

Impact of Development on Socio-economic Structures in Zandra (Ziarat) Balochistan



This thesis is written in partial fulfillment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Anthropology

By:

Anwaar Mohyuddin

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad, Pakistan
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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university or any other degree

Anwaar Mohyuddin

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No expression, verbal or written can truly interpret the feelings. I am trying to acknowledge a tremendous debt of feelings for my respectable teachers and dear friends, but not satisfied, as the words cannot justify the feelings.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis intends to understand the cultural perception of development and its impact on the socio-economic structures including economy, education and health in the province of Balochistan, Pakistan. The main focus of this study was to understand the nature of development, internal and external factors responsible for the changes and the actual beneficiaries of the development. The research was conducted in Zandra village of district Ziarat in the province of Balochistan. World system theory was used to map the developmental process. Anthropological research techniques were used to collect data for the thesis. The fieldwork for this research was conducted in 2006-07.

First chapter of the thesis explains the research problem, operationalization of the concepts, research methodology and the theoretical framework. Second chapter deals with the literature on several issues such as anthropological theories and methodological issues, anthropology of development, economic anthropology, education, medical anthropology and anthropology of knowledge and power. Third chapter is about the village profile which includes brief history of the area, geographical environment, and the development taken place during the last three decades. Fourth chapter is about the social organization of the village which includes the information regarding the tribal segments and their interaction code of conduct and conflict resolution. Chapter five and six deal with the change in the economic structures. Chapter seven is about the development in education sector. Chapter eight and nine are about health care systems. Analysis of the data has been given in the end of every chapter starting from chapter 5.

Since the middle of 20th century, the village economy was mainly based on horticulture with apple economy as the main source of income, but over the years the population has outgrown the farming resources. Landholdings have reduced and hence the majority has taken up other non-agricultural activities like different businesses and employment in public and private sector to earn additional income. In order to further supplement domestic income, the women folk have also started working. With the introduction of new

technology their labour and work style also changed. During the last 3 decades the subsistence economy has changed into market/cash economy which has brought the people towards the consumer products. The ultimate beneficiary of this change remains the capitalist industry of the core countries for being producer of all these products.

Parents are more concerned about their children's education as majority of them can now afford it. The attitudes regarding the gender discrimination in the field of education has also changed. Initially the main reason for not sending their daughters to schools was purdah but now more of the economic reasons were reported. People belonging to the lower income group are motivated towards education to get an additional source of income in future. People have started migrating to urban areas to provide better educational facilities to their children due to which joint families are breaking up into nuclear families.

As industry was established and developed, the need of mass schooling was felt. As a result knowledge spread rapidly, the pace of social change increased and many new economic roles were created. After getting education the people abandon their traditional way of life and move towards technology. They often try to find job, implying that in one way or the other, they are serving the industry. Ultimately education is producing the skilled labour for industry. The migration from villages to cities proves beneficial for the industry because the industrialist can have cheap labour. By having extra workforce available in the market, they can easily exploit the poor villagers offering them low remuneration. Some of the industrialists enjoy this situation as the workforce belonging to rural areas does not have awareness of its rights. This situation does not prevail for a long time as the work force becomes aware of their rights with the passage of time but until then the capitalist industrialist are benefited.

The pluralistic health environment was prevailing in the village with a wide variety of health practitioners including *pir*, shrines, *hakeems*, *dais*, chemists, public and private doctors and health facilities. The perceptions and practices

of the natives were influenced by the centuries old influence of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and traditional medical system. From last three decades the allopathic treatment is getting popular among the young generation. A large population (65%) of the young respondents use allopathic mode of treatment by self-medication and consulting doctor, whereas it was just 24% among the senior citizens. Utilization of allopathic mode of treatment is getting popular due to certain reasons which include availability of doctors and other health facilities, improved literacy levels and economic conditions, awareness through media and introduction of chronic diseases. This transition from traditional to modern medicine is beneficial for core countries as it creates new markets for their pharmaceutical industry. It becomes a source of profit on one hand and provides a better control on labour on the other.

This study concludes that the core countries have an interest in the growth of the peripheral countries, because such a growth increases demand for the goods produced by the capitalist industry. This, in turn, will promote growth in the core countries. The reverse is also postulated to apply, that is the peripheral countries can sell more of their products in the core countries when the economies in these countries grow. The main point here is that it is not only the peripheral countries that depend upon the core countries, the core countries are in many areas dependent on products from the periphery. So interdependence exists, for peripheral regions it is for finished products and for first world it is for raw materials and human resource. Consumer products used in peripheral countries become a source of profit and inexpensive raw material and cheap labour provide them savings. So the exploitative relationship exists between core and periphery.

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE BACKGROUND

Some major changes have taken place in Zandra since early 20th century. There are a number of developmental activities which are the reasons for these changes, but the most important is the revolutionary economic change brought by Haji Payo Khan of Zandra in 1915. This economic change affected the lives, status and occupation of the Pashtoon. It also had an impact on their behaviour and values. In past the people of the village were mainly pastoralists. Later some of them shifted to agriculture and now majority of the people is horticulturist apple as their main crop. Other than apple they also plant cherry, apricot, peach and almond etc. This development led to increased social and economic mobility on the part of the people of the region; breakdown of old value system, attitudes and social organization patterns; and the development of trade and commerce. These in turn led to people of the Zandra seeking jobs and education in big cities of Pakistan.

In 1977 the Government of Pakistan abolished the Sardari Nizam in the Balochistan and established an administrative system. The creation of districts and establishment of district administration was accompanied by the large scale development activities in the region. As a result, a large number of jobs were created, skills were enhanced and the old patterns of socio-economic structures started disappearing. A small number of tourists began to visit the Ziarat. This study identifies the fields where the development has taken place, the activities which became the cause of “development” and the changes brought by the development in the socio-economic structures. The efforts have been made to find out the actual reason for the changes, which have been brought with the passage of time and the perception of the natives regarding the development works done by the government, NGOs and the other agencies.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

This study is an attempt to understand the structure and dynamics of the process of Development in Zandra village in Balochistan, Pakistan. Zandra is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta in the District Ziarat. The study explains the process of development, and the changes brought by it. The developmental activities normally bring major changes in socio-economic structures like economy, health, education, lives, status and occupation of the people living in the area. It also leads to increase in social and economic mobility of people, a breakdown of old value system, a change in attitudes and social organization patterns; and development of trade and commerce. In order to respond to these changes the natives often migrate to urban areas and sometimes to abroad also to seek jobs and education.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Area wise Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan spreading over 347,190 square kilometers (45% of the total area of Pakistan). It is situated between 27.54° & 32.41° latitude, and 60.55° & 40.15° longitude. Its total population is around 5,338,000 (3.2 percent of the country's total population) and roughly one third of the population of Karachi. Its average density rate of 12 persons per square kilometer is the lowest in Pakistan. Balochistan shares its borders with Iran in the west and north-west for 832 kilometers, Sind and the Punjab in the east. On its south, there is Arabian Sea for about 750 kilometers having a beautiful unpolluted coast longer than (500 miles). With the capital at Quetta, Balochistan comprises six administrative divisions, namely, Quetta, Sibbi, Kalat, Khuzdar, Zhob, Loralai, Nasirabad and Makran. Quetta Division consists of the districts of Quetta, Pishin, and Chagai. The divisions have been divided into districts and the districts are further divided into several sub-Divisions.

Quetta is the Capital of Balochistan. It is also the largest city of the province and the main center of trade and commerce. It is surrounded by high mountains, intersected by long and narrow valleys. It is now well connected by roads, railways and air with all the other major cities of Pakistan. The city

sprawls over a plateau about 4,500 feet above sea level, having knife-edged, grey mountains of Takatu, Zarghoon and Chiltan etc. in its surroundings.

Before independence in 1947, Balochistan was not divided into districts and divisions as such. When the British finally defeated the Baloch, they found that there were no cities or towns in the province - just villages or tribes, and that majority of the people was nomads who in the summer and spring migrate to the mountains with their cattle, goats, sheep, camels, donkeys and horses, where they set up tents and huts made of twigs and branches of trees, grass, reed or straw. In the winter, they return to their mud huts in the plains. All the towns in Balochistan, such as Quetta, Sibbi, Zhob and Ziarat etc. were built by the British.

In fact, the British built these places to set up military cantonments and ad-hoc administrative centers. It may be noted that they simply built these places but never developed them. They only did whatever was dictated by their requirements and ambitious designs. For about a hundred years, Balochistan was ruled by the "Agents to the Governor General" and very large areas were controlled through agencies and tribal leadership, which were used as tools. One tribe was used to fight with the other and protect the interests of the British.

Pace of development in Balochistan is, however, very slow mainly because of the attitude of some of the tribes and their leaders. Some of the tribes are finding themselves unable to compromise with the changing times. Several development projects have been delayed because of their unnecessary interference and several dumped half way due to their non-cooperative attitude.

No doubt old habits die hard. It is therefore felt that it will take some time to get the willing cooperation of the militant tribes. But it needs to be remembered that tribal leadership system in Balochistan is ages old and it was promoted extensively during the British times because they regularly bribed, in one way or another, to all those *sardars* (tribal leaders) who agreed

to play in their hands. The British have gone but their legacy continues to this day. However, nobody is sure regarding the origin of the Baloch tribes. Nobody can say with certainty which of the tribe had first settled in Balochistan.

In 1977, the Pakistan government abolished traditional tribal leadership system (*sardari nizam*) in Balochistan, and established an administrative system. With the creation of districts and establishment of district administration a large-scale development activities started in the region. As a result, many jobs were created, skills were enhanced and the old patterns of socio-economic structure started disappearing. For example, subsistence economy changed into cash economy, joint families started breaking into nuclear families, people started migrating from rural to urban areas, women became economically empowered and taking part in decision-making, educational and healthcare systems also changed.

There are more than four hundred tribes, sub-tribes and clans in Balochistan. In addition to the Balochis, there are Pashtoon, Hazara, Punjabi and Sindhi settlers. All these people could be divided into three language groups that are Balochi, Pashto and Brahvi speaking. Urdu is understood in every nook & comer.

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1978 and the protracted war which followed has affected Balochistan also. Now there are thousands of Afghans in this province mostly around Quetta. There are concentrations around Pishin and all along 130 km long road from Quetta to Chaman. The frontier town of Chaman has been hit very hard by this mass migration which continues even today and no relief is in sight.

Most people, who visit Balochistan for one reason or the other, try to visit Ziarat as well. In fact, Quetta and Ziarat are the only two well-known places of Balochistan from tourism point of view. Quaid-i-Azam, the founder of Pakistan, had also spent his last days in the Residency at Ziarat. The

Residency is the protected building, now under the control of the Department of Archaeology.

In fact Ziarat is a popular hot season retreat. This small hill resort is located around eight thousand feet above sea level and offers cool-dry climate. Apart from old Juniper forest, which is now disappearing fast, the valley offers abundance of roses and fragrant lavender bushes, which cover a significant part of the landscape.

The town, however, lacks in the facilities required by tourists. From the town a surfaced road meanders down through a narrow and barren valley to Kach. The rock formations here are fascinating with the barren countryside appearing more like a huge rock garden. Medium size apple orchards have now been developed along the road from Quetta to Ziarat at several places particularly around Kawas. This road goes up to Loralai and fort Munro which is known as the gate-way to Balochistan from the Punjab side. The road snakes through desolate mountain wilderness right up to Dera Ghazi Khan. It is a very tough drive of more or less 460 km. from Quetta to Dera Ghazi Khan.

1.4 OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

There are certain covered terms in this study which need to be explained i.e. “impact”, “development”, and “socio-economic structures”. Webster’s Dictionary of English language defines impact as, “drive in; strike against; the striking of one body against another; a collision of impinging; effect or influence; the force of a collision or impingement;” and “development” as, “The act or process of developing; unfolding; the unraveling of a plot; a gradual growth or advancement through changes which takes place in animal and vegetable bodies.” Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary defines “development” as, “developing or being developed; the healthy development of children; encourage the development of small business; land that is ready for development; new stage of event; the product or innovation; piece of land with new buildings on it; a commercial development on the outskirts of the town.”

The concept of development is vast and complex. Many social scientists have defined the phenomena of "development" in different ways. After the emergence of this concept, various schools of thought emerged in favor as well as negation of this concept. Development has been burning issue among scholars of economy, sociology and anthropology since its emergence. Each discipline has its own idea and a way of dealing with this phenomenon. Economists only focus on economic indicators of development i.e. growth rate, GNP and per-capita, but indicators of social and cultural development are also necessary for the development of particular area. According to K.C Alexander,

"Development is fundamentally a process of change that involves the whole society its economics, socio-cultural, political and physical structure as well as the value system and way of life of the people."
(1994)¹

Traditionally, the idea of development is understood as societies or nations placed on an evolutionary scale, with the western or "developed" nations as the most advanced and the third world or underdeveloped nations as those who have not yet undergone the necessary transformation towards prosperity and economic growth. Conventional development studies focus on analysis of factors affecting transformation of underdeveloped nations from more efficient agriculture methods to industrialization and urbanization. Such a study gives an understanding of economic, political, social and cultural characteristics of underdeveloped nations impeding their progress.

In anthropological studies of development, much importance has been given to the relationship between attitudes, values and economic change. Some anthropologists have attempted to locate the ideological factors (values, attitudes or cultural factors), which may act as obstacles to economic change, but applied anthropologists and acculturation studies attempted to resolve the contradiction between traditional socio-cultural patterns and the need of economic and technological development.

¹Alexander, K. C. (1994). *The process of Development*. New Delhi: SEGA Publication.

In modern anthropology, there is a growing trend of adopting a critical attitude towards the concept of development. This domain is critical for both conventional development studies and applied anthropologists. They reject the evolutionary trajectory of societies on the basis of "more advanced" and "more progress" on the path of development. Both "development theory" and "world system theory" have pointed out that it is totally illusory to attempt the study of third world nations as an independent evolving unit, but we must consider the third world and its development as a byproduct of the expansion of capitalist world system of Colonial and Neo-Colonial dominance. Economic and applied anthropologists are directly concerned with this issue. According to Schneider², (1975), development brings change in mode of production and means of production, from simple mode of production to more complex mode of production. He defines development as, "A movement of an economy from presumably traditionalistic type of market to modernistic type".

Gustavo Esteva perceives concept of development in positive sense and relates it to universal law and desired goals of human beings. He defines development as,

"Development always implies a favorable change, a step from simple to complex, from inferior to superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that one is advancing in the sense of a necessary ineluctable, universal law and towards a desirable goal".

(1992)³

Michel P. Todaro defines development as,

"Development should be perceived as a multi-dimensional process involving the recognition and reorientation of entire economic and social system".

(1979)⁴

According to K.C. Alexander and K.D. Kunaran, there are certain characteristics of development and process of development, which can be

² Schneider, H. K. (1975). *Economic Man*. New York: The Free Press.

³ Esteva, G. (1992). *The Development Dictionary*. W. Sachs (Ed.). London: ZED Books Ltds.

⁴ Todaro, M. P. (1979). *Economic Development in Third World*. New York: Longman Publishers.

measured on following indicators (a) Economic characteristics (b) Welfare characteristics (c) sociological indicators (d) Political indicators. They further argued that basic requirement for development is a strong desire in a large section for an improved level of thing. They defined development as,

"The concept of development incorporates different dimensions reflected through different indicators. An important indicator of development is per-capital income, which is determined both by the volume of production and size of the population. It is basically a reflection of the level of productivity of an economy. Some of the other indicators of development are longevity of life, and mortality and fertility rates. Apart from these indicators there are other factors which contribute to the realization of the central indicators, such as the productivity of various productive activities, level of literacy and education, condition of water supply, environmental sanitation, and roads and communication. Such factors jointly contribute to a pattern of living, measured to fall at different levels of development levels of development".

(1992)⁵

According to some sociologists, the innovation of development in certain culture, structure and different institutions of particular culture effected. The whole social system of society transformed according to the strategy of development experienced in that culture. They treat development as an innovation process leading to the structural transformation of social system. Kyong Dang Kim perceives development as,

"Development is a concept and a form of social structural change, where in two salient structure of society, the resources allocation or distribution of the society and political leadership are of significant inform ate".

(1973)⁶

He also argued that development is a tool to bring desired social change, but two salient features resource allocation and distribution and political leadership play significant role in this process.

⁵Alexander, K. C. & Kunaran, K. P. (1992). *Culture and Development*. New Delhi: SEFA Publication.

⁶ Kim, K. D. (1973). Towards a Sociological Theory of Development. *Rural Sociology Journal* Vol. 38, No. 4.

Dudley Seer defines development as,

"There are four aims of development which determine the actual definition of development. The four aims are, 1) Reduction of poverty, 2) Increase of employment, 3) Equity of distribution, 4) Enhancement of general human rights like freedom of speech, citizenship and adequate education."

(1970)⁷

H. Brookfield defines development as,

"Development is a process of reduction of poverty, unemployment and achievement of more even distribution of resources, with attendant dimension of inequality."

(1975)⁸

According to Brookfield's definition of development, poverty, unemployment and allocation and distribution of resources are the major objectives of development process. He mainly focused on economic indicators of development, whereas social and political indicators of development also play pivotal role in sustainability of the project.

Michel P. Todaro comprehensively defines development as,

"We may conclude that development is both physical reality and state of mind, in which society has, through some combination of social, economic and institutional processes secured means from obtaining a better life. Whatever the specific components of this better life, developments in all societies must have at least following three objectives: 1) To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life sustaining goods such as food, health and protection. 2) To rise the levels of living including in addition of higher income, provision of more jobs, better education and greater attention to cultural and humanistic values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material wellbeing but also to generate greater individual and nation self-esteem. 3) To expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nation by facing them from solitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and nation-states but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery."

(1979)⁹

⁷ Seer, D. (1970). *The Meaning of Development*. The Agricultural Development Council.

⁸ Brookfield, H. (1975). *Interdependent Development*. London: Mathew & Company Ltd.

⁹ Todaro, M. P. (1979). *Economic Development in Third World*. New York: Longman Publishers.

This definition denotes that development is a process which leads people to a better life. Development always brings a lot of fundamental changes in society. The word 'development' is believed to have an origin in Economics, as it is usually meant to represent the concept of 'growth' and 'expansion'. Literature relating to the development paradigms puts emphasis on the role of economic forces in bringing about development in a society.

For quite some time, it was the norm to use economic development interchangeably with economic growth. This gave rise to a situation where a small and backward country could overnight become rich and 'developed' if it was fortunate in having a raw material such as petroleum that, as a result of a sudden upward change of price, became a tremendous earner of foreign exchange. Embedded into the stage theory of economic growth, which believes that the "underdeveloped" nations were at a struggling stage. And it was a matter of achieving salient goals of economic growth and that they could become developed with the provision of resources. That is to say they can achieve their goals with taking short cuts. Part of the reason why it is necessary to define the word clearly, is also the change in its real conceptual meaning over the time. It was in 1969 that experts conceived the, idea that development involves not only economic growth but also other conditions. They realized the fact that economic development has to be incorporated with development of the citizens. Reviewing of the concept of development in 1977 experts asserted that they had left out one essential element, which must be added and that essential element was self-reliance. According to them, the addition of this new element entails that the main emphasis in development would no longer be on overall growth rates or on patterns of distribution. According to Social Science Encyclopedia,

“By the mid-twentieth century the dominant image of social change was modernization, the process by which so-called traditional social structures are transformed into those of a more modern type along the lines of what happened at an earlier stage in Europe. This led to a greater awareness of the need to devise strategies aimed at alleviating the poverty and raising the living standards of the populations of these more 'backward' countries. Development policies therefore stressed

the importance of expanding production and modernizing the physical and social infrastructure. Development aid, of course, often indirectly benefited the Western nations as much as it did the recipients. Many development specialists now argued that the transfer of technology and organizational structures, together with economic growth strategies, were inadequate for tackling the fundamental problems of poor economic performance coupled with mal-distribution of income and resources. Development can no longer be regarded as a relatively self-generating process set off by the implantation of modern technology and values. There is also, nowadays, a more explicit awareness of the essentially political and ideological nature of development: formulating goals and means for societal change necessarily entails value commitments and choice.”

(1972)¹⁰

The concept of development emerged after colonial period when former American President, Harry S. Truman, in his first speech in 1948, gave the concept of so-called developed and under-developed nations of the world (Gustavo Esteva: 1992:2)¹¹. Since then, many plans and strategies have been made by different scholars to bring change in the lifestyle of underdeveloped nations.

Many scholars inside or outside the under-developed area have opposed this concept. They are of the view that it is a political issue and there is no need of development in underdeveloped nations from the side of developed nations. Every nation has potential to be developed; there is no need of outside intervention. Agarwal writes that main thrust of development is on economic development of particular area. According to him,

"Economic development as the process whereby the real per capita income of a country increases over a long period of time, subject to the stipulation that the number below an "absolute poverty lines" does not increase and that the distribution of income does not become more unequal."

(1988)¹²

¹⁰ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

¹¹ Esteva, G. (1992). *The Development Dictionary*. W. Sachs (Ed.). London: ZED Books Ltds.

¹² Agarwal, A. N. (1988). *Economics of Development*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House (Pvt.) Ltd.

The definition focuses on increase in income as the main goal of development but always lays down two conditions. 1) Absolute poverty should not increase, 2) Income distribution should not worsen. These conditions should not remain stagnant, but need to be improved. Agarwal accepts that income increase is the basic objective of development but the above-mentioned stipulations need to be made essential part of development as well, without which development can have any significance.

The concept of development in third world is considered as entirely different one. It directly affects the traditional equilibrium, brought by the impact of external factors, such as colonial rule, transition from traditional economy to commercial economy, urbanization and industrialization.

Webster's Dictionary defines the term "socio-economic" as, "of or pertaining to a concept of social and economic factors as intertwined in their effect, with each factor tending to reinforce and enhance the influence of the other." The same dictionary defines the term "structure" as, "pile up; build; make; mode of building; construction; or organization; arrangement of parts, elements or constituents; anything composed of parts arranged together in some way, an organization (social); a relatively stable pattern of beliefs, rules, or principles and of inter-group, interpersonal, and institutional relationship which forms a framework for the corporate action of a social group. The Encyclopedia of Social Science defines social structure as,

"In its most general sense, social structure consists of all those relatively stable features of a social system, which an acting unit would be prudent to take into account if it wishes to make rational decisions in interacting with others. 'Units' of any social system, include a society. Relevant social structure varies according to units' interests, goals and 'location' relative to other units. For certain purposes one might want to take into account the ethnic composition of a population; for others, the age composition; for still others, the composition according to generational experience."

(1972)¹³

¹³ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

It further explains,

“All sociologists have at least implicitly regarded as central the normative aspects of social structure. Marx's conception of class structure, for instance, certainly involves several important and stable normative patterns, such as property, contract, the institutions of family and kinship, and others. Further, the normative 'order' involves a great many aspects of culture. The extreme importance of the normative aspect of social structure is connected with the problem of order. Inherent in all social interaction are two sets of possibilities. First is the possibility of conflict, mutual interference, deceit, the use of coercion for one-sided advantage. The other set of possibilities includes direct and indirect co-operation or at least mutual non-interference of units. 'The problem of order' is part of the larger inherent problem of integration. Normative consensus is one aspect. Another is the degree of consistency in a varied complex of norms, covering family life, economic, political and religious activities, and many others. Differentiated structural content and applications have varied functional significance, but all social structure is relevant to the functional problem of integration.”

(ibid)

As clear from the above discussion, the term socio-economic structures cover a vast variety of fields of human life. Keeping this fact in view, I selected three aspects of life which includes education, economy and health

1.5 OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the study were to:

- Find out the natives perspective of development
- Find out the nature of development occurred in Zandra
- Identify internal and external factors responsible for development and changes in the area
- Record socio-economic and educational changes that occurred in Zandra
- Find out impact of development on the natives' lives and
- Identify the actual beneficiaries of the development in the area

1.6 HYPOTHESIS

- Cash economy in the area has resulted in the growth of per-capita income and increase in the volume of consumer goods and thus “improved” the material quality of life of the people.
- Shift from subsistence economy to cash economy has resulted into the disintegration of social bonds in Zandra.
- Cash economy and the development changed the natives’ perception about biomedical healthcare, which reduced the clientele of the ethnic healthcare systems and increased the people’s expenditures on health care.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following research techniques were used for data collection.

1.7.1 Rapport Establishment

Rapport establishment is usually primary step in anthropological research. It is the way and manner in which the researcher enters the community and develops contacts with the community members. Before starting interviews I lived in the village, visited and communicated with people for the first few week of my research. I also exchanged gifts with them. This allowed me to build rapport with the community members.

1.7.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is the back bone of anthropological fieldwork. A participant observer develops a level of informality with the subjects so that they treat the researcher as a part of their world. Participant observation was used in order to get first hand and accurate information about the study. I participated in the daily activities of the villagers. Moreover I attended the ceremonies like marriages and engagements etc. It enabled me to a) verify the information obtained from other sources of data collection like interview guides and schedules etc. b) to know the practical as well as empirical reality of the natives and c) to learn about the aspects of people’s existence about which they do not talk publicly.

1.7.3 Key Informants

Key informants are imperative means of collecting information about the community. They are the key tools of researcher in the field, which he/she uses in order to get important information about the village and its residents. I selected three well informed individuals of the village as my key informants on my personal judgment. The criterion for selection was their wisdom and grip over cultural knowledge and the capacity to articulate it. They provided reliable information, besides validating the data already collected. I also used key informant interviews for recovering information about the ways of life no longer practiced or those that have been drastically modified. The key informant provided me valuable data which was not possible from other sources.

1.7.4 Un-Structured Interviews

This method of data collection proved quite helpful in obtaining qualitative data. The idea was to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own way. I used unstructured or open ended questions which gave interviewees an unlimited span to answer the questions. I started using this method after spending some time in the village. This technique helped to relax the informants and get natural responses enabling me to obtain substantial data from them as they were feeling themselves in a chat with me rather than being scrutinized or interviewed. Some valuable information regarding historical background of the area and the changes taken place in the field of economy, education and health during the last few decades was gathered through this method.

1.7.5 Interview Guide

I used an interview guide to gain in-depth information from the people involved in horticulture, businessmen, opinion leaders like the *moulvi* (cleric), the *sardar* (tribal leader), functionaries of developmental agencies, representatives of government organizations operating in the locale, and middlemen between the producer in Zandra and wholesaler in Ziarat and Quetta. I also used interview guide to collect information from health care specialists, school teachers, trading community leaders etc.

1.7.6 Life History Interviews

Life history method helped me to get information about unusual and significant events and processes taken place in a community and the persons interviewed have participated in them. I conducted life history interviews with elderly members who saw Zandra in a transition from subsistence economy to a cash economy, from tradition to modernization and from mechanical solidarity to relatively more organic solidarity. I also used this technique towards prominent persons, innovators and early adopters and advocates of change and modernity.

1.7.7 Case Study Method

Case study is a detailed presentation of data related to some sequence of event or set of events, which a researcher records in order to draw some theoretical conclusions. I used case study method as an empirical inquiry to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. Mostly the case studies were taken understand conflicts resolution, discriminating attitude of the parents towards their children's education and health related issues.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study carries great significance. Besides fulfilling the academic requirement for getting PhD degree in anthropology, it will prove valuable addition to the existing literature on development and social changes occurred in Balochistan. The study will help in understanding the ways of development and the impact brought by it in the lives of the natives. The researchers, planners and policy makers of Pakistan can benefit of this study for launching development programmes and projects in Ziarat as well as other parts of Balochistan. The NGOs working in the fields of physical and socio-economic development can get information from this document for provision of better education, health facilities and better treatment in the social context. While critically analyzing development, I tried to explain the phenomenon from different angles, which could help the government and other agencies working in this field to better understand it.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research has been embedded in the theoretical discourse of world system analysis based upon some significant works of Wallerstein. It, while using the concept of development in underdeveloped society, attempts to bring an additional perspective about whether socio-economic structures predetermine how choices for the individuals are shaped or whether it is the developed world that plays a proactive role beyond determinism of these structures.

1.9.1 World Systems Theory

World Systems Theory is a multidisciplinary approach, which studies the world history and social change at macro-level. This theory is also known as the world systems analysis. This theory treats the world systems as the basic unit of social analysis and by world system it means the division of labour at international level. It divides the world into three categories i.e. core countries, semi-periphery countries and the periphery countries. Core countries are those who have higher skill, capital and finished products whereas semi-periphery and periphery countries have unskilled labour, raw materials and bigger markets. This division of labour and capabilities reinforce the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the status of the countries keeps on changing with the passage of time. The countries could become the world leaders with paramount power at any point of time like this status has passed during last few centuries from the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and most recently, the United States.

The world system approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1970s and 1980s. His three volume work “The modern world system” (1974¹⁴, 1980¹⁵, 1989¹⁶), *Historical Capitalism* (1996)¹⁷, “The end of the world as we

¹⁴ Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The Modern World System, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

¹⁵ Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy. 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

¹⁶ Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world system, vol. III: The second great expansion of the capitalist world economy 1730-1840s*. San Diego: Academic Press.

know it (1999)¹⁸ and number of essays (1974¹⁹, 1979²⁰, 1983²¹, 1991²², 1991(b)²³, 1995²⁴, 1997²⁵, 2000²⁶, 2003²⁷, 2004²⁸ and 2004b²⁹) were the major contribution in developing the theory. The other thinkers of world system theory are Samir Amin (1970³⁰ 1973³¹), Cardoso et al (1969)³², Santos (1970a,³³ 1970b³⁴), Rodney (1974)³⁵, and A. G. Frank (1969)³⁶.

Wallerstein traces the records of the world system from the 15th century, when the feudal economy of European started changing into a capitalist economy and the West was gaining control over the world economies. Spread of industrialization and capitalist economy gradually resulted into unequal development. World system theory was developed to replace the modernization theory. He criticized the modernization theory

¹⁷ Wallerstein, I. (1996). *Historical Capitalism with Capitalist Civilization*. USA: W.W. Norton & Company.

¹⁸ Wallerstein, I. (1999). *The End of the World as We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-First Century*. USA: University of Minnesota Press.

¹⁹ Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 387-415.

²⁰ Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The Capitalist World Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

²¹ Wallerstein, I. (1983). Nationalism and the World Transition to Socialism: Is There a Crisis? *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 95-102.

²² Wallerstein, I. (1991). Beyond Annales. *Radical History Review*, No. 49, 14.

²³ Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Geopolitics and Geo-culture: Essays on the Changing World System*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

²⁴ Wallerstein, I. (1995). What Are We Bounding, and Whom, When We Bound Social Research?. *Social Research* 62(4), 839-856.

²⁵ Wallerstein, I. (1997). *The Rise and Future Demise of World Systems Analysis*. Paper delivered at the 91st annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York.

²⁶ Wallerstein, I. (2000). *The Development of an Intellectual Position. Adapted version of the introductory essay to the essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press.

²⁷ Wallerstein, I. (2003). *The Decline of American Power*. New York: New Press.

²⁸ Wallerstein, I. (2004). *The Uncertainties of Knowledge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

²⁹ Wallerstein, I. (2004). World-Systems Analysis, in World System History. In G. Modelski (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, UNESCO. Oxford: Eolss Publishers.

³⁰ Amin, S. (1970). *L'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale; critique de la théorie du sous-développement*. Dakar: IFAN.

³¹ Amin, S. (1973). *Neo-colonialism in West Africa*. Hamondsworth, UK: Penguin.

³² Cardoso, F. H. & Falletto, E. (1969). *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno.

³³ Dos Santos, T. (1970a). *Dependencia económica y cambio revolucionario*. Caracas: Nueva Izquierda.

³⁴ Dos Santos, T. (1970b). The Structure of Dependency. *American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231-236.

³⁵ Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

³⁶ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

because of its focus on the nation-state as the only unit of analysis, its assumption about single path evolutionary development for all countries, and its refusal to acknowledge the transnational structures that restrict local and national development.

World system theory is influenced by three major schools of thought which include French Annales School (by Fernand Braudel), Marxist, and dependence theory. Wallerstein was influenced by Annales School as it focuses on long term processes and geo-ecological regions as unit of analysis. From Marxist theories he borrowed the concept of social conflict, the capital accumulation process and competitive class struggles. Dependency theory significantly influenced the world system theory for its neo-Marxist explanation of development.

Other than these schools Wallerstein has also borrowed the scholarly concepts of three basic modes of economic organization: reciprocal, redistributive, and market modes, by Karl Polanyi and Joseph Schumpeter. He used these concepts into a discussion of mini-systems, world empires, and world economies. He argues that the development of the capitalist world economy is the main threat for a large part of the world's population. Wallerstein has given several definitions of a world system. He defined it as,

"A system is defined as a unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems."

(1974)³⁷

He also offered a longer definition:

"...a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others.

³⁷ Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 387-415.

One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning."

(1974)³⁸

In 1980 Wallerstein defines world system as:

"...not the system of the world, but a system that is a world and which can be, most often has been, located in an area less than the entire globe. World systems analysis argues that the units of social reality within which we operate, whose rules constrain us, are for the most part such world systems (other than the now extinct, small mini-systems that once existed on the earth). World system analysis argues that there have been thus far only two varieties of world systems: world economies and world empires. A world empire (examples, the Roman Empire, Han China) is large bureaucratic structures with a single political center and an axial division of labour, but multiple cultures. A world economy is a large axial division of labour with multiple political centers and multiple cultures. In English, the hyphen is essential to indicate these concepts. "World system" without a hyphen suggests that there has been only one world system in the history of the world."

(1980)³⁹

Following are the main features of world system theory:

1. The world is becoming a single economic unit through exchange and trade with a vast diversity in division of labour among the countries. Formation of this economy is called as world system where the individual economies cannot be treated in isolation. They could only be analyzed in relationship with others.
2. In this capitalist system the world has been divided into different zones on the basis of their wealth and size which keeps on competing with one another for wealth and power. These zones are 'core', 'semi-peripheral' and 'peripheral' regions. The core region includes the most powerful and technologically advanced countries. The status of these countries keeps on changing with the passage of time. Initially at the start of international trade in Europe, Spain and Portugal were very

³⁸ Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

³⁹ Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy. 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

powerful and advanced, then the center of core moved towards Holland and England, and most recently towards United States.

3. Periphery includes poorer and technologically less advanced countries. Economies of these countries mostly based upon the raw material export. The semi-periphery includes the countries which are poorer to the core but have the potential to take core status if the conditions suit them. The producers in these countries get the advantage of low-wage rates and can generate economic growth.
4. In this system capitalists are using the surplus world resources in their benefit and exploiting the poor labour. The core countries are politically dominating the periphery in various forms like seizure, colonial occupation, or establishment of networks of client states by a major power and the semi-peripheral countries normally become the regional allies of the core countries.
5. The desired benefits of the state and the national capitalists may differ from one another but they often support each other. The capitalists provide resources to state and the state performs many important roles for them like controlling the labour, developing foreign relationships to support of local businesses and finding new areas mostly in the peripheral regions for exploitation.
6. A new concept of social class is immerging and going beyond the geographical boundaries of the countries. This does not only include capitalists and the working class, but also the producers of small commodity and a middle class of professional and skilled labour. In certain cases various forms of petty commodity production may exist at household level to supplement their incomes especially when the wages do not cover their living costs. The wages can be kept low through non-wage labour economic activities at household level.

7. Core countries have made legislations which allowed political rights and bargaining powers to their workers. Subsidiary businesses were also allowed to operate by the resource inflow from the peripheral countries. On the other hand, exploitation of the peripheral countries on regular basis may result in creating instability and protest. This exploitative relationship between core and periphery increases the number of repressive and authoritarian states in the peripheral regions of the world.”

1.9.2 World Systems Analysis and Comparative Education

A part of this research would explore the application of world systems analysis to the education systems. The interactions between global economic and cultural forces and local contexts would also be taken into account in the field of education. Special attention would also be given to the impact of major governmental as well as nongovernmental organizations on education policy makers.

If we review the literature in history and social sciences in the late 1960s to early 1970s two major approaches appear in world systems theory. One is based on Marx's work on the international capitalist system, starting with Gunder Frank's dependency theories (1969)⁴⁰, Cardoso and Falleto (1969)⁴¹, Santos (1970b)⁴², Rodney (1974)⁴³, Samir Amin (1970)⁴⁴ (1973)⁴⁵ and the major contributor Imanuel Wallerstein (1974)⁴⁶ (1980)⁴⁷ (1989)⁴⁸. This

⁴⁰ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

⁴¹ Cardoso, F. H. & Falleto, E. (1969). *Dependenciay desarrollo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Siglo Ventiuno.

⁴² Dos Santos, T. (1970b). The Structure of Dependency. *American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231-236.

⁴³ Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

⁴⁴ Amin, S. (1970). *L'accumulation à l'échellemondiale; critique de la théorie du sous-développement*. Dakar: IFAN.

⁴⁵ Amin, S. (1973). *Neo-colonialism in West Africa*. Hamondsworth, UK: Penguin.

⁴⁶ Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

⁴⁷ Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy. 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

⁴⁸ Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world system, vol. III: The second great expansion of the capitalist world economy 1730-1840s*. San Diego: Academic Press.

approach is called as "realist approach" of world systems theorist. The other approach is "neoinstitutionalist approach" based upon the works of John W. Meyer, a sociologist from Stanford and his student Robert Arnove (1980)⁴⁹ on the establishment and expansion of schooling around the world. They used world systems analysis as the necessary framework in the field of comparative and international education to understand trends in educational around the world, focusing on curriculum reform, language of instruction, and the outcomes.

Meyer (1971)⁵⁰ explained the factors involved in the expansion of educational systems at global level. He used economic growth, per capita educational expenditures, and political/colonial background of the country as the indicators of educational growth. His findings indicated that these variables at national-level could not adequately explain the reasons of rapid educational growth at international level. Meyer, and Hannan (1979)⁵¹ in their work "National Development and the World System: Educational, Economic, and Political Change, 1950-1970", emphasized the need to analyze educational expansion in the light of world systems analysis. They speculated that the characteristics of the contemporary world system are causing this expansion and simultaneously affecting all nations. Meyer (1992)⁵² along with Boli and Ramirez, traced the norms and ideology of social and personal development and spread of compulsory schooling all over the world in Latin Christendom Enlightenment project. They consider formal schooling systems as a universalistic ideology, where the religious concepts were replaced by economic growth and human resource development following the Western model.

⁴⁹ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

⁵⁰ Meyer, J. W. (1971). Economic and Political Effects on National Educational Enrollment Patterns. *Comparative Education Review*, 15, 28-43.

⁵¹ Meyer, J. W. & Hannan, M. T. (1979). Introduction. In J. W. Meyer and M. T. Hannan (Eds.), *National development and the world system: Educational, economic, and political change, 1950-1970* (pp. 3-16). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

⁵² Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G. M. & Ramirez, F. O. (1992). World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 144-181.

Neoinstitutionalist perspective says that the formation of schooling systems and the development of nations with their citizens should be based upon widely spread and deep rooted world norms and expectations. They think that without getting full membership of the world community you are not entitled for human rights, state-protected citizen rights, and democratic forms. Meyer et al argues,

"Diffuse functional models about [e.g., the importance of formal schooling to economic growth] . . . actors, actions, and presumed causal relations, are centrally constitutive of world culture."

(1997)⁵³

Institutionalists' assumption of simultaneous development of all autonomous countries at comparable levels was challenged by "realist" approach of world systems theorist (Wallerstein, 2000⁵⁴; Frank, 1969⁵⁵; Cardoso and Falleto, 1969⁵⁶). According to them reason for underdevelopment of peripheral countries in the world economy is not the lack of economic and human resources, it is due to an unequal relationships between them and the core regions. As long as this unequal exchange of goods prevails between the core and peripheral countries the periphery is likely to stay underdeveloped.

Meyer and his fellow theorists while conducting their research on the functionality of a global culture were very much focused on educational systems. Though Wallerstein's work was criticized by Sklair (1999)⁵⁷ for over focusing on economy and nation-states while studying world system, his approach to the world system as the unit of analysis was used to understand comparative and international education by Arnove (1980)⁵⁸ in his essay published in the Comparative Education Review wherein he used slightly

⁵³ Meyer, J. W., Kamens, D. H., & Benavot, A. (1997). *School knowledge for the masses: World Models and National Primary Curricular Categories in the Twentieth Century*. Washington, DC: Falmer.

⁵⁴ Wallerstein, I. (2000). *The Development of an Intellectual Position: Adapted version of the introductory essay to the essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press.

⁵⁵ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

⁵⁶ Cardoso, F. H. & Falleto, E. (1969). *Dependenciay desarrollo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Siglo Ventiuno.

⁵⁷ Sklair, L. (1999). Competing conceptions of globalization. *Journal of World Systems Research*, 5 (2), 143-162.

⁵⁸ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

different approach from the institutionalists by focusing on mechanism and results of the organizations working for the promotion and expansion of education and sometimes imposing their own educational policies and agendas.

Initially Meyer and Hannan (1979)⁵⁹, briefly discussed about the inequalities between the countries and later Ramirez, Boli and Thomas (1997)⁶⁰ have discussed the workings of UN agencies and NGOs working for the promotion of education. They documented how these authoritative core countries extract labour from the peripheral countries and use it in their own benefit causing harmful effects for their education systems. Schooling in peripheral countries supports the process of capital accumulation for the core regions, rather than serving the interests of their own populations.

Arnove (1980⁶¹, 2003⁶²) supported the realists' point of view. He argued that the international agencies providing financial and technical support to the universities and research institutions were actually developing policies and relationships that were beneficial to the core countries, not to the peripheral recipients of aid. He agreed with Wallerstine's ideas and said,

"World systems analysis not only expands macro analyses to take into account the actions of educational agencies in a truly international system, but it enhances our understanding of the sources of change and conflict in the micro system of school and classroom"

(1980)⁶³.

⁵⁹ Meyer, J. W. & Hannan, M. T. (1979). Introduction. In J. W. Meyer and M. T. Hannan (Eds.), *National development and the world system: Educational, economic, and political change, 1950-1970* (pp. 3-16). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

⁶⁰ Boli, J., Ramirez, F. O., & Thomas, G. M. (1997). World culture in the world polity: A century of institutional non-governmental organization. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 171-190.

⁶¹ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

⁶² Arnove, R. F. (2003). Reframing Comparative Education. In R. F. Arnove & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative Education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (2nd ed., pp. 1-23). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

⁶³ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

Mundy and Lynn (2001)⁶⁴ have mentioned that the international agencies from core countries have started providing financial and technical assistance in the field of education to the peripheral countries through NGOs rather than inefficient and corrupt government bureaucracies. Sutton and Arnove (2004)⁶⁵ pointed out certain issues related to this reliance on NGOs. They questioned that did the NGOs providing educational services reduce the pressure from the government? Did they deteriorate the authority of state in setting the goals and syllabus for the schools? Did they understand local needs and showed some flexibility to solve them? Did they hold moral and legitimate authority? What were the consequences of this donor and NGO relationship? Was there any negative feature like sponsorship, favoritism, and corruption associated with them? And above all whom they were serving, states or international donors?

1.9.3 World Systems Analysis and Health Care Systems

Last part of this research would explore the application of world systems analysis to the health care systems. While discussing the relationship between the developed and underdeveloped countries on health related issues most of the writers have used the term political economy of health. This term refers to analysis of health policy and the development health service in a broader macro-economic and political context. Lynn M. Morgan defines it as

“a macro analytic, critical, and historical perspective for analyzing disease distribution and health services under a variety of economic systems, with particular emphasis on the effects of stratified social, political, and economic relations within the world economic system.”
(1987)⁶⁶

The world systems theory or the development-of-underdevelopment school would be used to analyze the "under-development of health" in the peripheral region. It will focus on the unequal relationship between core and periphery on

⁶⁴ Mundy, K. & Murphy, L. (2001). Transnational advocacy, global civil society?: Emerging evidence from the field of education. *Comparative Education Review*, 45, 85-126.

⁶⁵ Sutton, M. & Arnove, R. F. (Eds.). (2004). *Civil society or shadow state? State/NGOs relations in Education*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

⁶⁶ Morgan L. M. (1987). Dependency Theory in the Political Economy of Health: An Anthropological Critique. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 2*, 131-154.

health care systems. Theoretical concept have been borrowed from works of Immanuel Wallerstein, A. G. Frank, and Walter Rodney, who logically believe that the development of capitalism in core countries requires a continuous and conscious underdevelopment of peripheral countries for regular supply of raw materials and cheap labour.

Some of the scholars were very enthusiastic and started analyzing social and health consequences of capitalist expansion at global level. World system theory became popular among the medical anthropologists like Onoge (1975)⁶⁷, Morsy (1979)⁶⁸, Baer (1983⁶⁹, 1986b⁷⁰) and Singer (1986a)⁷¹, who were trying develop a relationship between political economy and medical anthropology. Some other medical anthropologists including Wasserstrom (1979)⁷², Ferguson (1980)⁷³ Nash and Kirsch (1986)⁷⁴ while discussing about exploitative corporations and industries, have pointed out some harmful effects of development of capitalism on health care systems in peripheral regions. Their approach also supports the world system theory. Davison (1983)⁷⁵ and Heggenhougen (1984)⁷⁶ in their discussion about the relationship between socio-political configurations and health policies and

⁶⁷Onoge, O. F. (1975). Capitalism and Public Health: A Neglected Theme in the Medical Anthropology of Africa. In S. R. Ingman and A. E. Thomas, (Eds). *Topias and Utopias in Health*. (pp. 219-232). The Hague: Mouton.

⁶⁸Morsy, S. (1979). The Missing Link in Medical Anthropology: The Political Economy of Health. *Reviews in Anthropology*, 6, 349-363.

⁶⁹Baer, H. A. (1982). On the Political Economy of Health. *Medical Anthropology Newsletter* 14(1), 1-2, 13-17.

⁷⁰Baer, H. A. (1986b). Sociological Contributions to the Political Economy of Health: Lessons for Medical Anthropologists. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 17(5), 129-131.

⁷¹Singer, M. (1986a). Towards a Political-Economy of Alcoholism: The Missing Link in the Anthropology of Drinking. *Social Science & Medicine*, 23 (2), 113-130.

⁷²Wasserstrom, R. (1979). Nestle in Mexico: Hazardous to your Health. In S. Guttmacher, (Ed.) *Imperialism, Dependency, and Health: HMO Packet 6*. (pp. 1-4). New York: Health Marxist Organization, East Coast Discussion Group.

⁷³Ferguson, A. (1980). *The Role of Pharmaceuticals in the Process of Medicalization of Latin America*. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC.

⁷⁴Nash, J. & Kirsch, M. (1986). Polychlorinated Biphenyls in the Electrical Machinery Industry: An Ethnological Study of Community Action and Corporate Responsibility. *Social Science & Medicine*, 23 (2), 131-138.

⁷⁵Davison, L. H. (1983). *Malnutrition in Haiti: A World Systems Perspective*. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.

⁷⁶Heggenhougen, H. K. (1984). Will Primary Health Care Efforts Be Allowed to Succeed?. *Social Science & Medicine*, 19 (3), 217-224.

DeWalt (1983)⁷⁷ and Whiteford (1985)⁷⁸ while talking about harmful nutritional impact of rapidly growing capitalist ventures have also highlighted the same issues.

Interest in political economy of health revived in 1970s when dependency theory was put forward by Doyal and Pennell (1976)⁷⁹, Elling (1976⁸⁰, 1977⁸¹, 1978⁸²), Frankenberg and Leeson (1973)⁸³, Kelman (1971⁸⁴, 1975⁸⁵), Lichtman (1971)⁸⁶, Rossdale (1965)⁸⁷ and Waitzkin (1978)⁸⁸. Works of A. G. Frank (1969⁸⁹, 1972⁹⁰), W. Rodney (1974)⁹¹ and Wallerstein's world systems theory (1974)⁹² were an advanced version of the same theoretical concept, where underdevelopment means the transfer of wealth by exploiting periphery and semi-periphery by core countries which encourages rapid scientific

⁷⁷ DeWalt, B. (1983). *Building a Policy-Relevant Anthropology of Agrarian Systems in Central America and Mexico*. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.

⁷⁸ Whiteford, M. B. (1985). The Social Epidemiology of Nutritional Status among Costa Rican Children: A Case Study. *Human Organization* 44(3), 241-250.

⁷⁹ Doyal, L. & Pennell, I. (1976). Pox Britannica: Health, Medicine and Underdevelopment. *Race and Class* 18, 155-172.

⁸⁰ Elling, R. H. (1976). Political Influences on the Methods of Cross-National Socio-Medical Research. In M. Pflanz and E. Schach, (Eds), *Cross-National Socio-Medical Research Concepts, Methods, Practice* (pp. 144-155). Stuttgart: Georg Thieme Publishers.

⁸¹ Elling, R. H. (1977). Industrialization and Occupational Health in Underdeveloped Countries. *Inter-national Journal of Health Services* 7, 209-235.

⁸² Elling, R. H. (1978). Medical Systems as Changing Social Systems. *Social Science & Medicine* 12(2B), 107-115.

⁸³ Frankenberg, R., & Leeson, J. (1973). The Sociology of Health Dilemmas in the Post-Colonial World. In E. deKadt & G. Williams, (Eds). *Sociology and Development*. (pp. 255-278). London: Tavistock.

⁸⁴ Kelman, S. (1971). Towards the Political Economy of Medical Care. *Inquiry*, 8(3), 30-38.

⁸⁵ Kelman, S. (1975). The Social Nature of the Definition Problem in Health. *International Journal of Health Services*, 5, 625-642.

⁸⁶ Lichtman, R. (1971). The Political Economy of Medical Care. In H. P. Dreitzel, (Ed.), *The Social Organization of Health*. (pp. 265-290), New York: Macmillan.

⁸⁷ Rossdale, M. (1965). Health in a Sick Society. *New Left Review*, 34, 82-90.

⁸⁸ Waitzkin, H. (1978). A Marxist View of Medical Care. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 89, 264-278.

⁸⁹ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

⁹⁰ Frank, A. G. (1972). The Development of Underdevelopment. In J. D. Cockcraft, A. G. Frank, and D. L. Johnson, (Eds), *Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy*. (pp. 3-17). Garden City, NY: Anchor.

⁹¹ Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

⁹² Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

development so that Western medicine and other scientific institutions could surpass underdeveloped countries of the world (Gish 1979)⁹³.

Some political economists of health Turshen (1977a)⁹⁴ and Doyal (1979)⁹⁵ argue that the prevailing situation of poor health and health care systems in peripheral countries is due to the development of underdevelopment by creating technological and economic dependency on the international capitalist system. While explaining health, they borrowed the basic idea from Walter Rodney (1974)⁹⁶ who was influenced by Frank and Wallerstein. They borrowed these concepts because medical imperialism follows the same path as capitalist expansion. Main features of medical imperialism as pointed out by Doyal and Pennell (1976)⁹⁷, J. Paul (1978)⁹⁸, Waitzkin (1978)⁹⁹, Elling (1981a)¹⁰⁰ and Franco-Agudelo (1983)¹⁰¹ are as under:

1. It extracts human resource from the peripheral countries in the form of trained health workers who migrate to the core countries as part of the brain drain.
2. It helps to find out and maintain cheap labor for capitalist industries.
3. It creates new markets for medicines, pesticides, medical equipment, and technical assistance.
4. It strengthens the class relations of core countries through the medical division of labor.
5. It provides covers for counter insurgency and other military efforts.

⁹³ Gish, O. (1979). The Political Economy of Health Care and Health by the People: An Historical Exploration. *Social Science & Medicine*, 13C, 203-211.

⁹⁴ Turshen, M. (1977a). The Impact of Colonialism on Health and Health Services in Tanzania. *Inter-national Journal of Health Services* 7(1), 7-35.

⁹⁵ Doyal, L. (1979). *The Political Economy of Health*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

⁹⁶ Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

⁹⁷ Doyal, L. & Pennell, I. (1976). Pox Britannica: Health, Medicine and Underdevelopment. *Race and Class* 18, 155-172.

⁹⁸ Paul, J. A. (1978). Medicine and Imperialism. In J. Ehrenreich, (Ed.), *The Cultural Crisis of Modern Medicine*. (pp. 271-286). New York: Monthly Review Press.

⁹⁹ Waitzkin, H. (1978). A Marxist View of Medical Care. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 89, 264-278.

¹⁰⁰ Elling, R. H. (1981a). The Capitalist World System and International Health. *International Journal of Health Services* 11, 21-51.

¹⁰¹ Franco, A. S. (1983). The Rockefeller Foundation's Antimalarial Program in Latin America: Donating or Dominating?. *International Journal of Health Services* 13(1), 411-427.

Berliner (1982)¹⁰² and Kelman (1975)¹⁰³ say that capitalism and biomedicine support each other in their ideological constructs and share the same goals to create ambiguity for socio-economic reasons of health and economic underdevelopment. World system theorists and political economists of health (Brown 1979¹⁰⁴, Waitzkin and Waterman 1974¹⁰⁵, and Elling 1981a¹⁰⁶) propose the same solution to the problems related to dependency and underdevelopment, and that is to put an end to capitalism.

Elling (1981a)¹⁰⁷ has pointed out an important issue in relationship of capitalism with health care systems. The goal of profit maximizing does not always match the goal of maintaining health. The desire for maximum profit leads the employers to pay the minimal remunerations and benefits to the workers due to which they cannot maintain their health. They cannot even purchase commodities and services like food, housing, and education. Often profit maximization does not allow the employer to provide technically safe working environment and the industrial waste causes environmental pollution. A worker lining and working in such conditions cannot be a productive worker and the industrialist cannot risk low productivity.

In the light of above discussion we can say that most of the political economists of health have borrowed the theoretical concepts from world system theory. They analyze disease and medical care from the perspective of core periphery relationship. According to Elling,

"There are whole sets of national and international health problems which might be better understood as interrelated problems of exploitation between core capitalist (industrialized) nations and peripheral (underdeveloped) nations"

(1981c)¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Berliner, H. S. (1982). Medical Modes of Production. In A. Treacher and P. Wright, (Eds.), *The Problem of Medical Knowledge*. (pp. 162-173). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

¹⁰³ Kelman, S. (1975). The Social Nature of the Definition Problem in Health. *International Journal of Health Services*, 5, 625-642.

¹⁰⁴ Brown, E. R. (1979). *Rockefeller Medicine Men*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹⁰⁵ Waitzkin, H. & Waterman, B. (1974). *The Exploitation of Illness in Capitalist Society*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

¹⁰⁶ Elling, R. H. (1981a). The Capitalist World System and International Health. *International Journal of Health Services* 11, 21-51.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ Elling, R. H. (1981c). Introduction: Relations between Traditional and Modern Medical Systems. *Social Science & Medicine* 15A, 87-88.

Most of the world system theorists have analyze its implementation at macro level. The exploitative relation between core and periphery has been studied at state level. In this research this model will be put on test at micro level to confirm, revise or drastically change the reasoning built into this. Its impact would be observed on village economy, education and health care systems. The researcher would try to examine how this development of underdevelopment influences the masses at grass root level. Husain sees the impact of development at micro level. He talks about the impacts of introduction of new technology on the human lives. He says,

“The number of persons who are affected indirectly by the introduction of a new technology is much larger than the number of those who are displaced directly by it; the scale of the new technology is really large. Apart from persons who may directly be displaced by the establishment of a new factory, many in the rural community would probably be benefited or injured by the change in the matter of their income, health, amenities, etc.”

(1976)¹⁰⁹

In the field of education Di Bona (1977)¹¹⁰ and Keith (1978)¹¹¹ have studied the implementation of world system analysis at micro level. Arnove has emphasized the need of further research at micro level. He says,

“At the micro level, there is a need for further research along the lines of the Di Bona and Keith studies. Such studies would examine the consequences of educational reforms emanating from the international technical assistance networks on classroom interactions, on what is learned in school, on the educational careers and subsequent life chances of those groups who are the presumed beneficiaries of these innovations. At the same time, many of these reforms are resisted by students and teachers alike as impositions of foreign values, languages, institutional forms, and practice. More detailed descriptions, which place resistance to cultural impositions within their historical context and within a frame-work of power transactions, represent critically important contribu-tions.⁴⁸ Finally, there is a need for studies which examine the changes in the social relations of learning,

¹⁰⁹ Husain, M. (1976). *Education and Culture*. Karachi: National Book Foundation.

¹¹⁰ Di Bona, J. E. (1977). The Development of Educational Underdevelopment in India. *Asian Profile* 6: 615.

¹¹¹ Keith, S. (1978). An Historical Overview of the State and Educational Policy in Jamaica. *Latin American Perspectives*, 17, 48.

educational aims and norms, the language and content of instruction as a society breaks with or is cut off from the international donor system and related economic and political systems.”

(1980)¹¹²

¹¹² Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

For the purposes of current research researcher has reviewed literature on several issues including anthropological theory and methodological issues, anthropology of development, economic anthropology, education, medical anthropology, and anthropology of knowledge and power.

2.1 DEVELOPMENT

“Development is an unstable term. Is it an ideal, an imagined future towards which institutions and individuals strive? Or is it a destructive myth, an insidious, failed chapter in the history of Western modernity?”
(1995)¹¹³

Development cannot be conceived without having a notion of a situation contrary to that, whether it is underdevelopment or non-development. The close conceptual link between ‘development’ and ‘modernization’ suggests that what many development theorists have used terms like backwardness, stagnation, or tradition as opposite of development. Unlike the Modernization school, Dependency and Marxist development theorists, to different degrees, have strongly challenged the idea.

The developmental experts of the Post-World War–II era believe that development of a country depends on its technological and other economy – related attributes. Development in itself means nothing. Studies and experiences show that real per head output rises on self-sustained basis with certain changes in technology available to the society. According to Cooper and Packard,

“Conventionally “development” may connote improvements in well-being, living standards, and opportunities. It may also refer to historical processes of commodification, industrialization, modernization, or globalization. It can be a legitimizing strategy for states, and its

¹¹³ Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

ambiguity lends itself to discourses of citizen entitlement as well as state control
(1997)¹¹⁴.

The excessively narrow economic interpretation of development under the banner of economic growth came later to be tempered by the need to incorporate social, psychological and political issues in the process. While defining "Economic growth" Triantis says,

"Economic growth involves increases in the supply of productive resources or improvements in the productivity of the existing resources through better allocation and combination."
(1954)¹¹⁵

Thus the economic growth paradigm of development was modified to include new ideas and concepts. Development, still in the sense of economic growth, came to be seen as part of a much wider process of social change described as modernization. The whole idea is summarized by Haq in the excerpt as,

"The emphasis in development as modernization is thus on how to inculcate wealth-oriented behaviour and values in individuals. It saw a new concentration in many developing countries on the building of schools and colleges, expansion a/enrolment at all levels of education and in adult education, extension of the coverage of mass media particularly through radio and television, growth in the number of health centers and medical establishments, provision of better housing and recreation facilities, and new interest in youth and youth activities. This form of development was, however, less critical of content than of form. In a situation of changing social conditions, it continued to educate, to inform, and to minister to health needs through processes reminiscent of the period of colonial tutelage or procedures borrowed directly from the advanced industrial countries."
(2000)¹¹⁶

By the end of the 1960s, it was becoming clear that neither of these definitions of development were having a wide-ranging effect on the standards

¹¹⁴ Cooper, F. & Randall, P. (1997). *Introduction*. In F. Cooper and R. Packard, (Eds), *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge* (pp. 1–41). Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹¹⁵ Triantis, S. G. (1954). Problems of Economic Development. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 107-11.

¹¹⁶ Haq, K. (2000). *Human Development in South Asia: The Gender Question*. Islamabad: Oxford Press.

and conditions of living, especially in the Third World countries. The relative position of the masses worsened in comparison with that of the elite. Widespread poverty and destitution became visible, tangible and compelling. Development came to be seen not simply as raising per capita income but more important, of reducing the poverty level among the masses or, as it was more pleasantly put, satisfying their 'basic' needs. Moser in this regard says,

“Interest in development as social justice brought to the front three major issues: the nature of goods and services provided by governments to their populations (otherwise referred to as public goods), the question of the accessibility of these public goods to different social classes; and the problem of how the burden of development (defined as externalities) can be shared among these classes.”

(1993)¹¹⁷

Scholars of the Marxist philosophical orientation argue that the questions of distribution and social justice cannot be considered or resolved independently of the prevailing mechanisms governing production and distribution. Thus it gives the institutional mechanisms a vital role in the development of economy of a country. And without making institutional changes, every developmental strategy would rather be self-defeating. They point to numerous countries, mostly in the advanced capitalist industrial world, which have attempted various forms of redistribution of real income or undertaken anti-poverty programmes, with rather indifferent results. The reason for failure, they claim, is obvious. Moser says,

“Programmes which seek to alter distribution without altering the capitalist market structure within which income and wealth are generated and distributed, are doomed to failure.”

(ibid)

The 1995 UNDP Human Development Report changed the debate on development issues. The report innovatively discussed the idea that in order to develop a well-grounded and practical theory of development, gender needs to be given special importance. K. Haq has quoted Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq,

¹¹⁷ Moser, O. C. N. (1993). *Gender, Planning and Development: Theory Policy and Training*. (Isted.). New York: Rutledge.

author of human development report for United Nations development program and a renowned economist, as saying,

"Women have greatly expanded their capabilities over the last few decades through a liberal investment in their education. At the same time women are acquiring greater control over their lives through dramatic improvements in reproductive health. They stand ready and prepared to assume greater economic and political responsibilities."

(2000)¹¹⁸

He also believed that technological advances and democratic processes are on their side in this struggle. Progress in technology is already overcoming the handicaps women suffer in holding jobs in the market, as jobs in the future industrial societies will be based not on muscular strength but on skills and discipline. All the democratic transitions that are sweeping the globe will make sure that women exercise more political power as they begin to realize the real value of the majority votes that they control.

2.2 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Theories are organized frameworks or a system of ideas or concepts that are developed to help us understand, explain and change a certain phenomenon or concept. It provides a systematic way of examining social issues and providing recommendations for change. After 1945, many development theories emerged to deal with the postcolonial Third World. Most of these theories were developed on nineteenth century social theories, on the vast and diverse colonial experience in Asia, Africa, and Australia, and on the postcolonial history of development of Latin America.

Theories of development focus on various approaches. The theories of development of women have been borrowed from different developmental paradigms. One is the economic paradigm while the other perspective is based on the feministic paradigm. The theories in second list are given importance for their role in enhancing the concept of women and

¹¹⁸ Haq, K. (2000). *Human Development in South Asia: The Gender Question*. Islamabad: Oxford Press.

development. They are also responsible for integrating the prestige of women in the concept of development. In the following section we will discuss some of the most influential theories of development.

2.2.1 Economic Development Paradigm

The economic development theory is heavily embedded into the economics and developmental economics. The concept of development has been adopted from the economic paradigm. With passage of time, i.e. from 1930's it has shifted to accommodate the trends of investing in the whole world. The planners and strategists have manipulated the trends in development according to the paradigm they believed in. The economic paradigm is concerned with understanding and predicting the best possible mechanism for economic progression. It may relate to a nation or it may relate to the world. The economic development paradigm aims to address the various issues that arise during the course of development. Various theories have been proposed that address and explain various issues related to development. A brief introduction of each theory is presented below:

2.2.1.1 Theory of Economic Development

The concept of economic development was put forward by Joseph Schumpeter in 1911 when he published *Theory of Economic Development*. This work was translated in English in 1934¹¹⁹ and started gaining momentum since then. Economists started realizing that no economy could thrive unless their citizens are able to maintain livable conditions of living. Their main concern was reconstruction of Europe, but the efforts were later extended to other continents of the world. Also the economic development theory underwent many changes in approaches. Though the main concern in all the approaches was development of not only standard of living of people but also to develop institutions and mechanisms that could help in maintenance of these standards of living. Initially it equated development with the concept of industrialization. Accordingly, the main aim of projects during this era was:

¹¹⁹ Schumpeter, A.J. (1983). *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profit, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*, (1934), USA: Transaction publisher.

- The economy should provide opportunities for workers. This could be done by industrialization and utilization of the resources of the country.
- Enabling the workers to enhance their standards of living.
- Enabling the governments of respective countries to adopt strategies that would help to sustain such changes.

Thus education and training were considered to be the corner stone of development. It was advised that women needed to be included in the work force of a country. This was not in relation to emancipation of women but they were considered as important and trainable workers. Emphasizing increase in number of workers and not enhancement of women and their status, women workers were incorporated into the task force without altering their social and domestic roles and without formulation of formal pay structures.

The economic development concept was based on capitalistic outlook. It divided the whole world into the developed and the under developed. There was growing dissatisfaction that the whole development process was based in relation to the more industrially sound countries of the world. Thus the non-industrialized nations were seen to be striving to reach the potential of the industrialized countries. Emergence of more humanistic approach towards social processes and policymaking gave a new angle to the theory.

2.2.1.2 Theory of Human Capital Concepts

The paradigm then shifted itself from enhancement of physical aspect of development towards the need for stressing "Human Capital Development". This paradigm put forward by Anke S. Kessler and Christoph Lulfesmann (2006)¹²⁰ holds that everything related to human life should be valued to its relation with the economy. Thus promotion of projects and development schemes were directly related to financial gains. That is the only way for not only enhancing standards of living but also producing a kind of economic growth system, which is easy to maintain. Therefore, education and training were given importance but only those kinds of cadres were encouraged that

¹²⁰ Kessler, A. S. & Lulfesmann, C. (2006). The Theory of Human Capital Revisited: On the Interaction of General and Specific Investment. *Economic Journal*, Vol. 116 (514), 903-923.

could enhance the level of the average worker in the assembly lines. This also gave rise to increased use of machines and tools in production, thus increasing amount of production per worker per day. Thus, the amount of work completed by workers in a week could be completed in less than a week with the use of tools. Human capital was different from material capital in respect of processing. The human capitalistic approach believed in investing in human capabilities, For example, the kind of knowledge that a surgeon or any other professional acquires is the essence of this approach. The knowledge could be used to treat other people. To mold existing things into more usable forms were basically aimed at re-establishing society.

Since major industries produced daily routine items, there was a mixed effect on women. The local markets were bombarded with excessive consumer goods. The goods related to women (sanitary products, luxury items, clothing, perfumes, and beauty products) were marketed. Therefore, there was enhancement of social status of women, but serious efforts to truly uplift their role in society were not made. The whole emancipation concept remained confined to the privileged class of society. Those fighting poverty were totally ignored.

2.2.1.3 Theories of Human Capabilities

Sometimes also referred as 'sustainable human development', the paradigm gives importance to human side of the story – education is important because it improves people's life. This view was later molded into a more human centered process by Seers in 1969. He said that the process of development was a complex one and it needed to have all aspects of human life. The concept of elimination of poverty, unemployment and inequality were also important. This emphasizes the role of education and health in enhancing human capability, i.e. the role of man as a tool in the human benefit as an objective. Amartya Sen (1985¹²¹, 1993¹²²) gave some new ideas to the traditional theories of economic development. His contribution became

¹²¹ Sen, A. K. (1985). *Commodities and capabilities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹²² Sen, A. K. (1993). *Capability and well-Being, in the Quality of Life*. In M. Nussbaum and A. Sen (Eds), Oxford: Clarendon Press.

popular as capability approach. The other contributor is Martha C. Nussbaum (2000)¹²³

2.2.1.4 Feminist Paradigm

Feminism is a movement that challenges the traditional role of women and their image in society. They argue that women and men should be granted equal rights. Feminist theories are an extension of their complaints with the existing system. They address the low status of women in society, and argue that women should not only be granted a respectable place in society but also be incorporated into development paradigm.

2.2.1.5 Underdevelopment and Dependency

Theotonio Dos Santos defines dependency as,

“By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development.”

(1970)¹²⁴

There are certainly differences among various theorists on several issues and concepts; however if we summarize these concepts, the common points about underdevelopment and dependency theories would be as follows:

1. Today's Third World, its "underdeveloped" social, economic, and political conditions are the underside of the same world-historical process in which the First World became "developed." This directly contradicts with modernization theory's view of the Third World as undeveloped or untouched.

¹²³ Sen, A. K. (1993). *Capability and Well-Being, in the Quality of Life*. In M. Nussbaum and A. Sen (Eds), Oxford: Clarendon Press.

¹²⁴ Santos, T. D. (1970). The Structure of Dependence: *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 60, No. 2, 231-236.

2. The prime mover in this combined process was capital seeking profits, i.e. seeking opportunities to accumulate capital specifically, capitalist merchants, capitalist bankers, capitalist insurers, etc., and finally capitalist manufacturers.
3. Capital accumulation is easiest in countries where labor and resources are cheap, and governments are weak. This is the case with many newly independent Third World countries, whose economies have already been given an external orientation during the colonial era to fit the economic structures of the imperial center.
4. Secondary structural consequences of this served to reproduce the process and constantly block local initiatives to pursue an autonomous development path; e.g. the low incomes of the majority due to the creation of surplus labor and marginalization imply a generally small domestic market; highly unequal income distribution implies a narrow import-orientated consumer demand, etc.
5. The corresponding emergence and formation of social classes at the capitalist periphery with interests in common with the bourgeoisie of the metro poles made possible the development of colonial, neocolonial and semi-colonial states representing successive types of such alliances.

The underdevelopment and dependency theorists revealed the ideological premises of modernization theory. Influenced by Marxist critiques of capitalism, their analyses focused on economic processes and structures rather than on political, social and cultural process. It can be deduced from their work that they see the direction and detention of development as an object of political struggle. However, it is not clear what kind of development Third World countries can strive for the differences from that of capitalist

development. Andre Gunder Frank (1969¹²⁵, 1975¹²⁶, 1980¹²⁷, and 1984¹²⁸) is the main contributor.

2.2.1.6 World System Theory

The world system approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974¹²⁹, 1980¹³⁰, and 1989¹³¹). The other contributors of world system theory are Samir Amin (1970)¹³² (1973)¹³³, Cardoso and Falleto (1969)¹³⁴, Santos (1970a)¹³⁵ (1970b)¹³⁶, Rodney (1974)¹³⁷, and Andre Gunder Frank (1969)¹³⁸. According to Wallerstein the capitalist world economy is a dynamic system which keeps on changing with the passage of time. However, some of the basic features remain constant. When we look into these changes the core countries are clearly the most benefited from this arrangement. They earn very high profits from international trade. They exchange manufactured products for raw materials mainly from peripheral countries and to some extent from the semi-peripheral countries. The core countries are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies. It does not mean that every citizen of the periphery is becoming poorer and everybody in the core countries is becoming richer as a result. The

¹²⁵ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

¹²⁶ Frank, A. G. (1975). Development and Underdevelopment in the New World: Smith and Marx vs. the Weberians. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 431-466.

¹²⁷ Frank, A.G. (1980). World System in Crisis. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 2, 8-18.

¹²⁸ Frank, A. G. (1984). The Unequal and Uneven Historical Development of the World Economy. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 9, 71-95.

¹²⁹ Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

¹³⁰ Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy. 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

¹³¹ Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world system, vol. III: The second great expansion of the capitalist world economy 1730-1840s*. San Diego: Academic Press.

¹³² Amin, S. (1970). *L'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale; critique de la théorie du sous-développement*. Dakar: IFAN.

¹³³ Amin, S. (1973). *Neo-colonialism in West Africa*. Hamondsworth, UK: Penguin.

¹³⁴ Cardoso, F. H. & Falleto, E. (1969). *Dependenciay desarrollo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Siglo Ventiuno.

¹³⁵ Dos Santos, T. (1970a). *Dependenciaeconómicay cambiorevolucionario*. Caracas: Nueva Izquierda.

¹³⁶ Dos Santos, T. (1970b). The Structure of Dependency. *American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231-236.

¹³⁷ Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

¹³⁸ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

landlords in the periphery often become richer at the expense of their underpaid labour, as they can exploit them and can use their surplus manpower in their interest. On the other hand in the core countries, most of the landless rural population is forced to work as wage labour, which results in a relative decline in their income and living standard. In general this theory says that the world's capitalist economies determine the route for development of the large part of the world's population in their own favour.

In world system theory, Wallerstein explains the wide-ranging and different effects of development on the world's population. He examines how economic and political conditions in northwestern Europe transformed into the superior commercial and political power after the breakdown of feudalism. The capitalist world economy has been growing since its birth. Its geographic expansion has changed political systems as well as the labour conditions wherever it could penetrate. Functions of the world economy have created big differences and inequalities among the economies of different countries. The relationship between the core, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are also relative inconstant. Technological development brings positive changes all over the world. Some impulsive changes are brought in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries, but the core countries get the most advantage. Wallerstein, however, after the analysis of history of the capitalist world system firmly concluded that this development has created inequality and disparities in economic and social sectors of different countries rather than bringing prosperity all over the world.

Main focus of this research would be on world system theory therefore works of Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, Cardoso, Falleto, Santos, Rodney, and Andre Gunder Frank along with some other relevant works from the authors like John Martinussen, Karl Polanyi, George Dalton, and Paul Bohannon were studied.

While discussing about the structure and role of core and peripheral countries Wallerstein says,

“Semi-peripheral states play a particular role in the capitalist world-economy, based on the double antinomy of class (bourgeois-proletarian) and function in the division of labor (core-periphery). The core-periphery distinction, widely-observed in recent writings, differentiates those zones in which are concentrated high-profit, high-technology, high-wage diversified production (the core countries) from those in which are concentrated low-profit, low-technology, low-wage, less diversified production (the peripheral countries). But there has always been a series of countries which fall in between in a very concrete way, and play a different role. The productive activities of these semi-peripheral countries are more evenly divided. In part they act as a peripheral zone for core countries and in part they act as a core country for some peripheral areas. Both their internal politics and their social structure are distinctive, and it turns out that their ability to take advantage of the flexibilities offered by the downturns of economic activity is in general greater than that of either the core or the peripheral countries. It is in this context that we propose to look specifically at this group of countries in the present world situation.”

(1976)¹³⁹

While talking about the relationship between the core and periphery Wallerstein says that the governments of core countries keep control over the peripheral states by using different techniques. He stated,

“They used their control of the government first of all to expand educational facilities considerably at all levels, thus ensuring wider access to middle-class positions and also creating the base for expanded economic activity. They exercised their control of the administration to force traditional rulers to 'renounce politics'-which meant, in effect, pledging loyalty to the mass party, and also to 'democratize' the chieftaincy, which meant increasing the role of rural 'non-traditional' or 'modern' elements in the choice of local authorities. They began to place nationalists in the higher civil service and keep an eye on the technicians.”

(1965)¹⁴⁰

He further stated,

“Finally, they sought to consolidate their power by rapid economic expansion, thus securing for themselves as a class larger incomes, which they could use to invest, to create a more expensive style of life, and to retain mass support through some mass distribution of benefits. The latter feature was perhaps less emphasized than the former, an

¹³⁹ Wallerstein, I. (1976). Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis: *Theory and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 461-483.

¹⁴⁰ Wallerstein, I. (1965). Elites in French-Speaking West Africa: The Social Basis of Ideas: *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.3, No.1, 8-9.

imbalance not without its difficulties, and sometimes compensated for by a radical terminology. Economic expansion was most likely through increased foreign investment, especially in infrastructure.”

(ibid)

Andre Gunder Frank has pointed some political reasons for foreign investments. According to him,

“For political reasons, the United States enforced a land reform in Korea and Taiwan (as well as in Japan), whose redistribution of income became the basis of their domestic markets and initial import substitution. Only then could they launch their export led growth. Hong Kong and Singapore are city states, which benefit from large hinterland sources of labour and capital without having to share their political and economic burdens. In Korea and Taiwan, growth was heavily dependent, and in Singapore less so, on national state intervention and Japanese foreign investment. Neither was the case in Hong Kong. So the essential 'magic' of private capitalism in this 'model' is questionable at best.”

(1991)¹⁴¹

He further stated

“In the 1970s, moreover, the crisis which reduced domestic investment demand in the West made credit-financed exports to the South and the East all the more necessary and welcome. So the banks, awash with investible money, loaned and loaned. Debts piled up in the South American and East European NICs alike, and in some South East Asian ones, like the Philippines and Indonesia, as well. This debt economy prospered until the renewed recession in 1979-82 converted the 'solution' into still another problem.”

(ibid)

While talking about the history of world economy Andre Gunder Frank says,

“So, the preponderance of Asian economic agents in Asia and of Asia itself in the world economy has been masked not only by the attention devoted to 'the rise of the west' in the world, but also by the undue focus on European economic and political penetration of Asia. The Europeans did not in any sense; 'create' neither the world economic system itself nor 'capitalism'. Europe itself was neither a first rank

¹⁴¹ Frank, A.G. (1991). No Escape from the Laws of World Economics. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 50, 21-32.

power nor an economic core region during these three centuries. The core regions, especially of industrial production, were in China and India; and west Asia and south-east Asia also remained economically more important than Europe. Likewise, China and India were the primary centers of the accumulation of capital in the world system, and China was in overall balance of trade surplus throughout most of this period. Indeed, Europe was in deficit with all regions to the east. West Asia was in surplus with Europe, but in deficit with India.”

(1996)¹⁴²

Samir Amin also sees the development of world system in historical perspective. He talks about the shift of exploitation of labour from preindustrial systems to the modern world and modification of social relationship. According to him,

“In preindustrial systems, labor was exploited through the ruling class's control of the access to natural resources, basically land. Since the industrial revolution, the type of property that ensures exploitation of labor has shifted to industrial equipment, which therefore became the dominant form of full-fledged capital. This change has thoroughly modified the patterns of social relations, as well as the relationship between political power and economic laws.”

(1999)¹⁴³

He further draws this comparison between past and present. He includes production and commoditization of the consumer products. He says,

“The modern system is global, in the sense that all parts are integrated into the system by virtue of their involvement in the world division of labor, one that involves essential consumer goods whose production runs parallel with a level of commodification incomparable to that obtained in previous periods.”

(ibid)

Amin also talks about the evolution of modes of production. These modes of production have also changed international political scenario. Initially the core

¹⁴² Frank, A.G. (1996). India in the World Economy, 1400-1750. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No. 30, 50-64.

¹⁴³ Amin, S. (1999). History Conceived as an Eternal Cycle: *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 291-326.

countries used to get political power through armed forces but now they have economic means to do so. According to him,

“In previous modes of production, the laws of the economy do not affirm themselves as autonomous manifestations of necessity, but, on the contrary, as expressions of the ideological and political order. The dominant capitalist centers do not seek to extend their political power through imperial conquest because they can, in fact, exercise their domination through economic means. States of earlier periods did not have the guarantee of the benefits derived from the economic dependency of their possible peripheries as long as the latter remained outside the sphere of their political domination.”

(ibid)

Urbanization also started along with the evolution and development of world system which resulted in heavy reliance on the industry. Samir Amin says,

“The massive urbanization of society, which leads to qualitative change, since, up until then, all human societies had remained essentially rural. Massive urbanization needed an agricultural revolution, mechanical and chemical, inconceivable without industry capable of providing its inputs.”

(ibid)

Ultimately this evolution of different economic structures into world system resulted in the development of economic concepts of core and periphery having an inbuilt structure of dominance and subordination of respective regions. According to Samir Amin,

“The definition of the essential content of the two concepts of core and periphery is economic in nature. This is not a question of an arbitrary choice but is the expression of the dominance of economics in the capitalist mode, and of the direct subordination of politics and ideology to the constraints of the accumulation of capital.”

(ibid)

These dominant core countries plan such activities which could protect their interests and on the other hand creating problems for others. According to Samir Amin,

“The erosion of the old system of globalization is not able to prepare its own succession and can lead only to chaos. Dominant forces are developing their activities in the framework of these constraints, trying to maneuver for short-term gain and thereby aggravating the chaos. Their attempt to legitimate their choices by the stale ideology of the "self-regulating" market, by affirming that "there is no alternative," or by pure and simple cynicism, is not the solution, but is part of the problem.”

(1996)¹⁴⁴

Samir Amin has also talked about inequality among different zones as it has been pointed out by Wallerstein in his different works. Samir Amin has used the term “central” in place of “core” by Wallerstein. He says’

“In fact, pre-capitalist societies are evidently also characterized by numerous specificities of diverse nature, status, and importance. It appears to me that the principal source of differentiation, of particular importance, is a result of what I have called the "central" or "peripheral" character of the tributary society under consideration. Now on this level the "central" or "peripheral" character in question should be found in the area of the dominant authority, that is to say in that of the state (power) and of ideology (cultures, religions), whereas the "central" or "peripheral" character of a capitalist formation is located in the area of the economy. In this sense, I have defined feudalism not as a specific mode of production but as a specific - peripheral - form of tributary society. A peripheral form precisely because the centralization of state power which defines central tributary society is here embryonic: the absolute monarchies (close to the advanced tributary model) appeared relatively late in Europe, precisely in the proto-capitalist phase of the mercantilist transition.”

(1990)¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Amin, S. (1996). The Future of Global Polarization: Reviewed: *Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (63-64), 5-13.

¹⁴⁵ Amin, S. (1990). Colonialism and the Rise of Capitalism: *A Comment. Science & Society*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 67-72.

Samir Amin in the same article has further explained the capitalism, how it is different from pre-capitalist societies and what type of changes it brings in the societies.

“The difference which separates capitalism from all the advanced societies which precede it is not only a quantitative difference in the degree of development of the productive forces. The difference is qualitative. In capitalism, surplus value (the profit of capital) is obtained through the economic mechanism of the law of value whereas in all earlier societies the extraction of the surplus takes the form of a tribute imposed by non-economic means. The contrast between on the one hand the transparency of economic phenomena in pre-capitalist societies and on the other hand its opaqueness through the law of value in capitalism leads to a reversal of the hierarchy of authority; whereas the economy directly commands the capitalist dynamic (which is then expressed through the play of economic laws which seem to impose themselves on society as laws of nature), the politico-ideological authority is dominant in earlier societies.”

(ibid)

In another article he has pointed out the importance of labour in capital mode of production and unequal distribution of wages in core and peripheral regions. The lower wage rates in periphery often benefits the core. According to Samir Amin,

“In the capitalist mode of production, the value of labour power (in empirical terms, real wages) depends on the development of the productive forces (the productivity of labour); but, in the world capitalist system, the prices of labour power are distributed unevenly around this value, being higher in the center and lower in the periphery. The system of prices, which is the outcome of this structure of the distribution of the prices for labour power, controls a special international division of labour and trade; this can be termed uneven in the sense that the system of prices on which they are based integrates a transfer of value from the peripheries to the centers.”

(1983)¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Amin, S. (1983). Expansion or Crisis of Capitalism?. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 5, No. 2, 361-385.

Exploitation of labour has been further discussed by Amin.

“The world expansion of capitalism has been based on this uneven fashioning of formations integrated into the world system in the making, then into continuous development. This fashioning is not the outcome of a simple 'external' balance of forces (the imposition on backward societies of the political control of the advanced capitalist societies) but is the outcome of the patterns and social means by which capital penetrates, then dominates, the former. These patterns and means, which can be termed the 'transnational' organization of alliances and class oppositions (at the scale of the system and not uniquely of the formations which go to make it up), fashion specific modes of exploitation of labour: in the centers, the dominance of the direct exploitative relationship of capital-waged labour: in the peripheries, the persistence of relationships of exploitation which operate through the reproduction of pre- or non-capitalist relationships.”

(ibid)

According to Samir Amin inequality is increasing in the peripheral countries as capitalism is getting popular in those areas.

“The trend in the expansion of capitalism in the peripheral areas is to increasing inequality (if the wages of labour do not rise here with productivity), and to the subjection of pre-capitalist modes rather than to their radical destruction (and the two things go together), then specific political conditions are created on the side of the exploited classes. At least, as long as these tendencies operate.”

(ibid)

Andre Gunder Frank has also explained the world system where the economic system is based upon core, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries. The relationship between these countries has a clear exploitation of periphery by the core countries. He says,

“There is only one system, which is worldwide. It was formed by the expansion from a European core through the incorporation of one part of the American, African and Asian periphery after another. Several times, some parts of the system again withdrew temporarily, but so far they seem to have been and still are subject to subsequent reincorporation. The economic structure of the system seems to be based on a core, a periphery and some semi-peripheries between

them. (The analytic utility of this formulation, which is partly inherited from the study of dependence, is perhaps the most doubtful one of this approach.) The strength of the state seems to be roughly proportional and the degree of exploitation of labor and its contractual freedom seem to vary inversely with the distance from the core; but all attempts at the formation of a system-wide or even imperial state or of accumulation without exploitation have failed so far. Participation in the system core, periphery and semi-periphery has involved a wide variety of changing forms of labor, productive and trade relations, whose content has been modified, and whose forms have been maintained, transformed or newly formed (as in the case of New World slavery) to suit the exigencies of capitalist accumulation on a world scale. The question arises whether "post-capitalist socialist" relations of production are any the less suited to fill this need than "pre-capitalist feudal" or any other "non-capitalist" relations have been."

(1980)¹⁴⁷

In the same article Frank has explained the shift of status between the core and periphery with the passage of time. Core is moving country to country but it never happened that a peripheral country has become a core country directly.

"Placement at the core, semi-periphery and periphery of various parts of the world has changed over time and continues to do so, albeit apparently under some systemic restrictions. Leadership at the core has moved from the Mediterranean to Northwest Europe and Britain and then on to the United States, whose relative though not yet absolute position is already under challenge again. There has been frequent and substantial movement from the semi-periphery both upwards into the core and downwards into the periphery, and some downward movement from core to semi-periphery (Spain in the seventeenth century, Britain in the twentieth); but so far there has never been a more directly from periphery to core."

(ibid)

In another article he talks about hegemonic relationship between core and periphery. He says,

"Hegemony is not only political. It is also based on center-periphery relations, which permit the hegemonic center to further its accumulation of capital at the expense of its periphery, hinterland, and its rivals. After a time, not the least through the economic-military overextension, the

¹⁴⁷ Frank, A.G. (1980). World System in Crisis. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 2, 8-18.

hegemonic empire loses this power again. The decline in the hegemony of a great power gives way to an interregnum of competitive economic, political and military rivalry among others to take its place.”
(1992)¹⁴⁸

The developmental issues of these countries have been addressed by Ranjit San. According to him,

“Development and underdevelopment are thus the two opposite poles of a dialectical unity. The underdevelopment of the peripheral countries is a consequence of the development of capitalism on the world scale. The main vehicle that connects these two opposite poles is unequal exchange between centre and periphery through which "hidden transfers" of values has been taking place ever since the dawn of the history of capitalism.”
(1975)¹⁴⁹

The structural inequality has also been addressed by Andre Gunder Frank. He talks about unevenness during economic crises and their consequences all over the world. He says,

‘The connection between the structural inequality and the temporal unevenness is that during periods of economic crisis, when the process of capital accumulation is not going as well as it previously did, when it cannot continue in the same terms as before, the major structural adjustments become necessary and possible. The Chinese ideographic way of writing crisis, I am told, is a combination of danger and opportunity. The danger is that if the necessary adjustments cannot be made in the system, it stops functioning. The opportunity is to use this necessity as the mother of invention to put the system on a new footing and permit it to function again in a somewhat different way during these periods of crises. Thus there is a crisis generated pressure for new inventions and also for a particular kind of new invention, which is the exploration of new, previously unknown parts of the world, which later become effectively incorporated into the economic process by settlement and through human and capital investment. Thus these periods of crisis also engender an accelerated change or transformation in the international division of labor, such as

¹⁴⁸Frank, A. G. (1992). The five thousand year world system: An Interdisciplinary Introduction. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1-80.

¹⁴⁹ San, R. (1975). Capitalism, Imperialism and Underdevelopment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 10, No. 33/35, Special Number, 1263-1276.

the one we are witnessing today with regards to the transfer of industry from the West to the South. That is, it is in the periods of economic crises that the unequal structure of the world economy undergoes its most rapid transformation.”

(1984)¹⁵⁰

Andre Gunder Frank in another article has pointed out the marginalization of Third World Countries due to the world economic system. He says,

“World economic material and labour saving long-run development is furthering marginalization of ever larger parts of the Third World along the African way. However, industrial and agricultural progress and decline in the West are also marginalizing growing parts of its population into racial, ethnic and other drug and crime ridden ghettos. Now that massive unemployment and even more accelerated regional differentiation and social polarization is also coming to the East, the same kind of economic, social and political marginalization threatens there as well.”

(1991)¹⁵¹

Samir Amin has pointed out different monopolies with the help of which the core countries exercise their control over the periphery.

“In this unequal fight the centers use what I call their “five monopolies.” These monopolies challenge the totality of social theory. They are: 1. Technological monopoly: It requires huge expenditures that only a large and wealthy state can envisage. 2. Financial control of worldwide financial markets: Not so long ago the greater part of a nation's savings could circulate only within the arena, largely national, of financial institutions. Today these savings are handled centrally by institutions whose operations are worldwide. We are talking of finance capital, capital's most globalized component. 3. Monopolies of access to the planet's natural resources: The danger of the reckless exploitation of these resources is now planet-wide. Capitalism, based on short-term rationality, cannot overcome the dangers posed by this reckless behavior, and it therefore reinforces the monopolies of already developed countries. Their concern is simply not to let others be equally irresponsible. 4. Media and communication monopolies: They

¹⁵⁰ Frank, A. G. (1984). The Unequal and Uneven Historical Development of the World Economy. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 9, 71-95.

¹⁵¹ Frank, A.G. (1991). No Escape from the Laws of World Economics. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 50, 21-32.

not only lead to uniformity of culture, but also open up new means of political manipulation. The expansion of the modern media market is already one of the major components of the erosion of democratic practices in the West itself. 5. Finally, monopolies of weapons of mass destruction: Held in check by the postwar bipolarity, this monopoly is again the sole domain of the United States, as in 1945. If "proliferation" is a risk in that it may get out of control, it is still the only way of fighting this unacceptable monopoly in the absence of democratic international control."

(1996)¹⁵²

Frank has further stated about the continuous increase in the productivity gap between the First World and Third World Countries.

"If the Third World is not very actively participating in this productivity race today, it is because over the years there has developed so large a productivity gap the so-called technological gap between the West and the South or the North and the South that much of the Third World is, at least for the time being, rather out of the race. Historically the development of and to some extent the reasons for this productivity gap or technological gap between North and South, and in a sense the development of development in the North and development of underdevelopment in the South, have brought us to the present situation and the present economic crisis."

(1984)¹⁵³

As the productivity gap increases between the developed and underdeveloped the dependency of Third World on the First World also increases. According to A. G. Frank,

"Third World cannot escape dependence, let alone by going into debt, which is only another expression and instrument of dependence in the world system. Therefore by the mid-1980s, I concluded that 'delinking' Third World countries from the 'capitalist' world economy, as I had advocated in the 1960s, is no longer a realistic policy. Moreover 'liberation' through domestic 'socialism' in Third World countries offers scarce alternatives; and the 'socialist bloc' cannot offer an alternative

¹⁵² Amin, S. (1996). The Future of Global Polarization: Reviewed: *Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (63-64), 5-13.

¹⁵³ Frank, A. G. (1984). The Unequal and Uneven Historical Development of the World Economy. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 9, 71-95.

economic division of labour, which might support politically progressive regimes in these countries.”

(1991)¹⁵⁴

The Third World Countries have been marginalized. Productivity gap has also been increased. But still they are becoming more and more important for the core countries to balance their economic crisis. According to Frank,

“Third World and particularly the OPEC countries and the NICs and the socialist countries became increasingly important in the mechanisms of adjustment to the world economic crisis, as seen from the West which was able to lower costs of production, to maintain some production through increased exports by selling them machinery and to permit its banks to make a lot of money, by loaning this at good rates of interest.”

(1984)¹⁵⁵

He has further elaborated the situation of loans and interest between core and periphery.

“As long as the system continues to work, the American banks and American economy are continuing to benefit. 30 or 45 percent of the entire income of Citibank comes from Brazil alone, through the financing of the Brazilian debt. So as long as the financing continues banks continue to make money. So it is rational for them. In the short run, as it appears rational in Geneva, to bluff as much as possible against their opponents and partners in this nuclear and financial poker game, as long as the Americans have or think they hold the strongest cards and 'hold up their sleeve the financial ace that at the moment there is no alternative to the United States dollar in the world economy. There-fore, the Americans are most reluctant to come to any alternative arrangement of the world financial system while the Europeans and others are much more willing to do so, and some indeed are asking for a new arrangement; but the Americans don't want one because they are still making a killing out of the present arrangements. The problem is that what is rational for each of the players of the poker game in the short run may be irrational for all of them put together in the medium run if that leads to a financial crash or to a nuclear war, or both. Moreover there is a very close relationship

¹⁵⁴ Frank, A.G. (1991). No Escape from the Laws of World Economics. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 50, 21-32.

¹⁵⁵ Frank, A. G. (1984). World Economic Crisis and Third World in Mid-1980s. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 19, No. 19, 799-804.

between the two. One aspect of it is that the American arms expenditures generate the American budget deficit, which drives up the rate of interest, which lights the fuse on the debt bomb.”

(ibid)

In another article Frank says that it is not easy for the Third World to get rid of loans which ultimately increases their economic misery.

“Neither is there an easy solution for policymakers in the Third World. They must try to steer a difficult - indeed an impossible- course between the increasing economic misery and social conflict that are likely to result from full participation in this system, or they must try to extricate themselves only to find that there may be nowhere to go. Failure to play by the rules of the game would bring costly economic reprisals; any renunciation of the debt would probably lead to the cutoff of further credits and imports, which few countries can afford. Already, there is a clear picture of what lies ahead.”

(1984)¹⁵⁶

Importance of Third World Countries has been viewed by Frank from a different angle. Peripheral countries are emerging as big labour markets for the core countries from where they can get inexpensive human resource. They can easily exploit the workers in the Third World. On the other hand the consumption of consumable products produced by the industrial countries is also growing at a very faster rate in the periphery. Frank says,

“Viewed from the supply side, these goods could be produced at lower costs overseas primarily because of lower wages, suggesting an increase in the exploitation of workers in the Third World, particularly of female workers in Asia and Latin America. Looked at from the so-called demand side, this relocation of production increased the purchasing power of the Third World. In 1970, Third World imports accounted for 30 percent of the total exports of the United States, Japan, and the EEC countries. By 1980, that figure had risen to 40 percent: for example, 40 percent of U.S. exports and 45 percent of Japanese exports went to the Third World. All this suggests how critical Third World markets have become to the economies of the industrialized

¹⁵⁶ Frank, A. G. (1984). Can the Debt Bomb Be Defused?. *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 723-743.

countries. At the same time, with the decline in domestic investment, exports in general have become more important. During the 1970s, for example, U.S. and Japanese exports more than doubled. By providing the industrialized countries with important markets for their exports as well as with cheaper sites at which to produce, the Third World has helped to maintain employment and profits in the First World.”

(ibid)

Consumption of European commodities has created a new market of a considerable size in Third World which is beneficial for different core countries as it provides the opportunities for product improvement as well as the capital resource. Frank says,

“By opening a new and inexhaustible market to all the commodities of Europe, it gave occasion to new divisions of labour and improvements of art, which in the narrow circle of ancient commerce, could never have taken place for want of a market to take off the greater part of their produce. The productive powers of labour were improved, and its produce increased in all different countries of Europe, and together with it, the real revenue and wealth of the inhabitants.”

(1975)¹⁵⁷

The condition of social well-being in core and periphery has also been discussed by Ilbery. He says,

A flow of skilled labour, investment and locally-generated capital from periphery to core was counterbalanced by the movement of products from the core to the periphery, which flooded the markets and inhibited business enterprises. The periphery became deprived of social services, public utilities and amenities, leading to lower levels of social well-being.

(1984)¹⁵⁸

John Martinussen, describes how industrial countries establish their economic dominance on the backward countries.

¹⁵⁷ Frank, A. G. (1975). Development and Underdevelopment in the New World: Smith and Marx vs. the Weberians. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 431-466.

¹⁵⁸ Ilbery B. W. (1984). Core-periphery Contrasts in European Social Well-being. *Geography*, Vol. 69, No. 4, 289-302.

“Through economic dominance and political control, the industrial countries have actively tried to graft their own 'modern' and development-promoting cultures on to the backward societies. The problem in this context has been the backward countries' development obstructing, traditions, institutions, values, and other internal conditions. In line with this retrospective evaluation of the role of imperialism, it is a characteristic of the economic growth and modernization theories that they claim a favourable net impact for the poor countries in their trade with the industrial countries, as well as for their interrelations with the industrialized world in other respects.”
(1995)¹⁵⁹

While enumerating causes of developed countries dominance on the poor states, Martinussen says that faulty production structure of the peripheral countries provides the ground for this dominance.

“The distorted production structure in the peripheral countries and their dependence is a result of the dominance of the center countries. It is the center countries that by extracting resources and exploiting cheap labour have inflicted on the peripheral economies the 'over-developed' export sector. At the same time, the center countries have prevented the establishment of national capital goods industries and the manufacturing of goods for mass consumption. In these areas the rich countries continue to have a vital interest in selling their goods in the peripheral markets.”

(Ibid)

The writer adds that low production cost brings substantial benefit for the producers in the poor countries.

“Moreover, investing in the poor world gives a high rate of return because inexpensive productivity improvements among poor producers would create considerable additional growth.”

(Ibid)

Core countries have been exercising their expansion programme in different ways. Wallerstein has explained this situation as,

“The modern world-system changed the rules of the game in two ways. In the first place, the operation of the rules of world-empires led to long-term geo-graphical expansion followed by geographical contraction.

¹⁵⁹ Martinussen, J. (1995). *Society, State and Market*. Copenhagen: Mellemløkeling Samvirke.

The rules of the capitalist world-economy (the expanded reproduction of capital) involved expansion but no contraction - periods of relative stagnation, yes; attempts of areas at tactical withdrawal, yes; but real contraction, no. Hence, by the late nineteenth century, the capitalist world-economy included virtually the whole inhabited earth, and it is presently striving to overcome the technological limits to cultivating the remaining corners: the deserts, the jungles, the seas, and indeed the other planets of the solar system.”

(1978)¹⁶⁰

While discussing about the origin and expansion of capitalist world economy Wallerstein says,

“As the capitalist world-economy expanded from its initial location primarily in Europe, as concentrations of core and peripheral production processes became more and more geographically disparate, "racial" categories began to crystallize around certain labels. It may be obvious that there are a large series of genetic traits that vary, and vary considerably, among different persons.

(1987)¹⁶¹

In another article he relates the capitalist mode of production which he calls civilization with the development of secularism. He says,

“When Western civilization sought to transform itself into civilization pure and simple by the Enlightenment trick of reifying capitalist values into secular universals, it was sure that not only God and history was on its side but that all rational men (by which was meant the elites throughout the system, including its periphery) would be on its side as well, at least eventually.”

(1978)¹⁶²

Wallerstein at another place explains the functioning of capitalist world-economy. He says,

“The functioning then of a capitalist world-economy requires that groups pursue their economic interests within a single world market while seeking to distort this market for their benefit by organizing to exert influence on states, some of which are far more powerful than others but none of which controls the world-market in its entirety. Of

¹⁶⁰ Wallerstein, I. (1978). Civilizations and Modes of Production: Conflicts and Convergences: *Theory and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1-10.

¹⁶¹ Wallerstein, I. (1987). The Construction of People hood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity: *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 373-388.

¹⁶² Wallerstein, I. (1978). Civilizations and Modes of Production: Conflicts and Convergences: *Theory and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1-10.

course, we shall find on closer inspection that there are periods where one state is relatively quite powerful and other periods where power is more diffuse and contested, permitting weaker states broader ranges of action.”

(1974)¹⁶³

According to Wallerstein in capitalist world-economy economic and political boundaries remain intact but a single division of labor immerges.

“The peculiarity of the capitalist world-economy is that the boundaries of the economic and political structures are different. While the world-economy is defined as a system having a single division of labor, in a capitalist world-system the political units are states, which however vary in degree of strength vis-h-vis other states (the weakest form being the colony, which has no formal sovereignty at all). This results in the following situation. While a group's social activities are in some ultimate sense determined by their role in the world-economy, the object of their political activity (to secure or transform their position in the social system) is primarily directed at the state of which they are a member ("citizen").”

(1973)¹⁶⁴

In another article he has further explained the concept of division of labour within the world economy. He says,

“The axial division of labor within the world-economy has engendered a spatial division of labor. We speak of a core-periphery antinomy as constitutive of this division of labor. Core and periphery strictly speaking are relational concepts that have to do with differential cost structures of production. The location of these different production processes in spatially-distant zones is not an inevitable and constant feature of the relationship. But it tends to be a normal one.”

(1987)¹⁶⁵

The author in another article has further explained the same concept. He has related division of labour with unequal exchange between the core, periphery and semi-periphery. He has also discussed its consequences. He says,

¹⁶³ Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 387-415.

¹⁶⁴ Wallerstein. I. (1973). Class and Class-Conflict in Contemporary Africa: *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 377.

¹⁶⁵ Wallerstein.I. (1987). The Construction of People hood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity: *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 373-388.

“A capitalist world-economy is based on a division of labor between its core, its semi-periphery, and its periphery in such a way that there is unequal exchange between the sectors but dependence of all the sectors, both economically and politically, on the continuance of this unequal exchange. One of the many consequences of this system is found in state-structure, the peripheral states being weakened and the core states strengthened by the ongoing process of exchange. A second of the consequences is that each sector develops different modes of labor control, consonant with the principle that highest relative wages are paid in the core sectors and lowest relative wages in the periphery. This is why at this moment in time there emerged in Eastern Europe the so-called (and misnamed) "second serfdom" and the encomienda system in Hispanic America. Both are forms of coerced cash-crop labor on estates producing for a capitalist world-market.”

(1980)¹⁶⁶

Karl Polanyi has also discussed about division of labour. He has related the concept with existence of market. He has also introduced the term ‘Economic Man’ as,

“Division of labor in society was dependent upon the existence of markets, or, as he put it, upon man's propensity to barter, truck, and exchange one thing for another.” This phrase was later to yield the concept of the Economic Man.”

(1944)¹⁶⁷

Wallerstein has highlighted the importance of trade in the world-economy which is based on the capitalist mode of production. He discusses about the transfer of surpluses and how it affect the structures of different countries and the role of local industrialist. He says,

“There are three visible differences. One, trade within the world-economy is trade in essentials, without which the world-economy could not continue to survive. It involves a significant transfer of surplus, given that a world-economy is based on a capitalist mode of production. It is trade that responds to the world-market of the world-economy. Second, trade within a capitalist world-economy weakens the state-structure of a peripheral country involved in it. Trade in external arenas does not weaken and probably strengthens the state-structures of the trading partners. Third, trade within a capitalist world-economy weakens the role of the indigenous commercial bourgeoisie

¹⁶⁶ Wallerstein, I. (1980). Africa in a Capitalist World. *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 10, No. 1/2, Tenth Anniversary Number, 21-31.

¹⁶⁷ Polanyi, K. (1944). Societies and Economic Systems. In G. Dalton (Ed.), (1968), *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies*. New York: Anchor Books.

in the periphery. Trade with an external arena strengthens the role of the indigenous bourgeoisie.”

(1980)¹⁶⁸

At another place he talks about the surpluses and how the distribution of surpluses affects the national economies. According to Wallenstein,

“Today surplus is still being extracted, possibly even the same amount. But the world-wide distribution of the surplus is different. And intermediate elements in the surplus-extraction chain gain at the expense of those at the core of the system. In present-day terms, this means among other things a shift in relative profit advantage to the semi-peripheral nations. In moments of world economic downturn, semi-peripheral countries can usually expand control of their home market at the expense of core producers, and expand their access to neighboring peripheral markets, against the expense of core producers.”

(1976)¹⁶⁹

The world economy has also given a new concept to the class system all over the world. According to Wallerstein,

“Although the origin of the concept of class, and even of such key terms as proletarians, is derived from an analysis of Roman society, the fond reference-point of so many eighteenth century and early nineteenth century thinkers, almost all of the concrete use of the terminology refers to capitalist systems. Indeed, it might be argued, although we shall not do it here, that the concept "class" is historically specific to the capitalist mode of social organization. It might further be argued, and this I have done elsewhere, that capitalism is to be located only in the form of world-system we have called a world-economy, and which has existed as a European system since about 1450, and as a global system since about 1815.”

(1973)¹⁷⁰

He further stated,

“Class is defined as relationship to the means of production, and hence position in the economic system which is a world-economy. On the other hand a class is a real actor only to the extent that it becomes class-conscious, which means to the extent that it is organized as a

¹⁶⁸ Wallerstein, I. (1980). Africa in a Capitalist World. *A Journal of Opinion, Vol. 10, No. 1/2, Tenth Anniversary Number*, 21-31.

¹⁶⁹ Wallerstein, I. (1976). Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis: *Theory and Society, Vol. 3, No. 4*, 461-483.

¹⁷⁰ Wallerstein, I. (1973). Class and Class-Conflict in Contemporary Africa: *Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 3*, 377.

political actor. But political actors are located primarily in particular national states.”

(ibid)

This stratification in a world economy is not very simple according to Wallerstein as there are different political systems all over the world. According to him the solution is to divide the world into three different strata.

“In a world-economy, such 'cultural' stratification is not so simple, because the absence of a single political system means the concentration of economic roles vertically rather than horizontally throughout the system. The solution then is to have three kinds of states, with pressures for cultural homogenization within each of them—thus, besides the upper stratum of core-states and the lower stratum of peripheral states, there is a middle stratum of semi-peripheral ones.”
(1974)¹⁷¹

The modes of production have gone through the stages of development as a result different economies emerged. Wallerstein says,

“We may take modes of disposition of agricultural production, and term them subsistence-cropping and cash-cropping. We may then see these as entities which are 'stages' of a development. We may talk about decisions of groups of peasants to shift from one to the other. We may describe other partial entities, such as states, as having within them two separate 'economies', each based on a different mode of disposition of agricultural production. If we take each of these successive steps, all of which are false steps, we will end up with the misleading concept of the 'dual economy' as have many liberal economists dealing with the so-called underdeveloped countries of the world. Still worse, we may reify a misreading of British history into a set of universal stages.”

(ibid)

Cardoso while explaining dependency theory says that this capitalism is different from the old colonialism. It has given the subordination a new shape. Now dependence and domination among the states have emerged. According to him,

“The social formation underlying situations of dependency is the product of the expansion of capitalism; it is distinguishable from the classical pattern to the extent that "slaveholding colonialism," or some

¹⁷¹ Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 387-415.

other form of colonial exploitation, is present as the basis of the articulation between dependent and dominant societies. On the other hand, after the passage from the colonial situation to situations of dependency of national states, it is observed that: (a) the passage implies the creation of states in answer to the interests of local property-owning classes; (b) these, however, have their structural situation defined within the larger framework of the international capitalist system and are thus connected and subordinated to the conquering bourgeoisies of the western world and to those classes which succeed them; in this way alliances are established within the country, even though in contradictory form, to unify external interests with those of the local dominant groups; and (c) as a consequence, the local dominated classes suffer a kind of double exploitation.”

(1977)¹⁷²

In the same article he has further stated,

“The studies sought to show the meaning of the industrialization of the periphery (and thus the formation of an internal market, since in Latin America this process did not involve the construction of mere export-manufacturing enclaves), under the control of what later came to be called "multinational corporations." The recognition of the effects of this process-the "new dependency"-was the point of departure for reflection on this theme. Today, this appears to constitute another banality. Nevertheless, in Latin America up to the end of the decade of the 1950s there was a deeply rooted conception that the international economic trusts were not interested in the industrialization of the periphery, since they exported finished goods there; their fundamental interest was the control and exploitation of primary agricultural and mineral products.”

(ibid)

Karl Polanyi defines market economy as an economy directed by market price, while in fact, is a self-regulating system to organize the whole of economic life.

“Market economy implies a self-regulating system of markets; in slightly more technical terms, it is an economy directed by market prices and nothing but market prices. Such a system capable of organizing the whole of economic life without outside help or interference would certainly deserve to be called self-regulating.”

(1944)¹⁷³

¹⁷² Cardoso, F. H. (1977). The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States. *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 7-24.

¹⁷³ Polanyi, K. (1944). Societies and Economic Systems. In G. Dalton (Ed.), (1968), *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies*. New York: Anchor Books.

Karl Polanyi, in another essay, says,

“The economic system and markets, taken separately, shows that never before our own time was markets more than accessories of economic life. As a rule, the economic system was absorbed in the social system, and whatever principle of behavior predominated in the economy, the presence of the market pattern was found to be compatible with it.”

(1944)¹⁷⁴

Polanyi is of the view that in market economy, people want to secure maximum money through mechanism of production and distribution. He says,

“A market economy is an economic system controlled, regulated, and directed by markets alone; order in the production and distribution of goods is entrusted to this self-regulating mechanism. An economy of this kind derives from the expectation that human beings behave in such a way as to achieve maximum money gains. It assumes markets in which the supply of goods (including services) available at a definite price will equal the demand at that price.”

(Ibid)

In the same article he has further discussed that in market economy lust for money increases and becomes an essential element in industrial societies having far reaching consequences. He says,

“A market economy can exist only in a market society. We reached this conclusion on general grounds in our analysis of the market pattern. A market economy must comprise all elements of industry, including labor, land, and money. In a market economy the lust also is an essential element of industrial life and its inclusion in the market mechanism has far-reaching institutional consequences.”

(Ibid)

Polanyi explains how the interdependent competitive markets are developed and how the profits could be enhanced under this system of market economy.

“The profits are ensured under such a system only if self-regulation is safeguarded through interdependent competitive markets. As the

¹⁷⁴ Polanyi, K. (1944). The Self-regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Labor, Land, and Money. In G. Dalton (Ed.), (1968), *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies*. New York: Anchor Books.

development of the factory system had been organized as part of a process of buying and selling, therefore labor, land, and money had to be transformed into commodities in order to keep production going.”

(Ibid)

The author is of the view that this industrialization and market economy has changed the lives of the people. They have become labourers and they are living mechanical lives. Human beings have become commodities and accessories of economic system. He says,

“Labor is the technical term used for human beings, insofar as they are not employers but employed; it follows that henceforth the organization of labor would change concurrently with the organization of the market system. But as the organization of labor is only another word for the forms of life of the common people, this means that the development of the market system would be accompanied by a change in the organization of society itself. All along the line, human society had become an accessory of the economic system.”

(Ibid)

George Dalton explains differences between the African and Western economy as,

“The absence of market exchange, as the dominant economic organization allows indigenous African production to take forms different from those in Western economy. These forms invariably entail social control of production by kinship, religion, and political organization. Therefore, change in primitive economic processes means inevitable change in social organization.”

(1967)¹⁷⁵

Dalton has made a comparison between African and Western market economy. While explaining African economy he discussed two characteristics, one is labour and natural resources and the other is labour and land utilization. He says,

“In tribal Africa, products are frequently marketed, but factors almost never. A distinguishing characteristic of such economies is that labor and natural resources have no separate "economic" organization:

¹⁷⁵ Dalton, G. (1967). “Traditional Production in Primitive African Economies”. In G. Dalton (Ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

factor movements and appropriations are expressions of social obligation, social affiliation, and social right. A second characteristic is that typically land utilization is organized differently from labor utilization. Unlike Western market economy each of the factor ingredients may enter production lines through different institutional channels, the channels being structured social relationships.”

(ibid)

He says that the work activities of traditional societies have been replaced by the producers of cash crops and commercial trader.

“Most frequently however, entering the newly created market economy as laborer, specialist producer of cash crops, or commercial trader buying for resale, has meant enlarged material income at the sacrifice of work activities which were necessary to traditional social organization, and so the latter deteriorated.”

(Ibid)

The same point was generalized by Karl Polanyi while saying,

“Primitive economy is "embedded" in society, in the sense that the economic system functions as a by-product of non-economic institutions: that economy as a cohesive entity, a separate set of practices and relationships apart from social organization, does not exist in primitive life.”

(1944)¹⁷⁶

Paul Bohannan while discussing African Subsistence Economy says,

“All economists learned as students that money serves at least three purposes. It is a means of exchange, it is a mode of payment, and it is a standard of value. In newer books, money is defined as merely the means of unitizing purchasing power, yet behind that definition still be the standard, the payment, and the exchange uses of money.”

(1967)¹⁷⁷

Paul Bohannan after explaining different purposes of money has talked about the traditional barter system in the same article. He says,

¹⁷⁶ Polanyi, K. (1944). Societies and Economic Systems. In G. Dalton (Ed.), (1968), *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies*. New York: Anchor Books.

¹⁷⁷ Bohannan, P. (1967). The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy. In George Dalton (Ed), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

“Traditionally, there was no money of any sort in this sphere—all goods changed hands by barter. There was a highly developed market organization at which people exchanged, their produce for their requirements, and in which today traders buy produce in cheap markets and transport it to sell in dearer markets.”

(Ibid)

George Dalton talks about the transactions in peripheral markets of primitive economies. He says,

“In primitive economies with peripheral markets only, small quantities of produce are sold in face-to-face transactions at market sites; but most people do not depend for livelihood on such sales, and the market-place prices do not affect the production decisions of subsistence producers. We shall include two other features as defining such subsistence economies: modern machine technology and applied science are not used in production processes; and traditional social organization and cultural practices remain in force.”

(1967)¹⁷⁸

George Dalton in another article says,

“Those aspects of primitive economy which are unrelated to market exchange can only be understood by employing socio-economic terms: ceremonial-prestige and subsistence goods; reciprocity and redistribution; spheres and conversions; limited purpose money. Such terms contain a social dimension and so allow us to relate economic matters to social organization, and to express the folk-view toward the items, services, persons, and situations involved. The economist dealing with monetary transactions in Western economy need not concern himself with personal roles and social situations because of the peculiarly impersonal nature of market exchange.”

(1967)¹⁷⁹

Pauline Mahar Kolenda has explained the Indian jajmani system as,

“The jajmani system is a system of distribution in Indian villages whereby high-caste landowning families called jajmans are provided services and products by various lower castes such as carpenters, potters, blacksmiths, water-carriers, sweepers, and laundrymen.”

(1967)¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Dalton, G. (1967). “The Development of Subsistence and Peasant Economies in Africa”. In G. Dalton (Ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

¹⁷⁹ Dalton, G. (1967). Primitive Money. In G. Dalton (Ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

¹⁸⁰ Kolenda, P. M. (1967). Toward a Model of the Hindu Jajmani System. In G. Dalton (Ed), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

The author has further explained the concept of jajmani system as a social institution,

“We may look at the jajmani system as an institution or social system within Indian villages made up of a network of roles and of norms integrated into the roles and into the system as a whole, and legitimized and supported by general cultural values.”

(Ibid)

2.2.1.6.1 EDUCATIONAL HEGEMONY

Some of the theorists like Frank, Arnove, Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson and Boli have analyzed the educational systems in core and periphery in light of world system theory. Frank has discussed the role of education in the development of human resource which is a very important factor in the capitalist economy. While talking about investment in the human factor he draws a comparison between Europe and United States. He says in spite of the fact that Europe was technologically advanced but the economic growth and productivity was greater in USA because of migration of skilled workers from different countries to United States.

“But migration of educated and trained workers to the United States--and, not unlike the rural-urban migrations referred to earlier, educated and trained by Europe at that--can, and I believe does, account for such a difference. While evidence about the relative importance of other factors is less readily at hand for Commonwealth countries, they do exhibit the same pattern of increases of human capital correlated with output growth. Thus, we have another piece of evidence in support of the suggestion that in-creases of human capital play a, if not the, major role in economic growth.”

(1960)¹⁸¹

Meyer along with Ramirez, Rubinson and Boli has related the economic development with educational growth as it provides labour to the industry. He says,

“Many theories assert that economic development increases educational growth through both individual and aggregate

¹⁸¹ Frank, A. G. (1960). Human Capital and Economic Growth. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 170-173.

mechanisms. At the individual level, many theories argue that in more industrialized countries labor markets are more thoroughly organized around educational credentials, education becomes more of a human capital investment, and the traditional criteria of status and prestige become less important than in non-industrialized countries.” (1977)¹⁸²

He further stated,

“Advanced industrial economies require higher skill levels in the labor force; and they also have more resources to allocate to education both as an investment and as a consumption good.” (ibid)

In the same article he has pointed out relationship of bureaucratic organization and the university education.

“The spread of bureaucratic organization increases the number of positions in society which are governed by universalistic criteria of personnel selection.” (ibid)

Meyer along with Rubinson in another article has highlighted the role of education in the economy of modern societies. He says,

“Modern societies are built upon educational credentials: the place people occupy in society depends not only on what they have learned and can do, but upon their possession of appropriate certificates. A person's education is taken into account in determining his opportunities for participation in the economy, the civil service, voluntary organizations, and every aspect of political organization.” (1975)¹⁸³

He further stated,

“The world system also affects education directly. It has created direct pressures within all states for economic development, and this development is defined and structured by the particular characteristics

¹⁸² Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., Rubinson, R. & Boli-Bennett, J. (1977). The World Educational Revolution, 1950-1970. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 242-258.

¹⁸³ Meyer, J. W. & Rubinson, R. (1975). Education and Political Development. *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 3, 134-162.

of the world culture and economy. World scientific culture, for example, has provided strong support for educational expansion. Traditions have become institutionalized in economics around the themes of education as a social investment producing valuable economic returns, and educational or manpower planning as a central ingredient of economic development.”

(ibid)

According to Meyer et al social as well as political modernization has increased educational growth. He says,

“Modern representative polities require high levels of citizen participation and political efficacy. Such political systems, then, expand mass educational systems to create participatory citizens.”

(1977)¹⁸⁴

In the same article he has further elaborated the relationship of political authority and education.

“Powerful and authoritative states expand education. The process of the expansion and consolidation of political authority prompts educational expansion because it requires the creation of a national political culture and ideology, and the creation of national citizenship. Education is a mechanism for producing both of these changes.”

(ibid)

According to Meyer education expands slowly in the countries where ethnic pluralism exists. He says,

“Analysts generally assume that state-formation, and the educational expansion it prompts are more costly and conflict-laden in an ethnically heterogeneous society. One empirical study finds that education reduces such pluralism, but that pluralism reduces the expansion of education.”

(ibid)

¹⁸⁴ Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., Rubinson, R. & Boli-Bennett, J. (1977). The World Educational Revolution, 1950-1970. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 242-258.

Same situation also prevails in the dependent countries where the educational remains slow. According to Meyer,

“Dependent societies expand education more slowly. Some dependency theories argue that national integration, and consequently its effects on educational expansion, are hampered by colonial or peripheral status in the world system. This relationship arises from the fact that elites in such societies derive their power from their links to metropolitan centers and not from their success in integrating their populations into a national culture.”

(ibid)

Arnove has pointed out the intervention of core countries in periphery in the field of education through donor agencies to implement their agenda. He says,

“The programs and projects funded by the international network of donor agencies, in effect, establish an agenda for educational activities. Priorities defined by the funding agencies determine where national funds will be committed for long periods.”

(1980)¹⁸⁵

According to him the educational reforms imposed by the core countries in periphery are also designed to reach the marginal population. He stated,

“These educational reforms and movements not only connect the peripheral areas of Third World countries to their national, urban centers; they also involve nonconventional, technologically sophisticated ways of reaching, credentialing, and sorting out marginal populations on the basis of different types and amounts of education.”

(ibid)

While discussing about the uneven development in different regions of the world through education Arnove has quoted Hall who sees education as a business and knowledge as a commodity,

“Hall notes that production of knowledge has become big business, and knowledge itself has become a commodity which is exchanged

¹⁸⁵ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

and shaped by material social relations. For Hall, two characteristics of commodity and knowledge production in a world capitalist system are the facilitation of capitalist penetration and uneven development. He cites the heavy reliance of African universities on foreign texts in the social sciences produced in the United States, Britain, and France to illustrate the point of uneven development of knowledge production. Cultural dependency parallels economic subordination of peripheral countries to metropolitan centers.”

(ibid)

He has further elaborated the exploitation of periphery by the core through production and transfer of knowledge. He stated,

“Third World countries not only import cultural commodities from the metropolitan centers, they also export cultural goods in the form of scientific knowledge and talent (i.e., the widely discussed brain drain of high-level manpower which migrates to North America and Western Europe). The transfer of knowledge from south to north parallels that of material goods, in that the exchange is unequal. The underdeveloped countries, whether they are extracting valuable mineral resources for export or are generating data, do not benefit from the goods produced to the same extent that the metropolitan centers do.”

(ibid)

2.2.1.6.2 BIOMEDICAL HEGEMONY

Some of the medical anthropologists like Morgan, Baer, Elling, Onoge, Morsy and Singer tried to develop a relationship between political economy and medical anthropology. They have pointed out some harmful effects of development of capitalism on health care systems in peripheral regions. Morgan emphasized the need to study the health care systems what he calls political economy of health under the theoretical paradigms of dependency/world system theory. He says,

“The political economy of health literature has also borrowed the notion from dependency theory that medical imperialism occurs through the same channels as capitalist expansion, because it (a) extracts capital from Third World countries in the form of trained health workers who migrate to developed countries as part of the brain drain; (b) contributes to the maintenance of inexpensive labor employed in capitalist industries; (c) creates new markets for drugs, pesticides,

medical apparatus, and technical assistance; (d) reinforces the class relations of developed nations through the medical division of labor; and (e) provides covers for counterinsurgency and other military efforts.”

(1987)¹⁸⁶

After borrowing some ideas from Elling in the same article he has stated,

“Drawing on the precepts of dialectical materialism, political economists of all persuasions notes that both medicine and capitalism are rife with and propelled by contradictions. The major contradiction of the capitalist system with respect to health is that the goal of attaining profits is not always congruent with the goal of maintaining health. The drive to maximize profit means that workers must be paid the lowest possible wages and given the fewest possible benefits, which in turn means they are less able to purchase commodities and services that promote health, such as food, adequate housing, and education. Yet a healthy worker is a productive worker, and in the absence of a large reserve labor pool, capitalist enterprises cannot risk lowered productivity through excessive sickness or high attrition. In addition, the need to maximize profits implies both that working conditions may not be as safe as is technically possible and that hazardous industrial by-products may pollute the environment.

(ibid)

Baer has pointed out that through capitalist world-system core countries are gaining material benefits out of biomedical systems at the expense of peripheral countries. He says,

“While the emergence of a capitalist world-system has ensured plentiful food resources (including nutritionally questionable ones), modern sanitation, and biomedicine for some, these material benefits were often obtained at the expense of the masses of people in the Third World and sub-proletariats in the First World.”

(1996)¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Morgan L. M. (1987). Dependency Theory in the Political Economy of Health: An Anthropological Critique. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 2*, 131-154.

¹⁸⁷ Baer, H. A. (1996). Towards a Political Ecology of Health in Medical Anthropology: *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, New Series, Vol. 10, No. 4*, 451-454.

Elling has pointed out that the core countries are extracting the surpluses from the peripheral and semi-peripheral countries through international agencies in their own benefit. Elling says,

“World-systems theory should be used to clarify this. Core capitalist nations, through the agency of increasingly mammoth meta-national corporations, act as veritable vacuum cleaners sucking out the surplus produced by the working and peasant classes in the peripheral and semi-peripheral nations, so as to yield the more favorable life conditions of the core nations. In the other direction, from core to periphery, inappropriate high-technology care and drugs are marketed, along with artificial baby food, in countries lacking basic food supply and sanitation for the masses. These and other untoward health effects of the capitalist political economic world-system were documented more than a decade ago. They go on unabated today.”

(1994)¹⁸⁸

He further stated,

“An evolving world-system with core capitalist, semi-peripheral, peripheral, and semi-independent socialist-oriented nation states interrelated through international finance and production mechanisms, the market, and a worldwide cultural hegemony, backed up by covert as well as overt military force. While state and international mechanisms such as the IMF are important, perhaps the most important vehicles for worldwide capital allocation and accumulation are the increasingly mammoth multi- or meta-national finance, industrial, and agribusiness corporations, including pharmaceutical and other health-related firms.”

(ibid)

Gallagher has explained the relationship between the modernization and health services in Third World countries. He says,

“Much of the health services increase in the Third World consists of bringing, for the first time in a given society or region, health services that are well established in the industrialized societies: the use of pharmaceuticals, prenatal and childbirth service, and, at a higher level of technology and sophistication, surgery and other hospital-based

¹⁸⁸ Elling, R. H. (1994). Theory and Method for the Cross-National Study of Health Systems: Section on International Comparisons of Health Policy. *International Journal of Health Services: Volume 24, Number 2*, 285–309.

services. This extension has its counterpart in impoverished, underserved areas of the industrialized societies -- their own "Third World enclaves"-- when health services become more widely available to persons who previously lacked geographic or economic access, or where they are provided on a more refined, intensive basis, as, for example, when a specialist physician performs a certain procedure that had commonly been performed by non-specialists previously. Health care is introduced into Third World societies within the value context of modernization. This means that it is sought and appreciated not only for the specific tangible benefits it offers but because of its association with, and representation of, the complex of meanings linked with modernity.

(1988)¹⁸⁹

While talking about health facilities in peripheral countries he says,

“Not infrequently, medical care provided at the periphery is substandard. Pharmaceuticals are improperly stored and prescribed, equipment is poorly maintained, and personnel maintain irregular clinic hours.”

(ibid)

¹⁸⁹ Gallagher, E. B. (1988). Modernization and Medical Care: *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 59-87.

Chapter 3

AREA PROFILE

The present study was conducted in Zandra village situated in District Ziarat, in the Province of Baluchistan, Pakistan. The Baluchistan Province shares its northern border of 1157 kilometres with Afghanistan with major cities of Chagai, Quetta and Zhob. The western border which is 832 km is shared with Iran via districts Makran and Kharan. The eastern end is bounded by the Sind province, whereas the Arabian Sea lies on its south with a coastline of 753 km.

3.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF BALUCHISTAN PROVINCE

Baluchistan is predominantly a mountainous region. It also has some plains and valleys. Amongst the notable mountain ranges of Baluchistan is the Brahuik range. The soil of Sarawan, Jhalawan and Las of Kalat valleys in this Brahuik range is light and rather sandy. However, the soil is still suitable for agriculture and can become highly productive if ample water resources are available for irrigation.

The mountains in Baluchistan are dry for major part of the year. However, the north-eastern hills bear thorny plants, wild flowers and grass during the spring season. At altitudes of around 5,000 feet, the Ephedrine herb is found in abundance. This herb is a valuable item for the pharmaceutical and chemical industries and is exported to the extent of about 1,000 tons annually.

The forests of Baluchistan have an area of 2,200 sq. miles with Juniper being the most common tree type. Juniper wood provides fuel for most parts of this province. Rain water is the main source for irrigation of cultivated land. However, with an annual rainfall of only 3 to 12 inches, the water becomes a valuable asset. The rain water is thus stored in manmade dams on all small and big water channels throughout the province.

The agricultural land in Baluchistan is of three kinds arid zoon (*Khushkaba*), flood zoon (*Sailaba*) and normal. The arid land is one where water source is

either rain or snowfall. In the flood zoon land gets water from flooding of rivers during monsoon season, whereas the regular land has a perennial supply of water through permanent irrigation system.

There are two harvests in a year, namely *rabi* (spring harvest) and *kharif* (autumn harvest). Wheat is the most important crop of spring harvest, whereas corn, millet and maize are the major crops of autumn harvest. The highlands of Baluchistan are well known for quality grapes, apples, pomegranates, pears, apricots and almonds, whereas the plains which have a harvest area of 1,200 acres produce limes, mangoes, and guava.

3.2 DISTRICT ZIARAT

Ziarat District was officially established in 1986. Ziarat consists of 94 villages and it derives its name from the Ziarat (shrine) of Baba Kharwari; an 18th century highly esteemed saint of this area. This shrine is located about 9 km south of the Ziarat town. The Ziarat district is bordered by, city Pishin on the north, Loralai and Killa Saifullah cities on the south, Sibi district on the east and Quetta on the west.

The area which now belongs to the Ziarat district became a part of British India in 1887. The land was actually purchased two years earlier in 1885 by the British Government from the Sarangzai tribe against a meagre payment of old Indian Rupees 1.4 Million. Ziarat maintained its stature as the summer headquarters of District Chutiali (Duki and Sajavi Sub Division) till 1903. With the creation of Sibi District in 1903, the area of Ziarat became a part of this district and continued functioning as the summer headquarters for Sibi District till 1974. Most of the important government offices of Baluchistan such as Political Agent to the Governor Generals office, Revenue Commissioners office, and the Colonization office used to function from Ziarat during summers. In 1947 Sibi was awarded the status of division with Ziarat as its Sub-Tehsil. Most of the divisional offices also shifted to Ziarat during the summers. (Source: record of Tehsil office)

3.2.1 Significance of Ziarat District

The founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spent his last days at Ziarat Residency which has now become a National Monument. This monument is a majestic piece of architecture; however, the general public of Pakistan visits it primarily for its association with the Quaid. In fact the people believe that the Quaid died here in Ziarat; contrary to the official reports that he expired in Karachi on 11th September, 1948.

3.2.2 Topography

District Ziarat comprises mostly of mountains with a few notable valleys such as Kach, Kawas, Ziarat, Zandra, Mangi, Mana, & Gogi Ahmadoon; the altitude of these valleys range from 1,800-3,488 meters. (Source: record of Tehsil office)

The soil of the District Ziarat has a varying proportion of clay and shingle; changing from rich loamy soil near riverbanks to stony near highlands. In most parts of the valleys, the fields are in terraces with their periphery carefully riveted with stones. Spurs of timber and rush wood are used to keep hill torrents within bounds during regular seasons and to divert water rush to the fields during rainy seasons. The fertile mud brought by the hill torrents is highly beneficial for the cultivation of valuable crops.

3.2.3 Demography

The area which now forms district Ziarat had a population of 32,000 in 1981, whereas the National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) Islamabad projected this figure to be around 52,000 by the year 1995. However, an estimate put forward by the Union Council of district Ziarat showed that the population in 1996 was around 110,000, twice more than the projected figure. Though the authenticity of the data provided by Union Councils office cannot be verified, the common consensus is that the figure projected by NIPS was too low.

3.3 LOCALE OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted in Zandra Village which is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta in the Ziarat district and just 12 km short of Ziarat town. The village is 8,000 ft. above sea level and is surrounded by grey hills, apple orchards and Juniper forest, which is considered to be the 2nd largest in the world. Thus, the area is greener than other areas of the Baluchistan province. Notable villages nearby are China, Pachi and Patow. It is said that the name Zandra was derived from Zarind, means water operated flour mill.

3.3.1 Climate

The area has a pleasant summer which lasts from May to August. The weather starts getting cold during the month of September. In January the temperature decreases to -16 degrees Celsius. The annual rainfall in this area is 20.6 mm with most of the rain falling near the end of summer (July-August) and at the start of winter (November-December).

3.3.2 Land of the Village

According to 1998 survey the village has 1,229 acres of land. Out of this about 367 acres are under cultivation mostly consisting of apple, cherry, peach apricot and almond orchards. About 260 acres of orchard land is known as *abi* land irrigated by *karez* (underground water canals) or by tube-wells. The remaining 107 acres of cultivated land is called *kuskaba* (arid zone) which is *barani* (irrigated by rainwater).

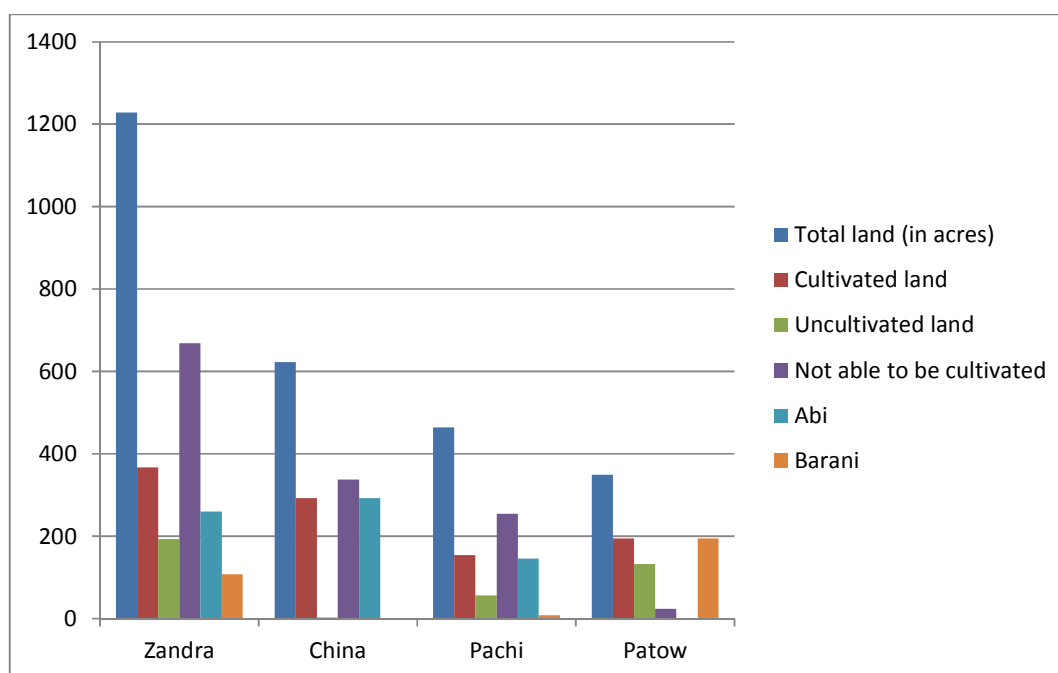
The land of *Zandra* village and its surrounding area can be divided into three categories; Flood land, plain land and stony land. Flood land lies near mountains with alluvial soil coming along the stream water from mountains. Most of this land is used for orchards. Plain Land is prepared by the natives by layering dams' mud on stony surface of the village. This practice was started in 1915 by a local farmer called Haji Paijo Khan; commonly known as the founder of apple economy of this region. The remaining part of the land is categorised as the Stony land which is weak and barren; not suitable for cultivation.

Table 1: Land of Moza¹⁹⁰

Village (mahal)	Total land (in acres)	Cultivated land	Uncultivated land	Not able to be cultivated	<i>Abi</i>	<i>Barani</i>
Zandra	1229	367	193	669	260	107
China	623	293	3	337	293	-
Pachi	464	154	56	254	146	8
Patow	349	194	132	23	---	194
Total	2675	1008	384	1283	699	309

(Source: 1998 census)

Figure 1: Land of Moza



3.3.3 Ethnicity

Majority of the population of this area is Pashtoon (Pashto speaking people) however; their origin is Afghanistan, not North Western Frontier Province (NWFP). The language spoken in this area is also a local dialect of Pashto.

About 400 years ago the area was dominated by Tarans a sub-tribe of Syeds (people who trace their descent through Holy Prophet). This was the time when Deotanis (A tribe among Pashtoons) of Toi, Gomal and Wana villages

¹⁹⁰ Moza comprises of 4 villages i.e. Zandra, China, Pachi, Patow

of Waziristan started migrating to this area. The influx was from Toi, Gomal and Wana villages of Waziristan. The first Deotani to come to Zandra was Atta Mohammad. He later married the daughter of his teacher Pir Syed Maina Shadi and settled here.

The people at that time were living a semi-nomadic life with their only occupation being herding. The times were tough and weather harsh; causing the people to migrate from low lying to high altitude areas in search of moderate temperatures and grasslands. Later, some of them shifted to agriculture. Now majority of the people in the village is horticulturist. Almost everybody who has a piece of land has an apple orchard. Other than apple they also plant cherry, apricot, peaches and almond etc.

By the start of the 20th century this major change in the occupation from herding to cultivation was brought by Hajo Payo Khan. Initially called a mad man for his insane ideas of cultivating fruits in barren lands, he soon became popular when his first apple orchard resulted in a massive profit. Taking lead from him, other people started following his example and soon the areas major profession changed from herding to cultivation of apple orchards. In the years to follow the area and its residents thrived on fruit farming with Haji Payo Khan now known as the founder of apple economy.

One thing is very clear from the history of this area; the gradual shift of profession from herding to farming changed the lifestyle of the natives. From leading a nomadic life they transformed into wealthy horticulturists, no longer requiring migrating from place to place in search of resources.

3.3.4 Demography of the Village

According to a census carried out in 1986-87, the population of Zandra village which consisted of 120 houses was 2,734. However, according to the survey conducted by the researcher in 2007 the total population had only increased marginally to 3,234 consisting of 295 houses.

Table 2: Population of the village:

Sr.	Lineage	In 1981			In 2007		
		POP	HH	AVG	POP	HH	AVG
1	Gull Mohammad Khel	787	34	23.14	854	78	10.94
2	Janak Khel	766	32	23.93	806	69	11.68
3	Parakh Khel	523	25	20.92	752	73	10.30
4	Hussan Khel	317	14	22.64	305	30	10.16
5	Anna Khel	203	8	25.37	191	19	10.05
6	Tarans	118	6	19.66	62	5	12.40
7	Dautanies	20	1	20.00	0	0	-
8	Akhtairzai	0	0	-	210	17	12.35
9	Notaizai	0	0	-	54	4	13.50
	TOTAL	2734	120		3234	295	

(Source: Census reports 1981 and field data)

POP: Population

HH: Households

AVG: average number of people in each household

Figure 2: Population of the village in 1981 and 2007

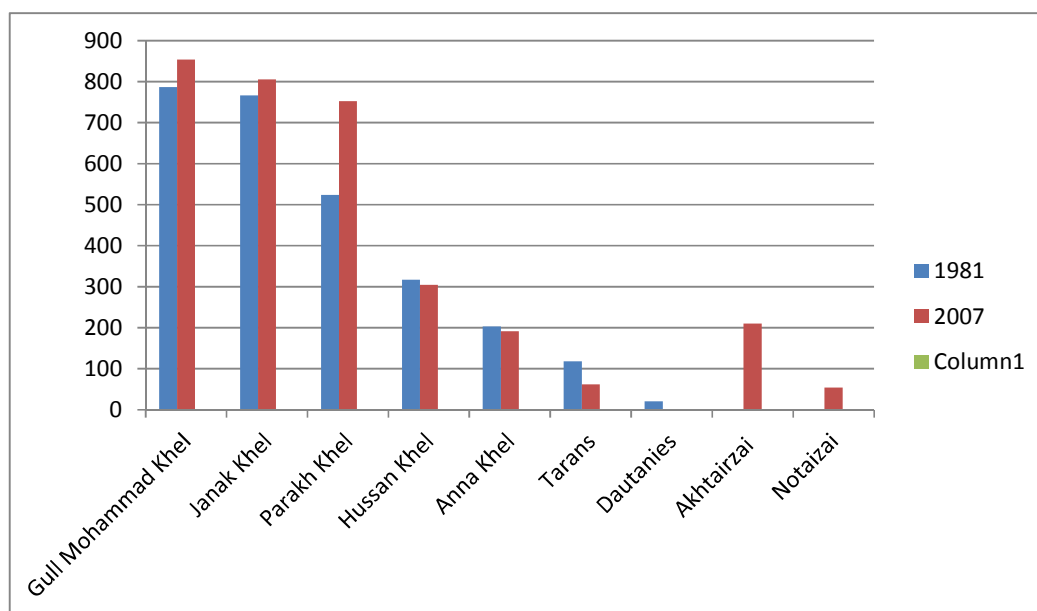


Figure 3: Number of Households in the village in 1981 and 2007

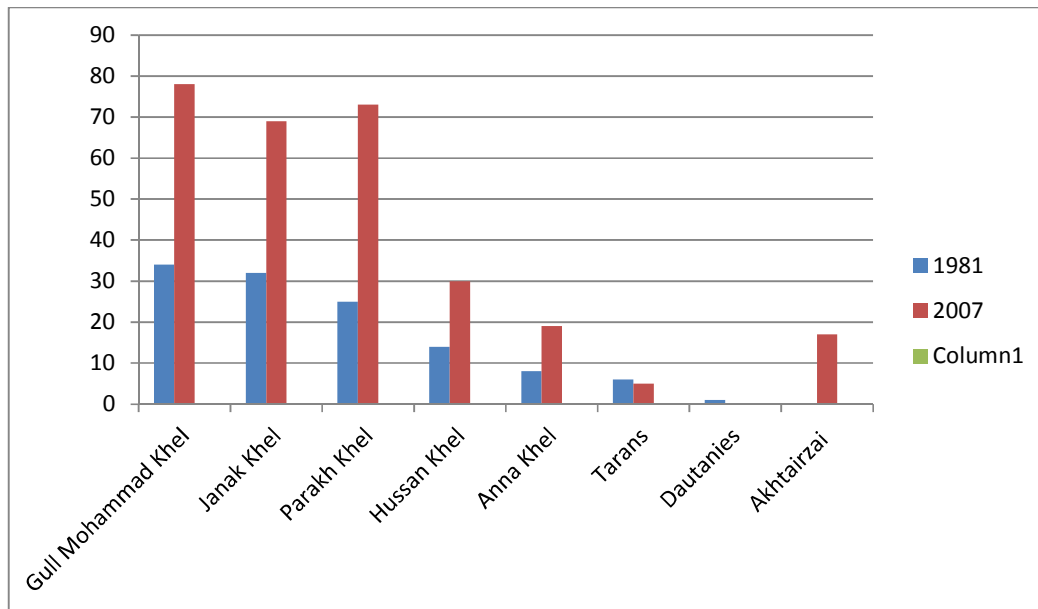
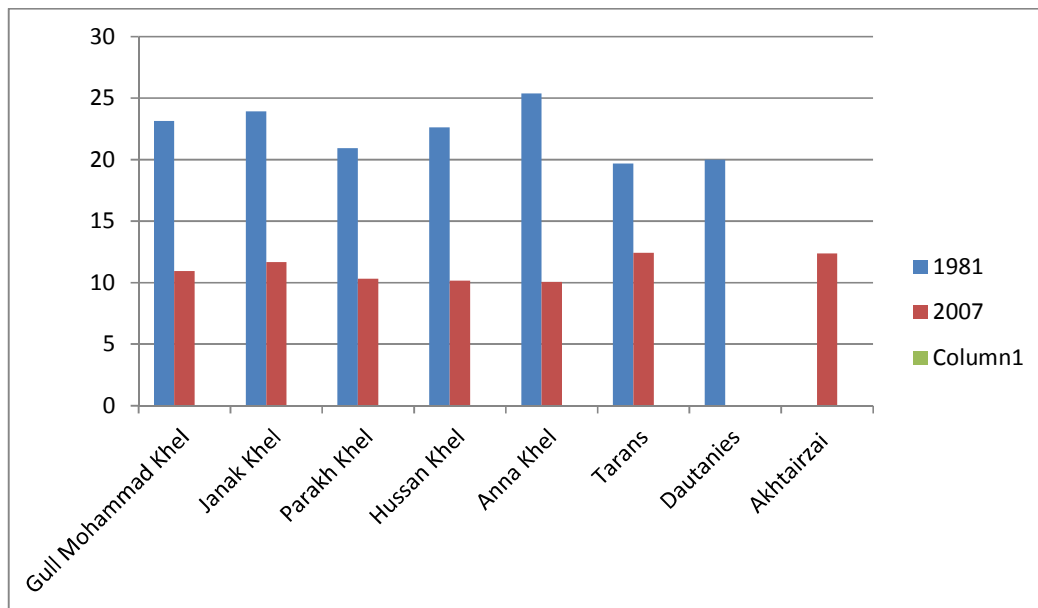


Figure 4: Average Number of People in each House in 1981 and 2007



3.3.5 Settlement Patterns

The local lifestyles vary according to the topographic characteristics of the area. In the highlands the settlements are small and scattered with the houses built near the farmlands. On the other hand in the valleys both small and big conglomerates of houses are built depending on the size of the plain tract.

Most of the big villages are located at lower attitudes along the Quetta-Ziarat road; areas such as Kach and Kawas.

Joint family system exists in most of the houses of this area. To cater for big families big houses (*havelis*) are generally made of square shapes with four walls comprising of many rooms. The number of occupants of such big houses varies from 60 to 70. Sometimes, several houses are made in a single enclosure with a sharing main entrance.

3.3.6 Structure of Houses

Two to three decades ago the people of this village used to live in *kacha* (made up of mud) houses with only a few of the high class of the society living in *paka* (made up of bricks) houses. The average family had 5 to 8 rooms in their houses, aligned in a row with small windows opening in the veranda (an open courtyard). For this purpose the houses had huge courtyards with the guest room situated near the main entrance. Across the courtyard there would be a place for animals (*kherkhoona*) and a small garage for the tractor. The houses were modest with no availability of a proper sewerage system; toilets were generally made outside the house with only a single bathroom inside the main structure of the house.

The new construction on the other hand is quite different. The bedrooms are now interconnected; toilets with flush system are made near bedrooms, but not attached. The guestroom is no longer near the main entrance but close to other bedrooms. However, it still has a separate entrance. The modern houses are smaller in size as family structure is fast changing from joint to nuclear; the courtyards are becoming smaller and the number of bedrooms decreasing. At present there are now about a 100 houses which have modern toilet systems.

Walls were generally built by mud and the roofs with trunk and branches of trees covered with plastic sheet and mud. In modern construction the roofs are made up of a thin corrugated iron sheets laid at an angle to the ground. This generally helps in avoiding snow from building up on the rooftops.

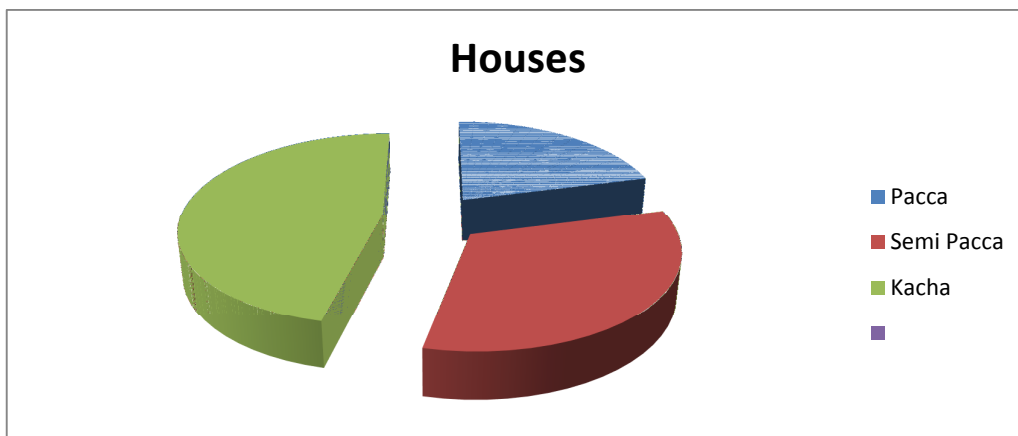
However, during windy seasons there is always the risk of the roof being blown away by strong gusts, this type of construction limits the houses to a single story building.

People used to sit on floor using cheap rugs with cushions. During winter the bedrooms were kept warm by a wood stove installed in the centre of the room, whereas for summers, the bedrooms had windows which acted as natural ventilators. On the other hand the modern houses have gas heaters and a full set of furniture (beds, tables, chairs etc.).

Table 3: Households with different types of structures

Sr.	House Type	Number	Percentage
1	<i>Pacca</i>	62	21.01%
2	<i>Semi Pacca</i>	96	32.54%
3	<i>Kacha</i>	137	46.45%
	Total	295	100%

Figure 5: Households with different types of structures



In 1970s *karez* (underground water channel) was the only source of water for domestic use. The people living by the side of its drain used to extend their outer wall over it so that they could take water by keeping themselves inside the house. In 1980s people started making small wells (*bowaries*) in their houses for the water of daily use. Now the government has provided water connections to every household with the help of tube wells. Importance of

karez in their daily life has deteriorated because of this supply and the wells are almost out of use.

Karez played an important role in formation of household and to keep them united. They live together until they share water and land and when they distribute it they become separate. So the extended family breaks into nuclear family.

3.3.7 Religion

All the inhabitants of the village are Muslims belong to Sunni sect, which is further divided into two sub-sects i.e. Ehl-e Sunnat-wal-Jamaat and Ehl-e-Hadith. Majority of them are Ehl-e Sunnat-wal-Jamaat. Their mosques are not separate. Majority of them are very particular about their prayers and fasts. They celebrate all religious festivals with fervour. Women strictly observe *purdah*, and normally stay inside the house. Majority of the men keep beards. Most of the young boys and girls attend mosques to learn the Holy Quran.

They have a firm belief in fate (*naseeb or qismat*), which according to them is written by God at the birth of an individual and no one can alter it. A 60 years old respondent narrated that all the incidents which occur in one's life are written by God at the time of one's birth. They also have belief in supernatural beings, shrines, amulet (*taveez*), possession, evil eye, *pir* (spiritual leader) etc. These beliefs are very much important in the life of the natives as they treat several illnesses through these beliefs. These beliefs are deeply ingrained in the individual's life through his cultural training offering a pattern of social control, enabling the individual to cope with the unknown and uncontrollable phenomena.

3.3.8 Mosques and Madrasa

There are two mosques, two mosque madrasas and one central madrasa for Quranic education called Madrasa-e-Tajweed-ul-Quran. One mosque is in the centre of the village whereas the other is at a far off distance at the borders of the village. Religious education, both for boys and girls is given great

importance in the village. The parents who do not send their daughters to school ensure that they attend madrasa regularly. When the girls grow up and reach up the age of 10 to 12 years, their parents normally withdraw them from madrasa. Some of them start sending them to cleric's wife for further learning.

These religious educational institutions have their own syllabus. Boys learn the Quran and memorize by heart in madrasas. The madrasa runs on the charity by the villagers. Majority of the students reside in the madrasa and are allowed to go home, only on weekends.

3.3.9 Shrines

There are 2 Shrines in the village; Shrine of Baba Kharwari and Shrine of Mian Shadi. The people often visit these shrines and also pay homage to them.

3.3.9.1 Shrine of Pir Baba Kharwari: The shrine of Baba Kharwari whose real name was Mula Tahir is one of the most well-known places in the district. Baba Kharwari rendered great services to the cause of Islam in the early 18th century. His shrine is situated about 9 km from the town of Ziarat and has an area of 6 acres. The shrine consists of a mosque, a *langer* (free food served at shrines), and a place of worship. A large number of people who visit Ziarat go to the shrine to offer *fateha* (prayer for the saint).

3.3.9.2 Shrine of Pir Syed Mian Shadi: The shrine of Pir Syed Mian Shadi is situated in the village. Pir Syed Mian Shadi was the local spiritual leader of this area who lived approximately 400 years ago. He belonged to the sub-tribe Tarans of the Syeds tribe.

The people of this village believe in the powers of shrines and offer vows for the fulfillment of their desires. Shrines fulfill variety of needs of the community and the followers, including social, economic, political, educational, cultural and religious needs. Various festivals and ceremonies of religious and spiritual significance take place at shrines. Social interaction increases when *urs* (annual religious festival) is held. Many individuals and families earn their

livings by performing different duties during the festivals. Health seeking is one of the most important functions of shrines. The shrines are like faith healing centers where the followers are getting satisfactory results.

3.3.10 Sarai (communal co-operation)

The natives used to work for each other in the fields in harvesting season on reciprocal basis where they performed activities like digging the orchard, leveling the land, plucking and packing the fruit. They also helped each other while fetching firewood from the forest on donkeys, at the occasions of marriages and funerals etc. This tradition of communal co-operation was called as *sarai*. Nothing was paid in cash or kind for doing the work. Only lunch was served by the host. At marriages and funerals financial support was also provided to concerned people.

This tradition was very strong in Zandra till 1970s. But now it is very rare as the people have started using machines and the paid labour in the fields during harvesting season. They do not have to fetch firewood from the forest as the government has provided gas connections to the households. As far as the marriages are concerned this co-operation has been limited to provision of space for holding the feast only, which is given by the bridegroom's parents to the whole village. Financial assistance is only provided to the needy if there is any, by the community and that too only on the occasion of a wedding or a funeral. The main reason for the deterioration in communal co-operation is improved economic conditions of the people due to fruit production and technological advancement in the field of horticulture/agriculture.

3.3.11 Languages and Dress Patterns

Pashto is the language which villagers speak. This is the traditional language spoken since the time of their forefathers. However, the dialect is somewhat different from that of native Pashto spoken in NWFP. The local variant originates from kakar, a person who migrated a long time ago from Kandhar district of Afghanistan. Urdu being the national language is also understood by the majority. In fact Urdu is quite common amongst school going children.

Male Pashtoons wear shalwar kameez (Pakistani national dress) with a Balochi cap which is generally wrapped within a turban. The summer clothes are made up of simple cotton, whereas in winter woollen clothes are preferred with a waistcoat, woollen shawl or sweater. Women on the other hand generally wear ladies' shalwar kameez and a veil, especially when they are travelling. For functions and occasions women prefer silky clothes. Handmade Peshaweri and Balochi Chaple (footwear) are common, though they are fast becoming extinct owing to the factory made shoes. Handmade sweaters have also been replaced by the machine made. Among the males readymade garments (shalwar kameez) are becoming popular.

3.3.12 Food Habits

People who do manual labour prefer simple yet heavy meals. There are 3 meals a day; Breakfast, lunch and dinner. The breakfast consists of tea (with milk) and simple bread/chapatti. Some of the upper class people however, take fried bread/chapatti (*paratha*) with yogurt and butter for breakfast. Potatoes, pulses and red meat are the main ingredients for the lunch and dinner. Generally poor people don't eat much of the red meat as it is quite expensive compared to the vegetables and pulses. Rice is not a normal or frequent part of their diet. During summers *lasi* (drinkable by-product of yogurt) is taken to quench the thirst. However, it is now becoming a luxury as milk and its by-products are becoming expensive day by day. Children generally drink milk and take the same food as their parents. Food is always freshly prepared and the families normally eat together, sitting on a mat or a blanket spread on the floor. Evening tea is not common among the people, though some have it.

On occasions such as marriages and deaths the people belonging to lower and middle class also cook beef and mutton with rice. Such occasions are marked with great feasts which cost them dearly; sometimes even loans have to be taken. However, spending money on such occasional banquets is matter of pride and honour for the people.

The trend of fast food is becoming popular among the younger generation. Though there is no fast food restaurant in the village but a small stall by the roadside selling burgers. The teenagers are found of visiting fast food restaurant. Whenever they go to Quetta they try to avail the opportunity.

3.3.13 Landhi (dried meat)

Landhi is dried sheep meat, taken only in winter to provide extra energy. Preparing *landhi* meat is a complex process. A healthy sheep is reared up on a special diet of grass, wheat flour, dry bread, wheat, maize and garlic for at least 6-9 months. During the month of November the sheep is slaughtered. The hair of the slaughtered animal is handpicked until the skin comes loose. An iron rod is then pierced through the body of the animal and it is slow roasted about 2-3 feet away above the bonfire. Special soft wood is used for the bonfire. When all the remaining hair has burnt off, the skin is completely taken off the body and is cleaned by washing. It is then cut into small pieces. Red salt and pepper are spread all over it. Then it is hung for a month to dry away from direct sunlight in natural ventilation. Once it is dried, it is packed in wooden boxes along with sacks. The entire process of preparing *landhi* has to finish before the end of December as from January onwards the delicacy will have to be enjoyed.

3.3.14 Sale of Property

In Zandra property is generally inherited from the forefathers, hence sale of property is considered to be a bad and shameful act; thus, the real estate deal is a very rare sight in the village. Generally if someone sells his or her property then it is mainly either to cater for the expenses of a marriage banquet or to rebuilt the house. Sale of property for business purposes is highly unlikely but still a possibility.

3.3.15 Carpet Weaving Centre

The village has a small hand weaving carpet centre where children under the age of 10 years work under the supervision of two supervisors cum instructors. At present there are 36 boys working on nine *Khuddies* (hand

looms). They follow different pattern printed on paper while making carpets. The people do not send their daughters for carpet weaving.

3.4 LOCAL PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The current discourse deals with the perception of "Development" in local terms. The main focus will be on emic perception of development among households of various ethnic groups with different socio-economic status. The class segregation totally depends on the local perception of hierarchy in the Zandra village. The highest status is that of landlords. Middle class people either own small pieces of land or work for the local government whereas the lowest class is that of migrated Afghans.

The hierarchy among villagers depends on control of resources affecting their social behavior. Scarcity of resources leads to a variation among the needs of different classes, ultimately effecting the perception of development itself.

3.4.1 Etic Perception of Development

As a rule of thumb the word development implies progress which brings improvement in the quality of life. However, the Nature and characteristics of development depends upon the local perception. Perception as defined by Fergus et al is,

"The way the individual gain knowledge about his environment in the quest for adoption behavior of prime importance. The gaining of such knowledge necessities the extraction of information from the vast era of physical energy, which estimates the organism's causes..... For our purposes perception will be defined the process of information interaction."

(1975)¹⁹¹

It can be said that perception depends upon the knowledge and its exchange between individuals of a society. Different measures and strategies taken by a society to satisfy the basic needs of its members thus leads to a variation of

¹⁹¹ Fergus, R. & Hawerance, E. M. (1975). *Perception*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.

perception of development. Therefore the perception of development itself varies from one society to another.

It was felt that there is a dire need to focus on the basic requirements of the community, essential, for bringing about a change in their life styles. Difference between the problems of underdeveloped areas suggests that, there should be a change in the concept of development depending upon the local perception of beneficiaries. Continued efforts over the last two decades have not been able to yield satisfactory results because of administrative complications, haphazard planning and its implementation in the community. These and some other reasons caused hindrance and apathy towards participation in development programs.

With the passage of time and experience gained from certain development projects the concept of development evolved. One such concept was that of Community Development which evolved about two decades ago. The idea behind this concept was to maximize the level of community participation in developmental projects for the achievement of better results.

During late 1980's a new paradigm "field of development" emerged. The main objective of this concept was to involve beneficiaries in the process of planning, implementation and capacity building. However, mere modification of the concept of development was not enough to bring about a positive change. This led to the development of a new paradigm in the last decade; Participatory Development. Famous anthropologists Namrita Jaitii & David Brown traced back the history of this new concept and report

"Participation as a development is a new strategy drew considerable attention in earlier decades from development researchers and activists concerned with alternatives of the dominant technology and capital cantered paradigms. In 1970s social scientists, grass root groups and non-governmental developmental organizations (NGOs) began promoting popular participation in the construction and use of knowledge for social transformation. By the 1980s many international aid organizations had become aware that economic growth without active participation by grass roots populations was likely to benefit the wealthy rather than the poor (Chambers 1983). By the 1990s even

government agencies long resistant to development strategies that posed threats to their control of resources became concerned about the failure of development programs to provide for whom they were intended. Participatory methods of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and efforts to involve communities and grassroots groups in policy discussions and implementation, have consequently gained wide attention in the last decade (Nelson & Wright, 1995)."

(1999)¹⁹²

The earlier models of development were mostly based on economic criteria with little or no importance given to social, environmental and political factors. In fact participation of the "beneficiaries" of development was also only included as an afterthought.

The level of participation by people has a different meaning for every project. Genuine participation is only considered when people involve themselves completely in the project program cycle, from the design to the outcome stage. Mere consultation of people on certain issues is no longer considered as sufficient participation.

Experts suggest that participation of people can substantially increase the efficiency of development activities by mobilizing local resources and skills. On the other hand development activities based on local knowledge make the process more relevant to the local needs, thereby increasing its effectiveness. By applying the model of Participatory Development the natives can become self-reliant thus triggering sustainable development and achieving high levels of social justice. Thus, the active participation of people on every stage is mandatory for a successful development programme.

Government and private development programmes are not new to residents of Zandra. Numerous past projects initiated by the government and private sector failed because they lacked involvement of people in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation stages. Thus, as a whole the

¹⁹² Namrata, J. & Brown, L. D. (1999). Understanding Participation in Large Scale Development Programs. *IRD Reports*, 15,1,1999.

people never owned these projects. The people are of the opinion that the government and other developmental agencies did not give any importance to their views during the process of development. It is clear from the above discussion that the development is a relative term and hence should always be perceived in a local context.

3.4.2 Emic Perception of Development

The local term for development is "*tarqee*" which means "improvement in Life or progress". However, the people of Zandra perceive the phenomenon of development in the context of their own culture. By the provision of basic facilities in certain areas of this village by government and other organizations, the lifestyle has certainly improved. However, the villagers still think that not enough is being done on their behalf.

The distinct culture, harsh environment, rigid geographical conditions and limited economic resources of this area makes the problems somewhat different from other parts of the country. Keeping this in mind the data collected for the perception of development is divided into the following categories

- i) Landlords
- iii) Medium landholders
- ii) Small landholders / People without any property

No matter which category the people belonged to, they had the same perception of development. The most common reply was the provision of adequate civic amenities, which include provision of water, electricity, sanitation, health services, educational facilities, roads, transport etc. Thus, if their basic needs are not sufficed then any secondary development activity would be a waste of resources and time.

3.4.2.1 Perception of Landlords

The Landlords of Zandra are people who own large areas (more than 20 acres) of lands. These large areas are generally used for cultivation of

orchards. Water from local *karez* is generally used for irrigation of these lands. Thus the landlords' perception regarding development is provision of water for irrigation as well as for household use.

Shortage of water coupled with cold, dry and arid climate of this area leads to difficulties in getting a blooming harvest for the landlords. This means lower profit margins and less money accumulated for future spending. The landlords are of the opinion that ample availability of water would not only improve the living conditions of the lower class people but will also help them in getting better harvests. The additional cash flow will enable them to improve their standard of living and the cash circulation in the local market will act as a catalyst for the development of the society as a whole.

3.4.2.2 Perception of Medium Landholders

The category falls between the landlords with large land-holdings and Small landholders or People without any property. Majority of the people included in this category has 10 acres of land. This middle class in this society have multiple sources of income; partly through the orchards and partly through employment sector such as teaching etc.

They had their own opinion regarding development. They were of the opinion that though water plays a pivotal role in the development of any society, but it is not the only solution. They believe it is actually the creation of job opportunities which will pave the way for a developed society. On one hand a person who owns a piece of land can cultivate it whereas on the other hand he can earn a decent, regular and steady income via a small/part-time governmental job. Thus, most of the people of this class believed that for the development to actually take place the government would have to create new jobs. These people already have multiple sources of income and are progressing at a faster pace than any other class of their society. Perhaps they want to extend this leverage or perhaps they want to earn extra cash by merely being enrolled on the government payroll.

3.4.2.3 Perception of Small Landholder/Landless People

For the lowest class of the Zandra village infrastructural development was of utmost importance; provision of civic amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity, medical etc. Apart from this they showed interest in economic development. Most of the people of this class owed some sort of debt to the higher classes. For them lack of opportunities to earn money was thus equally important. In fact most of them were of the opinion that the government should start some sort of aid/donation or loan programme. An amount as small as a few hundred thousand would be ample for investment into small businesses such as carpet weaving, shops, hotels etc. However, it was noted that though all of these people from lowest class wanted hard cash, none of them were actually of the opinion that they should buy their own land.

From the response of different classes of the people of Zandra village, one thing becomes very clear; provision of irrigational water is the first ingredient in the developmental concoction. During the last decade some major developments have taken place in the field of irrigation. The natives are happy about it. They consider it a new beginning but still feel that a lot more has to be done. So far the lower and the middle classes have not been fully benefited by it. Other than this, nothing was common in the perception of development amongst the classes of Zandra village. It was felt as if every class wanted measures to be taken so that at least their group of people would progress. These people gave little or no attention at all to the development of society at large.

3.4.2.4 Non-Co-operation of Land holders

The lower classes of Zandra village were of the opinion that the rich members of the society such as landlords were not playing their role in the development of the society as a whole. In their opinion the rich landlords have all the required ingredients to kick start the development process; money, power and contacts. However, it was felt that these rich and powerful members of the society were busy bolstering their own possessions rather than working in the right direction; investment of money in local economy, using contacts to draw government attention etc.

3.4.2.5 Perception of Government Officials

The government officials have a different perception of development. The main focus of the government is to construct roads, railway tracks and tube-wells with the secondary focus being education and health reforms. Over the couple of decades some improvement has taken place in the above sectors such as installation of tube wells all across the village in the year 2002 for the provision of drinking and irrigation water.

3.4.2.6 Perception of NGOs

Some notable NGOs such as NCHD, Taraki Foundation, Pipelines, and Jall are working in the irrigation, education and health sectors. NGOs working in the education sector view the development as an increase in the literacy rate of the villagers, especially the females. According to the NGOs an increase in the literacy rate will automatically bring prosperity and hence start the development process. This process of development ultimately refers to the economic growth of the area. Same is the case with other NGOs. The health related NGOs view prosperity through provision of better health facilities. In their opinion healthy people can work better and earn more. Thus, with an increase in the income the living conditions would automatically improve. However, the NGOs working in the irrigation sector believe that since majority of the natives are farmers so improvement in the irrigation system is the key to the development process. The conclusion that can safely be drawn is that both the government and NGOs' have the same perception of development; economic reforms .

3.5 DEVELOPMENT IN THE VILLAGE

In this last section facts and figures are provided for the development that has taken place over a period of two to three decades in the Zandra village. Both the Government and NGOs' are taking active part in the development.

3.5.1 Health

In Zandra a Basic Health Unit (BHU) was setup in the year 1979. The total number of people working in the unit was 5. It was later increased up to 14

persons. The facility remains open for public from 8 AM to 2 PM. Medical supplies are provided free of cost to the patients in this health centre. Over the last 3 decades the annual quota of medicines for this BHU has also been increased. Consultation and medicines can also be availed from the 2 recently opened private clinics which are located about 15-20 km from Zandra village. Lady-doctor is also available in one of these clinics. Two medical stores are also operating in the village since 1998.

3.5.2 Literacy Rate and Educational Facilities

The literacy rate in the village is 16.78%. It is 24.53% among the males and 6.90% among female. The educational facilities are available in the village both for boys and girls in governmental, non-governmental and private sector up to secondary and elementary levels respectively. Madresas and the private tuition centre are also present in the village. For the higher education people send their sons to the colleges and universities in Quetta.

Major changes have taken place in the education sector over the last 3 decades. In 1980 the village only had one primary school for girls, a middle school for girls and boys and two madrasas. However, with a joint effort of the government, NGOs and public sector, the number of schools, madrasas and tuition centres have been increased to 14.

It is not merely the number of educational facilities that has increased; the student enrolment has also increased in the village. In mid 1980s 20 to 25 students in boys' schools and 15 to 20 in girls' schools were getting enrolled every year. Now in 2007 this number has increased up to 35 to 40 in boys' and 25 to 30 in girls' schools. In 1987 there were only 60 girls in the primary school. The dropout rate is still very high but has a tremendous improvement in yesteryears. Now more than 50% students have started reaching up to the primary level.

Awareness, affordability and marked improvement in educational facilities have caused a general shift of trend towards education. Most of the parents

now want their children to finish at least high school and then pursue some technical field.

Apart from the basic infrastructure of the educational facilities the quality, qualification and number of teachers has substantially increased. In 1980's a single matric pass teacher was working as the principle of the only existing girls' primary school, graduates are now teaching at this facility. Similarly the boys' schools now have three masters' qualified teachers as opposed to a single graduate in 1980. Thus the overall educational facilities and quality of education has substantially increased in the Zandra village over the last three decades.

3.5.3 Communication (Road/Transport)

As mentioned earlier the Zandra village is located just 12 km short of Ziarat on Quetta Ziarat road which eventually leads to the Punjab province. The Quetta-Ziarat road used to be a single track but is now being converted into a dual carriageway. Work on a railway track between Quetta to Punjab passing Ziarat is also in progress. Upon inquiry from officials and natives it was found that the carriageway is being upgraded because of the Gawader port. However, the people would also benefit from this route as most of the fruits and crops can then be transported to other parts of the country with much ease.

There has been a general increase in the number of vehicles in this area. In 1986 there were only 3 cars in the entire area. Now there are more than 70 cars in the village out of which about 20 operate as private taxis. Same number of motorcycles is also present in this village. Apart from the private cars, public transport in the shape of busses and vans is also present.

3.5.4 Telecommunication

A modern digital telephone exchange was installed in 1986 in the village. The exchange serves 200 lines to Zandra. Before the installation of this exchange there was an old analogue exchange with the capacity of only 50 lines, out of which only 28 lines used to serve Zandra. These telephone lines serve both

the government offices and private houses of Zandra village. A public call office is also present in the centre of the bazaar.

Though no major mobile communications company operates in this area, people still own cell phones. These cell phones are only used in case of emergencies or when someone travels out of the village. To use the cell phones they have to go to the top of neighbouring mountains in a quest to find signals.

The young ones are well aware of internet and email facilities. However, they have to travel to Quetta to use these facilities as no cybercafé is present in the village. There are 3 personal computers in the village belonging to different families who have bought them for their children getting computer education. The nearest post office is in Village Kawas, just 2 km away which was established in 1994.

3.5.5 Electricity

Electricity was provided to the village in 1986; much has changed ever since. Water is now pumped through tube wells and motors, small household appliances such juicers, electric irons, washing machines etc are now being used throughout the village. However, the utility bills have to be paid through the nearest post office.

3.5.6 Development in the Horticulture Sector

There is a blend of modern and old methods of cultivation in the Zandra village. The people use technology as well as animals in their orchards. The villagers are fully aware of modern technology and its use is increasing day by day. Many people own and use tractor in the village. Bulldozers, modern spraying machines, trucks, chemical fertilizers and insecticide are also in use, implying that technology is gradually replacing the tradition.

The village orchards were producing a vast variety of apples including *Kala Kolu*, *Sabaz Kolu*, *Kashmiri*, *Mashadi*, *Ameri*, *Kandhari*, *American*, *Fransi* and *Lal Kolu* since its start. But from last couple of decades the people have

switched over to two varieties only including *Kala Kolu* and *Gaja* because both of them have higher rates, a great demand and bring them more profit.

3.5.7 Development in Non-Horticulture Sector

After the orchards the second largest contribution in the total income of the village comes through small private business. Number of the villagers involved in different businesses is increasing day by day. In 1980s the people were involved in four categories of business in the village. The first category of business is shop keeping. Second category is sale and purchase of motor cars. Some upper and middle class villagers were involved in it. Third type of business was the ownership of hotels and houses in Quetta from where they earn money regularly in the shape of rent. The fourth category was the fruit related business other than ownership of the orchard. All those people come under this category who buy the fruit from the owner, pluck it from the trees, pack it, take it to the market and sell it. Some major changes have taken place in the businesses of the villagers during the last three decades. Now the people are involved in some other business also. The most visible change has come in the first category. A full-fledged market has been developed in the centre of the village. On both sides of the Quetta Ziarat road there are 68 shops of daily use items and food. The buses and vans which operate between Quetta and Ziarat also stop at this bus stop-cum-market place. This place has taken a shape of a bazaar.

Another occupation which has emerged in the last 30 years is professional driving. Now 107 people working as drivers with different transport agencies. One family has its own transport agency in Quetta. About 81 families have migrated from the village to different cities. These people are involved in different types of businesses. In the light of above we can say that there is a considerable development in the business which has brought some visible changes in the lives of the villagers.

In mid 1980s there were very few natives working in the employment sector. In 1986 there were only 86 people working in government departments, NGOs and private sector within or outside the village. Out of this 32 were

women and mostly working in education and health sectors within the village. But now this number has increased up to 324 out of which 78 are women. Majority of the men are working outside the village as there are very few job opportunities in the village. Mostly they are working in Ziarat and Quetta. Women are still working in the village. Presently this employment sector has become the second largest occupation of the natives as far as the number of the workers is concerned and if we talk about its contribution towards the total income of the village it comes at number three. The first reason for this is an increase in the literacy rate due to which people are getting more and better jobs. The second reason is an increase in the demand for market products for which more resources are needed. The third reason is squeezed farm resources caused by the frequent distribution of property.

In Zandra village certain factors account for the migration to other areas. Some are the push factors which motivate the people towards the jobs, wages and services to meet their ends. Pull factors include struggle for luxuries like higher education, better housing facilities, attraction for entertainment like television, cinema etc. Pull factors are responsible for male migration in higher income groups while in low income groups push factors account for the mobility of the young males. Overseas immigration in the village is not very common and it cannot be treated as a source of income for the village. Migration within the country and province is becoming common in the village. Males migrate to the cities for jobs and labour. There are some social and economic factors that force this migration. These factors may be small land holding, increase in population, and the younger generation who wants to go and live in the cities.

3.5.8 Irrigation and Water Supply

As it is clear from the above discussion need for water has always dominated the other needs of the natives. Majority of the people relates the concept of development with water resources. The government has taken step to improve water resources in the village. Before 2002 the irrigation system in the village was not adequate. There were two different resources of irrigation. Most of the land was irrigated by *karezes* and rest of land was irrigated by

wells and rainwater. There was only one *karez* in the village which could not meet the needs of the village. People were irrigating their land with *karez* water by turns i.e. three hours after every fourteenth day. People who had big share could get water for up to seven hours. The people were dependent upon the rain, especially who had orchards on the *barani* lands. People used to perform different rituals for rain. In 1980s some people installed tractor-powered wells in their orchards to meet their irrigational needs. Most of the people who had these wells didn't have their own tractors; they used to hire tractors for irrigating their lands or orchards from other people who had tractors in the village by paying them for fuel. There were some people who also sold surplus water of these wells. About 20% of the total requirement of irrigational water was fulfilled by these wells and 80% of the village population was irrigating their land from the *karez* water. Now most of the wells are out of use.

The quality of underground water is good for irrigation as well as for household use but boring and hand pumps do not work very effectively because the underground water is very deep. Before 2002, when the government had not provided the water connections to the households majority of the people were using *karez* water in their houses. Some people had made wells in their homes. They used to store water in containers for their daily use.

Now the government has been working with the natives to provide better water facilities in the village. In 2002 a major change in the field of irrigation and water supply took place when the government with the help of natives started installing tube wells in the village with deep boring which provide sufficient water to fulfill their needs. This technology is far ahead than the wells and *karez* which were the only source of water in the past. This improvement is not in the irrigation systems only; the household water supply has also been improved. The water connections have been provided to the households. Now every household has a water connection and is linked with the pipeline. The *karez* has also been improved. New drains have been

constructed to stop the wastage of water. Now there are three cemented drains which carry the water from the *karez* to the village.

3.5.9 Livestock Development

In most of the villages livestock plays an important role in the economy. In recent past the people of Zandra were also dependent upon the livestock, which included donkeys, cows, oxen, goats, sheep, hens etc. for their additional household income. During the last decade the animals have been replaced by the technology, which includes machinery, natural gas and chemical fertilizers. Now there are very few households, which keep the animals. Reasons for this deterioration are improvement in economic conditions, lack of interest of younger generation, non-availability of suitable servants, non-availability of space in the houses, availability of milk product in bazaar.

3.5.10 Banking and Saving

There are no local banks in the village hence people have to go to Ziarat and Quetta for their banking needs. As far as their personal accounts are concerned majority of them have in Quetta as they have to do their shopping there. Males have the awareness to operate their personal accounts. Women on the other hand save money via a local Committee system. In this system money is contributed by every member of the committee periodically over a fixed period of time and then turns are taken in which each member would get his share of money. The committees can last from a few weeks to a few years whereas the money involved may vary from a few hundred Rupees to hundreds of thousands.

Chapter 4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF ZANDRA VILLAGE

An organization is born when a group of people share interests and act collectively to coordinate their activities to achieve well defined and specified objectives. People living in a society may have a number of requirements, and to fulfill these requirements they act together to satisfy their needs, taking into consideration behaviour patterns within the concerned society.

This definition may be common to all organizations since it has become the customary way to do things and may bring order, stability and predictable behaviour of its members. David-e-Hunter and Phillip Whitten define the social organizations thus,

“Social organization refers to the systematic ordering of social relations through acts of choice and decision. These acts are guided by precedents that are provided in the social structure and limited by the range of possible alternatives. Thus observable behaviours, including change and variations in a social system are accounted for in its social organization.”

(1976)¹⁹³

Thus, we can see that social organization deals with interaction of individual within the groups in order to organize societies and bring together their interaction into some systematic order by acts of choice, and affiliation. Social interaction is a continuous and reciprocal series of contacts involving two or more human beings. It is a set of observable behaviour on the part of two or more individuals when there is a reason to assume that these persons are responding to each other, most of the time. People interact with each other, as members of a family, as neighbours, or as members of some social, economic or religious group. Social organization then attempts to study such interactions. According to Sanders,

¹⁹³ Hunter, D. E. & Whitten, P. (1976). *The Study of Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Harper and Row.

“The rural society consists of a wide variety of family groups, rural organization and institutional organizations, reflected in community life. Therefore, rural life is an analytical concept, a piecing together of many types of individual and group behaviour.”

(1977)¹⁹⁴

Social organization may be found in many patterns during mutual interaction. It binds together a group or an individual to the group. The main thing to observe here is the extent of interaction among the villagers, as well as how people live and how they reach out to each other, when help is needed.

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines social structure as,

“In its most general sense, social structure consists of all those relatively stable features of a social system, which an acting unit would be prudent to take into account if it wishes to make rational decisions in interacting with others. 'Units' of any social system, include a society. Relevant social structure varies according to units' interests, goals and 'location' relative to other units. For certain purposes one might want to take into account the ethnic composition of a population; for others, the age composition; for still others, the composition according to generational experience.”

(1972)¹⁹⁵

Most sociologists tend to regard the normative aspects of social structure as central point in study of a society. Marx's conception of class structure, for instance, certainly involves several important and stable normative patterns, such as property, contract, the institutions of family and kinship, as well as other factors. Further, the normative 'order' involves many aspects of culture. The extreme importance of the normative aspect of social structure is connected with the problem of order. Inherent in all social interaction are two sets of possibilities. (1) The possibility of conflict, mutual interference, deceit, and one-sided gain through coercion. (2) Other set of possibilities include direct and indirect co-operation or at least mutual non-interference of units.

The problem of order is part of the larger inherent problem of integration. Normative consensus is one aspect. Another aspect is the degree of

¹⁹⁴ Sanders, I. T. (1977). *Rural Society*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

¹⁹⁵ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

consistency in a varied complex of norms, covering family life, economic, political and religious, as well as other activities, not to mention differentiated structural content and applications which have varied functional significance. Nevertheless, all social structure is connected with the problem of achieving integration.”

In this chapter an attempt shall be made to deal with the social organization of the *Pashtoons* (*Pashto* speaking people), how it is organized and how it grows. Different social activities and important aspects of social organization in Zandra will also be discussed. Gender wise structure of community, varieties of family groups, kinship, and customary ways of dealing with important events of life, as well as how purdah affects their behaviour would also be highlighted.

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As narrated by the natives, Pashtoons have descended through Hazrat Khalid Bin Walid, a great warrior in the days of the Holy Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad (may peace be upon him), who was called *Fathayhan* (victorious), one who achieved great successes in wars. Since centuries, the word *Fathayhan* has degenerated to the word Pathan, another term used for Pashtoons.

Pashtoons have been living in Zandra since the time they occupied the village centuries ago. They are divided into three tribes i.e. Kakar Panezai, Dotani and Turan. All of them are the descended from one father, Kais Abdul Rashid, who had three sons; (1) Saraan, (2) Ghurghusht and (3) Baitan.

4.1.1 Dautani and Turan Tribes

Dautani and Turan are genealogically classed as Baitani Pashtoons, sons of Kais, of Turk stock combined with Persian blood; both merged together under traditional descent from a Persian father and an Afghan mother. They are the remnants of old Matti Tribe, and descendants from Shah Hussain, a Persian Prince.

Bibi Matto, a daughter of Baitan chief of Dautani and Turan lineages, was married in the Matti Tribe. She had two sons Ghilzai and Lodhi. After these two brothers the tribe was divided into two sub-tribes named after them. Later Ghilzai (sub-tribe) was further divided into two lineages called as Ibrahimzai and Turan, whereas Lodhi sub-tribe was divided into six lineages. Dautanis are at the top, followed by Niazi, Lohani, Ismail, Siani and Khasor. Dautanis of Zandra migrated from Toi, Gomak, and Wana, three villages of Waziristan. Turans are now the principal Ghilzai tribe. They were populated between Jalalabad and Khelat-i-Ghilzai. Ghilzai families spent the summer there and winter in Dera Ismail Khan. About 300 years ago they migrated to Zandra from Dera Ismail Khan.

About 400 years ago Syeds¹⁹⁶ were living in the village when Dautanis came to here. Ata Muhammad, from Wana was the first Dautani to come to Zandra. He had three sons, Khaley, Nazar and Mohammad. All the Dautanis living in this area trace their descent from these (three) brothers. Their lineages are Khaleyzai, Nazarzai and Mohammadzai named after these three ancestors. Khaleyzai Dautanis were found in the village till late 1990s. The Tarans have 6 houses, though they are not divided into different lineages.

4.1.2 Kakar (Panezai)

The Kakars are genealogically classed as Ghurghusht Pashtoons, and descendants from Kak or Kakar. Ghurghusht Pashtoons are of ancient Indian stock, including the Aparytae (Afridi), Satragyddae (Khattak) and Dadicae (Dadi), with a very large admixture of Karlanri (Turk) and Seythio (Kakar) blood probably introduced, the later by Jats and Scythians in the 1st to 6th centuries, the former by Sabuktigin and Chenghiz Khan in the end of 10th and beginning of 13th centuries. They are probably remnants of the old Scythian stock that overran the country in the 5th and 8th centuries. They later affiliated with the Indian Ghakkar tribes.

¹⁹⁶ UDG tracing their descent through Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him)

The Kakars have four sub-divisions i.e. Sanzar Khel, Sanatia, Targhara and Sargara. There is also a fifth small sub-division, called Sianr, residing at Pishin. The people belonging to Kakar Panezai tribe living in Zandra trace their descent Sanatia, who live in Quetta – Pashin district. The remnant occupies the Hindubagh tehsil in Zhob and parts of Ziarat district. Sanatias have eight main sub-divisions of which Panezai is the first and others are Sarangzai, Mallazai, Mehtarzai, Isa Kheil, Brahimzai, Shamozaai and Baezai respectively.

Approximately 150 years after Atta Mohammad, Khojay, a Panezai also came to this area, from Khanzai a village in Pashin, near Quetta. He first came with his family and animals to Mangi but could not find enough food, so he went away to Zandra to work as labourer. He built huts (*jhugies*) at different places in the valley and on mountains, where he would revert in summer.

The population of Panizais in Zandra started increasing after the arrival of Khojay; and, curiously, the population of Dautanis went down. Within 100 years all Dautanis shifted to Village Kawas, situated near Zandra, and Panizais gained control here. Dautanis sold their land and water to them. They only kept 72 hours of *karez* water for them. Now 15 Dautani families living in Kawas share the water.

Now, Panizais of Zandra are divided into following *khels* (lineages):

1. Gull Mohammad Khel
2. Janak Khel
3. Parakh Khel
4. Anna Khel
5. Hassan Khel
6. Akhtairzai
7. Notazai

All these lineages trace their descent from Khojay, who had six sons, namely Imam, Umar, Akhtiar, Notai, Hassan and Khalo. Their descendants are called

Imamzai, Umarzai, Akhtiarzai, Notaizai, Hassan Khel and Khalozai. The last three *khels* in this list are the descendents of three brothers i.e. Hassan, Akhtiar, and Notai. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, Parakh Khel and Anna Khel call themselves Imamzai. Gull Mohammad, Janak, and Parakh were grandsons of Imam Khan Panizai and sons of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. The first three call themselves Yasinzai after Imamzai whereas Anna khel call them Juma Khel after Imamzai. Mr. Juma Khan Panizai was brother of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. All people belonging to Anna Khel trace their descent to a common ancestor, the great grandson of Juma Khan Panizai.

The occupation of Panizais after capturing this area was herding as well as agriculture. These people were very poor. Majority of the people also worked as tenants. In 1915 Haji Payo Khan gave them the idea to grow apples in their fields because he was of this opinion that in this type of atmosphere apples would be very successful but no one gave any attention to him and called him a mad man. That mad man was very much determined in his plan. He grew apple in his fields and showed a big profit to the people. Then the other people also started growing apple in their fields. Now everybody has apple orchards except the six landless families. Now all the people are rich enough.

One thing is very clearly shown from this history and that is a shift from one occupation to another which has changed the pattern of their lives. First their occupation was herding and now they are horticulturist. Because of herding they were leading a nomadic life. They had to migrate from place to place in different seasons with their animals in search of enough fodder and suitable temperature. Now they don't migrate. They live all the year in the same village.

4.2 KINSHIP

Kinship plays an important role in regulating behaviour and the formation of social recognition and cultural relationship born out of descent and marriage. In Zandra the entire society distinguishes itself in a number of relationships, either by descent or consanguinity, as well as differentiating relationships by marriage or affinity, as illustrated below, among Pashtoons of Zandra:

4.2.1 Family

The family is the basic unit, and it plays an imperative part in providing proper training and socialization to the individuals to groom them as responsible members of the society. It also performs a number of functions. The most elemental function is that of reproduction, protection, economic support and formal and informal education of the family.

People of Zandra live in a male dominated society, and males are the natural heads in each household. Descent is traced through agnatic line. Here the males are considered to be superior and enjoy profound respect and always get preference over women. The male is considered important because he keeps his patriarchal name moving to the next generation. Customarily the property is inherited by the male. The females are normally forced to leave their right of property in favour of brothers, and receive inheritance only if they have no brother. Land is treated as gift from father to son transferred from one generation to the next. Widows are given one eighth share in the property, though they are forbidden to take it away. Widows, if they are not very old, are normally remarried within the family; so village elders see no harm in giving a piece of property, as inheritance including orchards, land, houses and share of *karez* water.

Water keeps the family together and all the members of a family constitute a common social unit of mutual interaction. All members belonging to the same family owe loyalty to each other.

Residence pattern of the village is also patrilocal. After marriage a woman moves from the house of her parent to the husband's house. Sons mostly keep on living with their parents even after their marriage.

Nuclear family is the basic unit of social structure, and it may comprise a husband, a wife and their children who eat together and share a common place. According to Saghir Ahmed,

“In some cases the families of married sons with or without their fathers, live in the same compound, cultivate land in common, own cattle jointly, but nevertheless divide their incomes and cook and eat separately. Such households are considered as separate households.”
(1977)¹⁹⁷

Married couples live in a separate portion of the house with the permission of their parents, thus forming the nucleus of a family. In addition to the husband, wife and their children the nuclear family may, sometimes, includes a single parent after the death of the other. Eric Wolf describes nuclear family as,

“The nuclear family is seen to comprise really several sets of dyadic or two person relationships. There is, first, the relationship based on coitus between a man and a woman. We may call this the sexual dyad. The dyadic relation between mother and children the maternal dyad. Third, there are dyadic relations among siblings, among brother and sister. Finally, there 'is the dyadic relation among father and children, the paternal dyad”.
(1966)¹⁹⁸

Eric Wolf’s observation may be considered in the context of nuclear families of Zandra, with a majority of nuclear families, initially, having a large presence of joint or extended families, though they may have become nuclear just within the last couple of decades. Mainly, there is an economic reason for this change, and it may also include the phenomenon of women’s economic empowerment as a factor. As the population of nuclear families increased people were left with small pieces of land, after a period of continued distribution among the heirs, posing threat to their survival as joint/extended families on land resources. So they have to raise money from other sources, normally through individual efforts. Some people may want to keep the land but others may want to sell it and invest the money in business. This provokes in them the desire of independence as well as formation of nuclear families. The second reason could be family disputes either among wives, or with in-laws. During off-seasons, they work individually at different places to earn, which is handed over to the eldest male member of the family who maintains a joint account. Thus for all practical purpose he is the head of the family and

¹⁹⁷ Ahmad, S. (1977). *Class and Power in a Punjabi Village*. Lahore: Punjabi Adbi Markaz.

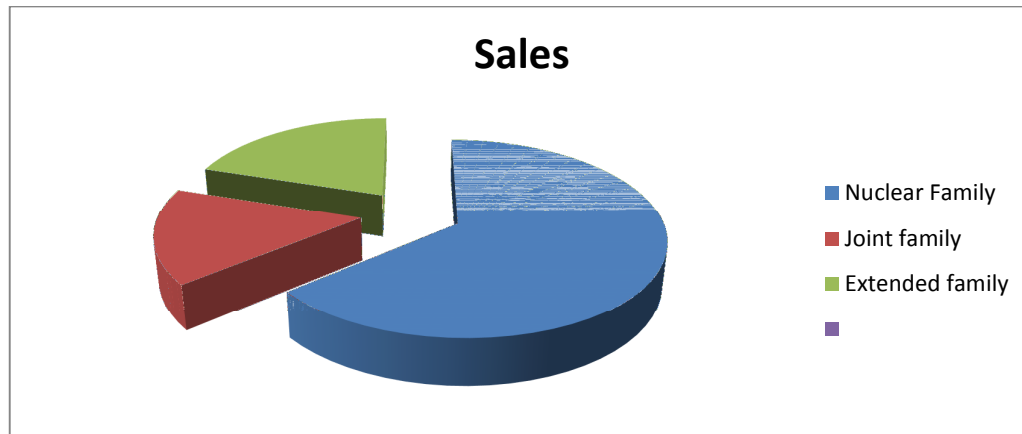
¹⁹⁸ Wolf, E. R. (1966). *Peasants*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

consequently responsible for all external family matters. His wife also enjoys a higher status among the ladies of the house, looking after all internal affairs, and so requiring the wives of younger brothers to seek advice from her. Joint families break into nuclear families when a brother refuses to contribute his earning to the family elder and thus the land is distributed. Following are the types of families and their percentages, according to researcher's survey:

Table 4: Types of Families

Sr. No.	FAMILY TYPE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1.	Nuclear Family	64	64%
2.	Joint family	16	16%
3.	Extended family	20	20%
	TOTAL	100	100%

Figure 6: Types of Families



4.2.2 Households

A household, as defined in the population census, comprises persons living together and eating from the same kitchen and using the same budget, but not necessarily related to each other.

In 1981 there were 120 households, with populations of 2374 in Zandra. Accordingly, the average member in each household would be 22.7. In 2007 the number of households in the village was 295, and the population was 3234, reducing the average household to 10.96. Only 860 persons have been

added to the population during the last 26 years whereas there is more than 150% increase in the number of households.

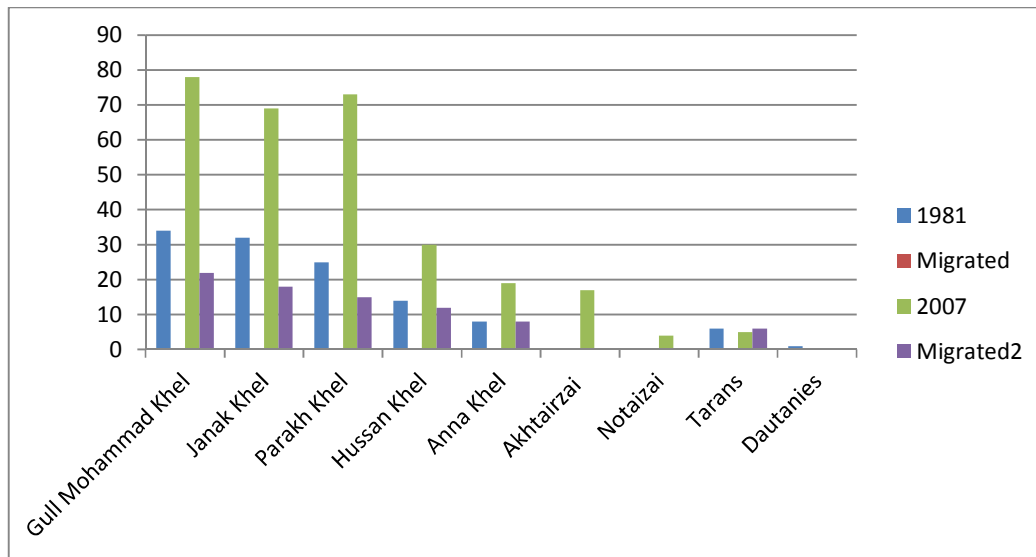
Reason for the low population growth rate in Ziarat could be that the outsiders, especially those, who do not belong to Panazai Tribe, are discouraged from settling in the village. Only 20 families settled in the village during last three decades. All of them were Kaker Panizai. In 1981 only 7 non-Panizai families were living in the village, six were Tarans and one was Dautanies, who left the village after conflict with Panazais. Now there are five Tarans. The second reason is outward migration. About 81 families have moved from the village to Quetta for business purpose and in search of better education of their children. In 1981 there was no outward migration. Some people were working outside, but their families lived inside the village.

However number of the households in the village has increased much rapidly as compared to increase in population, almost more than double. In 1981 it was 120; it was 208 in 1998; and it is 295 in 2007. This shows a break up of joint families into nuclear families. In 1981 there were seven different *khels* (lineages) living in the village out of which 5 belonged to Kakar Panizai and the other 2 were Taran and Dautani. Now there are 8 out of which 7 belonged to Panizai. In total 9 *khels* lived in the village during last three decades. Dautanies moved from the village whereas Akhtairzai and Notaizai both Panizai came and settled in the village in late 90s. Each lineage has different number of households in the village and migrated from the village.

Table 5: Number of households in the village:

Sr.	<i>Khels</i> (lineage)	In 1981	In 2007	Migrated
1	Gull Mohammad Khel	34	78	22
2	Janak Khel	32	69	18
3	Parakh Khel	25	73	15
4	Hussan Khel	14	30	12
5	Anna Khel	8	19	8
6	Akhtairzai	0	17	0
7	Notaizai	0	4	0
8	Tarans	6	5	6
9	Dautanies	1	0	0
	TOTAL	120	295	81

Figure 7: Number of households in the village:



In 1980s and before, this village had extended family system. Brothers would live with their parents even after marriage in the same house. They shared the property, and kept the income together. Each family, (married couple and their children) had a room in the house. All the family, shared the same kitchen, and cooked together. All male members of the household used to eat together. Sometimes they would eat from the same dish. Ladies ate separately (from the males), due to purdah (gender segregation). The tradition of purdah within the family is still prevailing, though not strictly.

In 2007 this trend has changed. Now they prefer nuclear families and give following reasons for becoming separate.

1. When the number of family members increase, then it becomes difficult to live together and cook in the same kitchen. Then they separate and distribute the property.
2. If someone wants his share in the property to do business, then the separation takes place, and the property is divided.
3. The people don't obey their wives. They give preference to other relatives. There could be separation for odd reason that someone has begun to listen to the counsels of his wife.

4. When somebody marries outside the family and establish better affiliation with in-laws. This might lead to separation and distribution of property. The reason for marrying outside the family is education. Now more people are looking for educated wives.

5. Sometimes the extended conflicts could lead to separation. The women in houses have small conflicts but men take care that these conflicts do not exceed beyond the limit.

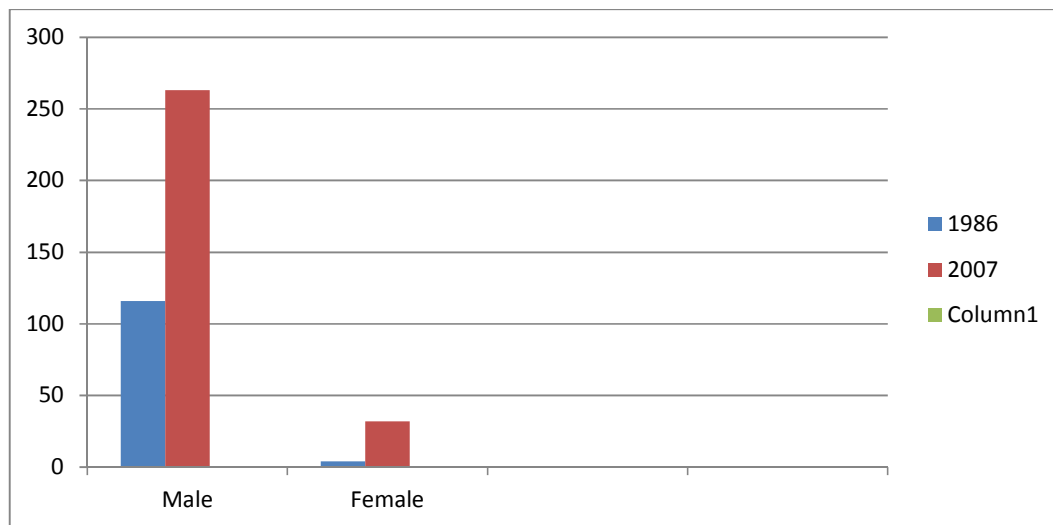
4.2.3 Head of Household

The male head of the family is accustomed to take all decisions about the house and orchards.

Table 6: Head of the Household

Gender	In 1986	Percentage	In 2007	Percentage
Male	116	96.66	263	89.15
Female	4	3.38	32	10.85
TOTAL	120	100%	295	100%

Figure 8: Head of the Household



In 1986 the percentage of male head of household was 96.6% and women percentage 3.38%. There were only four houses where women became heads of the household due to death of their husband. The children were too

young and there was no other male to look after. In 2007 the number increased to 32 when women became heads of households. In six cases husbands died and in 26 cases, husbands had moved to cities for work and would come to the village on weekly or fortnightly basis. Majority of them had confidence in their wives because many of them were educated. In response to the question, "Are you worried about your families?" they answered "No my wife can manage; she is educated." Five of 26 ladies are graduates, 8 have received high secondary college education and nine are matriculates; four had read up to primary or matric classes.

In case of death of the husband, husband's father, (if alive) takes the responsibility to look after his daughter-in-law and grand-children. If the father-in-law is not living with her, he starts visiting her house regularly to help her and procure the necessities of life even from Quetta. The daughter-in-law on the other hand has a moral obligation to seek his formal permission before making any important decision. If father-in-law is not alive then brother-in-law takes the responsibility. However the relatives like father-in-law and brothers-in-law are not final authorities. If no responsible male is available in the deceased husband's family then the real father and brothers of the widow take care of her and all the responsibilities are carried out by them.

4.2.4 *Tarboor*

Tarboor means father's brother's son. In practice it is a patrilineal group in which the consanguinal of the father side are lumped. Normally the group (*tarboor*) consists of up to seven generations. Within this group all members can trace their relations with each other. *Tarboor* is considered as a unit in which the members have common prestige. If the prestige of one member of *tarboor* is damaged the whole *tarboor* feels ashamed. These *tarboor* also make an endogamous unit i.e. they inter-marry. Thus structurally *tarboor* consist of many families in which the relationship of one member with the other is known to each other and the relationship of each person can be traced with the other by a common patrilineal descent.

4.2.5 *Kheil* (lineage)

The next larger unit of concentric circle is *kheil* (lineage), which may be called an extension of *tarboor*, *kheil* is a patrilineal group which includes members having common ancestry, and it is believed that every person in the group is related to each other although he cannot trace his actual consanguinity with that person. This may be recognized as the basic difference between *tarboor* and *kheil*. *Kheil* is actually the unit in which people participate in the primary and secondary group relationships, meaning that whenever there is happiness or sorrow they will participate in the event. They also have a common term used after the person's name; for example, there are total of seven *kheils* among Kakar (name of a tribe) Panezai (name of a sub-tribe) living in this village.

4.2.6 *Kaum/kabila* (sub-tribe)

Majority of people in the village belongs to the same *kaum/kabila* (sub-tribe). Many *kheils* combine in a larger circle known as *kaum or kabila*, or tribe. The basic difference between *kheil* and *kaum* is that *kheil* is the unit of participation, while *kaum* is the unit of identification. People identify themselves with each other by a common surname which provides a sense of identification.

4.3 INTERACTION DOWN THE LINEAGE LINE

People living in a society have different relationship with one another and interact with them accordingly. They have dealing with each other though the nature of dealing might be different with different people. For example, members of a family may have different relation with each other; dealing with father would be different from that of a young brother. This would tell us that one cannot have the same sort of dealing with other members in the same society; or even with one's relations. In rural Punjab different castes have different relationship with each other. So in tribal areas, each tribe, or sub-tribes or lineages may behave in a different manner with each other.

Zandra is a typical segmentary society and their social organization is based on lineages. All residents are divided into tribes; and each tribe into sub-tribes

and further down the lineages called as *khels*. So we see that all sub-tribes and lineages in Zandra have different relations with each other. For example among seven lineages of Panizais three i.e. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel trace their descent from three brothers who were the fourth generation of Khojay. These three lineages are closer to each other since they are descendents of real brothers. Presently fourth and fifth generations of these lineages live in the village. The remainder three lineages i.e. Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, and Notaizai, tracing their descent from three sons of Khojay, are closer to each other because of the same reason. Anna khel is closer to the first three because they trace their descent through Juma Khan who was father's brother of Gull Muhammad, Janak and Parakh.

The percentage of endogamy in the village is about 84%. Since all people belonging to one lineage are considered a family, so the first preference in marriage is to marry daughters with father's brother's son. If there is room for an alternative proposition the daughter will be married to someone from the same lineage, all lineage members being equal. However, if there is no suitable match in the family, the choice falls on a boy from the next lineage, of the same sub-tribe. The three lineages Gull Mohammad khel, Janak khel and Parakh khel are close to each other so the choice falls on either of these. The next preference would fall on Anna Khel, then Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, or Notaizai with whom they may have alliance created through marriages. As for the later three lineages are considered as a little bit apart from the former three but they are close to each other any way so they may also be included in the preference. After the Panizai the choice falls on Dautanis and Tarans.

Same system of preferences works for conflict resolution, elections, sharing *karez* water and sale/purchase of water/land. This system has been at work in this society since ages and has been strictly followed. Now, since the last couple of decade as the roots of market economy are getting deeper in the society the people at times is reluctant to adhere to the tradition. As the greed for getting rich takes hold on them. People have started to prefer the financially strong and well educated families for marriage.

Similar is the case in exchange and sale/purchase of water and land. Better healthy offers are now preferred irrespective of where it came from. The person who gives more money is the winner, no matter his lineage. During last 2 decades, Panizais and Dautanis have married among each other; though they belong to different tribes. Nevertheless, some people do exploit lineage, and offer lesser amount for land and water to people of their own lineage because they know that they are bound to sell their property to them.

4.4 TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

All Pashtoons irrespective of their place of stay within Pakistan are divided into tribes, sub-tribes and *Khels* (lineages); and likewise the people of Zandra, notwithstanding the fact that Zandra Pashtoon are a bit different from the Pashtoon of Peshawar, and Pashto language is also different corresponding to their different origin. (They call themselves Pashtoon where as in Peshawar the word used is Pakhtoon).

Zandra may lie in tribal area but there is no *Sardari Nizam* (tribal leadership system). It was terminated when Haji Payo Khan revolted against their *sardars* (a tribal leader), 60 years ago. Once he came to the village to resolve a conflict on *karez* but was beaten by the people under Haji Payo Khan's leadership. Latter in 1977, the Government of Pakistan abolished the traditional tribal leadership system in Balochistan. *Sardar* would treat the people as tenants and received gifts from them. Now, people have stopped obeying their tribal leaders. If you ask them "who your *sardar* or *nawab* (tribal leaders) is?" they would name them but would not obey.

The hierarchy among Pashtoon Tribal Leadership consisted of *nawabs* at the top, *sardars* at second, *maliks* at third, and commoners at the bottom level. *Nawab* headed more than one tribe, whereas *sardars* headed his own. Each tribe had several *maliks*. Actually each clan had its own chieftain, called *killi malik* (clan's headman). In the selection of a *malik* the main determinant was heredity. This tradition was however, not very rigidly followed. The individual characteristics like the man's influence, qualities, wealth, etc. also carried a great importance in the selection. The retention of influence acquired by the

malik, however, depended on external support such as the government rather than of the tribesmen themselves.

Presently there are two types of *maliks* in the village. First type includes the people who deal with the *karez* issues like distribution of water among the shareholders and collecting tax for its maintenance. The second group of *maliks* comprises of descendents of *maliks*, who keep the title because of their fore-fathers. However, the present trend is that a man would like to be referred to as *malik* because of his monetary wealth. Among all this tribal leadership only *malik* of *karez* are active and has the authority, whereas others are just carrying the titles.

Nawabs and *sardars* of this village may have lost their control, yet people continue to behave in the manner of tribal societies because of the division into sub-tribes and lineages and hence all their dealings are based on lineage behaviour; especially as regards, marriages, politics, sale and purchase of property, exchange of water, conflict resolution, etc. since members of a lineage are regarded as next of kin.

4.5 POWER AND POLITICS

In national politics individuals are free to vote for any political party of the country, if the elections are on the party basis. The villagers of Zandra have no political organization of their own, no factionalism, and no conflict for achieving political objectives. They do not have much time to devote to political activities. The villagers are mostly engaged in the affairs of their own households and production activities. The villagers are not interested much in forming political groups and functions but they are fully aware of the value of their votes. In the election of provincial assembly 1985 a Panezai of the neighbouring village contested election. All the villagers of Zandra being one sub-tribe voted in his favour but he lost the election.

As far as village politics is concern the power is vested in the patriarchal heads of the families. As being the majority and holding the large economic resources of the village Gull Muhammad Khel controls and regularizes it.

Politics in Zandra embraces the concept of control and distribution of culturally defined resources. It needs power to regulate, control and distribute it. The concept of power defined in Encyclopedia of Anthropology as:

"Power is a social process, it refers to the ability or the process by which such ability is implemented by one individual or group control the behaviour of other or produce a derived reaction in them".

(1976)¹⁹⁹

It is clear from above definition that power refers to an ability of individual to command over other to do certain things. In the village a set practice is followed for achieving power and exercising authority, and its important determinants are as follows:

4.5.1 Wealth: Possessing wealth is good and desirable but show of wealth is considered more important. Wealth denotes annual income, size of landholdings, orchards, and possession of a *pacca* (made up of bricks) house, distributing money on ceremonial occasions, as well as lending money to helping others.

4.5.2 Links with Government Officials: Relationship with the public figures of the area enhances the power of a family. Hence well to do villagers cultivate relationship with highly placed government officials. They regularly invite officials of district management to lunch and dinner at their home. This helps them attain position and enhance their prestige. However, this is a show off game to impress villagers, and at the same time officials remain happy with the show of obedience and loyalty.

4.5.3 Marriage Links: Cultivating relationship with the high-ups of the society enhances a person's power and influence. Wealthy persons try to marry their daughters to influential people, outside the family, for building new alliances; and in the family to strengthen the *tarboor* (patrilineal parallel cousins).

¹⁹⁹ Murphy, J. (Ed.). (1976). "Encyclopedia of Anthropology". New York: Harper and Row.

4.6 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification indicates an arrangement of status within a society into a pattern of social superior and inferior ranks. The most important element in any system of stratification is inequality in differential access to the valued goods and goals such as property/wealth/means of production/power/privilege and symbols of prestige as defined by the society.

There are 8 lineages (*khels*) living in the village. Among these 8 lineages 7 belongs to Kakar Panizai Tribe and are in the majority, due to which this village is known to be the village of this particular tribe. The other group is Taran who considers themselves Sayyed. There is a complete social hierarchy among these lineages. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel are jointly on top of the social hierarchy and constitute the majority of the village population. When the question about the hierarchy among these three lineages was asked majority of the respondents said that they are equal but it was observed that the people belonging to Gull Muhammad Khel always take pride in telling about their lineage. They have the political leadership of the village. They have the bigger population and a better control over the economic resources. Janak Khel comes next to them. Taran has the religious leadership of the village.

The stratification of the individuals into different social classes does not depend upon the size of the land holdings. It is the annual income from the land which determines the status. The biggest land holder in the village belongs to Gull Muhammad Khail. He has 35 acres of land but his annual income does not match the richest person in the village who belongs to Janak Khail. He has 16 acres of land but earns 3.5 million rupees per annum. His high income out of comparatively a smaller piece of land is because of the quality of the orchard from where he gets maximum production of high quality apple.

4.7 JIRGA

The Pashtoons are mostly very democratic, and instead of being organized under a common leader, they prefer to choose a leader in each minor group.

The leadership at clan level changes frequently; hence the individuals with leadership potential have a great scope to participate. Each clan is therefore a separate entity, and in matters affecting their welfare, the members of the clan are generally guided in their views by jirga or council of elders of each clan. They represent the feelings of their clan. The wishes of the general community are being ascertained by their collective meeting. Such is the regular course, but very often the tribesmen violate the law. Jirga works as an arbitrator and is controlled by tribesmen i.e. the people themselves nominate the mediators on their behalf, who know the intensity of the conflict and help them resolve the matter as a lawyer.

There is no formal pattern for the recruitment of membership in jirga. There is no specific office, or no written record of the previous proceeding in village. Mostly the patriarchal heads of different lineages constitute a jirga in the village. There are few members of jirga who belong to the other lineages but majority is from Gull Muhammad Khel. While talking about the history of jirga in Balochistan 'Mahmood Ali Shah' says,

“In fact the Jirga and Sardari system of Baloch tribes, established some six hundred years ago, and streamlined during Nasir Khan's rule (1750-1793), were informal and traditional Local Government Institutions of ancient Balochistan. These institutions held the same prestige and position among the Baloch tribes with historic panchayat system as was prevalent in old India and for that matter, were akin to the sheriffs and Justices of Peace of ancient England.”

(1992)²⁰⁰

The code which guides jirga and communities in deciding disputes, blood feuds, etc. is generally called Pukhtun Wali and is framed on principles of equality and relation. This code has numerous laws but its principle maxims are those of mediation or protection (Nana Wati) retaliation (Badal), and hospitality (Mailmastia) these will be discussed later. Jirga's decision is considered final. The traditional penalty for anyone who defies the decision of

²⁰⁰ Shah, M. A. (1992). *Sardari, Jirga & Local Government Systems in Balochistan*. Lahore: Edara-e-Tadrees.

the jirga is the burning of the culprit's house. It is the jirga which hears the political agent or representations of another tribe, who wishes to discuss a matter of mutual interest.

Jirga plays a significant role to maintain cohesion among village, and it is also a platform for dominating group to enjoy the dominating position in village. The dominating groups of the village constitute the jirga. They manipulate their decisions over other members of the village. In jirga meetings all the members have an equal right to express their opinion and to influence the others opinion through majority basis. The decision is made on the basis of mutual understanding among jirga. There can be sense of factionalism between two members but it is revitalized in the making of any decision. Decisions are always made on majority basis and members of the household respect and support the decision of their respective member. The opinion of majority members of jirga becomes a decision of jirga and has to be followed by all the members of village. If a village member disobeys the decision made by jirga then he is socially and even economically discarded by the villagers. No case has ever been reported in which any member of the village has ever disobeyed the decision made by the jirga. The villagers who do not have their representative in jirga are also bound to follow the decision, either in case of any dispute or in collective benefit or uplift of the village. Sometimes a decision could be one sided, yet everybody has to obey it.

This jirga have ability to resolve, social, economic, political and religious conflicts occurred at different times in village. Their detail description is given below:

4.7.1 Conflict Resolution

There are many types of social, economic, political as well as religious conflicts in the village. People have face-to-face and hierarchal relations. This hierarchy has social as well as economic significance. Dominant households exercise their power to maximize their vested interests. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences has defined social conflicts as:

"A struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resource in which the aims of conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals".

(1972)²⁰¹

There are many types of social conflicts which occurred at different times in village mostly because of the marriages. Traditionally most of the marriages in the village are arranged marriages and the parents arrange them. The tradition of childhood engagement is also present. Some parents make commitments to marry their children right in the childhood of their children. Mostly it happens between close kin. These types of commitments often become a cause of conflict in the long run. Sometimes father wants to marry his daughter to his brother's son or any close kin but the mother tries to marry her daughter with his brother's or sister's son, which also causes conflict between parent's families. In such cases the jirga of concerned village intervenes and tackles the situation. But if case becomes serious, the bigger jirga gathers and solve the conflict in the presence of all involved parties. There were many such conflicts in the village. One case study of social conflict is narrated below.

4.7.1.1 Case Study: Two families belonging to Gull Muhammad Khel, who were very close to each other, made a commitment to marry their children while in their childhood. Boy's parents were feeling that they have right over the girl, but the girl's parents did not like that. When their daughter grew up they tried to marry her somewhere else because another family sent a proposal which was more suitable to the girl's parents. Financially too they were sound, and the boy was educated and doing his business in Quetta. It made the boy's parent angry and a conflict started between the parents of both sides. Third party who sent the proposal also got involved in the conflict. If we see social conflicts according to the definition in Encyclopedia of social sciences, it emerges in the struggle for scarce resources. We can easily say that social conflicts generate economic conflicts. In Zandra most common

²⁰¹ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

economic conflict are of inheritance of property, demarcation of land boundaries, conflicts in cattle grazing, conflict in running business etc. The members of village jirga always interfere in this situation and play the role of mediators between conflicting parties and tries to solve the problem.

4.7.1.2 Case Study: In the village Zandra the cattle are restricted only to the grazing lands. Owners of the orchards make a boundary/hedge around the orchard especially where the trees are smaller to protect the orchards from the cattle of villagers or neighboring villages. Otherwise conflict can arise due to the destruction of orchard by the cattle of any villager. Once in the village more than twenty donkeys from seven households of different hamlets crossed the boundary of an orchard and destroyed many plants. When the owner came early in the morning to his orchard he found so many donkeys grazing in his orchard. He took all those donkeys to *malik* of the village and told him whole story. *Malik* called the owners of donkey, and they all went to see the destroyed plants. Next day he called all concerned *maliks* of each hamlet and also parties involved in situation. They mutually decided that owners of donkeys would pay twenty thousand rupees as the compensation against the destruction. The amount of fine would be distributed according to the number of donkeys.

Same is the case with economic, political and religious conflict Jirga plays an important role in resolving them and creating harmony among the natives.

4.8 LEVIES

Zandra falls under 'B' area where the government has not appointed police force. The areas where police works are called 'A' areas. To replace police there is another institution called as levies which resolves disputes and maintains peace and order in the village. They perform night duties also. They patrol the streets at night. They can even arrest the accused. Once, three Afghan refugees stole a car in the village. Levies reacted on this and killed two of them in an encounter and arrested the third one in the mountains, who is still in jail.

Traffic is not a big issue in the village, but if any situation is created they deal with it. They perform protocol duties during the visits of government officials and delegations from national and international agencies who occasionally visit the area. They also do the official work relating to *zakat* and *usher* (two Islamic taxes). Zandra Levies *Thana* (police station) consists of 16 members. Their designations are Rasaldar Major, Jamadar, Dofidar, Howaldar, Piadas and Cycle Sawars. They all belong to the villagers and are employees of the Government of Pakistan. They wear the uniform but only when government officials visit the area.

Rasaldar Major is the officer in-charge of the levies force in the village, whose rank is equal to the Inspector in Police. He reports to district management of Ziarat District. The disputes which are not resolved by levies are taken to the Tehsildar (Government official, member of district administration) in the Ziarat District. There is no connection between levies and jirga.

4.8.1 Police Station

A police station was established in the year 2004. Prior to this the law and order was maintained by the local levies force, which were also appointed by the government but had local inductees. All affairs such as complaints and collection of *zakat* and *usher* (Islamic tax system) were handled by the levies force.

4.9 PAKHTOON CODE OF LIFE (PAKHTOON WALI)

Pakhtoon or Pashtoon society even today cannot be understood without the concept of tribe, as the tribal affiliation and tribal lineage are still very dominant. The studies conducted so far have confined themselves only to two types of groupings, originally made by the British for administration purposes, i.e. those of the 'Tribal' areas and those of the 'settled' area. The government measurers have certainly affected the mode of tribal life i.e. the ideal tribal life. Those tribes which have been close to the government machinery have imbedded greatest influence, in all their spheres of behaviour.

The same two grouping have been maintained by Akbar S. Ahmed when he

uses the symbolic terms *nang* (society based on the concept of honour), and *galang* (society based on the concept of rent and taxes). This classification creates a wrong impression as if *nang* is not practiced by other tribes. In fact in his study he writes,

“Despite the severe constraints of encapsulation SAM Settled Area Mohamadst also approximates to the ideal in its behavioral and organizational patterns”.

(1977)²⁰²

Zandra may also be taken as an example when the process of modernization and tradition are mingling together to change the social life. The agency of change has been the government. This study is partly diachronic and partly synchronic where the focus will be on changes brought about by the two governments of British as well as Pakistan.

The British Government accepted the structure by granting recognition to the existing practice, and creating two zones of settled and tribal administration. In the latter case, the institution of tribal heads, tribal custom and tribal council like jirga was formalized by political agents. The British also introduced a land tenure system, law courts, and civil administration.

In the land settlement system, rights of Pashtoons were not disturbed by the British, and the Pashtoons or Pakhtoons held inclusive owners of land until a new legislation was passed in 1947 after Independence when the right of land ownership was opened to all. This led to a most profound change in the Pashtoon society and it became the primary agent of change, transforming the structure of society, as will be manifested in the following Pashtoon codes.

Pukhtunwali locally called Pashtoonwali (here the term Pukhtunwali has been used because most of the writers have used this term. In NWFP it is Pukhtunwali and in Balochistan it is Pashtoonwali. The code is the same,

²⁰² Ahmed, A. S. (1977). *Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

though terms might be different depending on the spoken dialect). This word wali is suffix, denoting attitude and behaviour. Hence Pukhtunwali means one Pashtoon's behaviour with another. The word Pashto which is the name of a language also means the spirit of Pukhtunwali. Pashtoon is a Hindi word, and also an Anglicized one.

Pukhtunwali is the unwritten constitution of the Pashtoon people on both sides of Durand Line of Pakistan-Afghan border. This tradition is based on conventions, and its values and sanctions are not supposed to be affected by change of locale or passage of time. It is a rigid code which cannot be amended, and no institution is allowed to tamper with it. To amend or to break this code is tantamount to violation of the laws of nature and can lead to grave trouble. Like objects of nature, within their rigid orbits, Pashtoons individually, as well as collectively, are obliged to abide by the code of Pukhtunwali.

Pashtoons believe that their way of life is superior to all others. All Pashtoons follow the rules of Pukhtunwali, caring for it much more than their own lives. Pashtoon socialize their children to obey the Pukhtunwali code with unquestioning obedience. If someone deviates from this code of honour, he is treated as a criminal and his house is demolished.

Pukhtunwali comprises of many institutions. Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed has listed about 20, in his book "Social and Economic Changes in The Tribal Areas". He writes that four institutions are major components of 'the way of the Pashtoons'. Others only relate to them, in one way or other. The major components he has named are as follows:

- Melmastia
- Badal
- Nanawatay
- Nang

We cannot understand Pashtoon community without a deep knowledge of their code of honour and these codes without knowing them in their social context. As we see in the American and Afghan war, it was Hospitality and Refuge which Pashtoons follow. Americans destroyed everything, their country, their government, they killed thousands of their people, yet Hospitality and Refuge was strictly obeyed. Still they are protecting their guests. In spite of all the world pressure on them they gave more importance to their laws. F. Barth says,

“The underlying theme of Pukhtun society is maintenance by all means and at all levels of its code of life, the Pukhtunwali, the value Pukhtun code is based emphasize male autonomy and agility self-expression and aggressiveness in a syndrome what might be summarized under the concept of honour (IZZAT)”

(1969)²⁰³

Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed discussed the above statement as,

“Four typical example of this are given under the title, cases relating to blood revenge, in the appendix to political leadership among Swat Pukhtuns. The code sets up ideal standards of behaviour and acts as a constant yardstick to measure normative or deviant behaviour.”

(1976)²⁰⁴

Most of the respondents and many other writers give more importance to melmastia, badal, and nanawatay. According to them these three are the main pillars of the Pashtoon society. The citadel of their society stands on them. Rest is the part of these three institutions. Charles Lindholm in his book “Frontier Perspectives” says that these are the cornerstones of Pukhtunwali.

²⁰³ Barth, F. (1969). *Introduction and Pathan identity and its maintenance, in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London: Allen & Unwin.

²⁰⁴ Ahmed, A. S. (1976). *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

4.9.1 Melmastya: (Hospitality)

The major characteristic of a Pashtoon is his hospitality. In serving a guest he takes pride and pleasure. His doors are open not only to an acquaintance and friend but also to a stranger. For the latter he becomes more particular in providing every kind of comfort. For him hospitality is a moral obligation, and the one who avoids its practice is considered lacking the spirit of Pukhtunwali. Hospitality, however, does not mean that the host should overdo and cross the limits of his financial resources. A Pashtoon guest always tries to check the extravagance of his host's hospitality. He would not relish a comfort provided to him at the cost of his host's inconvenience. This leads to a 'tug of war' between the guest and the host. Both think in terms of other's comfort and facility. It follows that hospitality binds the host to be un-necessarily extravagant in serving his guest. It also enjoins upon the latter to prevent the former from doing so. However, on the first day of hospitality a host knows no bounds and spends lavishly on his guest. The lavishness of the hospitality varies according to the circumstances of the host. A poor villager of Zandra will offer tea and stew up a few pieces of *landhi* (dried meat). A wealthy chief or *malik* places his house and retainers at the guests' disposal and feast him with a whole sheep.

A very good feature of the Pashtoon hospitality is that a guest is seldom considered a guest of one single person alone. If he visits a village only to visit a friend he is considered the guest of the whole village. Everybody tries, according to their means to offer something to the guest. They fetch their meals to the *hujra* or a village meeting place, and share every morsel with their guest. This practice of the Pashtoon lessens the burden on one person when he is facing to feed many guests who visit him especially on the eve of some demise. This also creates in them a sense of belonging to one family.

Hujra is an Assembly hall that is present in many houses of the village, which the natives use to assemble, sit at night and exchange their views. Zandra village has two types of *hujra*, one is for *moulvis* (cleric) and *talibs* (students) and is attached to the Mosque where cleric gave education to his students and the other type of *hujra* is called *bathak* (drawing room) where people have

general discussion. People normally give big feasts in these drawing rooms. The well-known authority on Pathans, Olaf Caroe wrote:

“The denial of Sanctuary is impossible for one who would observe Pashtoon; it cannot be refused even to an enemy who makes an approach according to *nanawati* _ a verbal noun carrying the meaning of ‘coming in’. This is an extension of the idea of *melmastia*, hospitality, in an extreme form, stepped up to highest degree. Under *nanawatai* a person who has a favour to ask goes to the house or tent of the man, on whom it depends and refuses to sit on his carpet, or partake of his hospitality, until he shall grant the boon required. The honour of the party solicited will incur a stain if he does not grant the favour asked. The giving of hospitality to the guest is a national point of honour, so much so that the reproach to an inhospitable man is that he is devoid of Pashtoon, a creature of contempt. It is the greatest of affronts to a Pashtoon to carry off his guest, and his indignation will be directed not against the guest who quits him but to the person who prevails on him to leave. This, or something like it, was the reception accorded to the outlaw from British justice who fled to the hills.”

(1964)²⁰⁵

About the tradition of hospitality one of the respondents narrated a story of his friend who died last year, aged 80. He was accustomed to patrol the street three times a day and invite a passerby or any poor person as guest before taking his meal. When he found a guest he would be delighted and ate well. If he did not find a guest he would say it was his bad luck. ‘God must be displeased with me today.

4.9.2 *Badal (Revenge)*

Taking revenge of some wrong done is a fundamental element in the Pashtoon code. Revenge is a reaction or done in retaliation for a wrong act or insult hurled. Anything done to insult a Pashtoon sets him in rage. He can only be calmed down after taking revenge. Three things are inviolable: *zan* (woman), *zar* (gold/wealth), and *zamin* (land).

Even a least bit of molestation of the three mentioned Z letters, especially of

²⁰⁵ Caroe, O. (1964). *The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957*. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd.

women, drives a Pashtoon mad. He thinks he would lose status and respect. Molest a woman and a Pashtoon would murder you. This in fact is the main reason for murders and other crimes among them. He considers it a social obligation not to let an offender go unpunished if a wrong has been done to a Pashtoon. At the same time he should not exceed the extent of wrong doing. An eye for an eye and an ear for an ear is the rule for taking revenge. If the revenge is disproportionate to the original wrong then he would lose the sympathy of his clan.

The practice of *badal* has proved a vicious circle. It ends only after the destruction or murder of a number of persons of the two rival families. Sometimes the feud continues to several generations, with the father bequeathing the obligation of revenge to sons and grandsons. It is never an individual's combat. The feud is often fought by 'proxy'. A son fights and kills because his father or brother was insulted or killed or fought against. The feud also is kept alive, from man to man, or at inter-family level, or even at inter-tribal level.

4.9.3 Nanawatey: (Forgiveness)

The term nanawatey means 'entering' or 'going into' refers to gain access to a Pashtoon's house with the purpose of seeking asylum or protection of life. It becomes an obligation for the host to provide him that even at the cost of his life. Some writers have defined nanawatey as grant of asylum to fugitives or extreme hospitality. But the grant of asylum or sanctuary is only one aspect of nanawatey while its exact definition and true spirit seems to have been ignored. As a matter of fact, it is a mean to end long outstanding disputes and blood feuds and transforms enmity into friendship. Under nanawatey a penitent enemy is forgiven and the feuding factions resume peaceful and friendly relations. When a person realizes his being on the wrong in killing or injuring another person, he goes to the house or the *hujra* of the aggrieved party and throws himself at his feet, thus confessing his fault and begging pardon of the person or family, whose sense of honour he has injured. To show his meanness and meekness the offender slaughter sheep or goats at the door of his enemy. According to Akbar S. Ahmed nanawatauy is,

“Nanawatauy derives from the verb to go in and is used when the vanquished party is prepared to go on to the house or hujra of the victors and beg forgiveness; there is no nanawatay when the dispute involves tor or injury to women.”

(1977)²⁰⁶

4.10 CHILD REARING

Due to illiteracy most of the parents pay very little attention towards the education of their children. Upbringing of the children needs attitude, ethics and parental care which does not necessarily come through education. It is the awareness which plays a vital role in rearing the children. During the last couple of decades awareness level of the people has been enhanced as a result of development in the area. So the general attitude of the parents towards child rearing has also been improved.

Children at school going age attend the school, but only occasionally. Being absent from the school is not a big deal. After school hours they rarely touch the books. Efforts are made to provide religious education to the child. They are taught manners and discipline to behave in the family especially with the elders. Young boys pay homage to the elders even outside the family. Nobody even dare to go in front of the elders bareheaded. Small children are expected to extend moral, material and financial support to one another. Brothers are expected to support sisters for whole life, but this may happen only when the brothers are living in the parent's house.

In the afternoons young girls of six or seven years generally take care of their young brothers and sisters. Boys of the same age are spared from this responsibility. Girls between nine and ten help their mothers and elder sisters in tending to cows and donkeys, and also to wash clothes, and do not have to go to orchards. Boys for most of the time simply roam around, play and sometimes attend to domestic chores. They also accompany parents to fruit orchards. Grand-fathers and uncles, maternal or paternal, are also seen looking after children, or taking them to the bazaar. Children are free to do

²⁰⁶ Ahmed, A. S. (1977). *Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

whatever they like. A naughty child may be threatened or given thrashing but this seldom happens.

Mothers serve as primary agents of socialization for children. Most of the girls and young children spend a major part of their time with their mothers. Most of the mothers have greater emotional involvement in their sons, and they were more authoritative towards their daughters to make them grow up into well-mannered, compliant, tolerant, amicable, timid and productive members of their family.

During the process of socialization, children get closer to their mothers. The fathers' image is created like a dictator and for mothers, children always have a very sympathetic attitude. Usually children go to their fathers for financial need. Through this type of socialization, mothers get a better position in the family. In case of any conflict between husband and wife, the children support their mother.

Socialization of children is a big contribution by the women for the family's maintenance and development. Through socialization and education of their children, they can make the future financially as well as morally high. However, when the socialization does not work and the desired results are not achieved, this can be very easily translated into fathers' decision.

4.11 PURDAH

The villagers are very strict about purdah, gender segregation. Purdah (wearing of veil) is believed to be a religious code. There are certain social sanctions that the females should cover their heads with chaddar (veil, shawl). They are not free to roam in the village openly. Whenever they have to go outside they cover themselves with veil. The elder women normally wear white veil or matching with their dresses to cover themselves. Adolescent girls cover their bodies and faces with shawls and leave their eyes as the only revealed part of the face. Women especially the girls are not allowed to go out alone and move freely outside their houses because of the strict gender segregation and purdah. Purdah's austerity also prevails because people

marry their daughters within their own families and lineages. People do not tolerate other people talking about the females of their family, as it is against their *ghairat* (honour), so they keep them within the boundaries of house for the most part. The women do not take active part in the cultivation of lands because of purdah. They help them in the fields only if no outsider is present there.

In Zandra, purdah is a critical factor in women's lives. Based on two cardinal and complementary principles, i.e. general segregation and female seclusion. Purdah is a rather complex set of rules that governs all interaction between the genders. Purdah serves to divide and therefore define spaces the public and private, the exterior and interior, the male and female. This means that females should remain within the four walls and should not come out, while the males belong to the exterior part i.e. to the outside world. The women cannot work and participate in the village functions together. They do not take part in all the social and economic functions of the village, except in certain rituals in which only women village participate.

Purdah, defined as covering the body and face with a shawl, is the symbol of *haya* (chastity) and prevents women from being seen by the strangers. Girls (and women) do not interact with males or go out alone. Some women observe purdah even at home. They cover their heads in front of male relatives of their husbands. When males enter a house they cough to alert women inmates, though the practice may restrict female mobility at school going age (especially during the age of puberty), and this tends to deprive girls from receiving education.

The concept of purdah somehow relates to the *izzat* (honour) of the males of the family. Girls get into the act of preserving honour of men by denying their identity as females. The chaste girl by maintaining her purity and character safeguards her father's, brothers' and her future husband's honour. If she falters or even fails to observe purdah she would lose the respect of the males of her family, who may react violently. Such indiscretion, on the part of the girl, will prove that the father and brothers may have lost control over their women.

They might be called *beghairat* (shameless) for not stopping their women from doing such activities. In order to protect his honour the male keeps her under restrictions within the confines of the house and avoids discussing his daughter, sister, mother or wife in public.

4.12 DIVISION OF LABOUR

There are four sources of production i.e. land, labour, capital and organization. These are interlinked and nothing can be done without any of them. According to Theoderson and Theoderson,

"Labour, manual workers, including factory, farms, mining and construction workers and all others whose work is primarily, physical rather than social or intellectual including skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers".

(1969)²⁰⁷

In economic development of a society, these sources play an important role. Division of labour is briefly discussed hereunder.

"Division of labour is a functionally integrated system of occupation roles or specialization within a society the conception of the division of Labour in a society has been a theoretical tool used frequently in sociological analysis. It is assumed to exist in all societies. Sex and age are usually the most important bases for differentiating occupational activities in non-literate societies. In more complex societies, the division of labour is more elaborate. Extreme elaborate of division of labour is one of understanding characteristics of industrialization."

(Ibid)

Under this definition, there were two categories of division of labour in the village. That is by age and sex. Men, women, children, old and young have different activities and roles to play in their occupational activities as well as their daily lives. In Zandra, the role of male and female is totally different and this difference is created since the childhood. Girls are socialized to be more

²⁰⁷ Theoderson, G. A. & Theoderson, A. G. (1969). *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

oriented towards people, submissive and dependent, whereas boys are raised to be more independent, aggressive and achievement oriented.

4.12.1 Male

Men of more than fifty years of age participate in orchard work but they usually do light jobs like supervision of the work and taking care of orchards. They prepare food for hen and chicken. The elders associated with traditional occupations perform their duty as per requirement. People retired from jobs do horticulture. The elders love to gossip in groups. They share experiences of their past life. They also hold meetings of jirga to solve problems of the natives.

Men between 20-50 years of age play a significant role in the village economy. The younger ones during the fruit reaping season help their elders in plucking of the fruit, making its quality wise classification, packing and loading. Most of them used to bring wood from the mountains when the natural gas was not supplied to the village.

The boys between 11-15 years of age, who are not studying start learning different skills. The sons of landowners work in the fields like clearing the fields by eradicating weeds and softening the soil, making flower beds/plant beds, cutting crops etc. They are made aware of their responsibility towards supporting their parents and siblings. They spend spare time mostly with their cousins and friends of their age groups.

Boys roughly 6-10 years of age fetch everyday household commodities from the shops. They take lunch to the fields for their elders. Those who go to school take their animals out for grazing in the evening and bring fodder for them. This activity of grazing animals and bringing fodder has also become very rare as the number of livestock in the village has deteriorated. Majority of the families do not own cattle, therefore, boys are mostly free and spend most of their time in playing with their friends, roaming around and resting. Mostly the boys between 1-5 years play with toy guns, sticks, and yoyo. As they grow older, they fly kites and play marbles. They play games outside the house.

Majority of the respondents said that they like their sons to be strong and aggressive, as they have to go out and work, become heads of the household and control the family.

4.12.2 Female

The females aging fifty plus are generally engaged in light activities. They being grandmothers/mother-in-laws are the authoritative persons in the house with few exceptions. Normally they do not have to do daily routine work. Their main responsibility is to take care of her grandchildren. They teach them the Holy Quran and also take them to their schools. Purdah is not strict for them. That's why they can participate in the outdoor activities if ever needed i.e. shopping, visiting neighbours etc. They represent their families and play an important role during social events, gatherings and occasions like birth, marriage and death. They know details of the past and the present dealings. They make sure to inspect all the transactions that have taken place in their households.

The young females between 20 to 50 years of age do household chores including housekeeping, looking after the children, washing, cooking and cleaning of the house. Embroidery, knitting and crochet work are their hobbies. Some of them make it their source of income. Being mothers they control almost all the household activities. They have the money in their hands and take care of the household expenditures. They make all the decisions about what is to be done within the household. They also guide their daughters in all the household works.

Most of girls help their mothers in domestic chores besides attending the school. They learn cooking, washing, dusting, and embroidery in their early age. They serve meal to male members of the house and also fetch water. The girls who are in the early childhood are told to do little household chores just to learn them. One of the key informants reported that, they are taught from the beginning what they have to do and what activities are to be performed by boys. The girls at this stage can go out in the neighbourhood, but they generally play with their dolls inside the house.

The girls of 6 to 10 years of age can play games but their playing time reduces. Their mothers and grandmothers tell them to stop playing because they are grown up and ask them to wash dishes, clothes, sweep floor and take care of the younger siblings. They are told not to go near boys, not to shake hands with them, even with their male cousins. They are made to wear veils on their heads. During this period they still meet friends in the neighbourhood and go to school. When they are roughly 9 to 10 years old, they also start learning a little bit of embroidery etc. They keep on learning while trying to help their elder sisters and women of the household.

The girls, who are roughly 11-15 years old, start observing purdah. They have to be accompanied by their parents, siblings or relatives while going out of the house. Parents also start thinking about their proposals when the girls reach the age of puberty (14-15 years). The mothers feel relaxed and in comfort when their daughters reach this age because they know that they will be working in their place. Now the daughter takes care of the house and the family.

Majority of the parents used to stop their daughters from studying after primary level. Now there is a change in the attitudes and the parents have started educating their daughters. So besides helping their mothers in household works, they also give time to their studies. They are also imparted Islamic education like prayers and Quran.

The girls are desired to be submissive and very polite with their parents and elder brothers as a part of their training for future life. They are told that they are going to get married and should be respectful, obedient and tolerant towards their husbands and in-laws. If she is stubborn and self-assertive, she will create problems for her younger sisters regarding their marriage proposals. So she has to be careful everywhere.

4.13 RITES OF PASSAGE

4.13.1 Birth:

Villagers visit and congratulate the parents when a child is born. If it is a male

child, the father or uncles fire guns in the air to express happiness, which they avoid in case of a girl. A special ceremony is held when the child is named, where villagers are invited to dinner and at least one person from each house is present. Two or three clerics sit down to select an appropriate name after consulting the Holy Quran. Then the gathering offer prayers and also congratulates the parents.

4.13.2 Circumcision: Circumcision is done between one week and one year of the boy child. Traditionally barber does the circumcision. These days a doctor or a compounder is called in the morning hours to do the circumcision. At night the father invites villagers to a dinner.

Before the year 1970, boys born in Zandra would not wear trouser up to the age nine years; instead they would wear a long shirt. A ceremony would be held when the boy got to the year of wearing the trouser, a ceremony would be arranged at the house and relatives would come there demanding sweets. If they did not get it they would pull the child's trouser down. This tradition no longer exists. Now, the child wears shalwar kameez, and the use of pampers in early childhood has also become a fashion.

4.13.3 Marriages

Some people prefer endogamy (marriages within the family) and others practice exogamy (marriages outside the family). In some cases the preference is given to the cousins or the relatives only. Ember et al have defined marriages as,

“Marriage is a socially approved sexual and economic union between a man and a woman. It is presumed both by the couple and by others, to be more or less permanent and it subsumes reciprocal rights and obligation between the spouses and their future children.”

(1976)²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸Ember, C. R., Ember, M. & Pastemalk, B. (1976). On Conditions Favouring Extended Family Households. *Journal of Anthropological Research* Vol.32, No.2,

Mann says,

“Firstly, a RITE OF PASSAGE whereby an unrelated man and woman leave their FAMILY of origin and begin their own family of procreation; secondly, a relationship that is normally expected to last beyond the time necessary for procreation. It is also a legal contract, which when amplified in judge-made law... normally involves an assumption...that it is the wife's duty to perform housework and childcare and the husband's duty to support the family financially.”

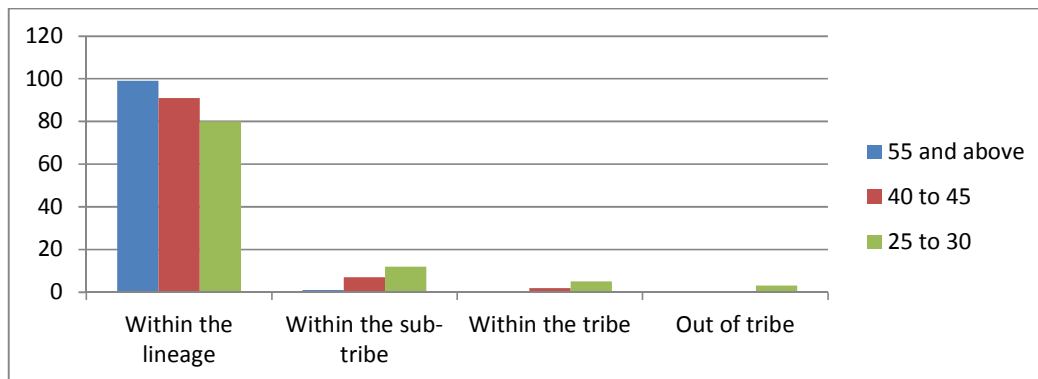
(1983)²⁰⁹

Majority of the people living in the village are monogamous and strictly endogamous. The people of the village usually marry within the lineage, which increases lineage solidarity. During the last 3 decades a trend of exogamy has also been observed. A sample of 100 persons each in 3 different age groups was taken. The first group was married approximately 30-35 years ago, the second group approximately 15-20 years ago and the third group is recently married during the last 5 years. The figures in the following table show an increase in the percentage of exogamy in the village.

Table 7: Lineage endogamy

Age group	55 and above	40 to 45	25 to 30
Within the lineage	99	91	80
Within the sub-tribe	01	07	12
Within the tribe	-	02	05
Out of tribe	-	-	03
Lineage endogamy	99%	91%	80%

Figure 9: Lineage endogamy



²⁰⁹ Mann, M. (1983). *Student Encyclopedia of Sociology*. UK: Practice Hall Inc.

As mentioned earlier the system of preferences works in almost all walks of life like distribution of irrigational water and property, buying and selling of irrigational water and property, conflicts, elections, etc. Same is the case with marriages. First preference is given to FBD, then to the lineage, and then to the sub-tribe. After sub-tribes the preference is given to the tribe and then to the village. Most of the respondents said that within the lineage no preference is given to the cousins or any other relative because all are considered as equal but it was observed that in many cases FBD was preferred. As far as the selection of the spouse is concerned father is the real decision maker. The children have no right to give their choice. Nowadays the mother and sisters have started asking the choice of the boy. Nobody asks the choice of the girl. The girl has no right to refuse where her parents have decided her marriage.

Nain (barber's wife) plays an important role in finding suitable match. She works as a messenger between the parties and arranges a formal visit of boy's parents along with some close relatives at girl's home. The boy's parents bring 2 or 3 new garments along with sweets for the girl to be engaged. The tradition of carrying new garments is being practiced from last 30 years only. Bride wealth, which is locally called as *walver* (the amount to be paid by the boy's parents to the girl's parents before the marriage) is also decided this visit. Girl's mother's brother plays an important role in deciding its amount which varies between Rs. 500000 to a million. The amount is determined by a number of factors such as the girl's beauty, age and personal qualities. Educated and well-off families utilized this amount for the purchase of dowry (ornaments, clothes, utensils, furniture and other household goods) which the bride takes with her to bridegroom.

Ghair-rasmi (informal) *nikah* (marriage contract) takes place on the same day in the absence of bridegroom and bride. The bridegroom's father and bride's mother's brother represent them. Gift exchange also takes place at the occasion. This means that the engagement is affirmed. After the engagement marriage normally takes place within a couple of years. The fathers of bride and bridegroom fixed the date after the payment of bride wealth.

The marriage ceremonies are often arranged at night because of purdah. The people do not like their women to go out of their homes in day light. The use of automobiles for transportation during the ceremonies has become popular in the village.

In Zandra marriages are pre-arranged. The purdah system would not admit of love marriages, which is considered social evil, and may even lead to conflicts between two families, including physical injuries and mental torture. Exchange marriage is possible. One possibility of exchange marriage is that a couple decides in consent of their respective families to marry their younger brother and sister who are suitable match for each other. Sometimes this exchange is decided and takes place simultaneously mostly to save bride wealth.

Exchange marriages also take place in adultery cases. If an unmarried woman is caught in the act of adultery the offending man and woman is severely beaten. The man must marry the girl as well as pay fine. The man's family has to marry their two women in woman's family. So an exchange marriage could take place, but such cases are rare.

If a married woman is caught in the lewd act with a man, both are killed on the spot. But if they come to know about it later, the female is divorced and the man has to pay a fine according to the jirga's decision. The fine could be about Rs. 250,000 to 500,000. The adulterer also has to part with two women from his family in marriage to the family of woman's husband. The divorced woman cannot remarry in the family, or in the same village or tribe. If she is to marry, the husband must be found out of the village and tribe. But he must be a Pashtoon.

In Zandra the people are levirate. After death of husband wife is not allow to go to her father's house and remarry outside the husband's family. In case if the widow is young, the younger brother or the nephew of the husband marries her. If there is no suitable unmarried person available in the family then any married man could marry her. In this case polygamy is allowed otherwise it is not common.

The marriage ceremony has changed during the last 3 decades, especially the shift to exogamy. As shown in the table (above) the percentage of exogamy has risen from 1 to 20%. A shift from lineage preference to wealth has also been observed. Rich families willing to pay more bride wealth are preferred. Educated families may also be preferred but this also goes to making the family financially strong. Another change is an increase in bride wealth amount due to growth in the per capita income and depreciation of rupee. The bride's parent once used to keep the money for later use. Since then the people have rich enough, and the amount may not make any difference. So now they give the money to their daughter in shape of dowry, items of which have been replaced by factory made products. Initially there were ornaments, utensils, furniture, replaced now with electronic gadgets and cosmetics, factory made shoes, sweaters, and other imported items. So, handmade products have changed to fabricated goods, easily available and at not too heavy cost price.

The nature of marriage ceremonies has also changed. These ceremonies used to take place in people's homes, but in quite few cases these are now solemnized in hotels at Quetta. Their percentage is still very minimal because large hotels are not found in the villages and every one cannot go to Quetta. Rich people can do it because of the new trends, and especially young people who prefer their marriages to take place in hotels. This usually helps in strengthening market economy and giving fillip to hotel business. When the marriages are solemnized at Quetta would be brides can go to beauty parlours.

Wara (marriage procession) in old days would go to the bride's home on foot but now they go in automobiles even in the village. In addition people have started serving their guests with cold drinks like Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola or any other drink. Some people now order food catering firms from Ziarat to prepare lunches and dinners during marriages.

4.13.4 Death

When a person dies, all villagers gather in his house. The cleric bathes the

(dead) body on a wooden sledge which he brings from the mosque. After the bath, the corpse is covered in the coffin and is laid on *charpei* (cot). Each person in the family as well as those living in the village will want to see his face for the last time and we can also hear a number of people weeping. Then the people lift corpse's cot on the shoulders to the graveyard. Women are not allowed to accompany the *janaza* (funeral procession).

At this time a grave is being dug at the graveyard where the body would be buried. As the grave is being prepared the cleric gives instructions on how funeral prayers are to be done and then he leads the prayer. Then the body is laid to rest in the grave. The grave is dug about five feet deep and four feet wide corresponding to the height of the dead person. On the right side from the base again the grave is dug four feet wide so the grave forms 'L' shape inside the ground. The dead body is placed inside and pushed towards the right side so that the body is rested inside the grave in L shape. The side portion of the grave is then closed with bricks and cement or mud plaster and the remaining part further closed with the soil till its mouth. A small branch of a tree is erected on the head side of the grave.

After closing the grave someone stands in the direction of the head of the deceased and begin reciting from the holy book. The religious leader of the village advises the villagers gathered on the solemn occasion to pray for the salvation of the dead. Those who accompanied the dead body to the graveyard now go to the deceased house. Close relatives stay at the house for three days, during which nothing is cooked in the house. It is time for relatives to bring food and all eatables, for about six days.

After 40 days, two or three sheep may be slaughtered in God's name and the custom is called *salwashti*. If the household is sufficiently wealthy, two or three bulls may also be slaughtered and the meat distributed as penance among the villagers.

Chapter 5

APPLE ECONOMY

Economic structure defines the ways in which resources, technology and work are combined to satisfy the material requirements of human beings. Land, labour, capital and technology are the productive resources, which a social group may use to produce goods and services. The most fundamental function of any economic system is to meet the material needs. Dalton has defined economy as,

"An economy is a set of institutionalized activities which combines natural resources, human labour and technology to acquire produce and distribute material goods and specialist services in a structured repetitive fashion",

(1971)²¹⁰

According to Bohannan,

"Economy is the way in which resources; technology, work and public services are combined to satisfy the material requirements of human beings and all social groups".

(1967)²¹¹

Although economic organization is taken in terms of being related to money matters, exchange of goods and services, production, consumption and distribution of goods, wages, occupations and business etc.; but in fact the economic organization is also linked with the social organization of a society. For example, when a shopkeeper sells something to the consumer, both of them interact with each other, sometimes for bargaining and sometimes for other product related issues. This apparently is an economic activity but the interaction among each other during the whole process is a social action. Therefore the line can't be drawn between the social and economic aspects of a society. Raymond Firth explains economic organization as:

²¹⁰ Dalton, G. (1971). *Economic Development & Social Change*. Garden City: The Natural History Press.

²¹¹ Bohannan, P. (1967). *The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy*. In George Dalton (Ed), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

"Economic organization is a type of social action. It involves the combination of various kinds of human services, with one another and with non-human goods in such a way that they serve given ends. This means arrangement of these elements in a system, by limiting the kinds of relations that can potentially exist between them. Such combination or limitation does not occur mechanically, but by giving values to the goods and services."

(1956)²¹²

For understanding and analyzing the economic system of the village, it is necessary to discuss and examine the different aspects of total culture mostly concerned with economics of which it is a part, such as the extent of their technological knowledge, their attitude towards work, their concept of work and their availability to explore the factors that contribute to the economy.

Economic organization of the village provides material goods and services to the society. It is operated by certain rules and arrangements that bring together natural resources, human and animal labour and men made technology. These sets of economic rules guide people's behavior. An individual may interpret the rules according to their advantage. These rules and arrangements are made according to ecology or environment. Economy is the main factor of any human society that deals with the subsistence patterns or production, distribution and consumption of goods.

In Zandra, there were various means of earnings i.e. horticultural and non-horticultural activities. Economic organization of Zandra has undergone a transition. Since the middle of 20th century, the village economy was only based on horticulture with apple as the main source of income, but over the years the population has outgrown the farming resources. Landholdings have reduced and hence the majority, apart from providing services to the orchards, during the season, has taken up other non-agricultural activities like different businesses and employment in public and private sector to earn additional income. In order to further supplement domestic income, the women folk have also started producing home based handicrafts like crochet

²¹² Firth, R. (1956). *Elements of Social Organization*. London: Watts and Co.

work, embroidery, stitching etc. besides the household chores. Women are also working – mostly as teachers and some others as lady health workers (LHWs), lady health visitors (LHVs) lady doctors etc. but they are very few in numbers.

Table 8: Economic structure of the village

Sr. No.	Source	Activity
1	Primary source	Horticulture/agriculture
2	Secondary source	Business, Government Jobs

5.1 LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

According to 1998 census the total area of Zandra is 1229 acres; out of which 669 acres are under roads, graveyards, residential area, mountains, *karez* (underground water channels) etc. Out of the remaining 560 acres, 367 acres are under apple orchard, and 193 acres remain uncultivated. In 1986 the area under apple orchard was 227 acres. Reportedly, special efforts were made by the villagers at individual level to expand the area under fruit orchards by preparing and converting their uncultivated land into orchards. The Government has also taken measures to expand the area under apple farms in the entire district. As a result, in Ziarat District, the area under fruit trees increased from 4000 acres in 1986-87 to more than 6400 acres in 2008-09. The production of apple has also increased from 1.8 to 3.2 million mounds in the district. The area of the village under apple orchards has also increased up to 367 acres out of which 260 acres of land is called *abi* (irrigated by *karez* or tube-wells) and 107 acres is called *kuskaba* or *barani* (irrigated by rain).

Table 9: Total Area available for cultivation (in acres)

Total land	Cultivated	Uncultivated	<i>Abi</i>	<i>Barani</i>
560	367	193	260	107

Figure 10: Cultivation (in acres)

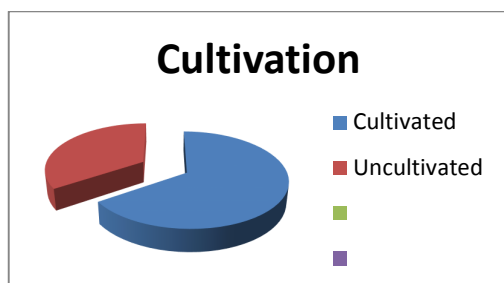
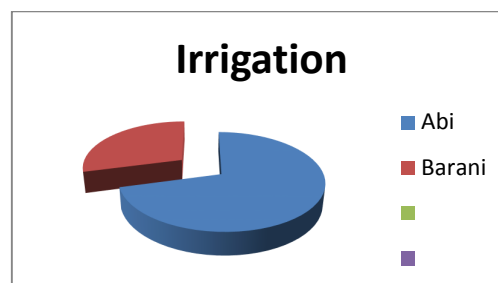


Figure 11: Irrigation



The cultivable area of 560 acres of land is owned by 289 households of the village, whereas there are 6 households which do not have any land. In 1981, the same area was distributed among 120 households. The number of the households has become more than double in the last 28 years. It was 120 in 1981, 208 in 1998 and 295 in 2007. This shows a break up of joint families into nuclear families, which has also affected the land holding patterns. Today, there are less big landholders than in the past. Majority of the people has small pieces of land as compared to 1981. Apart from 6 landless families majority of the households has one acre of land.

Table 10: Landholding pattern in the village:

Sr.	Landholding	Land in acres	Households	Total land
1	Big landholders	21-35	3	78
2	Medium landholders	11-20	7	95
3	Small landholders	1-10	279	387
4	Landless	0	6	0
	TOTAL		295	560

Figure 12: Landholding pattern in the village:

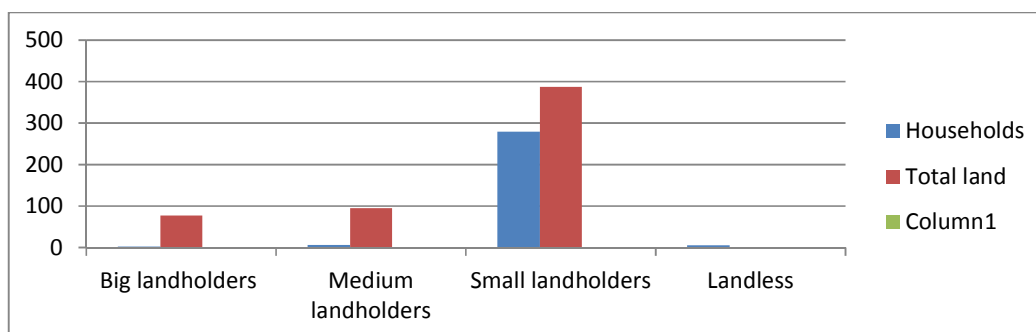
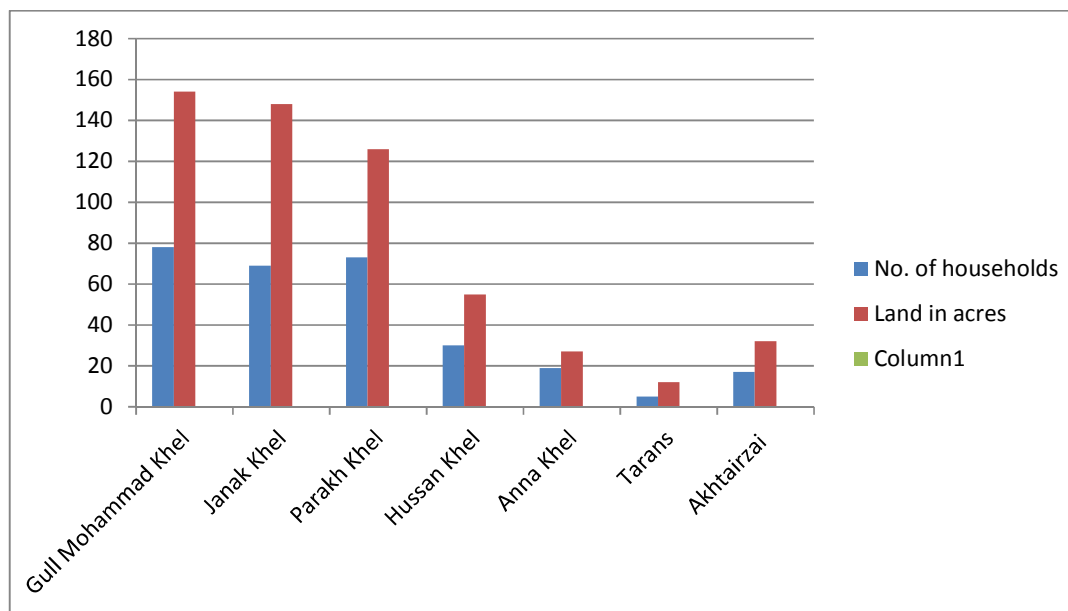


Table 11: Distribution of Land between *khails*:

Sr.	Khels	No. of households	Land in acres
1	Gull Mohammad Khel	78	154
2	Janak Khel	69	148
3	Parakh Khel	73	126
4	Hussan Khel	30	55
5	Anna Khel	19	27
6	Tarans	5	12
7	Akhtairzai	17	32
8	Notaizai	4	6
	TOTAL	295	560

Figure 13: Distribution of Land between *khails*:



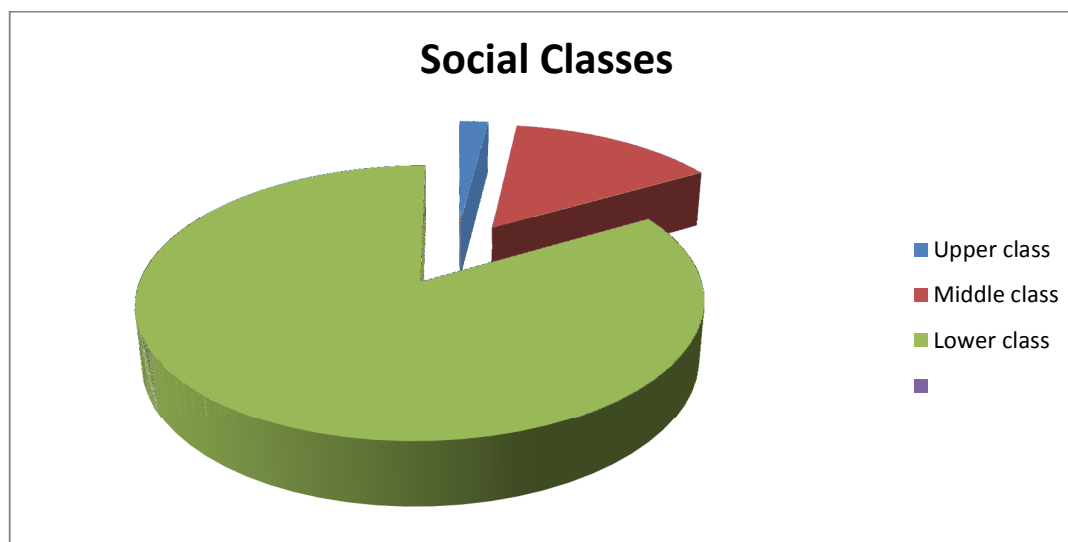
Everybody in the village, who has a piece of land, has planted apple trees. So apple is cultivated in all 367 acres of land. Some farmers have also planted other fruit trees in the same orchards i.e. cherry, apricot, peaches and almonds etc. The ratio between apple and other fruits is 95%:5% respectively.

The natives mostly depend upon the income from the orchards. Apple trees bear fruit only once a year during April – August. Thus, the people, who solely depend on the apple production can only earn once a year. The big landholders can easily spend whole year on the orchard income. An average annual income per acre is Rs.300, 000 to 400,000.

Table 12: Social classes in the village:

Sr.	Classes	Annual Income	Households
1	Upper class	2 to 4 million	6
2	Middle class	1 to 2 million	43
3	Lower class	Up to 1 million	246
	TOTAL		295

Figure 14: Social classes in the village:



5.2 HISTORY OF APPLE ECONOMY

In Zandra, the practice of cultivating apple was started by late Haji Payo Khan about 90 years ago. He is considered as the founder of apple economy. At that time nobody was aware of or even had an idea of what Payo Khan conceived. He inspired the idea of growing apple orchards when he visited Punjab and got impressed by the lush green fields. He wished to turn the barren land of his area into such green fields. He worked day and night, cleared stones from the land, spread new soil over it and successfully planted

apple trees. In this way, he made a model orchard, which eventually proved to be fruitful. Hence, the lives of the villagers changed by following his practices in the field in the years to come. According to Akbar S. Ahmed,

"Agriculture makes possible a more settled way of life. Although in many parts of the world cultivation is of the shifting "slash and burn" type, whereby new ground is cleared for planting every few years and old gardens allowed to revert to bush, this mode of subsistence does permit long residence in the same area".

(1987)²¹³

Payo Khan, thus, not only turned the barren land into lush green orchards but also changed the fortune of the people of the village, who were initially semi-nomads. After this unprecedented work by Haji Payo Khan, they settled down permanently. In the past, the *Pashtoon* of this area were pastoral and used to grow few crops for their subsistence. Haji Payo Khan was the first educated person of Zandra. He was awarded with *Sitara-e-Khidmat* (award from Government of Pakistan) in horticulture for his revolutionary work. He was 45 when he made the first model orchard. He died in 1970 at an age of 100 years. He had three wives and his descendants are still living there and benefiting from his work. In the last days of his life, he became mentally retarded and is still known as "the mad-man of Zandra".

Apple economy of the village is based on production and sale of apples, in particular, and other fruits in general. In early 1980s, majority of the fruit farmers earned from their apple orchards for whole of the year. About 74% of households were totally dependent on the apple economy while the rest of 26% were involved in other occupations as well. In 2007, according to my own survey, only 22% families are solely dependent on the orchards, whereas 78% along with their orchards are involved in employment and businesses activities. The reason behind this change is the breakup of families and frequent distribution of property. The people have left with small pieces of land from where they cannot earn much to meet their needs. The other reason is the cash economy which has increased desire for money. Despite all that,

²¹³ Ahmed, A. S. (1987). *Towards Islamic Anthropology Definition, Dogma and Direction*. Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt.) Ltd.

apple still remains the main source of income in the village. According to Richardson and William Norman

"The development of civilization has depended on human interactions with plants. Even the most primitive of societies with a few exceptions have relied heavily on plants for food, housing materials, medication, clothing, and other uses. More advanced cultural evolution was also possible by the practice of systematic horticulture and agriculture".

(1978)²¹⁴

5.3 PROCESS OF HORTICULTURE

To understand the complete phenomenon of apple economy, it is necessary to know the steps of horticulture i.e. production, plucking, packing and sale. The owner of the orchard faces many hardships in the process of growing apples in order to get the maximum output. The owner has to take more pains at the time of plucking, packing, transporting and selling it at different markets. In non-productive seasons i.e. from October to March, they just have to irrigate their orchards.

In Zandra, there are three types of land i.e. land prepared by flood water, plain land and stony land. Plain land is artificially prepared and its preparation involves a complete process. The owner of the land has to bear numerous hardships to convert a stony land into an apple orchard. First of all he has to remove stones from the area. Labourer charges Rs.300 per day for breaking big stones. After breaking and removing stones, bulldozers are used to level the land. Government used to provide bulldozer to the farmers on rental basis at the rate of Rs.500 per hour which has now increased up to Rs.1000 per hour. After leveling the land, it is filled up with mud brought from the dam at the rate of Rs.700 per trolley. Leveling is done again by the labour charges Rs.700 to 800 per person per day.

After leveling the ground, trees are planted at a distance of 24, 27 or 30 feet from each other in rows. Normally the plantation is done in March or

²¹⁴ Richardson & Norman, W. (1978). *Plants Agriculture and Human Soceity*. California: Bengaman Inc.

December because in these months more water is available as the schedule of *karez* is suspended and anybody can use water at any time.

For production of better quality fruit, grafting and budding of trees is done. There are two types of budding.

- Tee Budding
- Ring Budding

For "Tee" budding, 'T' shaped cut is given on the stem, a branch of fine quality is cut, embossed in that cut and fastened up with a piece of cloth. In ring-budding, a round cut is given on the stem; new branch of fine quality is planted in it. There are two or three persons in the village who are considered experts in grafting and budding of the plants. Only a specialist can do it successfully.

On both sides of the newly planted trees, the farmers erect small boundaries of one foot height with mud for proper irrigation. In March every year the soil inside the boundaries is softened for proper absorption of water for the first six years. After six years, complete orchard is dug to give more oxygen to the roots of the trees. Fertilizers and insecticides are used whenever needed.

An apple tree takes about seven years to grow, but their production remains lower than that of the grownup trees. The trees ageing ten to fifteen years give maximum and a very high quality production. After fifteen years, the quality starts decreasing because the trees get thicker and the proper amount of sunlight does not reach the fruit and it starts losing its colour.

Different kinds of apple trees are planted in the village which are brought from other places and are successfully grown there. Following are the common kinds of apple:

1. Kala Kolu or Tor Kolu
2. Sabaz Kolu or Shin Kolu
3. Lal Kolu
4. Kashmiri
5. Mashadi
6. Ameri
7. Kandhari
8. American
9. Fransi

Kala Kolu is considered to be the best and dearest of all apples. It is also called Golden apple. Sabaz Kolu has a longer life. It can be stored for longer durations. As far as the taste is concerned, both of these are considered as the best. Kashmiri, Mashadi, Ameri and Kandhari come in the next order of taste and quality. American, Fransi and Lal Kolu are small in size and sour in taste, and are used for making jams and juices only.

Since the start of apple economy all these kinds of apple were grown in the orchards, but for the last couple of decades, the people have gradually switched over to two kinds of apple – Kala Kolu and Gaja, because of their great export value and local market demand. Both of these types have higher rates and bring them more profit. So again we can see that desire for more money is forcing them to abandon their traditions. This traditional society is gradually changing into a more profit oriented society.

5.3.1 Use of Technology in Horticulture

During the last couple of decades technology has played a pivotal role in the development of new cultivation methodologies. Beasts of burden such as donkeys and bulls are no longer used for cultivation; instead tractors are used for leveling of the land, bulldozers are used to clean stones from the fields, modern spraying machines are used for insecticide spraying and trucks are used for transportation of fruit to the markets. Chemical fertilizers mixed with animal dung are used for fertilization. These modern chemical fertilizers are readily available from the near city market of Quetta. An office of Agriculture

Department also exists in the village which provides knowledge regarding protection and development of fruit production, thus modern techniques such as grafting and budding are also known to the villagers. This department also provides bulldozers, tractors and other mechanical instruments to the farmers at cheaper rental rates.

For transportation of fruit to the different markets, they hire trucks which are easily available in the village during the season. In the past, there were no proper road network and transport facilities were also not available to everyone. Today with the improvement in these two sectors, it has become easier for the farmers to reach the markets. The orchard owners have started taking their fruit to the markets themselves avoiding the contractors and earning more profits.

Until 2002 horticulture production was mainly depending on *Karez* water. A small area was irrigated through tractor-powered wells. In 2002 electric tube-wells were introduced in the area. These tube-wells are providing sufficient amount of water and fulfilling most of their irrigational needs.

5.4 PEOPLE RELATED TO APPLE ECONOMY

There are many individuals in the village who are in one way or the other involved in production, distribution and sale of apple. Apple economy of the village is based on a complete cycle of individual efforts that are related to apple economy for their earnings. Their role in the apple economy and how they are organized is explained as under.

5.4.1 Owner of the Orchard

The horticulturalists of the village could be divided into the following three categories.

5.4.1.1 Owner Cultivators: Majority of the villagers falls under this category and includes medium and small landholders. Mostly they do not employ labour and prefer to work in the fields by themselves. They perform the activities like land leveling, trees plantation, digging, fertilizing, spraying,

irrigating, and fruit plucking and packing. They seek the help of their family members. Even sometimes, they hire the trucks and take the fruit to the markets within Pakistan. Exporters normally approach the owners themselves. The direct access of the exporters to the farms is a new phenomenon, which has become popular during two decades. Now more than 40% of the total apple production is sold to them.

5.4.1.2 Owner Non-Cultivators: This category includes big as well as small landholders who do not work in the orchards. There are 9 big landholders in the village who hire the labour and supervise them, as they can afford it. Sometimes, they themselves take the fruit to different markets in the trucks and sometimes, they sell it to the contractor. Many of the small landholders are involved in businesses or employments to earn livelihood. So they cannot give time to the orchard and have given the land to the contractors.

5.4.1.3 Non-Owners Cultivators: This category includes landless and the small landholders. They hire the orchard in the beginning under a contract, work there and in the end share half of the produce with the owner.

5.4.2 *Thekedar* (Local Contractors)

Thekedar is the person who purchases the whole lot of apples from the owner under an agreement and then sells it in the market. The agreements are made well in time before the apples ripe normally in July and August. The contractors from different areas visit the village to make deals with the owners. They go to the orchard and check the quality and quantity of the fruit before giving the offers to the owner. The quantity and quality of fruit varies from orchard to orchard, though they may be of the same size having the same number of trees. It depends upon the age of the trees.

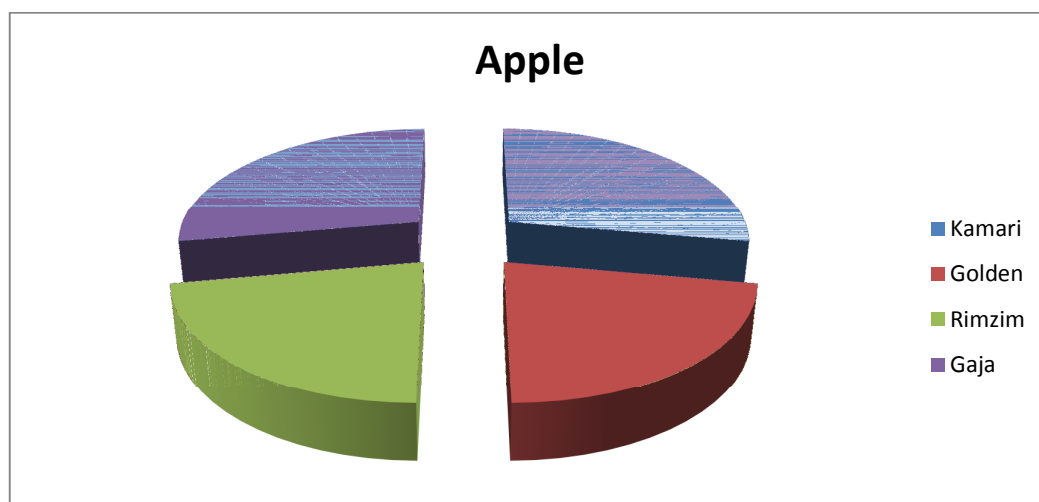
The price is determined on the basis of number of trees, their quality and expected quantity of the fruit. An average orchard of 1 acre normally has 100 apple trees. According to the local estimate, one tree yields average 15 boxes of apple per annum. One box contains 10-kg apples, so one tree produces

150 kg apples and an orchard sizing 1 acre produces 15000 kg. Average rate of 1 box of Kamari (Kala Kolu) is Rs.500 in the market. So the annual income from 1 acre orchard is Rs.750000.

Table 13: Annual Income from the Orchards

Type of Apple	Size of orchard	Number of trees	Quantity per tree	Quantity per acre	Rate	Amount
Kamari	1 acre	100	15 boxes	1500 boxes	500	750000
Golden	1 acre	100	15 boxes	1500 boxes	400	600000
Rimzim	1 acre	100	15 boxes	1500 boxes	400	600000
Gaja	1 acre	100	15 boxes	1500 boxes	500	750000

Figure 15: Per Acre Income



The people who take their apple to the market can earn the above mentioned amounts but most of the people do not take the yield to the market. They sell the orchard to the contractors. The contractors normally offer between Rs.400000 to 500000 per acre depending upon the quality of the fruit. If the offer is acceptable to the owner, the terms and conditions are finalized and the deal is done. Right at that moment the contractor pays the first installment. After the deal is made, the contractor is responsible for plucking, packing and transporting of apples. The responsibility of irrigation stays with the owner till the apples get ready. The buyer protects and collects the fruit as early as

possible because in this season the danger of hailstorm poses a serious threat as it may destroy the whole production.

5.4.3 **Arti (Contractor in the Fruit Market)**

These contractors have their offices in different fruit markets such as Lahore, Karachi, Multan, Hyderabad and Faisalabad. They make high level deals for purchasing the fruit. The local contractors work in the village normally work on their behalf. They pay them money in advance to make purchases before the start of the season. contractor gets about one million rupees in advance at the rate of Rs.50/- per box, which makes him bound to bring 20,000 boxes to him in the end of the season. The *arti* recovers his investment, along with 5% commission or service charges. They know each other very well and have full trust in one another.

Table 14: Rates of Different Types of Apples in 1980

Kind of Apple	Rate of sale in the market
Kala Kolu	Rs.350/- to 400/- per box
Sabz Kolu	Rs.130/- to 250/- per box
Mashadi	Rs.100/- to 140/- per box
Ameri	Rs.100/- to 140/- per box
Kashmiri	Rs.150/- to 250/- per box
Fransi	Rs.80/- to 100/- per box
American	Rs.80/- to 100/- per box

Table 15: Rates of Different Types of Apples in 2007

Kind of Apple	Rate of sale in the market	
Kala Kolu	Kamari	700/- per box
	Golden	500/- per box
	Rimzim	550/- per box
Gaja		650/- per box

The villagers who don't sell their fruit to the local contractors bring their fruit directly to them. They make arrangements for the auction, and sell their fruit on commission basis.

5.4.4 *Baghwan* (orchard watchman)

The rich orchard owners hire watchmen for protection of their orchard. They are called *bazgers*, and are paid Rs.3000/- to Rs.4000/- per month. They look after the orchard the whole year. Mostly, these people are outsiders, Khurasani and Afghans. They are poor people come to the village for labour and live in tents outside the village.

5.4.5 *Thismali* or *Torwai* (fruit pluckers)

When the apple gets ready in August and September, *thismali* or *torwai* (fruit pluckers) are employed either on daily wages or contract. They spread yellow dried grass called *shalli* in the orchard covering an area of about 20 x 4 yards. They start plucking apples and gather them in a cloth called *thismal* (handkerchief), which they hang around their necks. After collecting 15 to 16 kilo apples, they come down the tree and spread those apples on the grass, which has already been spread for this purpose. For plucking fruit from one acre of orchard, one to two pluckers are employed on daily wages. Some villagers do it by themselves. An amount of Rs.300/- to 350/- per day is given to the plucker. This work could also be assigned on contract basis and the amount is decided before the start of the work.

5.4.6 *Chani* (chooser or saperetor)

Chani is a person who categorizes the plucked apple according to their quality. He is a labourer and charges almost the same amount as the plucker. Apples which remain small in size because of less water or for some other reason are packed separately and considered of inferior quality. The defective apples having different types of marks on them are also packed in separate boxes which include *pata-dagh* (leaf mark) *Sukha-dagh* (dry mark). Last category of defect is *gheela-dagh* (wet mark) of light brown colour, caused when an apple falls from the branch and hits the ground hard. Such apples

are collected from the ground and are packed in sacks. Out of these defective apples, *sukha-dagh* (dry mark) apples can survive for 3 to 4 months.

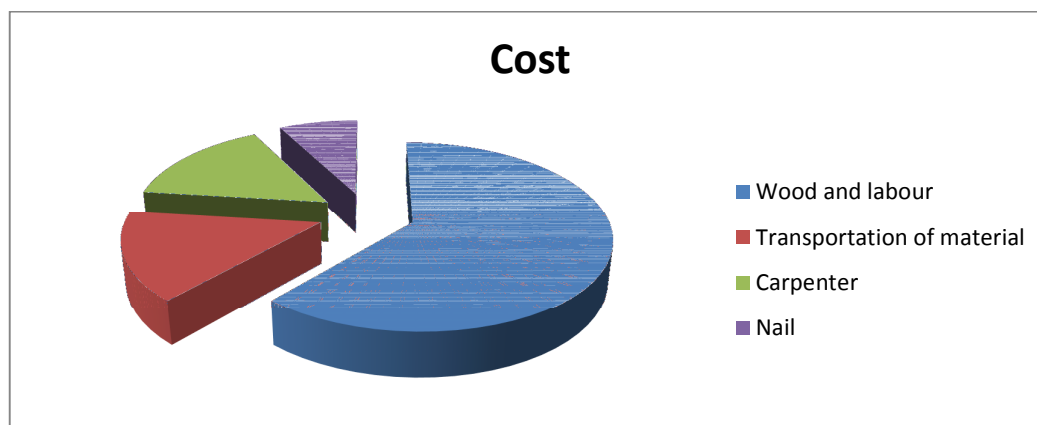
5.4.7 **Crate Walla (box maker)**

Crate-walla makes *boxes* (wooden box) for the fruit to be packed in and sent to the market. There is only one box maker in the village. Every year, he makes about one hundred and fifty thousand boxes, for which he brings wood from Multan or Faisalabad. The total expenses of wood are about six to seven hundred thousand rupees. He has employed a carpenter who makes boxes and charges Rs.2.00 per box. The nails used for making boxes are brought from Quetta. One bag full of one-inch length nails costs about Rs.800/-. The box maker sells one box for Rs.15/- to the villagers. In Quetta markets, one box also costs the same, so people of Zandra village prefer buying boxes from him. The cost breakup for making one box is given in the following table.

Table 16: Cost on One Empty Box

ITEMS	AMOUNT
Wood and labour	Rs.8.00 per box
Transportation of material	Rs.2.00 per box
Carpenter	Rs.2.00 per box
Nail	Rs.1.00 per box
Total	Rs.13.00

Figure 16: Cost on One Empty Box



Annually, he saves about 60,000 to 70,000 rupees. Sacks for packing defective apple are brought from Quetta as they are not available in the village.

5.4.8 *Cratee or Maikhi (packer)*

Cratee or *maikhi* (packer) are the people who are skilled in apple packing. They orderly arrange apples in the boxes. Packers and all other labourers work from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. During this time, a packer packs about seventy to eighty boxes. He uses nails to close the boxes. That's why he is also called *maikhi* (person who fix the nails). He normally works on contract bases. For an orchard of one acre with about hundred trees, he charge Rs.7000 to Rs.8000. Loading of the fruit in trucks is also included in this contract.

5.4.9 *Markay-walla (marker)*

Markay-walla (person who labels the apple boxes) marks all the boxes according to the quality and names of the owners or contractors. For instant if there are 20 boxes of No.1 quality apples, the marker will mark 20/1 on all of them, with the initial letter of the name of owner or the contractor; for example N.K. for Nasir Khan. After marking, list/*chalan* (payment voucher) is made in the office of *koti* (person who makes voucher) in the village before the fruit is loaded onto the trucks. Marker is paid Rs.300/- per day for marking the boxes.

5.4.10 *Transporter*

The transporters do not belong to the village. In the apple production season i.e. in August to September there are numberless trucks available here. After selling the export quality to the exporter they take rest of the fruit to different fruit markets in Faisalabad, Lahore, Multan, Karachi and other cities where it is sold to the *artis* (contractors in fruit market). There is no cold storage in the village and thus they are forced to sell their fruit to *artis*.

One truck normally carries 410 boxes. The freight charges vary from market to market, which are paid by the owner of the fruit or the contractor.

Table 17: Truck Charges for Different Fruit Markets

Market Station	Charges for Truck Trip
Lahore	RS.6000/-
Faisalabad	RS.4500/-
Karachi	RS.3500/-
Multan	RS.3500/-
Hyderabad	RS.3500/-
Quetta	RS.1000/-

Figure 17: Truck Charges for Different Fruit Markets

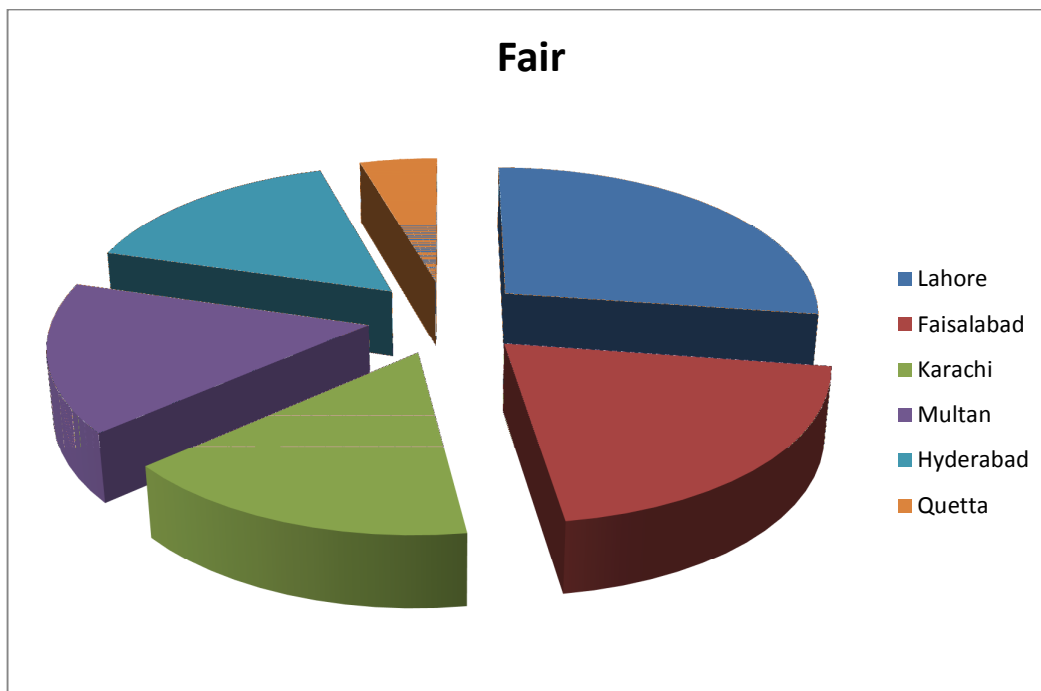


Table shows that the transportation rate for Lahore fruit market is the highest, Rs.6000/- followed by Faisalabad, Rs.4500/- and then Karachi, Multan and Hyderabad for Rs.3500/-. In Quetta, it is only Rs.1000/-. On the way to the market, the owner/contractor has to pay octroi also at Rs.300 to 500 per truck.

For Kala Kolu, Faisalabad's fruit market is considered as the best one. For Ameri apple, Multan's and Lahore's fruit markets are considered to be the best ones because with Amari apple, jams and marmalade are made and both of the cities have such factories. For contractors, markets in Lahore and

Karachi are the most suitable because they can earn more profit from there. However for owner horticulturalist, Faisalabad's fruit market is considered as ideal as they face less problems in selling and taking money from the *arti*.

5.5 RITUALS (RELATED TO APPLE ECONOMY)

In Zandra people perform certain rituals, which are mostly connected with the apple economy. The people who do not have sufficient irrigational water and are dependent on rain perform these rituals seeking the rainfall for their orchards.

5.5.1 Lado

Lado ritual is performed in the village by the girls around fifteen years of age for rain. A group of twenty to thirty girls performs this ritual. *Lado* means a doll. The girls get together and make a doll of about two feet height. They make a cross with the help of two wooden sticks and cover it with cloth. Needle is used to make eyes and face of the *lado*.

The ritual is performed in almost all the neighbouring villages. In the village Sendiman Tungi, the girls go to the roads, stop cars and buses and demand for money in the name of *lado* for rain in the area. The ritual is performed on different days in different villages. One girl carries the *lado* and leads the rest of the group and moves from door to door. She puts the *lado* in the lap of the people for demanding sugar, flour, tea, meat, potato and onion. At this moment, all the girls sing a song which is related to the *lado* and rain. After collecting the things, they cook them at a pre-decided venue, which is normally a house of any of the girls. Women also join them at this stage and help them in cooking. After cooking the food they eat it, and before and after the cooking, they offer *nawafial* (prayers). Males in accordance with the Islamic teachings offer *Nimaz-i-Estaska* (prayer for rain).

Song	Meaning
"Lado Ladingi Sa ghuri Kunda damara ghuri You muth warah ghuri Pamalga ya taro wha ghuri Pagora ya Kuaza ghuri Pa As man Ki Shna. Wiala ghuri Kudai di Zoya derki si pargoli derlashori Lori ma Lori".	Lado is widow and needs a husband. She needs hand full of flour She needs salt for sour She needs <i>gur</i> for Sweet She needs a stream of water from sky God may give you a child, who moves and walks on the floor for you. It must rain so much that every orchard becomes green.

5.5.2 *Khak or Khakoona*

This ritual is performed by the Pashtoon women. This too is related to seeking rain for the orchards. When there is no rain for a long spell, all the women, especially the elder ones gather outside the village to make *khak*. This *khak* is actually a ball of kneaded flour having a small round stone inside it. This stone is properly heated in fire before it is covered with a thick layer of flour to make *khak*. These *khak* are baked and eaten with rice, tea and *halwa* (sweet). Children remain present there the whole time i.e. 9:00 am to 3:00 pm. The ritual is repeated for three consecutive days at different corners of village. Most of the people believe that rain starts after this ritual.

5.5.3 *Spingirak*

Literally, *spingirak* means beggar or to beg. This is another ritual performed by the natives for seeking rain. A person disguises himself as a monster, haying horns or cloth on the head. He, along with a group of people visits door to door to beg *atta* (flour), meat, sugar, and money in the name of rain. They spend the whole day in it and then in the evening they start cooking it. While cooking, they sing various songs. The next morning, they eat the meal and it is their belief that as soon as they finish the food, the rain starts falling. Before 1980s *spingirak* was performed by the men of the area, but then *molvie sahib* (cleric) banned it. Now only children perform it only for sake of enjoyment.

In 1986 while I was working in the village I observed this *spingirak* performed by the children. They were performing it because there was no rain for the last few months and it was direly needed at that time. From next day rain and snowfall started and lasted for seven days.

5.6 EFFECTS OF APPLE ECONOMY

Since the advent of apple economy, the Pashtoons have gone through a social and economic change. Due to their interactions with the people in different markets they have become aware of their surroundings and technology, which they are utilizing to achieve their horticultural goals. They have become more settled and economically better-off today. There is a complete shift from lower to middle class because of this apple economy. Haji Payo Khan started growing apple in early 20th century. Later the natives accepted the idea and followed him. Today majority of the villagers enjoy basic facilities. Now many of them have their own cars, property and running businesses in Quetta.

5.7 IRRIGATION

The major part of Balochistan, the largest province of Pakistan in area, is barren due to lack of water. The people use different sources to get water for irrigation e.g. *karezes*, tube-wells, streams etc. *Karezes* are the most important source of the area. The importance of this source today is the same as it was a hundred years ago. In many areas of the province, life is not possible without *karezes*. After *karezes* there comes the number of wells and tube-wells. Some of the land is also irrigated with rainwater. In the village there are two types of irrigation systems, traditional and modern.

5.7.1 Traditional Irrigation System

The traditional system includes centuries old *karezes* and *bowaries* which are relatively recent development.

5.7.1.1 Karez

Karezes are the underground channels, which bring the water from the higher to the lower place mostly for irrigational purposes. The *karezes* are present in

some other countries as well. They are known by the different names in different countries. In Iran, the *karez*es are called as *kanat (Qanat)*. In North Africa, it is known as *Fuggaras*, in Oman its name is *Falaj*, and in Afghanistan it is called *karez*. The word *Kahan* is used for it in Makran, and in rest of Baluchistan it is known as *karez*. All these different names are performing the same functions in the different countries. A *karez* consists of three parts:

5.7.1.1.1 Mother-well(s): Only mother-well contains water, which is present at the head of *karez* at a higher altitude. These mother-wells could be different in number. A *kareze* can have one to ten mother-wells. In rest of the *karez*, water flows but all that is taken from mother-wells. If the number of mother-wells is more than one, then all of them are linked with each other from the bottom with the help of tunnels. All the water from different mother-wells is collected in one well from where it is taken to the fields with the help of tunnel.

5.7.1.1.2 Tunnel: Underground horizontal tunnel is dug to bring the water from mother-well to the ground surface. It is connected to the mother-well at the bottom. While digging a sloppy is maintained due to which, water travels down. In this system no machine is used to bring the water to the fields.

5.7.1.1.3 Shafts: The third essential part of the *karez* is shafts. These shafts are wells which are dug vertically at a regular distance, normally 25-30 meters, throughout the *karez*. At the bottom these are connected with tunnels. Their main function is ventilation. While digging the tunnel, mud is also taken out through these shafts. These shafts are also very useful in the cleaning and maintenance of *karez*.

In spite of the modern technology and engineering, the methods of construction and maintenance of *karez*es are the same to that of hundred years ago. The people who dig the *karez* are called *karez kash*, *kahan kash* or *kannat*. In this field of digging *karez*es, Balochis are considered as the

experts. They usually inherit this profession. Some Afghans are also working in this field.

Generally, a meeting is held between the *karez* diggers and the owners of the *karez* before start of construction wherein they discuss about course of the *karez*, from where the *karez* will start and where it will end, where the mother-well would be dug, who will search for water under the ground before digging, and what method would be used.

Two traditional methods are used for searching water under the ground before they start digging the mother-well. In first method, a person holds two copper wires, one in each hand. He keeps these wires close but separate from each other and starts walking on the surface of the ground. Whenever he reaches the point where there is water underground, the ends of the wires touch each other. So they come to know that there is water in the deep. Some experts can even tell its depth. The natives think that the people having a specific blood group can only make a correct guess but they do not know which blood group.

In second method of finding water, a person holds a green 'Y' shaped branch in his hands. He holds this branch from the separate ends with both hands. He keeps it in upward direction and walks on the surface of the earth. When he reaches the point where there is water underground, the upper end of the branch automatically comes down and when the water finishes it goes up again. This practice is called *abbo* (water) *shanakht* (identification). Some people call it *tajarba* (experience).

While making a *Karez* first of all a mother-well is dug. If they do not find sufficient quantity of water in that well, they keep on digging more wells until and unless they are satisfied with the quantity. After completing mother-wells, they dug 2 feet deep hole of 3 feet diameter on the other side of mother-well where the *karez* ends. This becomes the mouth of the *karez*, from where the water comes out. The owners of the *karez* often point out this place. Similar holes are also dug between the mouth and the mother-well at a distance of 25

to 30 meters each. Later these holes are further deepened to make the shafts and the leader of the group (*karez-digger*) determines the depth. The most important thing in digging these shafts is to maintain the slope of the tunnel throughout the *karez*. So the depth of each shaft keeps on increasing from mother-well towards the mouth. The expert, leader of the group, calculates the depth of each shaft. Often one shaft is 1/6th or 1/8th of a foot deeper than the previous one. A rope is used to dig the shafts down to an accurate depth.

The work on horizontal tunnel starts after the completion of these vertical shafts. They start digging the tunnel from the mouth towards the mother-well. A line is drawn on the surface to keep the direction right. They just keep on connecting the shafts at the bottom through the tunnel.

Sometimes while digging the tunnel, the diggers come across a big stone or a rock, which they cannot pass through. They change the direction of the tunnel and bypass the rock. This bypassing technique is called *baghalbur*, and without this work on *karez* is not possible.

Often these *karez-diggers* work in a group comprising of four members. Two members work in underground tunnel. One of them digs the tunnel with a local made tool called as *ganti*. The other fills the mud in a bag and brings it to the bottom of shaft where he attaches it with a rope and gives a signal to the members present on the top to pull that out. Normally a pulley, locally called as *charkh*, is used for this purpose.

The mud, which comes out of the tunnel, is put around the opening of the shaft in shape of a heap to protect it from the external material, which often goes in with the wind and the floodwater, which can destroy the *karez*. This heap of mud is often visible from a distance.

A dam is made with the help of stones, iron net and cement, on the top of the *karez* near the mother-well to store rainwater flowing from the mountains. This water is absorbed by the earth and the level of water in the *karez* becomes higher. This dam also stops the floodwater, which could be harmful for the

crops. The mud in the dam, which comes down from the mountains with water, is very useful for the preparation of agricultural land.

For construction of a *karez* money is collected from the villagers and after the completion, shares are distributed accordingly. The person who gives more money gets more water. Nowadays, work on *karez* is done on contract basis. Cost of digging a shaft in soft area is Rs.80 per yard and in hard/hilly area it is Rs.500 per yard. For a tunnel it is Rs.200 and Rs.1600 per yard respectively. Shaft rates are applied in digging a mother-well, but when the water comes, digging becomes expensive i.e. 2000 rupees per yard.

5.7.1.2 Zandra Karez

Zandra karez was constructed in the village approximately 300 years ago when the people started giving attention to agriculture. This *karez* comes down to the village from the north. Its mother-well, locally called as *chashma*, is 2 kilometers away from the main road of the village. It has only one mother-well and 36 shafts. Among these 36 shafts, 18 are new and the other 18 are old ones. The shafts in the local language are called as *saa* and the tunnel as *lamboor*. About 80 years ago the old tunnel was blocked with mud and the natives had to dig a new tunnel. Thus they had to make new shafts. Now the old tunnel and shafts are nonfunctional. The distance between each shaft is about 25 meters. The distance between first shaft and mother-well is 550 meters. The depth of the mother-well is about 30 meter. The depth of shafts varies as the village does not have a smooth earth surface.

In 1935, the government made a drain from the last shaft of the karez to the village. This drain brings water to a pond alongside the main road. From this pond, another drain takes the water to another pond, which is present at a distance of 200 yards from the first one. From the second pond, water is distributed to three drains in different directions within the village. These drains pass through the living area to the fields. Some people have extended boundary walls of their houses over the drains to get water by keeping themselves inside the house, as there is no restriction on water for household use.

In 1973 the government constructed a dam at a distance of 500 meters from the mother-well on the upper side to store rainwater. The government neither took any contribution from the shareholders nor imposed any tax for this dam. A small tax was imposed by the government, called as *malia* for the drain, which is Rs.2.60 per *shanger* (three hours of karez water) per year. The government has also appointed a peon on salary for cleaning the drain. People are allowed to take mud from this dam for their lands free of cost.

The government releases funds for the *karez*es amounting to Rs.5000 to 10000 annually. This year i.e. 2007 the amount was Rs.7500. The government releases this fund to the head of Union Council through ZTBL which was previously known as Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP). From the head of Union Council the *mirabbs*²¹⁵ of *karez*es collect the amount and spend it for maintenance of the *karez*. This amount does not fulfill all the requirements so more money is collected from the people.

In 2006 the shareholders contributed Rs.300 per *shanger* (three hours of karez water) and started a project on the mother-well, which took two years to complete. They made three tunnels in the well in different directions to improve the level of water. One tunnel is 15 meters, while the other is 10 and the third one is 8 meters long. These tunnels fetch some more water to the mother well. In 2008 they were planning to make another well on top of the longest tunnel.

This *karez* needs cleaning and maintenance once in a year which is normally done in April and takes 3 to 4 days for its completion. For this purpose, labour as well as money is required. Every shareholder provides his services as labour according to his shares of water or pays money if he cannot work. This work on the *karez* by the shareholders is called *wragom* in local terminology. A person whose share is six hours (two *shangers*) of water has to work for one day. If he cannot work he may provide a person to work in his place or he has to pay money, otherwise his water could be stopped. This money is called

²¹⁵ Representative of the lineage who deals with the *karez* related issues.

as *nagha* and its amount is fixed by the *mirabbs* in accordance with the wages rates. By this money the *mirabbs* arrange the labourers who are easily available here. Most of the Afghans, who have migrated here work as labourer.

5.7.1.2.1 Uses of *Karez* Water

- The major function or use of the water of this *karez* is irrigation. Other than irrigation people use this water in houses. Some of the water in winter season is stored in a dam, which is made for the wells.
- Before 1980 there were six water mills, which were operated with the water of the *karez*. Now these water mills are not working because the people do not grow wheat now.
- In 1970 the government made a plan to provide electricity to the village by producing it with the help of water of the *karez* because the quantity of water, which flows in the *karez* is comparatively more than other *karezes*. But still there has been no work on this plan.

5.7.1.2.2 Implementation of Rule

Most of the *karez* related decisions, even at the government level, are made by following traditional rules written in a notebook, called *riwaj copy*. Whenever a decision situation arises this *riwaj copy* is consulted.

The government has also made some rules for *karez* and tube-wells. Implementation on keeping a distance of 500 yards between *karez* and the tube-wells was only observed during the fieldwork. Digging of well near the *karez* is prohibited because it decreases the water level in the mother-well. Only those people are allowed, who donate some land for *karez* where a new mother-well could be dug or the tunnel could be extended.

5.7.1.3 Social Organization of Zandra Karez

For every *karez*, a manager or a management committee is needed to control and solve *karez* related issues. The individual manager or each member of the committee is called as '*malik* of *karez*' or '*mirabb*'. Main function of manager/management committee is to collect money from the shareholders for cleaning and maintenance of the *karez* and to distribute water among them according to their shares. The manager can ask any shareholder to pay money or to provide his services as a labourer. If anybody refuses, he may stop his share of water.

These *mirabbs* are selected by the shareholders keeping in view their abilities and good relations. They are not given any reward for their services that is why often people are not willing to become *mirabb*. They work independently. They are not liable to any politician or government official.

In mid 1980s, Mr. Malik Abdul Wahid was serving as a *mirabb* of Zandra karez, He belonged to *Parakh khel*. In his period, the schedule for the water of Zandra karez was made for 16 days out of which 14 days were fixed for the shareholders. From the other two days, 6 hour-water was given to the *mirabb* as the reward of his services and the rest of the water was sold and the income from this water was spent on the *karez*. These extra two days of water was called as *kacha pani*. Mr. Abdul Wahid served as *mirabb* for 30 years. For first 20 years, he took 6 hours, and for the next 10 years 3 hours as the reward of his services. In 1985 his services were terminated by the villagers. He was replaced by six new *mirabbs*. The people give three different reasons for his replacement:

1. He was too old to work for *karez*. He was 90 years old.
2. He used to take three hours extra water as reward of his services and the schedule of water in his time was of 16 days. The people of the village did not want to give him extra time and they also wanted to eliminate *kacha pani* from the schedule. They wanted to make it of 14 days.

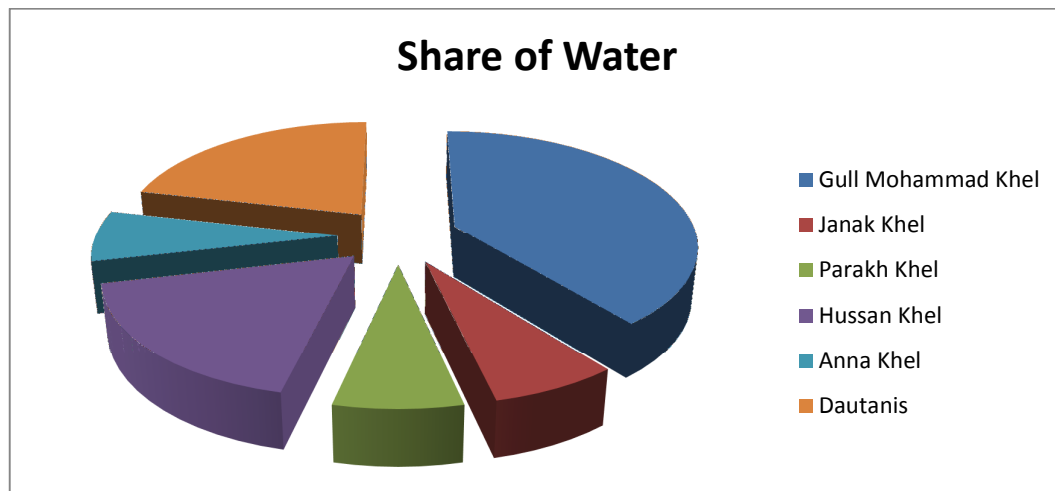
3. In early 1980s when the elections of Union Council were held, all the shareholders were divided into two parties: Parakh Khel and Janak Khel. Both parties had their own candidates for the same seat. This formation of parties became the cause of conflict, which lasted for two years. The rival group was not willing to accept that *mirabb* anymore. Thus he was dismissed and the conflict was resolved. After his dismissal, all 6 lineages using water of this *karez* selected their own representative. Five of them belong to Kaker tribe and the sixth one belongs to Dautanis.

The names of the committee members with their respected lineages and their respective share of water are given in the following table:

Table 18: Mirabbs of Zandra Karez

Sr.	Name	<i>Khail</i> (lineage)	Share
1	Syed Mohammad	Gull Mohammad Khel	5.5 <i>shaboroze</i>
2	Mohammad All	Janak Khel	1 <i>shaboroze</i>
3	Syed Mohammad	Parakh Khel	1 <i>shaboroze</i>
4	Hazrat	Hussan Khel	2.5 <i>shaboroze</i>
5	Haji Mazullah	Anna Khel	1 <i>shaboroze</i>
6	Wazeer Mohammad	Dautanis	3 <i>shaboroze</i>

Figure 18: Share of Karez Water among Khels



Each member is responsible for his own *khail*. He collects the contribution and can ask the people to go for work on *karez* from his own *khail*. He is also responsible for the distribution of water among his own people. He has no powers to say anything to the members of the other party. All these *mirabbs* don't take anything as reward of their services.

All these *mirabbs* act as a group on the matters of *karez*. All of them have equal status. No one is the head of the group. Haji Mazullah is responsible for dealing with money matters. He collects the money of contribution from the other *mirabbs*. He also collects aids from the government. He spends the money on *karez* and keeps the record with him. He has been selected for this post of treasurer by the group members with mutual consensus. He belongs to Anna khel and has one *shaboroze* (24 hours of *karez* water) under his control.

In the beginning of the year when the people start irrigating their fields, all the *mirabbs* get together and have a meeting for making a schedule for the year. In this schedule they fix the turns of the shareholders according to their times. They give this schedule to the people who follow it. One can take his turn after 14 days, once in day time and the next in the night.

This schedule is of 14 *shaboroze*. One *shaboroze* is equal to 24 hours. Half of it is called *wakat* (time). Each *shaboroze* has 8 *shangers* (three hours of *karez* water). One shanger is equal to 8 *pals*; so one *pal* is equal to 22.30 minutes. All these 14 *shaboroze* are divided into six *khels*. Five of them are Panizais and the sixth one is Dautanies. These Dautanies have 3 *shaboroze* of water and the other 11 *shaboroze* are divided among Panizais. The Tarans share water with Panizais. They are not a separate party and have no representative.

All these representatives of different *khels* never had a conflict among them except once when all the members wanted to increase a day in the water schedule to help the poor people of the village, but Syed Mohammad who

belonged to Parakh Khel did not agree. The members of this group resolved the conflict in three days. They did not change the schedule.

The members of every *khel* cooperate with their representatives because all of them are considered as kinsmen. All the shareholders offer their services whenever asked by their respective *mirabb*. If they are unable to work, they can give money or provide any other labourer. If someone refuses to provide services or money, the *mirabb* can suspend his share, but it never occurred.

Being kinsmen, the members of *khel* have some obligations as well. They have to do something for each other. For example if someone is unable to work on *karez*, any of his kinsmen will go in place of him. If someone can't pay money, any other will do it for him. The people work for each other as and when needed on reciprocal basis. The work done for any other in return of work is called *sari*. No reward is taken for this work. The friends also come for help but often they are relatives, the members of the same *khel*. In conflicts, the people support the party of their own *khel* and if the conflict is between sub-tribes the people support their sub-tribe and same is the case with tribe.

Some shareholders of this *karez* exchange water with each other on 7th day and some people having surplus of water sell it. In both the cases preference is given to the kinsmen. They sell water to the kinsmen at lesser rates. Water is also distributed on the basis of *khels*, which is a reason of their cooperation with each other as well as with *mirabbs*.

Not only the kinsmen but other shareholders also co-operate with each other. And one reason for this cooperation is fear of conflict. If one *khel* does not co-operate with others the conflict may erupt between different *khels*. Another factor behind this co-operation is water. They know well if they do not co-operate with each other their share of water will be suspended.

5.7.1.4 Conflicts

Mostly the issues of water become the cause of conflicts and disputes. The clashes often take place in the winter when the natives follow no schedule of

getting water for their fields. The nature of these conflicts is not very serious. Mostly these conflicts stay at individual level. Lineages normally don't get involved.

5.7.1.4.1 Case Study: In January 1987, a conflict took place between two families of this village – Janak Khel and Parakh Khel. Mohammad Qasim of Janak khel cut the water toward his fields when Sher Mohammad of Parakh Khel was irrigating his fields. Sher Mohammad went to Mohammad Qasim and asked him why he had cut the water. Both of them exchanged harsh words. Qasim hit Sher Mohammad on his head with a stone and wounded him. Sher Mohammad came back home and told everything to his brother Noor Mohammad. Then Noor went to the fields of Qasim and hit him on his head with the backside of an axe and wounded him.

Levies arrested all the three persons. The wounded persons were first taken to the hospital and then to the office of *Tehsildar*, where they made a compromise and came back to their homes. After 3 days, 3 men came at night and beat Sher Mohammad with sticks. Again all the people were arrested by levies and taken to Deputy Commissioner who put them in jail.

5.7.1.4.2 Case Study: This conflict took place in January 1986 between two parties. The first party belonged to Parakh Khel comprising three brothers (Hamid, Sattar and Rashid), while the second one belonged to Gull Mohammad Khel comprising two brothers (Kadeer and Majeed). Hamid was irrigating his fields. Majeed cut the water. Hamid went to Majeed and asked him the reason. Majeed said, "First I'll give water to my fields then you can take it." Hamid said, "I was already giving water to my fields." Majeed did not agree, exchanged harsh words and threatened him. On this Hamid returned home, told his brother Sattar of this incidence. They took a gun and went to Majeed's field where they fired in the air twice, and cut that water again towards their fields.

The next evening Majeed along with three men raided Hamid's house with guns in their hands. Hamid and his two brothers were present at home. They

beat them with the butts, and also fired some bullets in the air. Hamid received serious injuries. Both the parties were arrested by *lavies* (a force which works like police). Hamid was first taken to the hospital, and then after three days, to the jail. All the accused were arrested for seven days. Hamid and party went to the house of Majeed after three days of their release and beat both of the brothers. On this both the parties were arrested again and imprisoned for two years.

Khels play an important part in the social organization of Zandra Karez. These are the *khels* which becomes the basis of water distribution, mutual cooperation among the people, conflicts and the resolution. The powers of *mirabbs* are also derived from the *khels*. Sometimes small conflicts arise between kinsmen, which end on distribution of property and formation of nuclear families.

5.7.1.5 Bowaries (wells)

From late 1970s onwards, *bowaries* (wells) were the second most important source of irrigation in the village. Now a better technology has been introduced in the village and these *bowaries* are rarely used. The people having smaller share of *karez* water for irrigation started making *bowaries* in their fields to fulfill the water needs. In the mid-1970s *karez* was the only source of irrigational water in the village. At that time, the people were not so much involved in horticulture/agriculture as they are now. The need for irrigational water gradually increased and *karez* alone couldn't fulfill those needs. So, the people have started making *bowaries*. Haji Payo Khan and Haji Khuda Dad were the pioneers who introduced this technology in this village. In mid 1980s, there were 32 *bowaries* in the village. Among those 32, 27 were operated through tractors and other five were working with diesel engines. Majority of the people having *bowaries* had their own tractors. The people who didn't have tractors got fitted diesel engines with their *bowaries*. The tractors were available on rent at the rate of Rs.300 per day (one day means 8 hours),

Orchards at an area of 95 acres were irrigated with this source. Most of the water was used by the owners to irrigate their own orchards. Some people having surplus water used to sell it to the others after fulfilling their own irrigational needs. In 1987 the rate of water from the well was 80 rupees per hour. This water was not sold on the contract basis. It could be sold to anybody who could pay the money. Some people in the village were giving water free of cost to the others who could arrange for a tractor to pull the water out. In late 1990s, the number of *bowaries* increased up to 83 but the tradition of providing water free of cost almost ended, and the rate of water was 300 rupees per hour. The technology also changed and most of the people started using electric motors in the *bowaries*.

The people constructed *bowaries* in their own land without government help and permission. The government has not imposed any tax on these *bowaries*. If someone starts digging *bowari* close to *karez* or another *bowari*, the government stops it, as there should be a distance of more than 500 yards between them. In such cases the natives complain the Assistant Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner and subsequently the action is taken through levies. There are twelve such *bowaries* on which the work was stopped for being close to the *karez*.

5.7.1.5.1 Construction of the *Bowaries*

Before digging wells, the methods of wires and 'Y' – shaped branch, which I have already discussed under *karez*, are used to find out the underground water. After finding water and selecting a suitable place for well, they start digging. The digging methods are also the same, used in digging the tunnels and shafts of the *karez*.

Normally, one gets water 22 – 25 meters deep in the earth. It depends upon weather. In the days when there are fewer rains, the water level goes down and the people have to dig more. Most of the *bowaries* don't have much water, and the people have to make *lamboors* (tunnels) in them to get some more water. Normal length of a *lamboor* is 30 to 35 meters. Some are longer and the longest is 200 meters. To dig long tunnels, they have to make shafts

as they do in *karez*. When the people pull that water out with the help of a tractor or an engine, the water finishes after some time in the bottom of the well. Then they have to wait to get more water. For example if the water gets finished in two hours, they have to wait for one hour or so for its filling. In rainy season the *bowaries* provide more water almost double than the dry season.

When water is found in a well, the owner distributes sweets in the village to express his happiness. And when the work is completed and the well becomes operational, they slaughter a goat and distribute meat among the people, labourers and the neighbours. This goat is for *sadka* and *khairat*.

The *bowaries* are of different sizes. The diameter of the well could be 9 feet, 12 feet or 18 feet. They have a pump in the bottom, operated with tractors. Some people make small *bowaries* of around one meter width in their houses for water of daily use. They are operated with the help of electric pump. The smaller wells do not have stairs in them. For cleaning people go inside with the help of rope.

5.7.2 MODERN IRRIGATION SYSTEM

In 2002, a major change in irrigation and water supply took place. The government with the help of natives started installing tube wells in the village, which are technologically far ahead than the wells and the *karez*. This improvement has been witnessed in the household water supply also. Now every household has a water connection and is linked with the pipeline.

5.7.2.1 Tube Wells

These tube wells are operated with electric motors and pumps, which pull water from 450 feet deep in the earth. Before installing these tube wells, 800 to 900 feet deep bore is dug through different machines. A pipe of three inch diameter is installed 450 feet deep in the bore. Sometimes, in the dry season when water goes deeper the people have to increase the length of the pipe without deepening the bore. After putting the pipe in the bore, a powerful electric motor and a pump are installed. A water tank is constructed near the tube well in which water is stored and further supplied to the fields for

irrigational purposes. This tank is rectangular in shape sizing 25'x30', with 4 feet depth, uncovered with no roof on the top. From this tank water travels to the fields through pipeline, so there is no wastage of water as it is in *karez* water because it flows through unpaved drains. The tube well water reaches the fields within 5 to 10 minutes whereas *karez* water takes hours to reach the fields particularly those located on the back of the village due to unpaved drains.

The quantity of water provided by these tube wells is much more than the *karez* or the wells. Presently, 70% of the irrigation water requirements are fulfilled by these tube wells whereas 30% by *karez*. The wells are not in use any more for irrigation. The importance of *karez* in their lives has for the first time decreased owing to the advent of new technology.

There are 40 tube wells in the village, 35 of them are privately owned and 5 are owned by the government. The government owned tube wells are used for domestic water supply and the private ones are used for irrigation. Some of the private tube wells are owned by the individuals and some others by the groups comprising kinsmen, depending upon the water requirement and affordability. The government provides half of the total cost to the natives for purchasing the equipment and installation.

Two NGOs – Jall and Pipeline – are also working on irrigational projects in the village. Jall is working to improve the condition of drains and Pipeline is providing pipelines in the village.

5.7.3 IMPACT OF MODERN IRRIGATION SYSTEM

These tube wells have provided solution to one of the major problems in the village. Undoubtedly it is development but it has brought about some significant changes in the socio-economic structure. Zandra Karez was not only providing the people with water for their irrigational and domestic needs but was also working as a cohesive force among their lineages. It kept the kinship relationship strong for a long time as it has become weaker. As I have mentioned earlier this village is a segmentary society. Their social

organization is based on the lineages. The *karez* water is also shared among the lineage members. In 1980s, the people could not refuse marriage proposals for sharing *karez* water. Same was the case with the other issues like politics, conflicts or economic transactions etc. however the situation is different today. Now the natives prefer the one who is economically sound and well educated even if he is not a kinsman. Water sharing has no significance for them anymore.

This new water technology has increased per-capita income of the natives. They have started investing on other than orchards. They are improving quality education to their children. Their purchasing power has increased many folds. The shops in the village reported that their sales on Eid Day were almost five times more than that of last two occasions. This increase in per-capita income is leading to a big change in the family structure. The joint families are breaking up into nuclear families. Many people have started their business in Quetta and for the purpose, one or two or even more members of the family have to leave the village while the others are staying in the village to look after the orchards. In some of these cases the family members divided their property separating their respective businesses in the village and the cities because the people living in the village have to put a lot of physical effort to take care of the orchards but the income in the end is distributed equally also to those who did not contributed physically. In most of the cases the people living in the village are not getting anything from the business their brothers are doing in Quetta or elsewhere.

5.8 ANALYSIS

In the above discussion some major structural change could be observed. In the beginning of 20th century people of the village were nomads and the apple economy changed their nomadic lifestyle to the permanent settlements. Subsistence economy has changed into market economy. In subsistence economy, people were growing crops for their domestic use and keeping cattle for meeting household needs, meaning thereby that they don't have to spend money to get anything from the market. On the other hand when it opened up into the market economy, the farmer started growing crops to sell

in the market and earn money. Now he has to buy almost everything for his personal use from the market. The money which he earns always falls short of his needs because of change in his consumption pattern. For example, in the past he drank *las*²¹⁶ to finish his thirst and served the same to his guests, but today he buys coca cola or any other soft drink for the purpose. Same is the case with other products which are available in the market and properly backed up with advertising.

Since the middle of 20th century, the village economy was only based on horticulture with apple as the main source of income, but now they are involved in different businesses and employment in public and private sector to earn additional income. In order to further supplement domestic income, the women have started working. Some of them have started producing home based handicrafts.

Joint families are breaking into nuclear families, which has changed the bigger land holding patterns to the small pieces of land. Special efforts were made by the Government as well as by the individual to expand the area under fruit orchards. A major shift from horticulture to the other occupations was also observed in the village. The sole dependence on apple economy has fallen from 74% to 22%. Now they are economically better-off as middle class also has emerged. They have their own cars, property and businesses.

In the field of horticulture use of technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers is clearly visible and it has grown during the last three decades. Before 1980s farmers were dependent upon animals for farming and the animal waste for urea. The low profit farm products are no more cultivated. Majority of the natives has replaced cheap quality apple trees with that of expensive ones. They have switching over to the types having great export value, local market demand and high profit. The market is also in transition from local market to the export. Before 1980s total production was consumed at local markets but now more than 40% of the apple is sold to the exporters. Improved irrigation system has also been

²¹⁶ Milk product; remaining liquid after taking out the butter from the milk

introduced in the village in public-private partnership and some further refinements have been brought with the help of NGOs. The traditional karez system has been replaced by tube-wells which has weakened their social integration.

The data presented in the chapter support the argument of the theorists of the world system analysis.

- Shift from subsistence economy to market economy supports the industry as the raw materials, which includes livestock and farm production are sold in the market to earn money and for personal consumption they are bought from the market produced or processed by the industry. So the ultimate beneficiary of this change remains the industrialist of core countries for being producer of all these products.
- Moving from horticulture economy to businesses and employments in public and private sector to earn additional income also benefits the industry as it finds cheap labour. Supplementary domestic income by the women folk through handicrafts helps to maintain low wage rates.
- When joint families break into nuclear families it normally results into urban migration where the majority of the adults work for the industry and their dependence upon the consumer products also increases.
- Technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers used in the village are imported from the core countries sometimes in shape of finished products and sometimes in shape of instillations, industrial supplies and fabricated parts.
- Use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers gives rise to health problems due to which medical bill increases and the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries gets benefit. The transfer of wealth by exploiting periphery and semi-periphery by core countries which encourages

rapid scientific development so that Western medicine and other scientific institutions could surpass underdeveloped countries of the world (for reference see section 1.9.4).

- Increase in the export of farm products supports Wallerstein argument where he says that world is becoming a single economic unit through exchange and trade with a vast diversity in division of labour among the countries.
- Intervention of core countries through NGOs and Government sector by providing financial development aid is also visible in the village.

Chapter 6

SECONDARY SOURCES OF INCOME IN THE VILLAGE

There were some secondary sources of income in the village. The details are described as under.

6.1 AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is regarded as the secondary source of income in the village. Almost every household has landholdings (except 6 landless families) wherein some crops are also grown along with apple orchards. The agricultural activities in the village mainly involve cultivation, irrigation, growing of crops and their harvesting. The agricultural economy depends on the ownership of land. Land ownership is of fundamental importance in terms of respect, prestige and status in the village. The important features of agricultural production include land, labour, capital and management (i.e. the owners and tenants, etc.).

6.1.1 Crop Pattern

The crops are cultivated according to the farmer's calendar. *Rabi* and *kharif* crops are grown in summer and winter respectively. The *rabi* crops are sown in October-November. Potatoes are the main *rabi* crop. They are cultivated in November and harvested in May. The *kharif* crops are sown in June-July. Peas are the main *kharif* crops of the village. Farmers cultivate this crop in June and harvest it in September. They, however, also cultivate vegetables and animals' fodder for domestic use. These agricultural products, potato and peas, are sold in Quetta, Karachi and the markets of southern Punjab.

6.2 LIVESTOCK

Livestock was another source of income in the village. Animals were very helpful in cultivation and also served as a source of diet. Until 10 years ago, almost every household in the village had animals including donkeys, cows, oxen, goats, sheep, hen, etc. Donkey was the most important among livestock. It was used to till and level the land as well as for bringing wood from mountains. Goats/sheep were raised for sale in the market. The cows

were important means of obtaining meat, milk and other dairy products. Cows' milk was used in households and surplus was sold to generate additional income. Cow dung was also a utility. Firstly it was used as manure to fertilize the land, and secondly, it was dried up in the shape of dung cakes (*upplay*) to be used as fuel and lastly, it was mixed up with mud plaster for better adhesion and smoother spread over the walls and roofs of the *kacha* houses. E.R. Wolf has also explained the similar situation.

"Cultivation is closely geared with livestock raising, large work animals draw and plough the harrows; they also provide manure for fields and aid in thrashing. In addition they furnish meat and milk, hides, wool and they can be mounted or harnessed to carts or wagons."

(1966)²¹⁷

Poultry was also important in livestock. Women by their modest effort to raise poultry could help improve household economy. Raising poultry involved almost no expenditures. The eggs and chickens were sold in the bazaar or to the villagers. The lower and lower middle class raised poultry for economic reasons, while the rest of the people did it for their domestic use. They stored surplus eggs for hatching. Some of the poor families had animals only for commercial purposes. The women used to take care of the animals and sell their products including, milk, butter, ghee, and dung. Their responsibility included cleaning, feeding, milking, processing and selling of animals' by-products.

In Zandra livestock was an important source of livelihood and was considered the sign of prestige and economic pursuit. However for the last 10 years, the situation has changed as technology has taken over the livestock in respect of cultivation. Tractors have replaced the donkeys to plough and level the fields. Some small land holders who cannot afford tractors are still using donkeys. Since the government has provided natural gas connection to every household, donkeys are not used to bring woods from mountains. The women have also abandoned making and using dung cakes. The farmers have started using fertilizers purchased from bazaar. The use of cattle's waste as

²¹⁷ Wolf, E. R. (1966). *Peasants*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

manure is very rare now, but still it is considered the best manure for the crops.

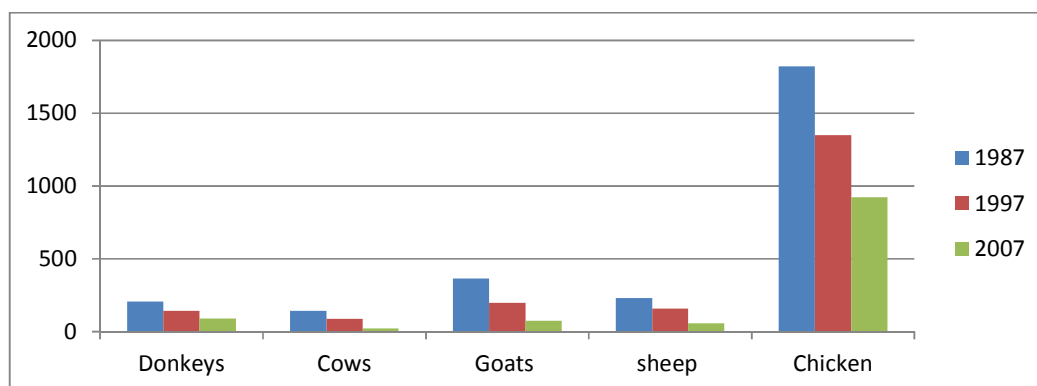
Now the trend of keeping animals at home is deteriorating as it has become very costly and it adds into their responsibilities. The new generation does not like to cut fodder from the fields, bring it home and serve it to the animals. It is also difficult to find a servant for this job. Second reason for not keeping animals is non-availability of space in the house. The residential area in the village is almost the same, but the number of households has almost doubled during the last three decades. Space available in the past for one house is now divided into two or even more and the open area for animals has now been constructed for living purposes. Third reason is the introduction of technology in the village and availability of animals' products in different types of packing in the bazaar. Presently, very few households have animals and most of them belong to lower and lower middle class. The responsibility of rearing and cleaning the animals has also been shifted from women to men as they are kept away from the houses at the farm land.

Table 19: Livestock Holdings in the Village

Livestock	1987	1997	2007
Donkeys	207	143	88
Cows	142	87	23
Goats	363	198	73
sheep	231	157	58
Chicken	1821	1348	923

(Source: field data)

Figure 19: Livestock Holdings in the Village



6.3 BUSINESS

Besides horticulture/agriculture involvement of the natives in other occupations is increasing day by day as the landholdings are decreasing due to frequent distribution and daily life requirements are increasing. People need to enhance their financial resources and that's why they have started different businesses in the village as well as in Quetta. Now the business has become the second largest contributor to the village economy. Traditionally, the people were involved in four categories of business, which includes shops, sale and purchase automobiles, property ownership and middlemen in fruit market, but now owing to development in technology, infrastructure and communication, a new category of professional drivers has also emerged. Following are the traditional and newly emerged business categories.

6.3.1 Shops: The first category of business is shop keeping which is considered as a respectable business. Some middle class people own shops in the village, selling different commodities of daily use. Presently, there are 68 shops in the village. In 1970s there were no shops around this road. There were few scattered shops in the village within the residential area. In 1987 there were only 12 shops and now in 2009 there are 68 shops. This increase in the number of shops very clearly shows an emergence of cash economy. Quetta is the nearest market from where they can buy and sell their products. These shops include the following.

Table 20: Shops in the village market

Sr.	SHOPS	#	Sr.	SHOPS	#
1	Tailors	8	11	Medical stores	2
2	Cloth shops	4	12	Vegetable shops	3
3	Spare parts	3	13	Electric/gas appliances	3
4	Workshops	2	14	Stationary	2
5	Tire shops	2	15	Pesticides for crops	2
6	Welders	2	16	Milk shops	1
7	Bakeries	2	17	Cement shop	1
8	Hotels	6	18	Grocery/general store	17
9	Meat shops	2	19	Barber	2
10	Wholesale	3	20	Patrol pump	1
Total					68

The following products are available in the general stores present in the Zandra on both sides of the main road.

Table 21: Products available in the village market

Sr	PRODUCTS	BRANDS	MANUFACTURER
1	Shampoo	Dove, Sun Silk	Unilever, London/USA
		Pantene, Herbal Essence	Procter & Gamble, Toronto
		Head & Shoulder	Procter & Gamble, Pakistan
		Gliss, Super Soft	Schwarzkopf & Henkel, Germany
		Hollywood Style	V.S Labs, USA
2	Face wash	Johnson's Baby Shampoo	Johnson & Johnson
		Deep Clean, Oilfree, Sensitive	Neutrogena
		St. Ives	St. Lves Laboratories, Inc
3	Body Lotion	Clean & Clear	India
		Lux	Unilever, Pakistan
		Dove	Dove, USA
		Yardley	Yardley, London
4	Soaps	Cocoa	London
		Lux, Safeguard, Lifebuoy	Unilever, Pakistan
		Dove	Dove, USA
5	Cosmetics	Cussons	Imperial Leather
		Vaseline Cream, Vaseline Oil	NS Butterfly, Pakistan
		Care Lotion, Fair & Lovely	Unilever, Pakistan
6	Toothpastes	Colgate, Medicam	Pakistan
		Mr. White, Doctor	London
		Soda White	USA
		Miswak	Pakistan
7	Blades	Treet, Viduyat	Treet Corporation, Pakistan
		7, 0 Clock	Gillete, Dubai
8	Undergarment	Bodymax, Laser	Pakistan
9	Socks	Bodymax, Gol, Ataaso, Laser	Pakistan
10	Juices	Nastle, Shezan, Olfrute, Owsum	Pakistan
11	Soft Drinks	Redbull	Austria
		Barbican	Malaysia
		Rani	UAE
		Fanta, Marinda, Coca Cola, Pepsi	Pakistan
		Sprite, 7up, Team	Pakistan
12	Butter	Blueband, Mumtaz, Nurpur, Nawar	Pakistan
13	Milk	Olper	Engro Food, Pakistan
		Milkpack	Nestle, Pakistan
		Nurpur	Nurpur Dairies Pakistan
		Tarang	Engro Food, Pakistan
14	Chocolates	Tola, Twix, Vip, Ripple	Mars Inc, USA
		Kit-Kat	Nestle
		Toblerone	Switzerland
		Cadburry	Pakistan
		Mars, Bounty, Snikers, Galaxy	Mars Inc, USA
15	Toffees	Sonet, Paradise, Now, Vita Milk	Pakistan
		Foxs	Indonesia
		Fanty, Cola, Imli, Eclairs	Candyland, Pakistan
16	Biscuits	Peanut Pik, Café, Coconut, Zeera	Bisconi, Pakistan
		Chocolate Chip, Butter Bite	Bisconi, Pakistan
		Candy	Lu, Pakistan

		Rio, Choccolato/ Lemon Sandwich	Peek Freens, Pakistan
17	Chips	Kurleez, Wavi	Ismail Industries, Pakistan
		Kurkure, Lays	Pepsi Cola
18	Bread	Sheer Mall, Bun, Morning Bread	Real Foods, Pakistan
19	Jams	Jams, Marmalades, Honey	Mitchell's Fruit Farms, Pakistan
		Chicken/ Chocolate Spread	Mitchell's Fruit Farms, Pakistan
		Jams, Marmalades	Youngs Limited, Pakistan
20	Tea	Brooke Bond, Yellow Label	Unilever, Pakistan
		Tetley	John's London
21	Detergents	Surf	Unilever, Pakistan
		Bright	Colgate Palmolive Pakistan
		Bonus, Arial	Reckitt Benckiser
22	Salt & pepper	Iodized/plain salt	National/Shan, Pakistan
		All types of pepper	National/Shan, Pakistan
23	Noodles	Four varieties	Maggy/ Kanoor, Pakistan
24	Groceries	Flour, pulses, sugar, etc.	All processed in factories

Majority of these products are international brands. Some of them are imported. Rest of them are manufactured in Pakistan but owned by big multinationals like Unilever, Reckitt Benckiser, Nestle, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, Peek Freens, Procter & Gamble, Johnson & Johnson, etc. There is a mix trend in electrical appliances, some of them were imported and some were manufactured in Pakistan but by the multinationals like Philips Electrical Company. Electronics are not available in the village. They are normally bought from Quetta. Modern allopathic medicines were also available in the drug stores. Automobile workshop and the tire shop also deals in the imported products as most of the spare parts and tires are not manufactured in Pakistan. Japanese tires are most popular in the village. This shows an increase in the dependency on the core countries during the last three decades.

Machine made Pakistani products are also available in the market like readymade sweaters, garments, shoes etc. Increase in the demand of the machine made products increases the reliance on the core countries because all the machinery and the spare parts are imported from there under heavy loans which keeps the never ending debts piling as pointed out by Frank (1991)²¹⁸. It is not only the machinery; Pakistan is dependent on these countries for energy resources required to operate them, as Pakistan is

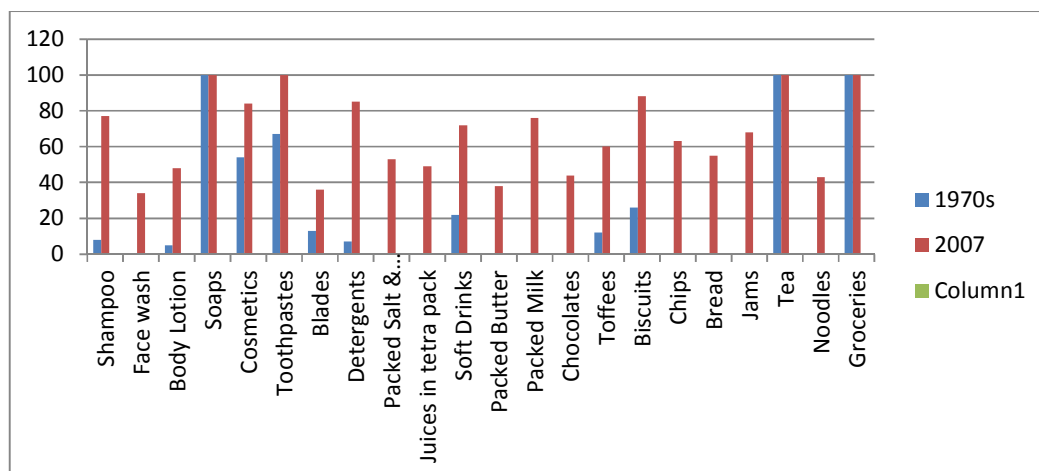
²¹⁸ Frank, A.G. (1991). No Escape from the Laws of World Economics. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 50, 21-32.

importing the petroleum products and depending on rental power plants owned by the multinationals for electricity.

Table 22: Domestic Consumption

Sr.	PRODUCTS	1970s		2007	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1	Shampoo	08	8%	77	77%
2	Face wash	0	0%	34	34%
3	Body Lotion	05	5%	48	48%
4	Soaps	100	100%	100	100%
5	Cosmetics	54	54%	84	84%
6	Toothpastes	67	67%	100	100%
7	Blades	13	13%	36	36%
8	Detergents	07	7%	85	85%
9	Packed Salt & pepper	0	0%	53	53%
10	Juices in tetra pack	0	0%	49	49%
11	Soft Drinks	22	22%	72	72%
12	Packed Butter	0	0%	38	38%
13	Packed Milk	0	0%	76	76%
14	Chocolates	0	0%	44	44%
15	Toffees	12	12%	60	60%
16	Biscuits	26	26%	88	88%
17	Chips	0	0%	63	63%
18	Bread	0	0%	55	55%
19	Jams	0	0%	68	68%
20	Tea	100	100%	100	100%
21	Noodles	0	0%	43	43%
22	Groceries	100	100%	100	100%

Figure 20: Domestic Consumption



The above figures show a massive increase in the domestic consumption of consumable products in last three decades. In 1970s products like face wash, packed salt & pepper, juices in tetra pack, packed butter & milk, chocolates, chips, bread, jams and noodles were not in use. Consumption of soft drinks, detergents, shampoos, body lotions and other cosmetics has been increased. Tea and soap were in use but now these are available in different brands.

6.3.2 Sale and Purchase of Automobiles: Some upper and middle class villagers are involved in sale and purchase of motor cars in Quetta. They do it when they have money after selling fruit in a specific season. They purchase new and second hand cars and sell them on some margin and earn money.

6.3.3 Property Ownership: Third type of business is the ownership of hotels and houses in Quetta from which they earn money regularly in the form of rent. Such people having property in Quetta live in the village, but often visit Quetta to collect the rent.

6.3.4 Middlemen in fruit business: The fourth category relates to orchards or fruit related business. All the people who buy fruit from the owner, pluck it from the trees, pack it, take it to the market and sell it fall under this category. All the physical handling of fruit from the farm to the market is done by these people. They are actually the industrial middlemen who deal with the farm products.

6.3.5 Professional Drivers: Another business activity emerged in the village during last 2 decades is of professional drivers. More than 100 drivers of the village are associated with different transport agencies. They are driving taxis and other public transport in Quetta. Some of them however drive trucks for fruits transportation among different cities of the country.

This shows a considerable development in business activity in the village, bringing visible changes in the lives of the villagers. During the last 3 decades

the most visible change has occurred in the first category, as a full-fledged market has been developed on both sides of the main road in the centre of the village. As mentioned earlier in 1970s, there were no shops on this road, and the village had few scattered shops in the residential area. In 1987, there were only 12 shops and in 2007, the number reached up to 68, implying emergence of market economy. Now more people are involved in this marketing business. The latest products which were recently marketed were available there.

6.4 EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

In mid 1980s there were a few natives doing government jobs in and outside the village. They included peons, clerks, levies personnel and some school teachers posted at Government Middle and Primary Schools for boys and Government Primary school for girls in Zandra.

Now the government and non-government services have become the second largest occupation of the natives as far as the number of the workers is concerned. However, in respect of its contribution to the total income of the village it stands at number three. Other government servants include Pakistan Army, Balochistan Police, Lady Health workers (LHWs), Lady Health Visitors (LHVs), a doctor, dispensers, and a midwife. The non-government employees belong to the field of teaching (mostly females) and industry (mostly men). Some of them are working in the village while the others go to Quetta on daily basis. There are a few people of the village who are working in other big cities like Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad and Multan etc. One person is working as a lecturer at a college in Islamabad.

During the last couple of decades there is a notable increase in the number of natives in the employment sector. The first reason is an increase in the literacy rate due to which people have started getting jobs. The second reason is an increase in the demand for consumer products for which more resources are needed. The working class especially living in the cities have a better access to these products and can enjoy better living conditions. The third reason is diminishing farm resources caused by the frequent distribution

of property. Fourth reason is to provide better educational facilities to their children. The people who are working in cities can really provide better education to their children. All three daughters of a native working in Quetta got admission in medical college and two of them are doctors now. Some people have migrated to the cities just for their children's education and for their survival in the cities they need employment. So we can say that due to economic and educational needs outwards migration has also started in the village.

6.5 MIGRATION

Migration is geographical mobility of the people from one place to another on permanent or temporary basis. There are two types of mobility horizontal and vertical. In horizontal mobility, people seek jobs, services and labour in nearby areas. A moving person, however, can hardly get high status. While in vertical mobility, people achieve higher economic position by moving to other cities or countries.

In the village, people migrate to other areas for push and pull factors. The push factors motivate the people towards jobs, wages and services to meet their ends, while pull factors include struggle for luxuries like better health facilities, higher education, better housing facilities, entertainment sources like television, cinema etc. Pull factors are responsible for male migration in higher income groups, while in low income groups have push factors for mobility of the young males.

Overseas immigration is not common in the village and cannot be treated as a source of income. Only two boys have gone abroad for getting higher education. Migration within the province and country is becoming common in the village as 81 families have migrated to different cities, mainly to Quetta. These people are involved in different types of businesses which include contractors, construction, automobile dealers, running hotels/restaurants and employment sector. Contractors are the people who are working with the government, NGOs and other agencies like road construction, water channels, dams and flood protection walls etc. In construction people

construct buildings and also deal in construction materials, having their own agencies of cement and iron etc. Some people are running hotels/restaurants in Quetta. In automobile business people are involved in sale and purchase of motor cars and motor cycles. Few of them have their own showrooms. A large number among these immigrants are employed in government as well as non-government sector. Some work on daily wages.

The boys who have gone to the cities for their education have started wearing European dresses like jeans, joggers t-shirts and jackets, but whenever they come back to the village they wear the same traditional dress. VCRs, dish-antennas, and musical devices are not very popular in the village as music and dance was never a part of their culture. The youth which has migrated to the cities go to cinemas, listen to the music and have the walk-mans but keep them hidden from their parents as they do not like them. Some boys in the village also want to buy VCRs, dish-antennas and other musical devices but cannot do it because of their parents' pressure. Some of the parents were also tense for their children because of internet and mobiles. So the cultural lag is very visible. Physical product is there but the acceptance for that product is not there.

Migration leaves different effects on family structures. In some cases, the males move to the urban areas with their families which create a nuclear family in the city but the joint family in the village stays intact. However, if the immigrant needs his share of property to invest in the city then normally property is distributed and the joint families break into nuclear families. Sometimes, only male members of the family move to cities to earn money, which strengthens the joint families in the village as their dependents have to stay back with them and the joint families have to support them. This male migration also leads to some serious social problem within family. Children have to live without their fathers, wives without their husbands and the old parents without their sons. A wife without husband often becomes victim of emotional disturbance, depression and other such problems.

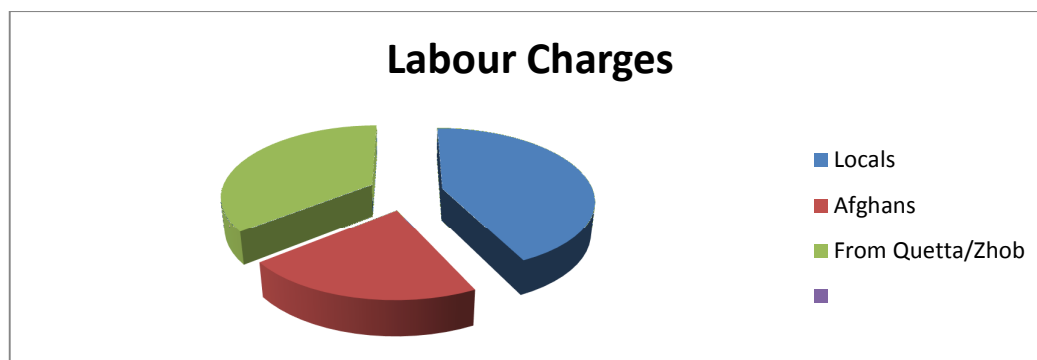
6.6 LABOUR

Very few natives work as labourers in the village. Mostly the labour comes from Quetta and Zhob. In fruit season i.e. from July to October, the Afghan refugees and Afghan nomads start coming to the area to work in the orchards on daily wages. Some Afghan refugees are living in tents around Zandra. They provide labour cheaper than that of the natives. The labour in the village work eight hours a day on daily basis.

Table 23: Labour Charges

Labour	Duration	Charges
Locals	8 hours	Rs.300/.
Afghans	8 hours	Rs.150/.
Labourers from Quetta & Zhob.	8 hours	Rs.250/.

Figure 21: Labour Charges



The table shows that the Afghan labour is getting the lowest charges i.e. Rs.150/- for eight hours, whereas the natives and the labourers from Zhob or Quetta charge Rs.300/- and Rs.250 respectively. Labour is also available on contract basis. The owner of an orchard can make a deal with labourers for the whole season.

6.7 TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

In addition to government jobs, businesses, labour and urban migration there are some traditional occupations in the village. Detail of these occupations is as under.

6.7.1 **Had System**

Had system is similar to *sepi*²¹⁹ *system* in Punjab and *jajmani system* in India. This system was working very well in the village before the introduction of apple economy. With the passage of time this system turned weak and today it has almost become non-existent.

Had system-master client relationship-can be defined as contract between the landowner or water owner and the occupational workers like blacksmith, barber and harmonium player. They are paid a share of dried meat or cash and water; whatever was fixed in a mutual contract. This contract is called as *had*.

The occupational workers used to perform their traditional jobs and get the mutually decided share of meat or water from different families. In the past barber, blacksmith, cobbler and tailors would perform their traditional duties under the *had system* in Zandra, but nowadays, all this has ceased to exist.

This *had system* is quite similar to *jajmani system* in India, as explained by Pauline Mahar Kolenda²²⁰ in the article, "Toward a Model of the Hindu *jajmani system*". The author relates *jajmani system* with caste system in India, but in Zandra, it was linked to occupational groups. The author says that a little progress has been made on the economic aspects of caste system. Higher castes are motivated by their need for lower caste labor and defiling services. The pervasive Hindu kinship values are important supports to these economic-ritual relationships of the *jajmani system*.

6.7.2 **Nai (Barber)**

Traditionally barber used to provide different types of services to the villagers in Zandra, which included hair cutting, cooking food at different ceremonies

²¹⁹ Master client relationship - In Punjab the working class is called *kami* who work for landlords. They are not paid on monthly basis instead they are given in shape of kind on *rabli* and *khari*)

²²⁰ Kolenda, P. M. (1967). Toward a Model of the Hindu Jajmani System. In G. Dalton (Ed), *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: The Natural History Press.

and delivering condolence and greeting messages inside and outside the village. He would receive gifts from the families to whom he broke the good news. Barber was the folk surgeon of the village, as he would conduct circumcision of newly born baby boys. The people paid him in kind at the time of harvest as reward of his services throughout the year. He did not wholly depend economically on '*had*' system, as sometimes he got payment in cash at the time of providing services.

The females of barber's family also got free food, gifts and money from different families under '*had*' system. The role of barber and his wife was highly important in arranging marriages. They also proved helpful in finding suitable matches for boys and girls in the village.

Today the only barber of the village does not work under *had system*. He has almost left his traditional jobs except hair cutting and cooking for which he charges cash. His main earning is from his one acre orchard with 70 trees of mixed apples. His children learn the family profession continuing it for generation to generation.

6.7.3 *Lohar (Blacksmith)*

Blacksmith makes agricultural tools, locks, knives, etc. He also repairs tractor-powered wells. He charges cash for his services. He is a non-horticulturist and landless person. He actually migrated from Afghanistan as a refugee and started living in a tent outside the village. In Zandra there is no local blacksmith however in old times, there were two in the village who used to work on *had system*.

6.7.4 *Mochi (cobbler)*

Cobbler in the village makes and repairs shoes. About 20 years ago, he was much busy in making shoes for the natives under '*had*' system. Now the people buy them from bazaar. The factory made shoes are generally liked in the village. However, there are a few people who still get their shoes made by him. Mostly he has to repair and polish the shoes. In this changing environment he has also changed his profession from making to selling

shoes. He brings the factory-made shoes from Quetta and sells them in the village. Some of his family members are engaged in other jobs like labour on daily wages. Most of his family members have primary level education.

6.7.5 Tailor

Traditionally, there was one tailor in the village to sew men's clothes under the *had* system. The women would sew their clothes by themselves. The women who were quite expert in tailoring would also offer their services to others on payment. At present the village has 8 tailoring shops with two to three tailors in each shop. They mostly sew men's clothes. One of them claims to be a specialist ladies tailor but the women prefer sewing their clothes at home or by the ladies who sew on payment basis. A few ladies, however have started going to the shops also.

6.7.6 Baje Walla

A person Kakar Panezai by ethnic status plays harmonium to entertain the people in the village on the special occasions like birth, marriage and Eid etc. He is also a good drummer. He earns money by harmonium playing but his main source of income is horticulture. His father also used to play harmonium under *had system*.

6.8 MONEY SAVINGS

The village does not have any bank, but there are two branches in the nearby town Ziarat. Many people of the village are aware of dealing with banks, as they do business through bank draft. Many of them have their accounts in the banks of Quetta and Ziarat and draw money according to their requirements. The women, however, keep small amounts of savings normally five to ten thousand rupees at home to meet any emergency. They hide their savings at odd places in the house.

6.9 SALE OF PROPERTY

It rarely occurs that people sell property in Zandra. They, however, can do it to meet some special needs which may include marriage ceremonies or construction of *pacca* house. Spending lavishly on both activities enhances

their social status. However it is not considered as a good act, whatever the excuses may be. People too try their best not to do it.

6.10 WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION IN ECONOMY

Ever since life began on earth, the roles man and women started taking shape in the daily routine. And as time passed, these roles became so defined that mankind evolved itself in the present status of our society today. This evolution is constantly emerging itself to the materialistic needs of our society in general.

Gradually, "Economics" became the axis of survival in a society. It began to give meaning to the functions of daily life of both man and woman. Land, materialistic wealth, status, clan, tribe, race all began to contribute towards performance of duties and obligations of each and every individual of our society. Very soon, the term "Economic level" began to take shape and now after hundreds of years, this term has become an intricate part of our social setup. As time passed, specialized functions and duties of both the genders began to take form. It became woman's duty to worry about cooking, sweeping, washing of clothes and household utensils, knitting, embroidery and a host of other duties and obligations related to the household. Thus, the term "housewife" came into existence. Men, on the other hand, took care of providing food and security. Hence, the terms "bread earner" and "head of the family" came into existence. In agrarian societies, both men and women started working side by side in the fields. In urban and suburban/semi-urban areas, the women have to work in different offices, hospitals, schools, colleges, etc. As the role of women took a new turn, it reflected on productivity having a direct impact on economic aspect of the society. This direct involvement of women in the economy has brought economic prosperity to the community as well as in the country, but on the other hand, it is destroying our social structures.

A lot has been written on women for a couple of decade particularly during 1980s and 1990s. As for women, authors usually write about violence against women, male dominance, discriminations against them, female subordination,

inequality of rights, nonparticipation in decision making, workloads, overburdened, under stress, low status, financial un-empowerment, and many things which always show a miserable condition of the women. But actually this is not the case always. No doubt there are certain evidences favouring the above but there is another side of the picture which shows a lot of respect, status, decision making power and economic empowerment for the women.

While talking about economic empowerment of women Rosaldo et al (1974)²²¹ in their article, "Women, culture and society: A theoretical overview" has used terms 'public sphere' and 'domestic sphere". She says that women are excluded from the public sphere and are only relegated to the domestic or private one. She emphasizes the fact that the biological equipment of woman emanates such cultural connotations which reduce her mobility and confines her to the domestic/private sphere for a major portion of her life. The biological equipment refers to her ability to procreate and nurse her children. It means that women's mobility is confined to the household which, in turn, leads them to take up the charge of managing the household and perform the chores associated with it.

In Pakistani rural society, woman is mainly responsible for household tasks like daily routine work, child care and maintenance of the house. She is supposed to remain within the boundaries of house and her work in productive economy and income generation has not been paid due attention by the society. The contribution of rural women of Zandra both in household as well as in wage-earning activities is the main concern of this discussion.

In order to understand the woman's contribution in production and economy, it is more useful to begin with her position in the house. Term domestic work refers to the work done at home for household which has economic value. The only socially recognized part of work of a rural woman is housekeeping, which includes taking care of children, peeling and cutting of vegetables, cooking, washing clothes and utensils or supervising the work of elder

²²¹ Rosaldo, M. Z. & Lamphere, M. (1974). *Women Culture and Society*. In M. Z. Rosaldo and M. Lamphere (Eds), Stanford: Stanford University Press.

children. This whole activity is not considered as part of economy, because it does not generate any income. As a matter of fact all domestic activities consume time and labour, implying that by performing domestic activities, women indirectly participate in the household economy.

6.10.1 DIRECT CONTRIBUTION

In Pakistan much material is not available on rural women and their work. Some foreign scholars conducted studies on this subject but they mainly focused on socio-legal position of women or they discussed working women in urban areas. One can agree with Nici Nelson when she says,

"The problem is that many South Asian anthropologists have been interested in ritual life and kinship or public sector matters such as caste or village politics. As a result there is more known about variations in style and cultural background of purdah, the ideology of women's position in society, marriage ritual and women's role in the family than about women's work in villages and what they supply in the way of goods and services"

(1979)²²²

Nadia H. Yousaf et al talk about the women's contribution in family economy. They say,

"Women often help gather sticks for firewood, help care for domestic animals such as cows, goats and chickens, walk long distance for fetching water and arduously prepare food as well as work on the family farm. Those tasks contribute greatly to the family's economic wellbeing and many of them would need to be purchased if they were not provided by women"

(1983)²²³

The role of women is not confined to household keeping. The household economy is not male-monopolized, but the women from their young age start participating in economic activities by keeping livestock and poultry, besides doing a number of other Jobs. The men are supposed to be the earning hands of the family, but the women besides their domestic and child rearing

²²² Nelson, N. (1979). *"Why has development neglected rural women"*, A review of the South Asian Literature, Pergaman press,

²²³ Yousaf, H. N., Anker, R. & Mayra, B. (Eds). (1983). *Women's Role and Population Trend in Third World*. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

activities, play a major role in the household economy. So the activities of men and women are different, but both supplement to each other. According to Ursula Sharma,

"One of the problems which confront us when we consider the relationship between agricultural and domestic work in rural households is that in many families these tasks are not discrete spheres of activity, but part of a continuum of tasks. Cleaning cattle shed and milking a buffalo might be regarded as agricultural work since they contribute to the production of a basic food, milk. But these activities could just as well be seen as preliminaries to a domestic activity, the preparation of a meal. For a woman who does the work, the distinction is not very relevant. The work is all part of a round of activities which are done in the home or in the family's fields, all of which she does in her capacity of wife or daughter. Work place and home are only distinct and separate places for those women who are in paid employment"

(1982)²²⁴

Women belonging to horticultural/agricultural families contribute significantly in the fields, but in Zandra, majority of the women belonging to these families don't work in orchards. Only the women from lower class families which cannot afford the labour work in the fields. Women from middle class only contribute in those activities which could be performed at home like cleaning, storage etc. The ladies belonging to upper middle class don't even do this. They hire these services from Afghan women who also work in the fields on daily wages. She further states that,

"...the kind and degree of participation in agriculture depend on a woman's class. The wives of the new class of capitalist landowners do not play any direct part in farming as a rule. They may be involved in some kinds of decision making regarding land management, but the management and cultivation of these highly profitable farms is becoming more and more a "male" profession even though the farms are still run as "family" businesses. More and more technical training is required and girls are not sent to agricultural colleges. At the other end of social scale, the wives of laborers and small farmers still participate in agriculture as day laborers at harvesting, weeding time, etc., but there is less work available to them because of the mechanization of

²²⁴ Sharma, U. (1982). *Women, Work and Property in North-West India*. New York: Tavistock Publication.

agriculture. Women in middle peasant households play a relatively small part in cultivation, although they still take the main responsibility for the care of cattle and are involved in agriculture indirectly in various ways"

(ibid)

As mentioned earlier the people of the village are mainly associated with horticulture. Most of them have their orchards. Agriculture is there but at a very small level where fewer activities are performed and less labour is required. The agricultural activities start with crop production cycle. In crop preparation activities, the Afghan women work on daily wages to help the men. The land leveling, ploughing and sowing of seeds are mostly done by the males. These women help them in fertilizer and cow dung spreading in the fields. They also cut fodder for the cattle. In the orchards, the women also help the males at different stages of fruit production. As far as the economic contribution is concerned, these activities are of significant importance.

A change has been witnessed in the women involvement in horticulture/agriculture activities. First the women belonging to the upper class left working in the fields, then the middle class and now the lower class is also avoiding doing this work. Today majority of the women belonging to poor families works in the fields.

During the fruit plucking and harvesting season the wage labourer women have to spend more time in the fields. They go to the field early in the morning and work there till noon. They return to the field in the afternoon and work there till sunset. Storage of fruits and vegetables is very important task as proper storage of different varieties of these items, implies not only product improvement but also increased farm income. Women play an important role in this because storage of the fruit and crops is extensively women domain and specialization activities. The same was also observed by Boeson while he was working in Pakhtoon area. He wrote an article titled "Conflicts of solidarity in Pakhtoon women's life". He writes,

"The male control of means of subsistence is based on their control of land and vital productive resources and on their monopoly of all jobs in connection with trade and services, since these are in the 'public sphere' from which women are excluded. The only type of work that is left for women is processing and preparing the mainly agricultural products from the joint resources of the household, and possibly (in families of tenants and small farmers) helping in cultivating its land. In this way she, too, is actively involved in the household economy of her husband (or father if she is unmarried)"

(1983)²²⁵

The same is true in Zandra as the women belonging to the horticultural and agricultural families do not work in the fields. They process and prepare the farm products while staying at home. Only the women belonging to the Afghan families help in cultivation in the fields. I would like to argue with the writer on his approach towards this fact. He has expressed his concern over women non-participation in farm activities in the extreme conditions. He could have appreciated their husbands for not forcing them to work in the fields in extremely hot and muddy conditions for which a woman is not made for. These feminists are determined not to give any space to the male. Whether he is doing good or bad for his woman, he is criticized and the woman is always supported. Let us assume what could have happened, if he had seen a woman working in the field under the sun, he must have uttered out, "*sar gai, sar gai, sar gai*" (burnt). Putting less responsibility on the women is also discrimination with them. Male does the hardship and keeps woman at peace in the house is treated as discrimination. After reading different material written by the feminists, the only thing which comes to my mind about their attitude towards male is, 'don't let him breath'.

6.10.1.1 Handicrafts

Women in Zandra after completing their household chores do not sit idle. They start making different handicraft even while gossiping. These handicrafts are sold to the middleman who comes to the village after regular intervals and collects these handmade products. The women from middle and upper class are less involved in making the handicrafts, and if they make anything they

²²⁵ Boesen, I. (1983). Conflicts of Solidarity in Pukhtoon Women's Lives, In Utas Bo (Ed), *Women in Islamic Societies*. Great Britain: Curzon press.

rarely sell it. The working class too has low trend of handicraft making. Among the handicrafts embroidery is the most popular. Majority of the woman in the village knows the art of embroidery. They start learning this art from the early age. They do embroidery on shirts, veil, bed sheets, cushion covers, tablecloths, pillow covers and mantel covers for the household use and for their dowry.

After the embroidery, crochet work is the most popular handicraft among the women in the village. Few years back, crochet work was out of fashion, but now it is in. The women like to wear a veil with a crochet laces/border and shirts with crochet neck and sleeves. Besides doing crochet work on veil and shirts, women also make beautiful crochet table covers, bedcovers, dressing table covers and/sofa backs in beautiful designs. Two types of thread i.e. silken and woolen are used in it. The crochet work with silken thread is complicated and more time consuming, while with woolen thread it is easy to do in less time.

Knitting is also very popular among the women. They are so expert that they knit one full sleeve sweater in a week and a half sleeves sweater in three to four days. Now the trend of wearing handmade sweaters is decreasing day by day and the people have started using readymade sweaters.

The women from the lower and lower-middle class sell these handicrafts. They take orders from the village as well as from the middleman and produce the items according to their demand. Knitting is still the most profitable activity because such orders continue to pour in throughout the winter season. Stitching Quilts/mattresses is another source of income for the women particularly in the winter season as they are still in use. The women generally stitch one quilt and two bed mattress in a day.

Making and selling toys is another source of income for the women belonging to lower class. It is consuming as they have to go outside the village on foot to bring the mud, which they carry on their heads. After making the toys women hand them over to the men who put them in basket and sell them in Zandra

and nearby villages. They go out for selling early in the morning and return before the sunset. The toys include utensils of daily use like bucket, stove and small animals including bull, dog, sparrow, horse etc.

6.10.1.2 Maids

There are some Afghan women who earn their living by working in others houses, providing various services including washing and pressing the clothes, washing utensils, cleaning house, kneading flour, cleaning and storing wheat, bringing water from *karez* or the wells and working in the field during harvesting season. In return of their services, they are paid in cash or kind. According to Nadia H. Yousaf et al,

"It is common for women in the third world to earn money by doing services for others such as laundering, food processing, sewing, grooming etc. These activities particularly among poor households, constitute an important component of household income"

(1983)²²⁶

After finishing their own work at home these Afghan women go to work to others' houses. Most of them work in more than two houses. These maids used to bring water from *karez* or the wells for other people also, and get some money against each cane of water. Since 2002, this practice of bringing water from *karez* or the wells has almost finished because the government has provided water connections to every household. Now these Afghan women bring water for their personal use because they do not have water connections in their tents. They also work at the orchards on wages during the fruit plucking season. These women provide services in the fields on daily wage basis. They also provide their services for cleaning and grinding the wheat grains at homes for domestic use. In the past they used to be paid in kind, but now they all are paid in cash. Barbara Rogers says,

"Most of the women particularly in the poorer households support the family by hiring themselves out for harvesting and other agricultural work. And these rural women in the poorest household make the

²²⁶ Yousaf, H. N., Anker, R. & Mayra, B. (Eds). (1983). *Women's Role and Population Trend in Third World*. Great Britain: Anthony Rowe Ltd.

greatest relative contribution to subsistence and where their contribution is most explicitly recognized by all members of the family".
(1980)²²⁷

These maids are an earning hand of their families. In many cases, they contribute more than that of their male partner because their husbands are daily wage labourers.

6.10.1.3 Female Teachers

Teaching is the most popular occupation among the women of the village. It is considered respectable profession to earn regular income every month. The role of female teachers as contributors to the household economy is debatable, which we would discuss in detail later.

Trends have changed in Zandra. The number of educated females is increasing day by day, who prefer to teach in schools. Many women of Zandra go to schools in neighboring villages. Some are teaching in Quetta. They work seven to eight hours in schools six days a week. Majority of the lady teachers in the village don't do their domestic work. Those who are living in nuclear families hire maids for the purpose. They spend major portion of their salary in hiring domestic servants.

6.10.1.4 Working in Schools as Aaya (maid)

The lower class women also get jobs in schools as *aaya*, (maid, female caretaker for the children) which helps them develop the household economy by making little financial contribution. These *aaya* render minor services in school like cleaning and dusting the classrooms and furniture, preparing tea for teachers, washing utensils, bringing minor things for the school from the nearby shop and ringing bell after every forty five minutes.

6.10.1.5 Dai (Midwife)

There are 4 qualified midwives in Zandra, two of them are experienced. They can conduct normal delivery cases. They also give medicines to the patients.

²²⁷ Rogers, B. (1980). *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*. Great Britain: Anchor press.

They are unable to handle serious case and send them to hospitals in Quetta. One of them is very competent having thirty years' experience.

6.10.2 INDIRECT CONTRIBUTION

In today's developed world women are participating in formal as well as informal activities on equal grounds, including religion, politics, economics, kinship and household activities. In third world countries, however, the situation is different. Most of the women are confined to houses with the responsibility of housekeeping, which consumes a lot of time and energy but it is always unpaid and least rewarded. According to Ann Oakley

"House work is described as never ending job. It is said by some to be more tiring physically than a paid job, by others it takes a greater emotional task, house work as manual work is thus part it higher up the scale of job prestige"

(1978)²²⁸

In Zandra, like everywhere, women play different roles as wife, mother, sister and daughter. As a wife, she plays the role of a housekeeper, a friend of her spouse, follower in various household activities etc. Being a mother she has the most creative role to play. She bears and rears the children. As a daughter she brings joy and comfort to her family and specially provides relief to her mother by sharing her responsibilities of household work. In this way, woman has different roles by which she is contributing to her household economy she may contribute directly to the household economy by earning money and also indirectly by saving money and by doing all the house work by herself otherwise she may have to hire maids or servants. Thus, woman's work is as important as man's. She performs full time daily duties without any payment, besides her necessary domestic activities. Hence, household work becomes an indirect economic activity, through which the women contribute in their household economy.

The women in every house of Zandra are engaged in economic activities, direct or indirect. There are various factors, which have been mentioned such

²²⁸ Oakley, A. (1978). *The Sociology of House Work*. Great Britain: Pitmass Press Balo.

as age and status of women within the household determine their direct and indirect economic role. Women belonging to different age groups possess different productive potentials. Their economic roles determine their status in the family. These economic roles have brought changes in their behaviours, which have an impact on the family structure. The direct and indirect economic contribution has different types of impact on the family structure.

This discussion would help analyze the issues related to economic empowerment of women and its impact on family structure. The changes occurring in the family structure and the role played by women empowerment in it are also to be viewed. Some scholars say that women being half of the population are not working posing a serious threat to economic prosperity of a country. It was observed in the field that economically empowered working women were working less than the women involved in household chores. It is just the importance of work. Normally, more importance is given to women's direct economic activities because the flow of money is visible, while in indirect activities, it is invisible. The indirect ones may bring more economical benefits, but may be, at some other time. Proper socialization and training of children could be more important than earning money. That would also prove economically more beneficial for the future.

Women directly or indirectly contribute to the household which proves greatly helpful in improving economic contribution of the family members. As mentioned earlier direct contribution means when the women are earning money through different activities and indirect means their contribution in the household chores which are unpaid but contributing a lot in the economy. Undoubtedly a family is an economic unit and everybody either male or a female is contributing into it. Direct contribution is very clear that you earn money and contribute. The indirect contribution does not make sense to many people. They always consider it as a burden over the women but they never realize the importance of this work. Many people speak in favour of direct economic contribution and discourage women to do their household works. Applebaum writes about work,

"Work is like a spine which structures the way people live, how they make contact with material and social reality, and how they achieve status and self-esteem... Work is basic to the human condition, to the creation of the human environment, and to the context of human relationships"

(1992)²²⁹

Household chores of women play an important part in household as well as overall economy of the society. Let's assume if the women refuse to work at home, men would be left with two options - either to work themselves or hire services. If they themselves start doing all the works, their capability and potential at work would suffer because when people are worried about their home they can't utilize their maximum potential. They always stay in two minds. Working at office with worries of home decreases their efficiency. The deteriorating efficiency is harmful for the personal career as well as the overall productivity. This is the reason why the big multinationals always provide all facilities at home to their employees whenever they hire them, so that the efficiency should be maximized. As for hiring of services is concerned let's assume a person who is working for Rs.10000 per month. When his wife stops doing household chores, he has to hire servants for the purpose and pay a heavy amount to them. In this situation he would not work for the same salary and may demand Rs.20000 per month. When this is the case with everybody, the employer would have no other option but to pay the demanded amount. In this way profit margin will decrease and the prices will go up. This would affect the overall economy of the country.

Women also indirectly contribute through socialization of their children. The mothers belonging to the middle class teach their daughters how to live in the given economic condition. They learn how to adjust and accommodate in meager financial resources. This socialization helps them throughout their life. Even after their marriages, they don't demand anything from their husbands which they can't afford. Thus the activities performed by women in the household are as important as any other economic activity.

²²⁹ Applebaum, H. (1992). *The Concept of Work Ancient: Medieval and Modern*. New York: New York Press.

6.10.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL NORMS DEFINING WOMEN'S POSITION

It is generally assumed that the women's status in the society is not equal to that of men. Women have less control on their lives. Respectability and social acceptability of women depend on strict adherence to the standard of feminine modesty and sexual seclusion. Traditionally, Pakistani society is patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal. Male is the only source of providing security and status to female. Women are expected to do only household chores. They have no political and economic rights.

Traditionally in the village women reconciled themselves with the life of hardship and poverty because they had been educated on the same lines wherein they had a role in the development of the area. However the efficient role of rural women working together with men was one of the primary means by which women's actual position in different fields of life was judged.

However a close and deep study about the condition of women in the village reveals that women in various fields share equal rights and prestige with men. These days the economically empowered women of Zandra belonging to middle and upper classes do not have to face any hardships in their lives. They are living comfortable lives because they have money to spend and can hire services.

6.10.4 POSITION OF ECONOMICALLY EMPOWERED WOMEN:

To study women's position, the society from where they belong also needs to be studied. Western researchers believe that Muslim women are submissive, but in reality the situation is different. Women have limited but important powers within the household and in the economic sphere.

The life of rural women relates to a complete range of socio-economic activity. They are responsible for the household duties like daily routine work, child care and maintenance of the house, besides representing productive potential. The daily household activities of women have no visible economic value, but in fact, they carry great economic importance because their

household work facilitates men to earn more money by remaining busy in the job. In Zandra women make indirect economic contribution but their position remain less than the economically empowered women.

Wage earning women have higher status than that of non-wage earning women. The women belonging to poor households earn money by selling milk, milk products, poultry, eggs, or by tailoring. These women spend the earnings on their own wishes. In very few cases they spend their money on domestic requirement like if women are either self-supporter of the household or their husbands have little earning.

6.10.5 IMPACT OF WOMEN'S WORK ON MALES

Women are working well in almost every field and their productivity at work place is very good. Most of them are very efficient workers. But their contribution towards household economy is negligible. Here a question arises whether we should call it productive that a woman is working well outside but not contributing to the household. They say that it is man's responsibility to provide money for household expenditures. If so what is woman's responsibility? Is it household chores? If yes, does it not suffer in her absence from the house? Does she not create problems for her husband? And does it not affect his productivity in such a situation? In the village the husbands were sacrificing a lot for their wives to continue working.

6.10.5.1 Case Study: There is a couple living in the village. The wife is a teacher having a graduate degree. She teaches at the government girls' school while the husband is just matric running a shop in the village. The wife goes to her school in the morning where she stays till 3.00 pm. In her absence the husband stays at home, looks after the children and his mother who had a paralysis attack, does the household chores. The shop remains closed till the wife returns. The household expenditures are mainly met with the husband's income.

The wife is quite conscious of the fact that the house has been disturbed by her work. She, however says, "It is always good to work as it gives you an

edge on your husband. I always make him realize that it is because of me that we are meeting the household expenditures. I know my contribution is not much because I have to spend a lot to keep myself up to date for the job. I have to spend 10 times more than a normal nonworking middle class woman. I have a servant and also hired a transport on monthly basis. After making all these expenditures, I am left with a petty amount to contribute to the household. My children are not properly looked after. They are poor in their education. Their personality development is not to the level that I wanted to make. My house is not well managed and clean. I feel disturbed because of these irregularities and often clash with my husband. I often shout at him to release my tension. In spite of all that I prefer working because it gives me some advantages also. I don't have to look after my mother-in-law, which actually I don't want. In my absence, my husband does most of her works. Secondly, I don't have to look after the guests especially from my in-laws because we have less interaction with them due to my busy routine. Thirdly I have a commanding position in my home. It is always better to work if you ever want to keep your husband in control. He stays your obedient even if you don't contribute anything at home.

A sample of 50 families whose women were working as teachers or health workers in Zandra or in the neighbouring villages was taken. Majority of them were living in nuclear families. Only seven of the women all living in nuclear families, belonging to lower middle class were financially contributing and supporting their husbands. When I asked the reason six of them quoted almost the same reason, "My husband has to send money to his parents. If he keeps on sending money they don't disturb us otherwise they ask us to come back and live with them." The other ladies are paying a major part of their salary to the maids. They spend the rest of the amount on making dresses for their own. Neither they work at home nor do they contribute. All the household expenditures are borne by the husbands. When I asked them, 'why you work', I got different answers, which have been mentioned below.

- I like working.
- It helps me leading a comfortable life.
- It helps me living in the village even after my marriage.
- I don't have to work at home after my duty because my family realizes that I have got tired.
- I have kept my husband away from his family.
- My in-laws can't interfere in my affairs.
- We don't need to meet our relatives because we don't have time for that.
- It provides me higher status in the family.
- I feel more authoritative in the family.
- I can dictate my terms to my husband.
- The husband should know that I have money.
- I am the decision maker in my home. My husband always asks me what to do.

6.10.6 WORK OR LEISURE

A lot has been written and talked about this issue. Most of us associate work with women and leisure with men. It is always said that women are overburdened and the men have more leisure time in their lives. In many cases it is not true. Before going into the discussion we must define both the terms. It has always been difficult to define work and leisure. In economics, work is classified into three categories:

- A relation between work and output that is work is conceived as leading some sort of output.
- It is conceptualized in terms of employment or unemployment.
- In terms of allocation of time between work and leisure.

From these three categories of work, we can see that economists are associating work activities with older notion of labor activities, that is, priced and sold in the market. The economists' concept of work is subservient to some sort of production. Their viewpoint is basically professional.

But if we take anthropologists' viewpoint, work involves many other activities. For instance,

- Some sort of use of energy;
- Some sort of routine repetitive activity;
- It is also referred to activities which are considered socially necessary;
- That activity which is performed for other people.
- It is also conceptualized in terms of its purpose.
- Sometimes references are also made in terms that a particular work is done in a particular place.
- Work can also be analyzed in terms of physical transformation of environment.

Social anthropologists bring the notion of control to conceive work in a broader perspective. What is done, how it is done, who does it and importantly how and by whom it is evaluated that this is work? Hence, for anthropologists, work is social transaction. It is as much about social interaction as about material production. According to the Social Science Encyclopedia,

"Work can refer to any physical and/or mental activities which transform natural materials into a more useful form, improve human knowledge and understanding of the world, and/or provide or distribute goods to other. The definition of work cannot be limited to references to activities alone, however, but must also consider the purposes for which, and the social context within which, those activities are being carried out"

(1985)²³⁰

Leisure is equally difficult to define and the Social Science Encyclopedia has defined it as,

"It can be used to refer to a quality of life (leisure as the mark of a gentleman), or to refer to some combination of time, activity and experience: time free from work and other necessary activities such as

²³⁰ Kuper, A. & Kuper, J. (1985). *The Social Science Encyclopedia*. Lahore: Wajidali's (pvt.) ltd,

eating and sleeping; 'play' activities which are outside normal routines; and experiences which are intrinsically rewarding."

(ibid)

While leisure is fairly easy to be distinguished from paid employment, but it is quite difficult to distinguish it from other forms of work such as housework. Leisure should be distinguished from free time according to Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

"Leisure should be distinguished from free time that is time left free not only from regular employment but also from overtime and from time spent in travel to and from the work place. Free time includes leisure, as well as all other activities that take place outside the context of gainful employment. The personal needs of eating, sleeping, and caring for one's health and appearance, as well as familial, social, civic and religious obligations, must all be attended to in one's free time."

(1972)²³¹

Everybody has his/her own perception of work and leisure. As this research is concerned with women's work the women's perception about work and leisure was noted. They couldn't define work and leisure properly, not in the form of a statement, but they replied in yes or no to the questions asked from them. When asked what is work? The instant reply was farming (*zamindarah*) and then household activities like cooking, washing and the like. Later on, they all added embroidery, sewing, knitting and crochet to it, even though they do it in their spare time. Growing of vegetables in their garden was also included in the definition of work. When they were asked whether studying and getting education was a work, they replied in affirmative, because, according to them, this takes a lot of time. After these replies, the definition of work for them comes out to be: "Work is any activity in which physical energy and time are used up and which is also productive."

It was very difficult for them to understand the term 'leisure'. According to definition of leisure given in encyclopedias, the only leisure activity they have is visiting a friend's house for having a chat or gossiping. However for them,

²³¹ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

leisure is any spare time. All the time spent in sleeping, taking a rest, watching movies, listening to music is considered as leisure time.

In light of above discussion we see women of the village, belonging to lower class as overworked. They work in orchards, houses as maids, schools as *aayas* (caretaker for children) *etc.* They also have to perform their household chores. As we move upwards in the economic based hierarchy, we find the quantity of work decreasing for women. The women belonging to the upper class hardly have to do any work at home. Same is the case with economically empowered working ladies belonging to the middle class. They hire maids for household chores who do everything for them.

Female anthropologist, Eglar²³², did a study in a Punjabi village in 1960, titled, "Punjabi village in Pakistan". In the chapter titled "The village in winter", Eglar has very beautifully portrayed women activities both of the land owner class and also the *kami* women, which they perform throughout the day. Their daily routine shows that the work done by *kami* women is far more than that of a women belonging to the land owner class. Eglar's criteria of difference in work are only based on two classes-the land owner class and the *kamis*. While, on the other hand, I have stratified the village in respect of people's wealth and assets. Hence, in my case, land owners, for instance, can have any of the three levels.

Being in majority among the working class, let us see how teachers spend their days. Majority of them make breakfast for them as well as for their families, except those who have full time maids. At about 8.00 am, they reach their schools and work there till 2.00 pm. In the schools, they teach 5 to 7 classes a day and they have to stay there till the end. They come back home at about 2.30 to 3.00 pm. In their absence, their mothers take care of their children and cook for them. This is one of the reasons that they don't want to leave the village even after their marriages. Maids come in the afternoon and do rest of the household chores like washing of clothes and utensils, cleaning

²³² Eglar, Z. (1960). *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University.

and dusting etc. The teachers don't have to do much in evenings except supervising their maids. The maids arrange for the dinner. After the dinner they have to clean the utensils used for the dinner themselves because the maids normally leave before that.

It is quite visible from the daily routine of the working class women of this village that they have a lot of leisure time in their life. Here a question arises are they really overworked or burdened as claimed by the feminists.

The core countries are investing in the peripheral regions to occupy their big markets. By developing industry in the peripheral countries, they develop market for their own products. As industry comes and development starts, the subsistence economy changes into market economy, which creates a market for finished products marketed by the capitalist industry. By bringing the people of poor countries to the market economy they actually create a cheap labour force for them. They pay 10 times less than that what they have to pay in their own countries. The implementation of labour laws in peripheral countries is normally very poor. The industrialists force the labour to work for longer hours. They don't provide safeties and securities to the workers and there are also no environmental issues. So they are saving money through this cheap labour, and secondly, they evade taxes. The tax laws in peripheral regions are often very lenient and the tax payment ratio is also very low. The multinationals from the core countries set up their units in the underdeveloped countries with different names and show to their governments as if they are buying these products from there and save taxes.

Phenomenon of women economic empowerment can also be seen in light of the above discussion. The core countries want to have a big and cheap labour force in underdeveloped countries. They want to bring the labour rates even lower by bringing women in employment sector as the work force increases the wage rate decreases. Thus by propagating the idea of economic empowerment of women they are serving their own vested interests.

The working woman who spends more than half of the day in office or at any other work place needs rest in remaining part of the day to get herself ready for another days work. In this situation she cannot do her household chores. She has to hire services by paying quite a descent amount. She also has to keep herself fit for the job requiring new clothes, new shoes and cosmetics. Transportation too has to be arranged. There are many other things which need to be taken care of. The ladies mostly run short of money, and their husbands have to help them in fulfilling their requirements, which the nonworking class does not demand. The demand and consumption pattern of working ladies are often different from others because they have more exposure to the open market. They often spend more on the shopping as compared to nonworking class. Due to their social contacts number of guests and the expenditure on hospitality also increases. The husbands feel happy that their wives are earning which, but in real sense they are rather spending on their wives.

There are also some indirect costs of making women economically empowered, which we usually do not calculate. The working women cannot pay full attention towards their children leaving a bad impact on their education, health and personality development. They cannot do the household chores, which finally ends up in lack of efficiency at work for their husbands. Owing to the third person's involvement, in form of maids and servants, their privacy suffers and they become more vulnerable to thefts and robberies. A cordial household environment cannot develop because of their nonparticipation in the household chores. So this economic empowerment of the women leads to family dismemberment and joint families spilt-up into nuclear families.

6.11 ANALYSIS

The discussion so far clearly shows that there is a development in the field of horticulture and agriculture. There is a very visible change from the traditional to the modern method. Same is the case with the other occupational groups. The traditional occupations and economic systems are replaced by the modern. Women are more empowered then in the past. Major changes were

also observed in the lives of the natives especially with reference to division of labour. Their professions are changing. Initially they were cattle herders then they became agriculturalists and finally adopted horticulture. With the introduction of new technology their labour and work style also changed. There is a visible change in the daily routines of both men and women. Initially the women were involved in the form as well as the livestock activities, but now it is very rare. With the introduction of electrical home appliances the ladies have a lots of leisure time. Male migration also has changed their daily routine and decision making. The women have to perform duties which were actually associated with males. They have to visit the schools of their children, take their children to BHU for treatment when they are sick and sometimes have to go to the bazaar for shopping which really was a rare phenomenon because of *parda*.

Agriculture is regarded as the secondary source of income in the village. Major crops are potato, peas, vegetables and animals' fodder. Initially these crops were consumed at domestic level but now potato and peas are sold in the market. Livestock was another source of income in the village. Animals were helpful in cultivation, transportation and also served as a source of diet. Cow dung was used as manure and fuel. During the last 10 years technology, chemical fertilizers, natural gas and packed dairy products have replaced the livestock in the village.

Besides horticulture/agriculture some other occupations are also becoming popular in the village which includes business, professional driving, government jobs, migration and labour. The business includes shop keeping, sale and purchase of automobiles, rental property and the industrial middlemen for farm products. The traditional occupations are barbers, blacksmith, cobbler, tailor and a folk musical instrumental player. *Barter system* and *sepi system* which are locally called as *had system* no more existing in the village. About 30 years ago, there was no market in the village, but now there is a proper market having 68 shops in the middle of the village, where all the modern products of daily use are available. Many such products were available in the shops, which were even newly introduced in Islamabad.

A major change from homemade products to consumer products mostly from the core countries was observed in the village. So the data substantiate my hypothesis,

“Cash economy in the area has resulted in growth of per-capita income and increased the volume of consumer goods and thus “improved” the material quality of life.”

Natives have started migrating towards the cities in pursuit of jobs, businesses, wages, services and luxuries like better health facilities, higher education, better housing facilities, entertainment sources like television, cinema etc. As mentioned earlier there are 81 families that have migrated from the village to Quetta and some other cities, which resulted into breakup of joint families into nuclear families and in some cases distribution of property also. Eight families of these 81 are living in Quetta to enjoy better lifestyle, having better educational and health facilities, but the heads of the households are still working in the village. They, however, visit their families once a week. Some of the families in the village have constructed their houses in Quetta but have not moved there. They have sent any male member of the family to Quetta, who works there and takes care of the house. The others family members could go and live their whenever needed. The children live there for their education and females for better healthcare and treatment facilities especially during their pregnancies and childbirth. About 32 men have been living out of the village for their work and their families are living in the village. So urban migration from the village could be categorized into three types i.e. all members of the family migrated, male migrated and in some cases female and children migrated leaving the male in the village. Youth migrated to cities has started wearing Western dresses. They have started using musical devices like walk-mans etc. Overseas immigration is not common in the village. Only two boys have gone abroad for getting higher education.

There is no bank in the village but the natives keep bank accounts in Quetta and Ziarat. Property ownership is also becoming popular among the villagers.

The affluent class is buying plots, houses, shops and hotels in Quetta and other urban areas.

The rural women of Zandra are contributing both in housekeeping as well as in wage-earning activities. Housekeeping includes taking care of children, peeling and cutting of vegetables, cooking, washing clothes and utensils or supervising the work of elder children. This whole activity is an indirectly participate in the household economy. Other than housekeeping women play a major role in the household economy by keeping livestock and poultry. They also contribute significantly in the horticultural/agricultural economy. Outdoor work in the fields is done by the lower class women. Middle and upper class women help in storage of the fruit and crops as an indoor activity.

Mundy and Lynn (2001)²³³ have mentioned that the international agencies from core countries have started providing financial and technical assistance in the field of education to the peripheral countries through NGOs to set the goals and syllabus of their choice in the schools. It is not in the field of education only they are providing financial assistance for promoting handicrafts in the village also. The second option used by these agencies for promotion of handicrafts is through middleman who often visits the villages and gives certain initiatives to the people especially the women to make and sell handicrafts. Some notable NGOs such as NCHD, Taraki Foundation, Pipelines, and Jall are working in the irrigation, education and health sectors. NCHD and Taraki Foundation along with their educational projects are working for the promotion of handicrafts in the village. Women make handicrafts which are sold in the village as well as to the middleman who comes to the village after regular intervals and collects these handmade products. The women from the lower and lower-middle class make these handicrafts on demand also. Making and selling toys is another source of income for them. Some women work as maids, teachers, midwife and LHVs.

²³³ Mundy, K. & Murphy, L. (2001). Transnational advocacy, global civil society?: Emerging evidence from the field of education. *Comparative Education Review*, 45, 85-126.

Women in the village in various fields share equal rights and prestige with men. Economically empowered women belonging to middle and upper classes do not have to face any hardships in their lives. Wage earning women have higher status than that of non-wage earning women. Most of the wage-earning women do not contribute in household economy as it is considered as man's responsibility to provide money for household expenditures. On the other hand husbands contribute a lot for their wives to continue working.

Certain important points have been further analyzed by linking to conceptual and theoretical discussions, which are as under.

- Marketing of their major crops shows a shift from subsistence to cash economy which is always beneficial for industry. Use of technology, pesticides, chemical fertilizers, and packed dairy products shows dependence upon the core countries.
- Natives are in need to adopt other occupations as it is becoming difficult for them to survive on horticulture/agriculture and livestock only. Traditional occupations and economic systems are replaced by the modern. In this situation the other available option is the industry where the people serve directly or indirectly. This situation is created by the industry by introducing and marketing new products every day with shorter life cycles which need to be replaced earlier. The heavy advertisement of these products increases the lust for money among the people. So this becomes a dual benefit for the core countries as it creates market for their products and provides labour for their industry. Reliance on these consumable products and living in the industrial environment creates malnutrition and other health hazards which increases medical bills and support the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries.
- This lust for money stimulates the people to migrate to cities, which obviously increases population in cities and decreases farm related

activities. It also casts negative impact on the families. Children have to live without their fathers, wives without their husbands and the old parents without their sons. Socialization of children without father often leads to some bad results because only money cannot fulfill all requirements. Without husband, wife often becomes victim of emotional disturbance, depression and other such problems. The elderly persons become more vulnerable to thefts and robberies because taking care of money or the expensive products sent by their sons becomes difficult at such an old age. At an old age, a man probably needs sons rather than money.

- The migration from villages to cities proves beneficial for the industry because the industrialist can have cheap labour. By having extra workforce available in the market, they can easily exploit the poor villagers offering them low remuneration. They enjoy this situation as the workforce belonging to rural areas does not have awareness of its rights. According to the world system theorists this situation does not prevail for a long time as the workforce becomes aware of their rights with the passage of time. Until then core countries are benefited as many of them have their industry in the periphery.
- A person living in cities uses more consumer products which benefits the industry. The customer normally pays whatever the marketers demand because their products are backed up with advertising which helps to create a link between high prices and better quality in consumer's mind. Edible products do not match the nutritional level of the homemade items and thus cause malnutrition leading to health problems. The people striving for more money often work more than normal and takes less care for their diet. While working they eat whatever is available, so their health starts deteriorating because of the malnutrition and overworked. This malnutrition and health problems increase medical bill of the consumer which again goes to the industry.

- Poor health automatically creates a vicious circle which starts from poor health leads to more expenditure, which becomes a cause of poverty and poverty causes malnutrition, and this malnutrition reflects as poor health. This vicious circle creates a dependency on core countries.
- As a result of male migration, man living away from his wife may go to sex workers for satisfaction of his sexual desire from where he may carry different types of diseases, which further transfer to his wife also. This again increases the medical bill, which becomes a source of profit for the pharmaceutical industry owned by the core countries.
- The handicraft production supports the industry in different ways. It supplements domestic economy which keeps the wage rates low. The middlemen are paying less to the craftsperson and enjoying big profit margins in the open market. Women keep themselves busy in making handicrafts and give less time to the household chores which increases their reliance on the consumer products. Population of the village starts increasing as it increases the workforce. More family members will make more handicrafts. Bigger population is a bigger market for the industry. It also supports their pharmaceutical industry in a way that women start losing their health because of overworked and pregnancies after regular intervals to increase the workforce. Deteriorating health in peripheral countries always give boost to pharmaceutical industry in core countries.
- In recent past the core countries have provided huge financial assistance to the NGOs in Pakistan to create awareness among women and their families so that the women should be part of economic activity. This type of investment also supports their cause. It benefits the core countries in different ways. It develops a market for their products and provides a cheap labour force for them. Poor implementation of labour laws gives a chance to the industrialists to

enjoy long working hours without providing safeties and securities to the workers. Raw materials, lenient tax laws and absence of environmental issues are some other opportunities for the multinationals. The points raised by Wallerstein in this regard seem valid.

- Evidence of overseas migration for educational purpose is also there in the village which according to the world system theorists may support the brain-drain programme of the core countries.

The above discussion supports the world system approach. The argument developed by Wallerstein (1974²³⁴, 1980²³⁵, 1989²³⁶), Samir Amin (1970)²³⁷ (1973)²³⁸, Cardoso and Falleto (1969)²³⁹, Santos (1970a)²⁴⁰ (1970b)²⁴¹, Rodney (1974)²⁴², and Andre Gunder Frank (1969)²⁴³ seems valid (for reference see section 1.9.3.).

²³⁴ Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world system, vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. New York: Academic Press.

²³⁵ Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy. 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

²³⁶ Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world system, vol. III: The second great expansion of the capitalist world economy 1730-1840s*. San Diego: Academic Press.

²³⁷ Amin, S. (1970). *L'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale; critique de la théorie du sous-développement*. Dakar: IFAN.

²³⁸ Amin, S. (1973). *Neo-colonialism in West Africa*. Hamondsworth, UK: Penguin.

²³⁹ Cardoso, F. H. & Falleto, E. (1969). *Dependenciay desarrollo en América Latina*. Mexico City: Siglo Ventiuno.

²⁴⁰ Dos Santos, T. (1970a). *Dependenciaeconómica y cambiorevolucionario*. Caracas: Nueva Izquierda.

²⁴¹ Dos Santos, T. (1970b). The Structure of Dependency. *American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231-236.

²⁴² Rodney, W. (1974). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

²⁴³ Frank, G. (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Chapter 7

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION SECTOR

According to 1998 Census literacy rate in Pakistan is 45% with males comprising 56.5% and females 32.6%. In urban areas literacy rate is 64.70%, while in rural areas it is 34.40%. Only 20.80% females in rural areas are literate in Pakistan. According to UNESCO report on Literacy Trends and Statistics,

“A comparison between the urban and rural population of Pakistan and between males and females reveals that rural literacy rate (34.4%) is less than that urban (64.70%) and female literacy rate (32.6%) is less than male (56.5%).”

(2002)²⁴⁴

The low female literacy rate especially in the rural areas creates many problems for the females themselves as well as for the society. Being half of the population of the country, women cannot play their role in national development effectively due to low literacy level. While talking about low literacy rate Ghafoor says,

“In most of the villages of Pakistan female literacy rate is low, in spite of fact that Government has taken several measures and suggested much for improvement of literacy rate in villages. Education is necessary for both male and female child without any discrimination.”

(1994)²⁴⁵

In Pakistani society, generally parents discriminate between male and female children. They prefer sons to daughters, considering them as helping hands to the family. Parents believe that whatever they are spending on sons is an investment worth a return whereas spending on daughters is wastage because they are considered as liabilities. Traditionally, parents do not

²⁴⁴ UNESCO. (2002). *Report on Literacy Trends and Statistics in Pakistan*. Islamabad: UNESCO Office.

²⁴⁵ Ghafoor, A. (1994). *Quest for Adult Literacy*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

depend upon daughters. Thus there is no financial benefit for parents to educate them.

This part of research deals with male and female education. An attempt has been made to note development in educational sector over the years as well as the changes brought by education. This chapter will also look into gender discrimination during the process of education in Zandra. The parents' perception regarding their daughters' education has also been discussed. The people are aware of the importance of literacy, but there is a gender gap, as they are still reluctant to send their daughters to the schools.

Preferences are different for boys and girls in respect of education due to certain reasons. Different types of discriminating factors and the elements responsible for it have been explained in this part of the thesis. Changes taken place in attitudes and educational systems for both boys and girls during the last three decades and their impact on the social structure have also been discussed. However before going into this discussion, we need to understand some relevant terms like gender, gender roles, gender neutrality and female subordination.

7.1 GENDER

Most of the times, 'Gender' is confused with 'sex'. 'Sex' refers to biological and physical differences between men and women in terms of physiques, genes and hormones. Gender, however, refers to men and women as two types of persons, and has more to do with the social and cultural construction of ideas about masculinity and femininity and the roles assigned to them. Oakley refers to,

“Sex as the biological division into female and male; and parallel and socially unequal division of men and women into femininity and masculinity.”

(1981)²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ Oakley, A. (1981). *On women*. Worcester: Book plan.

The sex roles are assigned to a person on the basis of gender. Gender is the sexual classification (classification of being male or female). According to Britannica CD 2000 Deluxe Edition,

“Gender identity is not fixed at birth...is modified and expanded by social factors as the child matures...gender identity develops by means of parental example, social reinforcement and language.”
(2000)²⁴⁷

While talking about gender, Berg says it is different from sex, which has to do with biological characteristics of a person, whereas gender refers to social creation of girls, boys, women and men.

"Gender is a basic category by which the social world is organized. It is the social role of being a female or male."
(1973)²⁴⁸

Gender identity and role are based on physical characteristics in one way or the other, as Calhoun and Light in their book "Sociology", say that from the moment a baby is born, it is classified as either a girl or a boy on the basis of physical appearance. They state that biological differences are basic to the destination of male and female. According to Calhoun and Light,

"Society establishes a set of cultural expectations for each gender; children are taught to conform to what their society expects of them as either a boy or a girl."
(1994)²⁴⁹

So when talking of gender we are not referring only to biological differences between men and women, but also taking society and culture into account, and that how they fuse to mold these two categories i.e. male and female.

²⁴⁷ Britannica, C.D. (2000). Deluxe Edition, Copyright © 1994-2000 Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

²⁴⁸ Berg, A. (1973). *The Nutrition Factor*. Washington, D. C: The Brookings Institution.

²⁴⁹ Calhoun, C. & Light, D. (1994). *Sociology*, Susan Keller (Ed). USA: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

7.2 GENDER NEUTRALITY

This term refers to gender-neutral environment, meaning that male and female are equal at every level. Gender equality by no means seeks elimination of biological differences in two sexes, but that the two have equal rights in productive, re-productive, economic and socio-cultural sphere, so that neither of them is dominated or controlled by the other.

7.3 FEMALE SUBORDINATION

It is a situation in which relationship between man and woman within a social process leads to disadvantage of woman due to her subordination to man. It can be understood as an ideological process, taking place in the realm of attitudes and values wherein people in a society ascribe lesser value to women's gender at the level of behavior and action. The process that can be used to comprehend this phenomenon is that of 'ideological praxis' given by Foucault in *Culture Power and History*. Foucault says,

“Keeping this stance in my mind I am arguing that the actions or praxis of a group of people belonging to a specific culture are a result of their ideology about the world around them, since all actions and aspects of human actions are symbolically created. Ideology is a process that creates symbols through which actions are created. The ideology and symbolic constructions of culture always create some sort of domination whether it is racial or gendered. The dominant groups in society then reify this ideology so that it becomes a way of life for people rather than a cultural construction.”

(1994)²⁵⁰

According to Geertz every action situation is the locus of reification; and because such reification is the practical key and the ontological root of domination, every action situation is the site or negotiation for, or struggle against, domination. He says,

²⁵⁰ Foucault, M. (1994). *Two lectures in Culture, Power and History*. N. B. Dirks, G. Eley & S. B. Ortner (Eds.). Princeton University Press.

"Reification is that process through which people appropriate their created histories as natural, through which cultural constructions are imbued with a sense of inevitable."

(1977)²⁵¹

Thus when people in a society end up believing that women are inferior to men and that their contribution in economic and non-economic spheres is less, or they are the weaker sex capable of only biological reproduction; or when women are excluded from certain activities or confined to certain activities defined for them through reification of ideology; it becomes obvious that the ideological praxis regarding women's inferior role has been injected into society by the dominating segment of society, in this case men. This sexist ideological praxis is reified to the extent where a subordinated position of women to men seems natural to the society's member.

7.4 GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology defines discrimination as,

"The differential treatment of persons according to their classification as members of particular categories such as race, sex, age social class etc. It is distinguished from prejudice, which is the unfavourable or discriminatory attitudes (not actions) towards persons of different categories."

(1986)²⁵²

Gender discrimination is not a new phenomenon. It was there, when in Arabia, before the advent of Islam, men used to bury the girl child alive. It is still thriving in this modern world when (like in India) female infanticide is being practiced. It prevailed when women were sold out in the market as slaves. It still persists when she is being trafficked and sold out for prostitution.

Gender discrimination, the age-old system of inequality between man and woman has resulted in low value of a girl child. Parents always pray for a son.

²⁵¹ Geertz. (1977). *Symbolic anthropology*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

²⁵² Seymour, S. (1986). *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*. New York: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

The situation is worse in rural areas where birth of a girl brings sadness, while birth of a boy is welcomed as well as celebrated with lots of fun fare.

The discrimination at behavioral level is actually steered by discriminatory beliefs, which were found in the village too. People have different beliefs about their sons and daughters. They wish to have a son rather than a daughter. Parents pray to have a son because he will continue the name of the family, earn money and look after his old parents. They do not celebrate daughter's birth; considering her a burden because she does not earn money. She is considered as an extra mouth to be fed in a family, regardless of the fact that she compensates her nonparticipation in the economic activity by working the whole day at home. She has to cook food, sweep and clean the house, wash clothes etc. In extra time she does embroidery, stitching etc. Even after all this hard work, she is considered as a burden.

Most of the respondents were of the view that the girls should not speak loudly and their voice should not cross the boundaries of the house. Girls were generally believed as more obedient than boys. Boys, on the other hand, were expected to be naughty and that they could speak as loud as they wanted. Nobody could correct them except their fathers and elder brothers. A number of the informants believed that girls are more responsible than boys, soft natured and weaker while boys are hard tempered.

It is considered very bad in the village to seek girl's consent for her marriage. The girl who herself talks in favour or against her marriage or groom is considered *bayghairat* (shameless). Many respondents said that people don't tolerate others talking about their daughters, sisters, wives or even mothers. It is considered as a sin for the girls to come in front of strangers without purdah.

A large number of respondents believed that boys are the rulers while girls have to serve their families including parents, brothers, in-laws, husband and children. Girls are expected to be experts in their household chores. About sons, most of the people said that they are important because they earn

money and support family, while daughters are somebody else's property. Girls are also desired to be obedient and tolerant being concerned with honour/repute of their families. The discrimination against girls is quite obvious as they are considered as some material thing or possession, which is to be handed over to others.

People get worried on the birth of a girl because she is a very big responsibility for the family as the family's honour has to be protected (referring to their chastity/virginity and so the honour of the family) and she has to be married for which a lot of money is required. Son is considered as guardian of the house. He stands for symbol of family's strength. Subsequently, they also earn money and support their family. Daughters, on the other hand, are taken as symbol of family's weakness. Sons are preferred because they bring wives and are the lineage bearers; daughter, however, goes as a wife to somebody else's house. Thus, the natives think that investing more on their girls' education is of no use for them as some other family gets the benefit. The reasons for sons' preference are summarized in the following table:

Table 24: Reasons for the Son's Preference

WHY A SON?	WHY NOT A DAUGHTER?
Provides economic support and old age security.	Heavy responsibility to protect her from dangers like degradation of family's "Izzat".
Permanent members of the family.	Temporary members of family, as they have to leave after marriage.
Transfer of property.	Investing on them means benefiting others.
Perpetuation of lineage.	Symbol of family's weakness.

In the village, it is not only the education, but some other issues as well where discrimination against the girl child exists. In most of the cases it was the woman who showed this type of attitude. Usually it begins even before her birth, when the elderly women pray for the expecting mother, "May God gives you a son" and prevails throughout her life till death.

Birth is the time when parents welcome arrival of the newborn however in Zandra the situation is a bit discriminatory. If the baby is a male, he is

welcomed with feasts, congratulations and exchange of gifts etc., for a girl child the reaction turns as reverse. If she is the first one in the family, the parents/grand parents may not bewail her birth, but even then a depressive silence prevails and nobody dares to congratulate the family, but if she is second or third sister, the females of the family even tend to scream and cry. No father or other male member of the family was ever found reacting in this way. On such occasion, the mother also becomes victim of criticism, scolding, ill treatment, and sometimes even beaten by the mother-in-law who sometimes forces her son for second marriage to have a male child.

A change in this discriminating attitude was also observed in the field. According to the tradition I did not congratulate my respondent at the birth of his daughter. He asked me why I had not congratulated him. Then I congratulated him and he offered me the sweetmeat which traditionally was distributed on the birth of a son.

Food distribution is another issue, which is always highlighted whenever discrimination against the female is discussed. Discriminatory behaviour of the villagers in the distribution of food resources was observed in many cases. Although it is the girls and women who prepare the food, wash the dishes and serve the meals to the family members but it is the male members i.e. men and boys (if present in the house) who get the food first and also the best part of it. If it is a meat dish, men are served first and also the meat pieces of their choice. And when they are finished with it, the women get the left over share. Majority of the respondents admitted that (under normal circumstances) the males are served food before females. Sometimes before distributing the food, its major share is kept for men if they are not at home.

Mostly mothers serve the food and give better part, especially the meat pieces, to the son. Reason reported for that is, "Meat is not good for the girls because its effect is hot, they start menstruating at an early age and we have to arrange for their marriages early". When I asked the same from the fathers, majority of them were not aware of this phenomenon.

7.5 LITERACY

The term is relative and usually implies comparison of individual's ability to read and write with the average ability found at his/her social or economic level. A layman's concept of literacy is merely to put his signatures etc; but this ability is neither functional nor meaningful. Generally, literacy means an ability of an individual to read newspapers, simple letters, receipts, bills, and documents related to his/her daily routine work and making accounts etc. Ghafoor has quoted a definition of literacy from Dictionary of Education as,

“Strictly the bare ability to read and write more broadly the ability to read and write at the level of the average.”

(1994)²⁵³

Lester Smith quotes John Stuart Mills (1806-1873) definition of education as,

“The culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors in order to qualify them for at least keeping up and if possible for raising the level of improvement which has been attained.”

(1969)²⁵⁴

Mostly, the people in the village relate literacy with jobs as only those people are considered educated who can get jobs on the basis of their education. To know cultural definition of education researcher put some questions to different parents whose children, especially daughters were studying at different educational levels. When the question was asked from the parents having their children at primary level, “Is your child educated?” the response was, “Not really because they cannot get a job on this.” When the same question was put to the parents having their children at matric level, the response was, “yes, they may get a job on this if ever needed.”

7.6 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Education is a child's basic needs as well as a state's responsibility. The government of Balochistan has undertaken different measures to increase

²⁵³ Ghafoor, A. (1994). *Quest for Adult Literacy*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

²⁵⁴ Smith, W. O. L. (1969). *Education*. Great Britain: Penguin Books.

literacy rate. A number of primary schools have been opened in rural areas, but still majority of the children do not have access to educational facilities. Child's education should be integrated with the whole social system. Parents are the keystone of this social institution. Their attitude towards education of their children matters a lot.

The socialization process of a child by which, he/she develops the concept of "self", passes through three different stages. In the first stage, the child simply imitates other people in his/her immediate environment (like family). He simply learns to act like others without knowing the meanings of those actions. This stage could be seen in children during their initial two years. In the second stage, at about the age of three, children begin to go through the play stage by taking the roles of "significant others" (who have close ties with the child and exert a strong influence on him/her). In this process, they internalize their parents' values and attitudes, incorporating them into their own personalities. In the third stage, as the children grow up, they come in contact with the people outside the family circle who are not as significant as parents, but represent society as a whole. George Mead calls them "generalized others", (who don't have close ties with the child but do influence the child's internalization of the values of the society). In this phase, the children pass through "the game stage" by playing the roles of "generalized others". It is the stage in which they learn to internalize values of the society as a whole, and their participation in organized games also promotes this internalization. While a child passes through these three stages he/she comes across different formal and informal institutions, which are responsible for the process of education. Mayer says,

"During the first two years or so after birth, children of both sexes lack self-awareness, and see themselves as a part of their mothers. But when they are about three years old, they start considering themselves as separate individuals and develop different gender identities."

(1972)²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Mayer, P. (1972). *Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Mayer, at another point, says,

"Girls continue to identify with their mothers because they are of the same sex, and develop the traditionally feminine appreciation for relationships and nurturance. The boys in contrast differentiate themselves from their mothers due to sexual difference. Further influenced by their father's dominant role in the family, boys try to suppress the feminine traits they have acquired from their mother, learn to devalue anything they consider feminine, and identify with their father by being independent and aggressive".

(ibid)

The situation is somehow similar in Zandra, which is a traditional society. The male children are trained to be dominant and authoritative, even protective towards their sisters, while recessive, demure and obedient behaviour is encouraged in case of girls. The boys and girls learn these attributes by observing the roles of the parents and individuals of their own gender.

7.6.1 Informal Educational Institutions

The fundamental agents of child education under the category of informal institutions include family and peers. Family is the first social world encountered by the child, and the family members are the mirrors in which the children begin to see themselves. It acts as the first reference group for the child and the child adopts its norms and values and also consults it in assessing his behaviour. The peer group provides the child with equal status relationships, which creates ideal situations for learning of norms and reciprocity (as they are based on equal status).

7.6.1.1 The Family: The process of socialization starts within the family. The young ones try to imitate their parents unconsciously. The girls endeavor to replicate their mothers, elder sisters or aunts etc, while boys try to copy their fathers, elder brothers or uncles. Many small girls in the village were seen wearing veil like their mothers (or other female members of the family) and playing games which include cooking food for other family members or taking care of their dolls as if they were their children or real humans. Boys were generally seen going for offering prayers at a very young

age with their fathers in the mosques, or going to the places where the grown up men assemble. On the bad side the boys were also seen using little pieces of sticks to pretend smoking cigarettes.

Mothers act as the primary agents of informal education for children. Most of girls and young children spend a major part of their time with their mothers. The mothers teach their children moral values i.e. good and bad, difference between virtue and evil. Most of the mothers who claimed to be more attached to their daughters actually had a greater emotional involvement with their sons. Mothers act as guides and role models for their daughters. They are more authoritative towards their daughters to make them grow up into well-mannered, compliant, tolerant, amicable, timid and productive members of their family.

Father being the head of the family is respected in most of the families. The relationship between fathers and daughters is mostly of love, fear and respect. In majority of the families, fathers don't control their daughters' behaviour directly. They control it through their wives. If the children wanted something or wanted to oppose the father's views, their mothers acted as mediators. However, the contact between father and son is usually direct. The fathers are very strict about their daughters' purdah and encourage segregation from the unrelated men. They expect obedience, respect and loyalty from their daughters, but in case of sons, the restrictions are relaxed.

The elder brothers are authoritative, commanding and dominant over the younger siblings. The brothers are supposed to protect their sisters. They can even beat their sisters if they don't conform to their bidding.

The sisters are mostly very close to each other. They are like friends and share secrets. They also turn jealous when one of the two or more gets a better thing, as one of the respondent said that they are good friends, but at times, they tend to be parsimonious, self-centered, jealous and covetous. Here I'd like to cite an example from the village:

7.6.1.1.1 Case Study: An informant had two daughters who mostly wear similar clothes. On a marriage ceremony, both of them were wearing pink coloured dresses with white embroidery. When the researcher asked the reason of their similar attires, the mother said, “I make same type of clothes for both of them; otherwise one of them complaints that the other's dress is looking prettier.

Elder sisters usually take care of the younger siblings. For example, a girl was seen taking care of her siblings besides performing household chores whenever her mother went out of the house or fell ill. Key informant's daughter was preparing and serving lunch and dinner to the younger siblings whenever her mother was busy during the interviews.

A girl is told to act modestly while remaining reserve and polite. Girls deviating from such behavioural expectations of the village community are scolded and disliked. The girl child training is by and large considered to be a responsibility of family's female elder members like mother, grandmother or the elder sisters of the girl. Right from the beginning girl child is trained to suppress her feelings and desires making her a passive, patient and obedient member of the family.

The elders tell her that only an obedient girl can lead a good life and if she commits disobedience or argues on her rights, she is chastised and even physically punished by her mother or male members of the family. She has to remain alert to follow orders and fulfill demands of her parents and other members of the family. Mothers have to train their daughters according to the set traditional principles. Whosoever contravenes to these values in training their daughters is considered as incapable. Boys on the other hand, receive better treatment with special privileges. Eventually, they become more authoritative, dominant, antagonistic and aggressive towards their sisters, and then later on towards their wives.

7.6.1.2 The Peers: The peer group plays an imperative role in learning process of children. In their early age the young ones make friends of their

own age from their neighbourhood. However as they grow up and start going to school, they make friends from their class or school. The little ones usually play in the courtyards of their houses or in their streets. The playmate groups up to the age of 5 include children of both sexes, while girls more than 6 years of age like to make friends of their own gender/sex.

Girls choose friends from the neighbourhood as mobility is easier. They are not allowed to go far from the house. Their companionship decreases when they reach the age of puberty. They can't meet each other quite frequently as their mobility outside the house is restricted.

The young girls usually play games like doll's marriage or a guest reception. Different objects like broken pots, utensils, sticks, pieces of hard board, dolls etc., are used as crockery and furniture. If there's a mixed gathering in the function, then they divide roles according to gender. For example, girls usually make and distribute food while boys take the *dol*²⁵⁶ of the bride doll to the house of the groom doll, and have a feast there, prior to the girls. The elder children, aunts, mothers, or grandmothers assign the roles. The children develop an amalgamation of good and bad characteristics like abusive language, speech-mannerism, or body language in such gatherings. Thus, the friends and peer groups play a significant role in injecting gender consciousness in children.

7.6.2 Formal Educational Institutions

Formal education can be defined as, "education, which is transmitted through the formal structure of school teacher and conventional methods of imparting knowledge. The procedure observed in this structural framework is pre-determined. The students are moved through the test and examinations meant for evaluating their level of learning and acquisition of knowledge." Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology defines "formal education" as,

"Formal Education in a state societies is generally designed predominantly with technical and occupational needs in mind and its

²⁵⁶ Coat used to carry bride from her parents' home to her husband's home

stated purpose is to prepare students to fill available occupational roles as well as to encourage certain values and attitudes (patriotism, good citizenship and leadership, cooperativeness or competitiveness, and so on), the definition which varies greatly according to cultural context and social class factors.”

(1986)²⁵⁷

Khalid describes the objectives of formal education as,

“The proper development of students in all the aspects of their lives that is mental, physical, and even emotional.”

(1990)²⁵⁸

Schools, madrasa and mass media are the formal institutions of education which are available in the village for people of all ages. Computer education and English language teaching programs are also available but only in the private tuition centre. In a formal institution like school, there are fulltime teachers who inculcate their knowledge in students. The following tables show the schools, madrasas, private tuition centres and their facilities operating in this village.

Table 25: Current Schools in the Killi Zandra

Schools	For boys	For girls	Coeducation	Patent
High School	1	-	-	Government
Middle School	-	1	-	Government
Primary School	1	1	-	Government
Primary School	-	-	1	NGO
Madresa	-	-	3	Government
Tuition Centre	-	-	1	Private
Adults Literacy Program	-	5	-	NGO

(Source: Field data)

Table 26: Government Schools for boys

Name of school	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Government High School	22	342	12	Complete
Government Primary School	01	60	06	Complete

(Source: Field data)

²⁵⁷ Seymour, S. (1986). *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*. New York: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

²⁵⁸ Khalid, T. (1990). *Education: An Introduction to Education Philosophy and History*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

Table 27: Government Schools for girls

Name of school	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Government Middle School	09	60	10	Complete
Government Primary School	02	30	06	Complete

(Source: Field data)

Table 28: School by NGO (coeducation)

Name of school	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Community Girls Primary School	01	30 girls 15 boys	Nil	Nil

(Source: Field data)

Table 29: Private Tuition Centre (coeducation)

Name of school	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Tuition Centre	02	60 boys 10 girls	05	Complete

(Source: Field data)

Table 30: Adult Literacy Program by NGO (Female)

Name of school	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Taleem Sub Kay Leya	05	60	Nil	Nil

(Source: Field data)

Table 31: Madrasas

Name of Madrasa	Teachers	Students	Rooms	Furniture
Madrasa-e-Tajveed-ul-Quran	04	200 boys 50 girls	Hall & Hostel	Nil
Mosque Madrasa	01	50 boys 30 girls	Hall	Nil
Mosque Madrasa	01	30 boys 15 girls	Hall	Nil

(Source: Field data)

7.6.2.1 School: In formal institutions, school plays an important and major role in the modern world. Formal education is imparted through formal structure of school. For getting formal education, a child has to get admission in a school by passing the entry test. About schools Adams states,

“The school is increasingly seen as one of the means for the dissemination of ideas and symbols of nationhood. Economic growth is also seen as closely tied to the schools ability to implant new attitudes and skills.”

(1969)²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Adams, D. (1969). *Education in Developing Areas*. New York: David McKay Company Inc.

A school not only offers basic skills like reading and writing but also provides an opportunity for a systematic and organized acquisition of knowledge. Thus, school is a major source of developing various intellectual and academic skills. When children start going to schools, their sphere of interaction widens, as they can communicate with "generalized others".

The government school for girls in the village provides education up to elementary level. Only a few girls having a very good potential for study go up to this level. Most of the parents do not want to send their daughters out of the village for studies. They say, "We cannot send our daughters out of the village, whoever wants to study can do it while staying in the village. However, the sons may be allowed to go out of the village for getting higher education.

The nearby Kawas village provides the facility up to secondary level but very few girls from Zandra go there. For higher education the girls have to go to Quetta but the parents in the village do not like to send their daughters there because they have to spend a lot on it. Secondly, it becomes difficult to find a match of an educated girl. And thirdly, the parents do not want to get their daughters employed.

Although schools are supposed to educate children and instill confidence in them, but in the village schools, emphasis is laid on students' learning to obey the teacher and his/her dictations. A particular type of fear of awe is created among students in these schools. Thus the relationship between teachers and students is that of fear and respect. The students are punished for not doing the homework given by the teachers, or committing any mischief in the class etc. The methods used for punishment include scolding, slapping, beating with the rod/stick, making the students *murgha* (sit in the position of a rooster while clutching their ears under their legs), and getting them stand in a corner etc,

7.6.2.2 Mass Media: There is no television coverage in the village. Radio and newspaper are popular in the village. A local bus brings newspapers at about 4:30 pm. Majority of the women do not read

newspapers. Magazines and digests are popular among the educated women. Almost every household has a radio set but it is mostly used for entertainment i.e. listening songs etc. However men listen to the news and other informative programmes like farming, animal husbandry etc. The women listen to the programmes related to household activities like family health, cooking recipes and *totkay* (quick remedies) etc. There is no television station or booster near Zandra that is why the television transmission is not available in the village.

7.6.2.3 Mosque and Madrasa: Religious education both for boys and girls is given great importance in the village. The villagers pay a lot of attention to their children's religious education like recitation of Quran, offering prayers and knowing *kalima*²⁶⁰ by heart etc. Even those parents who do not send their daughters to school send them to the mosque for this purpose. However when a girl grows up and reaches the age of puberty, her parents normally withdraw her from the mosque. Sometimes after *khatam-e-Quran* (completion of recitation of Quran), *molvi sahib* (cleric) tells her that she no more needs to come to the mosque or asks her to go to *molvani sahiba* (cleric's wife) for learning to recite Quran, but mostly the parents themselves withdraw their grown up daughters.

Madrasa(s) were giving religious education according to their own syllabus which includes *Hadith*²⁶¹, *Tafseer*²⁶² and *Fiqh*²⁶³. *Talib-e-ilm* (students) learned the Quran by heart in madrasas. In 2008 science subjects which are normally taught in formal schools were made compulsory for the students.

²⁶⁰ A verse which a person needs to recite and believe upon to become a Muslim

²⁶¹ Collection of the sayings or actions of Holy Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him) reported by his companions.

²⁶² science of understanding and uncovering the will of Allah which has been conveyed by the Quranic text

²⁶³ Islamic jurisprudence. Fiqh is an expansion of the code of conduct (Sharia) expounded in the Quran, often supplemented by tradition (Sunnah) and implemented by the rulings and interpretations of Islamic jurists.

7.7 ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION

When the females of different age groups were asked questions regarding their education, they responded differently. The elderly women were more for religious education whereas the younger ones were for the formal school education. Among the males trend was similar but the percentage towards formal education was higher. A sample of 450 females was taken from the village (150 each from three different age groups) belonging to three different classes i.e. lower, middle, and upper (50 females from each class) and same size of sample was taken from the males of the village to see the changing trends and attitudes towards the education. How do males/females of their families take it? Following is the educational level of the sample at different age groups.

Table 32: Educational level of the people aging above 60 years

LEVEL	LOWER CLASS				MIDDLE CLASS				UPPER CLASS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
H SSC	Nil	0%	Nil	0%	02	4%	Nil	0%	Nil	0%	Nil	0%
SSC	Nil	0%	Nil	0%	03	6%	Nil	0%	04	8%	Nil	0%
Elementary	10	20%	Nil	0%	08	16%	02	4%	09	18%	Nil	0%
Primary	13	26%	08	16%	12	24%	11	22%	12	24%	15	30%
Below Primary	27	54%	42	84%	25	50%	37	74%	25	50%	35	70%
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

(Source: Field data)

Figure 22: Educational level of male (60+)

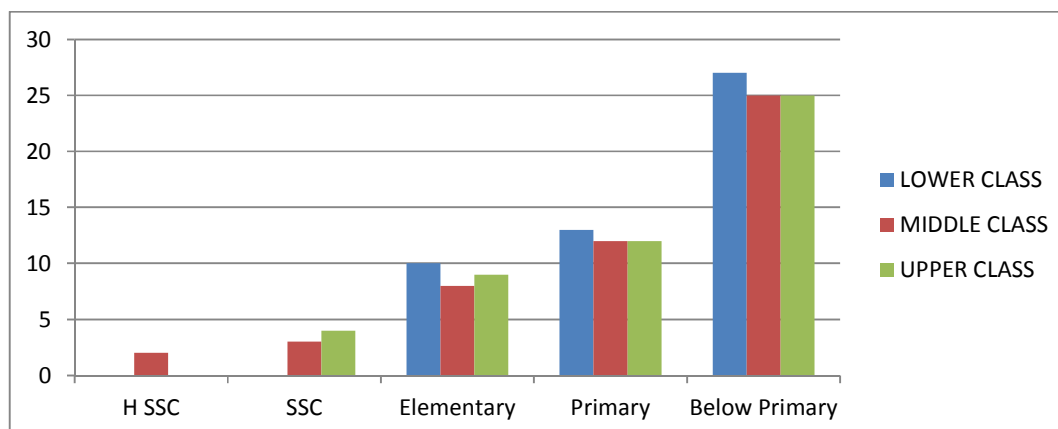


Figure 23: Educational level of female (60+)

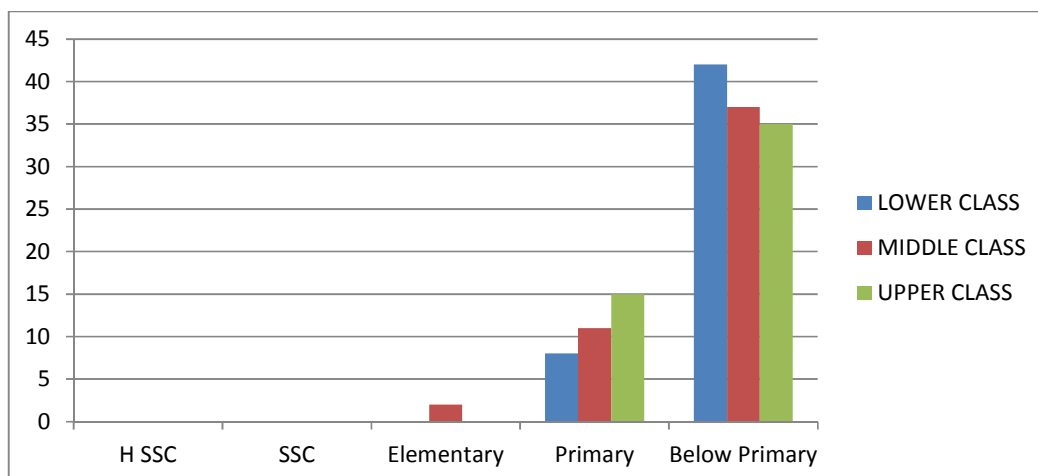


Table 33: Educational Level of the people aging between 41 – 60 years

LEVEL	LOWER CLASS				MIDDLE CLASS				UPPER CLASS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
H SSC	03	6%	Nil	0%	08	16%	Nil	0%	06	12%	02	4%
SSC	08	16%	05	10%	10	20%	09	18%	12	24%	13	26%
Elementary	15	30%	12	24%	12	24%	13	26%	19	38%	15	30%
Primary	13	26%	20	40%	12	24%	17	34%	07	14%	14	28%
Below Primary	11	22%	13	26%	08	16%	11	22%	06	12%	06	12%
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

(Source: Field data)

Figure 24: Educational Level of male aging 41 – 60 years

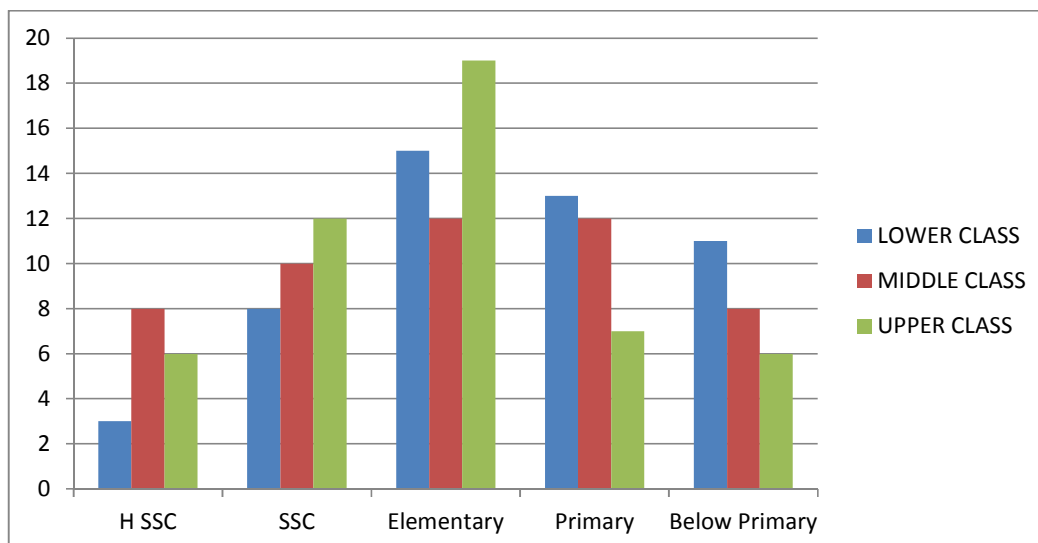


Figure 25: Educational Level of female aging 41 – 60 years

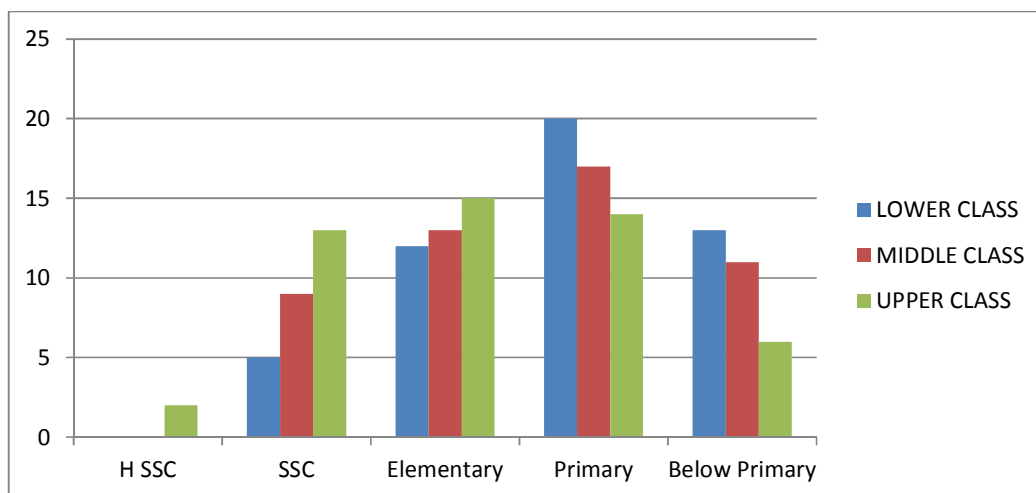


Table 34: Educational Level of the people aging between 21 – 40 years

LEVEL	LOWER CLASS				MIDDLE CLASS				UPPER CLASS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
H SSC	04	16%	Nil	0%	13	26%	03	6%	16	32%	10	20%
SSC	10	20%	09	18%	17	34%	15	30%	17	34%	18	36%
Elementary	18	36%	15	30%	12	24%	19	38%	10	20%	16	32%
Primary	14	28%	18	36%	08	16%	10	20%	07	14%	04	8%
Below Primary	04	8%	08	16%	Nil	0%	03	6%	Nil	0%	02	4%
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

(Source: Field data)

Figure 26: Educational Level of male aging 21 – 40 years

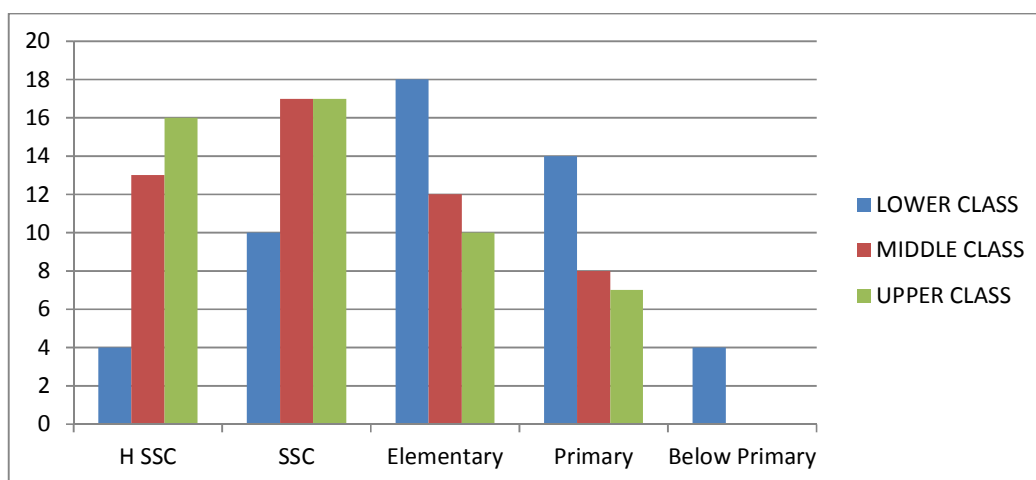
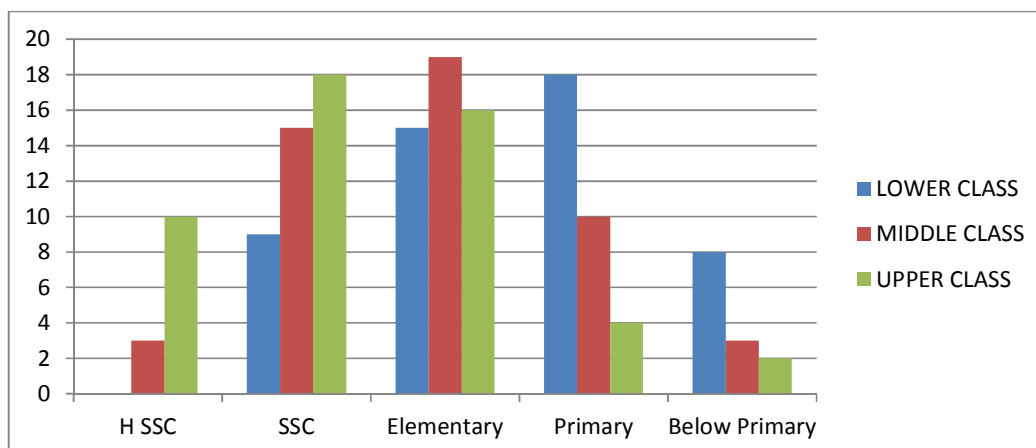


Figure 27: Educational Level of female aging 21 – 40 years



The above figures show that the trend towards education especially among the females has changed during last three decades. Now the educational levels are improved as the percentages at elementary, secondary and higher secondary levels have really gone up. Similarly their attitudes towards education have also changed. Now most of the people send their daughters to schools.

7.7.1 Men's Attitude towards Female Education

The male attitude towards female education varies from class to class. Same size of sample was taken to find out the male's attitude towards female education. People from different age groups have different opinions as shown in the following table.

Table 35: Attitude of Men (age group 60 plus)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Apposed female education	33	32	25
Up to primary	12	10	12
Up to elementary	05	08	13
Up to secondary	Nil	Nil	Nil
Up to higher secondary	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 28: Attitude of Men (age group 60 plus)

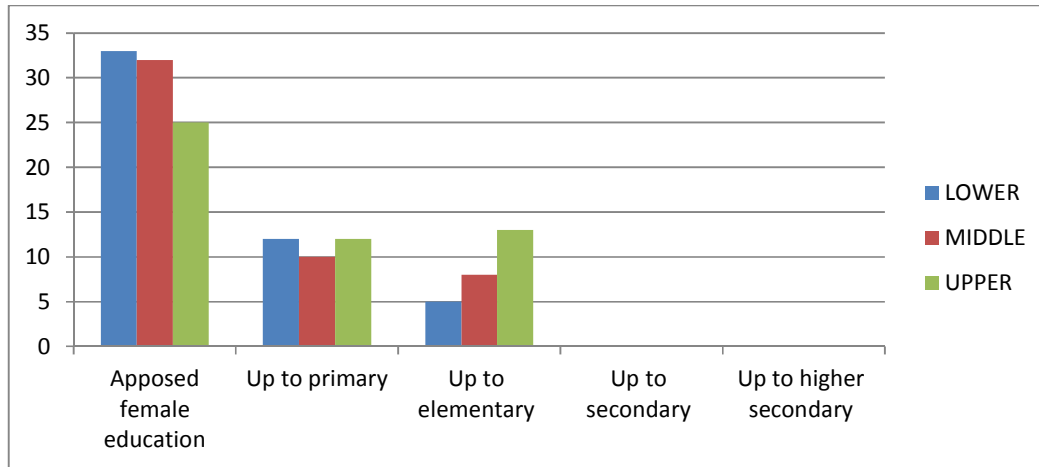


Table 36: Attitude of Men (age group 41 – 60)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Apposed female education	15	02	06
Up to primary	20	20	11
Up to elementary	12	18	20
Up to secondary	03	05	09
Up to higher secondary	Nil	05	04
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 29: Attitude of Men (age group 41 – 60)

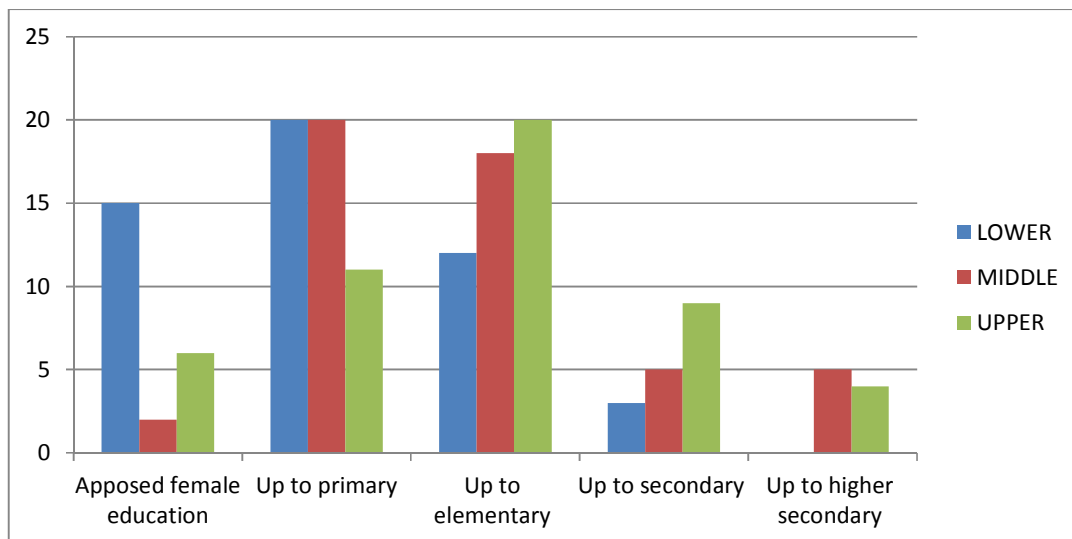
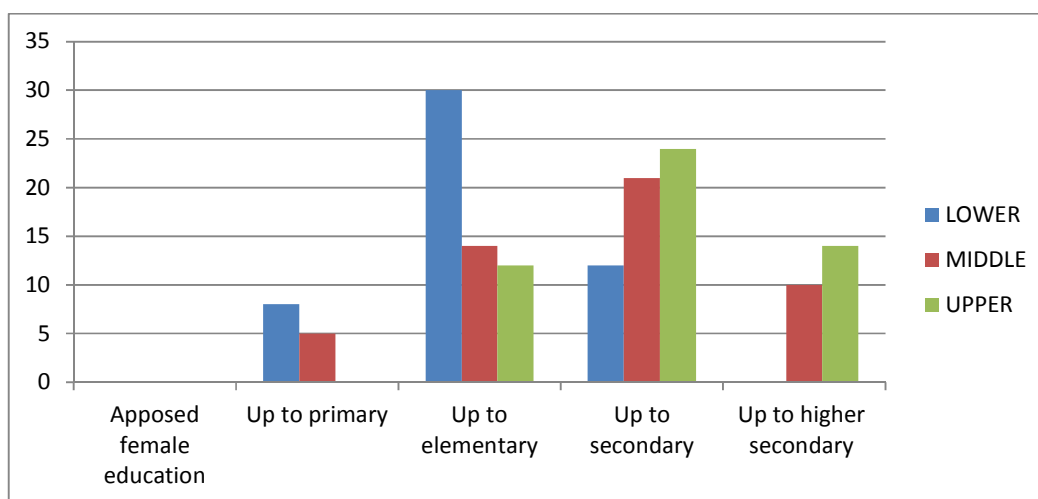


Table 37: Attitude of Men (age group 21 – 40)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Apposed female education	Nil	Nil	Nil
Up to primary	08	05	Nil
Up to elementary	30	14	12
Up to secondary	12	21	24
Up to higher secondary	Nil	10	14
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 30: Attitude of Men (age group 21 – 40)



The above data show a very clear change in the male's attitude towards female education. The percentage of the people above 50 year of age who opposed female education was very high, whereas nobody below 30 opposed it.

In 1980s the lower class families did not send their daughters to school after class 5. They did not take it necessary to educate them even up to primary level. They were not able to guide them in their studies because most of the elders were illiterate. Whenever the elders were asked about their trend, they had a simple answer, "we do not have to get them employed, so why should we educate them?" Now majority of the younger generation of lower class is in favour of education up to elementary level. For further education they have

to send their daughters out of village and have to arrange for tuition as they cannot guide them in studies at home which they cannot afford. So there is a shift in the attitudes from primary to the elementary level.

The men belonging to the middle class were found slightly reluctant to send their daughters to school. They allow their daughters to go up to the higher secondary level provided the girls have potential for it. Majority of the girls belonging to this class have at least primary level education. They however do not allow their daughters to go out of the village for studies.

Elder generation of the upper class was reluctant but the attitude of the younger men belonging to the same class towards female education is quite positive. Most of the girls of this class are educated at least up to secondary level. The males allow them and arrange for higher studies. They send them to Quetta for the purpose. Some of the girls are graduates in the village. They take female education as a matter of prestige.

7.7.2 Women's Attitude towards Female Education

The women's response towards female education is slightly different to that of men. The women in the village lag behind the men but the trends are almost similar. The following table shows the real position.

Table 38: Attitude of Women (age group 60 plus)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Apposed female education	42	37	30
Up to primary	08	09	12
Up to elementary	Nil	04	08
Up to secondary	Nil	Nil	Nil
Up to higher secondary	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 31: Attitude of Women (age group 60 plus)

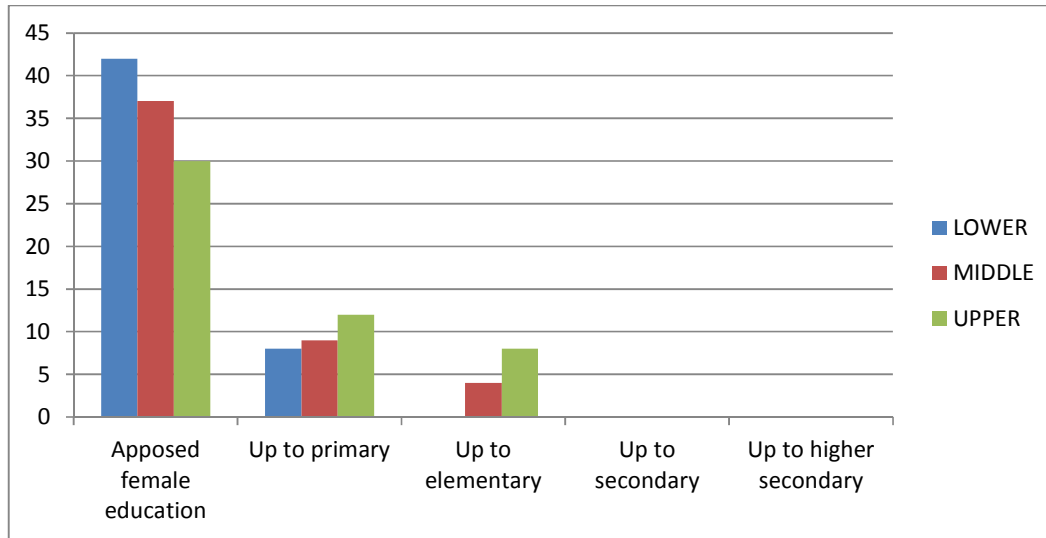


Table 39: Attitude of Women (age group 41 – 60)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Apposed female education	20	12	09
Up to primary	17	14	11
Up to elementary	10	14	20
Up to secondary	03	05	06
Up to higher secondary	Nil	05	04
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 32: Attitude of Women (age group 41 – 60)

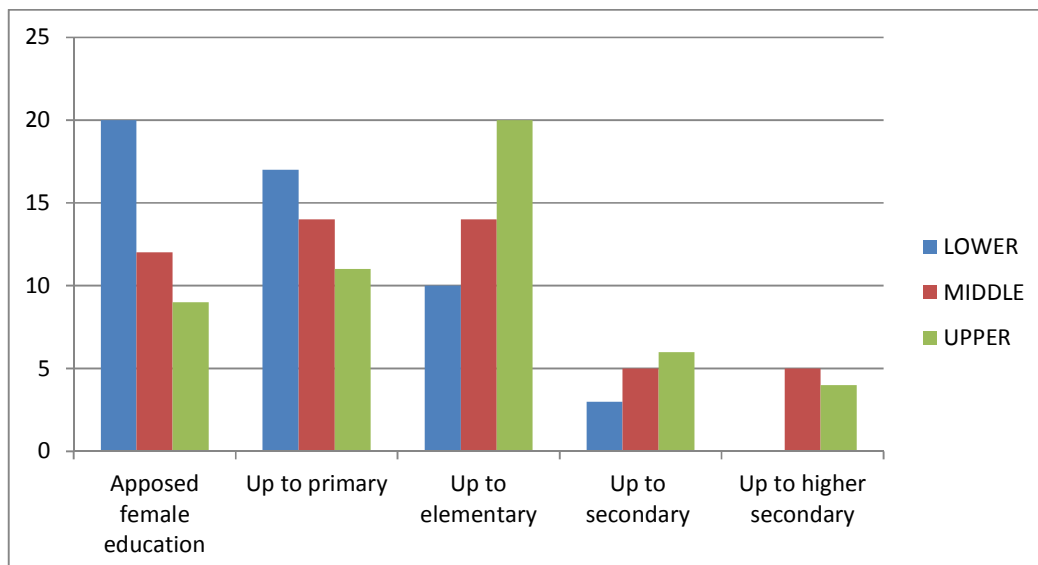
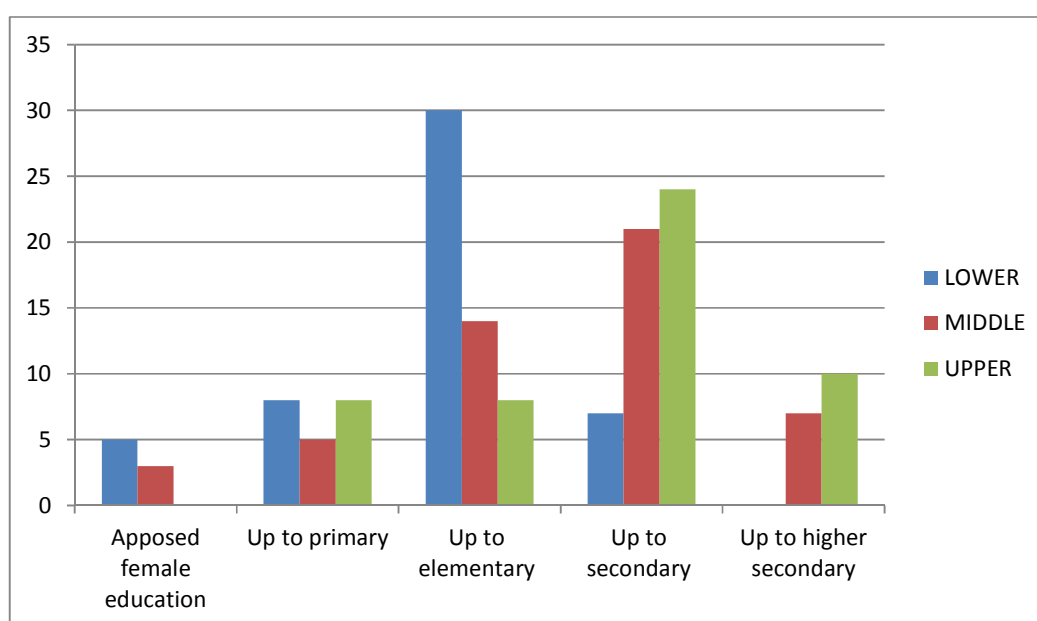


Table 40: Attitude of Women (age group 21 – 40)

ATTITUDE	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Opposed female education	05	03	Nil
Up to primary	08	05	08
Up to elementary	30	14	08
Up to secondary	07	21	24
Up to higher secondary	Nil	07	10
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 33: Attitude of Women (age group 21 – 40)



Above figures show a visible difference between the attitudes of elder and the younger women. Most of the ladies of younger group have started encouraging the daughters to go to school and get education. Some of them were even willing to send them out of the village for education. Most of the women from elder group opposed the girl's education, saying that they have to become mothers and wives and thus no need to get any education to play these roles.

7.8 GENDER NEUTRALITY IN EDUCATION

Gender-neutrality meaning that male and female are equal at every level. When we talk about gender neutrality in education means equal educational opportunities for boys and girls and the parents' attitude towards their children seeks elimination of biological differences in two sexes.

7.8.1 Son's Preference for Education

In Zandra the parents normally prefer son as far as the education of their children is concerned. If they ever have to make a choice between son and daughter, mostly son is preferred. In 1987 a sample of 150 parents from three different classes was taken to get some information about their preferences and again same size of sample was studied in 2007 to note the change in the opinions.

Table 41: Preference for a Son or a Daughter in 1987

PREFERENCE	FATHERS			MOTHERS		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Son	42	37	32	45	42	40
Daughter	03	05	10	02	03	04
Equal	05	08	08	03	05	06
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 34: Fathers' Preference

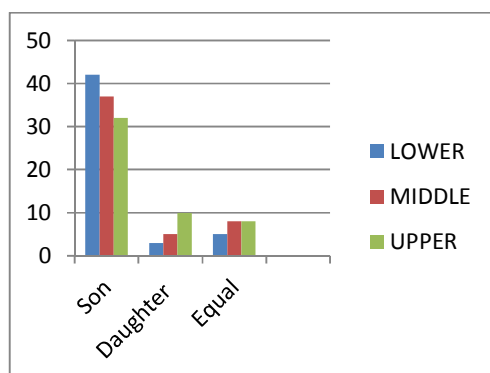


Figure 35: Mothers' Preference

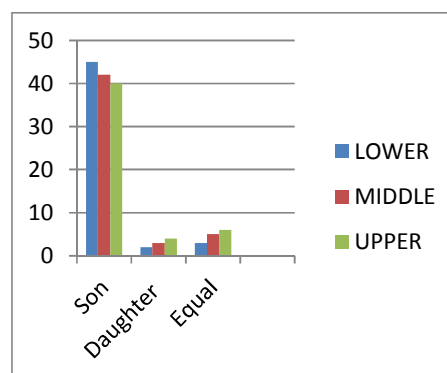


Table 42: Preference of a Son or a Daughter in 2007

PREFERENCE	FATHERS			MOTHERS		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Son	27	22	20	31	28	22
Daughter	06	08	08	04	05	08
Equal	17	20	22	15	17	20
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 36: Fathers' Preference

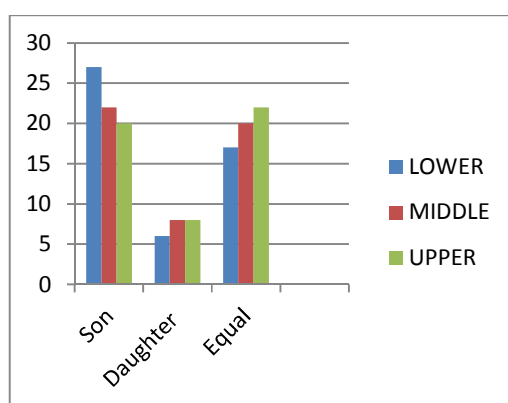
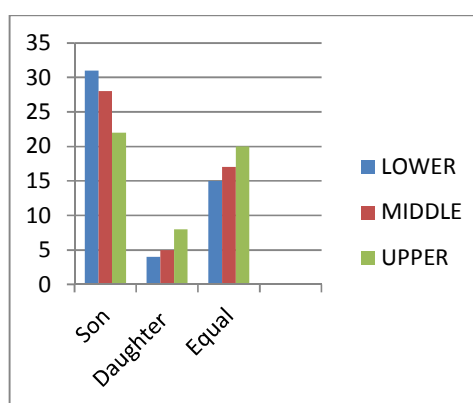


Figure 37: Mothers' Preference



Both the parents have different opinion regarding this issue. During last two decades this opinion has changed remarkably. No doubt the sons are still preferred but their attitude towards neutrality has really increased. The parents who preferred daughters education were of the view that illiterate son could be accommodated somewhere in business or he would take care of his own orchard but now it has become very difficult to marry an uneducated girl in a good family. Even the uneducated families have started demanding for educated girls. So it is always important to educate the daughter.

7.8.2 Girls' Opinion about their Parents' Attitude

Same issue was discussed with young girls. They were asked about their parents' preference about education. Their response also shows a change in parents' attitude towards gender neutrality.

Table 43: Girls' Opinion about their Parents' Preferences for Education

PREFERENCE	1987			2007		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Son	45	38	35	25	23	22
Daughter	Nil	02	03	04	05	08
Equal	05	08	12	21	22	20
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 38: Girls' Opinion (1987)

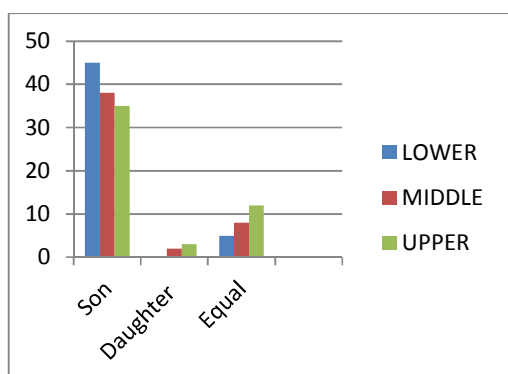
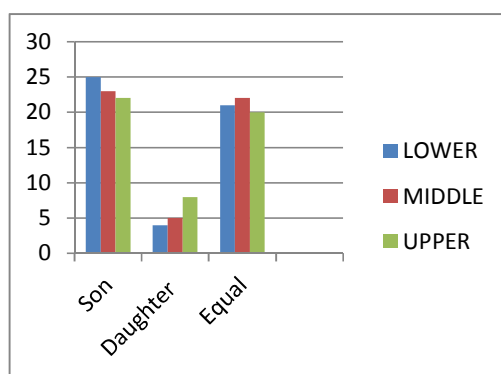


Figure 39: Girls' Opinion (2007)



A significant change in parents' attitude towards girls' education was observed during last two decades. In 1987, out of 150 girls 118 said that parents prefer their brothers to them. Only, 5 girls said that their parents preferred them to their brothers. While 25 of the girls said that their parents treat them equally. In 2007 only 70 girls reported that their brothers are preferred and 63 reported equality in the parents' attitude towards them. No doubt the sons are still taking the edge but the shift in the attitudes is visible.

7.8.3 Girls' Opinion about Brothers' Preference

A large majority of girls in the village preferred to have brothers rather than sisters because they become earning hands and protectors of the family. On the other hand the daughters have to leave their parents after the marriage. The parents have to spend huge amount of money on the occasion of their marriage and also give them gifts throughout their life so that they should be respected in their in-laws.

Table 44: Girls' Opinion about having brother or sister

PREFERENCE	1987			2007		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Brother	40	43	38	21	24	20
Sister	04	02	03	07	08	12
Equal	06	05	09	22	18	18
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 40: Girls' Opinion (1987)

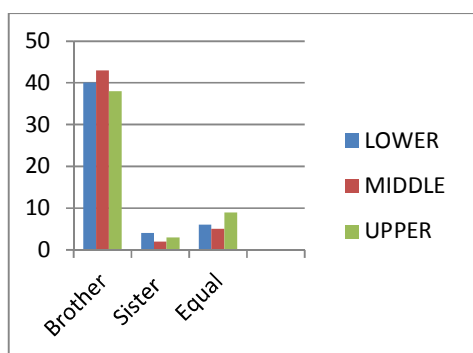
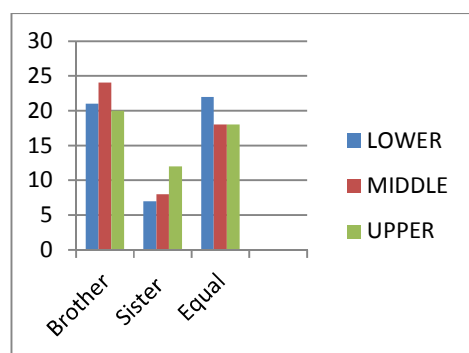


Figure 41: Girls' Opinion (2007)



In 1987, 121 girls out of 150 preferred for a brother whereas only 9 girls preferred to have a sister and 20 girls reported neutrality. In 2007 the trend towards equality has increased. Out of 150, 48 opted for equality which shows an increase of more than double.

In many cases, the people said that they treat both sons and daughters equally and their number has also increased during the last couple of decades. Number of the respondents who prefer sons mostly for economic reasons is still on top. They said, "We don't have money to send our daughters to school." Due to financial constrains we cannot continue the girls education after primary level. However, they get loans for the education of their sons. The boys can get education up to the level they want. They are always encouraged. Even boys weak in studies are pressurized to get higher education while on the other hand intelligent girls having potential to get higher education are not allowed to do so.

7.8.3.1 Case Study: A 68 years old retired clerk of Municipal Corporation Quetta told the researcher that he is matric while his wife is primary pass. They have a small piece of agricultural land and some livestock. The old man is presently attached with the Mosque Management. They have 5 sons and 4 daughters. The father wanted at least one of his sons to become lawyers if not all. He had meager resources, but spent generously on the education of his sons. Four of his sons could not go beyond matric. However one of them got admission in Law College Quetta. The father invested each and every thing on him, and finally he became a lawyer. After completing his studies, he settled in Quetta. Today he is not sending money or material to his parents. Even he does not visit them.

Contrary to that, the old man's daughters had the talent and potential for higher studies. He never spent much on their education. His eldest daughter passed her BA examination through distance education system. She wanted to get admission in Law College but was not allowed for it. Now she is working as a teacher in the village. The next to her is also a teacher, and the third one is running a tuition center at home. All the daughters are earning and supporting their parents. On the other hand none of the sons is helping them. The sisters collectively saved some money and got one of the brothers married.

In spite of all this the old man feels proud to be father of a son who is a lawyer in Quetta, though he sends them nothing. He says that the girls have their own problems. When they are highly educated, it becomes difficult to find their match. If they are working, the worries increase because they have to be properly protected when they go out of the house. People talk about them.

7.9 CULTURAL BARRIERS FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION

In light of above discussion the following factors emerged as major cultural barriers for girls' education.

7.9.1 Purdah :

Most of the women in the village observe purdah. Neither they face strangers nor do they go out of the house alone. So purdah is a major barrier for the girls' education. Majority of the natives does not send their girls to higher schools and colleges due to strict observance of purdah. The girls are not allowed to go outside the house alone. Even the families who are moderate and do not observe purdah very keenly hesitate to send their girls out for education fearing a group of eve teasers might harm them. They create stories to scandalize them. This type of stories or remarks damages the girls' reputation in the locality, which can affect even their marriages. People, thus, were found reluctant in sending their daughters out for getting secondary and higher secondary education.

7.9.2 Division of Labour:

There is no balance of work between males and females, especially in the school going age. In this age boys have very little to do. They have a lot of free time for their studies. On the other hand, girls of the same age have to do a lot of work at home. They have to help their mothers in almost every household work. In most of the households they take care of the siblings. On the other hand, the boy's responsibility is usually limited to bring grocery etc. After that he is free from all household responsibilities and can spend rest of the time in studies, with friends, listening songs or resting at his room. When he needs anything, he orders his sister and demand is fulfilled. The males get Sunday as off day but there is no such relief for the females. It is ironical that all this hard work by a girl goes unnoticed, unacknowledged, and unearned. This imbalance is another barrier in girls' education.

7.9.3 Male Decision Makers:

Males are considered as a decision makers regarding the females' education. Normally, they decide the level of education for their daughters or sisters. Most of the females in the village discontinue their education at primary level. Whenever a question regarding the decision making power was asked from females, they said, "Obviously males and it is their right. They go out of the homes, have interaction with the people and have a better vision, so they can

make better decisions. The males fear that if a female gets education, she will start interfering in decision making process, which is so far males' domain. They do not like any interference in their domain, so they keep the females less educated." However majority of the males has reported lack of interest of their females towards education as the reason for such decisions.

7.9.4 Nonparticipation in Economic Activities:

Strict observance of purdah in the village hampers girls' movement out of the house for participation in economic activities, making them totally dependent on the males. Second reason for females' nonparticipation is that it is considered as dishonour for the males. The males who send their females out for jobs face a bad reputation in the society, as if they are dependent on females' earnings. This concept is another major barrier for girls' education. House associated work including embroidery and crochet work is the only convenient choice for the females for which the middleman only gives them a meager amount of money. The males of the household can easily earn in one day what females can earn after a hard labour during the whole month.

7.9.5 Temporary Family Membership:

As a girl has to move to her husband's house for a permanent living under patrilocal residence rule prevailing in the society, she is treated as temporary member of the family in her father's house. Most of the families do not want to invest much on their daughters' education believing they have to leave after their marriage, and investment on them would be of no use for them. This patrilocal residence system is another barrier in girls' education.

7.9.6 Inheritance:

Islam as well as Pakistani law gives the right of inheritance to females. A woman is entitled to have half of the share of his brother in the parents' property. In practice, however, it rarely happens, especially in the rural societies like Zandra. They treat *zameen* (land) like mother and nobody wants that his land goes to others' family. So a woman leaves her property to her brothers, which makes her eligible to receive gifts/economic support from the brothers on all special occasions like marriages, birth, death etc. and in case

of separation from her husband she can freely move back to her brothers' house. This inheritance factor is another barrier in female education, because if a girl gets education, she can demand for her share in property.

7.10 PARENTS' OPINION ABOUT THE BARRIERS

While asking about the cultural barriers for girls' education and why the parents from different classes do not allow their daughters to study, difference of opinion was found everywhere, between father and mother, between the classes and also between the age groups.

7.10.1 Fathers' Opinion:

Fathers belonging from different classes and age groups have their own reasons for not sending their daughters to schools. The group of fathers aging more than 60 years was more concerned about purdah whereas the group between 20 to 40 years had economic reasons.

Table 45: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (60 plus)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	42	48	50
Division of Labour	Nil	Nil	Nil
Male Decision Makers	Nil	Nil	Nil
No Economic Contribution	05	02	Nil
Temporary Family Member	03	Nil	Nil
Inheritance	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 42: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (60 plus)

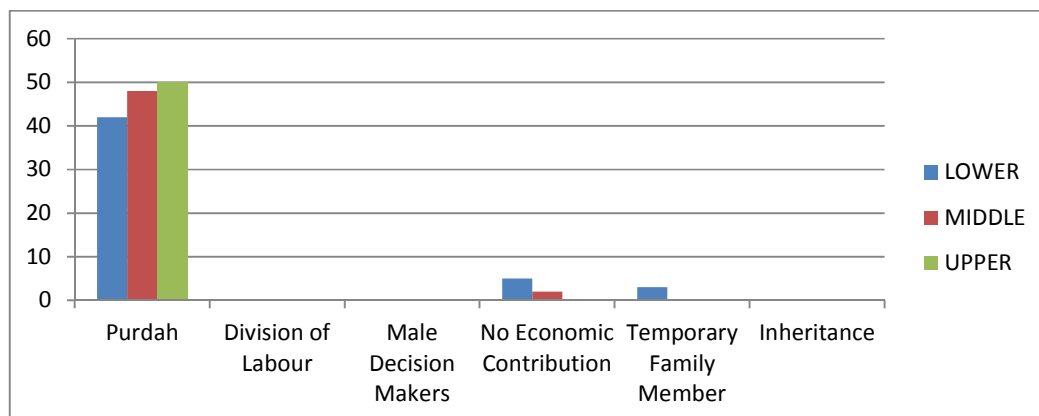


Table 46: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (41 – 60 yrs)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	27	23	24
Division of Labour	04	03	Nil
Male Decision Makers	Nil	Nil	Nil
No Economic Contribution	10	09	08
Temporary Family Member	09	08	08
Inheritance	Nil	07	10
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 43: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (41 – 60 yrs)

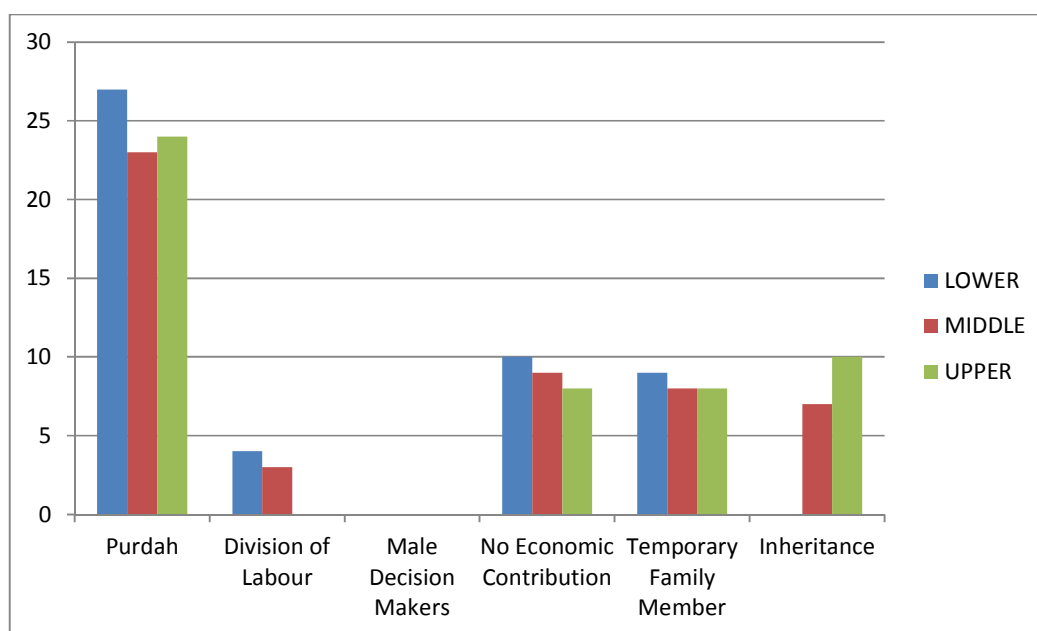
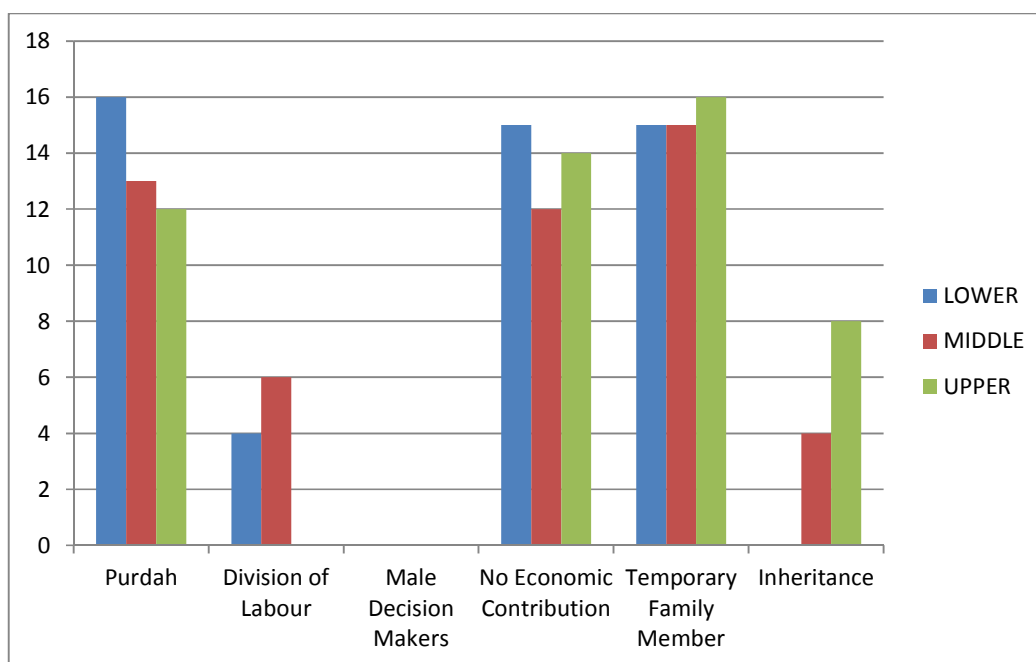


Table 47: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (21 – 40 yrs)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	16	13	12
Division of Labour	04	06	Nil
Male Decision Makers	Nil	Nil	Nil
No Economic Contribution	15	12	14
Temporary Family Member	15	15	16
Inheritance	Nil	04	08
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 44: Father's Opinion about the Barriers (21 – 40 yrs)



7.10.2 Mothers' Opinion:

Mothers have slightly different opinion about female education. They have their own reasons for not sending their daughters to school. The pattern of change among males and females was almost similar. In younger groups both of them were more concerned for economic reasons. So with the passage of time the reasons have been shifted from purdah to economy which includes nonparticipation in economic activities, investment on temporary family member and the inheritance.

Table 48: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (60 plus)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	23	30	28
Division of Labour	Nil	Nil	Nil
Male Decision Makers	17	14	12
No Economic Contribution	07	02	04
Temporary Family Member	03	04	Nil
Inheritance	Nil	Nil	06
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 45: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (60 plus)

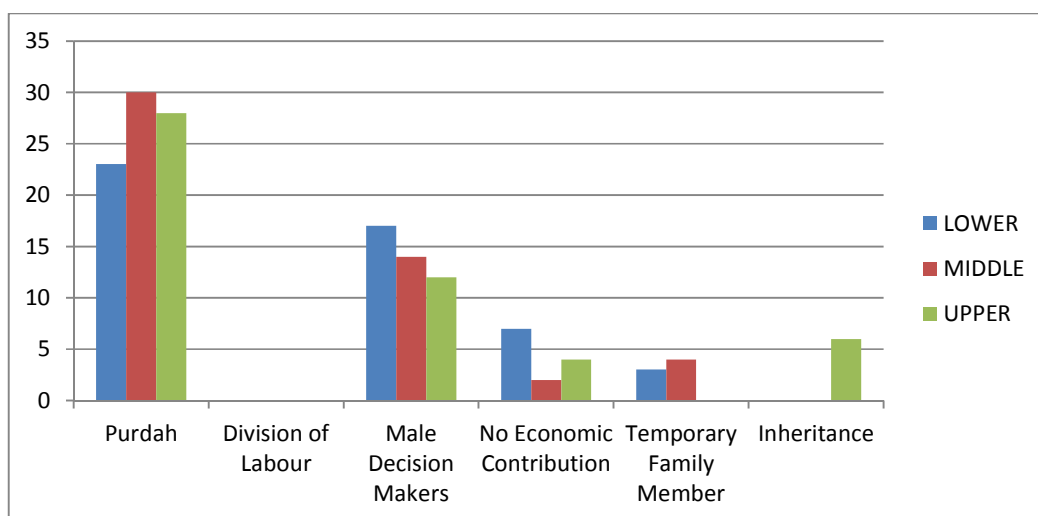


Table 49: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (41 – 60 yrs)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	16	13	16
Division of Labour	04	03	Nil
Male Decision Makers	11	10	08
No Economic Contribution	10	09	08
Temporary Family Member	09	08	08
Inheritance	Nil	07	10
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 46: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (41 – 60 yrs)

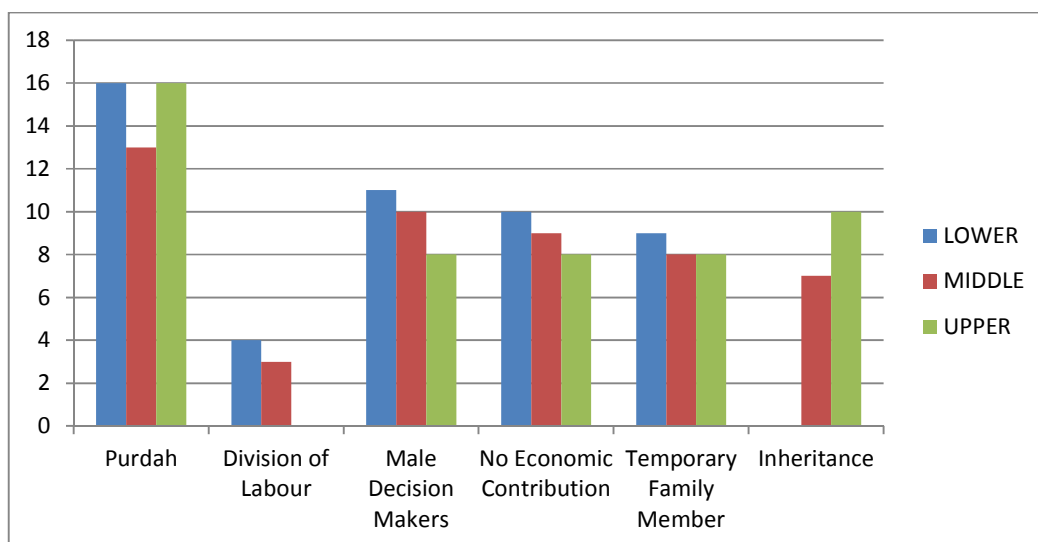
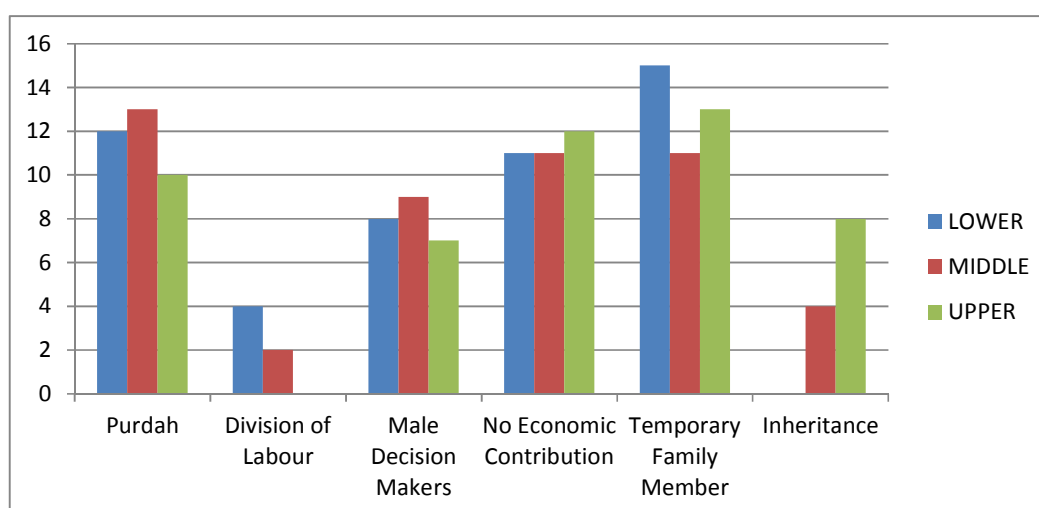


Table 50: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (21 – 40 yrs)

BARRIERS	CLASSES		
	LOWER	MIDDLE	UPPER
Purdah	12	13	10
Division of Labour	04	02	Nil
Male Decision Makers	08	09	07
No Economic Contribution	11	11	12
Temporary Family Member	15	11	13
Inheritance	Nil	04	08
TOTAL	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 47: Mother's Opinion about the Barriers (21 – 40 yrs)



Among the mothers purdah was an important reason but the percentage was less than their spouses. Majority of them held male decision maker as responsible. They often said that as far as the education and future of their children is concerned the women have very little to say particularly about their daughters' education. It is the men who are responsible for the decision of future of their children. During the course of conversation women expressed their intense desire for more education for their sons but their husbands involved them in cultivation. When the facts were investigated sons were found uninterested in their studies because of lack of control and attention towards education at their homes.

Very few fathers were found who stopped their daughters' education at primary level believing that they would become stubborn. Majority of them were willing

to send them to schools up to elementary or even up to secondary levels. Most of the girls having potential were allowed for higher studies. The drop out cases were mainly because of their full time involvement in household chores which do not allow them to spare sufficient time for their studies. Mothers keep their daughters busy in household works for their own comfort. No matter who made or influence the decision it comes to the father that he does not allow their daughters to study or to avail better education facilities.

7.11 DECISION-MAKING

In respect of decision making we can divide human societies into two categories patriarchal and matriarchal societies. In patriarchal societies the decision maker is a male while in matriarchal societies theoretically the power rests with a female. Practically there is no matriarchal society existing in the world, though there are matrilineal and matrilocal societies in some parts of the world. Even in the matrilineal societies decision maker is a male. In patrilineal societies father or husband takes the decision and in matrilineal societies, it is the mother's brother who plays this role. According to Fox,

“In all societies, men usually exercise control.....the sheer physiological facts of existence make (the female) role secondary to that of the male in the decision making processes at any level higher than the purely domestic(in non-primitive societies) for a good part of life a woman may be free to make some impact on the male world. Even with these increased opportunities, the women's role is still secondary.”

(1969)²⁶⁴

Being a patriarchal community, the decision making power is held by the male members of the family. In most of the houses the males are the heads. Fathers, brothers, uncles or husbands have the authority to make decisions. They not only take external decisions, but also influence the internal decisions of the household. The males take decisions about all the females' matters, including studies, movement outside the house, marriages etc. For example, many girls and their mothers said that they wanted to study further but their father or brothers didn't allow them to do it. Talking about their mobility the

²⁶⁴ Fox, R. (1969). *Kinship and Marriage*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

respondents said that brothers don't let them go out, and always stress on wearing veil.

To a question regarding decision making power, the females responded, "Obviously it is the male who takes decisions, and it is his right. Males go outside, have interaction with the people and have a better vision, so they can make better decisions."

Kitchen management is totally women's job and men do not interfere in this matter. The woman runs the kitchen and decides what to purchase and cook. She purchases kitchen crockery from her savings and men have no say in it. In the beginning of every month, she is given some money by the male to run the kitchen. The majority of the females does not make any financial contribution to the kitchen, even though they are economically empowered. Out of the sample of 50 working ladies, only 5 said that they contribute, but on their own will. Their husbands never demanded for that. These 5 ladies belonged to lower middle and lower class.

Some cases were also reported which support the male dominance in decision making on female issues including their education, employment marriages etc.

7.11.1 Case Study: There is a family in the village which is headed by a male. He runs a medical store in the village and earns handsome profit. He is matric while his wife is primary pass. They have two daughters. Both have got secondary level education and want to go to Quetta for their higher studies. Mother supports them, but the father is not sending them to Quetta. He believes that they do not have to do jobs and only have to take care of their children; thus there is no need to get them admitted in colleges and universities.

As far as decision-making is concerned, even the education does not have any significance. In many cases the wives are more educated than their husbands, but the power of decision rests with the males.

7.11.2 Case Study: There is a family in the village, which belongs to the upper middle class. They have apple orchards. The husband has completed 10 years of his education whereas the wife is a graduate. They have two children. The husband opposes education for his daughter, saying to the wife, "What you have done after doing BA, just looking after the children and the kitchen. She also has to do the same so why should we invest so much on her education." The wife however says that she wants to make her daughter a doctor and would continue efforts to convince her husband to send their daughter to the city for higher studies.

She is of the view that by applying more restrictions on the girls they could be spoiled. Their abilities should be promoted and utilized. She says, "I am educated and can do any job, but my husband does not allow me for it because he wants to keep me dependent on himself. He fears that he will lose authority on me if I become economically independent. However, the fact of the matter is that even working women do not have any role in decision making.

The girls are not even allowed to give their consent regarding their marriage. As per society rules, they have to stay with their husbands and their families. They are expected to accept the match selected by their father and brothers. Those who commit the mistake of refusing to do it for either disliking the spouse or having interest in someone else are called shameless (*beghairat*).

7.11.3 Case Study: A young girl was forced to marry a man of her father's age. She did not want to marry that old man. She had education up to class 3. When she tried to reject that proposal, the parents turned angry saying that it was the education that had spoiled her mind. The man possessed a small piece of land and a house, and that's why the parents took the proposal attractive. The girls are, thus forced to marry against their will. They have no say in this matter. The parents however cannot treat boys in this way because they fear that the boys will leave them and start living at some other place. The parents do not want to lose their sons.

7.11.4 Actual Decision Maker

Being a patriarchal society in Zandra the authority in principle stays with the head of the household, who is invariably an elderly male member of the family (husband or father of the husband). If the husband is out in a city for earning livelihood, the wife can take the responsibility of decision-making, but in routine it is a male who is always head of the family.

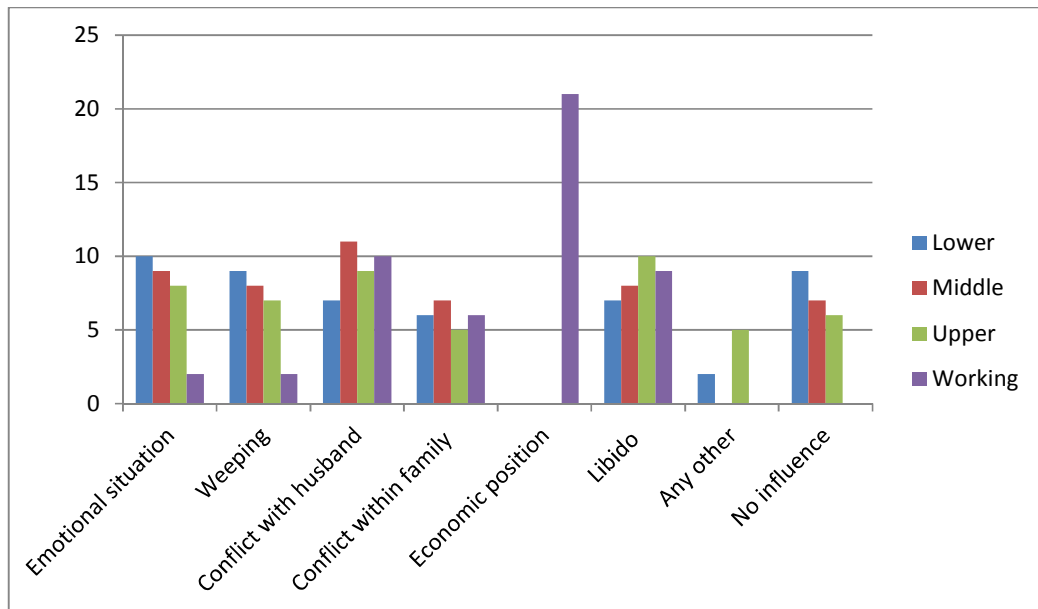
All the above case studies show that man is the decision maker, and he is responsible for any discriminating attitudes and behaviours towards females. To understand the factual position a sample of 200 married women was taken which includes 50 each from lower middle and upper class and 50 from working women. When they were asked about the decision maker in the family 190 out of 200 said “male” and many of them said “in public male”. About the influence on the decisions 178 said yes we can influence and change the decisions, but we do not interfere in the critical decisions like education and marriages of our children especially the daughters because if it ever goes wrong we would be held responsible and criticized. So it is better to stay aside and let the male take the responsibility. If we ever suggest anything to our husbands regarding these decisions we keep silent and do not make it public. In response to the question, “How you influence or change the decision?” following response was obtained.

Table 51: Strategies to Influence the Decisions

STRATEGY	CLASSES			
	Lower	Middle	Upper	Working
Emotional situation	10	09	08	02
Weeping	09	08	07	02
Conflict with husband	07	11	09	10
Conflict within family	06	07	05	06
Economic position	Nil	Nil	Nil	21
Libido	07	08	10	09
Any other	02	Nil	05	Nil
No influence	09	07	06	Nil
TOTAL	50	50	50	50

(Source: Field data)

Figure 48: Strategies to Influence the Decisions



In the light of above data it is clear that a woman can manipulate and influence the decisions. Sometimes she creates an emotional situation and sometimes she threatens her husband to stay away from him to make a decision of her choice. To avoid the conflict and misbehaviour the husband mostly does what she likes. Educated and economically empowered woman is even more powerful. In most of the cases, she does not have to create any emotional situation to make or influence the decisions. She directly takes decisions, ignoring her husband. The husband normally does whatever she says. Working women gave following reasons for their work and the most dominating reason is the authority and decision making power.

- I like working.
- It helps me leading a comfortable life.
- It helps me living in the village.
- I don't need to work at home after my job because my family knows I am tired.
- I have kept my husband away from his family.
- My in-laws can't interfere in my affairs.

- We don't need to meet our relatives because we don't have time for that.
- It gives me a better status in the family.
- I feel more authoritative in the family.
- I can dictate my terms to my husband.
- The husband should know that I have money.
- I behave like a husband. He always asks me what to do.
- He never argues whatever I do.

Male in our society is an implementer of the decision taken at home normally in consultation with his wife or under her influence. The stigma of power which is attached with the male does not allow him to accept the reality. If he publicly admits that the decision has been made under consultation or he has approval of his wife, his position in the family and society would be at stake. Socially it becomes very embarrassing for him. The male does not accept this reality even before himself. He adopts the decision as of his own which he in the absence of his wife may not have even thought of. So he pretends to be a decision maker.

7.12 ANALYSIS

A lot of changes have taken place in the field of education during the last couple of decades. Awareness has also been created among the parents regarding their children's education especially the girls. The first major change is an increase in the enrolment in schools. In mid 1980s, it was 20 to 25 students in boys' schools while 15 to 20 in girls' schools, but now it increased up to 35 to 40 in boys', and 25 to 30 in girls' schools. The dropout rate has been decreased 50% to 33% which still is very high but improvement is there. In 1980s only half of them were reaching at the primary level, but now it is about 66%. It is mainly because majority of the parents were less educated and could not provide necessary support and motivation to their children. Now the literacy rate has increased and the parents are in better position to teach their children at home.

The reasons for increase in enrolment and overall literacy level are quoted differently by different classes. For upper class, it is awareness, for middle, it is affordability, while for lower class, it is the motivation for additional source of income in future.

The second change during the period under reference is the level of awareness among parents. People are today more conscious about their children's education. Most of them are pushing their children, both boys and girls to the higher level, and for that purpose 81 families of the village have migrated to Quetta and other big cities. Male heads of some families are still working in the village but their families are living in Quetta, and they visit their families on weekends. There are another 26 families who have not shifted to Quetta but have constructed houses over there where any of their adult male family member lives. The rest of the family members can go and live there whenever needed. For example, the children could be sent there for their higher education. The ladies go and live there for their deliveries.

This migration has supported the cause of education. Now the people are in a position to provide better educational facilities to the children. One of these migrated families had three daughters and all of them are MBBS doctors and practicing in Quetta. If we see this relationship of migration and education from a different angle, we can say that education has become a cause of urban migration, which resulted into breakdown of joint family system.

In the village joint families are turning into nuclear families, and education is the main factor behind it. The educated ladies do not adjust with uneducated ladies in the family. They want to socialize their children the way they like and do not tolerate interference of others. These ladies also do not contribute to household works, leading to unrest among other ladies of the family, which ultimately results into breakup of the family.

In the past people used to have their own indigenous traditional system of acquisition of knowledge about different things including how to treat themselves, their children and even their animals in illness, how to grow

different crops etc. However in pre-industrial society, people acquired the required knowledge and skills through an informal socialization process which includes ordinary everyday contacts with parents and other kin. As industry was established and developed, the need of mass schooling was felt. As a result knowledge spread rapidly, the pace of social change increased and many new economic roles were created. Members of a modern industrial society need specialized knowledge and skills, if they are to play their adult roles effectively. All modern societies recognize that learning of such knowledge and skills cannot be left on chance. It requires lengthy attendance at specialized formal organization such as elementary schools, high schools, colleges and universities. In all industrial societies, education is a central social institution. Education can be taken as synonymous to socialization, as both processes involve transmission of culture from one person or group to another. The distinguishing feature of education in modern industrial societies, however, is that it has become an institutionalized, formal activity. Modern societies deliberately organize the educational experience, make it compulsory for people in certain age groups, train specialists to act as educators, and provide locations and equipment for the teaching and learning process. For our present purpose, education is systematic, formalized transmission of knowledge, skills and values.

Even today, uneducated people have their own knowledge system which supports their lifestyle and satisfy their basic needs. The present educational system actually supports industry directly or indirectly. It teaches us how to serve the industry. After getting education we abandon our traditional way of life and move towards technology. We often try to find job, implying that in one way or the other, we are serving the industry. Ultimately education is producing the skilled labour for industry. Migration to urban areas is also an indirect support of education to the industry, which changes consumption patterns of the people who have become more dependent on machine made products.

The attitudes regarding the gender discrimination in the field of education has also changed. Initially the main reason for not sending their daughters to

schools was purdah but now more of the economic reasons were reported. Some people are still reluctant to invest on their daughters because they are not permanent members of the family and mostly they do not contribute in the household economy even if they are working. Most of the parents say that we do not have to send them for jobs so why to educate them because the males who send their females for jobs face a bad reputation in the society. Economic dependence on females was considered as shamelessness (*baygharity*). This concept was and still is a barrier for the girls in access to education but there is a notable change in it. The people who educate and allow their daughters to work have a different argument. They say that there is nothing wrong in depending economically on females because the people have been doing it since a long time. The ladies have always been working in the fields with the males which is an indirect economic contribution and the male has been enjoying it since forever. So there is no harm in sending the female to work.

Above discussion makes it clear that economy is the main feature behind all types of gender discrimination including education, food, preference, inheritance etc. More investment is made on sons believing them as permanent members of the families as well as the earning hands. As girls have to go to the other family. Delayed marriages of some educated working women were also observed, as the parents do not want to lose an earning member of the family so early as the investor wants the maximum benefit of his investment for himself not for the others.

As education enables a person to put a question, people do not give education to their daughters fearing that they would demand their right of inheritance. Here, thus, again economy plays a role in keeping the girls away from the school.

Better food is served to the boys to build them stronger for working hard and earning money. So the sons are preferred in giving food for economic benefits. Economy, thus, becomes the major player in gender discrimination.

The today's materialistic life has created more demand for money, increasing discrimination against women.

Some changes in schooling systems and their syllabuses were also observed during last 10 years. NGOs have been introduced in the village, which provide educational services. English medium school has been introduced in the village. In government schools English as a subject starts from class 6 and in schools supported by NGOs start teaching English right from grade one. As far as syllabus is concerned science subject have been introduced in madrasa as compulsory for all. In schools major changes have been made in Islamic studies' syllabus. Arabic was taught as a compulsory subject, which has been made optional now. Music was never taught in schools as it never was a part of local culture, but now it has become compulsory. Music teachers have been hired in all schools owned by Government as well as NGOs. Socialization is provided to the students following the western style. The natives studying in NGO sponsored schools in Southern Punjab reported such academic activities where the children are encouraged to call the police against their parents if they ever punish them or even stop them from doing anything. This type of children's attitude never was a part of their culture.

The following discourse further analyzes this situation by linking it to the conceptual and theoretical concepts.

- In per-industrial society, people acquired the required knowledge and skills through an informal socialization. After the establishment of industry, the need of mass schooling was felt to impart specialized knowledge and skills for smooth running of industry. So this schooling system provides skilled labour to the industry. Core countries are providing financial assistance mostly through NGOs to the periphery so that they could get skilled labour at cheaper rates and to keep the labour rates low they do not provide any real chance for economic growth to these countries as the development of capitalism in core countries requires a continuous and conscious underdevelopment of peripheral countries for regular supply of raw materials and cheap

labour. They just keep them revolving in a vicious circle which starts from poverty leads to the dependency on core countries from where they get low wage rates which ultimately increases poverty. Secondly the consumption patterns of educated families change. Their reliance on consumer products increases. So it benefits the industry both ways.

- People's perception of education as a job seeking instrument is a result of awareness campaigns launched in peripheral regions by the core countries to ensure a regular supply of inexpensive labour. The educated youth in peripheral countries only looks for direct or indirect employment in the industrial sector benefiting the core countries.
- Education can be taken as synonymous to socialization. Core countries control the labour in periphery through socialization. They introduce the syllabus and the medium of education of their choice so that they could create and maintain a pool of less expensive human resource. Changes in schooling systems, syllabuses and other academic activities were evident in the village.
- Education ultimately leads to urban as well as overseas migration. Actually both these phenomena support each other. It becomes difficult for the educated people to live in the villages as there are less resources and facilities. On the other hand urban migration provides better educational facilities to the people. So education leading to urban and overseas migration serves the purpose of core countries as it has been discussed in the previous chapter. Thomas S. Popkewitz from Department of Curriculum & Instruction, University of Wisconsin-Madison USA while addressing in National Curriculum conference of USAID Teacher Education Project (Pre-STEP) held in Islamabad said,

“We do not invest much on education in our country. We do not even motivate our youth to get professional education in specific fields or even to complete their basic education up to graduate level because we can attract skilled human resource from third

world at lower rates. We have the resources and can provide them what they cannot get in their own countries.”

(2012)²⁶⁵

So keeping the peripheral countries at status quo helps the core countries in their brain drain programme.

The above discussion support the concept of world system theory where the theorists Meyer (1971)²⁶⁶, Meyer et al (1992)²⁶⁷, Meyer and Hannan (1979)²⁶⁸, Ramirez, Boli and Thomas (1997)²⁶⁹, Arnove (1980²⁷⁰, 2003²⁷¹) Mundy and Lynn (2001)²⁷², and Sutton and Arnove (2004)²⁷³ have pointed out the intervention of core regions in the educational sector of the peripheral countries through financial assistance to the NGOs and pressurizing the Governments in certain cases (for reference see section 1.9.3.).

²⁶⁵ Popkewitz, T. S. (2012). Lecture in National Curriculum Conference of USAID Teacher Education Project (Pre-STEP), Islamabad.

²⁶⁶ Meyer, J. W. (1971). Economic and Political Effects on National Educational Enrollment Patterns. *Comparative Education Review*, 15, 28-43.

²⁶⁷ Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G. M., & Ramirez, F. O. (1992). World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 144-181.

²⁶⁸ Meyer, J. W. & Hannan, M. T. (1979). Introduction. In J. W. Meyer and M. T. Hannan (Eds.), *National development and the world system: Educational, economic, and political change, 1950-1970* (pp. 3-16). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

²⁶⁹ Boli, J., Ramirez, F. O., & Thomas, G. M. (1997). World culture in the world polity: A century of institutional non-governmental organization. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 171-190.

²⁷⁰ Arnove R. F. (1980). Comparative Education and World-Systems: *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 48-62.

²⁷¹ Arnove, R. F. (2003). Reframing Comparative Education. In R. F. Arnove & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative Education: The dialectic of the global and the local* (2nd ed., pp. 1-23). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

²⁷² Mundy, K. & Murphy, L. (2001). Transnational advocacy, global civil society?: Emerging evidence from the field of education. *Comparative Education Review*, 45, 85-126.

²⁷³ Sutton, M. & Arnove, R. F. (Eds.). (2004). *Civil society or shadow state? State/NGOs relations in Education*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Chapter 8

TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN MEDICINE

People of Zandra perceive this phenomenon of illness and practical measures in the context of their own culture. On the basis of their perception, they have developed certain measures to face the conditions created by the phenomena of illness. But after the provision of basic health facilities in certain parts of Balochistan by government and non-government health organizations, this situation has changed. In collaboration with these organizations people have adopted certain new measures to cope with the illness. This change (adoption of new measures) has also affected natives' perception about health and illness.

In the village health facilities have improved during last three decades. A Basic Health Unit (BHU) was setup in the year 1979 in the vicinity of Zandra village. This health unit had a medical officer, a lady health visitor, a technical assistant, one trained mid-wife and a peon. However, the staff of this health centre has now increased up to 14 persons; three lady health visitors, two technical assistants, five trained midwives and two peons. The facility is open from 8 am to 2 pm during which time the doctor is always present at the premises. If need be emergency patients can visit the doctor at his residence round the clock. Provision of a resident doctor is a major boost to the health standards as opposed to the once a week visiting doctor back in the 1980's.

Medical supplies are provided free of cost to the patients in this health centre. Over the last three decades the annual quota of medicines for this BHU has also been increased from Rs. 48,000 to Rs. 400,000. Two medical stores are operating in the village since 1998 from where the people can buy medicines. Consultation along with the medicines is also available at two recently opened private clinics which are located about 10-12 kms. from the village in Ziarat where the doctor's consultancy fee is also not very high. Doctor charges an average of Rs 200 per patient per visit which is easily affordable by the middle and upper class. Even the lower class can also afford it as the overall financial condition of the village has improved because of apple economy.

Stomach diseases due to unhygienic food and amoebic dysentery are very common diseases. Bronchitis due to dust is also a major problem of this area. At an average the number of registered medical cases in BHU has increased from 400 to 1500 per month in the last three decades.

The development in the transport sector has played a major role in improvement of the health standards of this area. With the availability of roads and public transport, access to big hospitals in Quetta has now become a possibility. Public transport includes busses and vans which operate between Quetta and Ziarat. In 1980s only one bus and two vans were operating but now these vehicles are passing through the village after every hour right from the morning till evening. Travelling from the village has become easier. Other than this people have their own cars and motor cycles.

As a result, there is a change in the natives' behaviour and in their health related beliefs. Opening of BHU and awareness brought about by electronic and print media has caused a shift in interest of the people from hakeems (traditional healer who treats with herbs) and the faith healers to allopathic treatment. Majority of the young generation has adopted modern medicine as an alternative to the traditional medicine due to regular supply of drugs by Health Department and the influence of pharmaceutical companies.

The term traditional medicine implies medical techniques traditionally developed and used in various societies which include herbal medicine, Ayurveda medicine, Acupuncture traditional Chinese medicine and Homeopathy. Traditional Medicine entails the use of many items such as herbs, leaves, oil etc. Traditional healers can make use of natural resources commonly found in their environment. Traditional medicine is less costly.

In fact, the locale of research is in transition from traditional to modern way of life due to economic uplift, education in the area and local's contact with the outside world. During this transition, change has also occurred in the beliefs regarding the phenomena of health and illness and also in the mode of treatment used by the native people, which resulted in the adoption of

allopathic mode of treatment. Despite that, the people of the village still carry their traditional health related beliefs and traditional ways of treatment (use of faith healers and home remedies) along with allopathic mode. Thus pluralistic mode of treatment is prevailing in the village, and therefore, in Zandra, beliefs about health and illness have elements of both modern and traditional beliefs (related to health and illness).

Majority of the people aging above 60 years do not like the modern medicines because of their side effects. They think that the patient has to recover twice, first from the illness and then from the side effects of the medicine. The disease continues to persist and returns back in a different form at a different time. Moreover, these medicines produce dietary deficiencies by destroying the body's natural nutrients. The root cause of disease is free flow of toxins in our body, created by emotional disturbance; un-healthy food, lack of physical exercise etc. and these modern medicines produce even more toxicity at a time when the body is least capable of coping with it. Therefore, the power to cure lies not in these medicines, but in nature.

The meaning of health changes with time and social conditions of men. Health in the hygienic sense, evolved over thousands of years as an approach for survival and long life. Having good health is one of the basic needs of all human societies. The definitions of health have been broadened to encompass social and emotional factors, rather than being restricted to clinical criteria. The constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as a complete state of physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of illness. In other words, health is the condition of the body in which all its parts are functioning efficiently and in routine manner. Health is an issue which holds central importance for every nation of the world.

Illness is an inevitable phenomenon in all human societies. Every society perceives this phenomenon and arranges the measures to cope with the circumstances created by it, in its own context. Therefore beliefs about the phenomena of illness and practical measures taken by the society to cope

with this phenomena, differ from society to society. These beliefs and practical measures are transformed from one generation to another and thus they continue for a long period of time.

Natives' practices for restoring and maintaining health in Zandra are determined by their beliefs about illness and health. The term practices, refers to all those activities adopted or developed by the natives to prevent themselves from illness and the activities adopted for the restoration of their health during illness. The term belief refers to all those beliefs prevailing in the village regarding the nature and causes of health and illness and also the beliefs about the modes of restoring health or prevention against illness.

Thus an effort has been made to find out the medical system working in the village which included both beliefs and perceptions related to health and illness and also the activities which natives have adopted or developed to maintain and restore their health. Besides, researcher endeavoured to explore the disparity between natives' health related beliefs and practices.

In this part of the research, researcher applied the model presented by G. M. Foster et al in the field of Medical Anthropology. They say that all medical systems, irrespective of their social and cultural context, can be categorized into two major categories – "Disease Theory System" and "Health Care System".

"A disease theory system embraces beliefs about the nature of health the causes of illness and remedies and other curing techniques used by doctors. In contrast a health care system is concerned with the ways in which societies organize to care for the sick and to utilize disease 'knowledge' to aid the patient."

(1978)²⁷⁴

G. M. Foster et al have further explained the functions of disease theory system. According to them, it provides a rationale for treatment and explains why the illness has occurred. It also plays an important role in sanctioning and

²⁷⁴ Foster. G. M. & Anderson (1978). "*Medical Anthropology*". John Willey & Sons

supporting social, moral and cultural norms. It also provides the rationale for conservation practices.

Within disease theory system, G. M. Foster et al have given two categories of illness causes – "personalistic system" and "naturalistic system".

"A personalistic system is one in which illness is believed to be caused by the active, purposeful intervention of a sensate agent who may be supernatural being (a deity or god) a non-human being (such as a ghost, ancestor or evil spirit) or a human being (a witch or sorcery)."

(Ibid)

They differentiate naturalistic system from personalistic system as,

"Naturalistic systems explain illness in impersonal systemic terms. Disease is thought to stem not from the machinations of an angry being, but rather from such natural forces or conditions as cold heat winds dampness and above all by an upset in the body elements."

(Ibid)

8.1 BELIEF

Presently both traditional and modern methods of treatment are prevailing in the village. Before going into the details of these methods we need understand their believe systems as they affect the perception and methodology of different diseases. Without having knowledge of the beliefs and perceptions (regarding health and illness), we would not be able to grasp the medical system existing in the village Zandra.

"In learning to treat disease man has developed a vast complex of knowledge, beliefs, techniques, attitudes, customs, rituals and symbols that interlock to form a mutually reinforcing and supporting system. This vast complex and all of the other items we might think to add to the list constitutes a 'medical system'. The term properly embraces the totality of health knowledge, beliefs, skills and practices of every group."

(Ibid)

Prior to discussing the natives' health related beliefs and ideas, researcher would like to brief on their belief system in general. David E. Hunter and Philip Whitten defined the humans' beliefs as,

"Thoughts that are based on the uncritical acceptance of the inherent truth or correctness of the cognitive categories of one's culture."

(1976)²⁷⁵

It means human societies, irrespective of their degree of material and social advancement, have a set of beliefs which provide the community with knowledge of man's place in nature and a general character of behaviour in the realm of sacred and profane. It is often thought that beliefs can only be discussed within the domain of religious activities; this however is erroneous, as almost all societies hold beliefs which have religious restrictions as well as secular ones.

The belief deals with every aspect of human life. The categorization, instrumental and transcendental belief, is no more than the concepts the anthropologists used to classify and understand the human beliefs. They further comment on the history of these beliefs,

"So far we have uncovered no evidence of transcendental belief system until the emergence of Homo-sapiens at the Neanderthal stage some 100,000 years ago in the Middle East,"

(Ibid)

So here Hunter and Whitten clearly point out that the existence of transcendental beliefs is very old in the history of mankind. As man developed a culture with the development of tools and a division of labor, he also became aware of the "life after death" phenomenon which was evident from their burial methods and rituals. Religion can loosely be defined as man's relationship to that which is sacred or holy. 'Sacred' implies in a variety of ways and forms, worship, right, belief and participation in religious institution. The most universal manifestation of religion is worship which encompasses prayers, sacrifice, magic incarnation etc. Religion also dictates man's conduct, furnishing him with code of existence.

²⁷⁵ Hunter, D. E. & Whitten, P. (1976). *The Study of Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Harper and Row.

Religion is basically a belief system comprising of myths that explain the social as well as religious order and of ritual through which the members of the religious community carry out their beliefs. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences has defined Belief as:

"Belief is a mental attitude of acceptance towards a proposition. Belief manifests itself by what we do in circumstances to which proposition is relevant by our decision and the degree of confidence or of hesitation with which we draw and by the surprise which we feel if proposition turns out to be false."

(1972)²⁷⁶

8.2 BELIEF IN SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

'Supernatural' refers to all those things that are believed to exist but are beyond the conception or understanding of human senses. Supernatural beliefs are essentially transcendental beliefs, which are stated in religion as the supernatural, magic and witchcraft. It is believed that there are a few faith healers who can communicate with these supernatural beings.

When people fail to deal with serious mental anxiety through technological or therapy, they try to get it done through supernatural beings and their powers. In such a belief, religious faith plays the platform for confidence building as the religion states the existence and role of these forces. The *pirs* (saints) attempt to control them by religious means including prayers, sacrifice and mystical ritual to appeal for aid from the supernatural forces.

Beliefs in supernatural beings and their power are maintained through demonstration of power, supernatural attributes, and the myths which serve to rationalize religious beliefs, enforcement of power and its exercise. The supernatural beings play an important role in the lives of the people of the village. They put supernatural beings into two types:

1. Uncontrollable supernatural beings
2. Controllable supernatural beings

²⁷⁶ *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

In the uncontrollable category, they include the God. According to the natives, no one can control the God. He is the only supreme power of this world. In the controllable category, they include demons, ghost etc. These things can be controlled by saints, amulet and shrines.

Islam accepts the existence of supernatural beings, and being Muslims all the villagers too believe the existence of supernatural beings. The people believe that they are invisible beings different in their functions and characteristics. Human beings are affected by these supernatural beings physically (body disorders), mentally, (mental disorders) socially (family conflicts) and economically (economic loss). The following are the local categories of these supernatural beings:

1. *Jin*
2. *Churel*
3. *Bhoot*
4. Spirits
5. *Jadu*
6. Evil Eye
7. *Saya*

8.2.1 *Jin* (giant)

The natives believe that *jin* (giant) is a supernatural being creature of God. They can overpower a human being causing diseases and other social and economic hardships. They usually live in graveyards, shrines, shadow and in lonely places. *jins* are always male. They also have a religion as they are either Muslim or *kafir* (Non-Muslim). The natives believe that Muslim *jins* are benevolent in nature and Non-Muslim *jins* are malevolent in nature. Their overpowering of humans occurs due to the following reasons:

- If *jins* like someone.
- If *jins* hate someone for being affected by him in either dishonoring their staying place or crossing their path.
- With the help of black magic people use *jins* to harm their enemies.

The possession of *jins* is not always of permanent nature, and may be for long or short intervals. It is believed by the people that if the Jin is of benevolent nature, he enhances the power of the person and if otherwise, the *jin* punishes him. The symptoms of the possession of malevolent *jins* are fits, high fever and widening eyes. The possession occurs and reoccurs with short or long intervals. When *jin* leaves the victim temporarily the victim becomes very weak and sometimes faints. The natives also believe the *jin* never frees a person until he takes away patient's life.

8.2.2 Churel

Churel (female frightful supernatural being) is a horrible and fearsome supernatural being. A *churel* is always female and its possession is very much dangerous. *Churel* is considered evil and thus feared and hated by the villagers. She is defined as a tall ugly lady with inverted feet, long and sharp teeth, and very long black hair. She lives in graveyards, lonely places, near streams and under shadows of trees. The reasons of *churel* possession are same as of *jin*. Mostly her possession is because of her liking of any male or female.

8.2.3 Bhoot (ghost)

The third category of supernatural being is called *bhoot or phootna* (ghost). The *bhoot* is considered a soul of dead person. The people of the village considered *bhoot* as children of *jin* and *churel* or small *jin*. But these *bhoots* are very naughty in nature just like children. They are usually short in height with small heads and round eyes. Lonely places are their most common habitat, but they may go anywhere. They never possess anyone. The only thing they can do is that they frighten the people. They create problems like breaking of utensils and dropping of milk or water.

8.2.4 Spirits

Natives believe that these spirits live in the world along with human beings and other creatures and there is always purdah between human beings and spirits. Therefore both of them (human beings and these spirits) cannot see each other.

According to the natives there are ancestral spirits, the spirits of their dead ancestors living in this world and *parizad/pari* (fairies) having beautiful physical appearance. There are Muslim and Non-Muslim fairies. The natives believe that Muslim fairies are always helpful for human beings in performing different activities, while Non-Muslim fairies have destructive designs for the common people.

The natives believe that these fairies live in the mountains, but sometimes they come to the plains also. Fairies cause illness to the individuals who hunt deer in meadows because the deer are believed to be the cattle of fairies. People also believe that sometimes, these spirits also possess a person having extra ordinary beauty. When a person is possessed by these spirits, he suffers from body ailments such as bone ache but mostly he suffers from hysteric fits. Sometimes, wounds appear on the skin as if somebody has beaten him.

People believe that Muslim fairies are easy to control as compared to Non-Muslim fairies, which can be controlled by only any Non-Muslim faith healer or a powerful Muslim faith healer.

According to the natives believe, fright is another supernatural cause of illness. They believe that when the invisible veil between the spirits and human beings vanishes for a while, spirits become visible and by seeing their unusual appearance, one gets frightened of the spirits. These spirits have very horrifying appearance like having long teeth, nails; etc, which create fear in an individual's heart.

One can be frightened by the spirits at any time, but mostly this occurs in the evening and in the summer afternoons. The haunted places like graveyard, road accident and death, spots, house with no inhabitants are dangerous in this regard. People also revealed that sometimes fright can attack a person without seeing any horrifying spirit.

8.2.5 *Jadu (Magic)*

Both faith healing and magic have a common element between them – a strong faith. The stronger the faith, the better will be the results. So those who practice magic fall in the category of faith healers that resolves people's problems within their own faith. The presence of magic cannot be denied and is done in privacy. Most villagers, being religious, considered it an evil play. A taboo is thus a kind of sacred law replacing secular law in maintaining some form of social control. Islam forbids magic, but even then magical practices are common though secretly. Gossip in the village exposed the most about the magic practices. Faith healers who were practicing magic were thought to be committing a sin, which is a taboo in that society, but they continue doing it for people visiting them.

Magic is prohibited in Islam, but its existence is not denied. It is performed through certain rites and rituals to affect a good or bad act. Mostly it is enacted for people who wish to control a situation. The act is accomplished through manipulation of supernatural forces. Magic is manipulative like science in the sense that it seeks to control the 'natural' forces, but is also unlike science as it uses supernatural means and not predefined methods. Magic is a fascinating ritual that is exercised with the belief that the supernatural powers can be compelled to act in certain good or evil way.

There were two types of magic prevailing in the locale understudy and were believed and practiced by the villagers. They were White Magic, locally termed as *Noori Ilam* is done for good purposes, and Black Magic, locally termed as *Kala Ilam* is done for bad purposes.

8.2.5.1 White Magic: Though prohibited in Islam, it is practiced in secrecy. White magic is used for positive influence to bring about quicker and positive results. People in Zandra also believed in white magic as a solution of socio-medical problems. The practice is still viewed as a taboo.

8.2.5.2 Black Magic: The concept of black magic came from Hindu culture in our society. Religiously speaking, its practice is like

committing an unforgivable sin. It is performed through different rituals using dirty things like blood, dirty clothes, hair, and dirty body discharges. This magic has the power to negatively influence life and can cause fatal diseases leading to death. Black magic is also used to physically hurt or kill people or enemies for selfish intents. It is practiced symbolically. A doll is used as a symbol of the intended victim, and injury to the doll by stitching a pin in it enacts an injury in the victim to destroy him. I heard of a few cases of black magic, which produced fatal results. In a society where people do not have technological ability to control the environment, they have to resort to magic and religion. We can thus say that religion fulfills basic universal human needs by enabling people to cope with the unknown and uncontrollable.

Witchcraft and sorcery are important practices in black magic. Witchcraft functions almost similar to science in giving explanations for unwanted events. Witchcraft is an inherent trait and sorcery is learned. Witchcraft has many potential functions in society as it provides an outlet for aggression, tensions, conflicts, and hostility. People justify it as it provides a convenient scapegoat for the misdeed and frustrations of the society. It can regulate the antagonisms that inevitably arise in any social situation. Witchcraft can act as a mechanism for social control by regulating the behavior of certain members of the group or force others to follow certain desired patterns of behavior.

Six percent of the respondents mentioned magic as a cause of various illnesses. In this society, magic is done by any individual who possesses supernatural or magical power and knowledge and he does magic by manipulating this knowledge and power. But such a person is hated by the society due to nature of his work, because it is used to hurt others. People categorize magic into two categories. In the 1st category, they include magic done on any edible thing like fruit, sweet or any inedible thing such as brain of crow or donkey and menstruation blood. Magic is done on these things by the person who is expert in performing magic. These things are given to the victim to eat without making him conscious of their intentions. People believe that after eating such type of things, the victim usually becomes ill. It is also believed that any edible thing, with magic decays within two days even in

freezing temperature. Therefore, people usually leave a thing for a day given by someone else to test whether it was given after casting magic on it or not. It is done when people become suspicious of other's intentions of giving anything to them. If the thing decays within one or two days it is believed that this thing had magic.

As for the second category of magic, people believe that it is done through any amulet or other things like nails, hair, locks and bones of any old dead body. Usually these things are buried under the threshold or thrown into the land of the person who is going to be victimized.

Natives of Zandra also believe in imitative magic in which a doll is made to represent the victim. After casting spell on the doll it is thrown into any old grave. The people believe that through this the victim can be killed. My key informant Abdul Malik informed me that usually magic is done for the following purposes:

- To make a person physical or mentally ill.
- To kill a person.
- To disable a person.
- To disturb the business of an individual.
- To deprive a person of his children and wealth.

Mostly magic is used due to any prolonged enmity, personal grudge or for being jealous of one's qualities and wealth.

8.2.6 Evil Eye

Locally evil eye is called *nazar lagna*. Most of the women believe in the concept of evil eye. Eye glance can be of two kinds, evil and good. Evil eye harms but eye of some pious person proves beneficial. When a person envies something or someone, that thing or person can become victim of this evil eye. The person, who casts on evil eye, does not necessarily know about his harmful act. Evil eye could be of two types i.e. evil eye of a human being and evil eye of a supernatural being.

Evil eye of supernatural beings e.g. giants, ghosts etc. is more dangerous than that of human being. Even animals especially milk giving buffaloes, cows, goats and even trees and crops can become victim of evil eye. When a person in the village is believed to be affected by evil eye he is cured by the following ways:

- Take a white cloth, revolve it around the victim's head for 7 times and then burn it.
- Revolving 7 red chilies around the head of the victim and burning.
- *Dum*²⁷⁷ or amulet from *pir sahib* (saint/ faith healer) who is considered as a specialist for curing the evil eye.
- A black bangle or a black thread is tied around the wrist of newly born baby to save him from the evil eye.

8.2.7 *Saya*

Saya means shadow. In this health problem a person is affected by the shadow of a demon. The demon does not possess a person but the person can feel its presence. This form of possession is called *saya*. There is no intention of a demon to either possess or tease people, but their presence is felt and people react to it in an abnormal manner like fear. According to the natives, human beings are very much afraid of supernatural beings. That is why these supernatural beings get control over human beings in the form of possession.

The natives conceptualized giants and ghosts as evil powers. They think that their common places are under shady trees, lonely places and graveyards. Baby crying is always attributed to the fear of monsters. It is generally believed that one should cover babies while passing through the graveyards, lonely places and the shady trees.

The people also believe that possession is made mostly by giants and *saya* is mostly because of ghosts which normally frighten small babies. According to

²⁷⁷ Faith healer recites verse of the Quran or the name of God under the breath and then the breath is blown on the concerned part of the body or the person who is sick or any edible or drinkable thing such as honey, almond oil or water and the patient has to use them for a certain time period prescribed by the healer.

the natives under the possession, a faith healer can talk to the giants but in *saya*, the communication between healer and *saya* is not possible.

The *saya* is always treated by amulet given by the specialist faith healers. Other methods are not applicable for *saya* because there is no communication between *saya* and the healer. Pir Haji Jan Muhammed said that one should avoid going to the lonely places and thick forests. One should recite the verses of the Holy Quran while passing through forests, graveyards and lonely places. Even one should not urinate at lonely places, near graveyards and under shady trees, because all these places are considered staying places of supernatural beings.

He further said that if someone is going somewhere in the night he should keep a knife with him because such supernatural beings are very much scared of things made of iron. There are also specific amulets for *saya* and one should tie it around their neck. There is also a remedy for the problem of *saya*. A 17 years old girl was very much afraid of a ghost. Her mother took a black chicken and revolved it around her head for seven times and then threw it in a forest.

Saya is a problem in which people are mentally disturbed. Mostly people become very weak and their sleep gets disturbed. *Saya* is not a disease, as people said; it is a cause of many diseases. So indirectly, for the natives, it is also a kind of disease. The villager, clerics and the faith healers were not very clear about the causes of *saya*. Ghost is considered as a naughty creature that can tease you and frighten you but it never harms you.

People also believe that one can get frightened of ghost and sometimes their fear leads to heart attack and sudden deaths. According to *pir sahib* (saint/faith healer), ghost irritate human beings in revenge as sometimes people irritate them unconsciously or may be, they like someone. They are also naughty in nature so perhaps they get satisfied by committing naughty acts. He said one should not feel afraid of them.

8.3 HEALTH RELATED BELIEFS

The health related beliefs of the natives are very much linked to their religion and the acceptance or rejection of a belief is seen in the light of religion. For example black magic as being objected by the religion has very little number of believers as compared to those who have belief in *piri-muridi*, efficiency of *dum/darood* (blowing breath after reciting Quranic verses), *taveez* (amulet) and possession of supernatural being e.g. giants, ghosts and *churel* etc. with the belief that every disease comes from the God, the people's health system is influenced by religious beliefs. On the basis of beliefs and ideas regarding illness causes, natives of Zandra have adopted different preventive measures. According to G.M Foster et al,

"But among most non-western peoples preventive medicine consists of personal acts rather than legal functions personal behaviour that follows logically from disease causation concepts which by explaining why a person falls ill, simultaneously teach what to be done to avoid illness."

(1978)²⁷⁸

Although the natives believe that illness cannot be averted because it is written in one's fate by the God to test one's firmness in religious beliefs yet they have certain traditional practices to follow to avert illness. They have different measures against different illness causes including (natural, biological, supernatural, psychological and food intake).

The natives believe that illnesses caused by natural causes can be averted by keeping the body, clothes, food and surroundings clean. A respondent said, "To protect ourselves from illness, we should keep our body, clothes and food clean. We should also wash utensils and protect them from flies in the summer. We should sweep our houses daily."

They also believe that by taking a required quantity of energetic and pure food (e.g. eggs, milk, meat, butter, etc.) they can protect themselves against the illnesses caused by the food intake. Another respondent said, "Body needs

²⁷⁸ Foster. G. M. & Anderson (1978). "Medical Anthropology". New Jersey: John Willey & Sons.

food in a limited quantity and we should not exceed to protect ourselves from various diseases."

Some respondents were of the view that over work should be avoided to keep themselves healthy. An informant said, "Work done in a limit keeps a person healthy". There were some other respondents who said that proper treatment should be provided to save the ill person from any further complication.

Another respondent aged 55 years said, "Minor illnesses should not be ignored and doctor should be consulted. We should also complete the course of medicine prescribed by him." The natives also believe that people should try to protect themselves against the extreme weathers. People take their children to the village health center for vaccination.

As for supernatural causes of illness, natives revealed that in order to protect a person from evil-eye, *Ma Shaa Allah* (may God protect you from evil-eye) is uttered soon after having a glance of a person. Most of the people put black dots on child's face or tie a black thread around his ankles, neck and wrists to protect him from evil-eye. Female Key informant said, "Black dots and threads are effective in preventing attack of evil-eye". Sometimes, people get an amulet from a faith healer and tie it around child's neck to prevent him from evil-eye.

People do not pass through the haunted places at night and summer afternoons believing that evil-spirits come out of their abodes at a time when majority of the people stays at home. The people who are possessed by fairies avoid visiting birth and death places. A faith healer of the village said, "Death and birth places are polluted and fairies cannot live at such places. Therefore any possessed person should not go there otherwise the fairies could harm him."

One of the informants said, "To prevent ourselves from magic (*jadu*), we should not throw our hair and nails outside our homes. They should be properly disposed off because usually magic is done on these things.

The above data shows natives' ideas and beliefs regarding illness, its causes and prevention. This data also shows applicability of Foster's definition of illness and his categories of disease etiologies. He defines illness,

"It is the social recognition that a person is unable to fulfill his normal roles, adequately, and that something must be done about the situation."

(ibid)

In the same way, natives also define illness in terms of one's inability of performing one's roles in this particular society.

Foster et al have also provided two categories or systems of disease etiologies found in non-Western world which are "personalistic" and "nationalistic systems". Their first category of causes of illness (personalistic system) holds in this society as the natives also include God's will or fate (God as supernatural force) spirits (non-human beings) and human beings (through their involvement in magic and evil eye) as the cause of illness. While the second category of illness causes (naturalistic system) applies to a limited extent in this society. As it is confirmed by only the idea of natives' regarding environmental severities (heat and cold) but there is no concept regarding balance of basic body elements in this society.

Psychological category mentioned by the natives, in which they include "worry" and "unhappiness" as a main cause of illness, does not fit in either of the categories of etiologies given by Foster et al. Thus his categories of causes of illness are applicable in this society partially.

The above information also confirms functions of disease theory system, presented by Foster et al. It reveals that natives' beliefs about causes of illness not only explain why the illness has occurred but also provide a mode of sanctioning social and moral norms. As people believe that disobedience of spiritual leaders can cause illness, this belief binds the values to act upon their spiritual leaders' instructions and avoid their disobedience. Belief in

magic also binds them from behaving badly to others due to the fear of magic in reaction. Thus this belief plays an important role in creating harmony among the people.

These beliefs also provide rationale for conservation practices. For example the belief that fairies can harm with illness in case of hunting wild animals (deer) in meadows plays an important role in conservation of these animals.

Following are some of the health-related beliefs existing in the local community:

1. Pregnant woman should not go to a house where a person has died, because there will be a chance of still birth.
2. Pregnant woman should not eat hot-effect food otherwise she could face abortion or stillbirth.
3. A person with demon possession should not go to a house where a person has died as demon possession may occur.
4. After the birth of a child mother should not go outside her house as possession of evil being may occur.
5. Unconscious touching of nose again and again might be a sign of coming illness.
6. Taking bath and washing clothes on Tuesday is prohibited because it always results in loss of health.
7. One should not call anyone going for duty (job) as it may cause road accident.
8. Water near fire is always polluted because of smoke, so it should not be drunk because it creates stomachache.
9. A person with black lips is in fact suffering from heat so he should eat cold-effect food.
10. At the time of sunset, one should not read or write. By doing this one's brain gets weaker.
11. Young girls above 12 should not eat hot-effect food, as it may cause menstruation problems.
12. If a small child under the age of one year watches reflection of his face in the mirror, he suffers from illness.

13. Rice should not be eaten after egg because it causes itching.
14. The stomach of cow or goat should not be eaten as it causes illness.
15. Females should not wear full black suite because they can lose their health.
16. One should not go to the lonely places, thick forests and graveyards otherwise giants or ghosts may possess him.
17. While passing through the graveyard and under the shady trees, the children should be covered properly otherwise giants or ghosts may possess them.
18. The patient's bed should not be laid down in front of the door, because in that case, he does not get cured.
19. The patient does not cure if outcast people come into the patient's room.
20. The child should not be left alone till 40 days because he may be possessed by evil beings.

8.4 NATIVES' PERCEPTION OF ILLNESS AND HEALTH

This part mainly deals with the villagers' perception about diseases which are commonly found in the village. It also contains a discussion on the existing position regarding mode of treatment in the village.

Diseases refer to abnormalities in the structure and/or function of organ and alright pathological state whether or not they are culturally recognized. The local concept of diseases pertain to a pain experienced by the person i.e. "No pain – no disease". They don't consider anything as disease unless its pain becomes unbearable. The people used the word *bimari* (disease). As for cause of illness their perception mainly drives from their belief system. Their beliefs are handed down from generation to generation and are based upon traditions with little influence of current medical knowledge.

People, in general, perceive diseases differently as compared to a doctor. They make evaluations primarily in terms of their own direct experience. All human beings, irrespective of their culture and society, have to encounter with the phenomenon of illness, but they perceive this phenomenon in the context

of their own culture and society. On the basis of their perception they treat it accordingly. Foster et al say,

"Societies define illness, in different fashions and symptoms that are accepted as evidence of illness in one society may be ignored in the next. Definition within the same society may also change."

(ibid)

Majority of the people of Zandra define the phenomena of illness in terms of a condition in which body suffers from pain and in which an individual feels weakness, laziness and temperature in his body, becoming unable to perform his daily tasks. Even sometimes he cannot walk and talk. A 44 years old male respondent defined illness, "It is a sort of condition in which the body aches, suffers from temperature, leaving the person lazy and unable to do his daily routine work. Cholera is an example of illness." Most of the respondents defined illness as "pain in any part of the body ". Thus, in this society, a person having pain in any part of body is regarded as ill. Natives also give examples of illness by giving names of various illnesses such as headache, stomach ache, cholera, diarrhea etc. Mental disorder is also regarded as illness. During a group discussion, a 50 years old respondent said, "There is a person in his neighbourhood who is mentally ill. He does not sleep the whole night and constantly cries for hours. This started taking place after the death of his twenty five years old son in a road accident."

People of Zandra also regard pregnancy as an illness believing that a woman in pregnancy has to suffer from pain in body and cannot perform her daily tasks in a proper way. Thus pain, weakness, laziness and temperature are the main symptoms of illness. Blood deficiency is also considered as the sign of illness and the amount of blood in body is judged from the face colour. A respondent said that he had become pale due to blood deficiency in his body.

Absence of worry is also regarded as health. A 70 years old male respondent defined health as, "No pain and no worry is health". Sufficient amount of blood and flesh in the body is also regarded as health. Mostly people declare those

people healthy who are fat and have reddish face complexion (which is sign of sufficient amount of blood in the body). Thus natives of Zandra perceive good health in terms of absence of worry, pain-free body, ability of digestion and sufficient amount of blood and flesh in body.

8.5 NATIVES' BELIEFS ABOUT CAUSES OF ILLNESS

During the research it was found different responses to the causes of diseases. The most common answer was that disease comes with the will of God. The people of Zandra have their own beliefs and ideas about the causes of illness, which determine their health seeking behaviour.

"In account after account we find that the kinds of curers the mode of diagnosis, curing techniques, preventive acts and the relationship of these variables in the wider society of which they are a part derive from beliefs about illness causality."

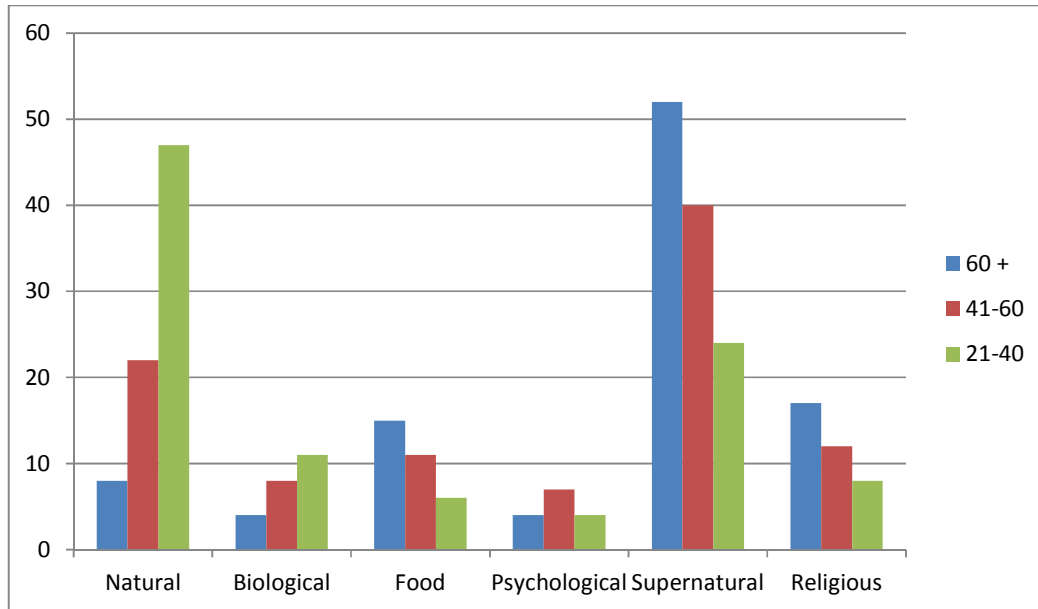
(ibid)

Table 52: Causes of Illness

Sr.	Causes	Respondents by age					
		60 +	%	41-60	%	21-40	%
1	Natural Causes						
	• Unhygienic conditions	4	4%	12	12%	23	23%
	• Environment severities	2	2%	5	5%	6	12%
	• Allopathic medicine	0	0%	1	1%	7	7%
	• Contact with outsiders	0	0%	2	2%	5	5%
	• Too much work	2	2%	2	2%	6	6%
2	Biological Causes						
	• Inherited illnesses	2	2%	2	2%	4	4%
	• Lack of blood/ Energy	1	1%	3	3%	4	4%
	• Malfunctioning of body organs	1	1%	3	3%	3	3%
3	Food						
	• Modern food habits	15	15%	11	11%	6	6%
4	Psychological causes						
	• Worry and unhappiness	4	4%	7	7%	4	4%
5	Supernatural Causes						
	• Evil eye	22	22%	16	16%	10	10%
	• Spirits	12	12%	10	10%	6	7%
	• Fright	8	8%	5	5%	2	2%
	• Sorcery (Jadu)	10	10%	9	9%	6	6%
6	Religious Causes						
	• Fate	17	17%	12	12%	8	8%
	Total	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Field Data

Figure 49: Causes of Illness



The causes of illness can be placed into six categories. The first category includes natural causes. In this category they include germs, dirty environment, allopathic medicine, too much work and contact with the outsiders. The young generation of the natives is fully aware of the importance of hygiene. Twenty three percent respondents of young age group, twelve percent of middle and four percent of senior citizens mentioned unhygienic conditions as the sole cause of illness in which they include dirty living conditions, wearing dirty clothes, not taking bath regularly, unhygienic food and unclean utensils used in the kitchen.

Few of the respondents said that due to unclean environment, flies cause illnesses. They also give names of the diseases caused by un-cleanliness. Some respondents describe germs as a direct cause of illness, but most of the respondents referred towards them while talking about unhygienic conditions. A woman during her menstruation period is also regarded as unclean and she usually avoids physical mixing up with other members of the family. People believe that if a child sits in the lap of an unclean (menstruating) woman, he gets his eye sore.

The respondents further said that in the past, they were not aware of unhygienic conditions as a cause of illnesses, but gradually, they got awareness from the educated people, doctors and basic health unit of the village, doctor's discussion on the radio and the emphasis on cleanliness by the religious leaders. The influence of education, availability of health facilities, mass media and spiritual leaders' instructions on the natives' perception of causes of illness is evident.

Six percent of the respondents of young age and five percent of the middle age group mentioned environmental severities as a cause of illness. Whereas on two percent of the old respondents stated the same reason. By environmental severities, they mean extreme temperatures. They say that they get exposed to the hot weather in the summer for working in the fields and thus have to suffer from illnesses like headache and temperature. While in the winter, they suffer from the illnesses like pneumonia and cough due to the extreme cold weather. An old respondent narrated, "In the summer we remain in our fields under the sun with severe thirst and fall ill. In winter, if we do not cover ourselves properly, we suffer from different diseases."

Seven percent and one percent of the respondents of young and middle age groups respectively regarded allopathic medicine and pills as the cause of illness. A female respondent said, "The doctor's medicine eats us from inside and make us hollow." Another male respondent commented, "The doctor's medicine, while curing one illness, gives birth to another illness e.g. Panadol kills headache but starts stomach ache on the other hand.

Five and two percent of the respondents of young and middle age groups respectively said that different diseases have been intruded into the society due to contact with the outsiders. They said that in the past, no outsiders such as tourists arrived in Ziarat Valley and there was very less interaction of the natives with the outsiders. However, today, the situation has changed and now there is a great flow of tourists and foreigners into their society and they bring various kinds of diseases with them. The interaction of the natives has

also increased because they have started traveling outside the valley quite frequently.

Six percent of the respondents of young age and two percent of middle and old age groups each regarded extra work (physical exertion) as a cause of illness. Usually women of middle age group refer to the nature of their work as the cause of their illnesses such as bone ache and joint ache. As it has been mentioned in the village profile that the area of this village is mountainous and a person's land possessions are scattered. The women had to carry fodder and woods on their backs from their orchards and forests situated at a long distance. Therefore, women regard the nature of their work as the cause of their illnesses. Most of the old female respondents refer their current illness as a result of their work they have been doing in their youth. Now the condition is different. Most of the households do not keep livestock and the government has also provided natural gas for household use, so the ladies do not have to carry fodder and woods. That's why the percentage of the female decreased in the young age whereas the percentage of males increased because majority of them is striving hard for money.

The second category of causes in which natives believe can be termed as biological causes. The first cause of illness in this category is inherited illnesses. Four, two and two percent of young, middle and old age respondents respectively revealed that mostly people get certain illnesses in inheritance and fall ill. A respondent referred diabetic patients in this regard.

Further four percent of the young respondents mentioned deficiency of blood and energy in body as a cause of illness. This idea was also supported by three and one percent of middle and old age respondents respectively. By energy, they mean physical strength and ability to perform physical tasks like carrying things (such as wood) from one place to another. They also say that blood and energy deficiency occurs for taking less energetic food. They say that a person develop this deficiency for remaining ill for a long time, which causes further illnesses.

Three percent of the respondents belonging to young and middle age group each and one percent of the senior citizens believed that malfunctioning of the body organs is a main cause of their illness. They said that human body has specific organs for specific functions and illness can occur due to malfunctioning of any of the organs. They further added that careless eating can cause illness. They also said that any infection in the blood also causes illnesses like scabies.

Fifteen percent of old, eleven percent of middle and only six percent of the young age respondents attributed modern food habits as a cause of their illness. By modern food habits, they mean the use of tea, spicy meal, butter, ghee, cooking oil and wheat flour brought from Punjab. This group of respondents mostly consists of old and middle age people. They say that in good old days, they used to produce all food items in the village such as wheat, maize, oil (oozed out of apricot nuts), apricot juice and butter. They regard these items as pure. These days, people bring food items including flour, rice, sugar, milk, spices, cooking oil, tea etc. from Punjab and Sind. These products are considered as impure for being treated in factories. Referring to Dalda Ghee, they said that no one knows the type of impurities added to it. They further said that modern chronic illnesses such as blood pressure, cancer, T. B (Tuberculosis), diabetes were totally unknown in the past, but today they have become very common and all this has occurred due to modern impure food items.

A 70 years old man said, "Today people do not take the food which was available to their forefathers. Now they take it from the bazaar and fall ill." A female respondent said, "Though in the past we used to work hard to produce the food items, but now these items are easily available in the bazaar and we are at ease. However this comfort has also brought discomforts in the form of illnesses.

In the fourth category of illness causes, there comes psychological cause of illness. Four percent of young, seven percent of middle and four percent of old respondents mentioned worry and unhappiness as the cause of ill health. One

of the key informant said, "Worries disturbs our heart and mind and causes different illnesses like headache and heart illness." Thus natives believe that worry and unhappiness not only cause mental disturbances but also cause certain other physical illnesses.

Another category of causes of illness, in which natives believe, are the supernatural causes. This means the illness caused by different supernatural forces.

"Supernatural etiological categories refer to those explanations that place the origin of disease in suspensible forces, agents or acts that cannot be directly observed. Explanations of disease such as sorcery, witchcraft, spirit intrusion, susto, evil-eye and the like fall in this category."

(ibid)

Evil-eye is a very strong belief among the senior citizens of the village. Twenty two percent of the respondents of old age group referred it as a strong cause of illnesses (both minor and major illnesses). This phenomenon of evil-eye is called *huri nazar* and is getting less popular among the young generation. Only ten percent of the young respondents supported this idea. Same is the case with spirits, fright and sorcery, which are also getting unpopular among the same age group.

Evil-eye is believed to affect not only living but also non-living things. The natives believe that as far as human beings are concerned, evil-eye has a severe effect and due to it, a victim falls ill and sometimes dies. This happens when a person with evil-eye casts a glance at a person having extra human qualities such as health, craftiness, beauty etc. and a sudden greed comes into his heart for these qualities.

Usually people define evil eye as "magnetic rays" in a person's eyes. There is no specific time period for evil-eye to show its effect but usually it happens soon after casting evil-eye on a person. People believe that usually evil-eye is caused unintentionally and it is not necessary for the person with evil-eye to

be aware of his this power. Mostly women respondents mentioned evil-eye as a cause of their children's illness. They used to refer to the fact that their children were healthy and a person with evil-eye caused an evil-eye due to which they remained ill and became weak.

A person whether he is a friend or foe, relative or any non-relative can cast evil-eye. A respondent narrated his daughter's case, "My daughter is two years old and is fair in complexion, healthy and active. One day my cousin who has no child came and appreciated my daughter's health and activeness. When he left she started crying and did not sleep during the whole night. The next day, she suffered from diarrhea. I knew my cousin had caused evil-eye for my daughter because he had not uttered *Masha Allah*²⁷⁹ .

Sixth category of illness causes is influenced by the natives' religious beliefs. Seventeen percent of the old respondents said that if illness has been written in your fate by God, then it has to occur, no matter what measures you adopt to prevent yourself. Thus God's will and fate is regarded as the cause of illness. A 50 years old female respondent said, "Illness never occurs due to un-cleanliness or any other cause but it occurs as a result of fate written by the God at the time of one's birth." This phenomenon of fate is also losing its popularity among the young generation. Only eight percent of the young respondent supported this idea.

From the above data it is evident that the natives' ideas and beliefs about illness causes can be placed into six categories mentioned above. The people of Zandra also believe that one illness may have two causes from two different categories or two causes from the same category of causes of illness.

A 21 years old young woman was mentally ill and used to suffer from fits almost twice a week, and used to beat other people sitting around her. She said that all her mental problems were due to unhappy life leading with her

²⁷⁹ May God protect you from evil-eye

husband who was cruel to her. On the other hand, she also said that once in her orchard under the big apple tree, she had encountered with fright and after that she started suffering from fits.

This case represents natives' beliefs that two causes from different categories can cause one illness. Fright (supernatural category) and unhappy life (psychological category) have been mentioned as the cause of same mental illness.

In another case, a male respondent narrates his child's illness (fever) caused by evil-eye and fright, which had occurred soon after his birth in a public gathering. In this case, two causes (evil eye and fright) have been mentioned as the cause of the same illness and these causes are from the same category of supernatural causes.

It is evident from the above data that the natives' beliefs are influenced by their religious beliefs, social interaction, education level and access to mass media. One thing is necessary to mention here that majority of the young and educated people mention un-cleanliness and malfunctioning of the body organs as the cause of different illnesses. They also refuse to accept the supernatural forces as the cause of illness. This point also reveals the fact that people's educational level affects their beliefs regarding disease etiology.

Uneducated people have mentioned that they have received the idea of unhygienic conditions as a cause of various illnesses from the educated people, doctors in the village and radio. This fact reveals the influence of social interaction of the natives with educated people, doctors and their access to mass media, on their beliefs related to disease etiology. While the educated people say that they have received this idea (idea of un-cleanliness as the cause of illness) through education which they have received.

8.6 ANALYSIS

People of Zandra perceive the phenomenon of illness and take precautionary and practical measures in the context of their own culture. But after the

provision of basic health facilities in certain parts of Balochistan by government and non-government health organizations, this situation has changed.

In the village health facilities at Basic Health Unit (BHU) have improved during last three decades. Medical supplies are provided free of cost in this health centre. Two medical stores in the village and two private clinics in Ziarat are operating and providing health care facilities at an affordable cost. The development in the transport sector has played a major role in improvement of the health standards of this area. As a result, there is a change in the natives' behaviour and in their health related beliefs. Opening of BHU and awareness brought about by electronic and print media has caused a shift in interest of the people, especially the young generation, from hakeems and the faith healers to allopathic treatment.

In fact, the locale of research is in transition from traditional to modern way of life due to economic uplift, education in the area and local's contact with the outside world. During this transition, change has also occurred in the beliefs regarding the phenomena of health and illness and also in the mode of treatment used by the native people, which resulted in the adoption of allopathic mode of treatment.

Majority of the people aging above 60 years do not like the modern medicines because of their side effects. They think that the disease continues to persist and returns back in a different form at a different time. Moreover, these medicines produce dietary deficiencies by destroying the body's natural nutrients.

Natives believe in supernatural beings among the various causes of illness. It is also believed that there are a few faith healers who can communicate with these supernatural beings and can treat the patients. Among the supernatural beings they include *jin* (giant), *churel* (female frightful supernatural being), *bhoot* (ghost), spirits, magic, evil eye and *saya* (shadow).

They have different measures against different illness causes including natural, biological, supernatural, psychological and food intake. The natives believe that illnesses caused by natural causes can be averted by keeping hygiene and taking pure food. Over work should be avoided and doctor should be consulted even for minor illnesses. For supernatural causes of illness, natives consult the faith healers.

Majority of the people of Zandra define the phenomena of illness in terms of a condition in which body suffers from pain and in which an individual feels weakness, laziness and temperature in his body, becoming unable to perform his daily tasks. Natives also give examples of illness by giving names of various illnesses such as headache, stomach ache, cholera, diarrhea etc. Mental disorder is also regarded as illness. People of Zandra also regard pregnancy as an illness believing that a woman in pregnancy has to suffer from pain in body and cannot perform her daily tasks in a proper way. Natives perceive good health in terms of absence of worry, pain-free body, ability of digestion and sufficient amount of blood and flesh in body.

The causes of illness can be placed into six categories. The first category includes natural causes. In this category they include germs, dirty environment, allopathic medicine, too much work and contact with the outsiders. The second category of causes can be termed as biological causes which include inherited illnesses, deficiency of blood and energy, and malfunctioning of the body organs. Illnesses caused by modern food habits are placed in third category. Psychological causes are placed as category four. Supernatural and religious causes are treated as category five and six respectively. It is believed that one illness may have two causes from the same or two different categories.

Above discussion shows that the natives' beliefs are influenced by their religious beliefs, social interaction, educational level and access to mass media. Influence of education is evident on their beliefs regarding disease etiology. Young and educated people mention un-cleanliness and malfunctioning of the body organs as the cause illness. They also refuse to

accept the supernatural forces causing illness. Uneducated people are getting awareness through educated people, doctors in the village and radio.

The above issues could be further discussed in the light of conceptual and theoretical concepts.

- Allopathic health facilities have been improved in village with the help of NGOs and Government. Nothing has been done to improve the traditional health care systems neither by the NGOs nor by the Government as both of them work on the agenda provided by the core countries to facilitate their pharmaceutical industry. NGOs work under their financial assistance and Governments under contracts signed against the receipt of grant in aid from those countries. It creates new markets for medicines, medical equipments, and technical assistance.
- Improvements in economic conditions, infrastructure, literacy level and mass media have also supported allopathic health care systems. With improved economic conditions the allopathic treatment has become affordable for the natives. It has also become sign of status and prestige for them as they can get expansive treatment from private clinics. Infrastructure including roads and better transport facilities also support the pharmaceutical industry as the people can reach the hospitals and clinics even the cities. Education and mass media have created awareness among the people to change their believe systems which resulted in the growth of pharmaceutical business and on the other hand a setback for faith healers and hakeems who have been searching for alternatives for their survival. The younger generation hardly believes in faith healers and traditional medical practitioners. The elder generation was conscious about the side-effects of allopathic medicines, even then a shift in their health believes was observed. Side-effects of allopathic medicines are providing permanent clientage to the pharmaceutical industry as you recover from one and gets into another.

- Pregnancies were never treated as illness in the village. With the help of elderly women and the traditional birth attendants (TBA) deliveries were conducted at home. Doctors were not involved in it as it was considered as a physiological process. Now as a result of awareness created by the core countries through education and media the pregnancy has become an illness. There is a complete involvement of doctors, allopathic medicines and instruments. The patients are visiting the hospitals and clinics regularly, going through ultrasounds about 6 times during pregnancy. It all generates economic transactions supporting the capitalist's pharmaceutical industry. Natives have been spending huge amounts as compared to the past when they had to pay small amounts to the TBAs. This shift has been putting an end to the traditional occupation.
- A change in the perception of illness was observed in the village. Natives defined the illness as inability to work. This perception has been developed in the minds by education and media which clearly reflects the creation of working class. So education and media are motivating the people to use allopathic treatment on one hand and changing the perceptions on the other. People want to keep themselves fit for work and allopathic treatment helps them in this regard. Allopathic mode of treatment being creation of industrialization is paying back to the industry by controlling the labour and keeping work force physically and mentally fit for work.

The above discourse support the world system theory where the theorists have pointed out the intervention of core regions in health care systems of the peripheral countries to create markets for their pharmaceutical products and medical assistance. They also maintain a pool of cheap labor in peripheral countries for capitalist industries. This all is managed through financial assistance to the NGOs and grant in aid to the Governments, media campaigns, and educational institutions (for reference see section 1.9.4.).

Chapter 9

DIAGNOSTIC AND HEALTH SEEKING PRACTICES

This part of discussion deals with prevailing diagnostic and health seeking practices in Zandra.

9.1 DIAGNOSIS

Diagnosis is an important step towards seeking any kind of treatment, because it determines the cause and nature of illness, on the basis of which people seek a particular treatment. Through diagnosis a person is given the status of sickness in any society and his behaviour (shown during sickness) is also legitimized.

Though diagnosis is done with the help of symptoms evident in illness, but in Zandra, different categories of causes of illness (mentioned in the previous discussion) do not have clear symptoms of their own e.g. a middle aged male respondent regarded his brother's mental disorder as a result of sorcery done by any envious enemy. While on the same occasion, he narrated that his brother started having fits after encountering a loss in his business. In this case, a person's mental disorder has been regarded as caused by sorcery (supernatural cause) and mental shock (psychological cause).

Another example is that of diarrhea, which is regarded as the symptom of illness, caused by unhygienic condition and impure drinking water (natural cause) and evil eye (supernatural cause), on the other hand. A female respondent said, "My two years old child was quite healthy and last month I took him to a religious gathering. When I returned from that gathering, I put my child on a cot and suddenly he fell down and started vomiting. After few minutes, he had severe problem and he fainted. I rushed him to a doctor who injected him due to which he returned to consciousness. His condition had become critical due to two causes. One was the evil-eye caused by any person in the gathering and unwashed grapes that he ate. Thus, usually one illness is regarded as the symptom of more than one category of causes of illness.

Due to this overlapping in the categories of causes of illness, natives practice different diagnostic methods to trace out the real and root cause of their illness. These practices include self-diagnosis, diagnosis by the family and the community (relatives and neighbours), by the allopathic doctors and faith healers.

At the first stage of illness, an adult patient himself tries to diagnose the cause and nature of his illness, while the cause of a child's illness is diagnosed by his family, especially by his parents and grandparents. For this purpose, the ill child's family or the adult patient himself takes notice of the incident occurred to the ill person prior to his illness. A female respondent narrated her child's illness, "When my three years old child extensively wept and did not sleep for the whole night, I started thinking of the person who had visited my home in the evening. Then I remembered my neighbour had visited my home in the evening and had envied my child's good health and agility. Thus I came to know that my neighbour had casted an evil-eye on my son, which caused him severe stomach pain."

For other illnesses such as cough, stomachache, or headache etc. people also take help from the events that took place prior to their illness. For example they try to recall whether they remained exposed to harsh weather (cold or hot) for a long time, or recalled the type of meal they took the previous night or the type of work they performed prior to their illness. There is no specific time period between the events that they come across and their illness. It can occur soon after the event or can take months or years to show its effects.

Self and family diagnosis is the first step towards diagnosing the real cause of illness. However the real cause is traced out at the second stage of diagnosis, which in other words is the stage of confirmation by an expert – an allopathic doctor or faith healer. People contact an allopathic doctor when they become ill and feel that their illness is due to natural or biological causes. Then they go for thorough check-up. However, when people feel that their illness has any supernatural cause such as the evil-eye, fright etc. they go to a faith healer.

People confirm or disconfirm diagnosis by concentrating on any incident occurred to them; no matter how long in the past it had occurred. They try to find out a clue for diagnosis through this incident. A 35 years old female respondent narrated her 12 year old child's case, "He is too weak to stand and walk. He also eats soil. I took him to a faith healer in the village who diagnosed that my son's illness was due to his presence in a very noisy place in his early childhood. It is true because soon after birth of this child my father-in-law had died and people used to wail at home, in the presence of the child."

When diagnosis is confirmed, people proceed towards getting proper treatment. Mostly people consult both doctors and faith healers simultaneously. Usually a faith healer attributes an illness, caused by any biological or natural cause, to any supernatural force. For example stomach ache can be attributed by the doctor to malfunctioning of any body organ while the same illness is diagnosed by the faith healer as an evil-eye caused by any menstruating woman. The latter cause is also attributed as the root cause of illness by the faith healer and natives' themselves.

Sometimes, two different faith healers diagnose an illness differently. A woman said, "My child did not use to take meal regularly and was getting weak. Usually he used to complain of pain in different parts of body. I took him to faith healer who traced an evil-eye as the cause of his illness. When he did not recover I took him to another faith healer in Kawas village who traced fright as the cause of his ill condition.

The natives' health related beliefs affect their diagnostic practices. The people believing in the supernatural cause of illness consult faith healer for confirmation of diagnosis while on the contrary, the people having belief in biological and natural causes as the sole cause of different illnesses consult allopathic doctors to get their diagnosis confirmed,

Educational level of the people also affects their diagnostic practices. It was evident in the locale of the research that majority of the educated people

diagnose their illness themselves or consult any allopathic doctor. They do not consult faith healers for the purpose of diagnosis.

9.2 MODES OF TREATMENT PREVAILING IN ZANDRA

As it has been mentioned above that pluralistic mode of treatment is prevailing in Zandra. Different modes of treatment practiced in Zandra can be placed into two main categories: traditional mode of treatment and modern mode of treatment. As I have earlier mentioned, the people of Zandra regard pregnancy as an illness so its treatment also falls under the above two categories.

9.2.1 Traditional Mode of Treatment

The people of Zandra have certain traditional practices for healing, which they received from their forefathers. These traditional modes consist of the following four types of healing methods:

- Home remedies
- Faith healing
- Bone setting
- *Dai*

9.2.1.1 Home Remedies

Home remedies are not confined to the peasant culture only. Everyone uses home remedies to some extent. These home remedies form an important and integral part of health practice in Zandra. This type of treatment consists of certain activities performed at the household level including preparation of certain food items, using different things are easily available at home such as milk, eggs, flour (of wheat), nuts, fruits, tea etc. and usage of different herbs (brought from the mountains or planted at homes). This kind of treatment (home remedies) is adopted for illnesses such as flue, fever, headache, cough, sore throat and stomachache etc. These home remedies prove quite effective (as told by natives). Given below are some important home remedies used by the natives for different diseases:

- For stomach pain, aniseed and mint is used.
- For fever, egg mixed in milk is given.
- To treat backache, an interesting ritual is performed. A person born in breech position is asked to touch the patient's back with his/her toe. It is believed that in this way the problem can be cured.
- If someone suffers from paralysis, he or she is given pigeon soup.
- Honey with black pepper is used to remove cough.
- Steam with a hot potato (baked in hot ashes) is given to the patient in case of flu.

Women also use home remedies for menstruation pain and post-delivery pain. They use eggs, milk, butter, meat soup and almond oil, believing that these energizing things will alleviate the pain, reducing intensity of the problems related to menstruation.

9.2.1.2 Faith Healers (*pir*)

Shaikh, murshid, wali, and *pirs* are alternative terms for *sufis*. *Wali* is an Arabic word meaning (person close to God) and *pir* a Persian word simply meaning an old man. A *pir* (saint/faith healer) is a master/religious leader (*murshid*) for his followers (*murids*) who seek spiritual guidance from him. People take oath (*bayat*) of their *pir* solemnly stating that they would obey them. The relationship of faith healer and believer is locally called as *piri-muridi* and has been institutionalized. This institution is so deep rooted in culture that no one can challenge its validity and it is linked with religion to that extent that a non-believer of *pir* (faith healer) is perceived as a non-Muslim. In the village Zandra, majority of the people have a *pir*. The followers or believers are known as his *murids*. Every person in the village believes in one or more *pirs* and follows his teachings with religious passion.

The *pir-murid* relationship is a relationship wherein one seeks guidance of the other on all spiritual matters. The *pir* is the spiritual teacher and guide to his followers or *murids* who are like his disciples. *Pir* guides them in resolving their spiritual or worldly problems. *Pir* assists his *murids* in all difficult times.

The *pir* acts as a confidant companion with whom his *murid* can share his inner most fears and feelings in privacy, which enforces and institutionalizes the concept of *piri-muridi*. As *pirs* are thought to be linked to God, so believing in God is linked to believing the *pir* and his God gifted spiritual qualities.

On termination of a *murid's* visit to his *pir*, the *murid* kisses the hands of his *pir* to acknowledge his acceptance of him as the spiritual intermediary and to reaffirm the faith in the *pir's* spiritual powers. *Pirs* psychologically hold the minds of rural people who consider *pir* as the most prestigious and honorable person never to be disobeyed. Not only the *pirs* are the spiritual fathers of their *murid*, but in many cases they have a stronger bond than that of the biological father.

Faith means trust or belief and healing is cure, so faith healing means the system of belief that sickness can be cured without any use of medicine. Faith healing is performed by faith healers in their own specific way using their specific knowledge. Faith is the essence of every religion and religion revolves around belief. All religions, to some degree, have commonalities and provide guidance to a balanced social order through a cross system of unquestioned beliefs. So faith healing revolves around 'belief which is the main ingredient of religion'.

According to the Quran, "Man's chief function is to preach and practice the religion of God throughout the length and breadth of the world, so he has been commanded by Him and His Apostles to render service to his fellow beings "(Human rights and obligations in the light of Quran and Hadith by Syed Muzaffar-ud-Din Nadvi) faith healers act as preachers and practitioners of religion. Faith healing is also the exercise to control by religious means what cannot be controlled in other ways through prayer, sacrifice, and ritual activity. Faith healing is also related to spirituality through which one seeks heightened effect from the divine to remedy bodily and mental disabilities without medical care to satisfy the biological and psychological needs. The universal manifestation of religion is worship, which encompasses prayers, sacrifice, contemplation, magic and incarnation. Rituals are performed to

satisfy this concept. Prayers are a means of purification of hearts and a stepping stone to communion with God. The Quran says: "Surely, prayer preserve from indecency" (human rights and obligations in the light of Quran and Hadith). When individuals violate religious commandments governing their behavior, they feel guilty.

Islam, the most prominent religion of the Universe revolves around the belief in "Oneness of God" and the concept of faith healing revolves around this belief. Faith healing is the essence of religion, and religion fulfills the basic human needs enabling people to cope with the unknown and uncontrollable. The Quran is full of the verses that declare in unmistakable terms about the Oneness of God. "Oneness" is also preached in other unadulterated holy books like Torat, Zabur, and Injil. Like Islam, other religions also practice faith healing revolving around the Oneness of God. Durkheim (1915)²⁸⁰ enforces this concept. He says that religion imposes a moral compulsion upon its people to act in a certain way. It guides the behavior amongst people including a system of rules to follow. Religion also offers a pattern of social control.

Healing through faith is also termed as "Spiritual Healing". It is a healing of soul through a frame of mind that is highly refined in thoughts and feelings, and free from sensuality. It is a concept of intense degree of belief in the power of Divinity to the extent of total dependence for any kind of treatment or solution to problems. Also the belief in supernatural powers lead's to total dependence on them for any cure. These activities carry a whole dramatic form.

Muslim faith healers have their own sacred writings and rituals by which they do faith healing. Holistic healing traditions vary significantly from country to country, but all of them have a common substratum , a way of looking at the world, in which solution depends not only on a discrete science of healing, but

²⁸⁰ Durkheim, E. (1915). *The Elementary Form of Religious Life*. London: George Allon & Unwin.

on the integral totality of habits, behavior and even moral attitudes in the wellbeing of an individual.

Mazars and *ziarats* (shrines) are faith healing centers of Muslims, and belong to deceased faith healers. Their followers visit them to pay their respect due to deep impact left by their doings. They pray for the deceased *pirs* (saint/faith healer), and themselves believing that the faith healers are closer to the God, and showing faith in them will please the God. This satisfies their faith and belief. People also visit shrines for getting solutions to their multifarious problems like cure from any disease, request for a child, liberation from poverty, mental peace, higher crop yield, thanks giving, spiritual cure to their problems, marriage with the beloved, unsolved problems or for any other social or medical problem.

Faith healing is an international phenomenon and plays an important role in regulating social relationships and social structure. The structural functionalist maintained that each custom and belief of a society has a specific function that serves to perpetuate the structure of the society, its ordered arrangement of parts so that society continuous existence is possible. (The study of cultural anthropology by David Hunter and Philip Whitten).

9.2.1.2.1 Image of the Faith Healers:

Internationally, the concept of a faith-healer is that of a person who is a gifted to have direct communication with the supernatural powers of the universe, from where he derives knowledge, belief and strength to be communicated in different expressive and non-expressive forms including magic.

One common denominator in faith healing, irrespective of religion or locale, is that all healing powers are attributed to Oneness of God and God's will. Faith healers have unquestioned faith in the chain of hierarchy or levels of platforms they fall under their guidance from the unknown. "He or she" is the socially initiated, ceremonially inducted member of a recognized religious organization with a rank and function that belongs to him or her as the tenant of an office held by others before him. The source of power given to them in their 'internal

society' and institution is the source of their function. They have a strong belief in knowledge and wisdom of the domain they belong to, and believe in, and practice their healing-powers through strictly formatted rituals. These rituals are culturally prescribed, periodically repeated, patterned sequences of behavior and activities strictly followed by them and their followers.

No matter what part of the World one lives in; all human societies have their religious leaders and specialists to guide them in religious practices. Religious beliefs and practices do differ between societies but the commonality between all faith healers is that a faith healer should be a religious specialist. They are considered religious only if they can seek help from the divine or spiritual world for others. In that attempt, sometimes all faith healers are expected to manipulate the spirits or the supernatural forces for the benefit of followers.

As faith healers have strong influence on the behavior of their believers, besides being pious and religious, they should also have social acceptance irrespective of the culture. If the faith healer is popular, he can bring significant changes in the lives of his believers. Their dramatic rituals promote the release of tension from daily pressures by providing a focal concentration for frustration release to maintain social control.

In Pakistan, the image of Muslim faith healers is not much different from the other faith healers around the world. Here they deal with similar problems, but in their own specific way, which is justified in the context of Islam. The most common element is the knowledge of supernatural powers which they are expected to exercise in helping the people.

The villagers consider faith healers as their guide and teacher in resolving their social, medical, employment & economic problems. They seek active assistance from these faith healers and act accordingly. They justify their belief in them by saying, "Every person needs someone to supervise/guide them, so they can rely on them in their difficult times.

The faith healers are considered to be more religious, pious, humble, honest, and wise than ordinary beings. They are qualified in religious matters and superior for having spiritual knowledge. They are expected to have the best possible attributes and are judged by their deeds. The reputation of these faith healers varies depending on their success in treating the problems. The more successful they are the more popular they would be. People consider them as their 'teacher', and follow them religiously, believing them closer to the God. Their prayers and accepts immediately.

There is a notion popular among the villagers that the faith healer is not supposed to get worldly rewards like money, and will get his reward from the God. Any faith healer demanding money is considered fake and loses his followers. The followers themselves give *hadya* (presentation in shape of money) but the faith healer is not supposed to demand it. In the village, there was a woman faith healer who asked for gold rings. She turned blind and became unpopular amongst the villagers and people stopped going to her. People believed that she tried to sell the God's name and that's why she has been punished.

These healers do not receive any fixed amount of *hadya* (reward for their services). It varies from patient to patient. Usually this amount is determined by the extent of severity of pain and illness e.g. a person having a headache problem offers less money than that of a person suffering from mental illness. Faith healers are rewarded both in cash and kind. The natives believe that without giving *hadya* to the healer, treatment does not show its effect. Therefore, it is necessary to offer *hadya*, no matter how big or small amount it may be. *Hadya* has to be paid even if the healer is a close relative of the patient e.g. a woman respondent said that her father was the healer who made an amulet for her tooth ache. She offered him 10 rupees as *hadya*.

Female faith healers are also placed at high esteem like their male counterparts. In the village, it was said that the popularity is not gender-related but faith & results-related. Female healers too have their own respective ways of treating their believers, but the common denominator is

still the faith in supernatural powers as justified in the context of Islam. Both male and female faith healers being Muslim do not exceed the limitations given in Islam, while making a diagnosis and suggesting a cure.

9.2.1.2.2 Treatment of Medical Problems by Faith Healers

There were people in the village who suffered from various ailments like heart problems, blood pressure, diabetes, kidney problems, asthma, cancer, and other fatal diseases. Beside doctors in the city hospitals for medical treatment they go to faith healing also. In addition they visit different shrines for prayer and riddance, showing that total reliance on either cure (medicine or faith healing) is not exercised. They however, believe that disease is cured only with the will of the God.

The minor ailments mostly treated by the faith healers are body aches like tooth, head, and stomach etc. The people first visit the faith healers for *dum darood* (blowing breath after reciting Quran) or to take amulet. They also go to dispensary or the homeopathic doctor in Ziarat, or even city hospitals. The ailments like *saya*, evil-eye, and possession are considered to be caused by supernatural forces and can only be treated by the faith healers with knowledge of controlling these supernatural beings.

Such ailments show uncontrollable symptoms much beyond the control of doctors or understanding of human mind. The actions are severe and fatal at times and people attribute the intensity to the uncontrollable supernatural forces. People believe that those who have more knowledge to control these bothersome supernatural beings are the last hope in cure of such patients. Whatever problem may be namely social or medical, if it becomes uncontrollable it is said that the person has been "possessed by the supernatural power" and is considered dangerous enough to cause deadly harm. The presence of supernatural power is also emphasized to show helplessness or loss of control by ordinary means so guidance of the faith healers is sought who is believed to have the knowledge of such supernatural phenomenon.

9.2.1.2.3 Treatment of Social Problems by Faith Healers

Most of the social problems of the natives are of household nature. They seek help of their faith healers because they feel that these problems cannot be controlled by anyone except supernatural powers. The use of white and black magic is also popular for their solution. It is, however, practiced in secrecy. These social problems include:

- To improve economic conditions and living standards.
- To have better crop.
- To find a good spouse for their daughters.
- To have control over husbands and in-laws.
- To get rid of in-laws.
- To have safe pregnancy and delivery.
- To have children especially sons.
- To protect their belongings (houses, automobiles, orchards etc.) from evil eye

9.2.1.2.4 Faith Healing Practices in the Village

The faith healers and the believers have a reciprocal relationship in which the faith healers guide the believers through specific rituals to be performed without questioning. In fact the believers' role is to religiously believe in the treatment of faith healers, whereas the faith healers' role is to strongly keep faith in their medium of treatment. The common element is their respective faith in healing.

Religious beliefs and practices might differ tremendously from one society to another, but all are similar in one way that faith healers are considered as religious specialists. Their stature is based on their knowledge and personal ability to relate to the supernatural. They can be primarily religious in the sense that they can seek help from the divine or spiritual world, or they can be more magical so as to attempt the manipulation of spirits or the supernatural forces. Becoming a faith healer can also be the result of a mystical experience or special training or both.

In Zandra, faith healing is an important traditional mode of healing. This type of healing is done with the help of any professional healer who is mostly called as *pir sahib* (saint/faith healer) or *molvi sahib* (cleric). Faith healer is a person having religious (Quranic) knowledge. He also has knowledge of death, birth and marriage rituals and the people perform these rituals with his help. He usually gets this status in inheritance, but he also strives to get this status by getting maximum religious knowledge. Cleric sometimes gets his status by inheritance but mostly he achieves it through his own struggle after gaining religious and Quranic knowledge and sometimes by performing ritual of meditation. He also gets a certificate, to exercise his knowledge in guiding the people, in performing rituals from the local union council working in the village.

The village has two faith healers who are popular all over Ziarat and people come to them from far flung villages for treatment. One is Haji Jan Muhammad, who is about 65 years old and is a matriculate. His ancestors had played an important role in preaching the religion in this valley. He got this profession in inheritance and this profession has been prevailing in his lineage for the last four generations. He started with his work of healing in 1987, after his father's death (who was also a faith healer).

He performs this work as a part-time job because his basic profession is horticulture. He got Quranic education and formal training of faith healing from his father. He received a certificate from the local council to exercise his knowledge in guiding people according to Quran in the performance of rituals (birth, death and marriage rituals). He has the capability of seeing the events of the past and future in his dreams.

Another famous faith healer of the village is Haji Abdul Qudus. He is an ex-levis soldier and is about 72 years old. He owns a shop of general items and also earns through his orchard. He practices the healing profession as a part-time job.

During his service in the *levis* (traditional police force), he performed *chilla* (seclusion for mystic communication) for 40 days in Kawas under the supervision of a faith healer. He also learnt recitation of the Quran from him. He formally started treating people after his retirement from *levis* in 1998.

Methods of healing used by these healers include *taveez* (amulet), *dum/dua* (blowing breath after recitation of Quranic Verses), black thread which is tied up around the patient's neck after reciting *dum* on it, and *niaz* (sacrifice of a hen or a goat). These healers say about their diagnostic method that they use a specific formula of *haroof-e-abjad* (Urdu alphabets in a special sequence) and trace out the nature and cause of patient's illness. In this method the names of the patient and his mother have to be given to the healer, on which he applies the specific formula. Explanation of the methods used by these healers for healing is as follows:

9.2.1.2.5 Taveez (amulet)

Taveez (amulet) can be given both for curative and harmful purposes. There are different types of amulets which perform different functions e.g.

1. Those which are worn around the neck or arm.
2. Those which are drunk with water.
3. Those which are folded in cotton and then burnt.
4. Those which are buried in earth or put in a wall.
5. Those which are thrown into river or running stream.

Although magic and amulets are very much similar in their functions yet people have made boundaries between the two. Magic performance involves the use of objects or the recitation of spells or both by the magician. But people in Zandra believe that although both magic and amulets are used for the same ends but the amulet is simply a mystical writing on a piece of paper, while magic involves the personal thing of the victim like hair, nail or the piece of dress. The natives do not like magic. They considered it as worst and dangerous thing in this world. Most of the respondents said that a person who did black magic on anyone is a non-Muslim. Mostly amulets are of two types i.e. positive and negative

9.2.1.2.5.1 Positive amulet: Positive amulets are used to remove mysteries, troubles, illness, evil eye, demon possession, effects of negative amulets and for social problems like conflicts in family etc. In Zandra, the positive amulets are taken from the specialist faith healers. The amulets are not simply in the written form but also may be in the form of *dum* on water or any piece of stone or any piece of food item. Such type of amulets are never used to harm anyone, but always blessed if employed. They are not secretly used by the people. Positive amulets are also used to protect a new born child from the affliction of evil eye. It is usually in the form of piece of paper for wearing round the neck or for drinking purpose.

The most popular amulet is for getting a male child. Women seek it very eagerly. It is considered to be effective and useful. It is tied around the waist till delivery. The second popular one is for release from spirit possession. This amulet is dipped in a bottle full of water then the water is used. It is believed that the water has curative powers.

9.2.1.2.5.2 Case Study: A three-month baby was very cute and healthy. One day his mother gave him bath, and tried to feed him, but suddenly he refused to take it and started crying. His mother gave him water but he refused to take anything. The mother took him to the village dispensary. The dispenser gave the child medicines for fever. His mother tried these medicines for two days but all in vain. Then she took him to the faith healer who told her the child is affected by a ghost. Then he gave her an amulet which she tied around the neck of her son. She said, "The next day my son was perfectly alright".

9.2.1.2.5.3 Negative amulet: Negative amulet is always performed on enemy very secretly. It brings illness, financial loss and disputes within the family, though it is also written on a piece of paper. In Zandra if someone finds sudden problem in his family and feels that someone is trying to harm him with negative amulet he would go to a faith healer who explores the amulet from victim's house and if he fails to find it even then he gives positive amulet and tells the intention of enemy through his divine power. Majority of the

natives believes on positive and negative amulets and especially women take them for their different medical, social and economic problems.

9.2.1.2.5.4 Case Study: A couple had no children even after two years of their marriage. They consulted doctors, hakims and went to shrines, but all in vain. At last they consulted a faith healer, who told them that they both are afflicted by negative amulet by a close relative. He told them that the time period fixed for the effectiveness of amulet was four years and they were fortunate that they consulted him within the fixed period. Then he gave them positive amulet for the removal of negative effects. By this amulet, they were not only cured but got a child only within a year. Now they have three children.

9.2.1.2.6 Dum/Dua

Dum is a process most often used for curative purposes and rarely used for harming any one. It is usually performed for health problems. In this method the healer recites verse of the Quran or the name of God under the breath and then the breath is blown on the concerned part of the body or the person who is sick or any edible or drinkable thing such as honey, almond oil or water and the patient has to use them for a certain time period prescribed by the healer. Usually to cure an external pain such as bone ache, the healer casts *dum* on oil and asks the patient to massage the affected part with it. Some faith healers use a thick thread of black colour for casting *dum*, which is given to the patient to tie it around his neck or wrist.

A woman was suffering from severe foot ache for four months and Haji Jan Muhammad gave her a bottle of olive oil after casting *dum* on it to do massage of her foot with it for 40 days after which she recovered.

9.2.1.2.7 Niaz

It is a method in which 'the healer asks the patients' family or guardian to offer a sacrifice of any animal (usually any hen or he-goat) on behalf of the patient and to distribute its meat among neighbours and the poor people. Usually this meat is divided into three or seven portions. A portion of meat is also sent to the healer but it is not an obligation.

A female respondent offered a sacrifice of a he-goat when her son did not recover from severe typhoid and also sent meat to all the neighbours. Haji Jan Muhammad said that usually sacrifice was suggested when the patient's life was in danger.

Some female faith healers also practice it in the valley. It is believed that they have possession over the spirits. These women avoid pollution which includes birth and death places and menstruating women. Otherwise, they suffer from illness as a punishment by the spirits. These women get married, give birth to children and also menstruate but according to them their own menstruation and pollution does not affect them.

These female healers also do *zikir* (invoking God's name) especially on Thursday or daily to get them spiritually exalted. Though there is no such lady in the village but there are some famous female healers in the surrounding villages and people of Zandra usually visit them to get a solution for problems; especially for health problems. These women are illiterate and cannot write amulets therefore they usually use methods of *dum*, *dua* and *niaz* for curing the people.

The healers mentioned above are of the opinion that every healing method (described above) has its own effectiveness. For certain illnesses only one of these methods is used while for certain illnesses more than one method is used for example for tooth ache and headache both *dua/dum* and amulet are used while for Jaundice only *dua/dum* is done by the healer. They further say that intensity of any illness also determines the number of methods used for healing.

9.2.1.3 Bone Setters

These healers are included in the category of traditional mode of treatment. These bone setters are called *ustad* (teacher). There are two bone setters in the village. Usually, bone setters are male and they get profession of bone setting in inheritance and learn this skill in an informal way from their elders. These bone setters claim of knowing each and every bone and its structure in

the body. These healers are consulted in case of twisted joints, bone fractures and bone injuries. Majority of the natives have firm belief in their skill and prefer them upon the doctors. These bone setters use very simple techniques to cure the patient which, consists of oils, herbal powders and small wooden plates. These healers also do not have any fixed fee for their services and a patient pays them according to his/her capacity.

9.2.1.4 *Dai* (TBA)

Traditional medical practitioners and birth attendants are found in most societies. They are often part of the local community, culture and traditions, and continue to have high social standing in many places, exerting considerable influence on local health practices. With the support of the formal health system, these indigenous practitioners can become important allies in organizing efforts to improve the health of the community. Some communities may select them as community health workers and engaging them in primary health care after training them accordingly.

In the village, the pregnant women were normally healthy, but the women having a lot of children were weak and looked older than their actual age because of less birth spacing. Pregnant women continued to do work till their 9th month. Because of this irresponsible attitude, many of the women went through abortions for carrying weighty things. The rate of stillbirths and miscarriages is high due to carelessness.

Pregnant women of economically sound families go to doctors, but the ratio of these women is very low. Most of the newly married women of rich and educated families go to doctors for consultancy during pregnancy, but for delivery they called out either midwives/*dai* or elderly women who were experienced in the field. The most common term used to refer to midwife is traditional birth attendants (TBA).

9.2.1.5 Traditional Remedies for Reproductive Health

The natives still follow the traditional remedy system especially for reproductive health, believing the modern medicines as unreliable. They are

scared of the medical systems used in the hospitals. It is because the mother in law and the other elderly women in the family are authoritative and believed to be more knowledgeable and experienced than a doctor. They force the younger women to follow them. Secondly a woman is a symbol of honor for the men in the societies hence they want their wives to stay in the home. They do and not even allow them to go to doctors and use modern medical facilities. Only the high risk pregnancies after being referred by TBA are taken to the city hospitals where services of gynecologist are available.

There are many elderly women who are working as TBAs in the village. They are only consulted during the complex delivery cases. They prescribe allopathic medicines to the patients and sometimes give injections too. They advise massage and precautions during and after the pregnancy. Most of the respondents said that we prefer TBAs or the midwives because they belong to this area and understand our problems better. It is not just the allopathic medicines what we avoid; it is also the behavior of doctors and nurses in the hospitals and clinics. They treat us like their clients not the patients. Some of them can't even understand what we say. Most of the doctors in big hospitals can't understand our language. So even if we need allopathic treatment we prefer the midwife.

The above discussion supports the concept of differential articulation of clinical social organization, patient and practitioner behavior by Eckert and Galazka (1986)²⁸¹ addresses the hindrances that may occur in the communication between a patient and health care provider if both come from different social and symbolic backgrounds. It is pointed out that these hindrances can be eliminated if healthcare practitioners working in multicultural settings would use cultural anthropologists as cultural mediators.

9.2.1.5.1 Case Study: Kaneeze Fatima started her profession as a midwife at the age of 22. She has been serving in the village from last 30 years. None of her relatives was involved in reproductive health before her.

²⁸¹ Eckert, J.K. & Galazka, S.S. (1986). An Anthropological Approach to Community Diagnosis in Family Practice. *Journal of Family Medicine* 18(5): 274-277.

Her husband died when she was 20 years old. According to her, midwifery was the only way of earning a better living for herself & her children. She took training of 1 year of reproductive health. She has dealt about 600 cases up till now in all these years. Women come to her house for medical assistance during pregnancy. But for delivery, she goes to the patient's house. She takes normal delivery cases and does not operate. She charges Rs.2000 for a normal delivery case. For complicated deliveries, however she charges more. She believes that this work can only be done through experience. Lady health workers understand the patient's problems better because they belong to the same community. In case of some major problem in delivery, she sends the patient to Quetta.

9.2.1.5.2 Case Study of Self-Delivery: Najma is a poor woman. She handled all of her deliveries by herself without any assistance. Sometimes, she went to the doctor during the pregnancies, but in the end delivered at home. Now she has four children, and she delivered all her children at her home. She gets to know about her pregnancy when her periods stop. The other signs of pregnancy are vomiting and distaste for food. No ceremony is performed for any of her pregnancies. She never had any restrictions on her food or movements. She says she used to work on the farm, collect water, feed cattle – in short do all her normal chores.

She made no proper preparations before any of her deliveries. In her first delivery, her mother in law was with her, who was of a little help to her. However, in the other three deliveries, she was all-alone. She felt scared before her deliveries, but had no choice and had to do it alone because she is a poor woman and could not afford a midwife or doctor.

9.2.1.5.3 Case Study of Self-Delivery: Hamida has 8 children – 7 of them were born through self-deliveries. Her mother and mother in law came to help her during her first delivery. After the birth, they tried to make her realize what they had done for her. She was very disappointed and could not tolerate their behaviour, so she decided to do her deliveries by herself. She could not afford a midwife or doctor because she was a poor woman. She said that she

never had any fear before any of her deliveries; if she ever had she could have gone to the doctor. She would start the preparations 2 days before the delivery because she always knew the time of her delivery. She prepared a bag of clothes for her unborn child. She kept eggs, oil spices and milk near her. She did not lie down on the bed. She kept a stool on the floor and sat on it. She put plastic sheet under it to ensure cleanliness of the room. She had the contractions and delivered the baby. She cut her cord with a knife. She then boiled the water and washed up her baby and wrapped her in a cloth. This way she delivered all her 8 children by herself. She also conducted delivery of a child of her husband's brother's wife.

9.2.1.6 Status of Midwives

A midwife provides necessary supervision, care and advice to women during the pregnancy. She conducts deliveries and takes care of the newborn baby. This care includes preventative measures, the detection of abnormal conditions in mother and child, the procurement of medical supplies and the execution of emergency measures in the absence of medical help. She has an important task in health counseling and education, not only for the women, but also within the family and the community.

Assistance in birthing is a problematic issue in Zandra. Middle class families generally employ a TBA for conducting deliveries. However, some lower class families cannot afford it. Hence some family members, such as the mother, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and so on, might assist them. Sometimes, a neighbor may be called in.

When expert opinion is needed (and can be afforded), lower and lower-middle class families call a TBA, who receives payment, amounting to Rs.1000 to 1500 after the delivery. This depends on the sex of the baby. In olden days, there was no set fee in cash or kind for them. Even today some TBAs do not charge money. They do it for God-Sake to get spiritual benefit. In fact, however, they usually say that they do the job for *sawab* (spiritual benefit). They say it because they feel it is the right thing to say, especially when speaking to other women. Most of the TBAs perform the deliveries in

expectation of some payment, even though they say that they are not paid. In fact they are paid in shape of gifts or money for gifts. It is clear that these women are in a bind. They need the money, and once a woman becomes acknowledged as an experienced TBA, she is always ready and willing to assist a family in delivery and charges a certain fee. According to Gallagher,

“Health care is not a commodity from the premodern standpoint of the midwife in the village or urban neighborhood where she provides her services. Delivering babies is an activity that, in addition to meeting a human need, validates her worth in an important social role, and brings her into sociable contact with clients already known to her (Sukkary, 1981)²⁸². The midwife's work may well provide income in cash or in kind, but it is not a commodity in the sense of consuming calculable resources or constituting a stream of economic value in an ongoing system of production. If the women of the village lowered their rate of pregnancy, the midwife might be less occupied, but would she worry about "the impending midwife surplus"? Her casual economic posture can be contrasted with that of the contemporary obstetrician (or other physician) whose offering has a far more systematic character and tangible monetary value.”

(1988)²⁸³

9.2.1.7 NGO's Interventions

Provincial Rural Support Programme (PRSP) works with the communities to address root-causes of poverty and deprivation in the province by presenting alternative approaches to development. The organization addresses community health needs by establishing local mechanisms of health and hygiene service facilitators. These programs have been designed with the realization that physical health and mental wellbeing of men, women, children and family contribute to sound attitudes and behaviors in a society.

PRSP did a lot of work on health issues. They train women and check their progress on monthly basis. They train them in reproductive health. They follow the Midwives Model of Care 1996-2001 developed by Midwifery Task Force. This model is based on the fact that pregnancy and birth are normal life events. The Midwives Model of Care includes:

²⁸² Sukkary, S. (1981). She is No Stranger: The Traditional Midwife in Egypt. *Medical Anthropology*, 5, 26-34.

²⁸³ Gallagher, E. B. (1988). Modernization and Medical Care: *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 59-87.

- Monitoring the physical, psychological and social well-being of the mother throughout the childbearing cycle
- Providing the mother with individualized education, counseling, and prenatal care, continuous hands-on assistance during labor and delivery, and postpartum support
- Minimizing technological interventions and
- Identifying and referring women who require obstetrical attention

The application of this model has been proven to reduce the incidences of birth injury, trauma, and cesarean section.

9.2.1.8 Trainings of Lady Health Workers

PRSP gave Lady Health Workers trainings. These women were selected from among the people of Zandra. The course was of 15 days. The women they chose for training were 35-45 years old. They were given trainings on proper and safer methods of deliveries. Following were the important features in the training.

- Family planning education.
- Education about women health problems.
- A delivery kit provided to the LHW.
- Vaccination referral cases.
- Injection doses to pregnant woman.
- Providing iron supplements during pregnancy.
- A delivery kit provided to the LHW.
- Checking of contractions before delivery.
- Sterilization of equipment for delivery.
- Drip before delivery.
- After delivery cutting of cord in a technical way with a sterilized scissor.
- Childcare immediately after delivery.
- Immunization of child.

9.2.1.9 Modern Mode of Treatment

Second main mode of treatment includes utilization of allopathic medicines through self-medication and consulting doctors available in BHU Zandra and private clinics in Ziarat. Medical stores are also present in the village. People consult the doctor who gives them treatment after going through a formal procedure of checkup. Natives utilize this mode during illnesses such as in case of a sudden accident or a sudden severe pain in any part of the body e.g. pain in stomach, chest pain, vomiting, dizziness, diarrhea etc. some of them utilize allopathic medicine through self-medication. The ill person himself or any of his family members buys the medicine from any clinic or medical store and utilizes it without consulting any doctor or going through the formal procedure of check-up.

9.3 UTILIZATION OF DIFFERENT MODES OF TREATMENT

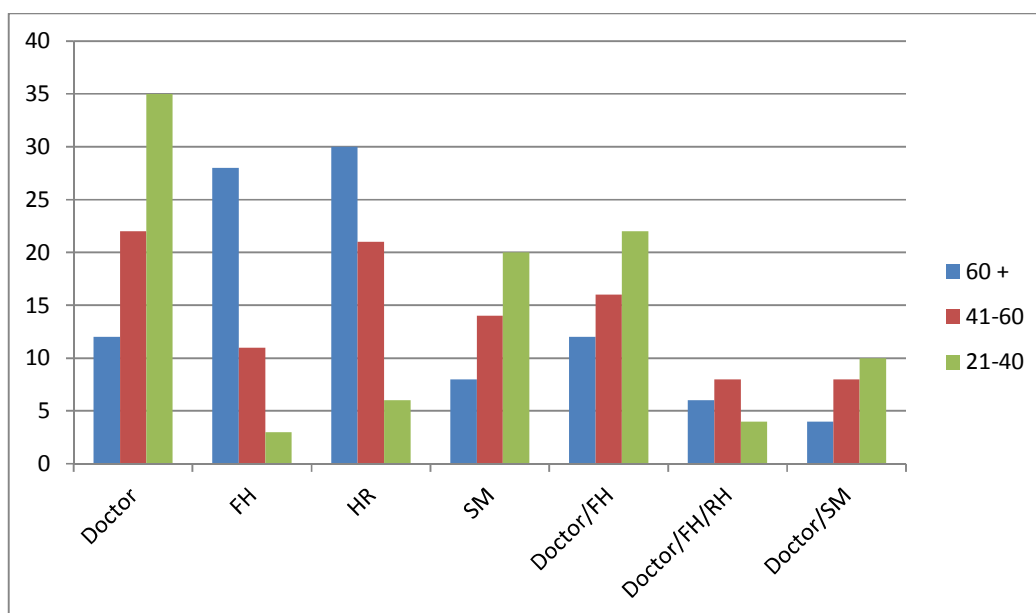
There is a variation among the people of Zandra regarding utilization of different modes of treatment mentioned above. This variation is evident in the following table:

Table 53: Modes of Treatment

Sr	Modes	Respondents by age					
		60+	%	41-60	%	21-40	%
1	Doctor	12	12	22	22	35	35
2	Faith Healers (FH)	28	28	11	11	3	3
3	Home Remedies (HR)	30	30	21	21	6	6
4	Self-Medication (allopathic) (SM)	8	8	14	14	20	20
5	Doctor/Faith Healer	12	12	16	16	22	22
6	Doctor/FH/HR	6	6	8	8	4	4
7	Doctor/Self Medication	4	4	8	8	10	10
	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Data.

Figure 50: Modes of Treatment



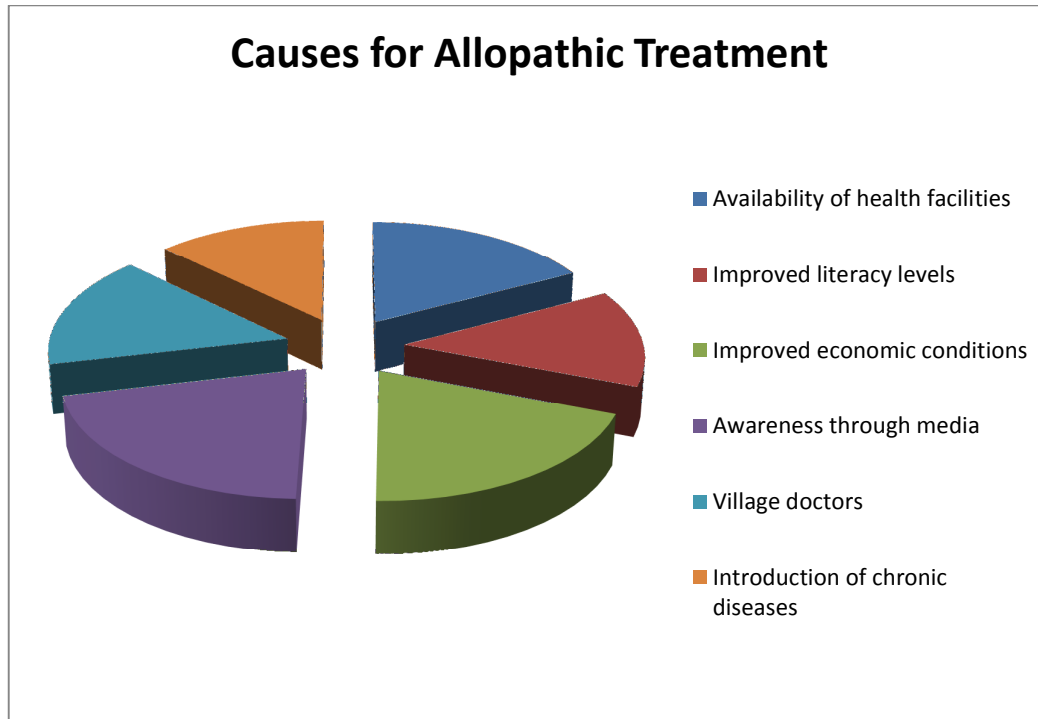
The above table shows the ratio of utilization of different modes of treatment in Zandra. It is clear from the above figures that allopathic treatment is getting popular among the young generation. Sixty five percent of the young respondents use allopathic mode of treatment by self-medication and consulting doctor, whereas it was just twenty four percent among the senior citizens. The total number of respondents who use allopathic medicines among all three age groups was 133. These respondents mentioned some causes of utilization of allopathic mode of treatment, which are as follows:

Table 54: Causes for Utilization of Allopathic Treatment

Sr.	Causes	Respondents	Percentage
1	Availability of health facilities	23	17.29
2	Improved literacy levels	18	13.53
3	Improved economic conditions	26	19.55
4	Awareness through media	28	21.05
5	Village doctors	21	15.79
6	Introduction of chronic diseases	17	12.79
	TOTAL	133	100.00

Source: Field Data

Figure 51: Causes for Utilization of Allopathic Treatment



The data mentioned in the above two tables has been extracted from the formal interviews conducted in Zandra. More than seventeen percent of the respondents said that they used to adopt traditional methods of treatment when doctors and hospitals were not available in the area. Now the situation is reversed and doctors and hospitals are available in the surroundings, they do not have to go to the cities for it.

The people having secondary level education are considered as educated in Zandra. These educated persons are also a source of inspiration for the people to utilize allopathic treatment. More than 13% of the respondents said that educated people in their community and especially in their families preach for utilization of allopathic medicines. Usually, female respondents said that they utilized allopathic method of healing while acting upon the instructions of educated family members, especially the elder son and husband. They also mentioned that their husbands or the elder sons do not allow them to go to any faith healer and they ultimately have to turn towards

the allopathic mode of healing. This response confirms the indirect impact of education on adoption of allopathic treatment.

About consulting other traditional healers they added that even after getting education, depending upon traditional methods of healing would not only cause wastage of time but also health resulting in further deterioration of disease. This cause for utilization of allopathic mode, confirms that education has also direct impact on utilization of allopathic mode of treatment.

Twenty-one percent respondents disclosed that after getting education they got the idea that allopathic mode of treatment was proper and useful for all types of illnesses. However, they further mentioned that they usually practiced self-medication in minor health problems such as flue/fever or cough. Therefore, consulting a doctor for such a minor problem is regarded as wastage of their time. However, they added that they consult doctor in major health problems, which can be diagnosed and cured only by him.

Twenty one percent of the respondents said that they consulted the doctor while following the instructions given by experts through radio about utilization of allopathic mode for proper treatment during illness. This response shows the impact of mass media (electronic media) on the natives' health seeking method.

About consulting doctor, these respondents argued that although life and death is in God's hand yet the doctor is a means of curing illness and restoring health because after the God, only he knows the whole human body. He not only has knowledge of every part of the human body but also has a degree of his knowledge. He also has medicines for all kinds of illnesses (minor and major illnesses).

They also believe that faith healer with the help of any traditional mode of treatment cannot treat many modern chronic diseases such as cancer, blood pressure, heart problems and T. B. (Tuberculosis) which have been recently intruded into society. Therefore, only doctors have the right knowledge and

medicines to handle these illnesses. They further say that they can protect themselves from the chronic diseases mentioned above by consulting the doctor at the first stage of their illness.

This data supports the concept of theoreticians like Waitzkin, Foucault and Frankenberg. While discussing about politics, power, control and medical encounter they argue that medical encounters are primarily interactions where the relationships of domination and exploitation that exist in larger society are created, reinforced and negotiated. The major tool used by these processes is differential knowledge systems that operate in these encounters. Some of these “knowledge” speak for the subaltern while others try to establish the hegemony of the ruling segments in the societal setup. Medical encounters thus become points from where war of positions is fought in societies as opposed to war of maneuver which belongs with the sovereign and the state.

Another 15.79% of the respondents said that doctors in the village hospital and clinics always preach them to consult doctor in illness and condemn the use of other methods, which according to them, are dangerous for health. This response shows the impact of availability of doctors in the village on natives' health seeking method.

More than nineteen percent respondents reported that their economic condition has improved during the last 3 decades. Now they can afford the doctor in illness. They further added that the government has provided them with a BHU (Basic Health Unit) in the village, and for serious illnesses, they have hospitals in Quetta. Now they can take their patients to the hospitals because they have cars and money to pay for the doctors and the medicines.

A few respondents said that faith healers also charge money for their services and thus they prefer to give this money to a doctor. The people consulting faith healers for getting treatment argue that doctors and faith healers have their own fields. And both of them are effective in their respective field. They also believe that every illness has a cause belonging to a category of supernatural causes, such as evil-eye, fright etc. An old female respondent

said, "We have to consult faith healer for eradication of the root cause of illness because doctors address only the symptoms of illness ignoring the cause of the symptoms.

This argument shows the impact of education, economic conditions and availability of health facilities on the natives' health-seeking behaviour. This argument supports the hypotheses, "Cash economy and the so called development have changed the perception of the people about biomedical healthcare which reduced the clientele of the ethnic healthcare systems and increased the expenditure of people on allopathic healthcare."

The people who only depend on home remedies are of the view that this method of healing has been used for the last many generations and has always been effective in curing all types of illnesses. They also say that the things used in this mode are easily available at home and they do not have to spend extra time and money in getting them. On the other hand, they believe that these things (used in home remedies) which include eggs, milk, butter etc. give extra energy to the body and strengthen one's immune system. They also believe that these things do not make a person's body hollow from inside as the doctor's medicine does. A middle-aged male respondent said, "Doctor's medicine eats us from the inside making us hollow." Another female respondent said, "If our medicine does not cure us, it also does not kill us as the doctor's medicine does."

The modern medical system looks for the cure only after disease has set in, whereas natural cures put greater emphasis on preventive methods by adopting measures to attain and maintain good health with proper diet and exercise, and thereby preventing the disease. The modern system takes each disease on its own merits by having a particular drug for it, whereas the natural cures take the entire human body as the base and seek to restore harmony on the physical, mental and spiritual planes. The natural cures work on the basic principle of getting rid of accumulated waste and toxins from the body and restore equilibrium of system in conformity with the constructive principles of the nature. The toxins and poisons are removed without any

injury to the vital organs of the body and the disease gets rooted out by the internal curing mechanism, whereas the modern medicines provide only temporary relief with catastrophic side-effects to our internal organs, thus rendering the body weak and open to further disease.

The people belonging to the upper class do not believe in this argument. They say that the people who can't afford a doctor and the modern medicines give this type of justifications. We can afford a doctor so always consult him. On asking them about the doctors' behavior with the patients they said that they never had faced this problem because they consult the doctors in the private clinics and pay them heavy fee, so they are always treated like VIPs. This argument shows that this allopathic mode of treatment and especially consulting a doctor at private clinic where he charges heavy amounts has become the status symbol. People from the upper class mostly prefer the expansive private clinics for the deliveries of their children which again add to their prestige. Most of them like to mention publically the amount paid for the deliveries.

In the light of above discussion we can say that the modern medical system is more of an economic transaction than the treatment, as many of my respondents said that the doctors treat us like their clients not the patients. They always demand for the money first and if we can't pay their fee they do not admit us in the hospitals. This clientage becomes permanent as the allopathic medicine provides temporary relief and leaves many side effects. This medico-economic transaction always supports the industry as the doctors and the allopathic medicines are the products of industrialization.

9.4 DIFFERENT STAGES OF TREATMENT

The above discussion shows that in Zandra multi-mode treatments are followed. The respondents using different modes said that they do not care for any mode of treatment, as they are only concerned with cure. However, the people utilizing multi-modes of treatment do not use them randomly; they rather use them stage-wise.

Table 55: Illness Caused by Food, Natural and Biological Causes

STAGES	MODE OF TREATMENT
1st stage	Rest & Self Medication
2 nd stage	Doctor
3 rd stage	Another doctor on the referral of 1st one
4 th stage	Faith healer
5 th stage	Faith healer and doctor

When a person falls ill and he himself or his family feels that his illness is due to any food, natural or biological cause and it is curable at home, at the first step the patient is given rest. Then he is treated with the help of home remedies and self-medication. If the person does not recover, he is taken to the doctor at the basic health unit in the village. At the third stage of illness when the patient does not recover, he is moved to Quetta. If a person does not recover despite taking formal allopathic treatment, the people suspect that the cause of patient's illness lies in any supernatural factor such as evil-eye, fright or sorcery etc. Then the patient is taken to a faith healer. At the next stage, they consult both doctors and faith healers. Thus, they move from one mode of healing to another until the patient gets well or dies.

Table 56: Illness Caused by Supernatural Causes

STAGES	MOD OF TREATMENT
1 st stage	Rituals performed to bring the sick into normal condition
2 nd stage	Faith healer
3 rd stage	Another Faith healer
4 th stage	Doctor

When it is felt that a person is ill due to any supernatural cause such as evil-eye, spirit possession or fright first of all, the patient's family performs certain rituals at home. In performing these rituals mother of patient plays an important role. When she feels that her child is ill due to an evil-eye, she tries to recall the person who had visited her house prior to her child's illness. After tracing out the person, without making him conscious, she brings a thread

from his clothes or brings a handful of soil from under his feet. Then she revolves these things around her child's head and throws them into hearth or toilet constructed in the field. Sometimes, she takes a white cloth or seven red chilies, revolves it around the patient's head for 7 times and then burns it.

If the patient does not recover, at the second stage he is taken to a faith healer and is given formal treatment. If they feel that the healer's treatment does not show any effect on the patient's illness then he is taken to another healer. If he does not get well after consulting two faith healers, he is taken to an allopathic doctor, but at the same time, method of faith healing also continues. In case of mental illness, a patient is cured through the following stages.

Table 57: Mental Illness

STAGES	MOD OF TREATMENT
1 st stage	Doctor
2 nd stage	Another Doctor
3 rd stage	Faith healer

When any person acts in a strange way such as crying at night, talking to himself, beating others, people regard such a person mentally ill and when they feel that his illness is due to worry, tension or sudden shock, then he is taken to an allopathic doctor. If the patient does not get well with the doctor's treatment, they take him to another doctor in Quetta. Even after providing him allopathic treatment, if he does not get well then people suspect that his illness is due to a supernatural cause such as fright or sorcery. Then they consult the faith healer and take formal treatment. Sometimes, they consult both the faith healer and the doctor at a time. When the patient's condition deteriorates, they take him to any big city such as Lahore and Karachi. Thus, those using multi-modes of treatment move from one mode to another until they get their aim of getting out of illness.

The above data reveals that natives' health related beliefs determine their health seeking activities. As mentioned above the people go to the doctor and do self-medication due to their belief in the natural and biological causes. While on the other hand, they go to the faith healers for treatment due to their belief in the category of supernatural causes of illness. However, this data also reveals that there is also disparity between natives' health related ideology and practices. On the level of ideology, they categorize different causes of illness and proper methods of treatment for each category. While on the level of practicality they do not depend on one method for a particular illness e.g. people believe that the evil-eye can only be cured by faith healer, but in practicality, some time they consult a doctor along with a faith healer for an illness caused by an evil-eye.

This disparity in natives' action is due to belief that one illness may have more than one cause from two different categories. Thus at this point it is also evident that their beliefs related to causes of illness differ and this determine their way of adopting more than one mode of treatment for the same illness. Thus, at one level, there is a disparity between natives' ideas but on the other, it is evident that their health practices are determined by their health related beliefs.

Different cultural configurations provide members of different communities with variable philosophical models for causation of diseases. Different models lead people to choose different kinds of health care systems in time and space. A person's disease theory system is reinforced by his therapy group, which comprises members of the patient's social network who are consulted by him or her in times of sickness.

When there is a misfit between the causative models or disease theory system of the patient and the cure or the patient and his or her therapy group the dichotomy of differential illness or that between disease and illness may arise. Not being able to distinguish between differential illnesses or disease and illness may cause patient nonconformity, delay in treatment or absence of any treatment at all. Disease is a state of biological break down and illness is

a person's experience of not being well. Thus a person may be suffering from a disease while not being ill and vice-versa. Both disease and illness have cause and impact relationships with cultural practices on one hand and alterations in the ecological niche on the other. Thus in any culture while studying the state of health care the understanding of this triadic articulation is pivotal.

9.5 GENDER DIFFERENCE IN TREATMENT SEEKING BEHAVIOUR

There is a gender difference in health seeking behaviour in Zandra. Male patients prefer to go to doctor at the initial stage of their illness as compared to females who usually use home remedies at the first stage of their illness. And the reason the males give for this disparity is that usually they remain out of their homes for the purpose of their jobs and therefore whenever they feel any health problem, they directly go to clinic or hospitals. Contrary to this, females remain at home. To consult any doctor they have to leave all their tasks incomplete and do not have money in hand to buy the prescribed medicine. Thus, factors of physical mobility, nature of work and economic position of male and females affect their health seeking behaviours.

This point also confirms that at the individual level, economic position affects the health seeking behaviour of an individual, such as, males having better economic position can easily avail allopathic mode of treatment. Thus, it shows that economic uplift leads towards adoption of allopathic mode of treatment.

Females also say that they have to get permission from their husbands or male guardians, for which they have to wait. On the contrary, males decide for themselves and consult the doctors before their illness got severe. It shows that difference in decision-making power leads towards difference in health seeking behaviour also.

There was no lady-doctor in the village. Mostly females responded were not comfortable while check-up by a male doctor. That is why they were relaying

on home remedies. Now a lady-doctor is available in a private clinic in Ziarat and the women have started visiting her.

9.6 ANALYSIS

Due to this overlapping in the categories of causes of illness, natives practice different diagnostic methods to trace out the real and root cause of their illness. These practices include self-diagnosis, diagnosis by the family and the community, by the allopathic doctors and faith healers.

At the first stage of illness, an adult patient himself tries to diagnose the cause and nature of his illness, while the cause of a child's illness is diagnosed by his family, especially by his parents and grandparents. The real cause is traced out at the second stage of diagnosis, which in other words is the stage of confirmation by an expert – an allopathic doctor or faith healer. People contact an allopathic doctor for natural or biological causes and faith healer for supernatural cause.

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When diagnosis is confirmed, people consult both doctors and faith healers simultaneously. Educated people diagnose their illness themselves or consult any allopathic doctor. They do not consult faith healers for the purpose of diagnosis.

Different modes of treatment prevail in Zandra, which could be placed under two main categories: traditional mode and modern mode of treatment. Traditional modes consist of home remedies, faith healing, bone setting and *dai* (TBA). Modern mode of treatment includes allopathic medicines.

The village has two faith healers. They use *taveez* (amulet), *dum/dua* (blowing breath after recitation of Quranic Verses), black thread which is tied up around the patient's neck after reciting *dum* on it, and *niaz* (sacrifice of a hen or a goat) as methods of healing. There are two bone setters in the village. Usually, bone setters are male and they get profession of bone setting in inheritance and learn this skill in an informal way from their elders. Traditional medical practitioners and birth attendants are found in the village. Most of the

newly married women of rich and educated families go to doctors for consultancy during pregnancy

NGOs are working with the community in health sector. They are providing training facilities to the midwives and lady health workers. They are also creating awareness among the natives to use allopathic treatment.

In Zandra allopathic treatment is getting popular among the young generation. Sixty five percent of the young respondents use allopathic medicine and consult doctors, whereas it was just twenty four percent among the senior citizens. Awareness and improved literacy rate are two major causes for this shift. Educated families are motivating the illiterates also for the use of allopathic medicines. Mass media also had an impact on the natives' attitudes regarding health care systems. They believe that faith healer cannot treat modern chronic diseases such as cancer, blood pressure, heart problems and T. B. (Tuberculosis) etc. The people are also attracted towards allopathic treatment due to its availability and affordability. So education, economic conditions and availability of health facilities have an impact on natives' health-seeking behaviour. Gradually it is becoming a status symbol for the people. Visiting expensive private clinics add to their prestige.

Some of the issues are further explained in the theoretical perspective.

- In Zandra people use multi-mode treatments. They utilize these modes of treatment stage-wise. At first stage they take self-medication, at second they consult doctors then another doctor then the faith healer and finally faith healer and doctor together. It varies case to case but allopathic medicine and doctors have become their first choice in most of the cases. This shift from traditional to the modern treatment supports the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries as it creates market for their medical products and assistance.

- Modern medical system is more of an economic transaction than the treatment, as many of my respondents said that the doctors treat them like their clients not the patients. They always demand for the money first and if they can't pay their fee they do not admit them in the hospitals. This clientage becomes permanent as the allopathic medicine provides temporary relief and leaves many side effects. This medico-economic transaction always supports the industry as the doctors and the allopathic medicines are the products of industrialization.
- NGOs are providing awareness to the masses to use allopathic treatment. These campaigns create new markets for medicines, medical equipment, and technical assistance. During these campaigns harmful effects of pesticides and chemical fertilizers have never been highlighted as these are imported from the core to the periphery.
- Trainings provided by the NGOs strengthen the class relations of core countries through the medical division of labor. They are providing training facilities to the midwives and lady health workers which mean they are preparing a force of medical assistants. These trained health workers have the potential migrate to the core countries as part of the brain drain. No NGO has been producing high level medical professional in Pakistan. It maintains the dependency of peripheral countries on core regions for medical professionals and assistance, and a continuous supply of medical workers to the core countries.
- Male patients prefer to go to doctor at the initial stage of their illness as compared to females who usually use home remedies at the first stage of their illness. It is because the males have better economic position and can easily avail allopathic mode of treatment. Thus, it shows that economic uplift leads towards adoption of allopathic mode of treatment. Same is the case with education. Educated people prefer allopathic medicines. Somehow or the other economy, education and health

complement each other and ultimately benefits the capitalist industry of the core countries.

- Females have to get permission from their husbands or male guardians for their treatment, for which they have to wait. On the contrary, males decide for themselves and consult the doctors before their illness got severe. It shows that difference in decision-making power leads towards difference in health seeking behaviour. So investing on women empowerment in peripheral countries also creates market for pharmaceuticals.
- Through medical imperialism they can invade any peripheral country without sending their forces. They can implement their policies in the peripheral territories. They are controlling the labour through doctors and economic resources through pharmaceutical market. People are living in their bodies and their bodies are actually governed and controlled by the doctors in favour of core countries.

The above discussion supports the argument of world system theorists. Main features of medical imperialism as pointed out by Doyal and Pennell (1976)²⁸⁴, J. Paul (1978)²⁸⁵, Waitzkin (1978)²⁸⁶, Elling (1981a)²⁸⁷ and Franco-Agudelo (1983)²⁸⁸ seems valid (for reference see section 1.9.4.).

²⁸⁴ Doyal, L. & Pennell, I. (1976). Pox Britannica: Health, Medicine and Underdevelopment. *Race and Class* 18, 155-172.

²⁸⁵ Paul, J. A. (1978). Medicine and Imperialism. In J. Ehrenreich, (Ed.), *The Cultural Crisis of Modern Medicine*. (pp. 271-286). New York: Monthly Review Press.

²⁸⁶ Waitzkin, H. (1978). A Marxist View of Medical Care. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 89, 264-278.

²⁸⁷ Elling, R. H. (1981a). The Capitalist World System and International Health. *International Journal of Health Services* 11, 21-51.

²⁸⁸ Franco, A. S. (1983). The Rockefeller Foundation's Antimalarial Program in Latin America: Donating or Dominating?. *International Journal of Health Services* 13(1), 411-427.

Chapter 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The present study was conducted in Zandra village situated in District Ziarat, in the Province of Baluchistan, Pakistan. It is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta. The village is 8,000 ft. above sea level and is surrounded by grey hills, apple orchards and Juniper forest, which is considered to be the 2nd largest in the world. This area has a pleasant summer and a very cold winter. In January the temperature decreases to -16 degrees Celsius. Total area of the village is 1,229 acres, out of which 367 acres are under cultivation. Total population of the village is 3,234 consisting of 295 houses. Majority of them is Pashtoon, Kaker Panizai by tribe.

The main focus of this research was to understand the cultural perception of development and its impact on the socio-economic structures including economy, education and health in Pakistan. An effort has been made to understand the nature of development, internal and external factors responsible for the changes and the actual beneficiaries of the development. World system theory was used to map the developmental process. Methodology for this research was developed by using anthropological research techniques which includes participant observation, in-depth interviews and oral histories.

Social Organization

The village Zandra was occupied by Pashtoons centuries ago and they have been living there since then. They are divided into three tribes i.e. Kakar Panezai, Dotani and Turan. All of them trace their descent through a common ancestor, Kais Abdul Rashid. Majority of the population of the village comprises of seven lineages of Kakar Panezai namely Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, Parakh Khel, Anna Khel, Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, and Notaizai. Their occupation was herding as well as agriculture. They were very poor and majority of them was working as tenants. In 1915 Haji Payo Khan gave them the idea to grow apples which proved successful and changed the lives of the villagers.

In Zandra descent is traced through agnatic line. Property is inherited by the males. Residence pattern is patrilocal. During the last couple of decades, joint or extended families have become nuclear mainly because of economic reason. The people have divided their large houses into small ones with separate kitchens, depending upon the number of brothers they had.

In 1981 there were 120 households, with populations of 2374 in Zandra. Accordingly, the average member in each household would be 22.7. In 2007 the number of households in the village was 295, and the population was 3234, reducing the average household to 10.96. Only 860 persons have been added to the population during the last 26 years whereas there is more than 150% increase in the number of households.

The male head of the family is accustomed to take all decisions about the house and orchards. In 1986 the percentage of male head of household was 96.6% and women percentage 3.38%. There were only four houses where women became heads of the household due to death in the family, and because the children were too young. In 2007 the number increased to 32 when women became heads of households. In six cases husbands died and in 26 cases, husbands had moved to cities for work and were living there.

Zandra is a segmentary society and their social organization is based on lineages. All residents are divided into tribes, sub-tribes and lineages. Among seven lineages of Panizais three i.e. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel trace their descent from three brothers and so they are closer to each other. The remainder three lineages i.e. Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, and Notaizai, tracing their descent from other three brothers, are closer to each other because of the same reason. Anna khel is closer to the first three because they trace their descent through Juma Khan who was father's brother of Gull Muhammad, Janak and Parakh.

The percentage of endogamy in the village is about 84%. Since all people belonging to one lineage are considered a family, so the first preference in marriage is to marry daughters with father's brother's son. If there is room for

an alternative proposition the daughter will be married to someone from the same lineage. However, if there is no suitable match in the family, the choice falls on a boy from the next lineage which is closer to them, then the lineages of the same sub-tribe. After the Panizai the choice falls on Dautanis and Tarans. Same system of preferences works for conflict resolution, elections, sharing karez water and sale/purchase of water/land.

Zandra may lie in tribal area but there is no tribal leadership system. It was terminated when Haji Payo Khan revolted against their sardars 60 years ago. Latter in 1977, the Government Pakistan abolished the traditional tribal leadership system in Balochistan. The hierarchy among Pashtoon Tribal Leadership consisted of nawabs at the top, sardars at second, maliks at third, and commoners at the bottom level. Nawab headed more than one tribe, whereas sardars headed his own. Each tribe had several maliks. Actually each clan had its own chieftain, called killi malik (clan's headman). These days wealth, marriage and links with government officials are important determinants for achieving power and exercising authority.

Among 8 lineages of the village 7 belongs to Kakar Panizai tribe, due to which this village is known to be the village of this particular tribe. The other group is Taran who considers themselves Sayyed. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel are jointly on top of the social hierarchy and constitute the majority of the village population. People belonging to Gull Muhammad Khel always take pride in telling about their lineage. They have the political leadership of the village. They have the bigger population and a better control over the economic resources. Janak Khel comes next to them. Taran has the religious leadership of the village.

Instead of being organized under a common leader, they prefer to choose a leader at clan level which changes frequently; hence the individuals with leadership potential have a great scope to participate. Each clan is therefore a separate entity, and in matters affecting their welfare, the members of the clan are generally guided in their views by jirga or council of elders of each clan. Jirga works as an arbitrator and is controlled by tribesmen i.e. the people

themselves nominate the mediators on their behalf, who know the intensity of the conflict and help them resolve the matter as a lawyer.

The code which guides jirga and communities in deciding disputes, blood feuds, etc. is generally called Pukhtun Wali and is framed on principles of equality and relation. This code has numerous laws but its principle maxims are those of mediation or protection (Nana Wati) retaliation (Badal), and hospitality (Mailmastia). Jirga's decision is considered final. The traditional penalty for anyone who defies the decision of the jirga is the burning of the culprit's house. It is the jirga which hears the political agent or representations of another tribe, who wishes to discuss a matter of mutual interest.

A fully functional police station was established in the year 2004. Prior to this the law and order was maintained by the local *levies* force, which resolved disputes and maintained peace in the village. They patrolled the streets at night. They could even arrest the accused. They performed protocol duties with government officials and delegations. They also did the official work relating to *zakat* and *usher* (two Islamic taxes).

Economy

In Zandra, there were various means of earnings i.e. horticultural and non-horticultural activities. Economic organization of Zandra has undergone a transition. Since the middle of 20th century, the village economy was only based on horticulture with apple as the main source of income, but over the years the population has outgrown the farming resources. Landholdings have reduced and hence the majority has also taken up other non-agricultural activities like businesses and employment sector. According to 1998 census the total area of Zandra is 1229 acres; out of which 560 acres are agricultural land, 367 acres are under apple orchard, and 193 acres remain uncultivated. This agricultural land is owned by 289 households of the village, whereas 6 families are landless. In 1981, the same area was distributed among 120 households. The number of the households has become more than double in the last 28 years.

Everybody in the village, who has a piece of land, has planted apple trees. The practice of cultivating apple was started by late Haji Payo Khan about 90 years ago. The advent of apple economy started a gradual change from subsistence to cash economy. From last three decades the cash economy has completely dominated the area. When subsistence economy of peripheral countries changes into market economy raw materials including livestock and farm production are sold in the market and consumer products are bought for domestic use. This situation suits the capitalist industry of core countries. They find cheap labour from these countries. Supplementary domestic income by the women folk through handicrafts helps to maintain low wage rates.

Apple economy of the village is based on production and sale of apples, in particular, and other fruits in general. In early 1980s, majority of the fruit farmers earned from their apple orchards for whole of the year. About 74% of households were totally dependent on the apple economy while the rest of 26% were involved in other occupations as well. In 2007, according to researcher's survey, only 22% families are solely dependent on the orchards, whereas 78% along with their orchards are involved in employment and businesses activities. The reason behind this change is the breakup of families and frequent distribution of property.

Since the start of apple economy the people were grown nine different types of apple in the orchards, but for the last couple of decades, the people have gradually switched over to two kinds of apple – Kala Kolu and Gaja, because of their great demand in local as well as international market which shows that the traditional society is gradually changing into a more profit oriented society.

During the last couple of decades technology has played a pivotal role in the development of new cultivation methodologies. The use of tractors, bulldozers, modern spraying machines and trucks has become common. Chemical fertilizers and pesticides are readily available and used. An office of Agriculture Department also exists in the village.

There are many individuals in the village who are in one way or the other involved in production, distribution and sale of apple. Since the advent of apple economy, the natives have gone through a social and economic change. Due to their interactions with the people in different markets they have become aware of their surroundings and technology, which they are utilizing to achieve their horticultural goals. They have become more settled and economically better-off today. There is a complete shift from lower to middle class because of this apple economy. Now many of them have their own cars, property and running businesses in Quetta.

The people use different sources to get water for irrigation e.g. karezes, wells, tube-wells and streams etc. Karezes were the most important source of water since centuries. After karezes there comes the number of wells and tube-wells. Some of the land is also irrigated with rainwater. From late 1970s onwards, wells were the second most important source of irrigation in the village. In 2002, a major change in irrigation and water supply took place. The government with the help of natives started installing tube wells in the village, which are technologically far ahead than the wells and the karez. Now every household has a water connection and is linked with the pipeline. NGOs are also working in this sector.

Technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers used in the village are imported from the core countries in shape of finished products, instillations, industrial supplies and fabricated parts. Use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers gives rise to health problems due to which medical bill increases and the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries gets benefit. The transfer of wealth by exploiting periphery and semi-periphery by core countries encourages rapid scientific development in the Western medicine.

Increase in the export of farm products supports Wallerstein argument where he says that world is becoming a single economic unit through exchange and trade with a vast diversity in division of labour among the countries.

There were some secondary sources of income in the village which includes agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Agricultural activities involve cultivation of some crops along with apple orchards according to the farmer's calendar. Rabi and Kharif crops are grown in summer and winter respectively. Potatoes are the main *rabi* crop and peas are the main *kharif* crop of the village. These agricultural products are sold in Quetta, Karachi and the markets of southern Punjab.

In Zandra livestock was an important source of livelihood and was considered the sign of prestige and economic pursuit. However for the last 10 years, the situation has changed as technology has taken over the livestock in respect of cultivation. The trend of keeping animals is deteriorating as it has become very costly and it adds into their responsibilities. The other reasons could be non-availability of servants and space in the house.

Involvement of the people in occupations other than horticulture/agriculture is increasing day by day as the landholding sizes due to frequent distribution are decreasing and daily life requirements are increasing. These occupations include different businesses, government jobs, urban migration and labour. Business has become the second largest contributor to the total income of the village. Traditionally, the people were involved in four categories of business, which includes shopkeepers, automobile purchasers/sellers, property owners and middlemen in fruit market, but now owing to development in technology, infrastructure and communication, a new category of professional drivers has also emerged.

Presently, there are 68 shops in the village selling different consumer products. In 1970s there were no shops around this road. There were few scattered shops in the village within the residential area. This shows an emergence of cash economy. Majority of these products are international brands. Some of them are imported. Rest of them are manufactured in Pakistan but owned by big multinationals. Machine made Pakistani products are also available in the market. Increase in the demand of the machine made products increases the reliance on the core countries because all the

machinery, spare parts, technology and energy resources are imported from there. Consumption of consumable products has also increased many folds in last three decades.

Core countries introduce and market new products every day with shorter life cycles which need to be replaced earlier. The heavy advertisement of these products increases the lust for money among the people. So this becomes a dual benefit for the core countries as it creates market for their products and provides labour for their industry. Reliance on these consumable products and living in the industrial environment creates malnutrition and other health hazards which increases medical bills and support the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries.

This lust for money stimulates the people to migrate to cities. This migration proves beneficial for the industry because the industrialist can have cheap labour. By having extra workforce available in the market, they can easily exploit the poor and unaware villagers offering them low remuneration. A person living in cities uses more consumer products which benefits the industry. Edible products do not match the nutritional level of the homemade items and thus cause malnutrition leading to health problems. The people striving for more money often work more than normal and takes less care for their diet, causing malnutrition. In case of male migration, men may visit sex workers and carry diseases, which further transfer to their wives also. This malnutrition and health problems increase medical bill of the consumer which again goes to the industry. Poor health automatically creates a vicious circle which starts from poor health leads to more expenditure, which becomes a cause of poverty and poverty causes malnutrition, and this malnutrition reflects as poor health. This vicious circle creates a dependency on core countries. Overseas migration for educational purpose may support the brain-drain programme of the core countries.

Women are mainly responsible for household tasks which consume time and labour, implying that by performing domestic activities, women indirectly participate in the household economy. By doing all the house work by

themselves they save money otherwise the men may have to hire maids or servants. Women from lower class work in the fields. Women from middle class contribute in those activities which could be performed at home like cleaning, storage etc. The ladies belonging to upper middle class don't even do this. They hire these services from Afghan women. Women after completing their household chores start making different handicraft. These handicrafts are sold to the middleman who comes to the village after regular intervals and collects these handmade products. The women from upper middle and upper class are less involved in making the handicrafts. Maids, teachers, lady health workers and traditional birth assistants (TBAs) are some other fields where the women are working in the village.

Women by making handicrafts supplement domestic economy which keeps the wage rates low. Working women provides them cheap labour, consume more of their products and suffer from the same health hazards. Financial assistance to the NGOs for creating awareness among women to be part of economic activity also supports their cause. It develops a market for their products and provides them cheap labour. Weak labour laws, lenient tax laws, absence of environmental issues and direct access raw materials are some other opportunities for the multinationals. The points raised by Wallerstein in this regard seem valid.

It is generally assumed that the women's status in the society is not equal to that of men. Women have less control on their lives. However a close and deep study about the condition of women in the village reveals that women in various fields share equal rights and prestige with men. These days the economically empowered women of Zandra belonging to middle and upper classes do not have to face any hardships in their lives. They are living comfortable lives because they have money to spend and can hire services. Wage earning women have higher status than that of non-wage earning women. In most of the cases their contribution towards household economy is negligible as it is considered to be man's responsibility to provide money for household expenditures.

Education

Mostly, the people in the village relate literacy with jobs as only those people are considered educated who can get jobs on the basis of their education. The Government of Balochistan and some NGOs are working to increase literacy rate. Number of schools has been increased all over Balochistan. Both formal and informal educational institutions are available in the village for people of all ages. Computer education and English language teaching programs are also available in the village.

The trend towards education among males and females has changed during last three decades. Now the educational levels are improved as the percentages at elementary, secondary and higher secondary levels have really gone up. Similarly their attitudes towards education have also changed. Now most of the people send their daughters to schools. The elderly women were more for religious education whereas the younger ones were for the formal school education. Among the males trend was similar but the percentage towards formal education was higher.

Both the parents have different opinion regarding this issue. During last two decades this opinion has changed remarkably. No doubt the sons are still preferred but their attitude towards neutrality has really increased. The parents who preferred daughters education were of the view that illiterate son could be accommodated somewhere in business or he would take care of his own orchard but now it has become very difficult to marry an uneducated girl in a good family. Even the uneducated families have started demanding for educated girls. So it is always important to educate the daughter.

Purdah has been a major barrier for the girls' education since a long time. The other barriers include division of labour, male decision makers, nonparticipation in economic activities, temporary family membership, and inheritance. Fathers belonging to different classes and age groups have their own reasons for not sending their daughters to schools. The group of fathers aging more than 60 years was more concerned about purdah whereas the group between 20 to 40 years had economic reasons. Mothers have slightly

different opinion about female education. They have their own reasons for not sending their daughters to school. The pattern of change among males and females was almost similar. In younger groups both of them were more concerned for economic reasons. So with the passage of time the reasons have been shifted from purdah to economy which includes nonparticipation in economic activities, investment on temporary family member and the inheritance.

Being a patriarchal society in Zandra the authority in principle stays with the head of the household, who is invariably an elderly male member of the family (husband or father of the husband). If the husband is out in a city for earning livelihood, the wife can take the responsibility of decision-making, but in routine it is a male who is always head of the family. However female can manipulate and influence the decisions. Educated and economically empowered woman is even more influential.

A lot of changes have taken place in the field of education during the last three decades. Enrolment in schools has increased. The dropout rate has been decreased from 50% to 33%. The reasons for increase in enrolment and overall literacy level are quoted differently by different classes. For upper class, it is awareness, for middle, it is affordability, while for lower class, it is the motivation for additional source of income in future.

The second change during the period under reference is the level of awareness among parents. People today are more conscious about their children's education. Most of them are pushing their children, both boys and girls to the higher level, and for that purpose 81 families of the village have migrated to Quetta and other big cities. A couple of students have migrated overseas. This urban and overseas migration serves the purpose of core countries. Keeping the peripheral countries at status quo helps the core countries in their brain drain programme.

Schooling system provides skilled labour to the industry. Core countries are providing financial assistance mostly through NGOs to the periphery so that

they could get inexpensive skilled labour. They do not provide any real chance for economic growth to these countries so that they could get a regular supply of raw materials and cheap labour. They just keep them revolving in a vicious circle which starts from poverty leads to the dependency on core countries from where they get low wage rates which ultimately increases poverty. Secondly the consumption patterns of educated families change. Their reliance on consumer products of capitalist industry increases.

People's perception of education as a job seeking instrument is a result of awareness campaigns launched in peripheral regions by the core countries to ensure a regular supply of inexpensive labour. They control the labour through socialization. They introduce the syllabus and the medium of education of their choice.

Health

People of Zandra perceive this phenomenon of illness and practical measures in the context of their own culture. But after the provision of basic health facilities the situation has changed. The people have adopted certain new measures to cope with the illness. The facilities at Basic Health Unit (BHU) have been improved. Private clinics are also available in Ziarat. The development in the transport sector has played a major role in improvement of the health standards of this area. With the availability of roads and public transport, access to big hospitals in Quetta has now become a possibility.

Zandra is in transition from traditional to modern way of life due to economic uplift, education in the area and local's contact with the outside world. As a result, there is a change in the natives' behaviour and in their health related beliefs. Opening of BHU and awareness brought about by electronic and print media has caused a shift in interest of the people from hakeems and the faith healers to allopathic treatment.

When people fail to deal with serious mental anxiety through technology or therapy, they try to get it done through supernatural beings and their powers.

Faith healers attempt to control them by religious means including prayers, sacrifice and mystical ritual to appeal for aid from the supernatural forces.

People, in general, perceive diseases differently as compared to a doctor. They make evaluations primarily in terms of their own direct experience. They define the phenomena of illness in terms of a condition in which body suffers from pain and in which an individual feels weakness, laziness and temperature in his body, becoming unable to perform his daily tasks. Even sometimes he cannot walk and talk. Pregnancy is also considered as illness believing that a woman in pregnancy has to suffer from pain in body and cannot perform her daily tasks. Blood deficiency is also considered as the sign of illness judged from the face colour.

The causes of illness can be placed into six categories including natural causes, biological causes, food, psychological cause, supernatural causes and religious causes. The villagers believe that one illness may have two causes from two different categories' or two causes from the same category of causes of illness. Young and educated people mention un-cleanliness and malfunctioning of the body organs as the cause of different illnesses. They also refuse to accept the supernatural forces as the cause of illness. This point also reveals the fact that people's educational level affects their beliefs regarding disease etiology.

Uneducated people have mentioned that they have received the idea of unhygienic conditions as a cause of various illnesses from the educated people, doctors in the village and radio. This fact reveals the influence of social interaction of the natives with educated people, doctors and their access to mass media, on their beliefs related to disease etiology. While the educated people say that they have received this idea (idea of un-cleanliness as the cause of illness) through education which they have received.

Allopathic health facilities have been improvement in village with the help of NGOs and Government. NGOs work under their financial assistance and Governments under contracts signed against the receipt of grant in aid from

those countries. It facilitates their pharmaceutical industry. Improvements in economic conditions, infrastructure, literacy level and mass media have also supported allopathic health care systems.

Pregnancies were never treated as illness in the village. Now as a result of awareness created by the core countries through education and media the pregnancy has become an illness. There is a complete involvement of doctors, allopathic medicines and instruments. It all generates economic transactions supporting the capitalist's pharmaceutical industry.

Natives defined the illness as inability to work. This perception has been developed in the minds by education and media which reflects the creation of working class. People want to keep themselves fit for work and allopathic treatment helps them in this regard. Allopathic mode of treatment being creation of industrialization is paying back to the industry by controlling the labour and keeping work force physically and mentally fit for work.

In Zandra sometimes one illness is diagnosed under two or more different categories. Due to this overlapping in the categories of causes of illness, natives practice different diagnostic methods to trace out the real and root cause of their illness. These practices include self-diagnosis, diagnosis by relatives or neighbours, by the allopathic doctors and faith healers.

Self and family diagnosis is the first step towards diagnosing the real cause of illness. However the real cause is traced out at the second stage of diagnosis, an allopathic doctor or faith healer. People contact an allopathic doctor when they feel that their illness is due to natural or biological causes. However, when people feel that their illness has any supernatural cause they go to a faith healer. Mostly people consult both doctors and faith healers simultaneously. Usually a faith healer attributes an illness, caused by any biological or natural cause, to any supernatural force. The natives' health related beliefs and educational levels affect their diagnostic practices.

Modes of treatment practiced in Zandra can be placed into two categories: traditional and modern mode of treatment. Traditional modes consist of home remedies, faith healing, bone setting, and *dai* (TBA). Home remedies consist of certain activities performed at the home including preparation of certain food items, using different things are easily available at home such as milk, eggs, flour, nuts, fruits, tea etc. and usage of different herbs for flue, fever, headache, cough, sore throat and stomachache etc. Women also use home remedies for menstruation pain and post-delivery pain.

The villagers suffering from various ailments like heart problems, blood pressure, diabetes, kidney problems, asthma, cancer, and other fatal diseases besides consulting doctors in the city go to faith healing also. In addition they visit different shrines for prayer and riddance, showing that total reliance on either cure (medicine or faith healing) is not exercised. They however, believe that disease is cured only with the will of the God.

The minor ailments are mostly treated by the faith healers. The people visit the faith healers as well as they go to dispensary or the homeopathic doctor in Ziarat, or even city hospitals. The ailments like *saya*, evil-eye, and possession are considered to be caused by supernatural forces and can only be treated by the faith healers with knowledge of controlling these supernatural beings.

Traditional medical practitioners and birth attendants are found in the village. Most of the newly married women of rich and educated families go to doctors for consultancy during pregnancy, but for delivery they called out either midwives/*dai* or elderly women who were experienced in the field. The experienced TBAs prescribe allopathic medicines to the patients and sometimes give injections too. High risk pregnancies after being referred by TBA are taken to the gynecologist in city hospitals.

Middle class families generally employ a TBA for conducting deliveries. However, some lower class families cannot afford it. TBA receives payment depending on the sex of the baby. In olden days, there was no set fee in cash

or kind for them. Even today some TBAs claim that they do not charge money and do it for God-Sake to get spiritual benefit.

Some NGOs are working in the province to address community health needs by establishing local mechanisms of health and hygiene service facilitators. They train women in reproductive health and check their progress on a monthly basis. They follow the Midwives Model of Care 1996-2001 developed by the Midwifery Task Force. This model is based on the fact that pregnancy and birth are normal life events.

There is a variation among the people of Zandra regarding utilization of different modes of treatment. Allopathic treatment is getting popular among the young generation because of its availability, improved literacy rate, better economic conditions, awareness created through mass media, improved trust upon the doctor, and introduction of some modern chronic diseases. Some people only depend on home remedies because the things used in this mode are economical and easily available. Side effects of allopathic medicine also threaten them. The people belonging to the upper class do not believe in this argument as they can afford a doctor and the modern medicines.

Modern medical system is more of an economic transaction than the treatment and this clientele becomes permanent as the allopathic medicine provides temporary relief and leaves many side effects. This medico-economic transaction always supports the capitalist industry as the doctors and the allopathic medicines are the products of industrialization.

The people utilizing multi-modes of treatment do not use them randomly; they rather use them stage-wise. At first step the patient is given rest and given home remedies and self-medication. If it does not work, he is taken to the doctor in the village and then to Quetta. If allopathic treatment fails, the patient is taken to a faith healer. At the next stage, they consult both doctors and faith healers.

When it is felt that a person is ill due to any supernatural cause, certain rituals are performed at home. If the patient does not recover he is taken to a faith healer. After trying two to three healers they consult allopathic doctor along with faith healer. This disparity in natives' action is due to belief that one illness may have more than one cause from two different categories.

There is a gender difference in health seeking behaviour in Zandra. Male patients prefer to go to doctor at the initial stage whereas females use home remedies. Physical mobility, nature of work and economic position of male and females and decision-making power affect these behaviours.

Allopathic medicine and doctors have become their first choice in most of the cases. This shift supports the pharmaceutical industry of the core countries as it creates market for their medical products and assistance.

Modern medical system is more of an economic transaction than the treatment. The clientage becomes permanent as the allopathic medicine provides temporary relief and leaves many side effects. This medico-economic transaction always supports the industry as the doctors and the allopathic medicines are the products of industrialization.

NGOs are providing awareness to the masses to use allopathic treatment. These campaigns create new markets for medicines, medical equipment, and technical assistance. Trainings provided by the NGOs strengthen the class relations of core countries through the medical division of labor. They are providing training facilities to the midwives and lady health workers which mean they are preparing a force of medical assistants. These trained health workers have the potential migrate to the core countries as part of the brain drain.

Economic uplift leads towards adoption of allopathic mode of treatment. Same is the case with education. Educated people prefer allopathic medicines. Somehow or the other economy, education and health complement each other and ultimately benefits the capitalist industry of the core countries. They

are also investing on women empowerment in peripheral countries because it creates market for pharmaceuticals. Decision-making creates a difference in health seeking behaviour.

Economic empowerment of women benefits the core countries in different ways. It develops a market for their products and provides a cheap labour force for them. Poor implementation of labour laws gives a chance to the industrialists to enjoy long working hours without providing safeties and securities to the workers. Raw materials, lenient tax laws and absence of environmental issues are some other opportunities for the multinationals.

Through medical imperialism they can invade any peripheral country without sending their forces. They can implement their policies in the peripheral territories. They are controlling the labour through doctors and economic resources through pharmaceutical market.

The above discourse supports the world system theory where the theorists have pointed out the exploitative relationship between core regions and peripheral countries in the field of economy, education and health.

CONCLUSION

Man is change oriented by nature. He has always been striving for the richness of human life. Traces of this advancement could be found right from human prehistory which begins in the Paleolithic Era, what we call it "Early Stone Age". Later, it moved to Mesolithic Era, the Middle Stone Age and then to the Neolithic Era (New Stone Age) when the Agricultural Revolution started between 8000 and 5000 BC and the man started planned practice of cultivating the land or raising livestock. Agriculture begins to spread all over the world and humans communities started expanding and living as farmers in permanent settlements. When productivity increased need for store and transportation of food was felt. This resulted in development of cities and division of labor. This process continued and the man started using machines for mass production in 18th century what we call Industrial Revolution.

This Industrial Revolution brought some significant change in man's life. The concept of development changed from enhancement of the richness of human life to the richness of the economy in which a man lives. Economy actually was a part of total development. Considerable progress has been made in human life in the past. Most the people are living healthier and a longer life. They are better educated and have a greater access to consumable products and services.

Since the Industrial Revolution development was treated as an economic phenomenon only with industrialization as its pre-requisite. During last couple of decades the pace of the development has really been increased. Even the economically poor peripheral countries are giving great importance to people's income resources, health and education.

The data reveals that this pace of progress has also affected the village and economic growth is visible everywhere. The village has gone through some major structural changes during recent past. The natives are economically well off which they consider as development. This development has increased their choices. Use of technology has become common. Their income through farm and other secondary sources has grown up. Cash economy has resulted in the growth of per-capita income and increase in the volume of consumer goods and thus improved the material quality of life of the people. On the other hand it has also resulted into the disintegration of social bonds in the village. They have a better access to education and health facilities. Their perception about biomedical healthcare has changed which reduced the clientele of the ethnic healthcare systems and increased the people's expenditures on health care.

According to world system theory core countries have an interest in growth of the peripheral countries, because such a growth increases demand for the goods produced by the capitalist industry. This, in turn, will promote growth in the core countries. The reverse is also postulated to apply, that is the developing countries can sell more of their products in the industrial countries

when the economies in these countries grow. The main point here is that it is not only the peripheral countries that depend upon the core countries, the core countries are in many areas dependent upon the periphery. So interdependence exists, for periphery it is for finished products and for core it is for raw materials and human resource. This interdependence supports the core countries as the consumer products used in peripheral countries become a source of profit and inexpensive raw material and cheap labour provide them savings. So they are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies.

The world's capitalist economies determine the route for development of the large part of the world's population in their own favour. Industrialization is a precondition for aggregate growth and economic development of backward societies. Distorted production structure in the peripheral countries and their dependence is a result of the dominance of the core countries. The economically backward countries have to pledge considerable resources to set in motion an industrial development process. Technological development brings positive changes all over the world. Some impulsive changes are brought in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries, but the core countries get the most advantage.

In the end the researcher is in full agreement with the views of world system theorists who have been working in the field of capitalist world economy (Wallerstein, Samir Amin, and A. G. Frank), comparative education (Meyer, Arnove and Ramirez) and political economy of health (Doyal, Waitzkin, Elling and Franco-Agudelo). In the light of empirical data world system theory is found valid and accepted.

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