while for female babies, families had shown balanced approach.

6.4.   *Azan* for baby

There is Islamic tradition of reciting azan (prayer call) in ear of baby. In cases of cross-sect marriage, both spouses always tried that azan would be of their belief and sect. In few cases families resolved the issue by themselves through two separate azans of each of the two sects. As a *Sunni* mother told that she gave milk as a *Ghutti* subsequent azan by her brother. A *Shia* mother told that her father was called for azan without any conflict on both sides. A *Shia* mother told that she had *Shia* azan in her mobile so she played it for baby. Earlier it was trend of azan by religious scholar but now it has decreased much as there is enough understanding about basic religious concept so anybody can be called from the family, neighbor or community, as delay to search imam masjid can befit other spouse who can invite their own religious authority so in cross-sect marriage spouse did not prefer presence of *Imam Masjid*.

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6.5.   Naming the baby

In cross-sect marriages, naming the new born was controversial. *Shia* families were unwilling to name their babies at the names of a few particular individuals in era of Holy Prophet (PBUH) while Sunni spouse were eager to name and call their babies with these names that had caused conflicts amongst both families. *Shia* prefers the names of *Ahl-e-Bat* (A.S) of Holy Prophet (PBUH) as prefix or suffix. Most of the times this ceremony was delayed and sometimes both spouses compromised by mixing their names of both choices. A severe clash was reported when a *Shia* mother strongly resisted naming her baby as Ma'avia by her Sunni husband. She said that she was even ready for being divorced by her husband. The case was later settled by community interference and name was changed as Muhammad Nadeem instead of Ma'avia soon after one month.

Shia community discriminated those boys in the community whose names were on the names of few particular individuals including but not limited to abovesaid. There were four serious conflicts reported where *Sunni* children invaded *Shia* children for their extreme views about the religious heroes claimed by the *Sunnis*. A *Sunni* respondent told that few of *Shia* children wrote these names with a curse, on the mosque walls responsive to which *Sunni* children also abuses *Shia* through wall chalking and called them non-Muslims. Later social society and members of Sunni & Shia community gathered and finally resolved the issue in coordination with both parties.

6.6. Issue of transformation and conversion of faith package

Children need both parents for healthy upbringing. Being completely devoted to one another, the believing husband and wife assist each other in fulfilling their duties as mother or father. Children grow up in the presence of two strong characters, seeing only happiness and bliss, and best of characters and morals in their parents. Cross-sect marriages and conversion into *Shia* sect trend were increasing in the studied population scaring the *Sunni* majority who were more influential and dominant in past. Where spouses in cross-sect marriages were strict in belief and were orthodox, the other life partner especially *Shia* wives adopted the strategy of brainwashing their children from their early ages and tried to socialize them in their particular faith. With a motive to socialize her children, a spouse used to gift her baby toffees and chocolates upon her offering of *matam*. Further relatives of *Shia* mother also took part to socialize the children where father and his family was *Sunni*. A *Sunni* father told furiously that his 12 year child was on his faith but his mother along with her family derailed him and he has become disobedient. He has adapted *Shia* faith and has disregarded *Sunni* sect and *imam masjid*. Another *Shia* mother told that his child has been converted into *Shia* as she worked on him from cradle by sharing and teaching him all *Shia* believes instead. She accompanied him in mourning processions for which her family has played a vital role for his better understanding. They had provided religious literature and he was learning in cross questioning. His *Shia* aunty gifted him CD player where he used to watch the religious videos.

The important finding of the field was that in cross-sect families, where father was *Shia*, children adopted the sect of his sect with an exception of one household where after expiry of father, his children converted into *Sunni* sect. It was also learnt that if father was *Sunni* then likelihood of conversion of his children into *Shia* sect or hybrid belief was higher. A *Sunni* father told that his four out of six sons has been converted into *Shia.* Whole communities taunted and teased him for his soft nature and lose control over his wife and children. But he was helpless before his deviant wife backed by her siblings and children learnt their own teachings and adapted their own belief as they were educated and always teased be by their strange sort of queries about religion which he had never able to reply as he was not well educated.

6.7. Basic level religious education

In the community imam, masjids from both sects were providing the basic religious education to their devotees. Where the children should go for learning their basic religious lessons and practices was also a matter of concern for the families. Each of the spouses tried their level best to send their children to their particular mosque. Situation varies according to the gender, geography and social status of spouses in the household.

As the *Shia* and *Sunni* mosques were situated in the different part of village so a few of respondent told that they sent their children to nearby mosques to learn the Holy Quran especially in case of girls and young children. Sometime children had their own company and they went with their respective peer group to the mosque of

any sect and their parents were less influential. The above all situations were discussed in context with *Sunni* fathers only. But in case of Shia father situation was quite different. *Shia* families only sent their children to their particular mosque and it has kept the conversion rate form *Shia* to *Sunni* at lowest side as compared to the families where father was *Sunni*. A *Sunni* father argued that to the *Sunni* community, learning Holy Quran is important and both mosques teaches the same Holy Book. In fact, they were unable to foresee the practices inculcated into children that shape made their mind and shaped their attitude towards lesson being taught and hence they converted themselves as *Shia*. One of the other factors was the conducive environment of teaching that was welcomed by female spouses as they were more concerned about children. Apart from religious learning, *Shia imam masjid* also used to taught children school education with the help of black board that attracted children and their families that *Shia* are delivering better.

6.9.   Child identity

Identity is an umbrella term used throughout the social sciences to describe a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations. Identity relates to self-image (a person's mental model of him or herself), self-esteem, and individuality. Identity negotiation is a process in which a person negotiates with society at large regarding the meaning of his or her identity.

The study area revealed that children from cross-sect marriages always remained in the identity crises. Religiously they were brought up in moderate style.

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Most of the children were deliberately kept socially isolated by the community for their disobedience, giving up sectorial practices of their forefathers and adaptation of new sectorial practices or affiliation with both sects. A young school student affirmed that "whatever faith his parents belong to is none of his concern; he follows whatever he deems logical and his heart acknowledges it being a rational practice". In response to question regarding his sectorial belief, he innocently replied "neither *Shia* nor *Sunni* but I am a Muslim who believes on one Allah, Holy Prophet (PBUH) and offers prayer for Allah only, both sects do the same". The community had perceived such respondents as hypocrite having a hybrid faith. Most of the respondents in the studied area had replied their faith as either *Shia* or *Sunni*.

Thus it can be concluded that child having hybrid identity confronts the same sufferings and situation as discussed in the Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 wherein it was said that identity in in-group and out-group with context to discriminations which develop the sense of "I" and "we". The studied area had this identity therein and discrimination was also reported by the children confirming the presence thereof. As this theory concluded that multiple identities had emerged due to in-group and out group in context of discriminations. It is learnt that if father/family was *Shia* then *Shia* community was in-grouped while *Sunni* community was out-grouped and vice versa. So it is concluded that hybrid faith had the multiple identities as it has been noted that children from the cross sect marriages had participated religious events pertinent to both sects that had made them controversial for their hybrid belief and ideologies.

6.10. Issues of marriage of children

Upon maturity of the children in cross-sect cases, they had a new challenge to face with i.e. conflict between spouses in marrying their children in their own sect and family. Most of the respondents told that whether children were of any sect but they would prefer that their marriage should be primarily in their relatives although both spouses were found to be hesitated in cases of giving daughters to Shia boys until the economic interest were there. *Shia* mothers had tried their level best to convince their children to marry in *Shia* family while *Sunni* fathers had opposed especially in case of boys. In case of marrying females rare tensions were noted in the field. There were two *Sunni* respondents who told that they broke the engagement because their *Shia* fiancées were not giving-up *Matam.* Another *Sunni* girl told that her fiancée had used to tease her to convert her faith; upon availability of better alternative she had broken the engagement. One thing was common element in all of the cases in studied area was disintegration of these families as a result disengagements took place. A *Sunni* male spouse told that it is better to end now rather divorcing later.

6.11. Case study # 3

Sughra Bibi was an aged *Sunni* woman of 53 years old while her husband was an active *Shia* member of the village while he had an affiliation with *Sunni* community. She got married at the age of 21 and had become widow 10 years ago. She had two sons and daughters. Being a labourer in community, her husband's family had a low socio-economic status. Her husband had not acknowledged *Sunni's* faith of

his wife and remained non-cooperative throughout his life. Her wife had ever faced discrimination from his side in all religious events as she had always resisted in *Moharram* for *Majlis* and *Matam.* Her children (two boys) always supported her mother against the cruelties of their father who had used to torture his wife to become a *Shia*. He was also unkind with his two sons having age 5 and 7 year. After the expiry of his husband, his relatives had started discriminating her along with her children as they were living hand to mouth. She decided to send her children to *Sunni* mosque rather than Shia mosque for religious learning for which her family resisted and failing to convince her over their faith, they socially isolated her. Mosque committee had stepped forward and gave them zakat and other food stuff grown locally at village. Family discrimination now emerged and then the circumstances become even more crucial and *Shias* started calling them *murtad* (to become non-Muslim after embracing Islam). Children, their own cousins and uncles never liked them. They always treated them with contempt. Their interaction with other children was minimal and they remained deprived and socially isolated. One child told that he was eager to play with their cousin but his aunt was unkind to him and kept the door closed whenever he seldom passed by their street even. Children's mother told in grief that one of her children had left the school after repetitive failure while other was also not interested in studies. Finally, she had bought some goats as an earning source. One of her elder son was asked to tell about her cross-sect spouses, he told that since people were not devoted to Allah, we saw frequent cases of unharmonious marriages where deficiencies on part of the husband or wife or both lead to quarrels, domestic violence and even divorce. Most people, however, lead a generally unsatisfied married life,

devoid of the true love Allah expects believing couples to have - even though their relationships may appear to be harmonious. For most, marriages start off well, but soon the feelings of attraction which seemed so strong, diminish. 'Small' misunderstandings, becoming annoyed and irritated quickly, not having the quality to tolerate and being selfish for instance are all 'deficiencies' emanating from the 'general character' of a person. The 'general character' was of special importance and required careful consideration. It was nothing to do with responsibilities of a husband or a wife, but all to do with the very character of the person as a human being which infiltrates married life. It was the character of individuals that brings down their own marriages, or could make it grow. Since most people lack faith, they lack this believer model. Not trying to earn Allah's pleasure, gaps and deficiencies within themselves, in their 'general character' eventually manifest in their daily interaction with spouses. Problems aroused and kept growing.

Children anticipated that if they visit *Shias* mosques they will be addressed as *murtad* and if they dress black, the *Sunnis* call it "Dress of Hell". Where should we stand? According to their mother her children believed *Panjtan Pak (A.S.)* they are Muslims only; neither *Shias* nor *Sunni and s*o was the reply of both young mates; however, mother told that *Sects* did not come into existence on the basis of any knowledge and vision, nor on any arguments and reasoning rather it was based on sentiments, personal gains & governance by dividing people within one religion. It was a separate phenomenon that the followers of every sect look to be arguing in favors of their own faction. For millenniums religions are facing this situation which

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occurred immediate after the demise of true Prophets of God. The cause of this sectarianism and factionalism was not the phenomenon that they were mistaken in understanding the reality of *Deen* (Islam), nor is the fact that any item remained doubtful, obscurant and ambiguous to them. This sectarianism used to balk for satisfying the lust of power and authority. People should learn that unity within diversity adds a richness and beauty to marriage and to life.

6.12. Theoretical analysis about spouses in cross-sect marriages

Following statement can be extracted from the study and can be further tested for broad level generalization to develop the theory on cross-sect marriages;

6.12.1. Sense of competition and rightness

Spouses in cross-sect marriages began to perceive that he/ she was in competition with another spouse and he/ she was right while the other was wrong.

6.12.2. Sense of superiority

One of the two partners thought himself/ herself as superior so he/she had started resisting change that proved to be a significant hindrance in better understanding and developing tolerant relations.

6.13. Role of Cross sect marriages in religious extremism

Offspring in cases of cross-sect marriages had followed the inherited beliefs of their parents and it had a definite impact on their social life and behavior. From the field, it has been learnt that cross-sect families were active in preaching their associated sectorial ideologies so as to make the mind and beliefs of their offspring like their own. It has been further learnt that spouses in cases of cross-sect marriage were intolerant. Under such circumstances, political authorities have exploited the opportunities and used such children for their political interests. It is evident from following case study that cross-sect marriage is a latent threat for religious harmony encouraging sectarianism and intolerant behavior.

6.14. Case study # 4

Mr. Tariq, a 22 year old individual, was a renowned electrician and was a perfect example of controversial beliefs in case of cross-sect marriage. His mother was Shia while father was an active Sunni. Despite of torture by their father, Mr. Tariq and his siblings had least interest in religious studies of Sunni Sect while their mother had always intervened at brutality of her husband and naturally her male sons become more affiliated towards her on account of her sympathies. Subsequently, his mother influenced their male children to marry their Shia cousins (daughters of maternal uncle) and they consented the same and married as desired by their mother. Their father had not shown any interest in the marital affairs of his children. Mr. Tariq was very social individual having handsome sources of earning. He organized a group

comprised of Shia members who were active participant in all Shia ceremonious activities. Since he was an electrician, he had also spared his expertise for Shia sect and designed an electric pole decorated with lights and black flag. He fixed the said electric pole on the top of non-functional telephone exchange tower that was very visible due to its 100 feet height. It annoyed a few of Sunni boys who took it personal and they had uninstalled the Shia Sect flag (*Allam*) along with specifically designed electric pole. Tariq and his peer allies condemned such effort and reinstalled a new Allam. In addition to aforementioned, they had started wall chalking in the village regarding subject issue and it caught controversial seriousness. Sunni Imam Masjid, in his Friday prayer Speech, had highlighted the conflict and had realized the participants that minority (Shias) were trying to overwhelmed majority (Sunnis) and such an attempt of dominance should not be tolerated and must be dealt with irony hands. The speech was audible to the whole village and hence Shia boys furnished a complaint against Imam Masjid for escalating hatred and law enforcement agencies came in to action and arrested him. Later, Sunni Masjid Committee defended the issue by arguing that it was reactive rather than proactive. They also presented the facts regarding fixation of Allam on the climax of telephone exchange that had given birth to conflict. Finally, it ended in compromise. However, Mr. Tariq in assistance with other allies becomes more extremist and activist; they had openly opposed all of the sectorial activities of Sunnis. It flared up Sunni community and Mr. Tariq was tortured and seriously wounded in head and at his body. The case started at district court but finally compromised. After this incident, father in law of Mr. Tariq arranged a work visa in Gulf. Though Mr. Tariq flied to Dubai, however, the Allam he installed on the

top of the telephone exchange remained affixed even after his departure as it was supported by his allies in the village. Mother of Mr. Tariq felt proud of his son's effort of installing Allam while his father was very annoyed as he believed that Mr. Tariq was a tool in the hands of Shia authorities who were also a politician and their aim is to weaken the Sunnis influence in the village and dominance of their own power.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research was aimed at investigating the nature, extent, determinant and causes of cross-sect marriages and impact thereof on the life of a family. It was a rigorous field work extended over long period of time in a Pothohari village (Bullhay Bala) some 12km away from district Chakwal. Researcher presented a holistic picture of locale in the broader context of cultural geography. Then researcher presented the sociocultural features of the locales includes; economy, agriculture, family and marriage customs, rituals and ceremonies and documentation of available facilities. The subject study has exhibited the nature and prevalence of cross-sect marriages and impacts thereof on spousal relationships and marital stability. Further, it has identified possible complications that may arise in case of cross-sect marriages. It has also explored the socialization mechanism in the families with cross-sect marriages and its impact on child's identity. Purposive sampling was chosen to identify the 35 households with cross-sect marriages. For the collection of data, a cluster of anthropological methods were applied that includes rapport building, participant observation, key informants, informal and in-depth interviews, census form, photography and social mapping. The collected data was managed and analyzed in theoretical perspective. Researcher gave a background of cross-sect marriages within the transitional stages of marriage patterns and spouse selection. Spousal relationships and role of parents in the child socialization was briefly described. The researcher also described the objectives, methods and procedure of research in that section.

Review of literature was relevant researches on cross-sect marriages and its impacts on family life were given, collected reviews was on variety of topics, relevant to the, family ,concept of social change in Islam, change in family institution in Pakistan, marriage and its scope, interfaith and cross-sect marriages, spousal conflicts, marital stability, children and parents relationships, child socialization and identity. Different related theoretical analyses were also part of review. That section was presented in logical rather than chronological order.

Nature and extent of cross-sect marriages provided the quantitative analysis of socioeconomic census data that was tabulated and results were interpreted in narrative form that described the nature and extent of cross-sect marriage. It was concluded that cross-sect marriage is a recent phenomenon that was not so popular in the past. Data from the field has shown that all the families studied by researcher were not married in far past. Most of the respondents were married in last ten years while a few were married in 10-15 years. The latter group was involved in pure arranged marriage while now there is increasing trend of love or love with arrange marriage amongst youth. Further, it was interesting to note that majority of the cross-sect spouses were male and *Sunni* and were younger too. Majority of such marriages occurred in the joint and extended families. Most of the spouses with cross-sect marriages were illiterate and had a lower or lower-middle social status. Another trend of this type of marriage was equally common in upper class but it was not common in middle class. Cousin-marriage was not very common in these marriages as most of the spouses belonged to other families. Being a recent phenomenon, majority of the families, so far, had not a

history of cross-sect marriages in their family during past that confirms the phenomenon as latest one.

Determinants of cross-sect marriages in the study area were; unavailability of spouse of one's own choice in the same family, economic and materialistic gains, love, preference of own *Bradri*/caste and to raise the social status. Both materialistic and idealistic perspectives were applicable for determinants of cross-sect marriages. Economy and materialistic possession like dowry and wealth (infrastructure) were driving superstructure religion (ideological and symbolic aspects). That's why previously circumvent form of marriage was now flourishing. Competition amongst families to get bride with handsome financial resources and valuables had emerged a class conflict as they had overlooked the possible impact of this cross-sect marriage. Idealism refers to any philosophy that argues that reality is somehow dependent upon the mind rather functioning in isolation. Idealism philosophy advocated that it was ideas and not the materialism that had brought the change in society. In view thereof, it can be argued that love was an idea or mental state that has brought the change and set the trend of cross-sect marriages that was not an ideal form of marriage and was never been practiced so commonly. It was also concluded on the basis of findings that a controversial ideologies under the same roof were always threatening. Pre-marriage views about each other's sects were also influential in spousal conflicts. There were no signs of cheers, happiness and satisfactory marital life in cases of cross-sect marriages in the study areas. Both internal factors from household and external factors from the community were problematic as religious beliefs were shared in all community.

Controversial beliefs and practices were main influential of marital stability that included the events like, method of *Nikah*, funeral offering differences, interferences of spouse in the religious matter of community, role of peer group, using of black dress, prayers style and timings, duration of Ramzan fasting, attendance of *Majlis* and rituals of *Matam* dishonoring of holy miracles*,* victimization of companions of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and social acceptance of particular sect from which spouse belonged.

Theoretically it can be stated that spouses with cross sect marriages began to sense that: A) he/ she was in competition with other spouse and he/ she was right while other was wrong, B) One of the partners felt that the other is trying to be dominant and much influential and if not curtailed right now, he/ she will have to suffer and hence he/she had started resisting changes that had proved itself the main hindrance in better understanding and development of tolerant relationship.

Socialization is important in the process of personality formation. It is a learning process that begins shortly after birth. Early childhood is the period of the most intense and the most crucial socialization. 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. This process can mold it in particular directions by encouraging specific beliefs and attitudes as well as selectively providing experiences. This very likely account for much of the difference between the common personality types in one society in comparison to another. Controversies for socialization in cross-sect marriages were very serious and were a major threat for the marital stability. These

includes the rituals at child birth, naming ceremony, role of mother, father and their respected faith, transformation and teaching of parental believes, conversion of sect, uses of dress, attendance of particular rituals, and mate selection for children.

Identity is person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations. Identity negotiation was a process in which a person negotiated with society at large regarding the meaning of his or her identity. It was reported from the field that children from cross-sect marriages always remained in the identity crises. Religiously they were brought up in moderate style. Most of the children, as had been viewed by the community, had faced the discrimination from the other sect as they had given-up the faith of their forefathers and started their participation in ceremonies of both sects. Child hybrid identity was similar to the situation as discussed in the Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 wherein it was discussed that identity in in-group and out-group with context to discriminations has developed the sense of "I" and "we". So it was concluded that hybrid faith had the multiple identities as it was noted that children from the cross sect marriages had become the part of main events in both sects.

Cross-sect marriage has recently attained popularity in the marriage institution and was unacknowledged during past despite of its long lasting presence in the society. Most of the respondents were married in last ten years while a few were married in 10-15 years. The latter group was involved in pure arranged marriage while now increasing trend of love or love with arrange marriage in youth can be noticed.

One of the interesting and important factors was that majority of the cross-sect spouses were male and Sunni and were also younger. Majority of such marriages took place in the joint and extended families. Most of the spouses with cross-sect marriages were illiterate and categorized as lower and lower-middle social statuses. Most of the families had no history of cross-sect marriages in their family as it was a recent phenomenon. Determinants of cross-sect marriages in the study area includes unavailability of compatible spouse in the family, economic and materialistic gains, love, preference of own Biradri/caste and to earn a better social status. Controversial ideologies under the same roof were ever threating. Pre-marriage views about each other's sect were also influential in spousal conflicts. In study area of cross-sect marriages, there were either no or low signs of cherish, jubilation and satisfactory marital life. Internal factors (households) and external factors (community) were problematic as religious beliefs were shared in all community. Controversial beliefs and practices were main causes of marital stability. Controversies for socialization in cross-sect marriages were quite a serious threat for the marital stability and included the rituals at child birth, naming ceremony, role of mother, father and their respected faith, transformation and teaching of parental believes, conversion of sect, use of dress, attendance of particular rituals, and mate selection for children. Children from cross-sect marriages had ever confronted identity crises as they were brought up in moderate style and belief and faith. Most of the children had experienced discrimination from the other sects as they were deemed to be guilty of giving-up the faith of their forefathers, no matter they had participated in ceremonies of both sects. Child-hybrid identity was resulted due to hybrid faith and it was further noted that

children, in cases of cross sect marriages, were part of every main events of both sects that made them even more controversial and were discriminated by opposite sects. In the end, it was concluded that there were multiple determinants of cross-sect marriages that had caused the disintegration of marriage institution in one way or other. Cross-sect marriages were not only important for the stability of marriage and family institutions but it has the dilemma of child socialization, their identity and radical changes in basic religious ideologies.

Offspring in cases of cross-sect marriages had followed the inherited beliefs of their parents and it had a definitely impact on their social life and behavior. From the field, it has been learnt that cross-sect families were active in preaching their associated sectorial ideologies so as to make the mind and beliefs of their offspring like their own. It has been further learnt that spouses in cases of cross-sect marriage were intolerant. Under such circumstances, political authorities have exploited the opportunities and used such children for their political interests. It is evident from below mentioned case study that cross-sect marriage is a latent threat for religious harmony encouraging sectarianism and intolerant behavior.

GLOSSARY

Izzat --- *Honor*

Kafa'ah-- Equality of spouse

Lillas--- Name of Caste

Harals.-- Name of Caste

Jat-- Name of Caste

Eid-Ul-Azha--- Festival of Sacrifice,

Eid-Ul-Fitr --- Ramadan Eid

Eid-E-Meelad --- Birth of the Holy Prophet

Ashoora-E-Moharam   ----------------------------- 1st Ten Days of Moharam

Biradri-- A Group of extended Relatives.

Majlis-- Shia mourning ceremony

Murtad----------------------------- To Become Non-Muslim After Embracing Islam

Patrilineage-------------------------- Trace Of Descent Through Father

Endogamy------------------------- Marriage Within Own Group

Ziarat------------------------------ Shrine

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Sr. No.	Name	Age	Sex
1.			
2.			
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S. No.	LEVEL OF EDUCTION										SKILLS			OCCUPATION					REMARKS
	Pri.	Middle	Matric	Inter	B.A. M.A.	Other	Religious Education	Vocational Education	Professional Education		Name	Acquisition		WAGE Labor	Govt. Servant	Bussi.	Agri.	Any Other	
												Formal	Informal						

S. No.	INCOME				LAND HOLDING						REMARKS
	Daily	Monthly	Seasonal	Annual	Agrr. Land	Waste Land	Orchard Land	Constructed land	Forest	Any Other	

Interview Guide

1--------Nature and Extent of Cross-Sect Marriages

- What is your sect?
- What is your spouse sect?
- When you got married?
- Is it was your arranged marriage or not?
- Is it your first marriage?
- Is your spouse from same community?
- Have you discussed with your spouse before marriage?
- Have you engaged before marriage?
- How many choices were in the family?
- What was main factor behind spouse selection of different sect?
- How much your difference in age status?
- What is your family pattern?
- Are you employed?
- Are your spouse employed?

2-----Factors Responsible for the Cross-Sect Marriages

- Is it your first marriage?
- Who selected your spouse?
- What was your role and authority in spouse selection?
- Is it endogamy?-------why?--------------------------
- If exogamy then why?----------------------------------
- What were varieties of mate were available?
- Is your spouse from your caste?
- Is spouse is from your mother/father lineage?

- Is he/she from same economic status?

- Is there any history of family clashes?

- Have your ever tried for any other mate?

- What was result?

- What is nature and share of your spouse in inheritance?

- What is social status of your spouses' parents?

- What is social status of your parents?

- Who was more willing for this marriage?

- What is political status of your family?

- What is religious your role and status of and yours family?

- What is religious role and status of your spouse and his/her family?

- Is any relative contributed for marriage and how?

- What was his sect?

- Is any community member helped in spouse selection?

3---- Spousal Relationship and To Identify the Problems

- How your family life is going?

- Is your spouse is cooperative?

- What she/he lacked?

- What is perception and attitude of your family about your spouse?

- What is their perception and attitude with you?

- Do you want live in same environment?

- Are you living with spouse? If not why? ------------------------

- How much your spouse is involved?

- What sort of problems that you faced after marriage?

- What are the advantages you got from cross-sect marriage?

- How it created problems for your life?

- How you religious interpretation varies from spouse?

- How they cause problem?

- What are the major problematic debates?
- How your peer group can interfere in your family life at religious matter?
- In case of conflicts how you respond?
- How your families respond?
- Is the any role of religious authority?
- What are daily routines problematic activities of spouse?
- Who normally dictate in case of differences?
- What are the main events that can cause disharmony in your family?
- How they cause problem?

4- Process of socialization in cross-sect marriages and to identify the impacts on children

- How parental faith is transmitted in the child?
- What type of problems arises at the birth ceremonies?
- How naming ceremony is manages?
- How basic religious education is provided?
- How other family members contribute in socialization?
- What is role of peer in this socialization?
- What types of controversies arise?
- How they are settled?
- How community plays their role?
- What type of identity crises can arise in children?
- How they respond in the process of socialization?