

Spiritual Healing as Women Empowerment

(A Case Study of Nomal Village Gilgit)



M. Phil Thesis

Submitted By:

Naila Batool

National Institute of Pakistan Studies

Quaid-i- Azam University

Islamabad

2018

**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PAKISTAN STUDIES
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation submitted by **MS. NAILA BATOOL** entitled:

**“SPIRITUAL HEALING AS WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: A CASE
STUDY OF NOMAL VILLAGE (GILGIT)”**

is accepted in this present form by National Institute of Pakistan Studies,
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in
Pakistan Studies.

SUPERVISOR:



Dr. M. Azam Chaudhary

EXTERNAL EXAMINER:



Dr. Noor Fatima

DIRECTOR:



Dr. M. Azam Chaudhary

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the research work presented in this thesis, entitled **Spiritual Healing as Women Empowerment (A case study of Nomal village)** was conducted by Ms. Naila Batool under my supervision be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Philosophy in Pakistan studies.



DR. MUHAMMAD AZAM CHAUDHARY

SUPERVISOR

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis titled “**Spiritual Healing as Women Empowerment (A case Study of Nomal Village)**” is the result of my individual work and that it has not been submitted concurrently for any other university for the purpose of any other degree.

Naila Batool

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	IV
ABSTRACT	V
Chapter 1	1
1.1: Introduction	1
1.2: Problem Statement	4
1.3: Objectives of Research	6
1.4: Central Argument	6
1.5: Research Question	6
1.6: Factors responsible for women empowerment in the locale	6
1.6.1: Background Factor	7
1.6.2: Independent Factor	7
1.6.3: Dependent Factor	7
1.7: Operationalization of Factors	8
1.7.1 Freedom of Mobility	8
1.7.2 Decision-Making/Involvement	8
1.7.3 Access to /control over Economic Resources	8
1.8: Conceptualization of Terms	9
1.8.1 Patriarchy	9
1.8.2 Spiritual Healing/Shamanism	10
1.8.3 Women Empowerment	10
1.9: Significance of Study	11
1.10: Organization of Thesis:	12
1.11: Limitations of the Study	12
1.12: Scope of Research	13
Chapter 2	14
2.1 Review of Literature:	14
Chapter 3	25
Research Methodology	25
3.1: Data Collection Tools and Techniques	25

3.2:	Data Sources	25
3.2.1:	Primary data	25
3.2.2:	Secondary data	25
3.3	Rapport Building.....	26
3.4:	Participant Observation	26
3.5:	Key Informants	27
3.6:	Sampling	28
3.7:	In-Depth Interviews	29
3.8:	Socio-economic Survey	30
Chapter 4.....		31
Area Profile		31
4.1:	Study Locale	31
4.2	Site Selection.....	32
4.3	Typography:	32
4.4	Origin of Word Nomal.....	33
4.5	Historical importance	34
4.6	Population	35
4.7	Language.....	35
4.8	Castes:	36
4.9	Education:.....	37
4.10	Household structure:	38
4.11	Marital pattern:.....	39
4.12	Income Resources:	39
Chapter 5.....		41
Thematic Analysis of Data		41
5.1:	Tale of Becoming a Healer (A Danyal).....	41
5.2	Financial Freedom	47
5.3	Freedom of Mobility	51
5.3	Contacting Healers as an Expression of Autonomy	53
5.4	Healers Participation in Cultural Celebrations.....	54
5.5	Decision Making:.....	55
5.6	Impact Healers have on Society:.....	56
5.7:	Building Social relations	58



5.8: Women in the area who do not visit Healers	60
Chapter 6.....	63
6.0: Psychological Aspect of Beliefs	63
Conclusion	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	69

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I am thankful to Allah Almighty for giving me courage and strength to complete this research, because this wouldn't have been possible without His Will.

I would like to acknowledge the invaluable guidance, support and cooperation granted by my respected research supervisor Dr. Muhammad Azam Chaudhary throughout this endeavor. His worthy suggestions helped me decontaminating my concepts along with my work also.

I am also grateful to the women of Nomal village for their cooperation during the conduct of interviews. I am really obliged to my family and friends for their invaluable encouragement and support and constant believe in my skills and abilities.

My special thanks to all staff members of National Institute of Pakistan Studies, for all their support and cooperation, and to all those researchers and scholars whose work I have borrowed, consulted and benefited.

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on exploring the practice of healing in Nomal village, Gilgit and impact this healing have on women living in the society under study. The study suggests that women healers are empowering themselves and women around them by involving themselves in healing craft. It demonstrates how women exercise multi-level empowerment by carrying out and participating in healing art. These practices and narratives of women, interviewed during current study shows that female healers have provided a space for women to battle restrictions imposed on them by patriarchal society, based on their gender. These female healers are challenging male authority, by having a greater say in decision making and transcending gender boundaries, in a society where interacting with opposite gender is considered a disgrace. They challenged the notion of house hold as a restriction, connecting with outside world within their own compounds. Their position as a healer has also changed their status within their family and society. Data was collected from a sample of 35 women. 05 among them were healers, 10 women who visited healers to sought treatment, 10 women who were relatives of healers, and 10 women who don't seek help of healer or visit them for different purposes. With this research, I have tried to make women's experiences visible and highlight the alternative ways through which women reclaim their voices in a male-dominated society

Chapter 1

1.1: Introduction

Women and the poor are the two groups which have caught much attention in the literature concerning empowerment. However, it focuses more on women due to the fact that, women are a group of individuals that overlaps all other disadvantaged groups. Another factor is that household and interfamilial relations are essential to women's empowerment in a way that does not exist for other marginal groups¹. According to World Bank sourcebook on Empowerment and Poverty Reduction, "*Empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action*".²

Empowerment entails a process of change. In order to be empowered, one needs to disempower first. People who have a lot of choices (possibility of alternatives) in their lives can be powerful but not empowered because they were not disempowered in the first place. Power is the ability to make choices, therefore, "*Empowerment is the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choice acquire such ability*." (Kabeer, 1999, p.437)³

This definition distinguishes empowerment from the general concept of "power", by making it clear that those whose such abilities were denied previously, only they can

¹ Khattab, A. and Sakr, H. 2009. "Women's Economic Empowerment in Egypt: Challenges and Opportunities." Working Paper no. 001, *Social Research Center*

² Deepa Narayan, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: *A Sourcebook* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2002), 404.

³ Naila Kabeer. "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment." *Development and Change* 30, no. 3 (1999): 435-64.

be considered to be empowered. According to Kabeer, empowerment is the outcome of interconnected components which are resources, agency, and achievements. Here resources are those factors which shape conditions under which choices are made and put into effect. Agency is the ability to make strategic life choices, to control those resources and decisions that have an important effect on the outcomes of life. Achievements are the outcomes of choices.⁴

Pakistani society is highly gendered stratified, where the division of labor is in such a manner that both men and women perform separate duties. Mostly women are kept in the private sphere by restraining them with specific responsibilities within that domain, while men work outside the home and are the breadwinners of the family. The institution of marriage is the most important starting point of a patrilineal formation of a family. After marriage, a woman is controlled either by her husband or mother in law. Her participation in domestic decisions is very little and her mobility is restricted. Birth of sons will secure her a position and status in her husband's family. The institution of purdah further fortifies this gender stratification. However, there are other key factors which need to be considered while understanding restrictions imposed upon females. These factors may include socioeconomic status, urban-rural division, and ethnicity.⁵

The Muslim women's depiction by West is on their mere assumptions that Muslim women are oppressed in a male-dominated religion. Moreover, this discursive construction of Muslim women by the West focused only on the restricted physical

⁴ Assaad, Ragui A., Hana Nazier. "*Individual and household determinants of Women Empowerment: Application to the case of Egypt*". Working Paper 867, The Economic Research Forum(ERF), 2014.

⁵ Safdar Ullah Khan, "What Determines Women's Autonomy: Theory and Evidence" by Safdar Ullah Khan." Site. Accessed January 31, 2018. <http://epublications.bond.edu.au/theses/129/>.

activity of women in the religious arena. In contrast to the secular and liberal representation of western women who regulate and control their own lives and have more authority over it. However, as not all western women are liberated and secular, not all Muslim women are accurately conscious about Islamic Doctrine. The notion of oppression was all got unequivocally from the class they belong to, social foundation, and status they acquire in that particular society.⁶

Women's seclusion (purdah) is observed in various degrees all over Pakistan. In a conservative society, a family's honor is linked with the repute and behavior of a female (whether real or perceived), therefore women's mobility and social interaction are restricted when they enter puberty. Purdah customs are implemented on girls, they experience unaccompanied traveling prohibitions or need to ask permission from a male family member before leaving the house.⁷

Gilgit town is highly gendered where local bazars and markets are male-dominated, with the exception of few women markets, where only women can enter and access, as a shopkeeper, owner of the shop or as a customer.⁸ Female in Gilgit always try to find jobs that are "secure"⁹ and prefer to teach in girls' schools, as teaching is viewed as safe and secure. Certain jobs like working in banks are not considered respectable. Women have their own ladies shops in the women market, run mostly by unmarried or

⁶ Darvishpour, M. *Islamic feminism: compromise or challenge to feminism*, Univ. Sociologiska institutionen, Stockholm, (2003).

⁷ Hanan G Jacoby., and Ghazala Mansuri. "Watta Satta : Bride Exchange And Women's Welfare In Rural Pakistan." Policy Research Working Papers, 2007. doi:10.1596/1813-9450-4126.

⁸ Martin Sokefeld, "From Colonialism to Postcolonial Colonialism: Changing Modes of Domination in the Northern Areas of Pakistan", *the Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(4), (2005):939-973.

⁹ By secure they mean jobs which requires less gender interaction.

divorced females. Segregation of gender and practice of Purdah is strict among Shias and Sunnis and lenient among Ismaili's but those living in Gilgit town have to observe purdah to a certain level and those women of Ismaili community are not as unrestricted as they are in rural spaces.¹⁰

Purdah is not strictly enforced in rural areas of Gilgit where females have the responsibility to work on farms and keep livestock.¹¹ Culture and religion are used as a tool to justify and reinforce patriarchy. Conservatives advocate rigid and fundamentalist interpretation of religion and culture by promoting women subordination and male dominance as a virtue. In such a setting women try to find different ways to empower themselves, such is the case with female spiritual healers and their clients, who have empowered themselves by engaging themselves in spiritual healing.

1.2: Problem Statement

Honor is intrinsically linked to a woman's behavior. As a woman is considered to be the keeper of a family's honor, her mobility is strictly controlled. If a woman allegedly brings shame or dishonor to her family she may be killed by male members of her family.¹² In most parts of Gilgit, purdah rules are defined strictly and transgressions are quickly noticed.¹³ In a society where mobility of women is controlled by male

¹⁰ Sokefeld, p. 20

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Muhammad Azam Chaudhary, "Blood Revenge, Pushtoons and Islam in Chilas, Gilgit-Baltistan." *Central Asia*. 2009. Accessed September 20, 2016. <http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/>.

¹³ Anna Grieser, "Fieldwork Encounters: Being Foreign and Female in Gilgit." *Anthropology of Gilgit-Baltistan, Northern Pakistan* 16, no. 1 (2014): 155-85.

members of their family, they always need a reason to go to bazaar¹⁴, which is always accompanied, by a male family member, even in that case, the women sit in the car having less to no interaction with the seller, the required goods are brought into the car by male family member¹⁵. This is the case with urban women, rural women who have fewer options to enjoy their freedom, always try to find new ways in which they could move around and socialize. For instance, females who cannot visit city otherwise, collectively go to attend the funeral of a neighbor's distant relative in town (for which they are not restricted by male family members) meet their relatives residing in town and have some shopping in the market in the meantime without knowledge of their family.

In a patriarchal structure where women have no institutionalized status in society, female spiritual healers created space for themselves and women around them to acquire authority, enjoy their freedom, challenging the notion of household as a restriction by interacting with outside world within their compounds and improving status of their own and that of women in their society. As held by Ruth Gohlen:

“Through their apparent powerlessness and invisibility in public, the women are in situations able to gain the power and influence decisions.”

(Gohlen, 1998, p. 444)

¹⁴ Kathrin, Gratz, "Walking on Women's Paths in Gilgit: Gendered Space, Boundaries, and Boundary Crossing." In *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change*, edited by Irmtraud Stellrecht. Vol. 2. Culture Area Kakarkorum, 1996.

¹⁵ Nadine, Kreibel, "Perception of Gender Space in Gilgit." *Journal of Current Ethnological Studies*, 16, no. 1 (2014).

1.3: Objectives of Research

Based on the problem statement, this research study is based on following objectives which aim:

- To explore the ways of women empowerment prevailing in Pakistani rural culture.
- To know the impact of spiritual healing on empowerment of Pakistani rural women.

1.4: Central Argument

Female Spiritual Healers are empowering themselves, and women around them (clients, relatives) socially, culturally and economically i.e. in terms of transcending gender roles prescriptions when it comes to mobility in public, access/control over income and other economic resources, interaction with opposite gender, duties of domestic chores and participation in cultural celebrations due to the capital and status, thus benefiting women interacting with them.

1.5: Research Question

How do female spiritual healers empower themselves and the women around them?

1.6: Factors responsible for women empowerment in the locale

Following factors are responsible for women empowerment in the study area. I have tried to show a mutual link among these factors through an illustration below.

The area under study is male-dominated, where women are subjected to gender-based restrictions. This background factor leads women to find ways and means for themselves to resist such constraints, which is spiritual healing (it should be noted that I

am not claiming here that spiritual healing is the only way through which women empowers themselves, however it is one of a way). Finally, this resistance to patriarchy in form of healing empowers such women (who are involved in healing) when it comes to mobility in public, decision making and access to/control over economic resources.

1.6.1: Background Factor

Patriarchy (system of social structure) prevailing in the study area.

1.6.2: Independent Factor

Spiritual healing/shamanism.

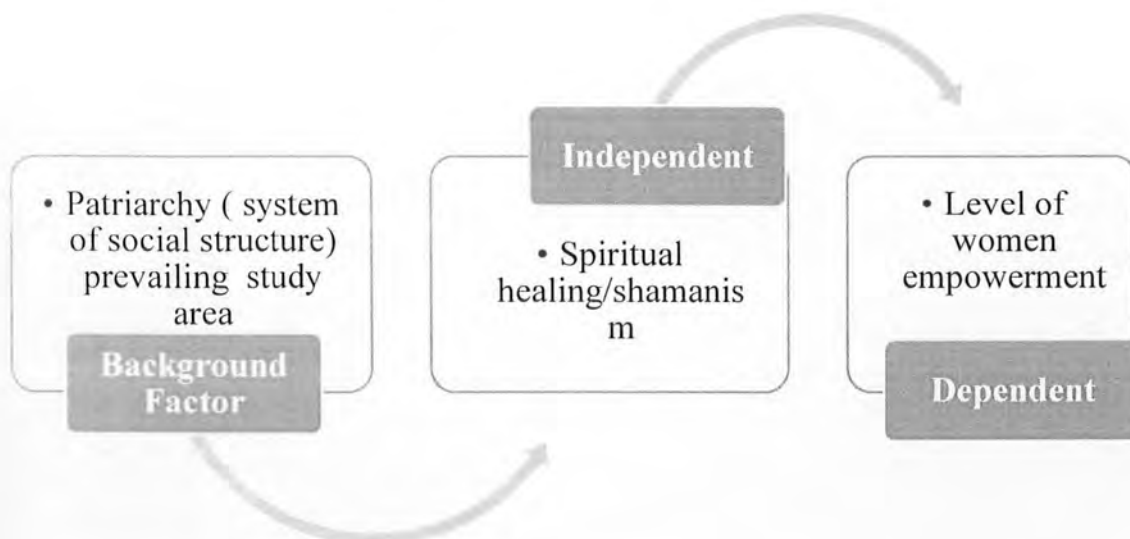
1.6.3: Dependent Factor

Level of women empowerment.

The indicators of the dependent factor:

1. Freedom of Mobility.
2. Decision-making/involvement.
3. Access to /control over economic resources.

1.6.4: Mutual link among all three factors



1.7: Operationalization of Factors

1.7.1 Freedom of Mobility

This concept is related to questions like whether the respondents have ever gone to various places (the market, a medical facility, her relatives, outside the village) alone, if not, who accompanies them.

1.7.2 Decision-Making/Involvement

If respondents can participate in decisions regarding domestic matters, financial, decisions related to farming, alone or in cooperation with her family members, and whether the respondents are independent in spending the money, they get from clients (in case of healers).

1.7.3 Access to /control over Economic Resources

Power or permission she has of handling money, consumption of food, management and spending money, selling of agricultural production.

1.8: Conceptualization of Terms

The main concepts of different terms used in this research study are as following:

1.8.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is termed as a social structure system, where men exploit, dominate and oppress women. Patriarchy can be understood in its public and private context i.e. at the household level and in the marketplace.¹⁶ There is no system, structure or relation in the South Asian region that is not influenced, if not based on patriarchy. In South Asian patriarchal regime women are mostly kept in private sphere i.e. at home, and if they step out of home to work in the land they often do so to produce subsistence value that is consumed by the household.¹⁷ Property in the region is passed on the male lineage, from father to sons, as women leave her paternal home upon marriage she is denied from her share in property or women herself waive their land rights to their brothers as it is worth losing property than what they get in return i.e. in case of marriage breakdown¹⁸. A woman in South Asia is defined in relation to the men in her life i.e. father, brother, husband or son each gaining significance in different phases of her life. She is even supposed to be cared for and dependent on her much younger brother or a minor son.¹⁹

¹⁶ Sylvia, Walby, *Basil Blackwell Limited*. Cambridge, 1991.

¹⁷ Rashid Minhas, Norina Jabeen, Saira Akhtar, and Mahwish Yaqoob. "Cultural Barriers of Female Empowerment." *Afro Asian Journal of Anthropology and Social Policy*4, no. 1 (2013).

¹⁸ Muhammad Azam Chaudhary, "Blood Revenge, Pushtoons and Islam in Chilas, Gilgit-Baltistan.", 2009.

¹⁹ Vahida Nainar, "Patriarchy in South Asia Structures and Relations." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, August 28, 2013. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2317080.

1.8.2 Spiritual Healing/Shamanism

Spiritual Healer or Spirit mediums used in some parts of the world to denote a Shaman, they can be seers, medicine men, Pirs, Pashu, and Sadhus, but they are different from a shaman, as for healing purposes they do not induce trance.²⁰ 'Shaman' has its origin in *Tungusian* languages, in which the word is known as 'saman',²¹

Gilgit Baltistan has a rich culture of Spiritual Healers, known locally as "Danyal" who inhale smoke by burning dried juniper leaves, to induce trance. Previously when the area was held by Rajas, Mirs, and Thum, Danyal had an important role of fortune telling during crisis time and was rewarded by the local leader.²² With the dissolution of princely states, the role of Shaman has now transformed. Nowadays few Shamans are able to foretell the future with a limited degree of accuracy.

1.8.3 Women Empowerment

The term empowerment contains multiple elements; few elements researcher have agreed upon. The element of control and choice in perspective of the power structure that exists internationally, in community and household. These power structures controls and subordinate women and often refer to as patriarchy. Since empowerment is a process it involves a process of change in existing patriarchal structure and a change from the status of disempowerment to empowerment.²³

²⁰ Altaf Hussain, "Danyalism: A study on spiritual healing in Chaprote Balla." PhD diss., Quaid i Azam Univeristy Islamabad, 1990.

²¹ Berthold Laufer. "Origin of the Word Shaman." *American Anthropological Association* 19 (3), 1917. Accessed 2016.

²² Karl. Jeetmar, *ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN DARDISTAN 1958 Preliminary Report*. Publication. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, University of Vienna. 1st ed. Vol. 105. 1961.

²³ Kabeer, "Resources, Agency, Achievements", (1999).

Finally, researchers agree that empowerment is multidimensional, occurring at different levels, and in different ways depending on individuals and communities and the environments in which they live.

1.9: Significance of Study

Considerable scholarly literature is available about social patterns and politics of different areas of Gilgit. But one can barely find any anthropological findings about Nomal. Being adjacent to Gilgit city its significance cannot be denied, in terms of adopting new trends. Spiritual healers of Hunza, Nager, and Bagrote have being studied leaving spiritual healers of Nomal unexplored. This study is significant in a way that it is the very first of its kind, being conducted on female spiritual healers of Gilgit. Previous studies have focused mainly on male spiritual healers/Shamans. This study will contribute to existing literature about socio-cultural dynamics of Nomal valley by highlighting a unique element in women empowerment i.e. how females at their doorstep are empowered without altering the existing patriarchal structure of society. Although this research is limited to native women of study area but by keeping the whole picture of every second woman and her empowerment concerns in Pakistani society, this research study did extensive work in highlighting alternative ways women in Pakistan adopts, to resist restrictions imposed upon them by patriarchy, and impact of such alternatives have over their empowerment. The research has taken women of Nomal, Gilgit Pakistan as a case study for current research.

Similarly, native women of the study area, themselves are the beneficiaries of this study as they were introduced with the word empowerment, its meaning, and importance.

As they have been inquired about different aspects of woman empowerment during this research. This study can help them in knowing the current scenario of their own level of empowerment in terms of freedom of mobility, decision-making/involvement, contribution to household income and access to /control over economic resources.

Such kind of study has not done to date. Connecting spiritual healing with the women empowerment in the area under study, the present study will open new areas for future researchers, as empowerment is a broad term.

1.10: Organization of Thesis:

This research is organized into various chapters by reflecting importance and relevance of different concepts to fulfill its scope. Coming chapter will present a review of the literature by highlighting existing studies and the gaps in research on women empowerment, also underlining previous studies on women and the different ways they adopted to empower themselves. Chapter 3 discusses research techniques and data collection sources and profile of the area under study. Chapter 4 presents a thematic analysis of data taken from the field. Chapter 5 summarizes overall results and findings, classify study limitations and also outlines the scope for further inquiry. The final chapter debates the psychological aspect of beliefs and concludes the study.

1.11: Limitations of the Study

The fieldwork experiences and hardships of authors and researchers are hidden in the private diaries, such fieldwork hardships are not expressed as it is termed as “sign of weakness or incompetence”²⁴. My position in the field was of an outsider who knows

²⁴ Muhammad Azam Chaudhary, “Reflections on Research in a Native Field” In: *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, 2011, 1-16.



little about the society under study. Though I belong to the area under investigation but have been living in the city since my childhood, and only visit the village on special occasions like Eid, on a wedding or death of a close relative. I have never visited the healers before. In order to establish cordial relations with them, I had to take help of a friend, who lives in the area under study. She introduced me to the healers with reference to my paternal lineages.

The main hurdle which I had to face during interviews with the subject was language barrier. As the word empowerment has no exact meaning in the local language. To make the subject understand the word empowerment, I had to give them long examples, which was time taking. To overcome the language barriers, I took assistance from the Linguistic department of Karakorum International University, translated interview questions into Urdu and later on into the local language.

Establishing rapport with the subject was also difficult, as many women would hide their purpose of visiting the healer. For instance, when the clients left the healers room, I asked healer about their purpose of the visit which would be different from what clients told me. I had to convince them that the information they are providing will not be misused. I am only interested in the understanding the phenomena of spiritual healing and have no negative intentions of exploiting the information provided by them.

1.12: Scope of Research

Empowerment is a broad term. This study encompassed only a few indicators of empowerment which are; decision making, freedom of mobility, and access to/control over economic resources. Including more indicators in the current study, can give a larger picture about the level of empowerment of native women.

Chapter 2

2.1 Review of Literature:

A literature review provides an overview of previous research on a topic that critically evaluates, classifies, and compares what has already been published on a particular topic. It allows the author to synthesize and place into context the research and scholarly literature relevant to the topic. It helps to map out the different approaches to a given question and reveals patterns. It forms the foundation for the author's subsequent research and justifies the significance of the new investigation.²⁵

This chapter provides an overview of existing literature related to healing craft and women empowerment. Focusing on the literature about the empowerment of women who are involved in healing practices. It will also provide an insight into the ethnography of Gilgit by different authors to give an understanding of the social structure of the area under study.

Literature is divided into four parts. The first section will highlight women empowerment and its relevance in the current study, section two will discuss existing literature on how involvement in healing craft by women could empower them, section three will trace literature on spiritual healers of Gilgit and section four will present work done on Gilgit, its people, history and gender roles.

Empowerment has been defined in a number of ways covering a different range of dimensions, however, the significant idea of empowerment is the idea of "power". The idea of empowerment is closely linked with the notion of disempowerment, as it refers to

²⁵ H. Bernard. Russell, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 4th ed. (New York: Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 96-108.

the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability, here disempowerment in the first place is important, people may be powerful and be likely to exercise a great deal of choice in their lives but they are not empowered as they were never disempowered at first place.²⁶

Sathar and Kazi while measuring women empowerment in rural Punjab by probing into indicators like women's mobility and purdah, women's access to resources, and decision-making process in the household, observed that women have limited involvement in economic decisions. However, the author observed a positive relationship between paid employment and decision making power. They also found family structure as an important determinant of women's autonomy²⁷.

Women in the South Asian Patriarchal system are mostly kept in a secluded domain i.e. at home and if they can step out of the home, only to work in the fields, to earn for their household. Property in the region is passed on the male lineage, from father to sons. As a woman leave her paternal home upon marriage, she is denied from her share in the property. The woman herself at times, don't claim it as it is worth losing than what they get in return²⁸. A woman in South Asia is defined in relation to the men in her life i.e. father, brother, husband or son each gaining significance in different phases of her life. She is even supposed to be cared for and dependent on her much younger brother or

²⁶ Kabeer, "Resources, Agency, Achievements", 437.

²⁷ Zeba Sathar and Shireen J. Jejeebhoy, "Women's Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region." *Jstor*, (2001)

²⁸ Muhammad Azam Chaudhary. "The Rule of Law Problems in Pakistan: An Anthropological Perspective of the Daughter's Traditional Share in the Patrimony in the Punjab" *National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research* (NIHCR) (Islamabad, 2009), 102-26.

a minor son²⁹. Mostly decisions for female are taken by male family members, the decision may include mobility, education, job, and marriage.

Most of the women try to escape these barriers, they resort to spiritual healers to get their free will entertain and to control their lives themselves. From spiritual healers, these neglected women get a sign of life. From coast to coast, young women are turning to shamans to help them deal with stress, depression, and other mental and physical conditions but most importantly they want to take control of their lives.³⁰

Women empowerment phenomenon is associated with the movement for women by women. In other words, it refers to the ability of women to enjoy their right to control and benefit from resources, assets, income, as well as the ability to improve their economic status and well-being. Women empowerment with respect to spiritual healing is a very dynamic issue of concern for social mobility of women. Women spiritual healers not only empower themselves but their women client's as well.³¹

Women being a marginalized segment of society try to find alternative ways to empower themselves without challenging existing patriarchal norms. For instance, women who are kept out of justice system go to spiritual healers, to locate their justice as highlighted by Erin P. Moore in her ethnography "*Gender, Power, and Legal Pluralism: Rajasthan, India*" in which she details means through which women and low caste poor men in Rajasthan, who have been kept out of the local system, tend to locate their source

²⁹ Vahida Nainar , "Patriarchy in South Asia Structures and Relations." SSRN Electronic Journal, (2013) doi:10.2139/ssrn.2317080.

³⁰ Hamid, Ali. interview by Naila Batoool. 2018. *Impact of Spiritual Healing on patients*

³¹ Amy L. Allocco , "From Survival to Respect: The Narrative Performances and Ritual Authority of a Female Hindu Healer", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp. 101-117

of Justice in the Healer/Maulvi. The available sources for seeking justice are Panchayat and State courts, in former women are only brought in case of need of testimony, while later people complain about corruption, now men and women will look towards healer, who is available regardless of their class and religion contrary to Panchayat and State courts, especially women who have no institutionalized status and any organization in the region. In order to indirectly express gender conflict, the Maulvi can be the only possible mechanism.³² :“

Village women have few sanctioned means of redressing perceived injustices. there is no dispute settlement forum that welcomes their complaints, and the men often fail to see women's domestic issues as actionable. The local male culture would not consider it unfair to harass a young woman who bears only female children, who is sterile, or who claims equal rights in divorce, parenting, and inheritance. Those with issues that concern parties of unequal power, or issues that involve people who do not have the power to interest the panches in gathering, seek their justice elsewhere” (Moore, 1993, p. 522).

She found that women may be masking their opposition to existing patriarchal structure under which they are oppressed, through an expression that is socially acceptable, that provides them a break from domestic chores and in certain cases a night away from home(in cases where healers live in a distant area).³³

Similar research has been conducted by Oliva M. Espin (1988) in her study of Hispanic female healers in Urban U.S. communities, in which she observed that such

³² Erin P Moore, "Gender, Power, and Legal Pluralism: Rajasthan, India." *American Ethnologist* (Wiley) 20 (3), (1993): 522-542 .

³³ Ibid.

women(healers) families, including their husbands, adult children, siblings and other relatives tolerate their behavior that would not be accepted under ordinary settings. She further maintains that such women healers dared to challenge existing patriarchal order in the name of supernatural, such acquisition of supernatural powers are an expression of strength for some women. Also if compared with private medical care, traditional healing is inexpensive that's why many clients turn towards it. And in case of some women, they get themselves treated covertly without knowledge of their husbands. Here when a woman contacts a healer it symbolizes autonomy and personal choice, contrary to constraints imposed on choices of women by patriarchy. Healing craft has helped healer become an influential member from a powerless, i.e. gaining respect in the family. Healing has also guaranteed her financial independence (through the fee she charges, or valuable gifts she receives) from male relatives or husbands which was not possible before.³⁴

The article, "*From Survival to Respect: The Narrative Performances and Ritual Authority of a Female Hindu Healer*" draws on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. The author analyzes the strategies which a Hindu healer employs to create and maintain her ritual authority in both her domestic shrine and in public temple spaces. She occupies a religious leadership role in both spaces, which is unusual for single women. Valliyammal is not only economically independent rather her role in public enables her to negotiate normative gender expectations, transcend gender

³⁴ Olive M. Espin 1988. "Spiritual Power and the Mundane World: Hispanic Female Healers in Urban U.S. Communities." *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 16 (The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1998): 33-47.

boundaries, in addition to producing the conditions for her economic independence. The role she plays in a male-dominated sphere has attained her respect in the society. As healing ceremonies in public spaces tended to be dominated by male ritual specialists.³⁵

While studying Arab women in Israel who seek help from traditional Arab healers Giveon and Kremawi (2000) contends that women visiting healers undergo self and social transformation. For a client to leave her home unaccompanied visiting a healer could be a reasonable reason. It articulates the will of the client as she herself decides which healer she needs to contact. Their study contends that paying a visit to healer empowers clients without challenging traditional norms in a context where women face numerous restrictions. The healer at times is the only resource available to women, who provides the client with guidance and support in a crisis condition³⁶.

Dr. Ahmed Hassan Dani in his book on History of Northern Areas of Pakistan (1991), has included a chapter "*Northern Areas of Pakistan- an Ethnographic Sketch*" by Professor Karl Jettmar, in which the author narrates different forms of Islam and social systems of Northern areas, and traces shamanic practices and its survival in different areas of Gilgit.³⁷

Anna Maria Walter in her article, "*Between purdah and sexuality: the double embodiment of Sharm*" in *Gilgit-Baltistan*" discusses the practice of Sharm as a social

³⁵ Amy L. Allocco (2013), "From Survival to Respect: The Narrative Performances and Ritual Authority of a Female Hindu Healer", Vol. 29, No. 1 (*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 2013), pp. 101-11.

³⁶ Ariela Popper- Giveon and Alean Al- Krenwai, "Women as Healers, Women as Clients: The Encounter between Traditional Arab Healers and their Clients", (*Cult Med. Psychiatry*, 2000), 468-499.

³⁷ Ahmed Hassan Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1989).

norm by females of Gilgit, and also highlights the ways in which women express their modesty through shame. She analyses shame and sexuality in its public and private context, from gender segregation in public to the sexual relationship between spouses. She also talks about women and male spaces. The household compound as the women's world while men work outside, in the fields, in shops or in offices. She narrates that *sharm* can also be a way of showing respect i.e. when a father or elder brother enter the female compound, women out of respect covers their heads and lower their gaze.³⁸:

"By analysing "sharm" as double embodiment of the "pardah habitus", it was demonstrated how "sharm" is perceived as modest behaviour, as well as embarrassment by women in the district of Gilgit, was demonstrated. Day-to-day practices of Gilgiti women's modesty generate meaning and reinforce normative sets that built the basis for demonstration and performance. When individuals appreciatively spoke about a noble, "shermati" girl, they generally described her modest, reserved manner, passive body language and conformity to social gender norms." (Walter, 2016, p.11)

Martin Sokefeld in an ethnoscript about Northern areas, "*Anthropology of Gilgit-Baltistan, Northern Pakistan*" explores that the segregation of gender varies greatly according to sect and region. For him, among Shias and Sunnis of the region, gender segregation is a strict norm. However, in villages, where women are required to work outside the house in the fields is not always tightly enforced. Purdah is strictest among Sunnis of Diamer District supported by a culture of blood feuds.³⁹ In Gilgit town,

³⁸ Anna Maria Walter, "Between "pardah" and sexuality: double embodiment of "sharm" in Gilgit-Baltistan." *Rural Society*, 25, no. 2 (2016): 170-83. doi:10.1080/10371656.2016.1194328.

³⁹ Muhammad Azam Chaudhary. "Blood Revenge, Pushtoons and Islam in Chilas, Gilgit-Baltistan." *Central Asia*. (2009). Accessed September 20, 2016. <http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/>.

however, where people of all the sects live, also Ismaili's have to adopt veil to some extent and Ismaili women are much less "free" than in rural areas.⁴⁰

Similar context has been highlighted by Kathrin Gratz in her interesting ethnography "*Walking on Women's Paths in Gilgit: Gendered Space, Boundaries, and Boundary Crossing*", with a different conclusion that, the practice of purdah by women of Gilgit is not tightly enforced when they go to a new or stranger area. Thus "*pardah is adopted where fear of bad reputation exists*".⁴¹ However, women enter men spaces in fear and confusion is generalized by the researcher. As, sometimes it is better to move from a crowded bazaar than to a narrow street, because young girls may face harassment in narrow streets primarily when they are moving alone.

Ruth Gohlen in her ethnography "*Mobility and Freedom of Decision-Making of Women in Astor Valley (Pakistan-Himalaya)*", provides an insight into the issue of segregation of gender, by examining decision making of women in Gilgit (District Astor). She looked into the ways through which women take part in public decision-making processes. She observes the power of men as a relative term i.e. if men exercise power over women by making decisions for them, it doesn't mean that women are excluded or have less role in all aspects of life. Women also exercise indirect control over their men. As the bad reputation of women will deteriorate their men's character as well, it is a

⁴⁰ Martin Sokefeld, "*From Colonialism to Postcolonial Colonialism: Changing Modes of Domination in the Northern Areas of Pakistan*", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(4), (2005):939-973.

⁴¹ Kathrin Gratz, "*Walking on Women's Paths in Gilgit: Gendered Space, Boundaries, and Boundary Crossing*" In *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change*, edited by Irmtraud Stellrecht. Vol. 2. Culture Area Kakarkorum (1996).

reciprocal process.⁴² Here I would argue that the author has ignored the fact that the control women have over men is very less. A woman, who allegedly brings a bad name to her husband, can be divorced by the husband, and in extreme cases may be killed in the name of honor (honor killings). On the other hand, a woman is left with limited options, either to compromise (for the sake of children usually) or to kill herself (See suicide in Gilgit Baltistan for further).

Altaf Hussain in his article "*Danyalism, a study on Spiritual Healing in Chaprote Pakistan*" gives a detailed insight into the shamanic rituals and categories of shamans. He claims that when a Danyal speaks in a trance, he uses local language Shina while interpreting information he received from the spirits. However, in other primitive cultures, a secret animal language is learned by a shaman to communicate with the supernatural beings, which needs specialists to interpret the information to common people.⁴³ This aspect needs further research work to explore any possible linkage between shamanic language and Shina language.⁴⁴ He further argues that with the advancement in technology role and status of Danyal has declined, as previously he was a fortune-teller of states and communities, now he only deals with families and individuals, still people of the area respect him and he has got a special status in society due to his position as a shaman:

⁴² Ruth Gohlen, "Mobility and freedom of decision-making of women in Astor valley (Pakistan-Himalaya)". In: Stellrecht, Irmtraud (Hg.) Karakorum – Hindukush – Himalaya. Dynamics of Change. Koln: Koppe, S. (1998) 463–488.

⁴³ Altaf Hussain, "Danyalism: A study on spiritual healing in Chaprote Balla." 1998.

⁴⁴ Shina is a local language of the Northern Areas of Pakistan and no evidence was found so far of speaking Shina in other parts of the world.

“Then the dramatic part of the ceremony reaches, when the candidate sings the song that his "Makhakher Aji (spirit mother) reached in the ceremony with milk and blood in two horns of an ibex (a wild animal), and he has received the milk as his gift". After hearing this song, the master Danyal gives signal to the people for slaughtering the green goat given by the mother's brother of the candidate for this ceremony. When the candidate smells the perfume of blood he runs from the circle to behind the gathering and tries to drink the blood of the slaughtered animal. The master stops him, when his lips just touch the blood. This is the most critical and dangerous movement in the life of a candidate, if he drinks more than a sip of blood, he will be placed in a lower category. Again the candidate starts dancing in the circle holding the bleeding head of the slaughtered goat in his hand. When the master Danyal puts a string around the neck of the candidate like a necklace, then the candidate falls down on the ground. Again the master Danyal releases him of the string, he again stands up and starts dancing. The master Danyal repeats this activity three times and announces that the Shut-toky⁴⁵ is over. Few young men take the unconscious candidate into a clean room, where he goes in a deep sleep for the whole day and night, when he wakes up he acquires a new status of a complete Danyal.”(Hussain, 1998, p.4)

D. L. R. Lorimer in his article *“The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region”* gives a brief sketch about different classifications of supernaturals among people of Gilgit. He assumes that a Danyal may belong to any class of the population and to either sex, and terms that they are on more intimate terms with the supernatural world than ordinary folks.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Shat-toky is a cultural celebration of a Danyal recruitment.

⁴⁶ D.L.R. Lorimer. "The supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit region. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: (1929) 507-36

Laszlo Koppány Csaji in his article, "*Flying with the Vanishing Fairies: Typology of the Shamanistic Traditions of the Hunza*" examines about the practice of shamanism in Hunza. For him, it has no connection with Eurasian shamans or remote shamanistic communities' positions and techniques of the bitan. He also details accounts of becoming a Shaman and the exchange of gifts in the form of money between clients and shaman.⁴⁷

He writes:

"The bitans are rarely from the ranks of prestigious clans or rich members of the community, and in the past, they were usually women. Approximately two-thirds of the known, or reported, former bitans were female. Even now, women have great autonomy and independent status in Hunza. Bitans work and live in a community just like other people. To be a bitan is not a "salaried" position, even if the bitan is a specialist (if only a part-time specialist). Bitans may receive a gift from the sick or afflicted person's family or the person who asks them to help, but there is no fixed price and even the price itself is of lesser importance. The gift (animals or, more recently, money) is often seen as a form of reciprocity or mutual help between the shaman and the "client," and is done without anybody controlling the equality of the "service" and "fee." Certainly it is an ethical obligation to give something as a form of gratitude, and greater help requires greater gifts. So this is more like a reciprocal gift-giving rather than a payment. That said, when I asked the bitans for foretelling, they fixed their price before the performance."

⁴⁷ Laszlo Csaji Koppány. "Flying with the Vanishing Fairies: Typology of the Shamanistic Traditions of the Hunza." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 22, no. 2 (2011): 159-87.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This chapter details the methodology employed in the study to gather the required information. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research strategy and data collection tools and techniques applied in the current study. The chapter also defines the scope and limitations of research design.

3.1: Data Collection Tools and Techniques

For the purpose of conducting this research, I have used the following data collection tools and techniques, which helped me in getting required, valid and reliable data.

3.2: Data Sources

Data collection was done through both secondary and primary sources.

3.2.1: Primary data

Primary sources included key informants. A primary document written on the social system of the area was collected from the house of late author Mohammad Yahiya, provided the information by one of a key informant. Another primary source employed for the collection of data is carrying out participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews.

3.2.2: Secondary data

Secondary evidence mainly covered written sources like books, journal articles, daily newspapers, government reports, research papers, MA and Ph.D. dissertations, and archives. These were accessed from Library at Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad,

Municipal Public Library Gilgit. Online journals available on internet also remained a significant source.

In this study women empowerment is measured across three indicators:

(Decision-making, Freedom of mobility and Access to/Control over economic resources). This study treats these factors as indicators of empowerment, not as empowerment itself.

3.3 Rapport Building

To build cordial relations with the subject I remained in the field and tried to act according to their expectations, which helped me in gaining their confidence and enabling me to extract the required information.

3.4: Participant Observation

During current research to get an idea about the healers and their work. I went to the healers initially as a client with a relative of mine who already knew the healer, early in the morning when there were no other clients, to observe her day to day activities. The healer was busy with her domestic chores. She asked us to help her with her house chores so that she could talk to us freely. I then helped her in washing dishes and cleaning the house, meanwhile, she went to fodder livestock. After introducing me to the healer the girl accompanying me left the site and I spent the whole day with the healer, observed the surroundings and clients, and interviewed different women visiting her. I audiotaped those clients who were ready to be audiotaped, those who were shy or reluctant, soon after they left the site I opened my notebook and wrote down all the conversation I had with them.

3.5: Key Informants

A key informant interview is used to collect data from persons who are considered to hold crucial and relevant information about society under study.

Firstly, I identified and created a list of potential key informants from diverse sets of representatives with different backgrounds to ensure a variety of perspectives. Potential informants who could give information regarding the subject were approached to understand the society and its social dynamics easily. Face to face interviews was conducted which helped me exchanging ideas freely and in getting more detailed responses. Key informants were asked about history, culture, community practices and the concept of healing prevailing in the area. They were knowledgeable and closely linked with the subject.

Interviews conducted were semi-structured, prior conducting interview with key informants, I informed them about my purpose of the study. To keep the conversation candid and not too formal, I paid attention to what they are saying instead of writing every single piece of information. I tape recorded interviews with informed consent to be audiotaped so that none of their insights and discussions are missed. Before beginning the interview, I introduced myself, my project and the purpose of the study.

Key Informant I chose for the conduct of this study are⁴⁸:

1. Waqas: a school teacher by profession and a photographer and wanderer by heart. He is popular in the area under study for his knowledge about history and population of the area. He helped me in getting access to historical archives.

⁴⁸ All names of the persons engaged in this study and the locale are fictive, to protect confidentiality of the subject.

2. Shahid is a retired professor, he has also served as Head of the Library⁴⁹.

He directed me to a family belonging to Nomal but residing in Gilgit, this family had an unpublished book about Nomal, written by their late father, which helped me in understanding dynamics of change in society under study.

3. Sajida is a 26 years old girl who is a tailor by profession and teaches Holy Quran in the evening in a Madarassah nearby. She helped me in getting access to the women of the area who never visited any of the healers in the area under study. For me, it was a tough task to identify such women since most of the women of the area have visited healers at least once in their life. Sajida's nature of work enables her to know the majority of the females of the area.

3.6: Sampling

In this study, the researcher used the technique of non-probability sampling namely purposive sampling. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify respondents and to reach sample target quickly.

For the conduct of this research four groups of population were chosen: Women healers, their patients/clients, healer's relatives/neighbors and women who don't go to the healers.

Healers were defined as women who are known to have supernatural powers and are capable of healing by involving in healing craft. They were women of different ages, educational background, and family status.

⁴⁹ Biddulph Library was established by British Col John Biddulph (writer of the "Tribes of Hindu Kush") before leaving Gilgit. It is the only and main Library in Gilgit where archives about Gilgit are available.

Clients were defined as those who come to the healer to seek remedy for their problems. Healer's relatives are their sisters and daughters.

A total of thirty-five women participated in the study (05 healers, 10 clients, 10 relatives, 10 women who don't go to healers).

Every client was asked questions regarding their purpose for visiting healer and impact it created on their empowerment. Since empowerment has no literal meaning in local language I had to give them examples to make them understand what does empowerment mean.

Women who don't seek any help from healer were inquired about the reason behind not visiting healer and its effect upon their mobility, decision making power and access to and control over economic resources.

3.7: In-Depth Interviews

Out of the vast range of interviews, semi-structured interviews were conducted to get the desired information. An interview guide was utilized in order to keep control on the research topic and to save the time, but at the same time researcher tried to keep the conversation flow naturally.

Few open-ended questions (Annexure 01) were asked by the researcher with follow-up questions focusing on research objectives. Few questions were made on the spot that came to mind during a conversation with the respondents. All interviews were conducted in the local language (Shina) and later translated into English.

Probing and prompting from the researcher gave room for greater depth of response from the interviewees. Interview questions were left open to enable the

interviewees to express their perspectives freely. All the respondents selected for this study were successfully interviewed.

3.8: Socio-economic Survey

To know the background of the respondent, a socio-economic survey (Annexure 02) was conducted. Census form was used to know the age, education, family income, marital status and family background of respondents.

Chapter 4

Area Profile

4.1: Study Locale

The area under study is Nomal, a small valley located on the left bank of Hunza River in Gilgit territory. The valley, famous for its cherry production has a majority population of Twelver Shiites and Ismaili's as a minority residing in a few areas. Like rest of Gilgit the area is divided into muhallas called "heit" in the local language. People of both sects (Shia and Ismaili) live together peacefully in these muhallas and any sectarian clash between these two groups in the area is never recorded to date. Recently when Prince Karim Agha Khan⁵⁰ came to visit Gilgit Baltistan to meet huge congregations of his followers in different parts of Gilgit Baltistan, Ismaili residing in Nomal left over their houses and livestock for Deedar (glimpse) of their spiritual leader in Hunza. In their absence, the Shia people of the area look after their livestock for many days till Ismaili inhabitants came back. Setting an example of interfaith harmony. The main language spoken in the area is Shina⁵¹, and Burushaski is spoken in few muhallas where people migrated from Broshal and Hunza-Nagar resides. Male and female both share the burden of family, usually men works in town and females have the responsibility of working on farms and livestock. The literacy rate is rising with the start of private schools where co-education is provided.

⁵⁰ The spiritual leader and 49th Imam of Ismaili Muslims.

⁵¹ Shina spoken in Gilgit and in Nomal is same with the exception of few words.

4.2 Site Selection

The present study has selected Nomal as its area of investigation. The selection is made due to its proximity with Gilgit, and being in close proximity with Gilgit it has better facilities like schools, means of communication, markets etc, providing more options for people of the area to move around.

The rationale behind selecting the site is that most of the females in the area are influenced by healers, and there are a variety of healers (male and female) in the area. Women of the area prefer to go to female healers because they are easily approachable. Another reason is that male healers demand more money (since male healers have a huge demand across the area and they prefer to deal with tough cases, which will provide them a handsome amount of money).

Before selecting the site I had in my mind that I am going to work on female spaces. How women create spaces to enjoy their freedom in a patriarchal society. For instance, females who were not allowed to visit markets which are run by men only, build their own women markets where males are not allowed, as highlighted by Martin⁵² in his ethnography.

4.3 Typography:

Nomal is a village of Gilgit District in the Gilgit-Baltistan territory of Pakistan. It lies in the area of nine miles. Located at 35°55'18.71"N 74°17'21.15"E within an altitude of 482 m (1,582 ft). Territorial boundaries of Nagum Nomal starts from Shichay pahard

⁵² Martin Sokefeld, "From Colonialism to Postcolonial Colonialism: Changing Modes of Domination in the Northern Areas of Pakistan", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(4), (2005): 939-973.

Shildish and stretches Northwest towards Naltar- Bala and ends at a place called Lal pathar at Naltar.⁵³

4.4 Origin of Word Nomal

The word Nomal is ancient Shina Brusho word meaning adjacent (Nagum). Nagum in local language Shina is a blossoming land.⁵⁴ Nagum was the title of Nomal, as in ancient times people used an additional attribute with the name of the respective area to highlight its importance and value. Before Dogra Raj, every village of the area was independent, sovereign and rival of each other so they gave their village a name to indicate its worth.

Different historians have a different opinion regarding the origin and meaning of the name of the village. The full name of the village is Nagum Nomal. For some historians the word Nomal has a Brushuski origin. Previously the name of the village was Nirkmal. Nirk is a wildflower found in alpine locations and Mal is a field (in Burushaski language).⁵⁵ According to native interpretation, the word has a geographical derivation of the word Noumeel, because the total area is approximately nine miles, with the passage of time word became Nomal. Another opinion regarding the name of the region is that word Nomal is derived from the junction of two rivers (mainly Hunza River and Gilgit

⁵³ Key informant.

⁵⁴ Sherbaz Ali Khan Barcha. "Nomal Maazi o Haal kay Aainay ma." *Shaoor* (Northern Areas Student Association, Karachi University) 1 (3), (2005): 41-45.

⁵⁵ Key informant, a teacher by profession and a freelance writer.

River). Another assumption is that a man naming Nimal⁵⁶ inhabited the area, after his name the name of the area became Nomal.

4.5 Historical importance

Historically Nomal was torn between Gilgit State and the Princely State of Nagar. Being once part of Gilgit and once Nagar. The area had a significant value in the past. As there used to be a hotel in the midway of ancient Silk route where every caravan passing by would stop for a rest, which was catered to and cared for by the local people. Travelers from Hunza and Nagar were served by providing them food and fruits, free of cost.

During early times it was the custom of State and State court that during any festival people from influential tribes used to dance in front of Raja(ruler) and salute them by bowing their heads down. This gesture of salute paying was to demonstrate that the state is not orphan and have the shadow of a ruler. People of Nomal didn't want to be called as orphans, so they requested the ruler to send a prince, to whom they could pay salute. The ruler, on the request of people, sent his brother to rule Nomal.

When the Tarkhan Dynasty ended in Gilgit, Raja Kamal Khan of Nagar included Nomal in his kingdom. After him, Kamal's son Rahim and after him his son Raja Babar ruled the area. Raja Babar was killed by his son Sultan Shah. After the death of Raja Babar Khan, Princely State of Nagar met a civil war. Taking advantage of the situation in Nagar, Raja of Gilgit Goritham invaded Nomal and took control of other areas including Chaprote and Chalt. Goritham was killed by Raja of Yaseen Suleiman Shah. Suleiman

⁵⁶ Shah, Mohammad Yahya. 1989. *Moza Nigam Nomal: aik Jhugrafiaye or Masharte Tajziya*. Vol. 3, by Zahoor Hussain. Agha Khan Rural Support Program Gilgit.

Shah attacked Gilgit twice and took control of Gilgit in the second attempt and looted Nomal as well. Suleiman Shah was then defeated by Raja of Punial. He while taking over Gilgit captured Nomal also.

After the death of Tahir Shah in 1936, his son and heir to the throne took charge. Sikander was killed by Gohar Aman during Gilgit invasion. Gohar Aman ruled over Nomal, and Nomal was again looted by Gohar Aman's army. Sikder's son who escaped away during the invasion, with the help of Dogras tried to capture Gohar Aman, but Gohar Aman died a natural death. After his death, Dogras took control of Gilgit and appointed raja Karim Khan as Wali Gilgit. After that Dogras build a strong fort in Nomal, a military post to keep an eye on Rajas of Hunza and Nagar. But the rajas of both states waged a war against Dogras and looted Nomal by killing many soldiers of Dogras army. Dogras made the fort strong from earlier and deployed more soldiers

Dogras and British collectively defeated Hunza Nagar in 1893 near Nilt and British established a stronghold in Hunza Nagar. Peace in Nomal was established.⁵⁷

4.6 Population

The present population of Nomal village is about 10000 families living around different muhallas.

4.7 Language

Majority of the population are Shina speakers. Brushuski is also spoken in few areas by a minority, migrated from Hunza and Nagar. Shina spoken in Gilgit and Nomal is the same with the exception of a few dialects.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

4.8 Castes:

Buttay or Mottay:

Nomal is an outpost for many casts, Buttay or Mottay are the oldest populace of Nomal. The current population of Nomal belongs to this tribe. Initially, this tribe was inhabited in Batot Nomal, gradually these people spread in the whole village. Origin of this tribe is unknown, but it is being said that Naltar is populated before Nomal, so this tribe could have come from Naltar.

Schin and Yashkun:

Majority of the population are Yashkuns. Shepherd was the old and respectable occupation of people of the area. With the passage of time some people among them, along with agricultural started catering livestock. On the basis of occupation, they were called as Yashkuns. Those who kept shepherd as their occupation were called as Shins. Initially, these two tribes Shin and Yashkuns were called Shin. The word Shina originated from them as the language of Shin people.

Akhund:

Akhund is a Persian word, In Persian, it means “Educated”. Islamic teachings were spread in the area by them. When Raja Kamal of Hunza-Nagar accepted Islamic teachings, he had influence over Gilgit as well, it helped in the spread of Islamic teachings in the area.

Rajay:

Rajas of Astore invited a Syed named as “Syed Ali Naqi Jalali” from Kashmir. After few years Rajas of Gilgit requested Rajas of Astore to send syed to Gilgit. He came to Gilgit. When Raja of Gilgit passed away, on the request of people of Nomal Syed Ali

Naqi came to Nomal and stayed there for rest of his life. The current Syed populace of Nomal is his descendants.

Burushay:

Land of Hunza was not fertile enough to meet the needs of people. People of Hunza used to plunder adjacent areas for their subsistence. When British took control of Hunza Nagar, this series of plundering and looting ended. During WWI and WWII people of Hunza were recruited in the British army to fight in Kashmir and Ambala. People saved their salary and bought lands in sub-division Gilgit and Nomal also. Their language is Brushuski.

Kashmiri:

Goldsmiths and rice cultivators were brought to Nomal by Rajas of Gilgit, and inhabited them between current Khaltarote and Daas, with the passage of time their population increased. During the rule of Mir Ghazanfar Khan of Hunza, people of Hunza invaded Nomal and made all people of Nomal captives and brought them to Hunza, they then send back old people of Nomal “Yashkuns” to Nomal, and sold out all Kashmiris in Kashgar Bazar, due to which currently no Kashmiri lives in Gilgit.⁵⁸

4.9 Education:

There is a government high school for girls and boys, but due to certain factors like government ignorance, corruption, while recruiting staff, lack of facilities and teaching staff, parents prefer to send their children to private schools.⁵⁹ Financial sound families prefer to send their children to private schools, located in the city. Boys after

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Previously private schools were run only by Agha Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP).

completion of their intermediate are send downside of the country mainly Islamabad, Lahore, and Karachi for higher education. However, in these few years, there is a growing ratio of girls which were previously married after graduation, going to university⁶⁰ for higher studies. A university bus is provided for the students of Nomal, making it easy for girls to shuttle (it has to be noted that single bus is separated between girls and boys with a metallic barrier). University is also a platform where one can find a suitable spouse for themselves. Many mothers want their son in law to be from the city because they think life in the city is comfortable than in the village.⁶¹

4.10 Household structure:

Typically houses are made up of stone bricks and cement. Many houses are not surrounded by boundary walls. There is enough area inside the compound to cultivate vegetables and fruits. The larger area of the compound is not necessary for cultivation. Houses with the small area also cultivate vegetables (mainly cucumber, tomatoes, coriander, and mint). The cemented house is a new development in the area. Previously houses were made-up of cemented walls and clay wood roofs, with a big room called in the local language as Desi got (which have four large sections. The middle section which is usually larger than the others is used for burning wood in an iron box during winters, specially designed by attaching a pipe, which works as an exhaust for a smoke. The front section is decorated with local bedding and used for dining. The other two portions are used for sleeping purpose). The joint family system is declining. Couples are separated

⁶⁰ Karakorum International University, only University in the region, with sub campuses in two districts, inaugurated by General (rtd.) Pervez Musharraf in 2001.

⁶¹ Key informant, Sajida.



soon after their marriage. Those who cannot afford a separate /new building, live in a room of the same house, using a single room for living, dining and sleeping purpose.

4.11 Marital pattern:

Endogamy, exogamy and exchange marriages, all are practiced. Marriage is arranged by parents when any suitable proposal is found. Endogamy is usually practiced when families have no male child, in order to keep the land within their own family. Usage of mobile phones among young generation is widely practiced, many young girls have kept mobile phones without their family knowledge and they typically use it when they go to fields.⁶² Many cases of girls secretly meeting boys from the city are testified and in some cases, honor killings are reported. If a girl is allegedly involved in an affair, a small Jirga, including elder people of the family sits and decides the matter. But the decision of this Jirga is not mandatory to accept unlike jirgas in tribal setup or other rural parts of the country.

4.12 Income Resources:

Agriculture is the main economic activity, but not the only source of income for the majority of people. With the passage of time lands for cultivation purposes are shrinking (with the increase in population and fading of the joint family system). The climate is also uncertain, so people rely less on income produced from lands. Syed families have a prestigious position in the society and own more land compared to other families, mainly because of the fact that many lands were given to Syeds as a part of the religious requirement (*Khums*).⁶³

⁶² Key informant, Sajida.

⁶³ Information provided by key informants. As a religious obligation, in older times when people had more lands they gave their lands to Syed's of the area, as *Khums* paying.

The federal government is providing subsidy on wheat, so people prefer to cultivate potatoes in their farms (as it provides more profit over wheat). Generally, farmers have livestock; one or two milk-producing cows, goats and sheep, and donkeys. Most of the animals are taken to highland pastures in summers and brought down into the village in winter for stall-feeding.

Many people have left the village and took residence in City for the purpose of education and income generation. People of Nomal are serving in every field and high ranking posts from doctors to engineers and policemen.

Chapter 5

Thematic Analysis of Data

5.1: Tale of Becoming a Healer (A Danyal)

The Healer, prior to becoming a healer and engaging in healing practices, experiences, spiritual transformation that the local community interprets as a call from the ancestral spirit. This ancestral spirit, transforms the individual into a healer. This spirit belongs to either the maternal or paternal line of the family, who had the title of Danyal.⁶⁴ According to local beliefs, this spirit reveals in a symbolic form of an illness or a dream.

Razia is a sixty-year-old woman and has five children; two of her children are married, and her only married son lives with his wife in a separate room in their house. Her husband and son work as daily wage labors. She has inherited the tradition of Shamanism; her grandfather, grandmother, and brother were also shamans. While telling her story of becoming a healer:

During lunar eclipse, I used to get angry about petty issues. I thought it's my - personality trait but with the passage of time, my sickness intensified. I went to see a doctor and he said it is only the weakness of the body, but gradually my situation worsened day by day. Eventually, it seemed as if I was on death bed. Then one day a distant relative (who was also a Danyal) came to our house, after seeing my condition, he told my family that I am a Danyal; nobody believed it. To find out if I was a Danyal or not, a special music was played on a mobile phone which is usually played to call the fairies, I suddenly stood up from my place and

⁶⁴ Danyal is the local name of healer, who induce trance by burning dried juniper leaves and inhaling its smoke.

started dancing on my toes. This condition continued for four days and finally on the fifth day, inside my house musicians and a few females were invited. When the music started, I stood up dancing as usual, the fairies came to me. Meanwhile a green goat was slaughtered, the senior Danyal gave me the goat's head and I drank its blood (for me which was not blood rather milk given to me by mother Makakhair⁶⁵). Then master Danyal gave me bangles to wear. After dancing and singing, I suddenly collapsed. A white Chaddar was laid on me. I slept for almost two hours, during these two hours the fairies taught me different spells to read during different illnesses and to cure people. When I woke up finally, I was able to communicate with spirits and act as a medium between the spiritual and material world. I was a Danyal. (My translation)

A similar journey of becoming a Shaman (Bitan)⁶⁶ is described by Laszlo Kopani Csaji in his article "*Flying with the Vanishing fairies: Typology of Shamanistic traditions of the Hunza,*":

Unlike Shamanic beliefs in Eurasia, which generally include Shamans having more bones or having birth signs like an extra sixth finger, the bitans have no physical deformity. Fairies come down from mountains to choose a child who will later be a bitan. But this revelation will not be realized immediately. Only the chosen child may be different from rest of the children in a sense that the child will fall unconscious, or may sometimes jump without any reason. The child when reaches puberty, the spirit may appear before the chosen bitan and announce the child's obligation to become a bitan, at this stage resistance is not recommended. The child may come down with a special sickness, or may become unconscious for several days and weeks. If the refusal persists, in most instances, the child may die. However, if the child wants to become free of

⁶⁵ Mother Makakhair is the patron spirit (fairy), who gives blessings to the new Shamans, by offering them milk as a gift in Ibex's horns.

⁶⁶ Bitan is the local name of Shaman in Brushuski language.

bitan obligation (where there is little chance), to do so the child must drink only cow's milk, because the bitan can only drink deer milk in the wild, they have to keep themselves away from certain things like listening to bitan music⁶⁷ wearing red or gold clothing. Every shaman has a different fairy (pari), the stronger a shaman, the stronger will be the fairy. All the knowledge will be taught by these fairies to the shamans. A shaman has ability to dance and fly. A bitan usually dances in local festivals in front of large audiences, and predicts future fertility and success. A special music is required for the bitan to participate in trance dance. However, the music and smoke act as a catalyst to call spirits, some spirits live with the shaman without these practices occurring. When juniper or Syrian rum leaves are burnt, the bitan inhale smoke and start trance dancing. This is the time when the spirits (fairies) come down and the bitan starts conversation with them (in Shina language)⁶⁸. The shaman will finally collapse after uttering a few. These bitans have unwritten ethical code which is; not to eat cow meat and drink its milk, not to harm people, and do not make evil sorcery. If this code is broken the shaman will be punished by patron spirit.⁶⁹ (Kapolo, 2000, p.168-170)

Researchers own experience of a dancing Danyal (Shaman)

During my field work, I was informed by one of a key informant that they have arranged a Danyal ritual in their house. It was a private matter (people of the area believe that these practices are satanic and thus forbidden in Islam, they also do not openly believe in the existence of danyals. Interestingly, these people also resort to danyals by covertly inviting them for the solution of their problems). I was the sole outsider. It was a cold winter night, and the healer was supposed to sit in the heating room (a big living

⁶⁷ A special music is played to call the fairies from mountains to earth.

⁶⁸ The bitan speaks Brushoski language, however he communicates with fairies in Shina language.

⁶⁹ Kopanny, "Flying with vanishing Fairies", 2011.

room, which is also used as a living, drawing and a kitchen. An iron stove is kept in the center of the room, used to burn fire, to keep the temperature normal during harsh winters. Food is cooked on one side of the stove and water is boiled on another side in a pot. Another reason for such a setting is that the native people cannot afford burning firewood in all individual rooms).

There were a couple of wall hangings having the Holy names of Allah (SWT). The shaman looked around and ordered to remove these hangings. He later inquired about the food inside pot which was on the iron stove. When he found out that it is cow meat, he ordered to remove the pot and keep it outside the room. Everyone in the room looked nervous as there was only a single man to 'control' the healer.

Then the dried juniper leaves were burnt in an iron plate. The shaman inhaled this smoke, with an open mouth as if he is trying to eat the smoke. While he was inhaling smoke, he made sounds which resembled the sounds made while eating a delicious edible. Within a few seconds the healer stretched his arms backward, this was the sign of entering into trance. Now he stood up on his toes and only looked towards the roof. He started singing songs for the fairies. I could only understand one particular line (*ma ga har, ma ga bijamus*: take me along with you, I also want to go). The healer shook his head in a manner as if it seemed the fairy is telling him something and he is nodding. Without interrupting, the women around the shaman started asking him questions like in a conversation, which he would answer without repeating the words, as if the fairy was listening to people voice. They inquired about fertility of their land, success of their families, birth of a male child etc. The shaman answered:

'Do not panic for the problems, for these are timely, will vanish with time and you will get what you desire'. (My translation)

This session lasted for around thirty five minutes. Near its end, the shaman made a screaming face, stretched his arms back as if someone is beating him and he is having pain in his body. The man in the room took his position, as it was evident, the shaman was about to collapse. The man tries to control the shaman, while the shaman kept stretching his body in pain (as it seemed from his gestures), soon the shaman collapsed. Finally water was sprinkled on shaman's face by which he regained his consciousness within a few seconds.

When I inquired the shaman about the fairy, he said there were three fairies, all of them have long hairs. They were standing on mountains (here it is ambiguous that if the fairies were standing on mountains, the healer's soul went to them or the fairies came down from the mountains). This could provide justification of the shaman's dance and fly, his soul may fly from material to supernatural world. About the question, regarding the removal of wall hangings, the shaman replied that it is a sin to sing and dance in front of Holy names of Allah. However, when I asked my key informant, she told me that the spirits associated with danyalism are magical and satanic, that is why wall hangings were removed. About the question of pot filled with meat, the shaman told me that cow meat infuriates the fairies and they refuse to come down.

5.3: Healing and Empowerment:

When I asked Razia about the practice of healing and empowerment⁷⁰ associated with being a healer she answered:

⁷⁰ To make her understand about the word empowerment I had to give her a long detail by quoting examples because the word empowerment has no specific meaning in the local language.

I help my family financially, and I am not financially dependent on my husband anymore. I cure people of my area and it gives me positive feelings, but at the same time, I feel it's a curse for any female because there is a lot of suffering prior to becoming a healer, especially when you belong to a conservative family and observe strict purdah rules.

When I probed by asking, why she feels it is a curse for a woman, to which she replied in following manner:

When the unique music was played for inviting fairies for the first time, to judge if I was a Danyal or not, on hearing the music, I stood up for dancing and threw away my chaddar from my head in front of master Danyal⁷¹, which brought shame to me and my family. Although it is not in one's hand but I would never want any other female to go through the shame and suffering, I went through. Never for my daughters or grand-daughters. My husband says that our daughters are young and he doesn't like it when male clients come to our house. However, when my husband is out of home due to his job I deal male clients as well, if they are brought in by any of my relatives or on request of people of neighborhood and friends.

From the narratives of women like Razia, it is evident that even though this call from an ancestral spirit came without her will, yet this fact does not lead to the idea of disempowerment. This path of healing is chosen by her. Few participants however stated that prior to becoming healers they were disempowered. Involvement in healing craft facilitated them in finding ways to resist traditional gender role specified in their culture. While some women reported that they never felt disempowered in certain discourses, considering it a norm.

⁷¹ Here master Danyal is a male and "na-mehram", and it is mandatory in Islam for a female to keep her head covered in front of na-mehram.

The narratives of these women show how they experienced empowerment or oppression in certain discourses which became a reason for them to choose this path. Among these reasons financial problems remained significant, as these women put more emphasis on this indicator. After choosing this path these women reportedly began to exercise more control and authority in their life and felt that they are more empowered than they ever experienced in their lives. Since financial independence means exercising more authority in household, according to these women.

5.2 Financial Freedom

In a society that is patriarchal in nature, women generally face oppression based on their gender. They are obliged to live with male family members who then consider it their responsibility to safeguard and support these women. Thus making such women financially dependent on male members of their families, Male members of their family include their father, husband or sons.

Financial contribution of a woman to her household increases her sense of control and value in home, as well as increases her right in decision making. Researchers agree that relationship between women's earning and their empowerment, precisely how much they contribute to the total earning of their family is one aspect of women's participation in the work force which is important to empowerment. The control and influence a woman has in her household is reliant on how much a family is dependent or relies on the income of a woman, as such reliance by family members will increase her position and value in her house.⁷² For instance if contribution of a woman to her household is a small

⁷² West , Brooke Shanna. 2006. "Does Employment Empowers Women?.An Analysis of Employment and Women's Empowerment In India." *Masters Thesis*.

share, her wages will not help her greater say in decision making and if this contribution is half or all of her household income, chances are high that she will have greater say in her house and will be able to assert more influence in decision making.

Research on women's contribution to family earnings and empowerment show support for this positive relationship between larger contribution and increased likelihood for empowerment (Grasmuck and Espinal 2000; Hashemi et al. 1996; Schuler et al. 1996; Kabeer 1997).⁷³

Schuler et al. (1996) looking at the relationship between domestic violence and women's contribution to household found out that women whose income provided most of their family's earnings achieved a status in the household. In this case, women's contributions to their family's earnings, when significant, translated into increased empowerment in terms of a reduction in domestic violence against women.

Wages can make a difference to empowerment, despite the absence of any drastic challenge to patriarchy, because earning a wage means that women are contributors and this means that they could be treated differently in their homes. When a woman earns a wage it means she is contributing to her household and her treatment would be different. Earning a wage can alter their level of empowerment regardless of bringing any challenge to patriarchy.⁷⁴

For Healer Sumaira, empowerment means gaining financial freedom and estimation among family members and the community. Sumaira is raising her four

⁷³ Grasmuck, Sherri, and Rosario Espinal (2000). "Market Success or Female Autonomy? Income, Ideology, and Empowerment among Microentrepreneurs in the Dominican Republic." *Gender and Society* 14(2): 231-255

⁷⁴ Kabeer, 1997.

children; two sons and two daughters, all of them are studying in a nearby government school which requires financial stability for the payment of their fee. Her husband is an unemployed man suffering from kidney disease and works as a farmer in the small area of land, which they own. He earns a very little amount of money, which is also seasonal. After her engagement with healing, she is no more economically dependent on her husband; rather supports her husband and family financially:

Some clients are generous and they pay me a handsome amount of money especially when their problems are solved (in this case clients come back to her when their problems are "solved"). Resultantly, by which I am able to cover my household expenses. These consists of my husband's medical expenses, children's education, and other wedding preparations related expenses of my family (mainly my sisters and brothers and their children) and sometimes expenses incurred on the neighborhood. (by purchasing gifts.)

Sumaira's healing capability assisted her in a variety of discourses. Helping her to become powerful, exercise more authority and gain financial independence, in contrast with her role as a housewife. These exchange of gifts, as mentioned by her, has helped strengthen her status within her family and society.

I asked her, if the case was different before her involvement in healing, to which she replied:

I have got powers of "Darneechi"⁷⁵. This darneechi is with me since my childhood, she used to come to me but did not say a word, and she spoke to me only after my marriage and told me that I should cure people. She said she will assist me. Since then I am involved in healing practices.

⁷⁵ Darneechi is a woman, in majority cases a young girl which symbolizes wealth and prosperity to a person who possess it.

When I inquired further, if she seeks her husband's permission before spending money, she responded:

He is the head of house and father of my children, I inform him, how and where I spent money, but he never imposes his will on me regarding how and where should I spent my money. I don't always give him details of where I spent the money which I get from clients and in some cases for instance when I spent it on my family, I don't inform him.

Talking about her empowerment after entering into this practice of healing she said:

I never felt I was disempowered at first place, but now I am financially independent so I can purchase what I want for myself and my kids, I don't have to request my husband for money. Since I earn and my husband is unemployed so he gives me respect and asks my consent before making any decision regarding our children. He also informs me before selling vegetables (particularly potatoes), and, milk and butter we get from our cattle.

Sumaira is exempted from her domestic chores as she is busy all day dealing with clients. Her husband looks after their children and cattle. Even at times when she has a bunch of clients to deal with, her clients whom she has friendly relations, or women from her neighborhood, come and help her in managing her domestic chores, like cleaning the house and making food for her children; allowing her to handle her clients uninterrupted.

When clients were inquired about the price they paid to the Healer and where this money came from, a client Ruqayya answered in the following manner:

I came here for my husband's matter, his business is not doing well these days, whenever he suffers a loss in his business, he sends me to baji (she calls healer baji), baji gives me some sacred water which my husband drinks and I sprinkle it

around my house. Within a few weeks, my husband's business starts flourishing. I have faith in baji's spells and treated water. As a token of thanks, my husband sends me to baji to give her money.

In Ruqqaya's case she visits the healer not for herself but for her husband, for her, her husband's financial progress is her financial progress, since he is the only breadwinner of her family. I further investigated, if her husband gives her money for other stuff like shopping etc. She answered that she has to negotiate with her husband while asking money for other purposes, but when she asks for money to be offered to the healer, he seldom refuses.

Upon further probing, if she spends the money given to her by her husband for other purposes than spending on the healer, she admitted, she does spend money on shopping other stuff.

I have observed, women who visit such healers often spent the money (given by their husbands as a fee for the healer), for their own use or occasionally give some money to the healer and save the rest.

5.3 Freedom of Mobility

Women in rural areas engage in finding alternative ways to lessen social boundaries, which are primarily defined by patriarchy. For instance, women who are generally not allowed to visit market-places, find a way out when attending funeral ceremonies of distant relatives residing in cities by accompanying their female neighbors and relatives, without knowledge of their families.

In this case, asking permission from their husband is stress-free, as they would not be going alone but with other female relatives and neighbors.

Healers enjoy certain freedom when it comes to mobility in public. In normal situation she is not allowed to leave her home without any legitimate reason; since she is a healer, she can go to people who call her to their place.

In disguise of healing clients, she may spend some time with her parents and thus free herself from domestic chores⁷⁶. Though she still needs to be accompanied by her male family member.

In the case of Healer Razia, she has no male child. When she has to leave her house she may call her sister or leave with her daughter, as her husband needs to take care of their house and children.

Healer Shama⁷⁷ narrated her story in the following manner:

I am unmarried, thus my mobility is restricted, unlike my mother. So when a client from a distant area invites me to their place for a healing purpose, my mother accompanies me. In order to get permission, my mother negotiates with my father.

When women were asked regarding their mobility in public other than visiting a healer. They answered that a male family member always accompanies them, not because they fear to move in public alone rather it is considered a shameful behavior in the society under study (in this case a potential shameful behavior will bring shame not for her rather her male family members).

Another client Samina explained:

⁷⁶ Moore, Erin P. 1993. "Gender, Power, and Legal Pluralism: Rajasthan, India." *American Ethnologist* (Wiley) 20 (3): 522-542.

⁷⁷ Shama is a nineteen years old girl, studying in intermediate. She is engaged to her cousin. She says that her fairies already told her that she is going to get married to her cousin and after some time her uncle asked for her hand for his son. She further says that her fairies belong to the Shia sect. Upon inquiring how she knows this? She replied that they participate in annual Muharram mourning.

I prefer to move around with a male companion not because I fear to move alone but this free movement will bring shame to my husband and people will question his masculinity⁷⁸, another reason is that there are few females in the neighborhood who do not seek their husbands permission before going out due to this their husbands have a bad reputation because of their wives, I do not want to bring bad name to my husband.

I asked her if a male accompany her when they visit a healer, she replied:

I never step out of my house alone, other than the fields (which are not far away from my house), my husband always accompanies me. He is always busy with his business (shopkeeper), and he does not allow me to visit the market. But when my little daughter falls ill, I seek his permission to see the healer which he grants.

For women like Hasina paying a visit to a healer is a valid excuse to leave her house unaccompanied. In the cover of visiting healer, she gets a break from their household duties and engages in socializing with other women of her neighborhood.

5.3 Contacting Healers as an Expression of Autonomy

Autonomy is the control women have over their own lives. The extent to which they have an equal voice with their husbands in matters affecting themselves and their families. Control over the material and other resources, access to knowledge and information, the authority to make independent decisions, freedom from constraints on physical mobility, and the ability to forge equitable power relationships within families.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ According to my observation masculinity in the area under study is associated with, how a male member regulates female members of his family.

⁷⁹ Sathar, Zeba A., and Shireen J. Jejeebhoy, 2001. "Women's Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region." Jstor.

A woman who gets in touch with a healer of her choice articulates her own will. In a situation of crisis, a healer is the only available source for her to get guidance. In this regard, she is not directed by any male family member.

As for the case of Healer, being a healer depicts the control of a woman over her life, she could have refused to become a healer.

5.4 Healers Participation in Cultural Celebrations

Healers when inhaling smoke by burning juniper leaves enter into a state of trance and connect themselves with the spiritual world while dancing on special music. They also sing songs at the same time. This unusual behavior of healer is enjoyed by the people witnessing this occurrence. So healers are invited during local celebrations. Women healers are also invited to women-only gatherings.

When I asked Healer Shumaila about her participation in cultural celebrations she responded:

Prior to becoming a healer, I was shy of participating in cultural celebrations. But now I participate, inhale leaves and go into trance.

When questioned about her role in those celebrations she answered:

My role is that of a mediator. Women share their inner feelings, which they cannot share otherwise in presence of male members of society and asks for the solution to their problems. I guide them after consulting my fairies.-

Here the function of the healer is to listen to the concerns of females around her who tells the healer their problems and seek solutions. The healer not always solve their problems rather transform them.

5.5 Decision Making:

When healer was questioned about her role in decision making, particularly in her house, Shazia⁸⁰ responded:

In my house decision making rests with male family members, particularly when it comes to education and marriage of female family members. But small household decisions like selling vegetables, milk and butter are taken by women. As I am busy most of the time, dealing with clients, so I am exempted from domestic chores.

When I probed further as she is living in a joint family if her sister in law, is cooperating towards her work, to which she answered:

My brother is not well off, he hardly finances his kid's education. I share the money which I get from clients with my family. I usually buy them gifts on different occasions. My sister in law reciprocates by sharing my share of domestic work. I deal with the clients uninterruptedly.

When she was asked about her interaction with male clients to which she replied:

My family does not permit me to interact with male clients as I am unmarried. But sometimes they allow me. For instance, a relative of mine came with the mother of a boy who was paralyzed. They live in the city. They asked my father to let me go with them to treat the boy at his residence. My father couldn't refuse and I went with them. I recited spells which were taught to me by Fairies. Now the boy is recovering.

⁸⁰ Shazia is an illiterate, young unmarried girl of 20 years. She lives in a mud house of three rooms along with her parents, brother, his wife and their three children. When I went to interview her she was quite open about her experiences, at the time of interviewing she was seeing very few clients as according to her, her enemies have bound her "Dev" and "Fairies" by giving her something impure to eat. Now she is regularly visiting a senior healer to get her powers of connecting to fairies back. She further said that the Dev looks terrible, I used to make fun of him in front of my friends and the Dev, out of anger one day pressed my throat and I was about to die.

I further inquired if this happened once or does she heal other male patients. She replied that when she has to treat a male client she doesn't seek her family's permission herself. Her aunt who lives in the city negotiates with her family and bring the healer to her house. Healer stays at her aunt's house for few days and people from surrounding visits healer. She now may freely treat male patients.

In some way, Shazia escapes from household duties assigned to her by her gender. Her family is also supportive, mainly her mother and sister in law because the patients of the city pay her a handsome amount of money to show gratitude or as a fee. In return when she comes back home, brings gifts to her whole family. Ultimately her position in the family has changed. Her parents let her go to a different town alone which was not possible prior to becoming a healer.

5.6 Impact Healers have on Society:

Men healers have always attained prestige in a society. It is likely that women healers also claim certain benefits and standing. The craft of healing is twofold i.e. Healers offer their services to women around them and in return get recognition and esteem. The tools, a healer's offer shows how even elderly, divorced or uneducated can help women in obtaining a great deal of power in their lives.

Previously, women used to hide their call form spirits⁸¹, as it was considered a social stigma and such women were abandoned and stigmatized by society. The healer in trance, start dancing, taking off chaddar in few reported occasions⁸², and fleeing away

⁸¹ Key informant.

⁸² Danyal Razia mentioned the ordeal of her grandmother running towards mountains and later on she also flee away towards mountains.

towards mountains in some extreme cases. This would cause young female healer difficulties in getting married as it was considered a disgrace.

Here, I would say that few women healers step outside, instead of considering it as an abnormal behavior, treated themselves and set a precedent for rest of the women. These healers also extended gender boundaries by dealing with male clients as well.

Women who cannot express themselves in front of their families, visiting a healer of their choice is a symbol of resistance. The healer will not only listen to her problems rather give her suffering a name (this illness or abnormal behavior is caused by some evil spirits which can be removed if the patient is treated in a good manner). Also, there are no dispute resolution forums for women in rural areas where she could locate her justice, contacting a healer for the solution of her problem is the only available resource in many cases.

A further reason to come to the healer may lie in the desire to seek a forum more private than the village or caste panchayat. For the sake of family honor, fights between husbands and wives, fathers and sons, or mothers and daughters-in-law are not taken to a panchayat until they reach a crisis (such as divorce).⁸³ In this way, women bring their case before the healer and the healer transform their problem by saying that the disputes are caused by an evil eye which if removed through spells will solve the crisis.

In some way, healers are a source of relief for the female clients. As a result, the healer obtains prestige in society. For instance, I came to know from a few sources that a healer had premarital sexual relations. Her parents married off her to a man double of her

⁸³ Moore, Erin P. 1993. "Gender, Power, and Legal Pluralism: Rajasthan, India." *American Ethnologist* (Wiley) 20 (3): 522-542

age to a distant area. Most of the people in the area know about the incident, still, they visit her. Else, a woman alleged in such an incident is abandoned by society, but due to her position as a healer, she got social acceptance.

Healers, in some way, challenge the 'traditional role' specified to them. They are using household compound as a tool to interact with the outside world.

For instance, in the case of Healer Sumaira, she is an outsider (non-native) for the society she is living in. Owing to the contacts she has established with her clients, she is invited to social gatherings⁸⁴, where she has a distinctive role. When she enters a room full of women, they offer her their seat.

People of the neighborhood call healer Sidra⁸⁵ 'baji'. Elderly women of the area also call her "Sidra Baji", which is an indication of paying respect. Another role healer play is of a matchmaker. Majority of females from surrounding areas visits her she also arranges marriage proposals. Female from distant areas come to visit her and bring her gifts like vegetables, dry fruits, and butter and wait in a queue for their turn to meet her.

5.7: Building Social relations

People from distant areas and various sects visit healers. Upon problem 'solution', the relationship between healer and client can turn into friendship and sisterhood.

Resultantly healer's social relations have extended.

⁸⁴ In the area under study circumcision of boys is a prestigious event and celebrated by arranging a big party. A meal is cooked in a large quantity. Relatives and neighbors are invited, who gave gifts to the boys in the form of money.

⁸⁵ Sidra is an 18 years old healer studying in intermediate. She is the most popular healer of the area. She is famous for her communication with clients in English when spirits come to her. To call the spirits she closes her eyes and read a spell very fast which is difficult to comprehend. However, she is an educated female, who studies in an English medium school. I observed her speaking, she can only speak a few words; shut the door, tell me your name, sit down.

Healer Sumaira gave an account:

A client visited me along with her daughter. Her daughter was possessed by some evil spirits. For the purpose of treatment, she had to pay extended visits. Once her daughter was cured⁸⁶, she kept on visiting me. Now she is like a sister to me. I go to her place as well to spend vacations with my family.

This formation of social relations is not limited to healers only. Clients, visiting the healer also establish relations with other women in the healer's waiting area.

For instance, a client, Shaista told me that her daughter-in-law is from a distant area. One day she went to see a healer. There, she saw a young girl (who is now her daughter in law and mother of her two grandsons). She came there with her mother to get a *taweez* for her sick father. The healer was busy. They, along with some other clients were waiting for their turn in the healers waiting area. Here for the first time, Shaista met her daughter in law and her mother. Both families established relations after meeting in the healer's visiting room. She narrated her story in the following manner:

I never saw them before. Upon inquiring about their family and residence, they informed me that they came from an area, where my sister is also married to. They knew my sister already. We chatted for almost an hour and I invited her to my home for a cup of tea. One day, I went to meet my sister. I told her about the women I met at the healer's residence. Then my sister and I went to her home to ask about her husband's well-being. She impressed us with her warm greetings. I decided in my mind that I will send the proposal of my son for her daughter. Later I sent my sister to tell them about my intention. When they exhibited willingness, I along with my

⁸⁶ A string amulet, made by using seven colors of thread. The length of the thread was measured according to her height. She is supposed to wear it all the time. Spells are narrated by blowing air towards her face.

husband and sister in law went with a formal proposal and married off my son to her daughter.

Another feature of this client-client relationship is 'problem sharing'. The clients share snags and console each other in healers waiting area. For an explanation, while I was observing clients in the healer's waiting area, a woman came there with her infant, who used to wake up and cry during midnight. She went to doctors to seek medical treatment but her child did not stop crying. She feared if the child is possessed by some evil spirits. Women surrounding her upon listening this started inquiring whether she went outside at night with her infant⁸⁷. They gave her instructions to burn *ispandur* leaves (a local herb which is burnt and its smoke is used as a remedy for an evil eye) and perfume its smoke in circular motions to baby cot every day.

Healer room is a space, where women discuss their problems and sometimes gets solutions from women like them.

5.8: Women in the area who do not visit Healers

A majority of the women of the area, whom I encountered during my stay in the field have visited healer at least once in their lives. Those clients, whose problems were solved (as indicated by them) visited the healer frequently on numerous occasions.

The area has people of various castes, though caste system is not as strong as it is in tribal areas or any other part of the country. Still, a couple of castes have got higher prestige in society. Among them are Syeds. Women of the area go to old age 'Syed woman', living in their neighborhoods, for the removal of "evil eye" on their children.

⁸⁷ There is a popular belief in the area that women should not go outside with their infant at night. As they are believed to be vulnerable i.e. spirits may harm them. This harm can be realized, when the child has no medical ailment, but suddenly wake up from sleep and start crying. As it is believed that the child can see spirits which a normal human can't. The act of crying is basically out of fear/ the fear of seeing an unusual frightening creature.

But if the problem is severe they resort towards healers, and when the condition of the patient is out of the scope of the healer, then healers may refer them to medical specialists.

Amongst the few females of the area under study, who have never visited healer or do not resort to healers for the solution of difficulties they are facing in their lives, Syed women are significant. These Syed women feel disrespected going to healers. They call it magical and satanic, thus forbidden in Islam. They only use Quranic Verses to treat their ill children. If the problem persists they go to see medical facilitators, not the healers.

Lubna is a housewife. She has three kids. She belongs to a Syed family and has married into a Syed family. When she was questioned about her mobility in public, she answered that she has restrictions on leaving home alone without an emergency:

I belong to a Syed family. People recognize me as a Syed zadi, and always look up to us as role models for themselves. I have always observed strict Purdah, even inside my home. When I go to fields, women from the neighborhood come to help me. They consider helping me as their moral responsibility, and they even come to my house to assist me in dealing domestic chores.

When I asked her about women of her surroundings, and their belief on healers she responded that she doesn't have faith in healers. She only relies on Quranic Verses and medical consultants.

Upon inquiring about the reasons under which she can leave her home alone she responded:

I can leave my home without my husband's permission only for fields and in case of an emergency situation.

When I queried further, to make her understand the word empowerment by giving examples from around her own society. For instance, I asked her that for a woman unlike her, visiting a healer could be an appropriate vindication to leave her home alone which is not allowed in standard circumstances. She replied:

I agree women who belong to conservative families like me cannot leave their house without any valid reason. I don't have faith in healing, I have fewer excuses to leave my home.

Women like Lubna have fewer reasons to leave their home alone and have little options available to socialize around. Women, in disguise of visiting a healer, may socialize around, get a relief from domestic chores and may negotiate with their husbands for access to economic resources.



Chapter 6

6.0: Psychological Aspect of Beliefs

Shamans are those alternative therapist upon which people devote their faith and belief. To seek help and get themselves cured people resort to shamans in high numbers. These therapists in response, acts as a good counsellors and in a way help the health system indirectly. Their approach towards mental illness is different and the methods they adopt for treatment is unique. The abnormal behavior of people is termed as 'mad 'and families of such persons seek help from healers, the healers in turn manage to improve their behavior though it is for short time. Eventually, it lends support and credence to the existing beliefs.⁸⁸

Psychologists opine that human actions are dependent on their thoughts, mood and feelings, which shape behavior. They do not deny the impact healing has on human behavior, however they are concerned with the methodological and systematic approach of a given phenomenon.

The problem arises here is that, beliefs can neither be scientifically proven nor tested like other systematic procedures. To ascertain authenticity of any phenomena is thus challenging. According to psychology healing is mainly a 'chance', once it works it can have a direct impact on beliefs of an individual. An individual once cured by 'chance', will visit the healer again, because it has affected his mind, and mind has

⁸⁸ Amin A Gadit. 2003. "Health Services Delivery by Shamans: A Local Experience in Pakistan." *International Journal of Mental Health* (Taylor & Francis, Ltd) 32 (2): 63-83. Accessed 2016.

impacted the mood and vice versa mood has impacted the body. Such an individual will likely visit the healer again and will suggest other people to do so as well.

For instance, a person receiving an amulet or getting himself treated through healing from a particular person, will never have faith on someone else, provided that same amulet with same spells and methods of treatment are adopted. He will demand to be treated by the person whom he has faith on. Resultantly it will affect his mind and eventually his body.⁸⁹

Ewing was studying Sufism in Pakistan. In her article "*Dreams from a Saint: Anthropological Atheism and the Temptation to Believe*" she claims that a Sufi man who is regarded by his followers as a saint had sent her a dream. This experience of dream of a saint she had led her to question the unwillingness by anthropologist to consider other world views. Dreams that make sense to the world she is studying, but which cannot be accommodated with in a psycho analytic framework. As held by her that dreams and miracles are a matter of interpretation and debate. They are an object of belief and "temptation to belief" but also of doubt and skepticism.⁹⁰

I would like to share here my own field experience, regarding "temptation to belief". I woke up on one fine morning to realize that in an attempt of robbery in the house where I was staying, my laptop, wallet and a mobile phone have been theft. As, I

⁸⁹ Hamid, Ali, interview by Naila Batool. 2018. *Impact of Spiritual Healing on patients*

⁹⁰ Katherine P. Ewing, "Dreams from a Saint: Anthropological Atheism and the Temptation to Believe," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 571-583.

was living in a house where there had no internet facility. I had to move around with the laptop in order to access the internet. The thieves were observing my movement.

We called the police immediately. An announcement was made from the loudspeaker of local masjid that a laptop is lost which have a few essential documents. If someone has taken it by mistake then return the laptop and take the money. I don't know why I insisted on this announcement as if the robbers were listening to me and they would sympathize and will return my laptop. A day passed and there was no response. Someone from the neighborhood suggested me to visit the healer. I went to almost all healers (both genders) of the area. Got some amulets which I was supposed to hang in the room from where the laptop was stolen. Another healer gave a verse written on paper and told me to boil it in water until it gets dry, and one amulet to keep under a hefty object. I placed it under fridge as it seemed to me the weightiest in the house. Another healer spelled few words and blew his breath to a knife and inserted the knife in the garden.

That evening I got a call from my uncle that robbers have been traced. In the next morning, my laptop and mobile phone were with me. That day, changed my perception regarding healers and their work. However, police made the capture of robbers possible.

Conclusion

The current study illuminated that, women who were kept out of social structure tried to resist patriarchy in overt and covert ways. They found means of empowering themselves without altering existing patriarchal order. They not only challenged the notion of household as a restriction, rather broke gender segregation, and got status and position in a male-dominated society.

By involving in healing practices women have challenged their prescribed gender roles. They are using domestic sphere as a medium to interact with the world outside. They defied patriarchal structure by using healing card to leave home alone. Paying a visit to healer is an appropriate reason for a women to leave her home unaccompanied. Her earning from healing, and financial contribution to the family has made her able to exert influence in decision-making, thus providing her larger voice.

After the conduct of interviews and participant observation, this research came to the conclusion that spiritual healing has considerably changed role of women. A woman whose socialization is limited, healers waiting area is a platform for establishing relations with other women. These relations are not limited to healer's compound only, they keep on meeting each other afterwards. Women also discuss their problems with each other and seek help and advice. They get a hearing ear who would help and console them.

Above all indicators used in the current study to know the level of women empowerment of rural women, financial freedom remained crucial above all. As many healers laid more emphasize on this indicator. They claimed that, financial freedom has

changed their overall position in the family. It depicts that, for native women, being financially independent is real empowerment.

One thing which healers did not mention but I noticed while observing the social settings of the area under study is the prestige and acceptance, these women healers got within their families and neighborhood. Healers' family members, who are more educated than them, ask for their advice. In this way they are able to influence the decisions taken by their male family members, because what a healer say, come from a natural source. The supernatural wants it that way not the healer.

The study further found out that the healer is an active being, who transcends her gender roles. Women can only digress from her role as a wife, mother or daughter in law when she is sick. Her sick role will give her a reason to exempt from routine work. She will get attention from family. Her potentially abnormal behavior will be tolerated. The sick tag given to a women by a healer will grant legitimacy and clarification, in case of her failure to fulfill her role, which could otherwise bring disgrace and shame to her.

For instance, In case of Huda, in first year of her marriage she couldn't conceive a birth (which is typically expected in rural setup), and later followed by a miscarriage. Her mother in law brought her before a healer. The healer, after examination, told her mother in law to not send her to livestock (It is believed that evil spirits may enter cattle body at night and harm young women, who have conceived birth). In this way, haseena got a relief from work.

The study further found out that, the rural women effort to find conventional techniques to socialize around without disturbing or altering social system of male-dominance prevailing within their culture, particularly within their families. Because

adapting themselves according to norms of the society brings them respect, prestige, and honor. While going against the norms or opposition could bring shame, solitude, and disaffection. Hence, women try to bring their behaviors in conformity with the expectations of the social system of which they are part of, while struggling for their own well-being.

Finally, the study concludes that both healers and clients sitting at the different ends, created space for themselves to acquire authority, enjoy their freedom, challenging patriarchal structure, thus improving the status of their own and that of women around them. They are able to exert influence to have control over their life. They have freed themselves from restraints women in the society are subjected to. However, it is pertinent to mention here that spiritual healing is not only way of empowerment rather it's one of the way through which women empowers themselves.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ali, Hamid, interview by Naila Batool. 2018. *Impact of Spiritual Healing on patients*
- Amy L. Allocco (2013), "From Survival to Respect: The Narrative Performances and Ritual Authority of a Female Hindu Healer", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp. 101-117.
- Barcha, Sherbaz Ali Khan. 2001. "Nomal Maazi o Haal kay Aainay ma." *Shaoor* (Northern Areas Student Association, Karachi University) 1 (3): 41-45.
- Bernard, H. Russell. *Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
- Chaudhary, A. R., et al. 2012 "An Analysis of Different Approaches to Women Empowerment: A Case Study of Pakistan". MPRA Paper No. 37784.
- Chaudhary, Muhammad Azam. "Blood Revenge, Pushtoons and Islam in Chilas, Gilgit-Baltistan." *Central Asia*. 2009. Accessed September 20, 2016. <http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/>.
- Chaudhary, Muhammad Azam. "The Rule of Law Problems in Pakistan: An Anthropological Perspective of the Daughter's Traditional Share in the Patrimony in the Punjab " *National Institute of Historical and Cultural Reserach (NIHCR)*, 2009, 102-26.
- Chaudhary, Muhammad Azam. 2011. Reflections on Research in a Native Field. In: *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, 1-16.
- Cline, Erin M. 2010. "Female Spirit Mediums and Religious Authority in Contemporary Southeastern China." *Modern China* (Sage Publications) 36 (5). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25699449>.
- Csaji, Laszlo Koppany. "Flying with the Vanishing Fairies: Typology of the Shamanistic Traditions of the Hunza." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 22, no. 2 (2011): 159-87.

- Dani, A. H. (1989). *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
- Darvishpour, M. *Islamic feminism: compromise or challenge to feminism*, Univ. Sociologiska institutionen, Stockholm, (2003).
- Espin, Olive M. 1988. "Spiritual Power and the Mundane World: Hispanic Female Healers in Urban U.S. Communities." *Women's Studies Quarterly* (The Feminist Press at the City University of New York) 16: 33-47.
- Ewing, Katherine P. "Dreams from a Saint: Anthropological Atheism and the Temptation to Believe," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 571-83.
doi:10.1525/aa.1994.96.3.02a00080
- Gadit, Amin A. 2003. "Health Services Delivery by Shamans: A Local Experience in Pakistan." *International Journal of Mental Health* (Taylor & Francis, Ltd) 32 (2): 63-83. Accessed 2016.
- Giveon, Ariela Popper, and Alean Al Krenawi. 2000. "Women as Healers; Women as Clients: The Encounter Between Traditional Arab Women Healers and Their Clients." *Cult Med Psychiatry* 468-499.
- Gohlen, Ruth (1998) Mobility and freedom of decision-making of women in Astor valley (Pakistan-Himalaya). In: Stellrecht, Irmtraud (Hg.) *Karakorum – Hindukush – Himalaya. Dynamics of Change*. Köln: Köppe, S. 463–488.
- Grasmuck, Sherri, and Rosario Espinal (2000). "Market Success or Female Autonomy? Income, Ideology, and Empowerment among Microentrepreneurs in the Dominican Republic." *Gender and Society* 14(2): 231-255.
- Gratz, Kathrin. 1996. "Walking on Women's Paths in Gilgit: Gendered Space, Boundaries, and Boundary Crossing." In *Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya: Dynamics of Change*, edited by Irmtraud Stellrecht. Vol. 2. Culture Area Kakarkorum.

- Grieser, Anna. "Fieldwork Encounters: Being Foreign and Female in Gilgit." *Anthropology of Gilgit-Baltistan, Northern Pakistan* 16, no. 1 (2014): 155-85.
- Hussain, Altaf. "Danyalism: A study on spiritual healing in Chaprote Balla." PhD diss., Quaid i Azam Univeristy Islamabad, 1990.
- Jacoby, Hanan G., and Ghazala Mansuri. "Watta Satta : Bride Exchange And Women's Welfare In Rural Pakistan." Policy Research Working Papers, 2007. doi:10.1596/1813-9450-4126.
- Jeetmar, Karl. *ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN DARDISTAN 1958 Preliminary Report*. Publication. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, University of Vienna. 1st ed. Vol. 105. 1961.
- Jejeebhoy, S. and Sathar, Z. 2001. "Women's Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region." *Population and Development Review* 27(4): 687-712.
- Kabeer, Naila. "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment." *Development and Change*, 30, no. 3 (1999): 435-64. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00125.
- Karim, Anwarul. 1988. "Shamanism in Bangladesh." *Asian Folklore Studies* (Nanzan University) 47 (2). Asian Folklore Studies.
- Khan, Safdar Ullah. ""What Determines Women's Autonomy: Theory and Evidence" by Safdar Ullah Khan." Site. Accessed January 31, 2018. <http://epublications.bond.edu.au/theses/129/>.
- Khatab, A. and Sakr, H. 2009. "Women's Economic Empowerment in Egypt: Challenges and Opportunities." Working Paper no. 001, Social Research Center
- Laufer, Berthold. 1917. "Origin of the Word Shaman." *American Anthropological Association* 19 (3). Accessed 2016.

- LORIMER, D.L.R. 1929." The supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit region. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 507-36
- Malhotra, Anju, Sidney Ruth Schuler, and Carol Boender. 2002. "Measuring Women's Empowerment as a Variable in International Development." World Bank Workshop on Poverty and Gender: New Perspectives.
- Menhas, Rashid, Norina Jabeen, Saira Akhtar, and Mahwish Yaqoob. "Cultural Barriers of Female Empowerment." *Afro Asian Journal of Anthropology and Social Policy*4, no. 1 (2013):
- Moore, Erin P. 1993. "Gender, Power, and Legal Pluralism: Rajasthan, India." *American Ethnologist* (Wiley) 20 (3): 522-542 .
- Nainar, Vahida (2013), "Patriarchy in South Asia Structures and Relations." SSRN Electronic Journal, doi:10.2139/ssrn.2317080.
- Narayan, Deepa. Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2002.
- Nazier, Hanan, Racha Ramadan, and Ragui Assaad. 2014. *Individual and households determinants of Women Empowerment: Application to the case of Egypt*. Working Paper 867, The Economic Research Forum(ERF).
- Samman, Emma , and Maria Emma Emma Santos. 2009. Agency and Empowerment: A review of concepts, indicators and empirical evidence. Prepared for the 2009 Human Development Report in Latin America and the Caribbean , Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative Department of International Development Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford .
- Sathar, Zeba A., and Shireen J. Jejeebhoy. 2001. "Women's Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region." Jstor.
- Shah, Mohammad Yahya. 1989. *Moza Nigam Nomal: aik Jhugrafiaye or Masharte Tajziya*. Vol. 3, by Zahoor Hussain. Agha Khan Rural Support Program Gilgit.

- Shoaib, Mohammad, Sarfraz Khan, and Saadia Abid. 2011. "Motivational Factors and Satisfaction Levels of Infertile Couples towards Spiritual Healing in Pakistan." *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* 233-238.
- Sokefeld, M. (2005). From Colonialism to Postcolonial Colonialism: Changing Modes of Domination in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(4), 939-973.
- Stutley, Margaret. 2003. *Shamanism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Walby, Sylvia. *Basil Blackwell Limited*. Cambridge, 1991.
- Walter, Anna Maria. "Between "pardah" and sexuality: double embodiment of "sharm" in Gilgit-Baltistan." *Rural Society*, 25, no. 2 (2016): 170-83. doi:10.1080/10371656.2016.1194328.
- West, Brooke Shanna. 2006. "Does Employment Empowers Women?.An Analysis of Employment and Women's Empowerment In India." *Masters Thesis*.
- Zain, Omar Farooq. 2010. "A Socio-Political Study of Gilgit Baltistan Province." *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)* 30 (1): 181-190

**Spiritual Healing as a Tool of Women Empowerment (Freedom of
mobility, Decision making, Access to/control over economic
resources)**

(A Case Study of Nomal Valley Gilgit-Baltistan)

A) Demographic Profile of the Respondent

1. Name of the respondent _____
2. Age of the respondent? _____
3. Sect of the respondent? _____
4. Education of the respondent? _____
5. Marital status of the respondent?
i) Single ii) Married iii) Divorced iv) Widow
6. Family structure of the respondent?
i) Nuclear ii) Joint iii) Extended
7. Profession of the respondent? _____
8. Average monthly income of the respondent? _____ Rs.
9. Average monthly family income? _____ Rs.

Annexure 01

Interview Guide

Q: 1) How do you move in public like travelling in van/Suzuki, going to Bazar or to your relatives, on whom and what does it depend? **(Healer, Relatives, Clients)**

Follow-up:

- Was it always like that, when and how did it change?

Q: 2) Who decides how and where you spent the money received from your clients? **(Healer)**

Q: 3) Do you have access to money that you can pay or spend, for example: for you affairs, needs, to offer a healer. On whom and what does it depends? **(Clients, Relatives)**

Q: 4) How much can you take decisions on your own about resources (like vegetables, milk produced), work load (as a healer) and domestic chores/duties and your free time activities? **(Healer, Clients, Relatives)**

Follow-up:

(Healer)

- How is this with regard to your interaction with male clients? Please explain in detail giving examples
- Did this change since you became a healer, like your position in the family or the community or neighborhood?

(Clients, Relatives)

- how about your mobility, e.g. going to a healer or a relative?
- did this change since you interact with spiritual healers?

**Q: 5) In what kind of cultural celebrations/events/activities do you participate?
(Healer)**

Follow up:

- How? What is your role?
- How often? On what/who does your participation depends? Examples please
- Did this change since you became a healer, like your position in the family or the community or neighborhood?
-

Q: 6) What impact (changes) do women spiritual healers have in society in general and your community/neighborhood in particular?

Follow-up:

- What did change, for you as a woman, and for other women around you?

Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 02-Feb-2018 14:27 PKT

ID: 910150435


Word Count: 13413

Submitted: 1


Spiritual healing as women
empowerment: A Cas... By Naila
Batool

Similarity Index 16%	Similarity by Source Internet Sources: 12% Publications: 5% Student Papers: 11%
------------------------------------	---


[exclude quoted](#) [include bibliography](#) [exclude small matches](#) [download](#) [refresh](#)
 print mode:

3% match (Internet from 07-Aug-2014) 


<http://dspace.library.cornell.edu>

2% match (student papers from 06-Jan-2017) 

[Submitted to Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen on 2017-01-06](#)

1% match (publications) 


[Ariela Popper-Giveon. "Women as Healers; Women as Clients: The Encounter Between Traditional Arab Women Healers and Their Clients", Culture Medicine and Psychiatry, 06/09/2010](#)

1% match (Internet from 07-Oct-2014) 


<http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de>

1% match () 

<http://anmf.mtnforum.org>

1% match (student papers from 12-Sep-2017) 

[Submitted to Grand Canyon University on 2017-09-12](#)

1% match (student papers from 12-Apr-2017) 


[Submitted to London School of Economics and Political Science on 2017-04-12](#)

<1% match (Internet from 29-Mar-2017) 

<http://www.maneclair.com>

<1% match (Internet from 29-Mar-2016) 

<http://www.elon.edu>

<1% match (Internet from 16-Sep-2014) 

<http://www.qau.edu.pk>

<1% match (Internet from 21-Nov-2017) 