

Household Storage Practices and its Significance in Social Construction of Domestic Sphere:

**A Comparative Study of Village Najan Sharif, Gujrat and Bahria
Town, Rawalpindi**

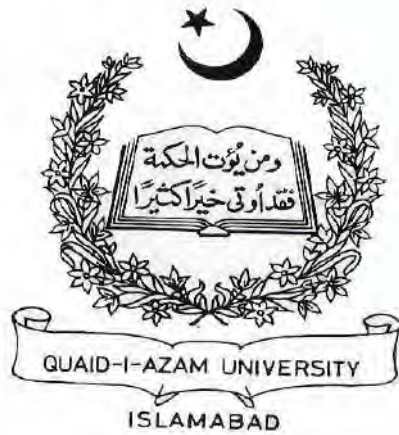


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2022**

Household Storage Practices and its Significance in Social Construction of Domestic Sphere:

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology

**Quaid-i-Azam University
Department of Anthropology
Islamabad – Pakistan**

2022

Formal declaration

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Final Approval of Thesis

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DEDICATION

*This work is dedicated to my lovely parents, Malik Muhammad Ashfaq Awan
and Rukhsana Kausar Awan and to all the women who are pursuing their
dreams*

ABSTRACT

This research was conducted on the topic: "Household Storage Practices and its Significance in the Social Construction of Domestic Sphere". The nature of this study is comparative and descriptive which deals with a rural-urban comparison. The research question is about the household storage spaces and practices that are significant in the social construction of the domestic sphere. Objectives followed by the research are: the exploration of storage spaces, understanding of storage practices, and analyzing how they socially construct the domestic sphere. The selected sampling techniques were purposive and snowball sampling to support qualitative research methodology. Ethnographic and Comparative analysis was drawn with the help of participant observation and in-depth interviews. The data was analyzed by thematic analysis with comparisons being made under each theme.

The major findings are that in the rural area the nature of storage spaces is collectivistic and in urban areas it is individualistic. In both areas, people tend to create some unconventional spaces for their needs. In terms of storage practices, there are some similarities and some variations. Through these storage practices, people convey gratitude, sharing, and mutual knowledge. In both areas, people embody the stored objects with meanings, memory, and gender hierarchies. While talking about the influence on the domestic sphere, there are three main factors: structural changes, diffusion of western architecture, and urbanization have played an important part. The inclusion of western-style houses was not able to tackle the needs of residents and in this way, a state of confusion emerge which we call cultural lag. To counter this, we need to understand how communities formulate the vernacular prototype of storage spaces by their own activity patterns, customs, and traditions.

Key words: Storage, Storage Spaces, Storage Practices, Domestic Sphere, Social Construction

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
List of Figures.....	vi
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	3
1.3. Research Question	4
1.4. Objectives.....	4
1.5. Significance of the Study	4
1.6. Definition and Operationalization of Key Terms.....	5
1.6.1. Storage	5
1.6.2. Storage Spaces	5
1.6.3. Storage Practices.....	5
1.6.4. Domestic Sphere.....	5
1.6.5. Social Construction.....	5
1.7. Outline of Thesis	5
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1. Cultural Construction of Domestic Space	7
2.1.1. Household and Décor.....	8
2.1.2. The Gendering of Domestic Space.....	9
2.1.3. The Embodiment of Objects	10
2.2. Storage and Clutter.....	11
2.2.1. The Invisibility of Storage	11
2.2.2. Prevalent Dialogues of Storage and Clutter	12
2.2.3. Practices of Storage and Clutter.....	14
2.3. Primitive Storage Practices.....	15
2.3.1. Origin of the Sweet Potato:	15
2.3.2. Agriculture and Storage Practices in an Early Iron Age Household	16
2.4. Chiefly power and food storage in southeastern North America	17
2.4.1. Food storage in South Eastern North America	18
2.4.2. Food storage among the Creeks.....	19
2.4.3. Chiefly power, symbolic capital, and food storage.....	21
2.5. Storage and Status in Coastal Western Alaska	22

2.5.1. Gender and Space	23
2.5.2. Storage and Women’s Social Status	23
2.6. Theoretical Framework	25
3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	26
3.1. Introduction.....	26
3.2. Sample and Sampling Technique	27
3.2.1. Sample.....	27
3.2.2. Purposive Sampling Technique	27
3.2.3. Snowball Sampling Technique.....	28
3.3. Gate Keeper.....	29
3.3.1. Gate Keeper 1	30
3.3.2. Gate Keeper 2.....	30
3.4. Key Informant.....	30
3.4.1. Key Informant no. 1.....	31
3.4.2. Key Informant no. 2.....	31
3.5. Area Profile.....	32
3.5.1. Locale/Field of Research	32
3.5.2. Najan Sharif	32
3.5.3. Bahria Town Safari Villas II.....	35
3.6. Qualitative Research Methodology	37
3.6.1. Characteristics of Qualitative Research Methodology	37
3.7. Comparative Research	38
3.7.1. The Goal of Comparative Research	38
3.8. Rapport Building	39
3.9. Data Collection Methods	39
3.9.1. Ethnography and Fieldwork.....	39
3.9.2. Oikography	40
3.9.3. Participant Observation	41
3.9.4. Field Notes	41
3.9.5. Space in Qualitative Research	43
3.9.6. In-depth Interviews.....	44
3.9.7. Conversational Interviews.....	45
3.9.8. Interview Guide.....	45

3.9.9. Probes and Probing.....	46
3.10. Data Collection Tools.....	47
3.10.1. Audio Recording	47
3.10.2. Photography	48
3.10.3. Ethno Mapping/Ethno-cartography.....	48
3.11. Ethical Consideration	48
3.11.1. Informed Consent	49
3.11.2. Anonymity	49
3.11.3. Confidentiality.....	50
3.12. Data Analysis Method.....	51
3.12.1. Thematic Analysis	51
3.12.2. Analytical Induction	53
3.12.3. Comparative Analysis.....	53
3.12.4. Positionality of Researcher.....	54
3.12.5. Reflexivity	55
4. STORAGE SPACES.....	56
4.1. Indoor Storage Spaces	56
4.2. Open Storage Spaces.....	58
4.3. Unconventional Storage Spaces	63
4.4. Access to Storage Spaces	67
5. STORAGE PRACTICES.....	71
5.1. Storage and Occasions.....	71
5.1.1. Storage and Funerals	71
5.1.2. Storage and Weddings.....	76
5.2. Indoor Storage practices	79
5.2.1. Food.....	80
5.2.2. Trash	81
5.3. Outdoor Storage Practices	83
5.4. Seasonal Storage.....	87
5.5. Everlasting Storage.....	92
5.5.1. Storage related to memory	92
5.5.2. Storage and Aesthetics.....	94
5.6. Temporary Storage.....	97

5.7. Gender and Storage	97
6. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DOMESTIC SPHERE	101
6.1. Changes in Structure and Its Influence	101
6.2. Diffusion of Modern Architecture	110
6.3. Urbanization.....	113
7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	116
7.1. Summary.....	116
7.2. Conclusion	120
7.3. Recommendation.....	121
Bibliography	122
Glossary	132
Appendix.....	134

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Najan Sharif with highlighted samples	34
Figure 2: Map of Safari Villas II with highlighted samples	36
Figure 3: Najan Sharif household showing Indoor and Open storage spaces.....	62
Figure 4: Safari Villas II hosehold showing Indoor and Open storage spaces.....	63
Figure 7: <i>Goe</i> (Dung Cakes) stored in an open space in Najan Sharif.....	84
Figure 8: <i>Balan</i> (firewood) stored in an open space in Najan Sharif.....	85
Figure 9: A farmer in Najan Sharif cutting the maize stems.....	86
Figure 10: <i>Alsi di Pinnian</i> stored for winters.....	88
Figure 11: <i>Pou</i> (Hay) in a stored form	91
Figure 12: Pantry (Crockery Cabinet) to store crockery in Najan Sharif	95
Figure 13: Pantry (Crockery Cabinet) to store crockery in Safari Villas II	96
Figure 14: New and Old structure of Mr. Ahmad's house showing difference in storage spaces	103
Figure 15: Urban homes showing clutter.....	107
Figure 16: Painting showing the unconventional storage spaces in Safari Villas II	108
Figure 17: The Ratio of Storage space and Stored objects	109

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

What is Storage?

Talking about storage, it can be interpreted as a physical or virtual space or place for preserving objects or data, which can be collected and retrieved by the users in the later point of time. Other than just seen as a place, storage can be defined as an amount of things that is stored, the act or practice of storing and it also relates to sense of memory (Merriam-Webster, 2021).

Relating to the type of storage decided by the user, a storage can be temporary or permanent with different connotations attached with it. We tackle countless activities and transactions during the day that sometimes it seems impossible to recognize and identify, because human brain has its own boundaries and capacities. So, in the physical world there is a requirement to have a place where we can store and manage all the transactions and activities that we come across during the course of the day. For these cases, human beings need a sound storage system that can help us in storing these meaningful objects and data that can be used for future occurrences. Other type of things that are intangible and cannot be seen or touched like data also need storage and devices like memory cards, hard disks, USB drives and cyber spaces etc. are used here.

In the literature, the domain of storage practices is mostly researched in three areas that are:

1. The storage of agricultural crops, on the village and household level and
2. The storage of pharmaceuticals or medicine at the company or institutional level and also at household level.
3. The storage of data in virtual spaces like internet or computers.

There is a saying that people make houses and in turn the houses make people. This process is reciprocal (Biehl & Federico, 2021). The researcher is interested in exploring the storage spaces built and maintained by humans, investigating the storage practices and how they influence the individuals and households in order to socially construct the domestic sphere.

In archaeology, the role of storage is related to mutual knowledge. Whether storage is taken as a location or an activity, its record is missing in the literature. That's why, in building the models of the development of society, archaeologists nearly didn't consider the production of surplus and its storage. For sedentary societies, storage solved many problems and created new opportunities. We can conclude the existence of storage by analyzing the evidences of sedentary lifestyle, horticulture, farming, growth in population, division of labor, social hierarchies and the monumental forms of architecture. As the societies faced complexities, the need for surplus food emerged which in turn gave rise to material wealth.

Storage is part of people's mutual knowledge, the people who created it, used it, depended on it, handled it, delighted over it and ultimately talked about what they have stored. If we interpret mutual knowledge as the body of information that individuals share as part of larger group and community, then storage initiates social interaction and communication and hence defines social proficiency. As the presentation or display of mutual knowledge is dependent on actions of people and communication, then we can assume that it is under endless reinvigoration, alteration, and revolution. During social interactions, mutual knowledge can become part of foreground and background on the basis of vigorous relationship in between action and knowledge (Hendon, 2000). In this way, storage can help in understanding the relationship between constructed storage spaces and storage practices. It can help in interpreting how household storage practices socially constructs the domestic sphere and how material cultural objects are embodied with variety of meanings.

In this study, the definition of storage is an activity that includes the arrangement of material objects in particular physical spaces (Halperin, 1994). The storage spaces and practices will be observed on the household level in order to decipher how these practices socially constructs the domestic sphere in two possible cultural settings. The storage practices will be documented in containers that can be fixed spaces like storeroom and the moveable ones like boxes, jars, buckets etc. Material cultural objects can provide evidence to interpret how space and storage complement each other. Storage spaces and practices become part of verbal and nonverbal dialogue between people and implicitly constructs an

order which can be a basis to reflect similarities and differences among people (Hendon, 2000).

While exploring the link between household storage practices and the social construction of domestic sphere, the researcher can add the notion of memory related to storage. Physical spaces obtain meanings since it is one of the way to embody mutual knowledge. Storage is a practice that is localized and situated practice which help in notifying physical spaces with sociocultural meanings. The process of meaning generation is based on the links people make in between the act of storage and social associations (Bourdieu , 1977).

Thus, storage becomes a valuable part of the dynamic and multifaceted relationship between individual actors surrounded by a landscape that they generate and reside. Storage is recognized as a part of particular locale, from which it develops meaning and to which it provides meaning (Giddens, 1985). In the cultural contexts of specific locales, mutual knowledge progresses and the physical space turn into a dynamic container for shaping the social interaction. In this way, people's life is socially produced by the spaces they inhabit. So, humans are not determined by spaces but their social life is dependent on them (Pred, 2019).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The researcher wants to understand how some micro-level, implicit daily activities like storage practices and spaces which at times are deliberately neglected by dwellers and designers can have an underlying influences on shaping the lifestyle of human beings. Such practices and consideration can either strengthen the connection between people and their cultural identity or may lead to a state of confusion that is cultural lag. In the existing literature, we study what is being stored in houses, the dichotomy between private and public storage, power associated to storage and accumulation, and the digital storage practices. The researchers so far have majorly focused on the tangible aspect that is physical qualities of storage when in fact, the intangible aspects that are more related to behavior, perception, cognition, and culture are equally responsible in shaping the domestic sphere. One identified issue leads to various other, storage being the highlight has created further opportunities for the researchers to analyze the other grounded issues such as: rapid

urbanization and influence of colonialism on architecture has created a state of confusion where people are unable to decipher their spatial needs based on their cultural practices and end up making their houses clutter. Storage also leads a human onto establishing a connection between material objects and themselves, this leads to accumulation of unwanted goods which will never be in use again but still are hard to get rid of because of personal attachment.

1.3. Research Question

How the household storage spaces and practices are significant in the social construction of domestic sphere?

1.4. Objectives

- To explore the storage spaces in rural and urban setting
- To investigate the household storage practices in an ethnographic and comparative manner
- To analyze the influence of storage spaces and practice on the domestic sphere

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study will be a significant incorporation in the already existing literature on storage practices with an advanced take on social, cultural, behavioral, and comparative aspect. This study will help the readers understand the phenomenon of unwanted accumulation and consumption patterns that influence the storage spaces and practices.

It will help identify spatial and architectural needs of humans based on region and culture, cancel the architectural modifications being implemented in our region with a western influence and embody the importance of purpose built houses offering diverse storage spaces to fulfill indoor, outdoor, permanent, temporary, longterm storage needs which will help avoid the formation of unconventional storage spaces in the dwellings causing clutter,

disorder and uneasy environment. Through this observation and awareness designers and architects will tend to take responsibility for providing context driven architecture for users.

1.6. Definition and Operationalization of Key Terms

In this study, there are some key terminologies that will appear repeatedly throughout the research. These key terminologies are: storage, storage spaces, storage practices, domestic sphere, and social construction.

1.6.1. Storage

Storage is an activity that includes the arrangement of material objects in particular physical spaces (Halperin, 1994). Storage of material things and the embodied meanings attached to them will be discussed in this study.

1.6.2. Storage Spaces

Enclosed, open, and unconventional spaces in households that are used for storage.

1.6.3. Storage Practices

All the activities related to storage in a household within the socio-cultural context of the locales.

1.6.4. Domestic Sphere

Domestic sphere is known in two ways: as private sphere and as the environment of a household that is separated from the outer world (public sphere).

1.6.5. Social Construction

Social construction means that individuals themselves understand the world around them and improve their wisdom by interacting with each other and society. This interaction gives meaning and depth to the otherwise mundane daily activities and helps in the construction of reality.

1.7. Outline of Thesis

The research followed a very sequential and systematic approach. It starts with the chapter of introduction which describes the base of this research, the objectives and goals it will

achieve, and its significance. The second chapter is of literature review which discusses and analyzes the already existing researches about storage and its practices. In the review of literature, the knowledge is presented in themes in order to get as much viewpoints as possible. Examples about storing behavior from diverse cultures and disciplines are included to understand the different dimensions about storage. The third chapter presents the methodology taken by the researcher and all the tools and techniques it follows. Information about both locales, sample size, and ethical considerations are also part of this chapter.

The fourth chapter is the start of data analysis, and it is about 'Storage Spaces', the researcher wanted to explore the spaces and its types that have been used for storing purposes in both rural and urban areas. The fifth chapter is about the analysis of 'Storage Practices', which presents the diverse practices related to storage, the meanings and attachments behind them and the contrasting features in both locales. The sixth chapter is the final chapter of analysis which deals with 'Social Construction of Domestic Sphere'. This chapter has dealt with a more meso and macro-level approach and talks about how the architecture plays an important role in dealing with storage and even a slightest change in the structure of the house can lead to big changes in the domestic sphere. The seventh chapter presents the summary of this research and the final conclusions.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The term ‘Literature’ is derivative of Latin language which means “writings made with literacies”. It is a terminology that is used to describe inscribed and sometimes spoken material (Lombardi, 2020). Literature refers to a collection of published information/data on a particular area of research, such as journal articles and books of educational value. It is a survey on scholarly sources of specific topic, which allows one to identify significant theories, methods, and gaps in existing research to get insight into current knowledge (McCombes, 2021). Literature review highlights what is generally accepted, how knowledge has evolved within the field, revealing what has already been done, what is developing and the current state of intellectual take on the theme (O’Leary, 2010). The major work of literature is the identification of under-researched or unexplored areas, commonly known as gaps and expresses how a particular research addresses this gap (Volpe, 2018). For structuring the body of literature review, there are numerous approaches, such as Chronological, Thematic, Methodological, and Theoretical (McCombes, 2021). In this study, the researcher has selected Thematic Review of Literature because many central themes were frequent during the review, Thematic Review of Literature was vital in organizing the knowledge into themes and sub-sections that address different angles of the topic. The researcher will start with discussing the domestic space and how it is constructed and then moving towards different household practices in different time periods. Storage spaces in this study means the physical spaces where things are stored and storage practices pertain to storing habits of people in a household and the meanings they generate.

2.1. Cultural Construction of Domestic Space

Social anthropologist Sophie Chevalier studied the way in which human convey their social and individual characteristics by their domestic spheres. Chevalier explored how domestic sphere is gendered and embodied in households, with a specific interest in connection among humans and their household objects (Chevalier, 2002).

Chevalier practiced the method of fieldwork in two locales, the first one is “Les Fontenelles” located in suburb of Nanterre, Paris and the second one is “Jersey Farm” located near St. Albans, London. The households at both locations were different and Chevalier chose sixty and thirty households respectively from both locales. This study discusses the structure of lounge (Chevalier, 2002).

Practices of household allowed the researchers to explain the concept of private spheres that are constructed by storage practices and consumption habits. The individual wishes to show the personal agency and their belonging to specific group. What creates the specificities and represent identity of its owners are the relationships among elements (Morley, 1990). The researcher feels that Chevalier wanted to study living spaces, identities attached to it, and the binary oppositions. One can see patterns among culture v/s economy and collective nature v/s individualistic nature.

2.1.1. Household and Décor

The décor of the interior creates the whole, and a standard perspective to the décor of lounge in French and English households shows an identifiable organization. The fundamental sections of home may represent the room but culture is the main thing that makes the house. Different objects are displayed in a way that to tackle cultural requirements about space. This representation of household is described as a process which transforms common objects into unchangeable ones. By using these objects, human beings display personal and collectivistic ideologies which can be described as appropriation (Miller, 1987). Appropriation here means relating to objects and space to familiarize and own the space and person. In households, there are some stored goods that are valuable and can act as a form of décor. How humans relate self to the material objects? Household structures and objects that constitute it can form meanings and schemata about socio-economic class or some other categories. This angle will be dealt with in the current study.

2.1.2. The Gendering of Domestic Space

The relationships between members of a groups or family are materialized in surroundings. Furniture display and the changes it has went through reflects transformation in the domestic sphere. For example in France, the dinning set is arranged in a way so that humans can face each other. This gave rise to male-female differentiation of roles. A hierarchy is also established when formal trends of behavior are made obligatory. Gender embodiment in the lounge space is effected by this role differentiation. (Chevalier, 2002). The spaces are a mean to express power over family. Space usage creates empowerment and not just between genders but one can study it in different relations as well, such as affinal and consanguineal fictive kins.

Here, we can take an example of a native French couple who are married and in their mid-fifties. The man is an office worker and the woman is a housewife and mostly stays at home. Their house which is homogenous in style and to change that they added black leather sofas and tables. On all flat surfaces decorative objects are displayed and the two divisions of dinning and sitting area are made. The dining area comprises gentle and ancient valuable objects; which space usage they are in functional attractive, e.g. crockery. The objects on the sideboard are inherited from the maternal kin of the wife. The other side which is sitting area is modern with abstract paintings and leather sofas given to the husband by his customers. Bookcase links both the areas, a kind of in-between zone amid female and male side (Chevalier, 2002). This whole arrangement represents a gender differentiation of space, with a female side and a male side, in accordance with traditional roles (Humphrey, 1974) (Bourdieu, 1980).

In English households, fireplace with chairs was always the dominant emphasis of the room but in current times the introduction of the central heating and television have changed that. Here, the researcher can look for changes that new technology brings, how these changes influence the arrangements and patterns of household and social construction. How storerooms determines the life of significance of any objects? Like inheritances, heirlooms, and dowry.

Chevalier concluded that, in the domestic sphere, gender differentiation of space is fading. In national cultural patterns, gender is also giving a vision to change. The interviews

supported by Chevalier suggested that British couples insisted on meeting the researcher as a couple and the appointment timing was fixed as suitable for both husband and wife. In contrast, the French respondents suggested that if the researcher speak with the wife then the husband would stay silent. Many types of connections in family or couples are embodied in spaces like lounge. Through objects public and private links are built (Chevalier, 2002).

2.1.3. The Embodiment of Objects

The objects around us create the connections between different people and with groups. Human beings, interactions, or areas are materialized by objects. Conversations can be motivated by objects and also help in remembering. Thus, personal choices merged with patterns of culture create important variations between two particular domestic spheres.

Two objects that are similar can materialize different items, and two totally different objects can signify the same thing. Objects in exchange represent constraints on aesthetic choices. The most compelling ones are gifts and inherited objects. They reflect the personal self in the light of our connection to people who are deceased and people who are living. It includes different phases of life cycle, different places and different people (Chevalier, 2002). To express all the angles of our identity, the objects help us in individual and collective manner. Household in Chevalier's study is seen as a space which is disconnected from social links. It is a manifestation of personal identity. On the other hand, some people think that household continuously reminds us of our forefathers, grand parents etc. because of the objects stored and does not let them to express their own identity.

Double residences are often an ideal condition for French households: first place which is the main residence is the sub-urban rented flat and the second place is in the country side is for their descendants through time and this residence represents a spatial anchorage (Chevalier, 1996). French keep a second residence as a family home and not necessarily for living. Through this, the lineage continuity is embodied by material cultural objects. French people display their origin, their past in their lounges while the English people only express their present in their household (Chevalier, 2002).

The researcher believes that patterns of storage are somehow influenced by the people's buying behavior. There is a need to understand and examine the consumption patterns and how it is linked with storage habits.

2.2. Storage and Clutter

Cwerner and Metcalfe tried to observe practices of storage and clutter and how it relates to household sphere and its social construction by doing discourse analysis. In the previous studies on consumption, domestic sphere, design, and material culture, the role of storage practices has been overlooked. Past texts on storage and their analysis reveals that they are related to the concept of personal therapy in psychology but they give visiosn to issues like consumption patterns, buying behavior, material culture and domestic designs.

The studies provided us information that homes should be seen not as a living space only but it is an amalgamation of spaces, channels, flows, because people and objects move in and out of home. Storage spaces aside, the researchers have also focused on Clutter (the disheveled, disordered range of objects that are found around the home). Hence, clutter is seen as the foundation of storage (Metcalfe, 2003).

Contemporary theories on consumption emphasize on use, visibility, presence, and display, and in this manner, they do not take into account the hidden and stored objects. A discourse in Cwerner and Metcalfe's study tells us that clutter in households is a social and personal problem and storage practices are useful in overcoming it. In texts, there is a singularized notion of time and space that is in sharp gap to storage practices and clutter. These practices reveal how idea of time and space are dynamic, diverse, and layered (Metcalfe, 2003).

2.2.1. The Invisibility of Storage

The most commonly associated term for visible display is 'use'. Due to which consumption is analyzed with respect to its property of communication. Whether it comes to conveying meanings linked with values of cultural or sub-cultural nature, identities, and possessions or communicating social position and class, logically consumption is evaluated as of visible nature. False needs as wants are generated on purpose by the consumer society and subjects

of present-day consumption actively use icons, images, graphics, and any other medium to find themselves as well as their identities.

But there is another approach that focused not on image, style, or representation but on the more invisible and fixed lenses of consumption. They pondered over the utilization of the goods after they are purchased. The twin aspects of the hidden dimensions systematically ignored communal life by the theories of consumption only revolving around buying, utilizing, and eventually disposing of. Recent studies have focused on problems such as the possession and dispersion of objects. This study has explored the material nature of objects that has endorsed symbolism to fade into the background. Cultural forms such as magazines and books have perceived the significance of storage and clutter. In this article, the conception of household and consumption are linked to storage and clutter (Metcalf, 2003).

2.2.2. Prevalent Dialogues of Storage and Clutter

The organization and ordering of objects were done in a way that displayed manifestations of class and the gendered world and even the clutter in houses signifies middle-class, warmth, and familial orientation. In the last century, we have witnessed changes in the old types of storage spaces converted into open plain shelves and filled cupboards. The rise in modernist aesthetics gave a new dimension to interior design and décor. This is why the practices of storage and clutter have been dependent on context.

Over the span of two decades in the domestic sphere, the storage-related problems have gained significant attention and have attained value in widespread culture due to broader social changes in present-day consumerist nations. We observe the reflection of anxieties related to divisions, globalization, and linked societies by the same changes being made. This unchangeable growth of ingestion resulted in the years after the war led to the greater flow of goods such as fabric, junk food, mails, paper, entertainment gadgets, tech gadgets, etc. into the households, mostly unwanted. The fluctuation in the thrifting of goods proves the number of goods which leaves the houses in untouched condition, thus resulting in more need of storage for the new things which replaces the ones which were gotten rid of.

Household and storage practices are perceived as a way to regain a point of control in their lives by the people. In broader terms, this acts as a background to present-day household storage and clutter discourses, which are related to the connection between the spatial organization and personal healing. It is essential to have a dialogue of storage based on the elements argued within the storage paperwork. Some examples of the books are: The problem of clutter and well-being, irrational consumer habits, and shrinking space (Metcalf, 2003).

“In smaller houses of today, utilization of every inch becomes very important”, said Love while discussing Storage Solutions. This practice of reorganization of spaces creates a dialogue with domestic storage and generates an intimate relation to practices of consumption. On the other hand, just organizing spaces is not storage is all about, it is essentially the storage of goods and organization. In today’s world houses the two identified issues namely uncontrolled consumer habits and unrestrained clutter are said to have influenced modern people’s experiences of well-being. Therefore, storage can be considered to have curing abilities for both tangible and intangible issues related to household consumption and contemporary living (Metcalf, 2003).

Production and design of storage spaces are necessary for the imposition and creation of domestic order. Hilliard said that a ‘System’ helps break down a bigger chunk of things into smaller units for increased accessibility along with assuring protection. One's habit of organizing things is the fundamental aspect of storage. Storage is not only about putting the things back to where they belong but also about how to access that thing again.

The study of storage majorly focuses beyond simply getting rid of things and making them invisible; it teaches how to streamline the habits of intake. Storage practices act as a foreground to the flexibility and order of a household. Clutter is damaging when it starts bewildering the identities of the people and strengthens its iconic nature to an extent where the people become unable to leave their past behind. In the society of clutter, the study about storage argues that the weight of the tangible nature of the past increases so much making it impossible for people to live in the present (Metcalf, 2003). The present-day study highly focused on how people relate to the things they consume. People associate

meanings with objects and in this way they store them. Some objects are valuable; some just clutter with no usage value but they are still stored somewhere.

2.2.3. Practices of Storage and Clutter

The nature of the objects is usually perceived as "Nomadic". They keep traveling around because of the unavailability of a permanent designated space. That is why we can say that the dynamic nature of households based on flexible needs influences the spaces. As different places come in and go out of use with the passage of time. In this way, some spaces can turn into unconventional storage spaces such as how a broken cooking range turns into storage space for things like shopping bags, plastic containers, bottles, and things we can not openly display in our kitchen.

Storage spaces are usually considered as a space at the back of the homes. Back spaces often rarely used are more than just the spaces intimate in nature keeping our identity, they may contain the memories hidden and protected but in the form of clutter.

If a researcher spends time observing such spaces with the clutter of objects that are mostly out of use, broken, and unable to be reused it will be easy for them to deduce owners' choosing, purchasing, and consumption habits.

The things we bring into our homes process a distinct sign value which starts decreasing with the passage of time and is eventually displaced but not thrown away because of sentimental value time has brought it. For example old photographs, first cell phone, articles of clothing related to a specific occasion such as birth, marriage, etc.

The ability to sort objects which need to be kept inside or on display creates a social order on a domestic level. People tend to keep them out of use objects in order to ensure that their memories are kept in a tangible form with them. They believe that once the object is gotten rid of, the memories associated with them will also eventually disappear just like how the concept of out of sight out of mind works. Just by keeping those objects in the form of clutter with oneself in a store, inside a rusty trunk provides a person an assurance that he can always turn back to it if he wants to because forgotten memories associated with some objects, letters, cards, toys, cloths books, etc can be relived If retrieved from the

storages keeping them safe for ages. Memory flashback forms a connection between a person and the object which happens unintentionally and irrevocably while crossing a path forgotten or not, an object kept intentionally or not. Storage is a symbol of the past and has many meanings to it. It can be representative of some implicit values or explicit objects (Metcalf, 2003).

2.3. Primitive Storage Practices

2.3.1. Origin of the Sweet Potato:

J. S. Cooley developed a special interest in the history and prehistoric handling of the sweet potato and the behavior of that crop in storage. Cooley observed that when the cultivation of sweet potato was happening in native area which is said to be Puerto Rico, there were no storage problems. Nonetheless, when this plant was taken to New Zealand which has a temperate climate, in order to consume it as a portion of winter food, it was significant to keep them and their roots in good condition.

The sweet potato is different from grains. Its storage demands tough measures than other food products. The freshly dug roots of sweet potato are subjected at a temperature of 88 degree Fahrenheit and 90 percent relative humidity for the period of seven to ten days. Primitive people had their own food handling practices and early literature tells us that preservation and storage of sweet potato was indeed a very old practice (Cooley, 1951).

We can take an example from New Zealand. For many centuries, Maoris the indigenous people are performing storage practices of sweet potato with a fixed ritual after harvesting. In the morning, after sunrise, digging was started and the storage of sweet potatoes was done in afternoon. In the side of the hill, Maoris people had constructed underground storage houses and the sweet potato house was the most important building in the village. The people elaborated the storage entrances with carved figurines so that the bad influence of magic or evil spirits doesn't spoil the stored food. The process starts with covering the floor with a thin layer of gravel and rotten wood and then the stock of seed is separated from sweet potatoes and are stored at the back of the house, and the roots at the entrance.

All the tasks regarding storage are done communally to finish it in one day. As the storing process is fully done and tightly closed, the priest puts charm on it. No one is allowed to enter the storage room for a certain time period before they would lift the charms by appropriate ceremonies. During the enclosed storage, conditions were favorable for curing. Sweet potato was introduced to Maori from a Polynesian island where the climate was highly suitable for storage but for Primitive people of Maori it is a big achievement that they established an effective technique to preserve this significant plant.

It would be interesting to know how the concept of preserving food in warm places was discovered and learnt. When it became successful, the technique must have been diffused from individual to another. Joseph F. O'Hear talks about sweet potato storage in South Carolina. He give details of the construction of cellars which used heat to produce smoke for four weeks. Smoke and heat are important factors here. This is the earliest record of using heat in the preservation of sweet potatoes for winters (Cooley, 1951).

2.3.2. Agriculture and Storage Practices in an Early Iron Age Household

Kofel and Bürge studied the agricultural and storage practices in early Iron Age households by analyzing the macro remains of plants. The locale of the research was Tell Abu Al-Kharaz, located in the central Jordan Valley. It has a semi-arid climate. Rainfall is concentrated in the winter months and the transitional periods. The earliest Iron Age occupation at Tell Abu Al-Kharaz is mainly attested in the Southern part of the Tell. There, an 8m wide and 46m long compound was excavated. The rooms contained approximately two hundred complete or almost complete vessels made from ceramic, along with metallic, stones, objects made of bone, and textile production tools. Stone walls with a height of 2 m, with no passages to outside were interpreted as basement, which could be reached from above by ladder. A large amount of carbonized organic remains were spread on the floor or preserved in vessels. A large number of storage jars suggests that the structure was used for storage (Burge, 2018).

Hillman, in his ethnographic studies of traditional farming systems in Turkey, identified thirty various operations that are involved in preparing crops for consumption. These processes are done to remove contaminants. Each of the stages produces products and by-

products which can be found in crop assemblages. Crops then are put into storage spaces depending on their stage. Other than crops, some vegetables and fruits were also found in the storage (Hillman, 1984).

Coming back to the households of Iron Age, Kofel along with Bürge came to the conclusion that it is more likely that the building and especially its basement (with an area of 182.5 meters square), reflects a domestic storage facility. This conclusion was made possible by studying the calculated minimum storage capacity of the whole compound which is 2173 liters, which included all ceramic storage vessels and the clay silo (Burge, 2018).

After the evaluation of storage capacity, it is concluded that compound's basement expressed private storage facility which was attached to domestic sphere in the upper portion rather than public storage which was the case with Maoris of New Zealand. Maoris had a communal storage system which was operated by their priest. The common thing in both examples is that when the primitive people started tending to crops or adopted agriculture, with that came the need of surplus for harsh winters or for journeys. This gave the idea of preservation and storage practices were introduced (Burge, 2018).

2.4. Chiefly power and food storage in southeastern North America

The appearance of social complexity was studied by Wesson in South Eastern North America and he tried to correspond it with increased agricultural production, specifically the maize cultivation (Smith, 1989). Many researchers suggest that intense maize cultivation was an influence that backed the expansion of chiefdoms (Caldwell, 1974), an interpretation which is constant with the idea that the ability to produce food surplus will determine one's social position (Fried, 1967). By studying Bourdieu's concept of Symbolic Capital we can understand how sociopolitical developments happen in hierarchical societies. Symbolic capital is a kind of cultural value that people improves from the skill to control social relations and resources to advance their prestige and honor. It is a capability to transform material objects into symbolic capital which gives them social value other than their simple ownership (Bourdieu, 1977).

Examinations regarding the development of socio-political complication in the South East have concentrated on how the elites play their part who have control on prestigious symbolic resources (Muller, 1997). In South Eastern North America, this kind of control on surplus food or other prestigious goods provides a symbolic capital that is essential for the so called 'status wars'.

Wesson examines the association concerning food storage and socio-political power. From the households of Muskogee Creek, archaeological data was used by the researcher which is currently a state of Alabama. It has been argued that food storage and its control has contributed its part in progression of social statuses, surplus, and political manipulation at a micro-level by the growth of elite authority (Hayden, 1995). From the analysis of ethno-historical documents and archaeological data, researchers have explored longstanding advancements in storing practices of food and its implication to the expansion of chiefly power in the South East. Because of abundant documentation of South Eastern historical cultures, rich analogies are provided by well-known groups regarding previous Mississippian era. For status competitions and social integration in small-scale communities, ritual feasts hold a great significance. Material evidences of food surplus storage and feasting might have been preserved in platform mounds of community ceremonial place. For the mound and village context, comparative analysis was used at the locale to recognize food consumption activities and ceramic samples. Nevertheless, there is restricted variety of vessel dimensions in the mound which are comparatively larger than in the village. This concludes that mound activities presented food storage and large group meals (Blitz, 1993).

2.4.1. Food storage in South Eastern North America

A great evidence of socio-political complexity in South East is found at sites which dates to Mississippian Era (900-1500 A.D). Written facts from early Spanish links with South Eastern people revealed that storage of food was a shared public activity which was controlled by the chiefs (Swanton J. R., 1946).

The stored food was used to provide De Soto and his companions, which suggests that edibles were used to create associations within the native local people but also in handling

the deals with Spanish people (Rees, 1997). Spanish expedition was given 2 to 3 tons of maize by a small village that tells about their ability to store large amounts of surplus (Muller, 1999). The storage facilities of native North Americans were similar to yam houses of Trobriand Islands discussed by Bronislaw Mallinowski in 1961 that food surplus is the sign of social status and wealth (Ward & Dickens, 2002).

Mississippian communities didn't had household storage facilities and there were some big cities like Angel and Kincaid where household storage of food is nearly unknown (Emerson, 1997). Although, before the Mississippian era, there is minor evidence of communal/public storage of food. In actuality, archaeological data from the Pre-Mississippian era indicates that individual households were in use to accommodate food storage. In the domestic structure, large underground storage spaces were common (DeBoer, 1988) ; (Ward & Dickens, 2002).

The evidences from Proto-historic and Historic eras designates that storage of food at household level continued to dominate the public storage. In this way, through continued changes in storage practices, Creek became an example which erodes the traditional power of chief (Wesson, Chiefly Power and Food Storage in Southeastern North America, 1999).

2.4.2. Food storage among the Creeks

The current states of Alabama and Georgia were once the lands of Creek, a sedentary and agriculture-based society which had strong links with Pre-Historic Mississippian groups (Hally, 1994). An archaeological research at Fusihatchee in Central Alabama, a Creek Site has given a holistic information on the village life of Creek. This site provides a complete and significant information on domestic structures, community structures, storing practices, organization of houses, and burials. (Swanton J. , 1928).

Domestic structure analysis of Atasi phase specifies restricted household based food storage practices, with a large number of households lacking any sign of food storage. The study suggests that storage cribs were found near the elite residential compounds that means chiefs continued their control on the communal food storage facilities, much like the Mississippian had (Robertson M. S., 1993).

In the processing Tallapoosa phase, home organizations disclose a quite changed arrangement. The structural analysis shows plenty of household food storage features, contrary to the small cribs in Atasi phase. The storage spaces in Tallapoosa phase were large bell-shaped pits. The increase in household storage features and large size of pits denotes a vivid alteration in the nature of food storage events. These kind of changes specify the increasing significance of subterranean household food storage abilities and practices. It also put forward a shift to individual household storage practice leaving behind the communal one. Between Atasi and Tallapoosa phases, the different patterns in household storage correspond with the fluctuations in the architectural practices and sizes of domestic sphere (Wesson, 1997). We can understand these changes in the light of Mississippian emergence which also went through similar situations (Wesson, 1999).

During Mississippian Period, the longitudinal structure of communities became increasingly nucleated (Lopinot, 1997).

Secret subterranean storage is an operative means of reserving surpluses for household use by removing it from communal or public display (DeBoer, 1988). It's hard to keep public surplus food hidden from other people and unnecessary freeloading can become a kind of difficulty (Hayden, 1995). Nevertheless, food surpluses and their successful manipulation would create some brand new ways to do exchange in economy that resulted in advanced possibilities for organizing symbolic resources. Political power hence emerges.

The previous work specifies that, in the bottom region of America, when elites rose to power, two distinct patterns of food storage emerge. Food and other goods were stored in large public granaries under the chief's supervision who were also the redistributors, with distant villages fighting the collectivization of their goods by these elites (Fried, 1967).

Under the institutionalization of social positions, the absence of subterranean storage is expected. The different practices of storage were made possible by intense cultivation of maize which gave rise to permanent housing and surplus (DeBoer, 1988). While, archaeologists have mainly focused on surplus generated from maize alone but this intensification included domesticated species of plants and starchy seed plants (Lopinot, 1997).

According to DeBoer, the subterranean storage based in household is most effective when peoples' mobility is seasonal or when they want to hide resources from attackers and other community members (DeBoer, 1988).

2.4.3. Chiefly power, symbolic capital, and food storage

Under this theme, some forces will be discussed that propel the human beings to stop storing in households and give the storage power to chiefs. The appearance of prestige stuff, economy and the irregular refinement of symbolic resources may be the possible answer. Initial storerooms would have been used for the maintenance of food surpluses in the extended families rather than shared conveniences beneath the power of chiefs. These resources were used to meet subsistence needs and to provide surplus which in future can act as gift giving or be used in trade or feasting. To expand symbolic capital of a group these activities were specifically introduced. The use of stored surpluses by extended families to create social status gave them advantages over people who stored individually. A group can spend their resources in nurturing further relationships if they formulate their gain in alliance building (Hayden, 1995).

Social leaders emerge from these kinds of successful groups. These emerging inequalities then gave birth to social rankings and institutionalization of political system. Gift giving rituals, prestigious goods, and feasts in competition were activities to generate symbolic resources, apart from trade. Existing social and political hierarchies were reinforced by elite control on display and exchange, which established new social ties. These interactions allowed South-eastern elites to accumulate extensive power. This power induced the concept of domination as fundamental to cultural permanency by introducing social ideologies (Pauketat, 1994).

The lens of prestigious stuff and symbolic resources provides the information that connection between food storage and power of a chief can be evaluated as a process of competition in which elites' interests were taken into account as where to organize the surplus food. An individual has to go through long systems of elite controlled and centralized redistribution.

The practices of food storage and its study not only give insights on peoples' eating habits, strategies of surplus, and the surrounding. It is also important in expanding the dynamic and holistic understanding of social and cultural processes. This cultural activity is not related to one person but it is embedded in creating links of sociocultural meanings. In heterogenous communities, groups and individuals compete to get the control over food surpluses and symbolic capital. It is a struggle to enhance their own social and cultural interests. In short, storage of food has mediated between social statuses and political power (Wesson, 1999).

2.5. Storage and Status in Coastal Western Alaska

A huge change in cultural orders was done by colonialism. (Ehrhardt, 2005). In this study Lisa Frink explores a very critical aspect that is the influence of gender on the creation of material record of colonial change and the meanings associated with it (Nassaney, 2004). The researcher tried to explore changes in social patterns over time and how these changes are mirrored in the construction of features by examining the variations in storage features in two sites of Chevak. Socioeconomic, cultural and political association was analyzed by studying the space usage and spatial variations (Frink L. , 2007).

To explore variations in cultural behavior, the usage of store and meanings attached to it can be a significant technique (Ames, 1994). Proximity or nearness to storage facilities is a major factor that provides an individual the access, control and ability to change its location, this in turn can reorganize the social and economic relationships (Frink L. , 2007). Storage has contributed a lot in delivering the concept of growth in new socioeconomic, cultural and political practices (Wesson, 1999). There is another argument that talks about how women's economic and social power determines storage assignment (Hastorf, 1991). In extreme environments of scarcity and abundance like the Arctic, this gender-centric control is emphasized, where operational management of storage and its practices was vital for surviving (Sherrod, 1995).

It is quite important to observe the interactions among men and women to understand how space is used in a gendered manner and can specify fields for cooperation. Architectural changes and power to have an access clarify high level of separation. (Fish, 1996). Access

and control of spaces are major factors in having distributional authority. On the basis of statuses and types of storage, Lisa Frink argued about the emerging colonial market, where goods were renamed as commodities, this happened after a jump in gender relations and the control of distribution and redistribution of goods was altered. Over time, the nature of storage and the difference in its location shows changed productive practice and meaning. As men began to play crucial roles in the trade of fish, seal oil and fur, women lost their absolute power on economic resources which were stored by them. A redirection in the management of harvest blew up the women's private sphere of influence which gave an end to status of women (Frink L. , 2007).

2.5.1. Gender and Space

In Eskimo cultural groups, separation of men and women is very evident through architecture and is a primary organizing principle (Reinhardt, 2002). Structure of Village consists of ceremonial houses and men's dwellings, family or women's houses, tunnels, village and storage structures (Stern & Stevenson, 2006). Mobility of women and men between these structures was highly scripted by the rules of purity and pollution and ideologies of gender-appropriate spaces. Men aged 5 or up lived in men houses where they socialize, sleep, work and talk about politics. On the other hand, men were considered as an outsider in the arena of women. The structure of a pit houses was a rectangular framework of wood covered with blocks made up of grass. Wooden platforms on three sides of the building were used by families of women, elderly and children for sleeping, working, and storing food and domestic items (Frink L. , 2007)

2.5.2. Storage and Women's Social Status

The key technological progress for Arctic groups was the capability to store surplus food (Brumbach, 2006). In this region, some wide-reaching and extensive digging revealed patterns, local and foreign shapes, and social relations related to storage that clarify the events which brought change (Stopp, 2002).

Based on harvested resources like: berries, fish, seal and whale, some patterns of storage are revealed. On ground and underground storage spaces were used by people of Arctic for everyday goods, surplus, and trade (Stern & Stevenson, 2006). Inside the domestic structures, storage spaces were found in subfloor facilities like house floors, sealskin clad benches, grass and fish-skin bags. Outside the house is belowground caches, stilted caches and ice cellars (Griffin, 2002). In the Permafrost coastal ground, women used to cut meat and fish, and after drying they were stored in pits. In late August which is the end of fishing season, it was impossible to dry the fishes because of heavy rain (Frink K. H., 2009). Winter pits were made for the storage of fish in this season and these pits were one meter deep. Fish was needed to pack skillfully, because if the packing was incorrectly done then the fish could spoil even in the frozen subsoil. In the village or in seasonal camps, the eldest woman of a joint family is mostly the owner or manager of family storage spaces (Fienup-Riordan, 1986).

Through the countryside of Native North Americans, many new inclusive storage spaces were developed. Parallel to the continuum of gender-based resources, men and women had different kind of ownership in the handling, expertise, dispatch and towards the final product. The goods mostly included food, boots and blankets (Brumbach, 2006). But when the resources were brought to community, they would become productive property of women (Stopp, 2002). In previous times and somehow in current era as well, native women acts like a manager for their joint family and does a job of calculating everything in winter season. Skills like active processing, interaction with kin groups, distribution and redistribution of storage were significant because a slight negligence could lead the family to starvation (Shnirelman, 1994). By using the productive skills, expertise and political savvy, coastal Eskimo women can accomplish important familial and communal standing for their management of subsistence surplus (Lantis, 1946).

To sum it up, in colonial period local resources like fish, seal oil, and fox fur were seen as commodities. A transformation was evident in meanings related to gender, rights and responsibilities attached to production of goods, and in authority related to gender. Style of storage and its changed location was a material indicator to many effects (Nassaney, 2004). When men lost in the warfare, their status was challenged and hence they directed

their attention to market. In trade, coastal men started to dominate and it made the other gender just a backup force. Authority of men thrived with new market and trade system, while women's status weakened over time (Habicht-Mauche, 2006). The separation of household domestic spheres and surplus storage indicates the isolation of women from the increasing mercantilism and the status-building opportunities and came with it (Frink L. , 2007)

2.6. Theoretical Framework

Social Constructivism

Social constructivism talks about knowledge and reality and how it is created by human beings themselves by being in constant symbolic and social interactions, connections, and relationships. It all happens in a specific space with boundaries and cultural context. Social constructivism depends on human perception, language, and societal experiences. Reality is not seen as concrete but as a process.

In this study, the researcher wants to know about the interactions that take place between individuals, groups, and storage systems. The researcher wants to decipher the role storage practices are playing in socially constructing the domestic sphere (Andrews, 2012).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Incorporated research methodology will be formally introduced in this chapter along with the area profile of the selected locales. Research is defined as the scientific and step-by-step investigation of any particular concern or problem by using scientific methods. In research, careful consideration of every aspect is important so that a new discovery can be made. It entails the collection of data, documentation of critical information, interpretation, and analysis of that information in accordance with suitable methods to describe, explain, predict, or in some cases control the phenomenon (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 2010).

Research involves inductive and deductive methods. According to this study, the inductive approach is selected because it is associated with qualitative research and analyzes observed events. According to the nature of the research, there are two main types: 1. Applied Research that aims to resolve an immediate problem practically and 2. Basic research that is undertaken in order to enhance some concepts or to untangle a fascinating puzzle and develop theory without any concern to produce a practical solution (Palys, 2008). This research falls more into the domain of basic research because it will be descriptive and based on implicit knowledge.

The selection of research methodology is a very significant task for a researcher as it will guide the whole process of information gathering along with explanations. Organization and design of methodology is done in accordance with the topic of research that is “Household storage practices and its influence in the construction of domestic sphere”. This research will follow qualitative methodology to handle thick descriptions that will generate new ideas, to decode implicit knowledge system and to gain emic perspective. Methodology is further branched into various methods, tools and techniques that assist the researcher and readers regarding the research’s genuineness, soundness and consistency.

This research is descriptive and explanatory in nature. A proper documentation of household storage practices, their connotations, meanings and what they embody will be possible by detailed fieldwork, participant observations, in-depth interviews,

conversational interviews. To use these methods properly, rapport building must be developed.

3.2. Sample and Sampling Technique

3.2.1. Sample

Sample is known as a selection of information sources that is taken out from a bigger population. The process of selecting authentic information sources from a bigger set of potentials is known as sampling. Altogether, there are two related steps in this process. In the first step there is description of possible information sources which is commonly known as population. The second step is concerned with picking a precise sample of data bases from that population (Mason, 2017).

Qualitative research gives emphasis to precise holistic data, subjective understanding and inductive theory building. These objectives can be achieved by rigorous examinations of small-scale and systematic samples. In qualitative research, method of sampling and samples must be judged on the basis of how well they assist the aims of a particular research. In most qualitative studies, a phenomenon is studied in an in-depth manner and in highly contextualized way, and such understandings are well-suited and parallel to small sample sizes (Morgan, 2007).

There are typically two approaches to select sample size: 1) Probability Sampling, in which area and size of a group's population is very important to determine how many members will become part of the sample and 2) Non-probability Sampling, which concentrates on choosing sample participants based on their ability to meet definite conditions (Patton, 2001).

3.2.2. Purposive Sampling Technique

This technique is a branch of non-probability sample which is also referred to as expert, subjective, selective, or judgmental sampling. According to the goals of a research and features of a population, this type of sampling is selected (Crossman, 2020). Purposive sampling involves the process of recognizing and picking the people or groups that are

experienced, qualified, and well-informed about the subject matter under research (Plano, 2011).

Generating a sample that can rationally represent a population is the main objective of purposive sampling. This can be achieved by relating expert information about the population to select a sample of elements in a nonrandom manner that can highlight an intersection of the population (Lavrakas, 2008). This technique has been selected by the researcher because it suits the topic and the researcher wanted a clear representation of the whole population.

3.2.2.1. Heterogeneous Purposive Sampling/Maximum Variation

A sub-category of purposive sampling known as heterogeneous purposive sampling or maximum variation has been selected by the researcher. The reason for its selection is that it provides a deep insight and a diverse variety of cases that can be significant for a particular phenomenon at hand. In heterogeneous purposive sampling, researcher ensures to speak with as many different kinds of people as possible and that builds a whole and strong view of the phenomenon from emic perspective (Crossman, 2020). This type of sampling can also be used effectively to document diverse or unique discrepancies that have occurred during the adaptations to different circumstances (Patton, 2001). While selecting purposive sampling technique, the researcher came across its types and adopted heterogeneous purposive sampling in order to take various and diverse insights onto the same topic. In this way, data was gathered from both genders and from people of various age groups.

3.2.3. Snowball Sampling Technique

Snowball sampling is a technique to gather other participants for the research on the basis of initial informants. The name reveals a similarity to a snowball that increases its size as it moves. This form of approach is mostly used in non-probability sampling. In many situations, snowball sampling is very significant approach to follow the objectives of purposive sampling, for example, when there is outline, lists, registers, or other records to

trace or locate respondents. The main requirement is that the participants must know others who are eligible for inclusion.

The usual process for snowball sampling starts by conversing with previous respondents who can help locate other potential participants. Many times, this process of snowball sampling is indirect as the initial sources talk about how to locate others like themselves and how to recognize them (Benaquisto & Given, 2008). Even though, the initial and planned sampling technique for this research was purposive sampling but during the fieldwork in both locales, the researcher decided to upgrade the sample because some research participants and key informants helped in introducing some more households.

3.3. Gate Keeper

Within social research, gatekeepers are very important to gain access field sites, research settings and participants (Andoh-Arthur, 2019). Gatekeepers can be individuals or organized groups who have influence or control over a researcher's contact to participants. Before conducting ethnographic research, researchers are ethically and morally obliged to gain permissions from society. That's why, negotiation with one or more gatekeepers is essential for ethnographer. It is a requirement to secure the approvals before the contact with participants or fieldwork (Latchem-Hastings, 2020).

A gatekeeper is an individual who stands between possible respondent and data collector. On the basis of their personal or work relationships or connections, gatekeepers have the ability to control when and which person has access to the research participants. Moreover, gatekeepers can not only come across fieldwork but also during telephonic or virtual data collection methods (Lavrakas, 2008). Gatekeepers can be important religious figures who are decision makers in a society. They can be people who have responsibilities or are providing services like headmaster of school or any organization like health services department (Latchem-Hastings, 2020).

3.3.1. Gate Keeper 1

Mr. Bilal Iqbal was a great help in introducing and incorporating the researcher in the first locale. He is 54 year old who has served as a teacher in school for many years and is currently the District Officer in the field of Education in the Bhimber district of Azad Kashmir. The native people of the surrounding villages call him Master Sahab, and he has an amazing and respectful standing in his village. The nature of his position demands high level of contact with schools and teachers in his areas. Najan Sharif is not included in his area but he is in close contact with the supervisors and teachers. They meet monthly to discuss the problems, initiatives, evaluations, and other matters related to academic development in schools. The researcher attended one of the meeting which was quite informal and met with very proactive people. In this way, Mr. Bilal Iqbal introduced some of the teachers of Najan Sharif to the researcher that made possible the entry into the research locale and beginning of fieldwork.

3.3.2. Gate Keeper 2

Mrs. Rihana is the second gate keeper in this study. She is a government teacher in a school nearby Najan Sharif where both her sons are also enrolled. Her husband has a job in Dubai and because of that she lives with her parents. Mrs. Rihana and Mr. Bilal Iqbal know each other through mutual relatives. Mr. Bilal requested Mrs. Rihana to accompany and guide the researcher into the new village. For the first three days the researcher stayed at her home and gained the basic knowledge about that village. Mrs. Rihana is the one who introduced the researcher with the first key informant of this study as well.

3.4. Key Informant

Key informants, also known as key actors are people who have knowledge and clarity regarding their community. They can create a link between different cultures or between researcher and research participants by acting as a cultural broker. Key Informants play an important role in qualitative research by providing an understanding of responsibilities and description of cultural norms.

They may offer detailed knowledge of everyday life, photographs, manuscripts, and other historical data about interpersonal relationships. A context driven framework can be obtained to observe and interpret participant's behavior. Valuable information can be obtained from key informant by the help of informal conversations and interviews.

Key informants typically answers the questions about the community in a wide-ranging and comprehensive manner. They not only provide their opinions and personal feelings but also larger social and cultural patterns. The views of key informants are later combined and compared with observations, survey data, and interviews to create a holistic picture. Qualitative researchers and key informants are collaborators in the field, using interrogations, responses, and probes to comprehend how and why a phenomenon works (Kumar , Stern, & Anderson, 1993).

3.4.1. Key Informant no. 1

During the course of fieldwork, Mrs. Kausar Ishfaq was the prime key informant in the first locale. She is 54 years old and a house wife. She is been married and living in Najan Sharif from 20 years. She is the eldest daughter-in-law in her home, and takes care of every happening related to household. She provided me with immense knowledge related to storage practices inside and outside of homes, who are key indicators and contributors of storing things and what changes the storage practices have gone through. Not only the general ideas but Mrs. Kausar also provided me with particular information and backgrounds of every household that was part of the sample which gave the researcher rich insights. She was humble enough to accompany me in almost every in-depth interview and was a great help in initiating discussions and conversations.

3.4.2. Key Informant no. 2

In the second locale of the research, Mr. Imtiaz who is a resident of Bahria Town Safari Villas II from almost 10 years, accompanied me to the households that were selected as sample. In gated communities it a little bit hard to find or form connections. Mr. Imtiaz is a property dealer and in this way he directly and indirectly know many people. He was able

to provide me assistance in the introductory phase with participants of research. Regarding the residents, he gave me general and specific information regarding the financial statuses, number of people living in a household, their familial belonging, ethnicity, and connections with village. During the interviews, he helped in clarifying many concepts that seemed difficult for me to grasp.

3.5. Area Profile

Area profile is a description of area that the researcher has selected. Information regarding location, weather, population, language and history of that area.

3.5.1. Locale/Field of Research

Research locale is the setting, or place that is under study. This section will briefly describe the areas where the research was conducted. For this research, the researcher has selected two locales in order to draw comparative analysis. The first locale is a rural area, Village Najan Sharif, Gujrat and the second locale is an urban area Safari Villas II, Bahria Town, Rawalpindi. In this way, the comparison will be between rural and urban setting. The researcher integrated multi-locale in order to grasp contrasting features of rural and urban setting. In the first field that was Najan Sharif, aspects of diffusion, modern architecture, and urbanization emerged that influenced the storage system. That's why, the researcher thought about making this research a comparative one by taking a step forward and integrating the urban perspective as well. The inclusion of multi-locale strategy provided strength to this study by reflecting not just the variations but similarities as well. The sample size will be discussed under the description of each research site.

3.5.2. Najan Sharif

Najan Sharif is located in the district Gujrat, Punjab and is very small village near Azad Kashmir and Line of Control. Many people mistake it as a village of Azad Kashmir because of its proximity with the area. This area has vast lands, hills and is surrounded by mountains. The weather here is variant. In spring time, the weather is warm followed by

extreme hot summers starting from May till September. October and November are breezy and cool, people there enjoy this season the most. From December cold and harsh winters starts that remain till February. This village still has no permanent system of gas, and the electricity is also poor and because of this especially winters are quite severe.

In 2022, the village's total population is approximately two thousand and three hundred. In the population, 35% are males that is eight hundred and five and 65% are females that is one thousand four hundred and ninety five. There are approximately 215 households. The major type of family system here is joint-family system that is three generations living together in one household.

History

Before Pakistan came into existence, the area of Najan Sharif was home to not just Punjabi Muslims but Sikhs and few Hindu families as well. There are many temples surrounding this area even in current times. After the separation of subcontinent, Sikhs and Hindus left the place but they left their permanent mark in the shape of cultural and social values. Even today, one can trace a kind of diffusion of Sikh culture in that area. Whenever there were Kashmir wars, this place would become a red zone, especially in 1971 war, the whole village was evacuated to the Gujrat city. From the beginning, the central profession for the people was farming.

Sample Size

In the first locale Najan Sharif, the researcher selected ten households purposively from the village. While conducting research and attending some village events, the key informant helped to locate six more households by her and research participant's connections. In this way, six more households became a part of the study and the researcher decided to put them under the snowball sampling category. Another sampling category that is mentioned above is heterogeneous purposive sampling technique which ensured that the researcher spoke with and took interviews from different types of people. Interviews were

conducted with both genders and with people belonging to different age groups and status to gain rich and diverse understanding.

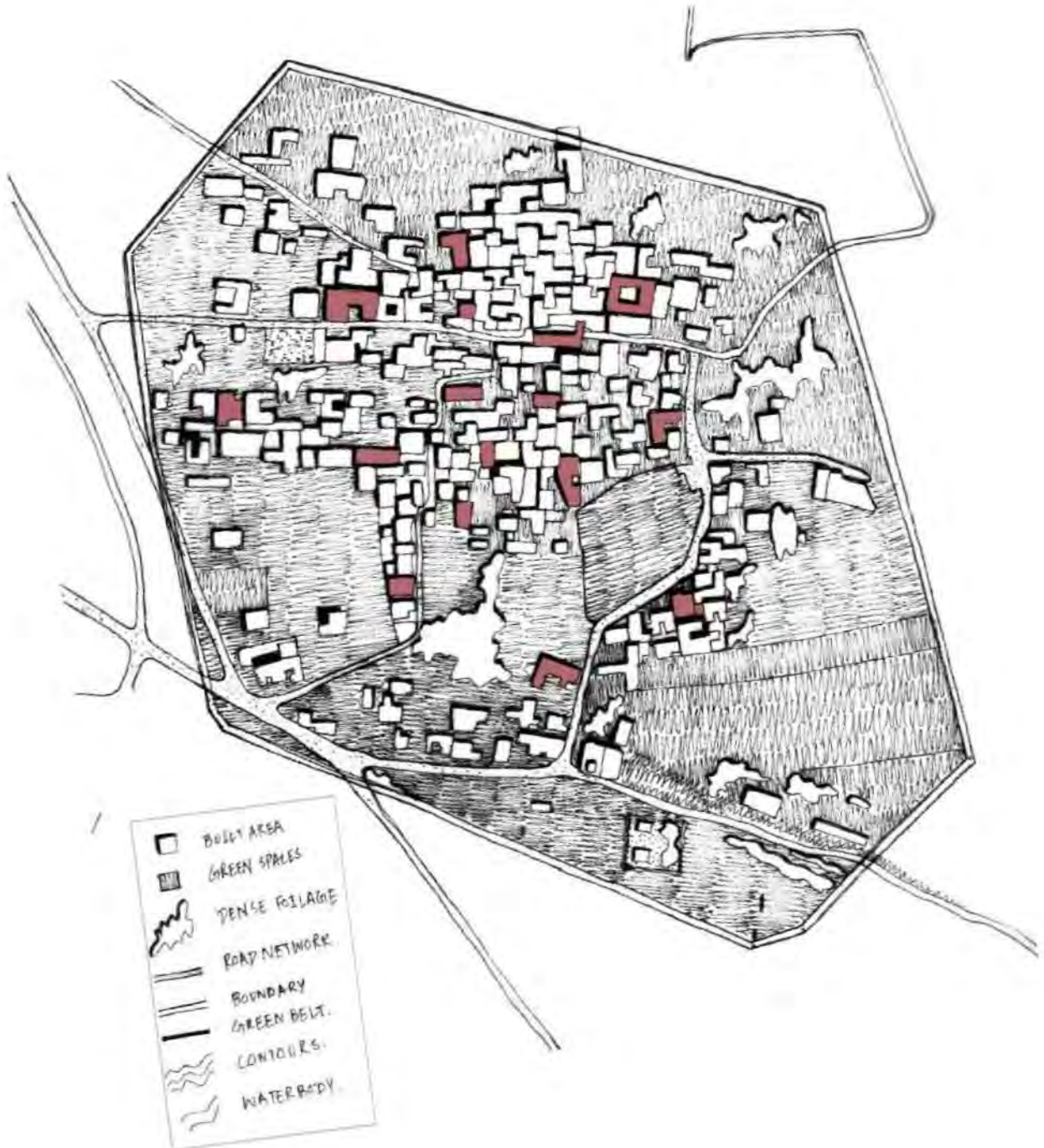


Figure 1: Map of Najan Sharif with highlighted samples

3.5.3. Bahria Town Safari Villas II

The second locale for this research study is Safari Villas II, Bahria Town. It is located in Rawalpindi and is a gated community. It is a highly developed urban area which consists of a school, a small grocery store, several offices, and two parks. The climate here is humid subtropical type which means the summers are hot with cool autumn and cold winters. In this community there are total two hundred and fifty one houses. The total population is approximately one thousand and six hundred, with 60% females that constitutes nine hundred and sixty females and 40% males which makes up six hundred and forty. A diversity can be easily seen in the population with Punjabis, Pathans, Sindhi, and some Chinese families living here. The dominant language spoken here is Urdu.

History

The area of Safari Villas II was developed approximately ten years ago and from then a diverse population started to settle here. Before then the area was barren hilly area. This whole property was under one Gujjar Choudhry family who in 2010 decided to partner up with Bahria Town and formulated a gated community.

Sample Size

The researcher selected ten households by using purposive sampling technique and four more households were added to the sample by snowball sampling technique. In-depth interviews were conducted with different types of people in order to get multiple viewpoints.

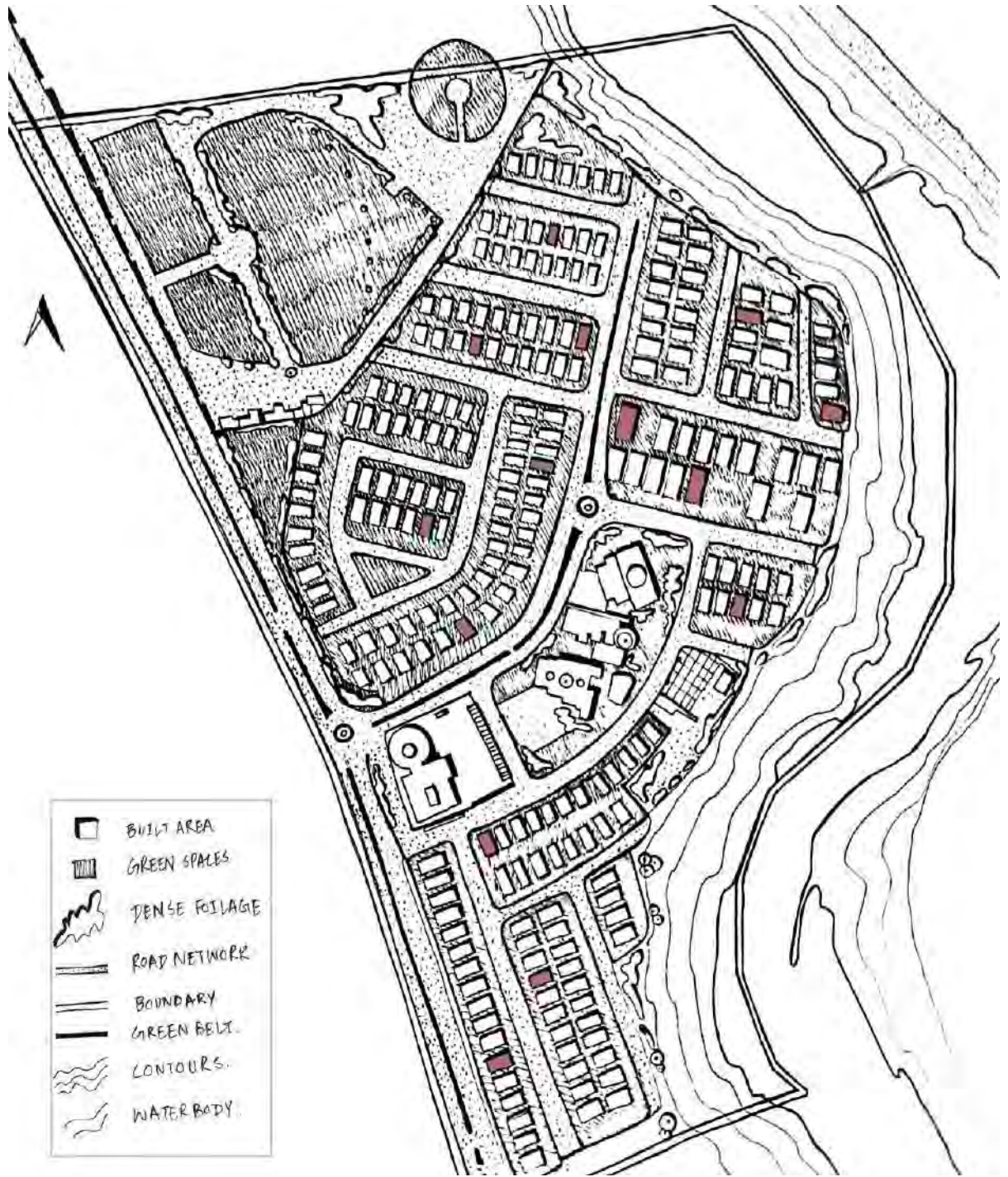


Figure 2: Map of Safari Villas II with highlighted samples

3.6. Qualitative Research Methodology

Qualitative research puts the emphasis on “quality” rather than “quantity”. In Qualitative Research traditions, there is a holistic variation in methodologies, techniques, theoretical paradigms, and research strategies that ranges from field research, participant observation, case study, descriptive study, ethnography, narrative inquiry, biographical method, kinship study, life and oral history to symbolic interactionist study, applied research, grounded theory and phenomenological research (Yilmaz, 2013). In this qualitative research, the ontology is relativist (which means the idea of multiple realities is acknowledged), the epistemology is subjectivist (a notion which supports the belief that interactions between knowledgeable and knowledge seeker generates understanding). Here, a naturalistic set of methodological processes, which study subjects in natural settings is acquired (Denzin & Lincoln , 2008).

According to qualitative research knowledge is socially constructed and is not independent of the knower. Reality is relative not permanent. Because there are diverse cultural groups which construct varied realities in the context of their own values and worldview, that’s why there are multiple perspective and interpretations regarding any situation. So, it’s significant to investigate the phenomenon from emic perspective (Denzin & Lincoln , The Landscape of Qualitative Research, 2008).

3.6.1. Characteristics of Qualitative Research Methodology

It looks at larger processes, understanding “whole” in a holistic fashion. Tries to answer ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘how’ inquiries by the context of quality (implicit nature) rather than in frequency, amount or strength (explicit nature). Qualitative research suggests that individuals, their behaviors and events are dependent on context are cannot be generalized. That is why ‘thick description’ is used by selecting small samples purposefully.

It requires researchers to spend a substantial period in the field and needs them to progress an ideal of what happened during the field work. Close contacts with research participants is established to collect rich, detailed and extensive data. Qualitative data analysis uses bottom-up approach with open coding strategies that allows patterns and themes to emerge

from data. It is responsive to ethical concerns and involves informed consent to protect the privacy of the participants (Creswell, 2009).

3.7. Comparative Research

The value and significance of comparative research almost falls into all types of qualitative research study. Comparative research is known as the analysis of parallels and distinctions and all the connections among units, it is a very wide-ranging terminology. The units or entities can be based on individuals, interview statements, social groups, case studies, symbols, geopolitical configurations, and cross-nations comparison. Comparative research is associated with many qualitative methodologies, for example: in ethnographic studies researchers do comparisons by core emic sets, contrast can be measured in discourse and narrative analysis, case study comparisons, and comparative politics (Maxwell , 2004). Comparative research process is applied in this study by the researcher to study and examine how storage spaces are managed and taken care of in both selected locales. To learn about associations, embodiment of objects, and meanings storage have, in quite different areas.

3.7.1. The Goal of Comparative Research

The fundamental objective of comparative research is exploring and examining parallel plus difference among the subjects that can be compared. When a researcher is examining the similarities, it means there is a search for universals or general processes happening across different contexts. It backs up the application of general theory. Here the nature of patterns is expected to be universal and independent from the constraints of space and time. Bigger ideas or implicit concepts requires the comparison should be broad. Though, determining these general patterns is quite challenging. To resolve this, comparative research is incorporated to separate or isolate general patterns from variations from context-specific settings. According to Max Weber, the search for differences puts a great emphasis on context in order to understand specificities. Differences are not the only thing uncovered through comparisons but it also reveals unique features of a specific unit that would be practically impossible to discover (Maxwell , 2004).

3.8. Rapport Building

Between the researcher and the research respondents, rapport is the level of relaxation during the interactions. After getting permission to access the field, there is a need to develop and maintain trustworthy connections, it is a continuous concern in qualitative data collection. To address this concern, rapport often begins with a trust building process. Mutual obligation and reciprocity become progressively significant once the relationships are established. Specifically, for high quality participant observation can be achieved by prolonged engagement of researcher, which requires rapport. Rapport building in field does not involve few people only, instead it is very dynamic in nature and involves a great number of people and groups. Generally, researcher as an instrument in the field is the concept of rapport. It is termed as a researcher's instrument because if the connections of researcher with respondents are of good quality then the study conducted will also be reliable and sound. (Benaquisto & Given, 2008). During the fieldwork, rapport building is taken as a method to intensify the quality of relationships that the researcher develops with native people. In interviewing, rapport building is used to relieve the exchanges between the interviewer and interviewee.

3.9. Data Collection Methods

In the above paragraphs, the sample, sampling techniques, locales and methodology has been defined thoroughly. This section will discuss the data collection methods that were selected under the broad domain of qualitative methodology.

3.9.1. Ethnography and Fieldwork

The word ethnography is derived from Latin terminology "ethno" which reflects the understanding of culture in the human world. The ethnographic originality focuses on illuminating and documenting several social systems that are embedded in culture (McCall, 2006). Ethnography in itself is not a format or a singular process but it is an amalgamation of various methods in accordance with the framework of field (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012).

From the lens of ethnography, a researcher can observe behaviors, social interactions, organization, and perceptions among cultural groups. Ethnographic roots can be traced back to 18th century, when anthropological studies of remote small scale societies were being undertaken. Researchers like Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown did prolonged participant observations to understand and document belief systems and social arrangements. The primary objective of ethnography is to deliver holistic, wide-ranging, and rich comprehensions of participants' perspective, actions and nature of the locale they inhabit. The duty of ethnographic researchers is to document the practices, perspectives and people of a given culture. The goal is to get inside and observe people's worldview. In the duration of whole ethnography, researchers continuously use conversational or informal interviews, which leads to long discussions and probing in a naturalistic manner to elicit highly candid accounts from participants. Ethnographers also do recordings, formal in-depth interviews, and also include photographs, diaries, and field notes (Hammersley, 2006).

Why Choose Ethnography

Ethnographic narrative is utilized in this study to look at social construction of domestic sphere, as it is related to meaning generation within the community. Through the method of ethnography the researcher was able to gain firsthand experience in both the locales. The reason of selecting ethnography as method was that it helped in generating rich data in different contexts. It gave the opportunities to gather empirical understandings about social practices that are not visually present.

3.9.2. Oikography

To study housing and its practices in Anthropology, the researchers use an approach called oikography. Oikography assumes houses as not just buildings but shelters which reflects individual and collective relations, moralities, affection, and link with environment, community members, neighbors, and political ideologies. Oikography is taken as a tool of ethnography so that the researcher can deconstruct the notion of houses as a technical

concept (Biehl & Federico, 2021). This tool will help in tracing the flexibility of dwelling in a dynamic way, without the constraints of space and time. Here, the central focus is action of house and housing.

3.9.3. Participant Observation

It is one of the qualitative data collection methods where the researcher becomes a part of a certain social life by taking part in everyday activities. This participation leads to the study of different aspects of participant's life by observing situations in their natural contexts. Within ethnographic research, participant observation is an action that is done by the researcher. In the context of ethnography, participant observation allows researchers to not only observe the social and cultural patterns but also immerse themselves in it, we researchers can observe while participating in the community (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). The researcher lives the life of its participant because in these performances, sensible understandings appear. All the stories and narratives that appear during the interviews and discussions are highly significant to connect the variables. It is an important method that give rise to interpretations, meaning-generation and to understand construction of identity (Denzin, 1997).

Social anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski was first to use this term in 1920s, and then Chicago School further developed the approach under the guidance of Howard Becker and Robert Park. Participant Observation is especially appropriate for social phenomenon that are not readily known to public or some less studied areas. By its stress on immediate data about real world and the connotations it reflects, this method is operative to examine and understand pattern of life. Participant Observation has variety of methods that characterize it, such as: informal interviewing, physical features of settings, direct observations of human beings, field notes, and document analysis (Benaquisto & Given, 2008).

3.9.4. Field Notes

To every qualitative research, field notes are very crucial, irrespective of any data collection method that is applied. Field notes are detailed, expressive record and particulars

of native individuals, counting the researcher, events, dwellings, and things. There is also a reflection on data, process and patterns of research. In order to categorize and shape the gathered qualitative data sets into meaningful, articulated, and cohesive research findings, field notes help in forming quality and context. One can call field notes as personal journal. In 1997, Thomas Schwandt wrote that 'field notes are written for an audience of one'. Therefore, for every researcher field notes are unique, written in a spontaneous and free-flowing way.

According to David Fetterman, field notes can be separated into two subdivisions: 1. Observations and 2. Hypothetical private reflections. This kind of distinction is largely applicable for ethnographic research where researchers do participant observation and observations are collected in the form of field notes. Digital recordings are great help but they cannot capture descriptive elements such as gestures, behind the mic comments, demeanor, dress, smells, textures, weather, background stories, and researcher's feelings, assumption, and expressions (Fetterman , 1998).

It is vital for researcher to compose notes in the field in as much rich detail as possible. Before discussing a subject matter, it must be written down as notes because sometimes, discussions can take different turns and may weak the original concept. Field notes can take time but the process is invaluable. When the researcher will leave the field, this jotted outline will help in writing observations in chronological manner. The language of field notes guides the researcher in dissecting and describing the world with rich and local adjectives (Bogdan & Biklen , 1997).

Reflective field notes are written when researcher thinks on the problem, findings, process, and patterns of the research investigation. Researcher's continuous analytical process and impressions are captured here. Over the course of qualitative study, reflections can change and serve as a record of progress. That is why, reflective field notes should also record predicaments, positionality, biases, possible mistakes, and responses of a researcher. Most importantly, all field notes must be organized to draw rich meanings, coding, and analysis (Fetterman , 1998). In researcher's opinion, participant observation and field notes go hand in hand. The researcher tried the level best to note down details in proper sequence.

3.9.5. Space in Qualitative Research

The nature of space or place has been explained by theories of scientists and philosophers many years ago. But the specific methods of understanding and interpreting it was developed by the domain of social sciences. In order to recognize the numerous ways of observing and clarifying the social world around us, these methods were practically implemented. Implicitly or explicitly to some extent, all social sciences disciplines are engaged with space or place. Some place or some scale is significant when one is doing empirical research to study human life. In these cases spatial contexts carry changing amounts of prominence and importance.

A significant part in any research of anthropology, sociology, economy, psychology, and gender studies, locale such as: village, town, region, city, neighborhood, or country is very important. In literature, space or place can be classified on two levels. At macro-level, space or place can be seen as developing world, urban, rural, coastal, South Asia, or Antarctic area. At more micro-level, space or place is classified as factories, schools, clinical environments, hotels, or home that equally imply some kind of spatial factors. In research, there can be simple descriptions of physical borders, or a researcher might improve and convey a feel for a locale, for example, explanation or description of work place, or town, and analyze the human activities there.

There are some traditional and solid influences to the practices of space as a methodology by disciplines like architecture, environmental psychology, sociology, and urban planning. Space and place are more significant to human geography because the discipline is concerned with characteristics of human life and spatial organization. In qualitative research, space is not viewed as complete, void, or a distance that can be crossed or measured. Space is assumed as relative that come into existence because of social phenomenon and processes. Therefore, questions on space in qualitative research are centered on the reasons which cause spaces and how these spaces are used and evaluated by different people differently. Even though, spaces are multifaceted and occur on many levels, and social scientists talk about spaces, they refer to social spaces within, for example: spaces within building, town, or city.

Michel Foucault helped in shedding light on how space is produced on institutional level, and how space through regulation and surveillance becomes significant component in the exercising of power. Recently, the focus of attention is the spaces of everyday life.

In qualitative research lie an attention to the dynamic patterns of mundane life, spatial study, and socio-cultural rituals like socializing, interaction, storing, and shopping which holds importance in human's life. Interviews, document analysis, and focus group discussions are observational methods viable to deciphering space and place. These methods can be used in combination or independently. Study of spaces bring the consideration of exploring four-dimensional movements and inter-relation movement concerning people and things, such as examination of cultural artifacts or historical documents relating to past places and examination of attachment and identity to place (Kitchin, Valentine, & Hubbard, 2004). For the researcher, the phenomenon of space was very fascinating and because of that the first objective of this research tends to deal with storage spaces, its types, and the way people deal with it.

3.9.6. In-depth Interviews

This type of interview encourages the participants to talk about a certain topic in detail. Initial of answers in order to collect detailed information. It is not obligatory to make a long list of inquiries, only the researcher have to know the subject matter in detail. That is why, these type of interviews are normally long and can have multiple interviews with one respondent. Commonly, there are two processes to conduct interviews: 1. Structured interviews and 2. Un-structured interviews. Structured interviews follow close-ended and a list of scheduled questions. The researcher asks every participant the same question as listed in a specific time period. The unstructured or semi-structured interviews are also known as unstandardized or ethnographic interviews. This type of interview do not follow a strict schedule, rather it is conducted by a subject guide or interview guide that contains questions under major themes. It gives a list of significant topics that must be covered with participants (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). There are no specific questions in the guide but small descriptions of the subject matter. According to this, the researcher has some flexibility to go through the interview guide, marking topics that are addressed throughout

the discussions with respondents. In ethnography, and grounded theory, this type of interview is suitable and it can be used independently as well (Benaquisto & Given, 2008). In-depth interviews were the basic data collection method that was conducted by forming an interview guide.

3.9.7. Conversational Interviews

Conversational interviews is an approach that helps in developing verbal data about particular subject matter in a casual manner. Even though, all types of qualitative interviewing relies on participants' ordinary and mundane conversational resources, but conversational interviewing focuses on the aspects of reciprocity, sociability, and symmetry that can be evident in everyday conversations. Whatever the type of interview, researcher and interviewee count on how mundane conversations follow and how speaker embody the meanings in their words.

In order to relax the respondents and create peaceful environment, conversational interviews facilitates to contribute in prolonged debates regarding the subject matter. This environment is made less hierarchical. From earlier times, conversational interviews were used by sociologists and anthropologists to start discussions and dig out implicit knowledge. It uses in-depth or unstructured interviews, open-ended questions and is popular among qualitative, feminist, and emancipatory researchers. Interviews that are qualitative can be labeled as: 'intentional conversation', 'guided conversation', 'directed conversation', and 'professional conversation' (Rubin & Rubin , 2011). The nature of conversational interviews is informal and the researcher incorporated it as a method in order to facilitate the in-depth interviews. This method was quite useful while taking interviews from elderly.

3.9.8. Interview Guide

The subject matter researchers want to cover during interviews is summarized in interview guide. On one side of continuum, interview guide provide less directions, in order to generate unstructured or semi-structured interviews that will help in gaining the

participant's emic perspective. On the other side, interview guide may comprise detailed specifications to guarantee that the subject matter of research is covered comprehensively. In ethnographic interviewing of James Spradley used least structured interview guide, favoring general questions that bring out participant's own perspective and avoiding substantive questions.

Between question based and topic based interview guide there are some variations. Interview guide built on questions contains a list of issues that a researcher wishes to hear about. This guide is also organized in online format so that it's easier to monitor the coverage of topics. Question-based interviews are frequently used and are popular because they have skill to propose probes which can help in the enhancement of data gathered from basic questions. They can help in the extension of discussion and it is easier to move from one question to another (Rubin & Rubin , 2011). In this research, the researcher developed some themes out of literature review and in the interview guide, those themes were covered along with questions specific to each theme. The interview guide was flexible involving open-ended and semi-structured questions designed especially for in-depth and conversational interviews.

3.9.9. Probes and Probing

In qualitative research, probing is a strategy that is used by interviewers for conducting in-depth interviews for the sake of further clarification from emic perspective. A researcher achieve probing either by gestures or pause that is termed as non-verbal or by verbal manner that includes inquiry-based questions. It depends on the capability of the researcher to listen attentively to what respondents say in order to come up with operational and effective probes. Interviewer have to evaluate the need for any further data in order to understand or generate meaning, then carefully probe for more descriptions about the topic at hand. It is critical that a researcher must master this strategy for better interviewing, whether it involves closed-ended or open-ended questions.

There are clarification probes and elaboration probes. More control can be exercised by clarification probes on the topic. It means clarification questions help in specifying topics that respondents can provide more information on. Interviewers must not interrupt the

interviewees and must use probes by using the words of participants. It is also very important to express that the interviewer is listening carefully to what participants are saying (Gorden, 1987). The researcher tried to incorporate clarification probes wherever it was necessary. Many times the participants were asked to give examples related to the data they have provided to understand them better.

3.10. Data Collection Tools

3.10.1. Audio Recording

Audio recordings are done by either digital or analog recording tools to register interviews, interactions, and conversations. The major advantage of audio recording is that it provides an accurate recall or information about what happened and what was said. It is especially significant for unstructured and conversational interviews.

Audio recording in Data Collection

The intensity of data provided by field notes becomes more relevant if they are backed by details of audio and video recordings. Additional information can be provided by audio recording in a way that it can capture participant's tone of voice, emphasis and prominence. In qualitative interviewing there is a common question on whether a researcher can use any form of recording at all. At one point there are advantages of audio recording as research tools and at another point this type of interference may modify the conversations.

Predictably, the recording device's presence may exert some reactions on researcher and the respondent. The quality of data must not be taken for granted and the impact must be monitored. In this trade-off, qualitative researchers often favor audio recording as the details it provides are amazing without causing interruption during interviews. Inhibiting research participants from saying things is the common effect of audio recording (Benaquisto & Given, 2008). The researcher tried to build trustworthy relationship with participants and did the audio recordings during interviews with proper permission.

3.10.2. Photography

Photographs together with other visual mediums like drawings, color swatches, videos, play diverse roles in qualitative research. In addition to verbal medium, they provide a visual medium. They supplement the verbal data and allow a holistic and rich understanding of participants' lives and many times act as a stimuli. Mostly, in research there are two characteristics where photographs can play a role. They can assist as a data collection tool that can be commenced by research participants or by the researcher. On the other hand, photographs can be helpful to encourage conversation or discussion. Still these two characteristics can overlap as they are not distinct. For example: Researcher can provide the photographic material to participants so that they can elaborate and modify it as part of a task in group discussions (Benaquisto & Given, 2008). While conducting this study, the researcher tried to capture every aspect related to storage, stored goods, and storage spaces in both locales in order to generate rich comparisons. The research participants were active in providing their point of view regarding the photographs that became a great source of emic analysis.

3.10.3. Ethno Mapping/Ethno-cartography

Maps are not only significant to display physical features of land and find directions but they can be quite helpful for historians and anthropologists. Cartography is a method where geographical area is graphically represented by the help of art and science, on a flat surface like chart or paper. Perceptions of ethnic groups help in making ethno-cartography. Subjective mapping is a practice that can connect cartography to anthropology or sociology to generate ethno mapping, a practice that can highlight knowledge and history of humans as a map (Dempsey , 2012). In order to study the structure of both locales on a large scale and the households on a smaller scale, the researcher opted to include ethno-cartography as a tool to study spaces and to compare them.

3.11. Ethical Consideration

In human philosophy, ethics is an important part that is concerned with appropriate demeanor and righteous way of living. Research generally and qualitative research

particularly talks about ethical and honorable actions as they are actions done by humans. There are some moral commitments in the purpose or goals of research. Integrity is expected in the process of research design and research conduct is required to perceive certain principles of humane reflections regarding the participants and the results (Benaquisto & Given, 2008).

3.11.1. Informed Consent

International, national, professional and organizational ethical codes and guidelines regarding research mostly require that research respondents approve the conduction of research in advance. This agreement must be voluntary and well-versed. The research participants need to recognize that what and who is involved in the research and that they are authorizing someone else to include them in the study. In most situations, a proper provision of information regarding the goals, objectives, purpose, demands, risks, and possible results of research must be given to research participants by researchers. It is important to inform the usage of research results as well. Researchers can provide a detailed information by answering the questions like: What is going to happen in the field and to them? What are the risks? What will be the time frame of research? What will be the benefits? And who is funding the project? It is common that researcher must discuss consent with relevant people, groups, community leaders, and organizations. Many qualitative researchers believe that consent should be a continuous and dynamic process in the research. It must not be limited to the beginning of the research (Shenton & Hayter, 2004).

3.11.2. Anonymity

Anonymity in qualitative research can be described as an agreement that ensures respondents' contribution is hidden and cannot lead to participant's identity. Many professional and ethical code of conduct involve the need to protect participant privacy by approaches that defend anonymity and confidentiality. Sometimes, the participants do not share the same privacy concerns as that of researcher and wants to be recognized for their contributions. Anonymity is of two types: 1. Full and 2. Partial. Full anonymity refers to

participant's inability to identify their own responses or the cases where the researcher don't know a respondent's identity. When a participant's identity is disguised by the use of pseudonyms but their real identity could still be discovered is an example of partial anonymity. Anonymity is practiced to safeguard respondents from any kind of harm that be done by disclosure of their identities. Lastly, many respondents doesn't care much about the anonymity offered by committee of ethics. They prefer to have an ownership of their contribution and a researcher must consider their wish just like they care for their privacy (Marx, 1999).

3.11.3. Confidentiality

In research ethics, respect for confidentiality is a well-known principle. Generally, in many cultures confidentiality is taken as essential to the self-esteem of humans. To protect the privacy of research participants, researchers give assurances of confidentiality which means that any information that is given to the researcher will be protected and will not be disclosed in a way that may harm or cause the identification of a participant. There are many aims concerning respect for confidentiality. Confidentiality can safeguard the research participants from harm, stigmatization, or humiliation. Confidentiality becomes crucial and necessary when researchers search for information that is sensitive like information about drug usage, health, sexual behavior, tax giving, or other personal secrets. If the researcher will not offer confidentiality, the people would refuse to take part in the research or would be less involved in giving proper information. Hence, the validity and quality of research is enhanced by confidentiality (Palys & Lowman, 2006).

Assigning pseudonyms (fictional names) to people, groups, organizations, or places is a method to provide anonymity. The significance of anonymity and confidentiality has always been outlined by many ethical codes and conduct, and researchers regularly use pseudonyms to tackle it. Sensitive topics especially dealing with health, or criminal behavior use pseudonyms. Although normally only the research participants are assigned with pseudonyms, but in some cases the researchers themselves get a pseudonym (Van der Geest, 2003).

3.12. Data Analysis Method

Analysis of data is a quite integral part of qualitative research. It establishes significant stages or turning points towards both data collection and connecting the results which holds significant and greater ideas. Because of vast variety in qualitative methods and tools, we see variations in data analysis techniques as well. Field notes, visual data, videos or film, interview transcripts, analysis of conversations, themes, discourses and comparative analysis are few categories of data analysis methods (Charmaz, 2006). The section of data analysis may seem like a complex and intimidating part of qualitative research for beginners. The process seems over-whelming because there are interview transcripts, so many pages of field notes, and other visual data that needs attention. Another problem is that, no matter the amount of data one has, it always feel like it is not significant. In this situation, researchers are advised to trust the process. Data gathering and its analysis is understood as a continuous progressions. It is best that initial analysis of data can be beneficial and provide insights to shape further data gathering (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

3.12.1. Thematic Analysis

A data reduction strategy which deals with themes is known as thematic analysis. In this analysis qualitative information is categorized, segmented, summarized, and reconstructed. It picks up the significant impressions inside the dataset. It is also known as descriptive technique that assists in finding patterns of experience. Describing the found patterns and interpreting the big pictures that joins them is the actual work of thematic analysis. After that, qualitative data is classified by the help of thematic coding.

In this type of coding, researcher starts with a list of themes that are acknowledged or are expected to be found in the results. Some themes will be expected in the data that is collected through semi-structured interviews because those concepts were clearly comprised in data collection. Literature Review, conceptual model, and professional experiences can also help the researcher in generating codes. Analytical induction refines the codes and other ideas into coding categories (Miles & Huberman , 1994).

Coding establishes the generation of themes and the generated themes then facilitates coding itself. It's a kind of circular process. In coding, sections of information are

disintegrated from their normal context and classified in such a way that information can be divided into different classifications, with similar data being in one theme to be studied easily. It is in a way that information is decontextualized from the original gathered data and re-contextualized into a theme. We can see renaming, reorganization, separation and then merging of coding categories as the analysis progresses.

To handle coded data it is necessary to have data management strategies to make it flexible and vigorous. It is important that codes and categories can be searched, retrieved and identified easily and to handle large amount of information, softwares of data management are used. Coding, management of data, developing themes, and recognizing the patterns across the data seems like a step by step practice but the reality is quite different. These activities occur throughout the research project and a bit of difficulty occurs in identifying when thematic coding turns into thematic analysis. Although in beginning, more focus is on coding and data management and then the focus turns to analysis and patterns.

It is important for researcher to investigate relevance of every theme according to the whole data and to research question in order to develop integrated analysis. With progress in recognizing the themes, researcher should also consider the connection and relationship between categories. Through this, the coded data that was decontextualized gain its link with its sources and hence can produce general characteristics of qualitative research. This connection and reintegration of data separates thematic analysis from qualitative content analysis. Themes must be presented in a synthesized manner to generate generalizations. List of themes and their description are not the only end result, it also includes the processes recognized, patterns of experience, and the significant concepts that are established (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

According to the nature of the topic, thematic analysis was the most suitable data analysis method. During the review of literature, several themes were generated that helped in formulating the research gap, research direction, and interview guide. Many further themes were generated during the fieldwork and data collection that will be discussed in the chapters of data analysis.

3.12.2. Analytical Induction

Beginning with a proof, inductive rationality leads to theory building, understandings, and representing a phenomenon rather than starting with a theory in a deductive mode. Most inductive approaches are guided by connection of empirical observation and conceptual formulations. Analytical induction is the procedure that develop hypotheses such as association proclamation, categories, broad view and also the theory that generates by incorporating classifications by examining events relating to topic. A key task in analytical induction is the abstraction from concrete to a more comprehensive formulation. Analytical induction asks detailed and descriptive questions about events, situations, activities about particular phenomenon. Another prime feature of analytical induction is classification. Constructs are generated in initial analysis of cases and are refined through consideration of succeeding evidences (Robinson, 1951). Analytical induction is the prime feature in data analysis. In this research, understanding is generated on the basis of empirical evidences that were collected from the field in an inductive manner.

3.12.3. Comparative Analysis

In most social sciences research, comparison is central. Comparison can be made in between different units, for instance: individuals, groups, interviews, cases, themes, statements, and settings. The comparison can be in between different points in times which is known as chronological research. After the comparison, these units are scrutinized in order to develop noticeable parallels and variances and this procedure is called comparative analysis. A unique component emerging from grounded theory is constant-comparative analysis. It operates by taking a piece of information like interview, or sentence of some kind and linking it with other can help in decoding the parallels and variances. If these features are secluded they generates a conceptual model to represent a possible relationship between different variables or units. For example, researchers may compare the experiences of two different individuals who have gone through a same situation or were in similar context to participate in critical accounts. These accounts will process the emergence of variances. A comparative qualitative approach is done in a very concentrated

and rigorous manner (Rihoux, 2006). In this research, the comparison has been made in terms of storage spaces, storage practices and its patterns in both rural and urban areas.

3.12.4. Positionality of Researcher

Positionality in research refers to both researcher's worldview and the position that is approved regarding the project of researcher accompanied by socio-political context (Rowe, 2014). From where the researcher is coming or researcher's 'worldview' deals with ontological suppositions that is about how a researcher perceives reality's nature, epistemological suppositions which is belief about knowledge's nature, and suppositions regarding individual's agency (how researcher interact and relate with the environment) (Ormston, Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014).

These positionalities reflects where the researcher is standing and what position the researcher has selected to approve in a given research task. It affects what a researcher has chosen to investigate, how the research will be directed and what kind of conclusions will be deduced (Savin-Badin & Major, 2013). To detect the positionality, a researcher is located in three aspects: 1. the research topic under study, 2. the research respondents/participants, and 3. the context and process of research. There are some aspects of positionality that are socio-culturally driven and are fixed, for example: nationality, skin-color, race, and gender. Other more flexible and contextual aspects are personal life history, political views, and experiences (Chiseri-Strater, 1996). Positionality requires that researchers must acknowledge and allow themselves to locate their beliefs, values, and views related to design, direction, and results of the project.

Reflexive viewpoint and reflecting on oneself is significant and necessary to the continuous process for researcher to recognize, construct, and express their positionality. Simply put, the approach of reflexivity is the researcher's acknowledgement and how they reflect themselves in their study to observe their input and influence on it (Kassis-Henderson , Cohen, & McCulloch, 2018). Positionality is updated by Reflexivity. It involves a clear self-assessment and self-consciousness by the researcher about their positions and views that might directly or indirectly influence data collection and interpretation of results (Holmes, 2020).

3.12.5. Reflexivity

Reflexivity can be done as a two-way process. Reciprocity can be established when the researcher help the respondents to generate critical thinking. For people who engage in practice this approach is specifically significant. Reflexivity impacts the respondents to look at their actions and evaluate them according to their previous experiences. People involved in research can gain rich insights into research by the help of reflexivity by examining their lifestyle and their positionality by the help of a different approach. Reflexivity is significant in reminding the resaerchers not to impose their own representations on the field site. It also emphasizes position of the researcher in the participant's locale and the ways by which participants create their wisdom. The potential of reflexiveness is that it is needed to inform investigators are not the only one involved in the study, but relatively their research requires the perspectives and voices of their participants to increase the awareness of research site (Robertson J. , 2000).

The researcher performed reflexivity on many occasions during the fieldwork, from the time the researcher first enter into the field, during participant observation, and till data analysis. Writing reflexive essays was quite helpful in sustaining and understanding the position of a researcher. This is a very important task because the researcher's personal integrity, ethics, values, competency, social, political, cognitive, and cultural context can influence the research process.

4. STORAGE SPACES

“The more storage you have, the more stuff you accumulate.”

-Alexis Stewart

The first chapter of findings and data analysis deals with the storage spaces of both Najan Sharif and Bahria Town. The researcher thought it was necessary and significant to discover and discuss the spaces where people store their things before exploring the storage practices. In households, space play an important part. They talk about the divisions and their purpose. Every single space is designated to an important task and embodies a meaning. The findings regarding storage spaces, their types, and their access is presented and analyzed in themes below by performing thematic analysis.

4.1. Indoor Storage Spaces

In Najan Sharif, the researcher discovered a clear division between the active spaces and the spaces used for storage. By indoor storage spaces, the researcher means those spaces that are 1. Enclosed and 2. Have a roof. The first few houses had a common type of storeroom that was built at the end of the house that the researcher thought was a guest room. They are very large in size if compared with the overall house space. In order to study storage spaces deeply, the researcher adopted ethno-cartography and created handmade maps and sketches of different houses. Mr. Najam, who accompanied the researcher in reaching out to his home and some other houses said:

“Jadon da may paida hoye aan, mayre kaar da store osi jaga ee ae, wadday gate tae washroom-daekool.”

Translation: From the day I was born, I have seen the storeroom at one specific side, which is near the main gate and washroom.

Mrs. Najam added:

“Ae bara purana kam ae, kaar bnanandian log aes watay store alag rakhdai se k caar wadday hondai se tae anaj, gandum wagara gate tun ae aedar laa laiye.”

Translation: It is a very old practice, while building houses people used to separate store rooms because houses were big and in order to unload crops and wheat they were built near the main gate.

People here try to make a clear distinction between different spaces. Like there is no concept of an attached bathroom with rooms. Bath areas and toilets are a bit far from bedrooms. The same is the case with open kitchen and storage spaces. The major storage space is a big storeroom which is commonly located at one end of the house and the remaining rooms at the other end are joined with open to sky veranda in the middle. The major storerooms are mostly found at ground level.

That is the basic house structure in Najan Sharif but this is not the case in Bahria Town. Here, the big storerooms on one side of the house are not present. Rather the houses here have quite small storerooms on the ground floor only. In urban residences, houses sometimes have a basement which people use as storage but in the second locale of research, the area of the basement is treated as the lower ground floor.

These big storerooms are the main spaces for storage but they are not the only ones. In the house, there are several pantries, some in the kitchen to temporarily store kitchen items and some in bedrooms to permanently store the crockery or other valuables. The bedroom pantries in Najan Sharif were either built in the wall or are separate ones made of wood. Mrs. Shaheen, who is the eldest of three daughter-in-laws of a landlord family gave the researcher a tour of her room.

While discussing pantries she said:

“Ae showcase mere jahiz da ae, tae aedai wich jeray bartan ne o meri maa ne bari mishkilaan naal meray wattay lae k ditay ne. Ae gulabi set France da ae, bara mehenga.”

Translation: This pantry is from my dowry, and the crockery inside it is given by my mother with very much difficulty. This pink glass set is from France, and is very expensive.

While interviewing the other houses, the researcher noticed that the crockery in the pantries is very rarely used and is mostly have just a stored value. Mrs. Shabana was describing very fondly about how much she values the crockery and gifts given at her wedding by her parents,

“Menu ainj lgda ae k ae mere maa paio di nichani hy. Na sirf ae bartan balkay meray jahez di hr shay. Mera dil ni krda me aenu istemal karan, aenj pae baray sonay lgday ne. Mera dil ae k me apni ti nu dawan janez wich kyun k hunt ae aeni maingi chez asi nil ae skday.”

Translation: I feel like it is my mother and father’s memento. Not just this crockery but everything in my jahez (dowry). I do not like to use them, they look good that way. I want to give them to my daughter in dowry because I cannot afford to buy expensive things.

Talking about indoor or enclosed storage spaces, they are used to store things that are not used in daily life, or are preserved for future. In Najan Sharif, Indoor spaces are not actively used and store valuable objects but in Bahria Town they are smaller in size, active in usage, and store daily usage things.

4.2. Open Storage Spaces

Just like indoor spaces with roofs, there are some open spaces for storage as well. These spaces can be big like an average bedroom size or can be smaller as well. In Najan Sharif they are found on the ground floor adjacent to the main storeroom or at the roof of the house. Mr. Shahid who was working on his crop cutting machine discussed that:

“Beta aes jaga tae me fasal kat k rakhna. Me katda Janda aan tae mera putar oodian ghatian bnanda renda ae. Fair asen aes jaga tae rakh dene aan. Ae barish wagera da mosam ni ae tae ena masla ni honda. Magar parianda tun bachana painda ae. Os watay asi tuk k rakhnay aan.”

Translation: In this place, I store the crops that I cut. I cut them and my son makes rectangle packs out of them. This is not the rainy season that's why it's easy to store in an open area. But we have to take care of the birds. Because of that, we cover the crops.

In another house, there is a semi-open space just ahead of the main gate, where sacks of wheat are stored in large quantities. This storage is seasonal and in the upcoming season they will be replaced by sacks of rice. They are stored in a color-coded form, with green sacks for the purpose of selling and yellow sacks for household use.

Another thing that is stored in open spaces is the *Balan* (long wood pieces for generating fire) and *Goe* (small circular buns made from buffaloes' dung used as a fuel). These two types of fuel are readily available in every household of this village.

The researcher was tending the little kitchen garden with the grandmother of a Landlord family, when she clarified the question regarding the storage of *Balan* and *Goe*:

“Putar ae balan asi khareedne nahi aan, balkay jama krnay aan chula jalan watay tae sardian watay. Kaday tun saday naal chalen daryae tavi tae fer kathy le k aaweay. Kamrian wich aeni lakri rakhna mushkil hojanda ae, tae paitian wi kharab hojandian ne.”

Translation: This firewood is not bought by us, instead we collect it and store it to light our clay ovens and for winters. May you come with us to River Tavi and gather the firewood together. It's hard to store that much wood in the storeroom as it put scratches on the steel clamps.

While talking about the gathering of *balan* from River Tavi, the researcher noticed a stack of *goe* on the roof of a nearby house. The researcher went with Mrs. Shahida to that house which belonged to a lower-class family. The house was relatively smaller but they still had the main storeroom. Due to the lack of area on the ground, they had stored their *balan* and *goe* on the roof. Regarding this Mrs. Naila mentioned:

“Asi chaar oortaan aes kar wich renay aan. Pehlay saday kool tandoor si tae asi lokaan nu rotian laga k dendy se. Taan saada balan thallay si. Oon sada tandoor ek taran khatam

hogaya ae tae asi balan hun utay chat tae rakhnae aan. Kaday kadaen saday wattay balan jama krna mushkil hojanda ae par doji oortaan madad krdendian ne.”

Translation: We are four women who live in this house. At first, we had a clay oven and we made flatbread on it for others. At that time, our *balan* (firewood) was put here on the ground. Now, our clay oven is no more and we put our firewoods on the house roof. Sometimes, it becomes hard for us to store the firewoods and then other women help us.

She also added:

“Jadon ziada goe ho jaanday ne tae kolay naiyan dae kar rakhwa denay aan asi.”

Translation: When there are more than enough *goe* (small circular buns made from buffaloes' dung used as fuel), we put them in our neighbor's house.

And just like them four to five other houses also had open storage spaces on the roof. It is also evident that people sometimes share their storage spaces with others. This goes beyond a specific household because of collectivism.

In urban areas like Bahria Town, there are very less open spaces for storage. The researcher has observed two longitudinal open to sky galleries on each side of the house. Their basic purpose is the ventilation of air, they work as air passages but people often use them as storage space.

A grandmother in one of the houses neatly stores her gardening equipment. She expressed that: *“Muzy shuru se hi bagbani ka bohot shoq tha. Abhi to ghar k backyand ne bhi sabzi lagati thi magar bar bar nechay jana mushkil hota tha. Isiliay baghbani ka sara samaan me yahan gali me hi rakhti hon. Meray pota poti bhi yahan apni cyclen rakhtay hain.”*

Translation: I loved gardening from the very start. I planted many vegetables even in the backyard of my residence but it is difficult to go down many times. That's why I put all the gardening equipment here in the gallery. My grandchildren also park their cycles here.

In another house the people have a large steel clamp filled with wheat grains and some buckets of pickle. Mr. Nazir commented:

“Meray abu ko shoq hy k hum apnay gaon ki gandum hi khaya karen. Isiliay hum ne ye parola mangwaya hy. Hr 3 mahinay bad 20 borian gandum ki aati hain or kuch hum idhar hi daltay hain or baqi meray bhai k portion me rakh detay hain. Gandum available space se ziada hi hoti hy har dafa. Ek dafa gandum ko keeray bhi lg chukay hain sirf proper jaga na honay ki waja se.”

Translation: My father is fond of eating the wheat of our village. That's why we have this steel clamp. After every three months, twenty sacks of wheat grains are transported here, some of them we put in this steel clamp and the remaining goes down to my brother's portion. The wheat is always more than the available space. One time, the wheat grains got insects in them just because we had not enough space.

He further added:

“Ye achar meri ami or wife ne dala hy. Ye kisi khas season me hi dalta hy. Iskay bnanay ka process kafi lamba hy to is liay ye bht ziada quantity ki bnatay hain ta k atleast six months tk chal sakay. Isko bhi thek rakhna bht mushkil hota hy. Bht dafa isme fungus lg chuki hy. Isko stored rakhna mushkil hy.”

Translation: This pickle is made by my mother and wife. We can only make it in a specific season. Its process time is very long that's why we make it in large quantity so that we can eat it for at least six months. It is hard to prevent it from being spoiled. Many times it caught fungus. It is hard to be stored.

In most of the houses, these galleries store the laundry system, a way to separate a hectic activity, old plastic material, or the equipment of barbecue. Even though, the open storage spaces in both locales store different things but they do exist side by side with indoor spaces.

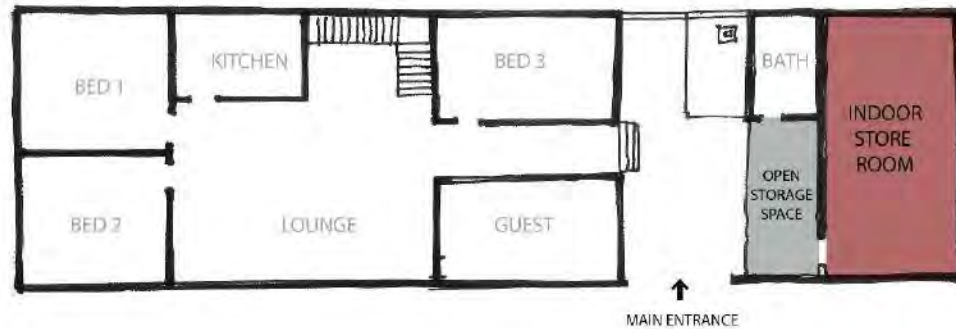


Figure 3: Najan Sharif household showing Indoor and Open storage spaces

The above picture shows the structure of an average household of Najan Sharif. The pink shaded area represents the indoor storage space (main storeroom) which is near the main entrance. The grey shaded area highlights open storage space.



Figure 4: Safari Villas II household showing Indoor and Open storage spaces

The above picture shows the structure of an above average household of Bahria Town Safari Villas II. The pink shaded area represents the indoor storage space (main storeroom and wardrobes). The grey shaded area highlights open storage space.

4.3. Unconventional Storage Spaces

The concrete indoor and open storage spaces mentioned above can be seen as conventional spaces, but there are some unconventional spaces for storage as well which are being actively used in both rural and urban areas. In almost every house of Najan Sharif, there is a pantry (for crockery) and a cupboard (for clothes). The researcher observed many type of things stacked on these furniture's roofs. Mr. Latif, who is the grandfather of five children said that,

“Bachian nu pata ni ki ae apni chezan sai jaga tae rakhdae ee koni. Aena nu bht samjhaya ae magar fair wi apni purani kitabon capian almarian tae showcase dae uttay rakh denday ne.”

Translation: What's wrong with the children, they don't put their things in places. We have guided them so many times but they still put their books and stuff over cupboards and pantries.

Mrs. Fehmida, daughter-in-law of Mr. Latif added that *“Bachian da qasoor ni hy, agar aena dae apnay kamray oowan tae apni chezan sambh k rakhan. Aena dae school khatam honday ni k khalaar tun denday ne almarian di chattan tae.”*

Translation: It is not the children's fault, if they had their own rooms then they could arrange their things properly. When their school ends, they start throwing clutter over the cupboards.

In Najan Sharif, people tend to have clear-cut spaces for every stored thing that in turn produce very little clutter. But still, there are some unconventional spaces to put unwanted things that have no specific space of their own.

Mrs. Shabana pointed towards the steel clamps in the storeroom and said:

“Jadon mosam badalda ae, asi oos hisab naal kapray bistaray kadday rakhnay aan. Agar tae koi chez baar reh jaway fair oo sara time odar ee pai rendi ae. Oon baksian, paitian dae utay chezan pai oon tae khalaria lgda ae tae bari baisti hondi ae.”

Translation: When the season changes, we put in and out several clothes, bed sheets, blankets. When we forget something to store, it remains out for the rest of season. If there are things over steel clamps, it creates clutter and is a kind of insult for us.

Sometimes, the *charpaiyan* (bed made of ropes) are stored over each other and unintentionally create an unconventional place for storing ironed clothes or toys.

Once the researcher was invited to a wedding and was helping a female member in arranging the clothes. She was ironing for the afternoon event when the researcher asked about where to stack the clothes. She replied:

“Tuaday pichay jeri manjian ne ona di chadraan uthawo tae odar lambay paa do. Aes ton betar jaga koni.”

Translation: Behind you, there are *manjian* (bed made of ropes), you can put the clothes on it. There is no better place for it.

Similarly, in Bahria Town, the researcher also observed some amazing unconventional spaces. Here, people have pantries and cupboards that are mainly attached to a wall and are not separate pieces of furniture. So, there was no recording of storing things on their roof. In many households, the gas/electric stove in the kitchen is used as an unconventional storage space where the spare utensils, napkins, cleaning equipment are kept. Mrs. Hamida gave the researcher a tour of her house and while drinking some juice, the researcher questioned about the gas stove that was filled with many things.

Mrs. Hamida said:

“Aath saal pehlay jb hum idhar shift hoe or ye cooking range lgwaya, tb mujy ye use ni krna aata tha. Meri nand ne mujhy sikhaya magar do ya teen try k bad is me chota sa spark or dhamaka hua, tb se hum ne isay use ni kia or unintentionally hum isme gair zaruri chezan rakhtay gae. Ab to ye full-fledged chota storeroom bn gaya hy.”

Translation: Eight years ago when we shifted here and got this cooking range, I didn't know how to use it. My sister-in-law taught me but after two to three tries, there was a spark and a small blast. From then on I never used it and unintentionally we started storing unused things in it. Now it has become a full-fledged mini storeroom.

In another house, the researcher met Mr. Farooq, who has a government job and does a lot of written paperwork. He has to maintain files, and records of various types. He lives on the lower ground floor and uses the fridge as an unconventional space to store his papers and files.

Regarding this habit, his wife Mrs. Farooq told the researcher:

“Asal me ye meray jahiz ka fridge hy jo kafi time pehlay hum me use krna chor dia kyun k hamare oper walay portion me already fridge hy. Ye fridge active ni hy to mere husband ne isme apni files rakhna start krden.”

Translation: Actually it is the fridge I got in my dowry. A while ago we stopped using it because we have a fridge in upper portion already. This fridge is not active so my husband started storing his files in it.

While inquiring more about this kind of usage she replied:

“Pehlay in kay papers ka bohot jhumghatta laga hua hota tha or koi proper jaga ni milti thi jahan hum sambhal k rakh saken. To bus isi tarhan achanak inhon ne fridge me jaga dhondh li.”

Translation: Previously, his papers used to make a lot of clutter and there was no proper place where we could store them. So, just like that he made some space in the unused fridge.

Another example like this was seen where a young boy stored his clothes in an unused fridge just because they got short on space. These kind of practices where one person creates a storage space out of very unusual things is quite common in urban spaces like Bahria Town. In some households of Bahria Town, the dining table is also a form of temporary unconventional space where people put recently washed clothes, towels, shopping bags, and medicines.

In Najan Sharif, the storage spaces are of collective nature where the things that are stored can be used by anyone and if any person (like children) wants to have their individual space then it was difficult. In this way, the children find unconventional spaces like the roofs of cupboards and pantries on their own. In Bahria Town, almost all family members have their separate rooms with attached wardrobe and washroom. The wardrobe acts like there

personal storage space. They lack collective storage spaces so that they create unconventional ones in kitchen's cooking range, or unused fridge.

"The only reason we had an oven at home was that it came attached with the cooker. My mother would keep her frying pans in there and anything else that would fit. Storage was its only use."

–Nadiya Hussain

4.4. Access to Storage Spaces

Indoor, open, and unconventional storage spaces have been discussed above in detail. Before moving to the second domain that is storage practices, the researcher wants to discuss whether the storage spaces are kept locked or not and what kind of people can access them. In rural areas majority of people do not properly lock their storerooms. They just close the door. Mrs. Shahida commented regarding this:

"Sanun aena masla ni honda, asi sirf kundi char denay aan, baki Allah hafiz. Pailaan jadun jangaan lagdian si taan asi tala laa k rakhdai se. Kyun k taan chorian hondian si tae sanun aedroon Tanda Mota jaana painda si. Hun halat thek ne, hun agar tala laiye tae loki akhdai ne ki lakoya ae?"

Translation: We don't encounter any problems, so we only close the door and Allah is the protector. In some olden times, when there were wars happenings, we used to lock the storeroom and everything because we had to move to Tanda Mota (a town in Gujrat). Now that conditions are safe, if we lock the storeroom then people sarcastically say that is there anything you are hiding?

Another female respondent from a landlord family also stated:

"Jadun saddai kar koi shadi biah, koi footki waghera oovay taan asi store nun tala laa k rakhnay aan. Ae bachay chezan aedar oodar krdenday nae khelan wich, tae mera kam wad janda ae. Tae merian pabian wi kendian ne k sanyn saman wakhao jesran me lako k rakha ae. Ae bara raphar hy."

Translation: Whenever there is a wedding or funeral in our house, we purposefully lock the storeroom. The children sometimes turn things upside down while playing which increases my work. And my sisters-in-law also like to prey upon the storeroom like I am hiding something. It is a great fuss.

In some other cases, people do lock their storerooms, sometimes permanently or just at night. Mr. Fazal who belongs to a lower-class family talks about his late parents' belongings. He said that:

“Saday kool zara chota jaya e saman rakhan aala kamra ae tae aeday wich meray maa paio da purana saman ae. Bht kam aesran honda ae k asi kholiay. Bohot arsay bad kholi da ae tae safai kr k dobara band krdenay aan.”

Translation: We have a very small storage room which contains the old belongings of my parents. It is very rare that we open the store. After a long while, we open it for cleaning purposes and again lock it.

In Bahria Town, the storerooms are very small in size as compared to Najan Sharif because here every room has a separate dressing room/wardrobe that works as an indoor storage space. There are no large verandas, so people are not afraid about locking their storerooms. Mrs. Ahmad said that: *“Hamare store room me kuch esa hota hi ni hy k hum lock lagaen. Han jis drawer me gold ki jewellery ho usko lock lagate hain. Or meray father-in-law k pass bhi ek locker hy jisko code laga hua hy.”*

Translation: There is nothing in our store rooms that needs locking. But the drawers with gold jewellery is always locked. And my father-in-law has a locker and it is locked with code.

A respondent from another house stated that:

“Hum lock nahi lagate store ko. Or jahan tk qeemti chezon ki bat hy jese bonds ya gold ki jewelry wo hum bank me hi rakhwatay hain.”

Translation: We don't lock the store. As far as valuable things are concerned like price bonds or gold jewelry that we have put in bank.

In both locales, the locking behavior is quite similar. In urban areas, storage spaces are not locked by most of the people unless they are keeping something valuable at their homes. In a rural area, locking the storage space can reflect less trust in the visitors. This may seem like a small activity but people make a great deal out of it.

Now if the researcher talks about access to storage spaces there are some amazing results. During the fieldwork in Najan Sharif, the researcher observed that mostly females and especially the eldest daughter-in-law is in charge to maintain the storage spaces. Mrs. Shahida, who is the prime key informant in this study as well commented:

“Ae gal taan banddi ae k jera banda kar sambhay fer oye baki chezan wi sambhda ae. Jadon Shafiq Dubaiyon chezan paijda ae oo may saarian lako k rakh lene aan aedar ee. Fer jisraan wi dain delan krna ooway.”

Translation: This happens when a person nurtures and take care of the house, that person also takes care of storage as well. When Shafiq (Shahida's husband) sends gifts and stuff from Dubai, I hide those things in here (pointing towards the storeroom). Then however reciprocity is conducted I distribute them.

Mrs. Shahida's step-sister who also lives in Najan Sharif also has similar duties. She said:

“Jadon me jawan si tae aes taran dae saray kam kr di si. Mera mian fasal wad'da si tae me ono sambh kr rakhdi si. Fair saray rishtaydaran wich wandtay si thora thora hissa. Oon meri ti ae saray kam kr di aay tae me oday putar khidani aan.”

Translation: When I was young I used to do all these activities. Whenever my husband cuts the crops, I used to make piles and store them. After that, I distribute a small portion to our relatives. Now my daughter-in-law handles this and I take care of her sons.

In the second locale, it was evident that most females have the access to the storage spaces. But not just eldest daughter-in-law but any female of the household. Mrs. Tayyaba who has a nuclear family discussed on this subject:

“Jo hamaray ghar me main store room hy us me hum bht tarhan ki chezen store krletay hain. Ziada tar me hi maintain krti hon ya meri maid. Meray husband ki chezen hamari wardrobe me hoti hain to wo wahin apna samaan maintain krtay hain.”

Translation: There are many types of things that are stored in the main storeroom of our house. I am the one who maintains it or my maid. My husband's things are mostly in his wardrobe where he accesses them.

In both locales, women have the prime access to main storeroom. The difference is that, in Najan Sharif, mostly the eldest daughter-in-law is the only one to access storeroom because she performs the processes of *Vartan Bhanji* (reciprocity) in the family. In Bahria Town, almost all of the female members can access the storeroom and it does not contain stored stuff for reciprocity. Access to storeroom can be a display of power in a rural setting but in urban setting it is such a mundane thing to do.

5. STORAGE PRACTICES

In this chapter, household storage practices in rural-urban setting will be discussed in detail and the researcher will try to extract the meanings, connections, or relations it has with human beings.

5.1. Storage and Occasions

Throughout the life, human beings create, come across or become a part of many occasions. Occasions or ceremonies are happenings where people are gathered to commemorate any rite of passage, happiness, sorrow, or decision making. Occasions or ceremonies are not only related to meeting each other, enjoying food, or dressing up but there are so many other implicit activities that happen behind it. There are a great number of storage practices that are related to the foundation and procedure of such occasions where they provide significant contribution.

During fieldwork, the researcher was invited occasionally to be a part of such events and sometimes the researcher deliberately went to attend such occasions in order to observe and gather data. In Asian cultures, events related to sadness such as funerals or death anniversaries are given more importance than joyous events. In this regard, the researcher will also start by discussing first the events related to sorrow and sadness.

5.1.1. Storage and Funerals

In the course of the fieldwork in Najan Sharif, the researcher attended four funerals of three different households. The first funeral was in the land lord's family. The deceased person was an old man of 89 years old. The second funeral was of a newborn child who was few days old and his parents were tenants, the third funeral was of a 96 year old great grandmother of a house where lived four generations together. She originally belonged to a Land lord family but financially not like them and fourth funeral was of a young girl who died because of a disease.

All the four funerals had somethings in common like the religious rituals, crying for and talking about the deceased person, and offering food to the guests, but there were some differences as well. The intensity of crying for the death of newborn and for the young girl was relatively more than the deaths of old man and old woman. This was also quite evident in the offerings of food on all four funerals. On the 3rd day of funerals, *Kora Waata* (serving of food. Also known as bitter stone) is organized and for newborn and young girl, their families served plain rice with chickpeas only. On the other hand, the funeral of a man in his late 80s and a woman in her late 90s were quite different. Their families prepared a grand meal that consisted of rice, curry, and a sweet dish as well. It is rare in Pakistan to serve something sweet at funerals. The shock doesn't end here, they also gave warm *desi ghee* (clarified butter) in small bowls for every person to drink. There were so many people and *desi ghee* is considered as an expensive item there which the women make at home.

The researcher asked about why *desi ghee* was being given to the people. One respondent Mrs. Aisha said:

“Putar inna nay bari lambi zindagi guzari ae, tay taan watay asi twanon koray wattay wich mitha wi khwaya tay desi ghee wi. Aes jaga ty jera wi buzurgh foot honda ae tay odi achi zindagi tay lambi zindagi di khushi wich asi ae denay aan.”

Translation: This person has lived a long life and because of that we served you sweet dish and *desi ghee* (clarified butter) on third day. In our area whenever there is a person who die after successfully living a healthy and long life, we arrange this kind of gathering.

Mrs. Fatima further added that

“Desi ghee batwanae da matlab ae k asen ona nu izat day rae aan. Tay ae das rae aan k oona ne boht changi zindagi guzari apny parawan putran naal.”

Translation: Distribution of *desi ghee* (clarified butter) is a symbol of showing respect to the deceased. We want to convey to the general public that the deceased person has lived a great life with his brothers and sons.

But this was not the case for the other two following funerals. As the deaths were of a newborn and a young girl, who were not able to complete a long life and died very soon. There were no special food offerings and no distribution of *desi ghee*.

After approximately two months, the researcher attended a fourth and last funeral in Najan Sharif. The deceased person was a 96 year old woman. She was the second woman to reach this age in her village. While observing the arrangements for *Kora Watta*, the researcher expected to get a small bowl of *desi ghee* this time as well. When the researcher asked about it to the lady sitting beside, she replied:

"Zarur kyun nahi, labna tae chae da ae, agar oday paikay pind aalian ne jama keta oyega tae zarur labay ga."

Translation: Yes, why not, it (*desi ghee*) should be distributed if her maternal village had had it stored then it will be given.

On this, the researcher was confused and asked for some more clarity regarding this.

Mrs. Amna clarified by saying:

"Jay agar kisi buddi oorat di footki owe tae oody paikay pind aalay lay k aanda ne. Ae ghee aena aasan ni jama krna. O laawan gay doojay pind toon. Asen aidar jera jama krna aan apnay apnay kaar wich o asen sirf apnay pind aalian nu day skne aan yani k mard hazraat. Aes tarhan agar desi ghee jama keta oowe tay kisi di madad oojaandi hy buray waqt wich. Warna ae mushkil honda ae k aena desi ghee kisi dae caar owe."

Translation: If an old woman dies then her maternal family and village (her village before her marriage) brings the *desi ghee* for distribution. Storing *desi ghee* is not an easy task. They will bring it from their village. The *desi ghee* that we store in our houses is only reserved for the men of our villages. That is why, if people have stored the *desi ghee* in their homes then they can help others in need. Otherwise, it is difficult to arrange such quantity by one house.

Mrs. Amna was kind enough to provide information on how this ritual operates. What are its rules and how people regulate it? The key informant of this locale then added:

"Ae desi ghee wi asen store kr k rakhnay aan kisay changay maaray taim watay. Kyun k kisi ek kaar wich aena ni honda jera koray wattay wich sb nu pilaye, pian walay boht log honday ne tae pilan walay ek kaar. Tan watay jera sb apnay kaar jama krday ne o fer marnay alay kaar nu denday ne. Aes taran oona di madad ojandi ae tae paar wi ni painda. Tae na sirf desi ghee magar asi kafan wi pelan tu sambhal k rakhnay aan jera saudia arab tu aanda ae zam zam pani wich pae k. Oo wi oortan de marnay tae paika kaar ae dainda ae."

Translation: We store *desi ghee* for good and bad times because one house do not have enough amount that can be distributed on third day of funeral (*Kora Watta*). The people who will drink *desi ghee* are more as compared to one family that is offering it. That is why, the people who store it, give it to the deceased family as a token of help to ease the burden. Not just *desi ghee* but the *Kafan* (shroud- a white cloth used to wrap a dead body) dipped once in *Zam Zam water* (holy water) is also stored in many houses which our relatives bring from Saudi Arab.

In the second locale, the researcher attended 1 funeral and took information about another one. The funeral was of a 75 year old man and there was food offering only for first day, and they served only rice.

Regarding food offering pattern, Mr. Zaid said that:

"Hamari family me sirf pehlay din khana khilaya jata hy kyun k door se aye hoe log teesray, panchway, ya daswain din nahi aasktay. Agaly dino me qareeb ki family jama hoti hy bus or parhai ki jati hy."

Translation: In our family, food is served on the first day only because people come to city from faraway places and they cannot come on third, fifth, and tenth day of funeral. From second day onwards, there is just immediate family and they do recitation.

When asked about any specific ritual or offering that can pay tribute to the deceased (like the desi ghee in Najan Sharif). Mr. Zaid's mother discussed that: "*Hamara marna bht sada sa hota hy g. Kuch khas krna jese meetha bnwana ya kuch or bantna hamare liay mushkil hota hy or ye chesen khushi manane k sath munsalik hain to hum marnay pr esa ni krsktay. Is se marnay wali ki bayizzati hoskti hy.*"

Translation: Our *Janaza* (funeral) is done in a very simple manner. Nothing special like sweet dish or other such thing is offered to the guests. It is difficult for us because these things are associated with happiness so how can we incorporate it in funeral. It can cause insult for the deceased person.

The other funeral which the researcher was unable to attend was in Choudhry's family and they decided to hold the funeral in their respective village. They arranged the first day and third day food. While asking about why they didn't held the funeral in Bahria Town, the deceased daughter Ms. Amna replied:

"Hum chahtay thay k idhar hi janaza ho magar hamare baron ne kaha k gaon me ho to log ziada ayen gy or yahan hamare pas itna system ni tha k hum ziada logon ko sambhal saken. Gaon me char paiyan, bistaray, or bht si chezen mouyassar hoti hain jo hum ne shehar me ni rakhin."

Translation: We wanted the funeral to be here, but the elders proposed it to be held in village, the reason was that in village there will be many people attending and in Bahria Town we didn't had any system or space to tackle the guests. In villages, we have *charpaiyan* (bedstead), *bistaray* (bedsheets, blankets etc.) and other necessary things are available that we cannot store in cities.

These situation gave the researcher some new insights about how occasions of funeral can vary depending on the deceased age, gender, rank, or other social factors. An amazing thing was the ritual where people distribute *desi ghee* to the mourners and in this village there were a huge number of people that came to mourn on funerals. Almost hundred and fifty to two hundred. Further inquiry in this matter revealed that it is normal for people of this

area to store *desi ghee* so that it can be given to the people of deceased house because no one can arrange ghee of that quantity from their own.

Another observation regarding occasion of funeral was also observed in Najan Sharif. All the people of the village gave some amount of money to a person and that person bought 200 *Peerian* (small stools to sit on). In villages, many people come to mourn the deceased person and the deceased family had to arrange some sort of chairs to set on. For that reason, the residents of Najan Sharif decided to buy 200 *peerian* and stored it at one of the farmer's house. These *peerian* are shared by every house in need. Mr. Zaid said that:

“Pailaan sanun karai tae lae k aandian paindian si pr hun asi apnay gaon wattay peerian le aye aan. Aeda bara faida honda ae, jadun kisay nun loor paway oo lae janda ae. Paa Fiaz dae kaar rakhwaiyaan ne kyun k oona da godaam khali si.”

Translation: Previously (on occasions), we had to take chairs on rent but now we have collectively bought *peerian*. It is a big advantage for us, whenever someone needs it they gets it. They are stored in Brother Fiaz's storeroom because his storeroom was quite empty.

This practice discusses the shared nature of storage system. People as a community has stored an asset that is accessible by anyone at any occasion. When people interact with each other within a community, they develop mutual knowledge. This mutual knowledge give meaning and rise to storage practices.

5.1.2. Storage and Weddings

Storage practices were quite evident when funerals were discussed. Storage rooms does not only store things related to funerals but regarding weddings as well. A wedding is an occasion of happiness and new start where a man and a woman are united in marriage. In many western countries wedding is an occasion of one day only but this is not the case in Pakistan. Here, weddings are a happening of three to five days where the main focus is not just bride and groom but many other rituals that pertain to different relationships in the family.

During the frequent visits to the store rooms in Najan Sharif, the researcher noticed *paitian* (steel clamps) almost in every household. Many stored goods were there in bare form but some were stored inside the *paitian*. When the researcher inquired about its usage, Mrs. Fatima who is the younger daughter-in-law of the house said that:

“In paitian de wich wadi pabi tay mere jahiz da saman ae, saday bistaray, kapray, tay DOJAY saman. Tae wadi pabi di jairi wadi tee ae ooday jahez watay jerian chezan asi laiyan ne oo wi.”

Translation: In these *Paitian* (steel clamps) there is dowry of elder daughter-in-law and my own, our beddings stuff, clothes, and other things. The elder daughter-in-law is also storing the dowry for her elder daughter here as well.

During the discussion, the researcher met the elder daughter-in-law and her daughter. The daughter was just 12 year old and her family was storing *Jahiz* (Dowry) for her. It is quite common in Pakistan and especially in rural areas to store the things for their daughter's wedding. The researcher asked about it to the elder daughter-in-law and she said:

“Bachiyān watay jahiz samnbhna tay aes lai zaruri honda ae k akhri taim wich koi masla na hovay. Tae jahiz tae ek taraf sanon vartan vi krna painda ae tae oday watay wi pailan ton samnbh k rakhne aa chezan. Jo sanon ditian kisay ne ooi asi wapis krnay aan ya aapon we denay aan. Jirian dosran ne daiyan ne saanon oo asi paitian wich store kr k rakhnay aan agay vartan wich kam awandi ae.”

Translation: Arranging and storing dowry for daughters is important in order to avoid last minute difficulty. Dowry being one thing, we have to perform *Vartan Bhanji* (reciprocity) and for that we store things. The things that people give us must be reciprocated by their own things or by us. Other people's gifts are stored in steel clamps in order to reciprocate.

Basically, during weddings the stored goods are not only meant for the bride's dowry but many types of things are stored in order to regift it or to perform *vartan bhanji*.

Mrs. Fatima added:

“Paisay, Jarjat dae joray, tae trayan, ae jadon sanon kisay di shadi ton labda ae tae asi istemal ni krday balkay sambh lenay aan agay oona di shadi tae dain watay. Tae jirian khan peen aalian chezan hondian ne oo vi store krnay aan tae khanday rehnday aan jadon tk o chalda ae.”

Translation: Money, georgette suits, and trays, when we get it on weddings, we don't use them instead we keep them safe in order to return them on their weddings. And the edibles are stored and eaten accordingly till it is finished.

The researcher got the idea about the material things used for reciprocity but needed more insights into the domain of edibles.

With respect to this the researcher attended *Dholki* (music night) at Mr. Alam's home. In this village, the event of dholki is celebrated before the actual three events of the wedding. The researcher had to bring 1 kg *Gur* (jaggery) as a token of gratitude to their invitation. Mrs Alam beamed with joy and said that:

“Tusi tae saday mehman oo, tusi gur sadaywatay lae k aye? Me jaga bna bna k thak gai aan k kithay rakhan ena gur.”

Translation: You are our guest, you brought *gur* (jaggery) for us? I am tired of making space, where should I put all this jaggery.

With that being said Mrs. Alam went to the store room where she purposefully made a space to store the *gur* in some tin boxes. The *gur* was really in a huge quantity and occupied a full corner.

In Najan Sharif, people also display the dowry in the last days of *Dholki* till *Mehendi* ceremony. They show what they have stored from years and also what other relatives have given their daughter.

In Bahria Town, the wedding festivities are observed as a three day event with one event of *dholki* before it. People here also store *jahiz* for their children but in less quantity as compared to Najan Sharif.

Mrs. Humaira who just wedded off her daughter few days ago discussed that:

“Hamari family me jahiz dena bht zaruri hota hy or hum apni beti k liay bht si zarurat ki chezen le k rakhtay thy. Magar jb hamen laga k yahan hamare pass jaga kam hogai hy to hum ne apnay gaon me wo chezen rakhwaen.”

Translation: Giving dowry is very important in our family and we store the daily usage things for our daughter. But when we thought that we don’t have much space here then we shifted the goods in our village home.

Women store things for their younger generation. The concept of storing dowry is more rigid in rural area because the rural households are so spacious, airy, and expect guests almost everyday, their domestic sphere is very collectivistic. That’s why, more things are stored. In urban areas, the quantity of dowry is little and sometimes the parents even give money instead of dowry.

5.2. Indoor Storage practices

By indoor storage practices, the researcher means practices that are kept in stores or away from sunlight and moisture. In Najan Sharif, every household had steel clamps of various sizes in order to store different things. The major part of any storeroom contains sacks of different crops, plastic goods, broken pieces of furniture, and steel tools. The more valuable items are stored neatly inside the steel clamps like the dowry collected for the unmarried female members of the household or the stuff used in *Vartan Bhanji* (reciprocity). This theme will be presented in two sub-themes.

5.2.1. Food

In this sub theme edibles items will be discussed. Mrs. Shahida informed:

“Aedar loki baaz ookaat barfi, achar tae gur kaar bna k bechday ne. Ziada tr bori buddian achar bmandian ne tae dud rircan aali mitti dae matkay wich rakhnay aan.”

Translation: People here sometimes make *Barfi*, *Achar*, and *Gur* at home and even sell it. Mostly, the makers are older women and they store the achar in old milk containers made of clay.

Mrs. Kubra told the researcher about the dried items that she dried under sunlight and preserved them in boxes: *“Ae kilo kilo dae dabbay nae jidae wich ami dae huqqay watay tambaku, sukhian mirchaan, suka tannia, paa k rakhiya ae. Aes tun ilawa chawal, gandum, baajra tae daalaan choti paitian wich ne.”*

Translation: These are 1-kilo boxes in which I have stored the dried tobacco for my mother-in-law's hookah, dried red chilies, and dried parsley. Other than that there are rice grains, wheat grains, and pearl millet in small steel clamps.

Sacks of wheat, rice and maize flour are also stored indoor. Only the whole grains are stored either inside or outside openly.



Figure 5: Indoor storage of crops

In Bahria Town, people also store grains and dried herbs but in relatively smaller quantities. There was total of five households that take grains of daily usage from their villages and they have at least one to two steel clamps to store them. But the majority of the people prefer to buy rice and wheat sacks in their groceries.

In a household, three women were cutting mustard leaves. The daughter-in-law asked the researcher:

“Aj hum akhri baar saag bna rahay hain, ye sarsun mere gaon se aaya hy or aj hi isko paka k rakh lengy. Kia ap lena chahen gay?”

Translation: It is the last time we are making *saag* (an edible type of curry), these mustard leaves are from my village or we will cook it today. Would you like to have some?

The researcher showed gratitude for the offer and asked more about the storage of *saag*. The respondent then clarified:

“Asal me ye saag ziada dair k liaykh nahi sktay to hum winters me hr month k start me bnate hain or fridge me store krletay hain, phir jb bhi bnana ho to tarka laga lete hain.”

Translation: Actually, the mustard leaves wither very fast and in winters we cook them in large quantity at the start of every month and then store it in the fridge. After that, whenever we feel like eating *saag*, we fry it in *desi ghee* and eat it.

In both locales, food is stored either in dried, preserved or cooked form. These storage practices are related with indoor or enclosed storage spaces.

5.2.2. Trash

Above discussed category 'food' is seen as human beings' basic needs and there are many types of food that are stored in frozen, dried, and preserved form which is quite easy to understand. But the conscious and unconscious storage of trash in households was an ambiguous thing that was needed to be understood. In both locales, the researcher confronted a variety of stuff that had no use and was just added to the clutter.

In Najan Sharif, the unused stored material included rubber and metal junk that is in large quantity. Mrs. Kausar delightfully pointed towards her son and said:

“Asin ae loha taki taan sambh k rakhnae aan k ae munda kaday kadaein ae dae k patisa lay linda ae. Reri aala puranay tair, tuttay magay, tae lohay dian purani chezan le linda ae.”

Translation: We let the iron junk be stored so that this boy (her son) can exchange it with some Patisa. The wheel cart man takes the old tires, broken mugs, and iron junk.



Figure 6: Rubber and Steel junk of two households

In Bahria Town, the researcher once met four female members of a joint family and started discussing the unused stored things they have in their house. Ms. Zunaira, the daughter of the eldest daughter-in-law discussed: *“Ziada tar hamare ghar kapron ka trash hy. Hum pehennana chor detay hain or wo kapray jaga kam kr detay hain. Jb hum Sukkur me rehtay thay tb esay bht log hotay thy jinko hum puranay kapray de detay thy. Jese k hamare school ki aya ji, ya maids. Yahan hamare us tadhan k relationships nahi hain kisi k sath k purani chezen day saken.”*

Translation: In our house, there is mostly the trash of old clothes. We stop wearing them and they just occupy the space. When we used to live in Sukkur, there were many people to whom we could give our old clothes. Like the female workers in our school. In this area (Safari Villas II) we don't have links like we had previously so we couldn't donate our clothes.

Zunaira's mother added: *“Asal me meri dewarani jb New Zealand shift hoen to apnay bht se purane bags or kapray idhar chor gaen. Unki family ka bht sa saman bikhra para hy or hum samait samait k thak gae hain. Na wo saman use hoskta hy, na kisi ko de sktay hain.”*

Translation: When my sister-in-law shifted to New Zealand, she left her old bags and clothes here. Her family's stuff is cluttered here and we are tired of storing it. That stuff is not in a condition to be used and we can't throw that as well.

The researcher has observed that in Najan Sharif there are many types of containers made of steel, plastic, or clay to store a variety of things but in Bahria town, the containers are mostly of plastic.

5.3. Outdoor Storage Practices

In both locales of this study, there were some open spaces used for storing things. The majority of the items stored openly are dried in nature. In rural areas, firewood and dung cakes are stored openly on the ground near the main storeroom or on the roof. Many people even store a large number of raw crops outdoor.



Figure 7: Goe (Dung Cakes) stored in an open space in Najan Sharif

Mrs. Taira who was working in her open kitchen said: *“Putar saday aenay waday lakar tae goe asi store wich ni rakh skday. Jaan di jaga wi howay gi tae Paitian kharab ho jandian ne. Taan lai aedar baar ee rakhnay aan.”*

Translation: The big branches or tree trunk pieces can't be stored in the storeroom as they can limit access or can scratch the steel clamps. That's why it is stored outside.



Figure 8: *Balan* (firewood) stored in an open space in Najan Sharif

Mr. Jamal who is a farmer by profession said that: “*Asi ae bajray dae sittay kat k andar rakh lae nae tae aeday tanay kat k charay waday bar rakhan gay.*”

Translation: We have cut the upper part of millet and store it inside but its lower stems are crushed and stored outside to be eaten by animals.



Figure 9: A farmer in Najan Sharif cutting the maize stems

On the other hand, in urban areas, there are mostly plastic goods that are stored in open areas like water bottles, plastic buckets containing fermented or preserved food.

Regarding this Mr. Jamal informed us: *“Garrage me hamare ghar walay bht si plastic buckets rakh letay hain. Ab ye to white paint ki baltian pari hain inko teen saal hogae hain. Shayad expire bhi hogai hon but hum inko phenk ni rahay k agay kaam aaskti hy.”*

Translation: In the garage, my family members put plastic buckets. These white paint buckets have been here for three years. Maybe they are even expired now but we are not throwing them away coz they might be useful in the future.

5.4. Seasonal Storage

“Storage is important. Whether it is cushions you only use outside in the summer, or blankets that only come out in the winter, you’ve always got to think of where to store them.

-Anthea Turner

Storage practices that are restricted to a specific season or fluctuate accordingly. Both the locales of this study enjoy all four seasons and that is why there is a variety of different storage practices.

In Najan Sharif, before winters many different energy bars or sweet dishes are made. Throughout the winter, these dishes serve as a breakfast for the local people because it's a bit hard to sort fire for cooking. Mrs. Khatija always makes *Alsi di Pinian* (energy balls made from flax seeds and other nuts) with the help of her mother-in-law.

Regarding the making, she said:

“Pailan asi bht chezan bananday si magar kafi saalan tun bus alsi di pinian bna rahay aan. Meri ami g ne menu tae apni beti nu sikhaya ae. Asi bna k steel dae wadday panday wich rakh lenay aan tae sardian wich hr saweray kad k cha naal kha lenay aan. Aes dafa asi do soo bnayeean ne. Pehlaan ziada bnanday si. Agar khatam ho jawan tae oor bna lene aan.”

Translation: We used to make a lot of dishes before, but for a few years we are only making *Alsi ki Pinnian*. My mother-in-law has taught me and her daughter. After making it, we store it in a steel vessel and in winters all the family members eat it with tea as a breakfast. This time we have made two hundred balls. We used to make more. We make more if we run out of it.



Figure 10: *Alsi di Pinnian* stored for winters

Another respondent Mr. Ahmad stated that:

“Jadon navamber da taim aanda ae, tae kar aaliyan bolan shuru hojandian ne k sarsun da tail kadwa k liawo asi pinnian bnanea ne. Ae zaruri honda ae k decembar tun pailaan sb loki bna lain jo wi bnana ae.”

Translation: When November is around the corner, our family starts telling us to extract the mustard oil so they can make *pinnian*. It is important that *pinnian* are made before the month of December.

In another household, the researcher observed a 15-year-old young girl was arranging the dry fruits. When the researcher inquired her about that, Farah said:

“Me bachpan se hi mama or chachi ki help krti hon panjeri bnanay me. Ab to mujy itna pata chal gaya hy k konsa dryfruit kitna dalay ga. Muji wese badam pasand hain. Hum sb panjeeri khatay hain magar dada abu pinnian, kyun k un k liay desi ghee sahi ni hy.”

Translation: I have been helping my mother and aunt from my childhood. Now I know the quantities of dry fruits. I personally prefer more almonds. All of us eat *Panjeeri* but my grandfather eats *Pinnian*, because desi ghee is not is not good for him.

Panjeeri and *Panda* are made according to the same recipe but their consistency is different, both these dishes are made in desi ghee while *Pinnian* are made in Mustard Oil.

These dishes are high in nutrition and energy and are taken as breakfast, people of this area has no gas lines and they use natural biofuel or gas cylinder. In winters, it becomes more difficult to make breakfast in cold mornings so these dishes are stored for the whole winters. In urban areas, there are facilities of gas, heater, etc. So these practices are not found there.

When the winters are over, all of the family members including men, women, and children participate in storing the winter clothes, beddings, and other things. In Najan Sharif, it is a sight worth watching. From early morning, women start washing the blankets, sweaters, and clothes and the velvet quilts are spread under sunlight to disinfect the germs. The men clean and dry the steel clamps. The little kids help in drying up the clamps. Some hold it and the others go down into the large clamps so that everything is neatly packed.

Mrs. Khatija shared:

“Wai pailaan tae maafii dawo sano, aenay khalaar wich tuano buaya ae. Asen subah dae lagay aan tae koshish aehi ae k kal tun pailan kam hoo jaway. Jera wi patla sukha bacha honda ae onu asi waar denay aan paiti wich. Saman rakhwaan watay.”

Translation: Well, forgive us first, you had to witness this chaotic situation. We are doing these household chores from the morning, and we don't want to delay it till tomorrow. Whoever is the slimmest child goes into the steel clamp in order to put the things there.

In Bahria Town, people also store their winter stuff which are high in quantity but they don't store their summer stuff. Summer things remains out throughout the year.

Not just food and edible materials are stored for humans but also for animals. Mrs. Fatima, a woman who just turned ninety this year lives alone in her house. She manages everything by herself because her son lives in Canada. She has one buffalo that she takes care of. During the interview she mentioned:

“Garmian wich tae ae meri bhains kaa kha lendi aae magar sardian wich kaa shaa koni hondi. Aes watay sb loki sardian watay Pou jama krday ne. Kaar dae ek konay wich taeri laa k oday utay mitti da laep krdenay aan. Pori sardia fer aenu istemal karida ae oday thalay nikki jai pori bna k. Kar dae ilawa kuch lok zameenan wich wi waddi taerian laanday ne jinna dae ziada janwar howan.”

Translation: In summers my buffalo eats grass but in winters there is no greenery. That's why the people store *Pou* (grounded wheat and millet's stems and peels) to be used in winters. In one corner of the storeroom, a pile of *Pou* is made and is covered with liquid soil. When the soil dries, a hole is made on the bottom to retrieve the *Pou* in order to use it. Other than households these piles are made in fields as well if they have more animals.



Figure 11: *Pou* (Hay) in a stored form

In Najan Sharif, the cattle is considered as a part of family. People here store many types of dried edible stuff for animals which then is used in winters. It is stored in a way that is waterproof, after making a mountain of dried grass and barley straws, layering of clay is done.

5.5. Everlasting Storage

By everlasting storage, the researcher means those things that have been stored for a very long time. These include old silver crockery, belongings of old people who have passed away, souvenirs, heirlooms, or valuable items. This theme will be discussed in two sub-themes below.

5.5.1. Storage related to memory

“All of us approximately know what memory is. I mean, memory is sort of the storage of the past. It’s the storage of our personal experiences. It’s a very big deal.”

–Daniel Kahneman

People in both locales were observed storing things that are or were related to people close to them. In Najan Sharif almost in every household, there is a collection of things that had been related to people who took part in the Kashmir wars. Mrs. Khatija showed a wooden trunk to the researcher in which there was a small dagger, a white cotton turban, an old prayer mat.

She discussed:

“Ae sb chezan Atiq dae nana g dian ne. Baray mazhabi insan si tae fouj wich si. Pehlan aedar bari jangan oondian si kyun k Kashmir jae nairay ae tae oona dina wich ee Babaji gaon khali krwa rae si jadon ona nu shaheed krditta. Kothay tun chalang lai tae ae chitti pagri darakt wich reh gai. Taan tun asi sambh k rakhi ae. Ae lakri da baqsa wi onna da ee ae.”

Translation: All these things belong to Atiq's (Mrs. Khatija's husband) maternal grandfather. He was very religious and was in the army. In olden times, people witnessed many wars because Kashmir is in proximity, in one of those wars he was vacating the

village when he was martyred. When he jumped from the roof, his turban got stuck in the tree. From then on we have stored everything that belonged to him.

In previous times, men of this village used to have a small dagger in their pockets all the time. This is in actuality a tradition of Sikh culture that diffused to these people. Many people have small daggers in their homes which originally belonged to their grandfathers.

Mrs. Sadia, a newly wedded woman showed some embroidered silk caps and said:

“Meray husband ki dadi ye topian bnati theen or istemal krti theen. Ye bht purani hain magar abhi tk kafi paidaar hain kyun k meri saas ne inko sambhal k rakha. Jb bhi meray bachay inhe dekhtay hain to bht mazaq uratay hain k apne kia rakha hua hy ab tk? Inko bara ho k pata chalayga iski importance ka.”

Translation: My husband's grandmother used to make and wear these silk caps. They are quite old but in good condition, because my mother-in-law took great care of them. My kids make fun of us because we can't let go of these old things. But they will understand the importance once they grow up.

She also added:

“Meri sas ne to apnay hr bachay ki chand, kapray or pehla toota dant bhi rakhay hoe hain ta k unko bachpan ki stories yad rahen.”

Translation: My mother-in-law has stored her every child's chand, clothes, and first fallen teeth so that she can narrate the stories.

In Bahria Town, many people had some sort of stored material that they attach to memories of others. Mr. Sajid who was shifted from Sukkur city to Bahria Town 6 years ago has an old vespa of his father, army medals, and a pistol of his grandfather. He is fond of these things and is very adamant on storing more valuable items that once belonged to his elders.

He told the researcher:

“Mae kafi arsay se ye vespa talash krraha tha or mujy ye sukkur k kisi banday se mila or is kay box me abhi bhi abu k naam ki rassed hy. Mujy pasand hy ye chezen jama krna. Hum jb bhi storeroom kholtay hain to me apnay bachon ko in sb chezon se related stories sunata hon.”

Translation: I was looking for this Vespa for quite a while and I got it from a person in Sukkur and the Vespa's trunk even had the receipt under my father's name. I like to collect and store these things. Whenever we open the storeroom I tell my children stories related to each object.

In this theme, it becomes clear that storage is not only done to secure future but it can be a way to remember about the past. Old objects and stories attached to them can help in the process of enculturation.

5.5.2. Storage and Aesthetics

Stored goods can be valuable or can be equivalent to trash, but human beings still store both. In both rural and urban locales of this study, the researcher observed pantries and the crockery stored in them. According to people, these crockery items are either very valuable or given to them as dowry.

In Najan Sharif, there are three families who possess old silver crockery and they display them on the upper shelves of their storeroom. Mrs. Taira informed the researcher:

“Ae chandi dae bartan, Pakistan dae banan tun pailaan de nae. Aena nun sambh k rakhna bara ookha ae. Ae aedar bht pailaan dae pai ne. Saday koul lohay dae wi bartan ne pr oo wich ee paiti dae pae ne.”

Translation: This silver crockery set is older than Pakistan. It's difficult to take care of it. It has been here like that for ages. We also have utensils made of iron but they are in the steel clamps.



Figure 12: Pantry (Crockery Cabinet) to store crockery in Najan Sharif

In another house, the researcher witnessed handmade wooden trays stored as a form of decorative pieces on wall racks. Mr. Shah especially pointed towards them and told the researcher:

“Meray dada g ko lakri tarashna pasand tha. Wo bartanon me trays or furniture me kursian bnatay thy. Unki bnai hoi ek kursi store me hy. Wo thek krwa k hum ne living room me rakhni hy halan k koi bhi us pr ni bethay ga uski nazuki ki waja se. Jo bhi hamare ghar aata hy bht heeran reh jata hy inko dekh k kyun k ab eesi chezen nahi bnti.”

Translation: My grandfather loved carving wood. He used to make wooden trays and chairs. One of his handmade chairs is in the storeroom. We will repair it and put it in the living room, even though no one would sit on it because of its delicacy. Whoever comes to our home is always shocked because things like that are very rare.

In Bahria Town, Mrs. Ahmad has a fixed wooden pantry in the dining hall. When she shifted to Rawalpindi, she especially asked to create one in order to store her and her three

daughter-in-law's crockery. There are various dinner sets, tea and coffee sets, and other items.

One of her elder daughters-in-law commented:

“Khala ko bartanon ka bohot shoq hy. Wo jb shopping pr jati hain to kuch na kuch le aati hain or phir showcase me uski jaga bnani parti hy. Asal me ye bartan kabhi bhi use ni hotay, magar khala ka dil krta hy k sb dekhein.”

Translation: My mother-in-law is very fond of crockery. She always gets something to showcase in the pantry while shopping. And we have to make space for new additions. Actually, this crockery is never used, but my mother-in-law wants everyone to see it.



Figure 13: Pantry (Crockery Cabinet) to store crockery in Safari Villas II

Even though the main purpose of a pantry is to store crockery and other utensils but humans have designed this storage space in a way that it looks decorative and aesthetically pleasing.

Goods like guns, pistols, and rifles used by the grandfathers are also stored in a very decorative way.

5.6. Temporary Storage

Temporary storage means things are stored for a limited period of time, for example, a thing is stored for a few months or people are continuously consuming the stored item. Under the theme of temporary storage, the majority of practices are related to food and its daily consumption. It was the season of winter when the researcher first visited Najan Sharif. People were clearing out their storerooms and kitchens because winters were also coming to an end. People here store potatoes in order to bake them at night when everyone is sitting around the bonfire. While having the last potato baked in dung cake the researcher asked about other stuff that is temporarily stored. Umer, a young boy of 17 years informed:

“Kar da soda thoray taim watay rainda ae tae hr mahinay ono liana honda ae. Aesi taran jadon shadian hondian ne tae kar bht mithai, cheeni, botlaan, aandian ne. Ae fer taan ee honda ae jadon koi shadi howe kar wich.”

Translation: The grocery for the home remains stored for a short time period and is renewed every month. In this manner, during weddings, the store or fridge gets filled with sweets, sugar, and cold drinks given by guests. This happens when there is a wedding in the house.

In urban areas, the situation is also like that, grocery is a prime example of temporary storage and also there were many families in Bahria Town that preferred having their meals on the carpet and that’s why the dining table sometimes become a space to temporary store thing on.

5.7. Gender and Storage

The major findings of this study reflect a gendered pattern in storage practices. In order to have a hefty amount of organic fuel, women with their little girls wander around the village

to gather firewood. Women are the ones that take full care of the life stock and their food, and that's why they also end up making dung cakes which are also used as fuel throughout the year. Gathering and making the fuel is not the only job women do but they are solely responsible for storing them as well. A little girl Amna, barely 12 years old commented:

“Maenu tae meri ami nu takreeban do wari balan chuunan jana painda ae haftay wich. Asi ziada tar sham houn tun pailaan janday aan, taan daabra wi khali kr aanay aan tae lakri wi chun lianay aan.”

Translation: I and my mother have to go to gather the firewood at least two times a week. We usually go before the sunset, and we throw our garbage and gather some wood.

Mrs. Ahmad also added:

“Mae apni sas naal jadun haveli jaani aan tae lakri chun k liani aan. Fer oonu kat kat k githana maarni aan. Meri beti rakh aandi ae fair store wich. Wadday lakar asi haveli wich ee rakhnay aan tae chotay kar. Fair jadon wi ag balni ooway chullay wich ya chat tay taan asi kad lenay aan. Bohot oortaan chat tae wi balan rakhdian ne ta k tup lagdi raway.”

Translation: When I go to Haveli with my mother-in-law, I gather the firewood. Then I make packs and my daughter stores them accordingly. The large pieces of wood are kept at Haveli and the small ones are kept at home (both in open spaces). Whenever there is a need to light the fire on the stove or on the roof, we use them. Many women store the firewood on their roofs so they can get sunlight.

During the fieldwork, it became quite clear that women have their designated paths where they go every day in order to throw garbage, collect milk from milkwomen, and gather firewood. These tasks are strictly associated with women.

In Najan Sharif, taking care of the cattle is also a women's duty, who in turn makes dung cakes out of the dung of cows and buffaloes. It is a year-long process because every family needs fuel other than firewood and fertilizer.

Mrs. Amna handles her cattle in an extra land attached to home. Regarding her duty she said:

“Subah aena majjan nu chara paa k sukay goe utarni aan. Fair sham tun pailaan sara goya sal k thaaprian lagane aan. Me bohoh aakhni aan k meri beti madad krday meri par oo schoolun aa k thak jaandi ae. Jadun kar le k aa jani aan taan meri beti odi tairian laa lendi ae.”

Translation: In the morning, I arrange fodder for animals and collect the dried dung cakes from walls. Then before evening, I collect the dung and apply the dung cakes on the wall (for it to be dried in a few days). I ask my daughter to help me but she is always tired after coming from school, but she helps in storing the dung cakes at home.

In another house, Mrs. Zohra who is 48 years old milks her buffaloes while her daughter-in-law takes care of the rest of the house. Mrs. Zohra discussed her responsibilities:

“Mae batti di si jadun da me ae kam sambhalia ae. Roz subah bhainsaan da dud chona. Pailaan tae bot log aanday si par oon kam oo gae ne. Jaira wi dud asi kar watay istemal krnay aan oodi malai jama kr k me makhan tae desi ghee jama krni aan. Ae wi mera ee kam ae.”

Translation: I was thirty-two year old when I started doing this work. I milked the buffaloes every morning. Previously, there were many people who used to buy milk from us but now there are very few. The milk I use for our home, its cream is stored for at least two months and then I make butter and desi ghee and store them as well. This whole process is my work.

In the urban areas also, women tend to do all the work related to storage. The main storeroom, the wardrobes, and other valuable things are stored under the supervision of female members of the household.

Mrs. Sara is a housewife in a nuclear family, she commented:

“Mae or mere husband jb bhi grocery krtay hain to sb chezon ko store krna meri zimmaydari hoti hy. Main storeroom me shoes hotay hain to wahan hum edibles nahi rakh sktay to wahan hum chemicals, polishes, ya plastic ka saman rakhtay hain. Dalain or baki khanay penay wali chezan kitchen cabinets me store hoti hain.”

Translation: When I and my husband do grocery shopping then storing the stuff is my responsibility. In the main storeroom, there are many shoes that's why I can't store edibles there. So, we store chemical stuff, polishes, or plastic goods. Pulses and other edibles are stored in kitchen cabinets.

She further added:

“Isi tarhan kapray samait k rakhnay hotay hain season k hisab se. Apny bhi or lain dain walay bhi.”

Translation: Exactly like that, the clothes are also stored according to the seasons. Our own clothes and the ones used for reciprocity.

The gender division structure on storage practices can be interpreted as women being more dominant than men in these practices because in collectivist societies women tend to be associated with the private sphere of the house and also the rules of reciprocity are initiated and processed by female members. Just because in literature women is associated more with private sphere, she initiates and maintains storage system and thus play an important role in maintaining domestic sphere.

6. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF DOMESTIC SPHERE

In the last chapter of the analysis, the researcher wants to explore the changes people encounter in the domain of storage and storing practices and how they implicitly influence them.

The researcher has studied the spaces very deeply and has also taken part in different storage activities for the purpose of deciphering the meanings. Above two chapters of analysis were presented and discussed from a very micro-level perspective. This chapter will be dealt with a more meso and macro-level perspective.

6.1. Changes in Structure and Its Influence

In this theme, the researcher will present some findings that were quite different to be merged in the above themes. The researcher will look at how the certain structure of houses and their construction can influence the storage spaces and practices, eventually leading to changes in the domestic sphere.

The researcher will discuss the examples from both Najan Sharif and Bahria Town in order to draw a rural-urban comparison.

Mr. Ahmad is 87 years old and one of the earlier residents of Najan Sharif. He was diagnosed with dementia in 2018. His son Mr. Shafiq discussed:

“Abu g di ae halat do hazar atharaan tun ae. Sanun lagda si k abu apni ami nu yad kr kr k aes taran oo gae ne pr mamla koi or si.”

Translation: My father's condition is like this since 2018. We thought that our father is missing his mother (whom he lost during one of the Kashmir wars) that's why he is like that but the reason was something else.

He further added:

“Do hazar atharaan wich asi meray chotay pai di shadi krni si tae asi apnay puranay kaar tun kafi tang aagae si. Asi faisla keta k kaar nu dobara bnwaeye ta k ek nawa kamra bn jaway tae baranday di chat pae jaway, tae chat waddi wi oo javay. Magar abu ne bara

mana keta. Jadun kaar bn gaya tae abu bht chup chup rain lg gae. Oday bad ee ona nu kafi dafa dora paya tae check krwa k sanu pata laga k aena nu pullan da malsa hogaya hy.”

Translation: In 2018, we hold the wedding ceremony of our youngest brother, and we were fed up with our old house. So, we decided to renew the structure of our house, a new bedroom was integrated, the veranda was covered (because of weather), and the roof was expanded. But my father highly refused this idea. When the house was rebuilt, my father stopped talking to anyone and preferred quietness. After that, he started getting fits and after checkups, we got to know that he has dementia.

Mr. Ahmad's condition was explained by his son-in-law:

“Inko humne Islamabad k best neurosurgeon se check krwaya hy. Asal me inki ye condition tb start hoi jb ghar dobara bnwaya. Inko ab apna room, wo jaga jahan ye shave krtay thy or inki saman rakhne ki jaga ni milti thi to wo bilkul chup hogae. Inko purana ghar yad aata hy or unko lgta hy k ye inka ghar nahi. Purana ghar unhon ne apnay hathon se bnaya tha or hr barish k bad is pr mitti ka laip krtay thy. Or zameenon me janay se pehlay jahan apna saman rakhtay thy wo jaga b ab ni hy.”

Translation: Islamabad's best neurosurgeon checked my uncle. Actually, his condition started when the house was rebuilt. When he could not find his room, the place where he used to do his shave, and the space where he used to store his tools, he became silent. He misses the old house because he thinks this is not his house. He made the old house with his hands and after every rainfall, he used to do layering of clay on the walls. And when he used to come back from his fields, he stored his tools and that space is also no more.

In Mr. Ahmad's case, there is strong probability that the change he felt in his house deeply saddened him to the point that he doesn't even remember his home. The change in structure of the house also effected the map he had in his mind. Washroom is the only place he can go by his own will, because washroom is the only space that did not change. Otherwise he stays only on his bed in the living room. If he had encountered the same spaces before

rebuilding, this could have helped his condition with dementia. It's like he craved for the old spaces where he used to store his tools.



Figure 14: New and Old structure of Mr. Ahmad's house showing difference in storage spaces

The above picture shows the current structure of Mr. Ahmad's household, where the main storage space is at right side only (shaded in pink). The bottom structure is the old structure of the same house where there were two main indoor storage spaces from which one was used by Mr. Ahmad's storing space.

In a quite similar situation, Mrs. Fatima who is 90 years old and lives alone in a house witnessed a change in her house structure. She talked about it:

“Mera putar baar dae mulak honda ae tae meri beti Pindi hondi ae. Aena ne zid kr k kaar nu dobara bnwaya. Hun mera dil ni lgda aedar. Adat jae pae gai si. Hun samajh ni aandi kerri chez kidhar rakhan.”

Translation: My son lives overseas and my daughter lives in Rawalpindi. They were so stubborn in rebuilding the house. I don't like living here because I was habitual of the old house. Now, I don't know where to put what thing.

Mrs. Abida's daughter who frequently comes to Najan Sharif in order to take care of her mother added:

“Humne ami ko bohot dafa samjhaya hy k mere pas aajaein ya bhaijaan k pas Canada chali jaen magar ami maanti nahi hain. Wo bht zid krti hain k jo ghar un kay shohar ne bnaya udhar hi rehna hy. Ab wo is bat pr gussa krti hain k hum ne ghar dobara bnwaya. Wo ek bhains bhi sambhalti hain to bus us k charay k liay ab ziada jaga nahi rahi.”

Translation: We tried to persuade our mother many times about her living with my brother in Canada or with me but she always refuses. She stresses on to live in the house which was constructed by her husband. Now, she gets angry that we reconstructed the house. She takes care of a buffalo and she no more has enough space to store *pou* for her buffalo.

Mrs. Abida is more or less in a same situation like Mr. Ahmad. She does not leave her village house because it was built by the hands of her husband, she feels that she will loose her identity if she starts living somewhere else. She does not have dementia or any other disease but she lives alone and is now very weak. That's why, her son decided that new house can decrease her workload. But it did not work because now she is unable to adapt to the new structure of the house. She especially misses the place where she used to store the feed of her buffalo. These changes have greatly influenced her as well as her domestic sphere.

Domestic sphere is embodied in households and people feel belonging with its objects (Chevalier, 2002).

In Bahria Town, the researcher met Mrs. Shazia who just recently shifted to Safari Villas II from Scheme III. She told the researcher:

“Hum abhi thora arsa pehlay shift hoe hain. Scheme III me hamara ghar thora chota tha magar ab kafi bara hy. Meri beti bohot chezen jama krti hy or kabhi bhi kuch bhi phenknay nahi deti.”

Translation: We just shifted here in Safari Villas II recently. In Scheme III, we had a small house but now it is big. My daughter buys a lot of things and doesn't allow me to throw them.

The researcher then met Mrs. Shazia's daughter who is 23 years old for a conversational interview. Ms. Aimen discussed that:

“Hum ne shuru se chotay ghar me time guzara jahan obviously hamare pass itni space ni thi k apna apna saman store krsaken. Hum ne socha k jb new baray ghar me jaen gy to hamare pass ziada space hogi or storage ka masla hal hojaega. But esa ni hua. Is ghar me bhi hamare storage ki wohi halat hy k bed k nechay, stairs k nechay chezen rakh dete hain. I guess hamen aadat hogai hy unconventional spaces ki or limited space ki. Me apna thesis bhi isi topic pr krrahi hon.”

Translation: From the beginning, we have spent time in a small house where we obviously didn't have enough space to store our stuff properly. We thought that when we will shift to the big house we will have more space and the issue of storage will be dealt with. But it didn't happen. Our storage practices are the same even in this house like putting stuff under the bed, chair, or staircase. I think we are now habitual of unconventional spaces and limited space. I am also doing my thesis on this topic.

The researcher then further inquired about the notion of her thesis and she replied:

“Me fine arts ki student hon or me apni is accumulation or storage ki habit ko paintings k through represent krna chahti hon. Habits time k sath develop hoti hain or apki spaces ka is pr bht influence hota hy. Me bht saari chezen khareed leti hon jese k kapray, stationary

items etc. jinki mujy zarurat bhi nahi hoti or unka bht khalara dal jata hy. Mujy acha lgta hy k meri chezen mere aas pas hain.”

Translation: I am a fine arts student and I wanted to show my habit of accumulation and storage with the help of painting. Habits develop over time and your surrounding spaces have an influence on them. I buy a lot of things like clothes, stationery, etc. which I don't usually need and they eventually become clutter. I like when my stuff is around me like that.

In this case, the respondents shifted their house and are now residing in a big one which they though will end up their issue to storage space but their previous household storage practices are so strong that they are implementing it in the new house as well. The space has changed but the clutter remains like that. Their current domestic sphere is being shaped by their previous experiences. This is Ms. Aimen's subjective interpretation that she likes to have clutter around because it makes the access easier. She doesn't have to go somewhere to retrieve a thing, just like in her old house.

In her thesis, Ms. Aimen has artistically shown the unconventional storage spaces in her house that represent clutter. The researcher visited her university to watch and support her thesis display. With her proper permission, some of her work will be presented below.



Figure 15: Urban homes showing clutter



Figure 16: Painting showing the unconventional storage spaces in Safari Villas II



Figure 17: The Ratio of Storage space and stored objects

The paintings above are reflecting the human's behavior of accumulation and purchasing patterns. People have many objects but they don't have enough space to store them. New things keep coming in and people do not get rid of the old ones. In this process unconventional spaces for storage are created like the unused fridge stores old item, under the stairs people store trash or steel junk, under the bed or behind the chair.

A similar situation was observed in another household of Safari Villas II. Ms. Aisha told the researcher:

“Hum larkana se jb idhar shift hoe to bht ajeeb feeling thi hamari. Me bht khush thi k yahan hamara ghar bht bara or modern hy magar phir bhi hr waqt gand para hota hy hum jitna bhi samait lein. Bachay ghar me kheltay hain to inkay khilonon ka phelawa hota hy, larkana me ye log bahir khela krtay thy. Jo tareqay hamare udhar thy wo yahan aa k bilkul change ho gae hain. Mere khayal se covid ki waja se bhi hum bht sust hogae hain or khalaar ni sambhaltay. Larkana walay ghar me hr chez ki apni jaga hoti thi magar yahan sb ek jesa hy.”

Translation: When we shifted here from Larkana, we felt so weird and confused. I was very excited about finally getting the big and modern house but how much we manage things there is still a lot of clutter around us. Children play inside the homes so their toys create clutter. In Larkana children used to play outside (in verandas or open grounds). The systems we had there are totally changed now after we shifted here. I think because of Covid we have become lazy and do not take care of clutter. The Larkana's house had particular spaces for everything but here it is most general.

In this case, Ms. Aisha shifted from a town to a city. In Larkana the houses have airy verandas and big grounds but in Bahria Town the housing structures follow one similar pattern which has a small lawn and area for garage. There are no concept of veranda over here which changed the playing patterns of the children and the clutter which was once outside the home comes directly inside which in turn influenced the domestic sphere.

6.2. Diffusion of Modern Architecture

Architecture is a technique and method to design and construct buildings while taking in mind the expressive, practical, and aesthetic requirements. Because space usage depends on how they are designed, that's why a significant part is played by the discipline of architecture in creating and shaping the domestic sphere.

While the researcher was visiting the households in Najan Sharif, it was observed that the majority of the families had one male member in a foreign country, doing the job. In order to show a rise in their status, people here started building big houses with a very clear distinction from the previous one. Because of that, many people adapted the urban design structures. These changes started taking place at the beginning of 2012 and some people have completely or partially adapted to it.

Mrs. Shaheen said that:

“Jadun mere do puttar baar tur gae tan asi faisla keta k apna kaar dobara banwawan gay wadda jaya. Fair ten saal lagay banan wich. Fer asen hr kamray dae naal washroom wi bnaya.”

Translation: When my two sons went abroad then we decided to rebuild our home in a more spacious way. It took three years to make it. Then we incorporated the attached washrooms as well.

When the researcher asked Mrs. Shaheen about the steel clamps and wooden logs on the balcony, she replied:

“Asi nikka kitchen aedar shift krditta ae asin. Thallay aala store tae kitchen khatam krditta si tae taan watan lakrian tae pittian aedar rakhiyan ne.”

Translation: We have shifted the little kitchen (open kitchen) here (on the balcony). The ground floor storeroom and kitchen are deconstructed that's why the *Paittian* are here.

This kind of change was observed in three households, where the family cooks on clay stoves on the balcony. In the structure of the house, the balconies are in the front and on the first floor. These changes started happening in Najan Sharif after people started getting jobs in foreign countries. It is an unspoken rule there that if a family member is abroad then they should show it to the people by building much bigger houses than before. The houses they build are based on modern architecture that has been diffused to our region since colonialism. These new structures does not pertain to their needs and hence the domestic sphere is highly influenced. The little open kitchen and main storeroom are their need

according to their context but the integration of new structure replaced it and people placed these spaces on a new founded one that is balcony. Here, we can conclude that changes in house structure leads to disorder in storages spaces and hence clutter increases. The researcher interviewed an architect who lives in Bahria Town, to gain some extra information.

Mr. Qadir informed us: *“Aik architect ki haisiat se ye baat mene mehsoos ki or ye tajurba haasil hua kay hamari awaam bohut taizi se apni saqafat se door hoti chali jarahi hy jo k sirf libaas, khanay or maamlaat hi tk mehdood nahi balkay apki rehaish gah or fun e taameer pr bhi asar krrahi hy. Hum bhool jatay hain k hamari bunyaad kia hy, jesay ek misaal di jaati hy k kawwa chala hans ki chaal or apni bhi bhool gaya. Isi tarhan hum goron se mutasir ho kr sirf apnay libaas, rang, zuban hi tabdeel nahi krrahay balkay apna rehan sehan or gharon ki taameer k tour tareqay bhi badal rahay hain”*.

Translation: As an architect, I felt and experienced that our nation is turning away from our core culture very fastly, and this change is not limited in the domain of clothes, food, and other stuff but also in terms of their residence and architectural style of houses. We forget about our origin, like there is a saying: He that apes others will never be himself. In this way, by being influenced by western people we are not only altering our clothes, colors, or language but the lifestyle and their so called modern structures of houses.

He further added:

“Hum ek baray dining haal ki khuaish krnay lgjatay hain or ye bhool jatay hain k hum zameen pr beth k khatay hain. Ab jesay k apne baat ki storage spaces ki. Yahan par bhi ek bara cultural lag aajata hy. Wo is tarhan k, urbanism k baad jb hum dehaat se uth kr shehar chalay jatay hain or ek western tarz ka ghar tamer kr letay hain. Ye sochay baghair k gandum kahan rakhen gy, jahez jama krnay k liay jaga hy ya nahi. Puranay kapray jo hum apnay rishtaydaron ko dena pasand krtay hain wo kahan rakhen gy. In sb chezon ko nazar andaaz krtay hoe hum goron k tarz ki choti almarian bnwa letay hain jo k hamari zaruriat ko pora ni krpaten kyun k bahir k mulk me purani chezen jama rakhnay ka rawaj ni hy. Wo ek season kapray istemal krtay hain or phir donate kr detay hain, jo k ghoom phir kr third world countries me aajatay hain. Jo k ek or wajha banti hy hamare gharon me

clutter ki. To hamen chaheay k ghar bnany se pehlay hum sochen k hamari zaruriat kia hain.”

Translation: We want a big dining haal but we forget that we eat our meals by sitting on the ground. Now that you have talked about storage spaces. There is a big cultural lag here as well. After urbanization when people started moving to cities from villages, they made houses on the structures of west. They don't think about where to store their crops, is there a space to store dowry for girls. Where to store old clothes which we give to our relatives. We don't think about it and make small cupboards like that of west which are not upto our needs because in western countries people do not store old things. They use stuff for one season and then donate it, which comes to third world countries as a cycle that is going on. It is another reason for the clutter in our houses. We need to think about our needs and wants before constructing the house (to avoid the state of confusion).

Modernity as the key to progression is discussed everywhere but its impact must base on the reconsideration of the differences a culture embodies among communities. When dealing with designing for communities, the cultural characteristics must be kept into consideration to ensure vernacularism. Activity patterns of vernacular nature shape the need for relevant designs. It is important to understand how communities formulate the vernacular prototype of storage spaces by their own activity patterns, customs, traditions, rituals, interactions, and psyche and how super-imposed and culturally irrelevant designs fail to be culturally and environmentally adaptive and thus results in clutter.

6.3. Urbanization

Another theme that reflected the influences of space and storage systems is the concept of migration from rural to an urban setting.

Mrs. Tayyaba, mother of four children used to live in her village and after her marriage, she lived a few years in her husband's village. Her family shifted to Bahria Town Safari Villas II six years ago and her husband frequently visits his village because of his business in agriculture.

Mrs. Tayyaba informed us:

“Meray husband kam k waja se gaon k kafi chakar lagate hain, wahan hamara farmhouse bhi hy. To aksar wahan se sabzian, dodh or degar organic khany pinay ki chezen le atay hain. Bohot dafa esa hota tha k ye chezen kharab hojati thin kyun k fridge me ya kahen or inko rakhany ki jaga ni hoti thi. Or me yahan akeli hoti hon to mushkil hojati hy handle krnay me. To mera dil ye hota hy k kuch chezen me apnay neighbourhood me daydon ya meri beti jahan tuition parhne jati hy wahan me kabhi fruit, dodh ya sabzian bhejwa deti hon. Ye behtar hy kharab hojaanay se.”

Translation: My husband frequently goes to our village because of his business, we have a farmhouse there. He often brings vegetables, milk, and other organic edible things. Many times, these things deteriorate because we did not have enough space in the fridge or storeroom. I am the only woman here and it becomes difficult to handle. That's why, I try to share the fruits, vegetables, and milk with my neighbors or with the tuition teacher of my daughter. It is better than deterioration.

She further added:

“Halan k yahan me hr kam manage krleti hon magar phir bhi chezen kharab hojati hain.”

Translation: Even though I do my best in handling everything but still the edibles deteriorate.

The researcher went to two other houses where Mrs. Tayyaba regularly sends milk or vegetables. Ms. Faiza told the researcher:

“Aunty aksar is tarhan ki chezen bhej deti hain or wo sb bht organic hota hy. Magar ek dafa unhon ne bht ziada gajjrain bhej dein thi k bht si kharab hogaen sirf is waja se k wo quantity me bht ziada then or hum consume ni krskay or hi store krnay ki jaga thi.”

Translation: Aunty often sends things like that and they are very organic. But one time she sent us so many carrots and most of them deteriorate due to mold because they were in large quantities and we couldn't consume them or store them.

Mrs. Tayyaba had an experience of living in the village where the storage spaces are well defined and are specific for every need but in urban area, the spaces are not designed in order to accumulate large quantities of food or other crops. That is why, she is unable to handle the organic stuff she gets from her village. Same was the case with another family who had lived in Gujranwala before coming to Bahria Town, they get wheat grains from their village and in order to store them, they have bought a large steel clamp which is situated in one of the galleries in an open space. Their two small steel clamps used for the storage of wheat flour and rice are situated in the small storeroom where so many shoes and chemicals are also stored. In rural area, edible materials are stored separately from other chemical products. In this way, she is in a confused way as how to manage the storage spaces that are quite different than she has experienced in the village.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary

The concept of storage emerged when human beings started doing agriculture and adopted a sedentary lifestyle. For a sedentary lifestyle, it was necessary to have a surplus and some spaces to store them. Early humans invented pits, utensils, and even dug the ground for the purpose of storing their things. From then on evolution in storage spaces and storage practices took place and in the current world based on capitalism, the concept of storage and storing habits are related to buying behavior and consumption styles. Storage can be interpreted as a physical or virtual space to preserve goods or data which can be retrieved or collected by people in the future. The act of storage is not only done for securing the future but it is related to memory as well. The past can also be secured by storing that can help in the enculturation of current generations. The storage can be permanent and temporary, can have boundaries or not. In this study, the researcher wants to understand household storage practices and their significance in the social construction of the domestic sphere. The storage spaces and practices will be observed on the household level in order to decipher how these practices socially construct the domestic sphere in two possible cultural settings. The storage practices will be documented in containers that can be fixed spaces like storerooms and moveable ones like boxes, buckets, jars, and steel clamps. Material cultural objects can provide evidence to interpret how space and storage complement each other in a comparative rural and urban setting. Storage is a valuable part of the dynamic and multifaceted relationship between individual actors and the surrounded landscape that they generate and reside in.

The problem that led to this research is that in literature the majority of the focus is on the tangible aspects, that is physical qualities of storage when in fact, the intangibles that are more related to behavior, perception, cognition, and culture are equally responsible in shaping the domestic sphere. Storage being the highlight has created further opportunities for the researcher to analyze the other grounded issues such as rapid urbanization and influence on colonialism on architecture has created a state of confusion where people are unable to decipher their spatial needs based on their cultural practices and end up making

their houses clutter. This study will help in identifying the phenomenon of unwanted accumulation, consumption patterns, spatial and architectural needs of humans based on their region and culture.

In the literature, the researcher tried to understand the domestic spaces and how material cultural objects help in shaping them. Domestic spaces are decorated by stored items and also represent the gendered nature of household spaces. The researcher also learned that objects around us create the connection between different people and groups. The second variable that is storage was also studied along with the concept of clutter. Storage practices act as a foreground to the flexibility and order of the household. People associate meanings with objects and in this way they store them. After reviewing the phenomenon of storage the researcher studied primitive storage practices among Maoris of New Zealand, Iron Age households in Jordan valley, Creeks of North America, and Chevak in coastal Western Alaska. The theory that was studied for this research was Social Constructivism. This research has two locales: Najan Sharif (a village in Gujrat) and Bahria Town Safari Villas II (a gated community in Rawalpindi). Samples from these locales were selected by purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The qualitative and comparative research methodology was incorporated to get holistic and descriptive explanations. For the purpose of doing ethnography, the researcher spent months in the field, and rapport building was required for this task. Data collection methods were oikography, participant observation, field notes, space study, in-depth interviews, conversational interviews, and interview guide. Audio recording, photography, and ethno mapping/ethno-cartography were the tools that supported research methods. Ethical considerations like informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality were also practiced throughout the research. The method for data analysis was thematic analysis in which analytical induction and comparative analysis were taken by carefully considering the positionality and reflexivity of the researcher.

The first chapter of the analysis dealt with storage spaces of both locales in which indoor, open, and unconventional spaces were discussed. In Najan Sharif, the storage spaces are of collective nature where the things that are stored can be used by anyone and if any person especially children wants to have their individual space then it becomes difficult. In this way, the children find unconventional spaces like the roofs of cupboards and pantries on

their own. In Safari Villas II, almost all family members have separate rooms with attached wardrobe which acts as their personal storage space. But they lack collective storage spaces so they also create unconventional spaces like the kitchen's cooking range, under the bed, dining table, or unused fridge. Access to these spaces was also studied which revealed that mostly women of the household access the storage spaces. The difference is that in a rural setting, specifically, the eldest daughter-in-law is the one to maintain and access the storeroom because she performs the processes of Vartan (reciprocity) in the family. In an urban setting, almost all of the female members can access the storeroom as it does not contain stored stuff for reciprocity. Access to a storeroom can be a display of power in a rural setting but in an urban setting, it is such a mundane thing to do.

The second chapter of the analysis explored the storage practices. Storage is related to occasions. People in both locales store things to be used at sad or joyous events. In Najan Sharif, people store desi ghee (clarified butter) so that it can be given to the people of the deceased house because no one can arrange ghee of that quantity from their own. There are some other storage practices that talk about the shared nature of storing and mutual knowledge. For weddings, people store dowry for their daughters in both locales but in rural areas stuff that will be exchanged during the events of the wedding are also stored in large quantity. There is the storage of edibles which mostly takes place indoor and some fuel-related stuff in the village and tools in urban area are stored in open places. Seasonal storage practices were also recorded especially for the season of winter people store some dishes to be eaten as breakfast. Some practices are related to future security but some storage practices are all about past memories and they are termed as everlasting storage. In this theme, it became clear that storage can be a way to remember what happened in the past or the life of your elders. Old objects and the stories attached to them can help in the process of enculturation. Stored objects can also work as aesthetics like crockery stored in pantries in both locales has no useful value but people want to display them because they are valuable. Stored items also have a temporary and permanent nature. The gendered structure on storage practices can be interpreted as women being more dominant than men because in collectivist societies women tend to be associated with the private sphere of the house and also the rules of reciprocity are initiated and processed by female members. That

is why women initiate and maintain storage systems and thus play a significant role in maintaining the domestic sphere.

The third and last chapter of the analysis talks about the changes people encounter in the domain of storage practices and how they implicitly influence the domestic sphere. In this chapter, the themes dealt with changes in household structure and its influence, diffusion of modern architecture, and urbanization. Some cases were discussed where people went through some changes in their house structure which had a great impact on their storage habits. When dealing with designing for communities, the cultural characteristics must be kept into consideration to ensure vernacularism. It is important to understand how communities formulate vernacular prototypes of storage spaces by their own activity patterns, customs, traditions, and interactions because the super-imposed and culturally irrelevant structure of houses fails to be culturally and environmentally adaptive, and thus the domestic sphere results in clutter. People who went to urban areas were habitual of their own storage practices and when they encountered different storage spaces, it resulted in confusion. Storage practices play an important role in socially constructing the domestic sphere, and because of it any kind of lag must be addressed and discussed to solve many types of issue generated by improper storage.

7.2. Conclusion

Storage can be temporary or permanent with different connotations attached with it. Storage is an activity that includes the arrangement of material objects in particular physical spaces. In this research the researcher tried to inculcate a comparative analysis by studying two sites which had some similarities and some variations. By looking at the major findings the researcher can conclude that in the rural area the nature of storage spaces is collectivist with proper big storerooms to handle the storage of the whole family and in urban areas it is individualistic with relatively small storerooms and wardrobes attached to the bedrooms. In both areas, people tend to create some unconventional spaces to tackle their different needs. The access to storage is mostly in the hands of female members of the household because they run certain processes in households such as: *Vartan Bhanji* among the relatives.

In terms of storage practices, there are some similarities and some variations. Through these storage practices, people convey gratitude, sharing, and mutual knowledge. In both areas, people embody the stored objects with meanings, memory, and gender hierarchies. Older people tend to develop emotional attachment with the household spaces and objects related to their parents. While talking about the influence on the domestic sphere, there are three main factors: structural changes, diffusion of western architecture, and urbanization that have played an important part. The inclusion of western-style houses was not able to tackle the needs of residents and in this way, a state of confusion emerge which we call cultural lag. To counter this, we need to understand how communities formulate the vernacular prototype of storage spaces by their own activity patterns, customs, and traditions. This lag needs to be addressed.

7.3. Recommendation

Future research can be conducted by keeping in mind the relationship of architecture and culture, by the approach of cultural lag. People are in a constant state of confusion while adapting to western systems. More vernacular knowledge can be explored in other culturally rich areas of Pakistan. Another concept of digital space can also be investigated.

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Glossary

S no.	Terms	Definitions
1.	Achar	Fruits or vegetables like mangoes, lemons, carrots, chillies etc. preserved with spices in mustard oil. It is made before summers and is stored and consumed for a long time. Also known as pickle.
2.	Alsi di Pinnian	Energy balls made from flaxseed and different nuts in mustard oil. Eaten as breakfast in village and with evening tea in cities.
3.	Balan	Firewood. The tree trunks or branches used to light fire and stored in large quantities throughout the year.
4.	Barfi	A dense sweet in the sub-continent, made from milk. Sometimes contain nuts as well.
5.	Charpaiyan/Manjian	Bed made with wooden frame and ropes.
6.	Desi Ghee	Clarified butter.
7.	Dholki	A musical function before the actual wedding ceremonies.
8.	Goe	Dung cakes. Round buns made from buffalo's dung and dried in sunlight. Act as a fuel.
9.	Gur	Jaggery. Naturally obtained from sugarcane.
10.	Jahez	Dowry. Stored for daughters before wedding.
11.	Janaza	Funeral.
12.	Kora Watta	
13.	Mehendi	One of the functions in wedding ceremonies.
14.	Paitian	Containers made of steel in various sizes but mostly very big. Commonly found in village sites.

15.	Panjeeri/Panda	Sweet dish made from nuts, semolina, and clarified butter. Made in winters.
16.	Pou	Dried grounded wheat and millet's stems. Used as animal feed in winters.
17.	Saag	Punjabi cuisine made with mustard and Spanish leaves.

Appendix

Interview Guide

- Q1. Are there any ceremonies related to storage?
- Q2. Is there a concept of annual storage among the people?
- Q3. What are the methods or ways to reduce clutter?
- Q4. What are the locations of storage in your household?
- Q5. What is the purpose of storage?
- Q6. Can you tell me some of the storage practices of your households? Individual or collective level.
- Q7. Is there any kind of distribution of stored material in your family?
- Q8. In your eyes, what is the value of stored goods?
- Q9. Is there any segregation in storage spaces?
- Q10. Is there any symbolic meaning attached to storage practices?
- Q11. Why do you store things?
- Q12. Do you lock your storage room or not?
- Q13. What are the changes in storage spaces?
- Q14. How do we perceive storage space?
- Q15. Do you think there is a relation between stored goods and social status?
- Q16. What do you mean by storage?
- Q17. Who has the right to storage room?
- Q18. What is the accessibility of storage room?
- Q19. Have you ever tried storing the old stuff that once belonged to your ancestors?

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