

**An Anthropological Investigation of Kinship and Politics in
Diamer District, Gilgit Baltistan**



BY

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ISLAMABAD-PAKISTAN
2022**

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BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology
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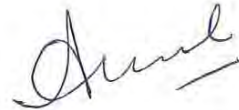
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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that an M. Sc thesis entitled “**An Anthropological Investigation Of Kinship And Politics In Diamer District, Gilgit Baltistan**” is done by _____ has been found satisfactory for the requirement of the degree.

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ABSTRACT

In the present research the kinship and politics in Diamer district of Gilgit Baltistan, Pakistan has been discussed. To discuss the kinship system in Diamer, the marriage pattern has been discussed. The political organization has been measured from the marriage pattern. There were two objectives of this research study a) To discuss the factors that shape the marriage pattern in Diamer b) To understand impact of marriage pattern in shaping the political organization in Diamer.

The purposive sampling technique was used to select the sample for the present research study. It is a non-random sampling technique in which the aim of taking the sample is not represent the exact characteristics of the population; rather the researcher must select the people who are specific to the research study. 20 respondents were selected in which 10 respondents were male and 10 respondents were females. Out of 10 male respondents 5 belonged to the old age while 5 belonged to the younger age group. Similarly, out of 10 female respondents 5 belonged to the old age group and 5 belonged to the young age group. The old age group ranged from 55 to 65 while the younger age group was from 35 to 45. The research started with the key informant interviews. The key informants arranged the focus group discussion for the research study. 6 focus group discussion were conducted with male and female respondents. Then the individuals were selected from focus group discussion for in-depth interviews. 5 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted.

It was found out that the marriages in Diamer are endogamous among the majority Shin tribe. While the marriages among the Yeshkuns, Gujjars, Kashmiris, Pakhtuns, Dhoms and Kamin are exogamous. The Shin tribe consider themselves superior to the other tribes because of

they are the natives and possess lands. It is due to this reason that they do not mix with other tribes. The concept of Khandani (family person) is used for the native Shin people who have not left their lands and have not migrated. However, in addition to the concept of Khandani, the sectarian affiliation and the concept of ghairat mand (honorable) also play an important role in the arrangement of marriages. The ghairat mand means that the people should have the resources to afford the bride.

The political organization of the people in Diamer is closely associated with the Pakun culture. The disputes are also resolved in the similar manner as the Pakhtun resolves. The concept of Karai (blood feud) is present in Diamer. The blood feud is mainly based on the disputes of lands and woman. The marriages are also used to resolve the land dispute, but the disputes related to woman is resolved through murder. The number of the people determine the power in Diamer. It is due to this reason that the Shin tribe marry within their tribe to increase their number.

The arrival of the modern state structure has not changed it rather the local traditions have been reinforced in the modern setup. In the elections those tribes have a greater number of voters win many seats. In this manner the marriages play a pivotal role in the extension of the influence of the tribe.

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Chapter: 1

Introduction

1.1 Evaluation of Topic

Gilgit Baltistan is in the northern mountainous region of Pakistan. The Gilgit Baltistan region is not densely populated comparatively to other parts of Pakistan (Sokefeld, 2014). There are lot of cultural diversity in the Gilgit Baltistan region. There are lot of different languages that are spoken in Gilgit Baltistan, as well as there are four major sects of Islam that are followed in the region (Chaudry, 2015).

Martin Sokefeld (2014) has identified five major languages that are spoken in different regions of Gilgit Baltistan that is Shina, Khowar, Balti, Burushaski, and Wakhi. He has also identified the different religious communities in Gilgit Baltistan that is Sunnis, Shias, Nurbaskhshis . Sokefeld (2014) has argued that the religious communities are still practicing endogamous marriages. It is due to this reason that the people in Gilgit Baltistan are divided into patrilineal kinship groups.

Azam Chaudry (2015) has used the framework of Clifford Geertz to explain the changing political dynamics of Gilgit Baltistan. He argues that the functioning of politics could be understood through the analysis of local culture like family, kinship, death, and birth practices. Azam Chaudry (2015) have divided the Gilgit Baltistan region of into three groups based on political organization. The valleys and the divisions are considered as important determinant of collective political organization (Sokefeld, 2014).

The political division is based on the religious on the one hand and on the other hand on the centralized political setup. The region of Diamer is largely populated with the people following Sunni sect of Islam. There is an absence of the centralized political setup in Diamer comparatively to the hereditary rule in other parts of Gilgit Baltistan. The kinship structure is patrilineal which means that the marriages are endogamous in this region (Sokefeld, 2014).

The region of Ghizer, Hunza and Nagar is mostly populated by the followers of Ismaili sect. The hereditary rule of Raja was present in this region due to which there existed a centralized political organization. The marriages are usually done based on religious sect between Islamailis of Ghizer and Hunza. In this way the marriages are not strictly patrilineal rather they are exogamous and could be matrilineal as well. In the region of Baltistan, mostly the Shia have the majority population. There is also Nurbakshis in the region of Baltistan, a minority sub sect from Shias.

The society is hierarchical in nature due to which each group of people usually marry in their own group. For instance, the Maliks would marry a malik in Baltistan. In this way the kinship structure in this region is patrilineal because the marriages are endogamous. The basic unit of political organization in Diamer is based on the kinship structure while in Baltistan the political organization is based on the village level (Chaudry, 2015).

This research study will discuss the kinship structure in Diamer district. The society of Diamer is segmentary in nature without any centralized rule of any prince. The segmentary society is considered as more egalitarian generally. But Martin Sokefeld argues that the Maliks of the Jirgas (local Tribunals) are usually selected in Diamer from the landowning groups. The landless people are not considered as eligible for seat of Malik in Jirgas (Sokefeld, 2014). The

marriage among the landowners is endogamous while the marriage among the non-landowners is exogamous.

The kinship structure plays an important role in the political organization of the local people in Diamer. The kinship structure is patrilineal in Diamer which means that the marriages are endogamous in nature. It is the objective of the present study to discuss the factors that shape the marriage pattern in Diamer District, and then discuss the relationship of the kinship structure with the political organization in Diamer District.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The marriage pattern shapes the kinship system of a society. The kinship system is linked with the social and the political organization of a region. In this manner, the regions where the marriages are done based on the parallel cousin or endogamous pattern there the chances of conflict are more obvious. On the other hand, the regions where the marriages are done based on the cross-cousin marriage or exogamous pattern there the chances of the conflict are less. This difference could be found because of the presence of the hierarchal system in the latter case.

In the present research the marriage pattern in Diamer district of Gilgit Baltistan, Pakistan has been discussed. The marriages in Diamer are endogamous among the majority Shin tribe. While the marriages among the Yeshkuns, Gujjars, Kashmiris, Pakhtuns, Dhoms and Kamin are exogamous. The Shin tribe consider themselves superior to the other tribes because of they are the natives and possesses lands. It is due to this reason that they do not may with other tribes. The concept of Khandani (family person) is used for the native Shin people who have not left their lands and have not migrated. However, in addition to the concept of Khandani, the sectarian affiliation and the concept of ghairat mand (honorable) also play an important role in the

arrangement of marriages. The ghairat mand means that the people should have the resources to afford the bride.

The political organization of the people in Diamer is closely associated with the Pakun culture. The disputes are also resolved in the similar manner as the Pakhtun resolves. The concept of Karai (blood feud) is present in Diamer. The blood feud is mainly based on the disputes of lands and woman. The marriages are also used to resolve the land dispute, but the disputes related to woman is resolved through murder. The number of the people determine the power in Diamer. It is due to this reason that the Shin tribe marry within their tribe to increase their number. The arrival of the modern state structure has not changed it rather the local traditions have been reinforced in the modern setup. In the elections those tribes have a greater number of voters win many seats. In this manner the marriages play a pivotal role in the extension of the influence of the tribe.

1.3 Objectives

- To discuss the factors that shape the marriage pattern in Diamer
- To understand impact of marriage pattern in shaping the political organization in Diamer

1.4 Significance of study

The study is significant in a way that it will contribute to the extension of the debate of the kinship and politics in Gilgit Baltistan. The historical literature had discussed the geographical distribution of the tribes and the marriage pattern during the British period among the Tribes of Gilgit Baltistan (Biddulph, 1880: The Military Report and Gazetteer of the Gilgit Agency and the independent territories of Tangir and Darel, 1927). The social organization of the Shin tribe and

the marriage pattern after the creation of Pakistan and accession of the region of Gilgit Baltistan has also been discussed by Karl Jettmar (1961).

Martin Sokefeld (2014) has provided a wider anthropological account of Gilgit Baltistan, Muhammad Azam Chaudry (2014) has worked on the blood feuds in Chilas region of Diamer District. The present study will discuss the factors that shape the marriage pattern in Diamer District and the effect of the kinship structure on the political organization in Diamer District.

The region of Gilgit Baltistan has a lot of diversity in languages, religion, ethnicities. The existing literature has divided Gilgit Baltistan based on the political into three regions, that is Hunza-Nagar and Ghizer, Diamer and Chilas, and Baltistan. The present study will focus on the region of Diamer and Chilas. The society of Diamer is segmentary society without any centralized authority (Sokefeld, 2014). The marriages in Diamer varies as per the difference of land owners and non-landowners. The marriages among the land owners is endogamous while the marriages among the non-landowners is exogamous. This research study will discuss that what are the factors that shape the marriage pattern and what effect it had on the political organization.

Chapter: 2

Literature Review and conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter has been divided into two parts that is literature review and the conceptual framework. First the literature review has been discussed then the proposed conceptual framework has been discussed.

2.2 Review of literature

In this section the literature review has been discussed. The literature review has been divided into two sections that is historical background and the anthropology of Gilgit Baltistan. In the first section the historical literature that has been written during the British period or before the 1980s has been discussed. In the second section the anthropological literature on the kinship and the politics of Gilgit Baltistan has been discussed.

2.2.1 Historical background

Jhon Biddulph (1880) in his book, “Tribes of Hindoo kush” conducted the first ever in-depth inquiry of the social and cultural setup of the present day Gilgit Baltistan during the British period. He conducted the in-depth inquiry before the British expanded their rule to the region of Gilgit. The ethnic belonging of a group was the primary factor that determined the exchange of women. Jhon Biddulph had mentioned that Sunni and the Shia were living in harmony. The sectarian divide had not played a major role in determining the pattern of the marriages,

“Wherever Soonees and Shiahs are found living together, they seem to practise a mutual tolerance rare in other purely Muhammadan communities. Inter-marriage between the sects is so common as not to excite remark” (Biddulph, 1880, 119).

The Ronos take daughters from both Shins and Yeskhuns. The children that are born of that union was given the status of Ronos. In case the child born is a female, than she could be married to the ruling families as discussed above. However there also existed exceptional cases where the Rono women were given to Shins and Yeskhuns. This is done when the daughter had been convicted of the immoral behavior. The Ronos than give their daughter in marriage not to the ruling groups rather they were married to the Shins or Yeshkuns.

Similarly, the ruling groups also give their daughters to Shins or Yeskhuns, if they are born of the slaves and the concubines. The daughter that is born of the lawful wives of the ruling groups are not given to the Shins or Yeshkun.

The Shins are ranked below the Ronos in the order of hierarchy. They are found in Gor, Chilas, Tangir, upper part of Gilgit valley above Punial, and Haramosh. The Yeshkuns are found in the region of Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Yasin, in the Gilgit, and Astor. The Shins marry their daughters to Ronos or Sayeds. The child that is born out of such a union would have the honor and the presitige of the father’s family. However, the Shins did not take daughters from Ronos or Sayeds.

The Shins take daughters from the Yeskhuns, but they did not give their daughter to the Yeskhun. However, it is not just the Sayeds and the Ronos to whom the Shins give their daughters. In the lower part of the Indus valley, they give daughters to the Neemchas. The Shins consider themselves as the aristocracy of the region. They claim themselves as more respectable

among the different ethnic groups of the region. As a result of which they did not give their daughters to Yeshkun or other lower ethnic groups.

The other ethnic groups comprised of Syeds, Kamins, Dhoms, Shotos, and Gujjars. They occupy inferior position in the order of hierarchy except for Syed. Syed family is held in high respect by the people. They take daughters from the ruling families as well as from the Ronos. The child that is born out of this union would have the respect and honor of his father's family. It is only in the Syed Family that the practice of endogamy is found, and the blood line is maintained, however not exclusively. Syed did not give their daughter to any ethnic group, as the Syed woman are only married in the Syed family.

Then there are those ethnic groups who are migrated from Kashmir. They are divided into different ethnic groups known as Meer, Shaikh, Paiyr, Lon, Suniyar (goldsmith), Dar, Rawut, But, and Tatchon (carpenters). They marry each other without any restrictions, except for Tatchon (carpenters). Tatchon give their daughters to other ethnic groups but did not take daughters from them in return. For instance, if they give their daughters to Shins and Yeshkuns, they did not take the daughters from them in return. In the case of Kammins and Dhom they did not marry them (Biddulph 1880)

Biddulph has discussed the marriage pattern at the time of late 19th century in the region of Gilgit. At that time the religion did not play a role in arranging the marriage, rather it was the caste that assumed the primary importance in deciding the marriage pattern. In this manner, at that time the sectarian conflict was not present in Gilgit Baltistan. The conflicts were based on different parameters. It was more caste-oriented conflicts rather than the sectarian ones. In the present research it has been found out that the sectarian differences assumed primary importance in the Gilgit in the 1980s due to which it also affected the marriage pattern in the Gilgit Baltistan.

The Military Report and Gazetteer of the Gilgit Agency and the independent territories of Tangir and Darel (1927) discusses the geography, ethnography, climate and health, resource, communication, forts, history, administration, military, and political conditions of the Gilgit Agency and its associated territories during the British period in sub-continent. However, for the present study the section on colonial ethnography is important in which the origin, castes, character, religion, social customs, physique, laws education, dress, and population has been discussed during the British period.

The caste has been divided into different branches that is Ronos, Wazirs, Shins, Yeshkuns, Sayyids, Kamins, Dhoms, Shotos, Kashmiris, and Gujjars. The upper most cast in the hierarchy is Ronos who are also known as the next caste to the ruling families. However, they are not found in the region of the Chilas, or the present-day district of Diamer. Rather they are found in the Nagir, Gilgit, and Punial.

The next to the Ronos are the Shins, who claim themselves to be the aristocracy of the region they inhabit. They are found in the region of Gilgit, Punial, Hunza, Nagir, Baltistan, Chilas, and Tangir region. Next are the Yeskhuns who are also found in the region of Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Astor, and Darel. The Sayyids are not found in Hunza, but they are found in small number in different regions.

The Kamin are the potters, and millers who are found in large number in Chilas and Darel but they are not found in Hunza and Nagir. The Doms are the musicians, blacksmith, cobblers. The Doms are found in large number in the region of Yasin, Darel, Chilas, and Nagir. The Shotos are the leather workers who are only found in the region of Nagir. The Kashmiris are the settlers from the region of Kashmir, they are mostly engaged in the work of goldsmith and

carpenters. Lastly, the Gujjars are the nomadic pastoralist. They are found in large number in Darel and Tangir.

For the present research the historical information that is obtained from the Gazetteer could be used for understanding the change that has been incurred in the social castes of the present day Diamer district which comprise of the regions of Asotre, Tangir, Darel, and Chilas. It could be seen that Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins, Doms, and Gujjars were used to be found in the present-day region of Diamer district. In which the Shins are still consider themselves as part of aristocracy. There has been no change in the demographic caste distribution in Diamer.

Karl Jettmar (1961) in his article, “Ethnological research in Dardistan” discusses the area and population, subsistence and economy, material culture, sociology, settlement pattern, religion, and foreign contacts in the region of Gilgit and its adjoining areas. However, for the present research it is necessary to discuss the information that Jettmar (1961) has provided of the area and population, and the sociology of the region.

The Shina speaking population could be divided into four major castes that is Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins, and Doms. But the Shins are considered as superior to other castes because they are considered as native to the region. The original region from where the Shins have been originated is the lower parts of the Chilas region which is also known as Shinaki that is land of the Shins.

Moreover, the author has also discussed the social and political organization of the people living in those regions. He argues that the households are organized around the endogamous marriages in the region, and they maintain the patrilineal lineages. Their culture is like the

Pashtun culture that is found in the region of the Kohistan. The endogamy has been adopted by the Shins and Yeshkuns who are living in the region of Diamer district.

It is important to note that the religious leader authority was not much recognized at that time when Jettmar (1961) was writing this paper. The disputes are resolved in the region by the council of the elders or the Jirga, which is also like the Pashtun culture of dispute resolution. The Jirga is comprised of the village elders from the different villages and valleys.

In the present research it could be seen that the marriage pattern has changed now the religious sect has assumed more importance than in the past. However, the marriages are still done on the parallel cousin basis that is the marriages are still endogamous. The religion has become more important since the 1980s and there has been more clashes between the people based on the sects rather than based on the castes. The marriage pattern has been changed now the marriages are done based on the sectarian differences rather based on the maintaining the patrilineal lineages or endogamy.

2.2.2 Anthropology of Gilgit Baltistan

Martin Sokefeld (2014) in his study, “Anthropology of Gilgit Baltistan: An Introduction”, has discussed the different dimensions of anthropological debates in the context of Gilgit Baltistan. He has discussed the traditional political organization, interconnectedness of the region, the political history, sectarianism, development and community activism, and aspects of gender in Gilgit Baltistan.

As per Sokefeld (2014), the people in Gilgit Baltistan are divided into patrilineal qoms (nation) which are locally ranked. This means that the Kinship structure in Gilgit Baltistan is

based on the endogamous marriages. The valleys and the sub regions are determinant of the collective political organization.

The author has argued that the marriages in the region of Gilgit Baltistan has endogamous which means that the marriages are done between the parallel cousin or the father's brother's daughter. However, there has been differences in the marriage pattern across the Gilgit Baltistan. The influence of sectarian differences has not been discussed by the author while discussing the marriage pattern in Gilgit Baltistan.

There are differences in the marriage pattern in Gilgit Baltistan. In some regions the marriages are cross cousin and in some regions the marriages are done between parallel cousins. In the present research the focus has been placed on the Diamer district, where the marriage pattern is affected due to the sectarian differences. Now the sect is more important while deciding the marriages. But the marriages are still arranged on the parallel cousin basis that is the patrilineal family is preferred while arranging the marriages.

Muhammad Azam Chaudry (2014) in his work, "The Ways of Revenge in Chilas, Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan: Shia-Sunni Clashes as Blood Feuds", has discussed the presence of blood feuds in Chilas, Diamer District. He has linked the culture of blood feuds to the presence of sectarian conflict in Gilgit Baltistan He has argued that the society in Diamer is closer to the Pashtun society in terms of political organization. The society is divided into two groups one is the one who are landowner's other are those who do not own land. The marriage is endogamous among the landowners while the marriages is exogamous among the non-landowners.

The author has discussed the blood feuds in Chilas region of Diamer district. The author has primarily focused on the dimensions of legal pluralism while discussing the blood feuds in

Chilas. In the present research the debate is placed on the dimension of the kinship and politics. The changes in the marriage pattern have been discussed with respect to the emergence of the sectarian differences.

Muhammad Azam Chaudry (2015) in his study, “ Changing Political Dynamics in Gilgit-Baltistan: A socio-historical Study”, has discussed the intersection of local culture and the formal political structure. The focus of the study has been placed on the nation building and state formation efforts in Gilgit Baltistan through integrating the local cultures.

Chaudry (2015) argues that the basic unit of political organization in Gilgit is based on the kinship structure while in Baltistan the political organization is based on the village level. In some regions of Gilgit Baltistan the people are politically dissatisfied. He mentioned that sectarianism, political history, and the exploitation by the local as well as national politicians has contributed to the sense of political dissatisfaction among the people of Gilgit Baltistan.

The literature is useful for the present study because it discusses the political divisions of the Gilgit Baltistan with respect to the anthropological lens. The author has not discussed the changes in the marriage pattern in Diamer district rather the overview of the whole Gilgit Baltistan has been discussed without focusing on one region. Hence, the present research has filled this gap by providing an in-depth inquiry of the changes that has incurred in the marriage pattern of the region and its implications for the local political organization.

2.2 Conceptual framework

Claude Levis Strauss has developed a structural model for the study of the kinship in anthropology. For Strauss the kinship system must not be understood simply in terms of the blood ties between the individuals. Instead, the kinship system is derived from the consciousness

of the people. For elaborating this model Strauss argues that there are two levels of reality that is the system of terminology and the system of attitudes.

The system of terminology shapes the systems of attitudes of the individuals. The meaning of the different kinds of relationship is defined in the family by the system of terminology because of which the individuals' minds are shaped. The individuals follow the system of terminology in shaping their attitudes accordingly. Hence the system of attitudes is derived from psychological system of terminology due to which the social and political organization materializes in a society.

In this manner, the kinship system should be studied by considering the marriage pattern in a society. The social and the political organization of a society is shaped by the marriage pattern that is prevalent in a society. Claude Levis Strauss has discussed this in the context of the Steppe people of the Central Asia. He has used the term hybrid system to study the kinship system prevalent among the steppe people of Central Asia (Strauss, 1969). As per his conceptualization of the hybrid system he means that the kinship terminology among the steppe people of Central Asia represent the mixture of the two elementary structures of the marriage exchange that is restricted marriage and the generalized marriage.

“Restricted exchange coincides with a marriage system that is binary, its simplest form being an exchange of sisters between the two halves of a dual organization. Generalized exchange is more extensive and is expressed in anthropological terms a matrilateral cross cousin marriage, i-e the marriage of a son to his mother's brother's daughter (or a women of the mother's clan)” (Lindholm, 1986, 337).

In the case of restricted marriage, the exchange of women usually takes place among the close paternal kin group. To put it in another way, in the restricted marriage the endogamy is practiced among the people. On the other hand, in the case of the generalized marriage, the exchange of the women is usually done outside the close kin group, or the exchange of the women are exogamous. In the former case the marriages are done on the patrilineal lines that is the marriages are done with father's brother's daughter or parallel cousin marriage. While in the latter case the marriages are done on the matrilineal lines that is marriages are done with the mother's brother's daughter or cross cousin marriage (Lindholm, 1986).

However, the kinship is not just restricted to the rules of marriages, rather to understand the kinship is to understand the political organization in a particular setting. The marriages pattern is just used to understand the terminologies that are used to form the kinship system in a particular setting. The restricted marriages or the parallel cousin marriage has the potential of fragmenting the society, but the generalized marriages or cross cousin marriage has the opposite effect of integrating the society. As Charles Lindholm has argued,

Whereas cross cousin marriage integrates groups and set up a potential for hierarchy ..., parallel cousin marriage "has the effect of diversifying the agnatic group and creates small nuclei within". Agnates are turned into affine and lines for fission are drawn between the closest of Patrilineal relatives. It becomes "almost impossible to isolate a solidarity in-group and groupings are continually being activated or redefined through struggles that may even pit members of the nuclear families against each other". (Lindholm, 1986, 347-348).

In this manner, the patrilineal or the parallel cousin marriages causes the fragmentation withing the kin group due to the similarity in the mother and father lineages. The disputes

emerge between the paternal groups when they became in-laws. While in the case of the matrilineal marriages the groups are integrated with a formation of a hierarchy because there is no single paternal group rather the marriages are done outside the paternal groups. The creation of the hierarchy keeps the disputes at distance (Lindholm, 1986).

Chapter: 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The qualitative research method has been selected for the present research study. The research started with the selection of the locale and the research topic. Afterwards the key informants were selected, and rapport building was initiated with the respondents. After rapport building the focus group discussion were carried forward. The respondents were selected from the focus group discussion for the individual interviews and their in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. After the data collection, the themes were generated from the data and their explanation was carried forward as per the conceptual framework that has been selected for the present research.

3.1.1 Explanatory study

When a particular phenomenon is known, and the researcher wants to understand why a particular explanation exists for a phenomenon then the explanatory research is conducted. The precondition for such a study is that the field of study should have already been explored and described by the previous researchers. The research is conducted to find new causes and reasons of the phenomenon that is already being explored (Neuman, 2007).

In the present research the marriage pattern has already been studied from the anthropological point of view in the context of blood feuds. The impact of the sectarian differences has been highlighted in the existing literature on Gilgit Baltistan (Chaudhry, 2014; Mishra 2019). However, reason for selecting this research study was to discuss the causes and

reasons associated with the change in the marriage pattern and the political organization in Diamer district with respect to the sectarianism.

3.1.2 Sampling

The purposive sampling technique was used to select the sample for the present research study. It is a non-random sampling technique in which the aim of taking the sample is not represent the exact characteristics of the population. It is a qualitative sampling technique, and it is mostly used when the research is exploratory in nature. The purposive sampling is used when the researcher must select the people who are specific to the research questions, and they could not be reached easily rather the researcher have to find them (Neuman, 2007).

I was not able to reach the respondents by myself as the cultural norms of the region do not allow the women to interact with the male members of the society. It is also not possible for me to interview the random people who I encounter in the field due to which the convenience sampling technique was not suitable for it. I needed specific respondents who know the cultural context in which they are living.

I have divided the sample by age and gender. 20 respondents were selected in which 10 respondents were male and 10 respondents were females. Out of 10 male respondents 5 belonged to the old age while 5 belonged to the younger age group. Similarly, out of 10 female respondents 5 belonged to the old age group and 5 belonged to the young age group. The old age group ranged from 55 to 65 while the younger age group was from 35 to 45. In this manner I tried to see the change in the marriage pattern and the changes in the political organization from the older generation to the younger generation.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Rapport Building

The first step in the field work is to develop amicable relationship with the community of individuals on whom the research is aimed to be conducted. To develop a friendly environment is necessary in an anthropological field work. This is to make sure that the respondents are comfortable in providing data to the researcher. If the community on whom the research is conducted is not trusting the researcher and do not act in a natural manner then the research becomes flawed (Bernard, 2006).

I have conducted my field work on my own community. When I discussed my research ideas with some of my family members, they appreciated me, and they pledged me that they would provide every kind of support that I need from them. However, it is not an easy task to make the people comprehend the purpose of my research as they are not acquainted with the process of research that why it is conducted and what are the steps that are carried forward in research. It is due to the cultural norms of the region where the research culture is not normal, and the people are not much educated.

As a woman it was a difficult task for me to conduct the interviews of the male members of the community. This is because the women do not have the same privileges as the males in Pakistan. When I first discussed that that I want to conduct the interviews of the male members of the community. My family members did not agree to this because the women are not allowed to interact with the male members.

But my father provided me with every support and facilitated me in the process of the research. My father introduced me to the people that I am conducting research on the kinship and

politics in my own region for the fulfillment of my M.Sc degree from the Quaid-i-Azam University. Initially the people did not understand the reason of my research but later they realized that it is just like an interview which the news reporters or the people from the non-governmental sector also conduct. As a native I knew the local language due to which there was no issue of communication during my interview.

I also translated some words from English to my native Shina language to communicate effectively with my respondents. When I spoke my native language people trusted me more and they started to act in a natural way. They started to trust me and gave me every data that I was looking for.

3.2.2 Key informants

Key informants are those who are source of providing access to the field. They have information about their own culture, and they could provide the potential respondents. The characteristic of a good key informant is that the researcher could feel comfort while discussing the research questions with them. The key informant should also understand the questions that the researcher is asking, and they are happy to work with the researcher (Pelto, 1978).

In the current research, my father provided me the key informant who is a cousin of mine. He helped me out in finding the respondents through finding other key informants who have assisted me selecting a group of people with whom I could conduct my interviews. My mother also gave me contact of a female cousin who provided me access to the female key informants.

However, due to the cultural norms of gender I was not able to conduct the interviews of the male members of my community at those points my male cousin who was performing the

role of the male key informant conducted the interviews on my behalf. In this manner, through the assistance of my male cousin I was able to conduct the interviews of the male respondents.

3.2.3 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussion has been selected as the method for data collection. The focus group discussion is used when the study is exploratory in nature. The focus group discussion is an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic. The group usually comprise of six to eight people.

The focus group discussions are different from the individual interviews because in individual interviews the opinions are detached from the everyday communication on the other hand the focus group discussion correlate with the ways in which the opinions are produced or expressed. In this way, the point of view of a group is used to reconstruct the individual opinion more appropriately. The researcher in this case moderates the discussion of the focus group. The direction of the discussion should be decided by the researcher (Flick, 2009).

I conducted the focus group discussion of the female respondents from my community and my male cousin who was acting as a key informant conducted the focus group discussion of the male members of the community. There were almost four to five sessions of the focus group discussion within a span of four months when I was doing the field work. I have moderated the focus group discussion so that the data could be obtained according to the research questions that I have designed for the data collection. In the first focus group discussion I was compelled to revise my questions due to the responses that I have received.

Initially, I was asking the general questions to give a structure to the questions. Hence, in the beginning I have asked unstructured questions from my respondents. I have also discussed

the responses with my male cousin and heard the audio recording that he has done of the focus group discussion. Afterwards, I revised my questions due to which I was able to effectively moderate my focus group discussion. I made my questions semi-structured in the next session of the focus group discussion.

After conducting my second focus group discussion I was able to separate the respondents from the group for conducting the in-depth interviews. Then I also conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews of the individual respondents who were selected from the focus group discussion.

3.2.4 In-depth interviews

The in-depth interview is conducted between the respondents and the researcher face to face individually. The researcher develops rapport with the respondents so that the data could be obtained. The in-depth interview is not done one time, rather it involves the repeated meetings with the respondents until the data has not reached its depth. One respondent I interviewed several times to get more rich data (Neuman, 2007).

In the present research I have conducted in-depth interviews of three respondents. The aim was to get more rich data from the interviews. First the focus group discussions were carried out then the respondents who were providing more rich data were asked for the individual interviews. In this manner I have conducted interviews of three respondents who were selected from the focus group discussion.

3.2.5 Audio recording

The audio recording is used when the researcher cannot focus on the interview while taking notes during the interview. This is done to avoid the distractions that are caused by taking the

notes during the interview. The researcher could miss the points while taking notes during an interview and the respondents could also take pauses while the researcher is taking the notes.

In this manner, the respondents may also forget the major points that he/she wanted to mention to the researcher. In this manner, the key information or the relevant information that is intended to collect could be missed. The use of the audio recording is recommended first to keep the researcher much focused on the interview and second the development of the rapport between the researcher and the respondents (Al-Yateem, 2012).

I have not recorded the interviews in the first session of the focus group discussion, because the aim was to develop rapport with the respondents. However, in the next session of the focus group discussion the interviews were recorded and then I transcribed them later. The consent of the respondents was taken before recording the interviews of the respondents.

3.2.6 Field notes

The field notes are mostly collected in qualitative research in anthropology. These are the observations that are compiled by the researchers after the field work. This helps the researcher to better understand the dynamics of the field in which he or she is working. The field notes could be taken on a research diary daily while doing the field work (Allen, 2017).

I have maintained the field notes in a diary during my field work at my village. I have also written down my experiences that I have encountered in the field during my research. I have collected audio recording of the interviews which were later transcribed by me in the field notes. The main findings of the interviews were also analyzed through the field notes that I have compiled.

3.3 Ethical considerations

It is necessary to take the consent of the respondents before conducting their interview. The respondents' queries should be answered in a proper manner. The researcher should also take the consent of the respondents before recording the interviews of the respondents. This is necessary to get the trust of the respondents. The identities of the respondents should be kept confidential to avoid bringing any harm to them from any side. The respondents should be asked first that whether they are comfortable in showing their identities or not. The identities of the respondents should only be shown if they have given the permission to the researchers.

Moreover, the interviewees would be given the option of leaving the interview or withdraw their views that they considered inappropriate from their perspective. Some respondents do not develop rapport with the researcher, and they want to leave the research process. the researcher should keep the respondents comfortable during the data collection so that they should not leave on the first place. But in a case, they want to leave they should be allowed to leave. (Kvale, 1994)

The respondents for the present research were informed that the research is done for the requirement of the Master Thesis in Anthropology from the Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. I have asked the respondents that whether they allow to record the interview session or not. Even the notes were taken when the respondents gave their consent to take notes of the interview sessions.

In the first session of the focus group discussion, I wanted to develop trust with the respondents due to which the recording of the interviews was not done but the notes were taken after taking the consent of the respondents. Some respondents were not comfortable in attending

the second focus group discussion they were not compelled to take part in the interviews. Similarly, the respondents were asked whether they wanted to show their identities or not. Those who asked to keep their identities confidential, fictitious names were used for them.

Chapter: 4

Area Profile

4.1 Historical background

Diamer has ancient history which dates to the period of Before Christ. The city of Chilas in Diamer has been mentioned in different sources that it was inhabited by people since 5 and 6 B.C. The city of Chilas has been known by different names in different period of history. There are some petroglyphs at the Thalpan region of Diamer which represent the Before Christ history of Diamer.

It was mentioned in the ancient travelogue of Khotani that in the far south and on the left bank of the golden river (Indus River) which borders the lands adjacent to Hindustan (India) a great city was located which was known as Silathasa (khan, 2021). Ahmed Hasan Dani (1989) in his book history of Northern Areas of Pakistan has mentioned that a city was in the present-day city of Chilas which was known as Vishaya. Al-Beruni has also mentioned the name of the ancient Chilas that is Shiltas.

In a 6 B.C ancient petroglyph located in the Diamer district the archeologists tried to decipher the ancient script. They have found that the name of the Chilas city at that time was written as Silavata. Another ancient petroglyph was found in the Diamer district it dated back to the 5 B.C. In that petroglyph the name of the Chilas city was mentioned as Somonagara, which means city of moons (Khan, 2021).



Fig 1:Thalpan petroglyph near Chilas city

Source: *Atlas Obscura*. Thalpan Petroglyphs: Chilas, Pakistan, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/thalpan-petroglyphs>



Fig 2:Thalpan petroglyph near Chilas city

Source: *Atlas Obscura*. Thalpan Petroglyphs: Chilas, Pakistan, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/thalpan-petroglyphs>

After the petroglyph, there is no historical evidence of the city of Chilas has been found before the advent of the British rule in early 19th century. In 1840s, when the Sikh Dogra ruler were expanding their rule to the region of Gilgit they also tried to establish their rule in the region of Diamer. However, they were unsuccessful in occupying the region of Diamer at that time in 1843.

When the Dogra ruler sent an expedition of Sikh army for the occupation of Chilas initially the local tribesmen resisted the Sikh army, and they were met with disastrous defeat. In 1851, again the Sikh tried to occupy the region of Chilas by sending an army through the Lolab valley and Mazenoo pass but they faced an onslaught of the local tribesmen in the valley of Thak.

The local tribesmen attacked the Dogra army in Thak kot and the army was slaughtered. However, the Dogra army was successful in crossing the river at the Thalpan area and they have also encircled the fort of Chilas. The reinforcements of tribesmen were sent were sent from Thak and Yagistan, but it was late and the Dogra army was successful in bringing the region under its own administration (Biddulph, 1880).

Hence, the Dogra was successful in establishing their control in the region in 1863. They ruled the region up to the year 1935. The British has also established their political agency be the 1890s in the Gilgit and Chilas. But they have given considerable degree of autonomy to the local tribesmen in managing their own affairs. The Dogra has also not intervened in the local administration of the tribesmen.

The Dogra ruler just collected the tribute from the local tribesmen and did not intervene in the local administration. It is due to this reason that the local customs and traditions were not

influenced much from either the British rule or the Dogra rule. When the British left India and Pakistan came into being the tribesmen aligned themselves with Pakistan and Gilgit Baltistan gave their accession to Pakistan (Khan, 2021).

4.1 Geography

Diamer district is in the Gilgit Baltistan region of Pakistan. Diamer is located on the longitude of $35^{\circ}25'10''$ North and latitude of $74^{\circ}05'40''$ East. The elevation of Diamer district is almost 1265 meters that is 4150 feet. Diamer is located on the left bank of the Indus River . The total area of Diamer district is 7234 square kilometer (GOGB, 2020).



Fig 3: District wise map of Gilgit Baltistan

Source: *Government of Gilgit -Baltistan: Planning and development department statistical and Research Cell. Gilgit Baltistan at a glance 2020.*



Fig 4: Map of District Diamer

Source: Sartaj Khan, *Aina-e-Diamer: Gilgit Baltistan* (Lahore: Javed Riaz Printers), 12.

4.2 Climate

The climate of Diamer district is cold and semi-arid. The weather is hot and dry in summer and dry and cold in winter. The average temperature of Diamer is 28.2° C in July and 5.6° C in January.

4.3 Occupation

The primary occupation of the people in Diamer is associated with the agriculture. Most of the people are not educated and there is absence of jobs for the educated people due to which the people do not get enough education. The people also keep their livestock along with the agriculture. There are also some people who work as artisans such as they prepare woolen products, rope making, wooden work, basket making, leather products.

There are also people who bring wood from the forest of Diamer to meet the energy and the market requirements. Finally, with the passage of time lot of shops have also been opened specifically in Chilas the capital of the Diamer district. Many people have also invested in the commercial sector and are getting upward mobility but generally the people are poor.

4.3.1 Agriculture

Most of the people are not economically affluent. The primary occupation of the people is associated with agriculture. The agricultural lands are present almost with every household, but it is not a much larger lands, because of the mountainous terrain of the Gilgit Baltistan there are only 2 % agricultural land overall. It is due to this reason that there are very scarce lands that are used for agriculture in Diamer.

The animal power is still used for the farming in Diamer. The bulls, and Yaks are used for ploughing the fields as there is lack of mechanization in the farming due to the poverty prevailing among the households. The natural fertilizer of the animals is used in the farming instead of chemical fertilizer. Moreover, there is only one season of farming in Gilgit Baltistan. The crops could be grown only at the time when the snow is melted in summer and the land is available for farming. In the winter season mostly, the lands are covered with snow due to which it is not possible to sow the crops.

4.3.2 Livestock

In Diamer the shepherds practice transhumant cattle rearing in which they keep their main house in the lower altitudes where they keep their animals in the winter season for seven months. In the summer, they take their animals to higher altitudes so that they could be reared on the alpine pastures. The livestock also includes the domestic poultry. The poultry is a source of protein that is obtained from the eggs of the chickens. However, the livestock is not only the source of the food of the local people in Gilgit Baltistan, but they are also an important element of the farming.

This livestock not only includes the sheep, goat, and cows, but it also includes the donkeys, buffaloes, horse, mule, and yaks. Livestock provide fertilizer as well as used in the traditional farming in Diamer. The farming in Diamer still relies on the animal power. The animals such as Yaks and Bulls work as modern-day tractors and machinery that is used for farming.

4.3.3 Woolen products

The people in the region of Diamer prepare wool from the hair grown on the sheep or goat. It is most prepared in Chilas, Tangir, and Darel. The caps, coats, blanket and choga (a long sleeved long skirted cloak for men) is prepared from the wool obtained from the sheep and goat. In addition to it the woolen clothes are also prepared using the Kadi (handspun and hand-woven cloth).

The Khadi is made up of wood in which the woolen threads are used to make the clothes. The woolen thread is first prepared using the charkha (a spinning wheel) on which the threads are prepared either from cotton or from the wool that is obtained from Sheep. In Diamer the cotton is not produced, and the weather is cold due to which the wool is used from the sheep. The Kameez (Long shirt), Shalwar (Loose light weight trousers), and caps are also prepared.

4.3.4 Embroidery

The clothes that are produced from the Kadi are then taken for the embroidery. The embroidery is done on the blanket, and Choga. The reesham (silk) thread is used for doing embroidery on the blanket and choga. These threads of resham are dyed in different colours for the sake of doing embroidery. The embroidery mostly includes the making of flower and the vine on the clothes. The women are also famous for doing embroidery on the bed sheets, table covers, and clothes. They usually make flowers and vine on the table cover, bed sheets, and clothes.

4.3.5 Rope making

The hairs of sheep and goats are not only used for the sake of making clothes rather it is also used for making rope. The rope is used to sold in the market for income generation

4.3.6 Wooden work

The wooden decoration is also done by the professionals in the region. They used to decorate the homes interior with the wood. The wooden decoration is used on the one hand for the increasing the beauty of the homes on the other hand it is also used for repelling the winter cold because the wood act as an insulator during the winter season. The decoration of the mosque is also done using the wood. However, the wood is not just used for the sake of the decoration in Diamer. The wood is also used for making utensils, spoons, bowls, storage boxes, agricultural items, furniture, Khadi and Charkha.

4.3.7 Basket making

The baskets are also made in Diamer using the Beed Tree (Chinaberry tree). The branches of the Beed tree are used to prepare the baskets. These baskets are used domestically at homes, in the agricultural sector, and in the markets for selling different items.

4.3.8 Leather products

The hides of goats and the sheep are used to prepare the leather products in Diamer. The hides of the goat and sheep are first rolled using the leather rope then it is prepared for use. It is mostly used by those who are going on hunting adventure in the mountains, and the by the shepherd who are taking their animals to the high mountains. The leather is also used for travelling on the snow-covered peaks of the mountains.

4.3.9 Timber business

Some people are also involved in the business of timber. There is very thick forest in the Diamer. The people also cut the wood from the forest and sell it to the carpenters and the people who

want to use the wood as a fuel in the winter season. There is lack of natural gas, so the people mostly burn wood in the winter season to get energy.

4.3.10 Markets and shops

In addition to primary sector of economy, the people are also involved in the tertiary sector of economy like running the shops for the necessary items. The government jobs are limited in Diamer. Most of the educated people in Diamer do not have vast scope of job opportunities. There are only banks that offer jobs to the educated people.

4.4 Population

As per the data of 2017 the population of Diamer district has been recorded 0.27 million. The population density is 37.32 square kilometer. The population growth rate in Diamer is 3.83% if the difference between the census data of 1998 and 2017 is considered. The population in 1998 census was recorded as 131925 which has been increased to 270000 (GOGB, 2020).

4.5 Religion

There are four sects of Islam in Gilgit Baltistan that is Shia, Sunni, Noorbakshi, and Ismailis. The Shias are the majority sect among the four sects in Gilgit Baltistan with approximately 41% population, the Sunnis are 30%, 24 % are Ismailis, and 6 % are Noorbakshis. However, the different sects are geographically concentrated in different regions. In Diamer district the population is wholly comprised of the Sunni population (Mishra, 2019).

4.6 Language

Most of the people in Diamer are Shina speaking. Hitherto there is no single agreed upon script of the Shina language. But it is agreed by the scholars that it belong to the Indo-Aryan family of

the languages. There are different dialects of the Shina language that include Gilgiti, Astori, Chilasi, Kohistani, Drasi, Jalkoti, Kolai, and Palasi. In Diamer the Chilasi and the Kohistani dialect of Shina language is spoken (Kachru, 2008).

4.7 Literacy rate

The literacy rate of Diamer district is 29%. The literacy rate among the females in Diamer is 11 % while the literacy rate among the males is 50 % (GOGB, 2020).

4.8 Dress pattern

The male and the female wear shalwar and Kameez that is like the dress that is worn by the people in other regions of Pakistan. The females are not allowed to go outside to the markets. They are allowed to go the hospital if it is necessary. When the female goes outside, they usually wear burqa (veil) while going outside.

The females also wear traditional caps and silver jewelry on it. The male also wears traditional cap. There are three colors of the male caps that is white, brown, and black. In Diamer, male usually wear black and brown cap. There is also traditional shawl for the male in Diamer. The cap and the shawl are made from the wool that is obtained from the sheep.

The women also wear jewelry that is made from silver. The women wear caps that is made up of colorful beads, and silver. The women also wear the silver necklace and rings. In the clothes of the women the silver buttons or embroidery from the silver is also done.

4.9 Marriage ceremony

The marriages are arranged in Diamer by the elders of the family. The parents and the brothers usually arrange the marriage of their daughters and sons. When the elders or the guardians of the

boy and the girl talk about the possibility of the marriage of their children, they usually finalize it by doing Nikkah (marriage ceremony) of the boy and the girl. Then the date of the marriage is fixed. Normally the family members of the groom inform the neighborhood about the marriage ceremony.

The groom's family also present the clothes as gift to the relatives at the time of the wedding. While the relatives usually present goats or cow as a gift to the groom's family. The relatives of the groom also fire gunshots in the air outside the groom's house when the wedding is finalized. In the night the dance and the musical function is organized in which only the male members take part. The people burn the fire, and the people gather in a circle around the fire to celebrate the wedding. The local traditional poetry is also read along with singing the songs. The friends and the relatives of the groom arrive in the form of the groups to dance. In the end of the function the groom is also supposed to dance.

The tradition of organizing musical night and dance has almost been banned now in Diamer due to the growing influence of the religious clerics in the region. They have declared the dance and music as opposed to the teachings of Islam. But the other ritual of organizing the marriage is still practiced at the time of wedding.

On the day of the wedding ceremony the groom's is dressed in a traditional groom's dress in the presence of the male members of the gathering. Then a garland of money is also put in the groom's neck. The groom dress is normally white in color. The groom wear white cap and an embroidered Choga. A feather is also attached in the cap of the groom. However, this tradition is changed now the groom usually wear coat or weskit at the time of his wedding instead of Choga.

The friends of the groom fire the gunshots in the air to celebrate the wedding ceremony of the groom. The food is distributed early in the morning to the guests who have arrived for the sake of attending the marriage ceremony. The guests are given cooked meat in one hand and the broth is given in a bowl. The roti (bread) is broken into pieces, and it is mixed in the broth with desi ghee (Butter). The broth is simply cooked in salt with no spices. The bowl is served to three or four people

The guests who have come to attend the wedding ceremony from the side of the groom from other regions are given clothes, blankets, or other woolen products as a gift. When the groom's guest arrives at the bride place, they are welcomed with some entertaining activity for example in the present days they are asked to hit something that is placed on a higher place. In the past the groom's guests were asked to take part in wrestling or other sports for the sake of entertainment but now this practice has become non-existent.

The bride's family also arrange the food for the groom's guests. The latter are given wheat's bread with toppings of dry fruit which is known as Phyal. This is arranged by the neighborhood of the bride. The groom's guest has to leave some money in the empty utensils in which the food has been served. In the past there used to be a ritual in which the groom's clothes made dirty by throwing manure, or soil. But now this ritual has been finished and no longer practiced. The bride's family give clothes and other gifts to the close relatives of the groom's family.

However, the groom does not take the bride when they return from the bride's home. Rather the bride's family bring the bride to the home of the groom. When the bride family arrives at the groom's house with the bride, they are again given food and gifts. When the bride arrives at the house of the groom the gunshots are fired in the air as demonstration of happiness.

In the past there used to be practise in which the Nikkah is not done at the bride's home rather when the bride arrived at the groom's house at that time the Nikkah was done. However, this practice is no longer practiced now.

4.10 Byak

In the central part of a village or in front of a mosque in a village a sitting area is present in Diamer. The rocks are usually used to make the sitting area. This area is known as Byak. This area is used for the organization of Jirga or the assembly of the people in the circular style. The people sit in these places to discuss the national as well as international news. The disputes and the conflicts are also resolved in these Byak. This practice is found in every place of Diamer that include Tangir, Chilas, and Darel. .

4.11 Zeto

In the villages the collective interests of the people like the taking care of the farms, protection of the water channels and protection of the forests are delegated to the young people in the villages. The animals destroy the crops in the farms of the people by grazing them. The livestock is also threatened from the leopards and other hunting animals who eat them. The water channels are mostly disrupted due to the flooding. The younger generation are given the task to perform the duties of a zeto. The zeto are those people who keep the animals away from the farms, protect the livestock from the animals, and maintain the water channels so that the steady supply to the crops could be given.

Chapter 5

Kinship and politics in Diamer

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the relationship of kinship of politics in the district Diamer has been discussed. The Kinship system has been described with the marriage pattern prevalent in Diamer region. The marriage pattern shapes the kinship system in Diamer and the Kinship system affect the social and political organization of the society in the region. However, the focus of the present discussion and analysis is on the political organization with respect to the kinship system.

5.2 Marriage pattern

The concept of Khandani (family person) the key factor is arranging the marriages in district Diamer. Those people who are indigenous or who belong to the same family who is living in the valley is known as Khandani. Those people who have left their place of residence and now settled in different regions are regarded as not Khandani in the context of Diamer. This is because leaving one place depicts the weakness of that family that they were unable to sustain themselves in their place of origin. Martin Sokefeld has defined the concept of Khandani in the context of Gilgit as,

Speaking generally the people from outside were not regarded favorably. The most important difference between both kinds of people favorably. The most important difference between both kinds of people, which expresses a difference in status and value, is that people from Gilgit are Khandani whereas people from outside are be-khandani. Khandani means "of a family." be-Khandani are those who had to leave their families and their place of origin because of poverty, feuds,

crime, conquest, and similar reasons. They had to go because they were weak. They could not defend the honor of their families. They became refugees or nomads, Khanabados, an entirely negative concept. Khandani people refused to accept be-Khandani people as their equals: They did not share meals with them and refused to marry them (Sokefeld, 1997, 84).

The explanation of Martin Sokefeld (1997) is specific to the Gilgit region. However, during the field work for the present research the same concept of Khandani was also found in the district Diamer. The pre-condition for the potential son-in-law or daughter-in-law rest on the concept of Khandani in Diamer district as well. During the interview the question was asked from the respondents that what they mean by concept of Khandani. They mentioned that,

There are different tribes in Diamer that is Shin, Yeshkun, Dhom, Gujjar, kamin. By Khandani we mean that either the lineage of the person is similar or not to us. Our priority is to find a potential son-in-law or daughter-in-law from the same family, our second priority is to find a potential son-in-law or daughter-in-law from the same tribe.

The Shin is considered as the indigenous tribe in Diamer. While the Yeshkuns, Gujjars, and Kamins are considered as migrated people from other regions. The Gujjars are migrated people from Punjab. They are not considered as Khandani because they are nomadic people and they do not have any permanent settlement. They usually move with their livestock and practice shifting settlement pattern. Similarly, the Kamins people are those who are engaged in the artisans work or do the menial jobs due to which they are not considered as Khandani people.

However, it is not just the settlement or being indigenous that determine the concept of Khandani or be-khandani, rather the occupation of the people also play a major role in defining the concept of Khandani. Martin Sokefeld has mentioned that the caste is also differentiate based on the occupation,

Khandani and be-Khandani could be distinguished by their occupations: Khandani men cultivated their own land whereas be-Khandani men possessed no land to cultivate. They were tenants, craftsmen, or petty traders, that is, they could not provide their livelihood independently but were forced to offer their services to other people (Sokefeld, 1997, 84).

In this manner, the concept of Khandani means that the person should own land that represent that they are the indigenous people of the region and secondly, they are not involved in the artisan work. But the marriage pattern is affected by the concept of the Khandani only among the Shin tribe in Diamer. The other tribes do not consider the concept of Khandani while arranging their marriages. The marriages in other Diamer due to this reason are mostly exogamous. These people can marry their daughters to the other tribes as well because they do not follow the concept of the Khandani.

No, not all tribes follow the same pattern. For instance, those tribes who are migrated from Punjab like the Gujjars, or the migrated people from Kashmir they usually marry outside of their tribes. But in Shin tribe this is followed strictly that the marriage should be done with Shin.

In this way this could be seen that the marriages in other tribes other than Shin are exogamous. They do not strictly marry within their own tribe rather they can also give their

daughter to other tribes and receive daughter from other tribes as well. For instance, a Gujjar could give his daughter in marriage to a Kashmiri. Similarly, a Gujjar could receive a daughter in marriage from the Dom, or Kamin. It is not important for them to marry inside their own tribe.

It was found out during the field work that the concept of Khandani was originated among the Shin tribes when the migrations took place from the Punjab and Kashmir to the Diamer. The arrival of the migrants created the concept of Khandani because the Shin tribe started to construct their identity based on the mountainous lifestyle that is distinct to the lifestyle of the migrants. They started to think that the migrants are unaware of the living pattern of the native tribes. They started to marry their daughter inside their community so that the community can grow and can help each other in carrying out the tasks that are associated with the mountain lifestyle.

The region of Diamer is mountainous region, and still the traditions are followed.

The mountainous region makes the people depend on each other for their subsistence. It is due to this reason that the solidarity is formed based on the tribes through marriages. The marriages are done inside the tribe to strengthen the bonding between the tribe members.

The concept of sacredness was also derived by the Shin tribe to distinguish themselves from the migrant's community. The migrant community tried to establish their relationship with the Shin tribe in Diamer but it was not welcomed by them because there existed a concept of superiority among the Shins tribe,

The Shin tribe follow the rule of endogamy strictly because they consider themselves sacred as compared to the other tribes. The Yeshkun tries to arrange

the marriage with the Shin tribe, but the latter do not prefer to marry outside their own tribe. The same pattern is applicable to the migrated tribes. They marry each other but Shin do not prefer to marry them.

The claim of being superior is rest on the ground that the Shin tribe own lands and are not engaged in carrying out the loads that the porters do. It was also mentioned by the British period historical writings. Jhon Biddulph (1880) have written in his book *The Tribes of Hindoo kush* that the Shin tribes considered themselves as part of aristocracy in the following words,

Though their traditions as a separate race have long passed away, the Shins still look themselves as the aristocracy of the country and claim to be of a more honorable caste than others, without being able to show any foundation of this claim. A Shin considers it a disgrace to have to carry a load and regards hunting and agriculture as the only honorable pursuits for a man. They are strictly confined to the Indus valley and its affluents (Biddulph, 1880, 37).

The same explanation was also found out during the field work for the present research. there has been almost no change in the conception of superiority by the Shin tribe in Diامر region. They still regard themselves as superior due to the historical origins of the caste system in India. The caste system that they refer to is identical to the Indian varna system. The caste system is derived in Diامر from the Hindu mythology.

The history of Diامر stretches back to the 3000-4000 BC. Before the arrival of Islam there existed a caste system in Diامر. Shin consider themselves superior in the caste-based hierarchy. It is like the caste system that is present in India. The reason of superiority is the code of conduct that the Shin tribe follows. The code

of conduct means how they have spent their life, what type of occupation they have adopted, and what is their behavior towards the life. Before the arrival of Islam, the Shamanism existed in Gilgit-Baltistan. The Shin was only qualified to become a Shaman. For the Shaman from wherever region, he belonged he used to speak Shina language when they go into trance. The shamans are considered as priests in the same way as the Brahmins are considered priests by the Hindus.

But there has been slight change in the marriage pattern since the 1980s in Diamer. Before it was important that the potential daughter-in-law or potential son-in-law should belong to the Shin tribe but this pattern has changed since the onset of the sectarian clashes in Gilgit Baltistan. Diamer is predominantly populated by the people who follow the Sunni sect of Islam, but in Gilgit there are predominant Shia population. The Shin tribe is composed of both the sects of Islam in Gilgit Baltistan. Before the onset of the sectarian clashes there used to be inter-marriages between the Shin irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, but it has been changed now. Now there are two important factors that shape the marriage pattern firstly the concept of Khandani is used secondly it is necessary to take into consideration the sect of the people.

Religion also play an important role in arranging the marriage in Diamer. But it is something new, it was not the same before. The religion started to play an important role after the year 1988. At this time my grandfather maternal side belong to shia sect and my grandfather belong to sunni sect. This proves that before 1988 the religion did not play important role. Before 1988, The ethnicity, caste, tribe, and lineage used to be the determinant for arranging the marriage. The sunni usually marries the sunni and the shia usually marries the shia. The importance of Tribe started to decrease after the 1988.

In this manner, it is not just the concept of Khandani that dominate while arranging the marriage. The sectarian affiliation also plays a pivotal role in arranging the marriages. After the sectarian affiliation the concept of ghairat mand or honorable person also plays a role in the arrangement of the marriages. The concept of ghairat mand means that the groom should have the capability of bearing the burden of the household expenses and meeting the needs of the bride's clothes, food, and medical needs. The boy should have a house in which there is space for the bride. The reputation of the prospective groom also matters while arranging the marriage. The groom should not be engaged in adultery, or robbery. During the field work it was mentioned by the respondents that,

The economic status does not play an important role in arranging the marriage. The economic status of a potential candidate for marriage just means that the boy should have shelter and can arrange food for three times, and the man should be ghairat mand (honorable). In economic terms, the term ghairat mand means that the person should beg someone for money, or he should not ask anyone for financial assistance in front of anyone. Should not steal money from anyone. Should not be engaged in adultery. Should be engaged in labor for earning his bread.

However, the land ownership does not play an important role in the arrangement of the marriage. The marriage is not done to keep the hereditary land inside the patrilineal kinship rather the daughters are given their share of the land at the time of the wedding, or if the in-law of the bride demands that the share of the bride in land should be given in that context the share of the daughter is given to her. In most cases the daughters do not ask for share in land.

In Diamer, the possession of Land does not play an important role in arranging the marriages. The daughters are given the proper share after their marriages, the marriages are not done to keep the land inside the patrilineal kinship. If the in-laws of the girl, ask for the share in the land then the parents of the girl give her share. Most of the girls do not take the share when they are married to someone usually. Usually when the girl marries her share in the land that $\frac{1}{2}$ is given to her.

Case studies

5.1 Case study 1

The first and foremost quality that the prospective son-in-law or daughter-in-law is that they should be Khandani (Asim, age: 45).

Other interviewees also said that the concept of Khandani played an important role in selection of their prospective son-in-law or daughter-in-law. (Ikhlaq, age 50)

5.2 Case study 2

There are different tribes in Diamer that is Shin, Yeshkun, Dhom, Gujjar, kamin. By Khandani we mean that either the lineage of the person is similar or not (Aziz, age 22).

Other interviewees also agreed to the point that the concept of Khandani means that the prospective son-in-law or daughter-in-law belonged to the same family. Our priority is to find a potential son-in-law or daughter-in-law from the same family, our second priority is to find a potential son-in-law or daughter-in-law from the same tribe (Asim, age 45).

However, they also said that they concept of Khandani does not apply to all the tribes of Diamer rather it is practiced by the Shin tribe only. No, not all tribes follow the same pattern. For

instance, those tribes who are migrated from Punjab like the Gujjars, or the migrated people from Kashmir they usually marry outside of their tribes. But in Shin tribe this is followed strictly that the marriage should be done with Shin (Ali, age 32).

5.3 Case study 3

The region of Diamer is mountainous region, and still the traditions are followed. The mountainous region makes the people depend on each other for their subsistence. It is due to this reason that the solidarity is formed based on the tribes through marriages. The marriages are done inside the tribe to strengthen the bonding between the tribe members. However, not all tribes follow this rule it is only the Shin tribe that follow the rule of marriage within their own tribe.

As on of the interviewees said, The Shin tribe follow this rule strictly because they consider themselves sacred as compared to the other tribes. The Yeshkun tries to arrange the marriage with the Shin tribe, but the latter do not prefer to marry outside their own tribe. The same pattern is applicable to the migrated tribes. They marry each other but Shin do not prefer to marry them (Yasin, age 54).

Other interviewees also agreed that the Shin consider themselves as sacred, as one interviewer said that, The history of Gilgit Baltistan stretches back to the 3000-4000 BC. Before the arrival of Islam there existed a caste system in Gilgit Baltistan. Shin consider themselves superior in the caste-based hierarchy. It is like the caste system that is present in India (Ali, age 32).

Another interviewees said that, The reason of superiority is the code of conduct that the Shin tribe follows. The code of conduct means how they have spent their life, what type of

occupation they have adopted, and what is their behavior towards the life. Before the arrival of Islam, the Shamanism existed in Gilgit-Baltistan. The Shin was only qualified to become a Shaman. For the Shaman from wherever region, he belonged he used to speak Shina language when they go into trance. The shamans are considered as priests in the same way as the Brahmins are considered priests by the Hindus (Aziz, age 22).

5.4 Case study 4

Religion also plays an important role in arranging the marriage in Diamer. But it is something new, it was not the same before.

As one interviewee said that the religion started to play an important role after the year 1988. At this time my grandfather maternal side belong to shia sect and my grandfather belong to sunni sect. This proves that before 1988 the religion did not play important role (Yasin, age 54).

Similarly, another interviewee said that, Before 1988, The ethnicity, caste, tribe, and lineage used to be the determinant for arranging the marriage. The sunni usually marries the sunni and the shia usually marries the shia. The importance of Tribe started to decrease after the 1988 (Aziz, age 22).

5.6 Case study 5

The economic status does not play an important role in arranging the marriage. The economic status of a potential candidate for marriage just means that the boy should have shelter and can arrange food for three times, and the man should be ghairat mand (honorable).

As one interviewee said that, In economic terms, the term ghairat mand means that the person should beg someone for money, or he should not ask anyone for financial assistance in

front of anyone. Should not steal money from anyone. Should not be engaged in adultery. Should be engaged in labor for earning his bread (Ali, age 32)

In Gilgit Baltistan the possession of Land does not play an important role in arranging the marriages. The daughters are given the proper share after their marriages, the marriages are not done to keep the land inside the patrilineal kinship.

As one interviewee said that, If the in-laws of the girl, ask for the share in the land then the parents of the girl give her share. Most of the girls do not take the share when they are married to someone usually. Usually when the girl marries her share in the land that $\frac{1}{2}$ is given to her (Ikhlaq, age 50)

5.7 Case study 6

The marriages are also used to resolve the blood feuds in Diamer. As one interviewee said that, Karai word is used for Badal (blood fueds) in Diamer. The conflict could be based on the land, money, and woman. If the murder is done on the conflict of land, then it is resolved through many ways. Firstly, the land could be given, secondly, the daughters are exchanged in marriage to resolve the conflict (Asim, age 54)

But in case the conflict is based on the relationship between boy and girl outside wedlock than the issue is resolved with murder. As one interviewee said, But in the conflict related to the women it usually ends up in murder. If both the boy and girl who were meeting each other without marriage are killed, then the issue is resolved. Then there is no need to give land or exchange women (Ali, age 32).

5.3 Political organization

The political organization of the Diamer region is different if it is compared with other regions of Gilgit Baltistan. The region has remained under the influence of the tribal political authority with no centralized political organization. In other region of Gilgit Baltistan, for instance Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Shigar, Khaplu, Yasin, and Punial there used to be princely kingdom and there used to be a central political organization.

However, Diamer did not always has the tribal political structure. It is written that before the spread of Islam in Diamer there used to be a princely state as well. The Hindus were the rulers in Diamer before the advent of the Islam. The ruins of Shahi Mahal (Royal Palace are also found in the region of Diamer that demonstrate the presence of a prince that ruled the region. The Hindus ruler who ruled Chilas was known as Chachi. When he died there was conflict between his two sons, Chak and Booth. In this war Booth became successful. He was the last ruler of the region of Chilas.

However, after the advent of Islam the Hindu rule was ended and the region of Diamer came under the influence of the tribal setup. The tribal setup of the region got its inspiration from the Pakhtun regions that lie on the western side of the Diamer that is Kohistani region. The tribal setup was lawless in nature also known as Yagistan (Chaudry, 2014). The influence of the Pakhtun culture on Diamer region could be seen in the presence of the Badal or the blood feuds. The blood feuds are known as Karai in Diamer and it could originate due to the dispute on land, money and money. Azam Chaudry has mentioned the impact of Pakhtun culture on Diamer in the following words,

The cases of revenge and blood feuds in Pakistan are found mainly among Pakhtuns and their neighboring territories where the impact of their culture reached as far as, for instance, the districts of Diamer and Kohistan (Chaudry, 2014, 106).

Charles Lindholm (1986) that the society where the social organization is based on the endogamous marriages in those societies there are lot of conflict because of the absence of hierarchal setup that is present in those societies where the marriages are exogamous. In Diامر region the marriages are endogamous due to which there are lot of conflicts.

The council of the elders or the Jirga is a platform on which the disputes are resolved this is also like the Pakhtun culture. Azam Chaudry has defined the Jirga as, “Jirga is an old institution for conflict-resolution in the area and consists of village elders and respectable persons” (Chaudry, 2014, 107). The marriages are way to resolve the disputes in this manner as a second option. If the dispute is based on the land, then there are two options that could be used to resolve the conflict as it was found during the field work,

Karai word is used for Badal (blood fueds) in Diامر. The conflict could be based on the land, money, and woman. If the murder is done on the conflict of land, then it is resolved through many ways. Firstly, the land could be given, secondly, the daughters are exchanged in marriage to resolve the conflict.

However, the disputes related to the women is not resolved easily this is because the concept of honor demands the people to commit murder of the boy who is meeting woman. If the boy and the girl are found meeting each other without marriage, then they are killed. If both the girl and the boy die, then the issues is resolved.

But in the conflict related to the women it usually ends up in murder. If both the boy and girl who were meeting each other without marriage are killed, then the issue is resolved. Then there is no need to give land or exchange women.

Moreover, when the conflict is between the people of the same tribe and sect then all the members of that tribe join their hands and sit to resolve the issue. But on the other hand, if the conflict is between the two tribes or two valleys then it becomes difficult to resolve the conflict simply by sitting it is more prolonged and did not resolve easily.

If the conflict is intra tribe intra sect or intra ethnicity then the people then the whole tribe, sect or ethnic members join hands to resolve the matter. on the other hand, if the conflict is inter-tribe, inter sect or inter ethnicity, then the conflict is prolonged and did not resolve soon.

The power is derived in Diامر on the number of the people a tribe has. For the sake of increasing the number of people in each tribe the endogamous marriages are practiced in Diامر. The introduction of the modern state structure has not brought change in the social and political organization of the region. Rather the same tribal structure has been shifted to the modern state institutions.

The power is normally derived from the tribe in Diامر. What is the family background, the strength is measured from the number of the people that the tribe has? But with the introduction of the modern state structure in which there is bureaucratic power and the modern representative institutions. Now the membership of the people of a tribe in state structure also play an important role. How many people each tribe have in the state structure.

The economic resources also play an important role along with the number of the people. If there are large number of people in a tribe then they would be able to arrange large amount of money at the time of need. In the context the conflict is reached to the courts then the people

need financial resources to hire a lawyer or to give bribes to the policemen. It is only possible when there are many people who are contributing to the financial resources of the tribe.

In the end the economic resources play an important role. The prolonged conflict requires the financial resources. The people are killed from both the conflicting tribes. The conflicting tribes than must take their cases in the courts and the police is also involved. For fighting a court case the lawyer must be hired which requires money. Similarly, the police also ask for bribes.

The number of the people also matter when it comes to the elections and political party. The more voter a tribe have there are more chances of being elected in the Gilgit Baltistan legislative assembly. The endogamous marriages are still practiced in Diamer because then the kinship could be used at the time of the elections and the chances of victory of candidates becomes more possible.

In Diamer most of the population belong to the Shin tribe as a result of which there are three seats in the Gilgit Baltistan legislative assembly which is in the possession of Shin tribe while only one seat is in the possession of Yeshkun tribe. It is due to the absence of inter-marriages between Shin and Yeshkun tribe that the Shin tribe have the majority seats because they are not obliged to support the Yeshkun tribes due to their kinship system.

The voting behavior depend on the personality, it is not dependent on the political party. Those tribes who are more in number usually succeed in the elections. The character of the candidate also play an important role. The kinship structure plays an important role in shaping the political organization in Diamer. Presently, three seats of Diamer is in the possession of Shin tribe and one seat is in the possession

of Yeshkun. That demonstrate that the number of people play an important role in determining the political success in Diamer.

5.8 Case study 7

The power is normally derived from the tribe in Diamer. What is the family background, the strength is measured from the number of the people that the tribe has? But with the introduction of the modern state structure in which there is bureaucratic power and the modern representative institutions.

As one interviewee said that, Now the membership of the people of a tribe in state structure also play an important role. How many people each tribe have in the state structure. In the end the economic resources play an important role. The prolonged conflict requires the financial resources. The people are killed from both the conflicting tribes. The conflicting tribes than must take their cases in the courts and the police is also involved. For fighting a court case the lawyer must be hired which requires money. Similarly, the police also ask for bribes (Asim, age 54).

The voting behavior depend on the personality, it is not dependent on the political party. Those tribes who are more in number usually succeed in the elections. The character of the candidate also plays an important role.

As one interviewee said that the kinship structure plays an important role in shaping the political organization in Diamer. Presently, three seats of Diamer is in the possession of Shin tribe and one seat is in the possession of Yeshkun. That demonstrate that the number of people play an important role in determining the political success in Diamer (Ali, age 32).

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusion

There are different tribes in Diamer that include Shin, Yeshkun, Dhom, Gujjar, Kashmiri, and Kamin. Most of the population is comprised of the Shin tribe. The Shin tribe marry within their own family and if there is no prospective candidate for marriage within their family, they marry their daughters in their own tribe. The other tribes also marry outside their own tribe. Hence, the marriage pattern in those tribes is exogamous. It is among the Shin tribe that the concept of Khandani plays an important role while arranging the marriage.

By Khandani it is meant that the person to whom the daughter should be married must belong to the Shin tribe. The Khandani word is used for the Shin tribe because they are the natives of the Diamer and they own land and are not engaged in the hard labour. They also consider themselves as superior to other tribes. This conception is derived from the Hindu varna or caste system. The Shin are considered as the Brahmins of the region.

In the historical writings of the British period (Biddulph, 1880) and the post-independence Pakistan (Jettmar, 1961) it has also been mentioned that the Shin tribe is considered themselves as part of the aristocracy. This since they own land. While the Gujjars are pastoralist, Dhom are the musicians, and the Kamins are the artisans. The Shin consider those people who are migrated and settled in Diamer as be-khandani because they have left their lands and people and they have settled in another region. It is due to this reason that the Shin do not marry other migrated tribes.

However, it is not just the concept of the Khandani that determine the marriage arrangement among the Shin tribe rather the sectarian affiliation and the concept of ghairat mand

also play an important role. The Shin tribes in Diamer is mostly comprised of the Sunni population but they have also married with the Shia population of Shin in the past. But this pattern has been changed from the 1980s. The sectarian differences emerged and the people from Diamer also came into conflict with the Gilgit region in the 1980s. After this event the marriage pattern has been changed now they do not marry with the Shia even if the Shia is a Shin.

The concept of ghairat mand means that the person should have ample resources to take care of the needs of the bride. In this regard the reputation of the person plays an important role. The person who is considered for marriage should not be involved in robbery or should not depend on any one for his income. In this manner, the concept of Khandani, sectarian affiliation and concept of ghairat mand determine the marriage pattern in Diamer.

Politically, the region of Diamer has remained without any centralized political organization since the advent of Islam. Before the advent of Islam there used to be a centralized political organization of the Hindu rulers in Diamer. But when Islam came the region came under the administration of the local tribal setup. The tribal setup in Diamer is identical to the tribal setup of the Pakhtuns. The system of revenge is also found in the Diamer. It is mentioned by Charles Lindholm (1986) that the society where the social organization is based on the endogamous marriages in those societies there are lot of conflict because of the absence of hierarchal setup that is present in those societies where the marriages are exogamous. In Diamer region the marriages are endogamous due to which there are lot of conflicts.

The major category of conflict is known as Karai or revenge which is based on the land dispute or disputes related to woman. The Jirga or the council of elders are there in every village of Diamer to resolve the conflicts. The land disputes are resolved in two ways. The first method is that the land is given the other resolution of the conflict is to give daughter or sister in

marriage to the other party so that the dispute should be resolved in the future and no more blood could be spilled. But if the dispute is based on the women than it is not resolved and it led to the murder. This occurs when the male and female are found guilty of eloping before marriage.

The number of people determine the power structure in the Diamer. The more people a tribe has the more power they exercise. The introduction of the modern state structure and the formation of the Gilgit Baltistan Legislative assembly has not brought change in the tribal setup of the Diamer. The endogamous marriages provide the Shin tribe the opportunity to maintain their majority. Those tribes which have majority they also have majority of the voter with them. in this manner they could enter in the Gilgit Baltistan legislative assembly in large number.

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Appendix-1

Interview Questions

- Q.1 What is criteria for the selection of a potential son-in-law?
- Q. What is the criteria for the selection of a potential daughter-in-law?
- Q. What do you mean by Khandani?
- Q. Does all the tribes follow the same rule of Khandani while arranging marriages?
- Q. Why the people prefer to marry in their own tribe?
- Q. Why the people of Shin tribe consider themselves as sacred?
- Q. What role the ethnicity plays while arranging the marriage in Diamer?
- Q. What is the role of Religion in arranging the marriage in Diamer?
- Q. What role the economic status play in arranging the marriages?
- Q. What do you mean by ghairat mand?
- Q. What role the possession of land plays in arranging the marriages?
- Q. What effect the blood feuds has on the kinship structure of Diamer?
- Q. what if the conflict is inter tribe inter sect or inter ethnicity.
- Q. How the power is determined in Diamer District?
- Q. How the kinship structure shapes the political organization in Diamer?