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*Dedicated to the memory of
my grandparents; Nana, Nani & Dada,
who have completed their journey of life
and rest today in eternal peace.*

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by SADAF NAWAZ and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of degree of Master of Science in Anthropology.

COMMITTEE

1. Dr. Adam Nayyar
External Examiner.



Adam Nayyar

2. Mr. Tariq Mehmood
Supervisor.

Tariq Mehmood

3. Dr. Naveed-i-Rahat
Chairperson.

Naveed-i-Rahat

*Social Context of Aesthetic
Appreciation And Its Evaluation*

(A STUDY CONDUCTED IN VILLAGE *KIYAH*, DISTT. RAWALPINDI.)

BY

Sadaf Nawaz

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ART IS A LIE THAT MAKES US SEE THE TRUTH.

PABLO PICASSO .

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH RATIONALES

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

The present dissertation incorporates a systematic approach to the dynamics of aesthetics in relation to social vistas. It ponders over the communicative aspect of aesthetics. While attempting to evaluate the indigenous aesthetic perception, it aims to understand the cultural organization of village *Kiyah* --- the community under study.

As an effectual means to discern, in concrete form, the aesthetic preferences held by the people, house structure, because of its predominantly aesthetic (manifested in its elaborate decorations) and visual character is selected for the purpose. It serves as an illustrative means of materialization of man's concept and perception of beauty.

House decorative style, although renowned only for its ability to stimulate aesthetic response may also carry a number of other social messages. Propounding on this theme, the present research intends to see how the rhetoric function of uniform house decor, as discovered in *Kiyah*, communicates a message of cultural harmony. As a final concern, it is attempted to decipher this uniformity by linking it to the influential mechanism of kinship affiliation. Hence through house decor this research probes into the relationship of aesthetics within a particular cultural setting.

House and its aesthetic magnificence is one of the few arenas in which a culture makes a visual statement about its social values. It is a man's shrine and he desires to beautify it. In order to make it measure up to his taste in beauty, he indulges in creative pursuits of decorating it. As per *Firth's* (1951) definition of art, i-e; '*form and creation by one's own activities are essential features of art,*' such decorative activities can be reckoned as elements of art. Aesthetics of house decor is therefore a symbolic art which mutely testifies to the aesthetic preferences of its creators.

At present albeit realization of art and aesthetics as cultural universals, the areas lack sufficient anthropological concern. Nonetheless, a few studies have been conducted on the art of body adornment or aesthetic utility of certain objects amongst some primitives. Through such studies aesthetics, despite its non-utilitarian connotations, has been proved universal to the phenomena of culture. Advocating the concept *Firth* (1951) suggests :

"It is commonly held that economic activity is a necessity, but that art is a luxury, yet we can empirically assert the universality of art in man's social history, there are universal standards of aesthetic quality, just as there are universal standards of technical efficiency"

(Firth, 1951:155-62).

The realm of house embellishments, however, has not been potentially explored. Considerable lack of literature on the issue goes to show that it has been ignored all together. On the international scene, house structure has been probed in the area of accomodational relativity to particular environments. In the context of Pakistan, I've found no documented evidence evincing concern on the present issue. To date, no such study is recorded in the history of Anthropology Department Quaid-e-Azam University. Hence, to the best of my knowledge, house decor has not been dealt with in the sphere of aesthetics to interpret pivotal social values. The challenge to fill this void coupled with my penchant for the arts instigated me to undertake this study.

Before venturing any further into principles of this research, first I think it appropriate to discuss art and anthropological contributions to the subject in general. For the purpose, a corpus of relevant literature has been scanned which is the ambit of the following section.

1.2 SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE:

In this section, theoretical concepts are explored to verify the parameters of this research. Existing literary works relevant to the study are raided and adopted for substantiating it. While the first half attempts to define the form of the research i.e. Art and its subject matter in Anthropology, the second half deals with relating the content of this study to the frame work of other anthropological studies.

To most of us the word *art* conjures up images of something very extravagant, a pleasurable activity of a leisured class or a passion for the rich, which involves an element of aesthetic satisfaction. Anthropological study of art

dispels such notions as being biased. *Herskovits*, for example, proposes that art is:

".....embellishment of ordinary living that is achieved with competence and has describable form....."

(*Herskovits*, 1979: 592).

According to this definition, art is a fundamental activity of the human race and decoration of body, house, ceremonial stylized play, singing, dancing, etc. are all artistic activities.

Art is a branch of what anthropologists call *expressive culture* which comprises those activities and products judged primarily by aesthetic experience. *Anthony Forge & Nancy Moon* (1973) see it as a *visual system of communication*. Elsewhere it is referred to as *material culture*. While *Hoebler* (1979) attributes to it a *function of value information storage*.

Coote & Shelton (1992), in a rather recent book, discuss that, "*art of a society can provide a fruitful starting point for the analysts explication of its world-view.*" For such evident reasons they repeatedly argue that, "*art should be at the forefront of anthropological studies, rather than (as was so often the case in the past) relegated to the final chapter tacked onto introductory books and monographs.*"

An array of art definitions as collected by anthropologist *Keessing*, which conceptualize the essence of art in anthropology, are elaborated as follows:

"1. *Boas*, in a classical study titled *primitive art* (1927), postulated that man has an inborn impulse to shape creativity, but that particular form through which such impulse finds outlet is culturally determined. Art he says arises from two sources: technical pursuits and the expression of emotions and thoughts as soon as these assume fixed forms. The more energetic the control of form over

uncoordinated movement the more aesthetic is the result.

2. *Herskovits (1948) and others emphasize that aesthetic impulses find expression in terms of culturally defined standards of beauty, taste, sanctioned form or significant form.*

3. *Firth (1951 A) says of a work of art that it makes a selection of element of experience, imagination and emotion. It does this in such a way that its form arouses in us special kind of reactions, namely, evaluations based on feeling tones which we call aesthetic "* (Keesing, 1958:347).

The closer interlocking of the concept of art and aesthetics with anthropology can be clearly brought out by the fact that if anthropology is a discipline which seeks to understand human societies in varied cultural perspective, art and aesthetics being cultural products should enter into the realm of its concern.

It should be issued here that although a lot of individual anthropological studies have been conducted in the area of art, it has yet to be dealt with in systematic and comprehensive theory form. Embarking on the matter *D'Azevedo* states:

" The general recognition of art as a primary means by which individual and social values are expressed is oddly incompatible with the neglect of the subject in anthropological theory " (D'Azevedo, 1958: 702).

Dealing with the same issue, *Schapiro* regretfully adds :

"We have interesting studies on a multitude of problems concerning the relationship of particular styles and contents of art to institutions and historical situations. In these studies ideas, traits, and values arising from the conditions of economic, political, and

civil life are matched with the new characteristics of an art. Yet, with all this experiences, the general principles applied in explanation and the connection of types of art with types of social structure have not been investigated in a systematic way. By the many scholars who adduce piecemeal political or economical facts in order to account for single traits of style or subject matter, little has been done to construct an adequate comprehensive theory "

(Schapiro,1953: 311).

Having defined the conceptual place of art, it is important at this point to highlight the contextual comprehension of aesthetics in anthropology.

Anthropology looks into the criteria used by people to appreciate art objects. It emphasizes study of art through indigenous aesthetic appreciation and its evaluation. Aesthetic appreciation hinges on assumptions about the relationship between art forms and their perception. In anthropology it refers to the way cultures classify something as beautiful. Such classificatory standards of what is perceived beautiful differ from culture to culture. Anthropological study of aesthetics therefore can not be dealt with apart from art & society. The *Encyclopedia of Anthropology* defines the relationship between art and aesthetics as:

" Art may be defined as cultural forms that result from creative processes which manipulate movement, sound, words or materials. Aesthetic may be defined as ways of thinking about such forms "

(1976:20).

Although the existence of art and aesthetics in ordinary daily life may be ignored, anthropological concern reveals that it cannot be denied. The expenditure of art effort on a practical object suggests that it may have wider

cultural and social implications. It is these underlined social factors that anthropologists look for in order to interpret the meaning of art.

Scrutinizing on this functional aspect of art, anthropological Studies focus on the contextual setting in which art is produced and used. As pertaining to this, D'Azevedo argues:

"Insofar as art is composed in a social setting and has a cultural content, this content can only be understood in specific cultural terms at given period of time. It is this element of cultural content in art that has admitted the anthropologist to the field"
(D'Azevedo, 1958:703).

The arts and the canons of taste by which they are judged (aesthetics) arise out of cultural conditioning and are specific to a particular cultural tradition. To understand art, art styles or aesthetic systems as human behavior, it is essential to comprehend the principles on which such conceptualizations are based as perceived by the social group which holds them. This underlying organization is important for understanding art in society.

Eversince the emergence of anthropology, it has been dedicated to studying cultural constitution of small scale homogeneous societies. Accordingly, the study of art in the discipline's premises is also carried out on such societies. Regarding this Rosman and Paula in their book, *The Tapestry of culture*, suggest :

"In small scale societies there is no such thing as pure art it is imbedded in social, ritual and ceremonial contexts and therefore it must be produced within a set of constraints since it must convey certain messages. This is in sharp contrast to complex societies such as our own, where much of art is created solely for aesthetic pleasure, to be admired" (Rosman and Rubel, 1989:227-8).

Further entailing the matter *Keesing* (1958) remarks:

"In the societies that anthropologist typically study, art is imbedded in the culture. It is actively used in the performance of ceremony and ritual, and the meanings the art is communicating relate to meaning of the ritual and the mythology associated with it."

Hence it is *ethnocentric* to believe that art should exist as a separate institution in all cultures. It is the task of the anthropologist to draw out the art and aesthetics from a socio-cultural milieu, for an examination of the underlying organization.

Simple societies may be devoid of art in the sense of painting or sculpture but admit of it in other areas such as body or house decoration. In such societies most art has a use beyond the aesthetic. It is made for a practical purpose. Hence, a lot of art consists of decorated structure (such as house beams) and utensils.

As a final concern, from such extensive treatment of the matter, anthropology attempts to deduce that some kind of Universal aesthetic impulse exists and is manifested in art of all cultures. Both art and aesthetics are culture Universals but satisfactory cross cultural definitions have yet to be achieved through empirical studies.

The present study maintains a line of thought similar to the concepts enumerated so far. Having paved the conceptual path from which it draws reference, it will henceforth be attempted to elucidate how rationales of specific ethnographic studies contributed towards the inception of the present research.

Consultation of text material enables one to develop better insights into field situations. It also helps in substantiating research principles and field procedures. The main event in this regard, is a study of artistic expression conducted by *Kavolis (1968)*. He sought "to draw very broad co-relations between stylistic features and stratificational, economic, political, ideational and value systems." later on he "demonstrates how these orientations can be translated into visual expression." like wise, the present research aims to discover value orientation of the research locale by evaluating indigenous aesthetics in the visual arena of house decor.

It was from the review of a particular study of *Wola Shield* designs by *Paul Sillitoe (1980)* that the researcher of the present study was able to comprehend the difficulty of making a people verbalize their aesthetic considerations. *Sillitoe* observed that the wooden cross on the shield served no utilitarian purpose but '*men insisted that its necessary*'. Similarly it was observed in the study village that pains were taken to decorate houses which on the surface served only aesthetic purposes. The locals could not justify their acts of decorating. Consequently in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural setting enabled the researcher to relate uniformity in house decor to other social aspects for discovering its meaning, as *Sillitoe* did.

Herskovits (1945) in a study of African Art concluded that "*African Art should be thought of as an analysis of a cross cultural phenomenon which can not be adequately understood unless its aesthetic values are fully related to its cultural background.*" Similarly, in order to understand the uniform dimensions of aesthetic values associated with house decor, the contextual cultural setting of *Kiyah* as a whole is pursued.

It was from *Schapiro's* article on *style* that the present researcher takes guidance of situating the repetitive elements in house decor of the village in a matrix of a common style. Presenting a notable discussion on the topic he views style as:

"..... a means of communication, a language as a system of devices for conveying a precise message by representation and symbolizing objects and actions"
(Schapiro, 1953:304).

From *Silver's* informative debate on the precise relationship of art styles to other aspects of society, the present study draws such concerns in the aesthetic style of house decor of the community under research. He makes a mention of studies done by *Fischer* (1961) and *Berry* (1957) for whom :

".....art styles are objectification of pervasive socio-cultural preferences, they reveal information about communal values, economics, politics and social stratification "
(Silver, 1979:275).

Akin to such rationales, the propositions formulated for the present study elaborate on the nature of a community's social patterns in relation to its uniform aesthetics.

Fischer endeavored to show that "design elements reflect a society's level of hierarchical development i-e similar elements should characterize egalitarian societies, design integrating a number of unlike elements should be characteristic of hierarchical society." His hypothesis is borne out through statistical testing. This method of statistical testing is adopted for present research as well e-g a questionnaire, which generated statistical data pertaining to various aesthetic concepts of house decorative style such as color, preferred motifs, etc. was administered to a sampled population.

Contributing towards the idea of emphasizing consensual uniformity in house decor of *Kiyah* to similar cultural background is an experiment conducted by *Lawlor (1955)*. To prove that people of similar cultural background tend to hold uniform opinions in their aesthetic perceptions, he showed two groups of respondents, from different cultures, "*decorative designs taken from materials, pottery or other artifacts from West Africa*". The results showed that "*within each national group*", there was very clear "*agreement of regarding the most preferred and least preferred design*". But "*between*" the groups "*disagreement was very marked*".

Schneider (1987) in her extensive study *Anthropology of cloth* has "*reviewed the role of cloth in the consolidation of social relations and assessed its capacity to communicate social identities.*" Following suit it is attempted here to attribute such roles to the aesthetics of house decor. Elsewhere she states that, "*religious beliefs and taboos surrounding cloth encourage interpretation.*" Regarding this it was discovered that figural motif representation on cloth was rear as it is shunned in Islam.

Fernandez (1971) in his excellent study, examining the manner in which art styles reflect aspects of social life among the *Fang of Gabon*, shows that "*balanced opposition among forms imparts a perceived vitality to art that is aesthetically valued.*" Achievement of such a balance is "*also sought in the social realm --- particularly within the broader interclan relations.*" The basis of drawing an analogy between balanced uniformity in stylistic representation of house embellishments and a similar harmonious balance observed in Kinship affiliation is derived from a review of this study.

Against such explicit anthropological acknowledgments of art, it will hence forth be attempted to define the parameters of the present research. In this

perspective, the following section narrates certain problematic questions which led to the formulation of two principle propositions. The study operationalizes its interests in art and aesthetics through these statements which remain the corner stone and focal point of this research.

1.3 Statement of the problem :

Pre-requisite for an organized research is a certain set of presumptive queries which channelize information towards a specific direction. As the present research asserts to ascertain cultural dimensions of aesthetics, the first major question in this regard was, how to elicit the aesthetic preferences beheld by the inhabitants of *Kiyah*. Taking house decor as indicative of aesthetic values, a subsequent line of questions cropped up. For example; what is the prevalent style of house decor in the village? What elements comprise this style? Where and how are these elements placed for beautification? What predominant colors are used in painting houses? What type of motifs?. Furthermore, it was discovered that repetition of certain elements created an aura of stylistic uniformity. Looking in the culture's context for causative factors which bring to surface such marked patterns, it was inferred that decorative forms may be expressive of cultural forms.

To effectively meet the demand, of the frame work of queries constructed so far, the following proposition has been formulated :

1. Style of house decoration in village kiyah reveals uniform aesthetic patterns.

It is evident from the above issued statement that village *Kiyah* experiences uniformity in the sphere of house decor. This statement, however, originates a provocative question of what molds aesthetic values to the extent of

projecting uniformity in house decorative style. Anthropological study of art and aesthetics demands subtle analysis of symbols in the holistic culture context. Consequently, in order to unravel the meanings of uniformity, the cultural organization of the village is scrutinized. In accounting for the nature of uniformity, the following proposition is devised :

ii. *Uniform aesthetic patterns in the village are influenced by the mechanism of common biraderi affiliation.*

To discover the factor presumed to under-pin such high degree of standardization, mechanism of kinship affiliation as prevalent in the village is probed. The two propositions are inter-related in such a way that the first one discovers uniformity in house decor and the second one attempts to explain what interactive forces work to maintain such conformity.

In linking uniformity to social aspects, reference is taken from *Emile DurKhiem's* (1956) views about what binds society together. Through his extensive studies of small scale societies, he pointed out that *Mechanical solidarity* prevails in such societies. They are consolidated by the very fact that every body practices the same way of life and no one is markedly different from another. Individuality is lacking and constant interaction results in stereotyping. Hence, in the true spirit of anthropological study of art, uniformity of house decor is decoded through the cultural constitution of the village.

Concepts deduced from the aforementioned propositions are defined as follows :-

i. House Decoration.

It deals explicitly with the nature, form and placement of certain elements such as flowers, pictures, sceneries, printed cloth, colorful buntings,

etc.. as used by the inhabitants of *Kiyah* for adornment of house. To elaborate it further, pictures mainly consisted of photos of families and friends which were framed and displayed. Besides these there were posters of natural landscapes depicting trees, mountains, etc. While pictures of animals e.g. dogs, cats & horses were also found. Another important aspect of house decor is the use of colorful buntings for special occasions like marriage. I used these elements as indicators to get access to native aesthetic preferences. Such preferences were specially manifested in the use of printed cloth not only on beds but also on walls and furniture.

ii. Uniform Aesthetic Pattern.

This implies confirmation to similar standards concerned with appreciation of beauty, which in the present case is drawn out through display of particular motifs, colors, symmetry, etc. In order to ascertain the uniformity of aesthetic patterns I looked into the recurrent use of decorative elements. This served as a means to evaluate the underlying criteria of aesthetic patterns. The local repertoire of motifs consisted basically of floral (*Phuldar design*), geometric (*Dhari/dubbi wala design*) and figural ones (*Butan wala design*). Motifs constitute a significant aspect of decorative design and the type preferred by a community are a means of discovering aesthetic values of that community. Color is another category utilised to see how far aesthetic patterns are enhanced by use of certain specific colors.

iii. *Biraderi*.

The meaning of *biraderi* chosen for this study is what the average man of village *Kiyah* understands by the term. In this virtual sense, it encompasses all those individuals who can trace their patrilineal descent, irrespective of the generations elapsed, to a common patriarch. Within this group prevails a sense

of brotherhood and affinal links are maintained through endogamous marriages into different sub-lineage's of the same *biraderi*. *Biraderi* is an important institution for villages. Recognizing the importance of *biraderi* in West Punjab Alavi states that "it is the kinship which embodies the primordial loyalties which structure its (the villages) social organization" (Alavi, 1972:1).

In order to look into the cultural aspects of aesthetics, *Kiyah* - a *pahari* village was chosen as the research locale. Its small scale entity proved to be very fertile in conducting anthropological research. A detailed account of this locale is undertaken in chapter two.

1.4 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION:

For attaining informative data concerning this study a number of anthropological methodologies were reverted to. Examining cultural behavior with a variety of different approaches greatly enhances the credibility of research results. A brief mention of these methodologies is as follows:

Chief among them was field stay endured for a period of six months from June till December 1994. Setting up hearth and home in the study village it was endeavored to become part and parcel of the village life. Taking interest in developments of village occurrences and mingling with the natives the researcher was able to educate herself about their cognitive orientation and value schemes. As decorative elements were self-evident in every house, through direct participation there was no fear of missing anything. Hence, keeping true to anthropological traditions data was collected through direct participation with the community. Primary aim of such an activity is to establish and maintain good rapport which encourages the inhabitants to be responsive towards field work queries. Participant observation serves as a major means of

actualizing other methods of data collection. It was needed to select best possible techniques to conduct the research. Hence, through structuring observations, interviewing, meticulous eye witnessing and questionnaire, participant observation was converted to scientific use.

1.4-1 KEY INFORMANTS

Key informants are people of a locale who a researcher chooses to have extensive exchange of views and conversations with, in order to develop better insight into the native view point. These people must be well established, knowledgeable and well articulate about their community. Consequently, to rule out any possibility of distortions in the gathered information, a few reliable key informants, were chosen and consulted for the present research. At the end of each day all information collected was duly checked with these key informants. Information on unresolved queries and incidents which took place before the researcher's entry into the field were acquired from them. They include Mr. *Atta-ullah* who was the former councilor of the village. Miss *Jamila* a fifty five year old woman who was born, brought up and married in the same village, Mrs. *Kishwar*, *Aneela* and *Shehnaz*, local teachers and *Badr-ur-Rehman* a local youth. Information concerning female domains was verified by counter age female key informant and vice versa. Counter checking information with these key persons proved to dispel certain misconceptions narrated to the researcher by some respondents.

1.4-2 STRUCTURED OBSERVATIONS

All those events encountered, which had any sort of functional bearing on the research, were intensively observed to yield affirmative data concerning local aesthetic values. Given the nature of the research, structured observations proved to be very effective in acquiring first hand information on aesthetic trends

of house decor. What the natives took for granted as casual behavior not worthy of any particular comment, demanded good and keen observations on my part, which registered to discover the preferential style in vogue.

1.4-3 SURVEY METHOD

Survey method is an important research tool which aims at eliciting the target groups concepts on pertinent issues. The following are some of the techniques of survey method used in the present research:

4.1-3 (I) VILLAGE CENSUS:

To know about the composition and social standing of the locale, a socio-economic survey ¹ was successfully carried out in all 100% households of the study village. Initially it was meant to furnish quantitative data but it enabled the researcher to gain qualitative data along with maintaining a good rapport. It afforded a fair opportunity of gaining access to every house. In this way the researcher was able to familiarize herself with the prevalent decorative forms incorporating aesthetics of house in each case.

1.4-3 (II) INTERVIEWS

Observations were simultaneously supplemented with interviews and group discussions, as a standardized measure to promote a stream of verbal material. In the context of the present study's field work, an interview guide² which features open ended questions was utilized. The data accumulated through this means on various topics pertaining to decoration, motifs, color,

¹ See Appenddix

² See appendix

biraderi etc. was enlightening and informative. Interviews as casual conversations were also very insightful in evaluating such local concepts. Group discussions facilitated the job of overcoming shyness and any sort of unwillingness on part of the respondents.

Through such intensive interviews, case studies were extracted from respondents. Case study is a means of recording ethnographic data in the form of a story which provides evidence for analytical purpose. That is, samples of frequently occurring cultural events are gathered, compared and generalized to depict the whole. For the present purpose recording case studies, helped in generating authentic data supporting certain aesthetic issues of house decor and *biraderi* affiliation. These cases have been incorporated in the text wherever required.

1.4-3 (III) QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire is a kind of structured stimulus, which interposes to evaluate certain behavior. It is a measurement device and serves as an effective means to quantify data. As it was rather difficult to make the people verbalize their aesthetic concerns, a need was felt for formulating such a set of questions³ which would elicit the required results. A sample of fifty households, out of the total ninety eight households belonging to the *Dhaniyaal biraderi* (including the three Qurieshi households) was broadly chosen for drawing out needed information. Similarly a sample of five households was chosen out of the eighteen households comprising the *Kammi biraderi*⁴. This data was tabulated and processed to yield graphs and tables as reported in the text.

³ See appendix

⁴ But due to proportional disparity, it has not been incorporated in the tabulated data.

1.4-4 SAMPLING

Sampling is a systematic selection of individuals or things from a total population of things or persons to be studied. If the total population is too large, then a representative sample is taken to carry out an effective research the results are then generalized. As the total number of households in *Kiyah* was just 116 therefore no sampling was done for the socio-economic survey. But for the administration of the questionnaire stratified random sampling was undertaken. In it firstly, I restricted myself to simple variables i.e. age and gender categories, after this initial stratification, I chose fifty respondents randomly assuring that each category had an equal proportional representation. Care was taken to pick out individuals from different house holds so as to have a better understanding of their decorative patterns.

1.4-5 PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography is a technical aid which improves the efficiency of the data presented. As the present research is concerned with an observable sphere of knowledge, it demands heavy emphases on image representation. Use of photography aims at acquainting the readers with the styles discussed in the text in concrete forms. Portrayal of such visual aids facilitated the data reported to take definite, solid shape.

1.4-6 PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES:

To enhance the procedural quality of data collection, I borrowed the method of projective techniques from the discipline of psychology. Such tests require that respondents be shown some sort of stimulus in concrete form as pictures, figures, etc. and response be recorded. Preferences are taken down as accurately as possible to arrive at certain statistical trends which are subjected

to analytical inquiry. Similarly, supplementing my questionnaire I showed my respondents three standard samples of geometric and figural motifs each (see appendix 7 & 8) to evaluate their likes and dislike concerning each category. These indigenous preferences were then converted to statistical figures and used to substantiate the text where needed.

Although familiar with *Pahari* culture, the researcher had never had an opportunity of a prolonged stay in such a village. Hence it was an experience which proved insightful in exposing the organizational patterns of group life in a village.

The scope of the present study lies in opening doors for future researches in attempting to understand aesthetic systems as prevalent in Pakistani communities. It may be of some use in understanding the fact that aesthetic systems depict the cultural values of a people. It discards the misnomer of *art for art's sake* associated with aesthetic. The functional aspect of aesthetics as advocated by anthropological studies of small scale societies is confirmed through this study. The significance of the study lies in its intellectual worth of dealing with new terrain.

LOCATION OF KIIYAH



MURREE

R

E

Ghorya Gali

M

U

KATHAR

Chawan

Karor

KHARATIYAN

R.F.

Khad N

Phulgran

Satowa

Mair

16a

CHAPTER TWO

VILLAGE PROFILE

Preamble to any community research is a thorough study of the concerned locale in all respects. In this regards, the present chapter maintains a demographic and ecological approach in eliciting the life style of the people. It propounds on the geographical, historical and socio - economical standing of the village, attempting to put the reader well into the picture.

2.1 LOCATION AND ACCESSIBILITY:

Village *Kiyah* lies in *Tehsil Murree* which is one of the four Sub-Divisions of District. Rawalpindi. The District. is located in the North-West of Province Punjab. The Murree Hills are an extension of the Himalayan Range and constitute 450 sq. miles of the District, generally covered with forests and clusters of inhabitations scattered here and there. Rawalpindi District. as a whole covers an area of 21,367 sq. miles.

Like other villages in its vicinity, village *Kiyah* also crowns a hill of the famous Murree Hill range situated to the North East of Islamabad. It lies about 3000 feet above sea level. This vicinage is much visited by city dwellers in search of some solitary picnics. Perched up on a hill, village *Kiyah* has vantage of a bird's eye view of Islamabad and *Rawalpindi*. It is at a distance of 40 - 45 Km from *Rawalpindi* and is included in *Rawalpindi* division. The total approximated area of the village is 1.25 x .5 Sq / Km. An evergreen coniferous jungle surrounding the village makes it a beautiful sight for sore eyes. As the houses are scattered all over the hill, an overall view of the entire village is only possible through an aerial perspective.

Table 2.1 depicts the neighboring villages which flank *Kiyah* in their respective direction:-

VILLAGES SURROUNDING KIYAH

SR.#	DIRECTION	VILLAGES
1.	NORTH	KALLAN, BASAND
2.	NORTH-EAST	IRYARI
3.	EAST	BUMBLAHRI
4.	SOUTH EAST	BIA
5.	SOUTH	CHAWAN
6.	SOUTH WEST	KEHROR
7.	WEST	NANYA
8.	NORTH WEST	HELLAH

Table 2.1

Source: Atta-Ullah Khan.

The installment of a metal link road 15 years ago, greatly facilitated access to the area. Before the construction of a road, people could reach the area only by foot or horses. The Scenario today is however very different, all sorts of transport vehicles ranging from buses, suzukis, taxis to trucks and tractors freely frequent this route. It takes approximately one and a half hour to get there from *Rawalpindi*. Private buses scheduled for *Pindi* collect passengers at specific intervals every day, putting city facilities of bigger and better bazaars, hospitals, schools, etc. in easy

reach. For urgent business private suzukis may also be hired. Taking advantage of road facility some people commute to *Pindi* and Islamabad daily for their jobs.

With the advent of a road, transportation and communication facilities have been greatly enhanced, putting the area en route to development.

2.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

As *Kiyah's* history has not been officially documented, hence information on the pertinent issue was handed down to me through oral traditions as preserved with the locals. The history of the village narrated here is a reproduction of all such information.

The story goes way back to the eighteenth century, when two brothers named *Juma Khan* and *Khair Khan* migrated with their families from the low lying plains at the foot of *Margalla Hills* in search of a new habitat in the *Pahari* region. They were the sons of *Dhanni Khan*, the central ancestral figure to whom the *Dhaniyaal biraderi* attribute their origin. There is evidence on the contention that *Dhaniyaal* is a sub-caste of the famous *Rajput* tribe. Hence, in origin the two brothers were *Dhaniyaal Raja*. Now it so happened that *Raja Dhanni Khan* owned a lot of land in the *pahari* area. Consequently, his other sons, step-brothers to *Juma Khan* and *Khair Khan*, occupied and started settlement on the lands surrounding village *Kiyah*. The same *biraderi* is therefore prevalent in the neighboring villages as well.

Through their marriage alliances, *Juma Khan* and *Khair Khan* activated a chain of procreators who have kept their names alive. Successive generations of each brother are grouped under two respective *tubbers*, literally translated as kindred group'. *Khairyaal tubber* deems *Khair Khan* as their '*Butka*' or patriarch and

the *Jamiyaal tubber* identify *Juma Khan* as their 'Butka'. Both these *tubbers* collectively belong to the same *Dhaniyaal biraderi*.

While marriage into other *biraderis* is socially intolerable, marrying into different *tubbers* of the same *biraderi* is a frequented practice. As the *Dhaniyaal biraderi* extends and encompasses neighboring villages as well, hence maintenance of affinal links with these villages allowed latitude for intrusion of other *tubbers* onto the village territory. Thus, *Janwal* from *Jannu Khan*, *Naryal* from *Nagi Khan*, *Sakarwal* from *Sakru Khan* are some such subsequential groups residing in *Kiyah*.

It was during the *Bhutto* regime that a tract of land situated directly behind the main hill was allotted to the poorer *Kammi* caste. Consequently, a lot of *kammis* came along from other areas to claim this land. Over time as the village continued to grow, mosques were also built. This prompted the religious priests of the *Qureshi biraderi* to come along and establish their homes in one corner of the hill.

In this way a kaleidoscopic pattern of settlement was triggered off in *Kiyah*. Today, the *Jamiyaals* and *Khairyaals*, true sons of the soil, remain the largest groups inhabiting the village.

2.3 VILLAGE NAME:

In quest for a new habitat, the two brothers unanimously decided upon the present day village spot as their future home. With the passage of time, the village was christened '*Kiyah*'. Literal translation of the word both in *Urdu* and *Pahari* is '*whaf*'. This peculiar name harbors many legends explaining its origin. Two of the most prevalent ones are mentioned here.

Legend has it that *Khair Khan* and *Juma Khan* were not the first people to set foot on this land. Prior to their arrival the place was inhabited by a woman called

'*Kiasha*'. Mystery still shrouds her origin and appearance on the scene but it is assumed from her name that she was a *Hindu*. The legend goes that despite her old age she forever remained youth like in appearance. The two brothers being mesmerized and enchanted by her enigmatic life became her followers and began to address her as '*Kiyah*'. Then, one day, all of a sudden, just as mysteriously as she had appeared the woman vanished without a trace. It was in her memory that the brothers named the village *Kiyah*.

Another version of the story behind the village name, bears evidence to the major occupation of the area from the very outset. This story is more popular with the masses. Its content holds that a local person of the village had himself enlisted in the Army. On being inquired about his village name in English he replied '*Kiyah*' meaning '*what*', as being illiterate he could not comprehend the question in the language spoken to him. The British official unaware of the local language or his respondents inability to understand the question, registered '*Kiyah*' as the name of the village. Since then the village has been called thus.

2.4 CLIMATE AND CULTIVATION:

Given the high altitude of the village, it experiences relatively cool temperatures in summer, while winter heralds extreme cold weather with the advent of snowfall.

From November to March, the area is engulfed in a cold wave. The end of March welcomes spring which continues until May. Summer is short lived lasting only from June to July. In August, trees start to shed their leaves and remain bare till the arrival of spring. Summer monsoons bring plentiful rain in July and September while in winter, rain is received mostly from December to March.

As the village is nestled on a hill top, it lacks large quantity of plain land needed for heavy cultivation. Moreover, the crop that is planted is at the mercy of rain water, should the rains fail to fall, the crop is destroyed. Therefore, plantation in *Kiyah* cannot be profit motivated. It is carried out for self sufficiency only. The two main crops grown in the area are wheat and maize. The farming activity chart shows that maize is planted in May and harvested in August. The same land is then prepared for wheat which is harvested in March. Due to scarcity of land, rotation farming is in practice.

FARMER'S ACTIVITY CHART

S #	LOCAL NAME OF MONTH	FARMING ACTIVITIES	MONTHS
1.	CHANG		JANUARY
2.	CHITR		FEBRUARY
3.	BASAKH	HARVEST WHEAT	MARCH
4.	HARH		APRIL
5.	HEEDH	PLANT MAIZE	MAY
6.	SAWAN		JUNE
7.	PADRA		JULY
8.	ASSA	HARVEST MAIZE	AUGUST
9.	KATTAH	PLANT WHEAT PICK & DRY PROMENAGRATES & WALNUTS	SEPTEMBER
10.	MUNGER		OCTOBER
11.	PUOH		NOVEMBER
12.	MAH		DECEMBER

Table 2.2.

Source: Field Data.

The climate is suitable for prosperous growth of walnut and pomegranate trees. Almost every household (excluding *Kammis*) owns at least two such trees. Coniferous pine trees raised to soaring heights of fifty meters and more, abound in the jungle. They are also a steady source of fire wood.

2.5 POPULATION AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION:

Despite a history which goes back to the 18th century, *Kiyah* remains a thinly populated village. With a total of 116 households the number of people as recorded in December 1994 was 661. Table 2.3 illustrates the total population by gender and marital status:

POPULATION BY GENDER AND MARITAL STATUS

S #	MARITAL STATUS	SEX		TOTAL
		MALE	FEMALE	
1.	MARRIED	121	123	244
2.	UNMARRIED	208	191	399
3.	WIDOW	1	16	17
4.	DIVORCED	1	0	1
5.	TOTAL	331	330	661

Table 2.3

Source: Socio-Economic Survey.

The total ratio of females is almost equivalent to that of the males. In the cited numerical figures of genders there is less disparity in *Kiyah's* population.

As briefly mentioned in the historical perspective of the village, it is composed of many *tubbers*. Each of them except the *kammi* and *Qureshi* affiliate themselves to the larger *Dhaniyaal biraderi*.

NUMBER OF ETHNIC HOUSEHOLDS

S #	NAME OF GROUP	BIRADERI	% AGE
1.	KHAIRYAAL	DHANIYAAL	40.00
2.	JAMIYAAL	DHANIYAAL	37.50
3.	BHATTI (MUSSALI)	KAMMI	19.00
4.	SAKARWAL	DHANIYAAL	2.00
5.	BHAGIAL	DHANIYAAL	0.30
6.	SAHIWAL	DHANIYAAL	0.30
7.	NAGRAL	DHANIYAAL	0.20
8.	QURESHI	QURESHI	0.50

Table 2.4

Source: Socio - Economic Survey

The six ethnic groups mentioned in Table 2.4 belong to the *Dhaniyaal biraderi* and have maintained good links with each other. But however, each of these groups tend to live in clusters of houses situated close together. A mosque built at a focal point not only roughly divides the village into two vertical portions but also demarcates the residential pattern of the *Jamiyaals* and *Khairyaals*. The land situated to the left of this mosque belongs to the *Jamiyaals* while the land on the right is owned by *Khairyaals*.

Likewise, the *Kammis* are also living in a separate *Kammi* or *Bhatti* colony composed of eighteen houses. Leading a poor and measly life, they face dire circumstances. To date the *Kammis* identify themselves as '*Bhatti*' but due to restricted social mobility, no one who knows of their past, accepts them as such. This caste has always been subjected to servitude by the higher class. In village *kiyah*, they provide cheap labor and do all sorts of handy jobs for the larger *biraderi* to earn a living. They have maintained their own lifestyle in all aspects. Everything ranging from the way they decorate their houses to the way they make a living is different from the *Dhaniyaal biraderi*. Consequently, they are regarded as socially inferior.

The total percentage of *Qureshis* households in *Kiyah* is only three. Being small in number they are a rather subdued caste living in a small cluster of their own. Their life style is similar to the one prevailing in general. Although, they have merged well with the *Dhaniyaals* and cannot be told apart, but they do not marry them.

2.6 RESIDENTIAL PATTERN:

The ownership of a house remains a status symbol for the people. Every person earns and saves with a view to construct a house of his own. In native cognition it is considered a means of promising a secure future. Resultantly nuclear

families with a total of 74% are the major trend as against 18% joint and 8% extended families.

There is not much disparity in the structure of the dwellings either, so that 79% of houses are semi *pukkah* in origin while 12% remain *katcha* and only 9% have been elevated to a pure *pukkah* level.

The average house consists of three to four rooms of which one is reserved for formal guests. Those who domesticate animals have an additional room for their animals. Each house possesses an open courtyard opposite a line of rooms. Not a single house is constructed as double story. The design layout of each house is also a similar rectangle.

2.7 DRESS, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION:

Their dress mannerism largely depicts an attempt at modesty. Young girls and older women alike always veil and protect themselves from the gaze of strangers. When they step out of the house they will wrap even a bigger *chaader* around themselves. *Shalwar*, *Kameez* of various colors and prints are used in accordance with one's age. Males commonly wear *Shalwar Kameez* in subtler shades but the younger generation has started using a bit brighter tones. A cap is worn by those males who are regular at prayers. A *chaadar* folded neatly and kept on one's shoulder is also in common use. All in all, their dress pattern does not differentiate them from other villages of the area.

Pahari is the native language of the people but all those who have lived in a city for some time can speak *Urdu* fluently. With the exception of a few terms *pahari* is much similar to *potowari* the language used by the people of the *Potowar* plains.

As the pioneers of *kiyah* had originally migrated from this area, hence there are a lot of sequential commonalties between *Pahar* and *potowar* region.

As for religion, all the people of *Kiyah* are Muslims belonging to the *Sunni* sect. Despite major differences in caste, the *Kammis* and *Dhaniyaals* share the same religion and they are united as one when they stand for prayers in the same mosque. A main mosque found in the top half of the hill was renovated to *pukkah* standard in 1922. It runs well on charity, as well off people are aware of their religious duty.

The *Imam* who serves here is also called in for birth, *Nikah* and death rituals. In the evening the mosque premises provide ground for imparting religious education to children. Superstitious beliefs in supernatural powers also abound in the area. Journeys are regularly undertaken to pay homage to famous *Pirs*, *Fakirs* and *Khankas*.

2.8 OCCUPATION:

Farming, the traditional occupation of villages is not prevalent in *kiyah* on a regular full time basis. Given the shortcomings of suitable land, it is carried out only on a part-time basis. Everyone except the *Kammis* own land, which they cultivate themselves or rent out to the *Kammis*.

One of the main resources of earning a livelihood is employment in the military. In fact a marked inclination towards military services is also eminent from the story behind the village name. Almost every household (excluding *Kammi*) has links with the Armed Forces. It is a passion and craze with the people and is considered the most prestigious. The older generation still remembers with nostalgia the time when the youth would voluntarily join the military out of patriotism. Today,

although there is a decrease in the desire to join the armed forces but as it suits the people most hence they still go for it in large numbers.

With the advent of a road, many of the younger population took to driving as a passion. Teaching is also prominent among the professional occupations. Best of all, it allows females the liberty of earning some money to help share the burden of the household. At the time of field stay, approximately ten females were engaged in this profession earning from 2000 Rs. to 3,500/= Rs each, depending on seniority basis. Government jobs which offer life long pensions are also much in fashion.

As employment pattern is not so diversified, hence the average income level (excluding *Kammis*) is also more or less the same. The only thing which allows a household more income than another is the element of more than one bread earners sharing the expenses.

2.9 DOMESTIC UTILITIES:

In the absence of basic domestic utilities such as electricity, etc. inhabitations continue to remain backward. They are deprived knowledge of the changing conditions of the world. Due to the construction of a road, *Kiyah* has been fortunate enough to enjoy modern day facilities and to stay in touch with the world. Some of the basic domestic utilities needed to live a decent life in the context of *Kiyah* are discussed as follows:

2.9-I ELECTRICITY:

Electricity reached the village on 20th November, 1993. with it came renewed hopes of progress in the area. It was mainly due to the efforts of Mr. *Atta Ullah Khan* (Ex-member of Union Council) that *Kiyah* was electrified. Except the *Kammi* colony every house has the facility. It has proved to be a blessing in disguise. A vast

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majority own televisions and transistor radio sets. Hence, today people are very much aware of the present day changes taking place in the world. This in turn is orientating them towards newer perspectives.

During fieldwork I came across a few old men who were against this 'modern propaganda' but on the whole the facility is much appreciated.

2.9-2 WATER SUPPLY:

As regards water supply *Kiyah* faces a lot of problems. There is a big reservoir of water situated in the South Eastern village of *Bia* 10 Km away. There are about five taps spread all over *Kiyah* which receive water from this reservoir through force of gravity. But however, poultry farms located on the way, illegally take the water from the pipe lines and the remaining water is too less to meet the needs of the villagers. The system is seven-eight years old and is not very beneficial. Other sources of water include about three to four wells and rain water.

As the water supplying network is inadequate and falls short therefore rain remains the chief source of water. Houses have constructed additional tanks where rain water is collected for average daily use. Drinking water is obtained from the taps or wells. Should the rains fail to fall, people have to face adverse consequences. In 1993 scarcity of rains led to difficult conditions and the people had to buy water for Rs. 10 per gallon from village *Kallan* situated in the North. Hence even in the freezing cold weathers rain is much welcomed and prayed for.

2.9-3 GAS:

There are no pipe lines providing gas to *Kiyah*, but the people buy their own gas cylinders for convenience sake and to enjoy luxuries of modern life. Presently

72% of the people own gas cylinders. Firewood, obtained from the local jungle is the chief source of fuel.

2-10 MEDICAL HEALTH FACILITIES:

As for medical health facilities, a medical dispensary, family planning center and veterinary clinic are present at *Chawan* in the South of *Kiyah*. Neighboring villages also use the facilities provided by these institutes. Illness is in fact culturally perceived. Only when a person is really considered sick is he taken for treatment and cure. Preventive measures are not taken seriously.

The medical dispensary found at *Chawan* was built during the British rule of pre-partition days. It caters to a population of 10,000 people, covering villages up to 20 square Km. in the vicinage.

There are three people serving in the dispensary. One is an MBBS doctor who is to visit weekly but seldom does so. A compounder is always available, hence people take their prescriptions from him and have faith in him. Built on two and a half *Kanal* area it consists of two rooms and can capacitate up to thirty-four patients at a time. At times the services of a *Dai* or mid-wife are also available. According to local authorities twenty-five to thirty people visit this dispensary on an average daily basis. Medicine supplies are not very adequate. The treatment given here is free of charge. Five years ago Punjab government health organization started construction of a proper building for the dispensary but the project fell through while it was underway.

The family planning center is also a Government run institution located in the famous *kana bazar* of *Chawan*. It has been functioning for the past ten years. But however the community shows a bad anti-attitude towards it. The mid-wife who serves here belongs to *Kiyah*. The motives of the center are not very well accepted

and females go to the mid-wife for other reasons such as for administering injections, etc.

The veterinary clinic is located in *Chawan* too. People believe in the capabilities of the vet so much so that he is not only consulted for animal ailments but also for human illness. If the animal cannot be transported to his clinic he also takes house calls. Like all the other medical employees, he is also a local.

A quack doctor, who was trained as a medical officer while in the army, living in *kiyah* is also well sought after for medical reasons. His services are reliable to a certain extent as he lacks all the required equipment. An old '*Malung*' woman of the *Jamiyaal Tubber* who claims to have been endowed with supernatural powers of healing fractures, gifted to her by a senior *Pir*, also lives in the village. It was during my field stay that an old woman fell and broke the bones of her right hand. She was taken to this *Malung* woman who treated her and in two months her hand was miraculously almost back to normal.

Despite all these medical institutes functioning in the area none are considered reliable enough in case of a serious illness, for which the patient is transported straight to a proper hospital in *Rawalpindi*.

2.11. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES:

There is no school on the premises of *kiyah* but however there are two major separate girls and boys government schools in the region which provide educational facilities up to matriculation level for as many as twenty villages.

The girls school was founded in 1953 up to primary level. It lies at a distance of 1 Km North West of *Kiyah* and is known as *Hellah girls school*. Girls of the village

usually walk to school in groups. As community response towards female education was very positive hence a need was felt to introduce higher education.

Consequently, the school was upgraded to high school level in 1993. About 8 - 10 girls appeared for their matric board exam in the same year from *Kiyah* alone. While the principle is qualified and well versed in English with a B.Ed degree, the rest of the staff possess a teacher training diploma acquired after matriculation. The tuition fee is very less ranging from 75 paisa for 1 - 5 class to 10 Rs for matric class. About 50 to 60 girls from *kiyah* are presently studying in this school. The school lacks proper play ground or furniture equipments and has no electricity. A total of 300 girls are studying there. The school is met with good response by the people of *kiyah* because it lies close by and most the teachers employed there also come from similar background. In fact out of the ten teachers of the school, three belong to *Kiyah* which is a great source of pride for the people. They have opened doors for other females of *Kiyah* to try and follow suit

In comparison, the boys High School is much more established. Its foundation was laid down by *Ayub Khan* in December, 1950. Since then it has been operating up to matric level only. This school is not only the biggest but also the only high school for boys found in the entire area. At the time of research the total strength of the school was calculated at 500. According to the principle who is a qualified M.A. B.Ed, " *the rate of admissions are going up by 25% annually*". Disciplinary measures are also quite good. Built on 22 *Kanal* the school is equipped with a library, laboratory, sports room, twenty-five classrooms and a huge ten *Kanal* play ground. There are a total of seventeen teachers who come from different areas. The result of matric examination in 1993 was up to the mark at 93.40%. Those who do not have the credentials to clear the board exam are not allowed to take the crucial examination until capable to do so. The ratio of students in secondary classes is a lot more than the primary, basically because there are two other primary boys schools located in the area.

Table 2.5 illustrates the literacy figures of the total population of *kiyah*.

POPULATION BY FORMAL EDUCATION

S #	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	NO. OF MALES	% AGE	NO. OF FEMALES	% AGE
1.	PRIMARY	68	20.5 %	66	19.9%
2.	MIDDLE	67	20.4 %	42	12.6%
3.	MATRIC	94	28.3 %	54	16.3%
4.	F.A.	13	3.9 %	8	2.4%
5.	B.A.	4	1.2 %	2	0.6%
6.	M.A.	1	0.3%	N I L L	N I L L
7.	INFANTS	55	16.6%	67	20.4%
8.	ILLITERATE	29	8.7%	91	27.4%
9.	TOTAL	331	100%	330	100%

TABLE 2.5

SOURCE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

It is observable that a total of 22% of the population has studied up to matric level but the ratio decreases steadily thereafter basically because the schools in the area only cater education up to matric level. Only those few go ahead with higher college education who have the resources and access to city schools. Only 9% of males and 27.5% females remain illiterate. Hence 63.5% of the population is literate. The figure elucidates that there is a very positive response towards formal education. In fact some of the families send even their young daughters away to hostels for completing college education.

2.12 BAZAARS AND MARKET PLACES:

There is a minor bazaar situated on the premises of *Kiyah* in the *Bhatti* Colony. It is known as *Bhatti* bazaar. There are only five shops which do business in ordinary things of daily use. Most importantly an authorized general post office is located here as well.

The major bazaar is not exclusive for *Kiyah* only and is situated at *Chawan* in the South at 2 Km distance. It is called *Kana* bazaar. There are as many as sixty shops there. In the beginning there were only a few shops in the area, today it has emerged as a full fledged leading market with shops dealing in groceries, cloth, shoes, jewelry and various other commodities. Other trades of barber, tailors, bakers etc. are also prevalent. There is a bus stop present there as well. The place has become a common hang out for the youth of the locality. The locals dominate business carried out here as all the shops are owned by them.

Besides these shops, other institutions of vital importance are found in this bazaar. These include a police station, which is considered the ultimate authority in the absence of a *Numberdar*. Conflicts registered here are however very few as it is considered a matter of great shame to be interrogated or arrested by the police.

Habib Bank has its rural branch in *Kana* bazaar which started functioning in 1991. Electricity bills are deposited here. A forest department, and public works development office found here employs people of neighboring villages including *Kiyah*. The *Patwari* and former Union council Office are located in the bazaar under discussion. A public call office which connects the region to other major cities of Pakistan and the world runs here on Government account.

The preliminary outline of the village as described in this chapter provided the researcher with an opportunity to pry deeper into the cultural life's organizational process. One such area which speaks of the village's cultural framework is uniform aesthetic trends as indicated in house decorative style, taken up in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

HOUSE AND ITS ASSOCIATED AESTHETICS

3.1 INTRODUCTION:

In accounting for the genesis of a prevalent style, rigorous ethnographic data is required to supplement it. Accordingly, the present chapter orbits round an ethnographic description of the prevalent style of aesthetics in house structure and its related decorations at the time of the research. It attempts to

orientate the reader with a general picture of the constituents of house decor in the village before indulging into further analytical discussions on the issue.

3.2 AESTHETICS IN ARCHITECTURE:

The very first day as I rambled round the village, a signature style of house decor in relation to the community was identifiable to me. Being familiar with city life and its associated tastes on the pertinent issue, the contrast registered straight away. The very existence of a particular color on the wall and not any other, similar carvings on the doorway or etched metal railings, and countless other features which are repeatedly echoed in every dwelling as a measure of standardized accomplishment in the erection of a house speak volumes on the aesthetic style in vogue.

From far away the village gives a deceptively colorless look. The gray stoned or earthen dwellings against the natural greens is a captivating scene but hardly colorful. Hence, I had preconceived wrong notions about the local aesthetic tastes. However, once inside a house everything appears filled with color, indicative of an attempt at beautification. To compensate for the absence of a large variety of color in their environment, their aesthetic urge binds them to use varied color in their interiors. In attempting to map out the patterns and trends in aesthetics of house, I shall articulate aesthetic concern in architectural structure as a base line to proceed further.

An average house consists of approximately 4/5 rooms. A kitchen '*Aagi Wali Kothi*' a drawing room '*baithek*' a '*Perkot*' or store adjoining a large bed room or '*bara sofa*' and sometimes an optional '*nika andar*' or bedroom is also found. The roof of the house is extended outwards which is supported by a number of pillars '*thum*' arranged in a single line. This forms a verandah or '*Basaar*' right in front of the rooms. The rooms run parallel to an open courtyard

'*behrah*' which usually contains a large mulberry tree or other fruit trees. Privies and boundary walls are now being introduced separating private life from the social, suggesting a concept of privacy.

The houses are erected in one of two principle styles --- traditional and contemporary. From an architectural perspective these styles can be categorically termed *katcha* and *pukka* respectively.

3.2-1 KATCHA HOUSES:

Such houses are the old traditional ones which have been passed on to successive generations. Some of these are as old as eighty years or more. They commonly consist of earthen walls and roof tops. The ceilings are internally lined with wooden logs to support the roof. Plate # 1 is illustrative of such houses.

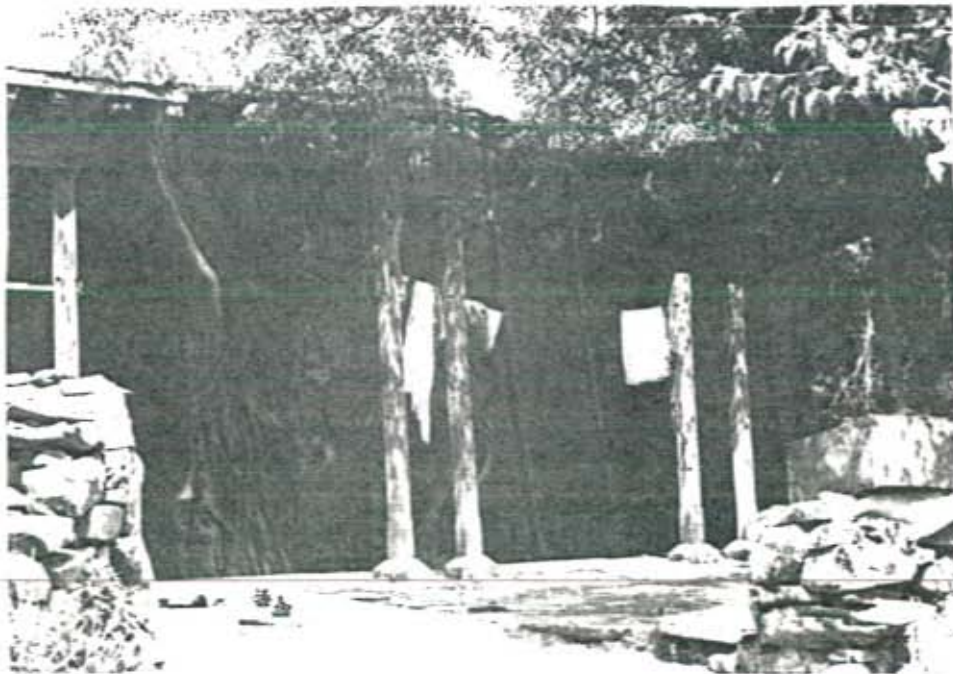


Plate # 1

Exterior View of *Katcha* House

While in most cases the external walls are colorless they are almost

always coated with thin color washes on the insides. The technique is locally known as "*Parolena*" in which certain quantity of paint and lime is applied to the walls. This is done in the month of *Basakh* (March). For an added aesthetic effect some times the lower one fourth portion of the wall is painted in a brighter shade of the color applied above.

As an integral part of the architecture is present a wooden pillar '*thum*', which stands in the center of a room to support the ceiling. This *thum* has a quality of floral patterns intricately carved. The lotus flower adorning the top and base is quite prominent and repeated in many instances. Pillars found outside in the verandah are not decorated with carvings but are cut in varying shapes and are essentially made of wood.

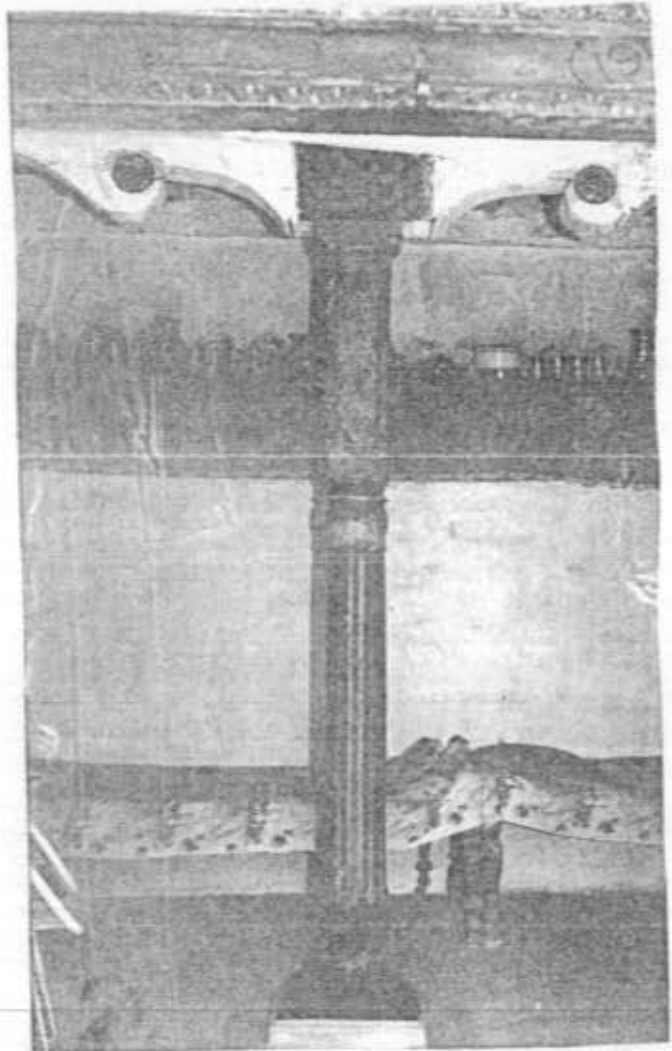


Plate # 2 Floral carved & Aesthetically Painted "*Thum*"

The cornice (*Kans*), as Depicted in Plate # 3 also made of wood is found

in the *Bera Sofa*. It is placed running parallel along the top end of the wall and is meant to display crockery items.

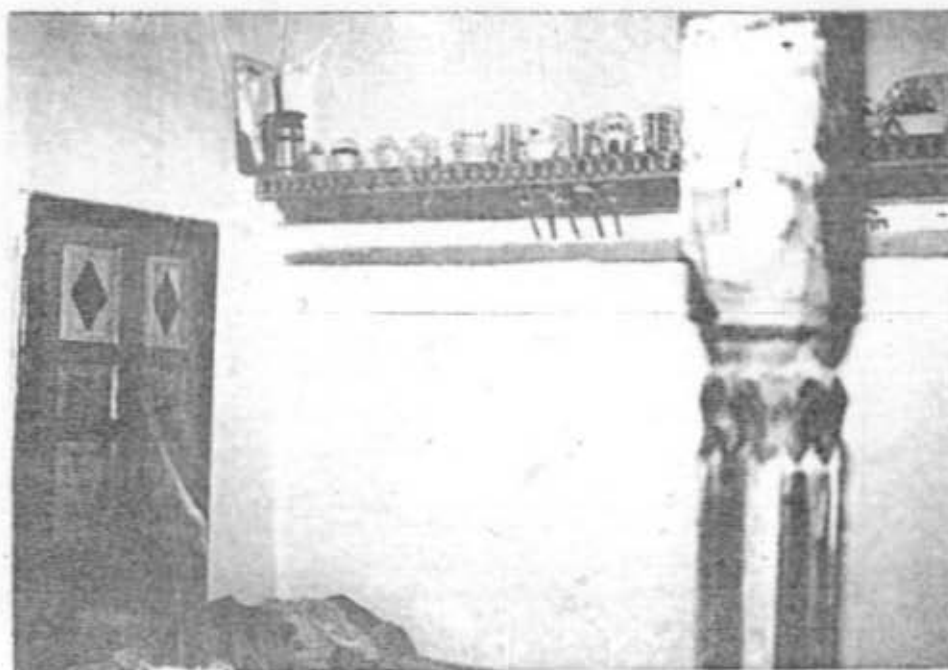


Plate # 3 *Kans* made of wood and painted in different colors.

Doors, cupboards and windows of such houses are not only made of wood but also depict floral patterns in large quantity as illustrated in Plate # 4.

Plate # 4 Wooden Door beam carved in Floral Motifs



Women play an important part in the construction and maintenance of such houses. Every year in the month of 'Assah' (August) womenfolk busy themselves with giving a fresh coat of mud plaster in scale like patterns to the walls and floor. This pattern is created with semi circular movements of spread out hands. Once dry, it is outlined with black charcoal to break the monotony of browns and to enliven the dwelling in its monochrome shades. This technique is known as '*lepai*' and is a good example of aesthetic utility. Plate # 5 shows a woman engaged in this technique.



Plate # 5 A woman engaged in "*Lepai*" of her *Berah*.

3.2-2 PUKKAH HOUSES:

Despite new fashions the villagers have pursued and adhered to their own distinct aesthetic path in the basic layout of houses, as the contemporary *pukkah* houses echo the structural plan of the traditional *katcha* ones. The walls

of such houses are made of gray stones, outlined in white paint. They possess tapering metal roof tops lined at the edge with incised metal railings. The *besaar* is covered with a separate sheet which starts from where the sheet for the roof of the rooms ends. Pillars of various material and styles fixed in the floor support this external cover while a wooden scaffold frame supports the roof internally. Plate # 6 & 7 presents such house styles.

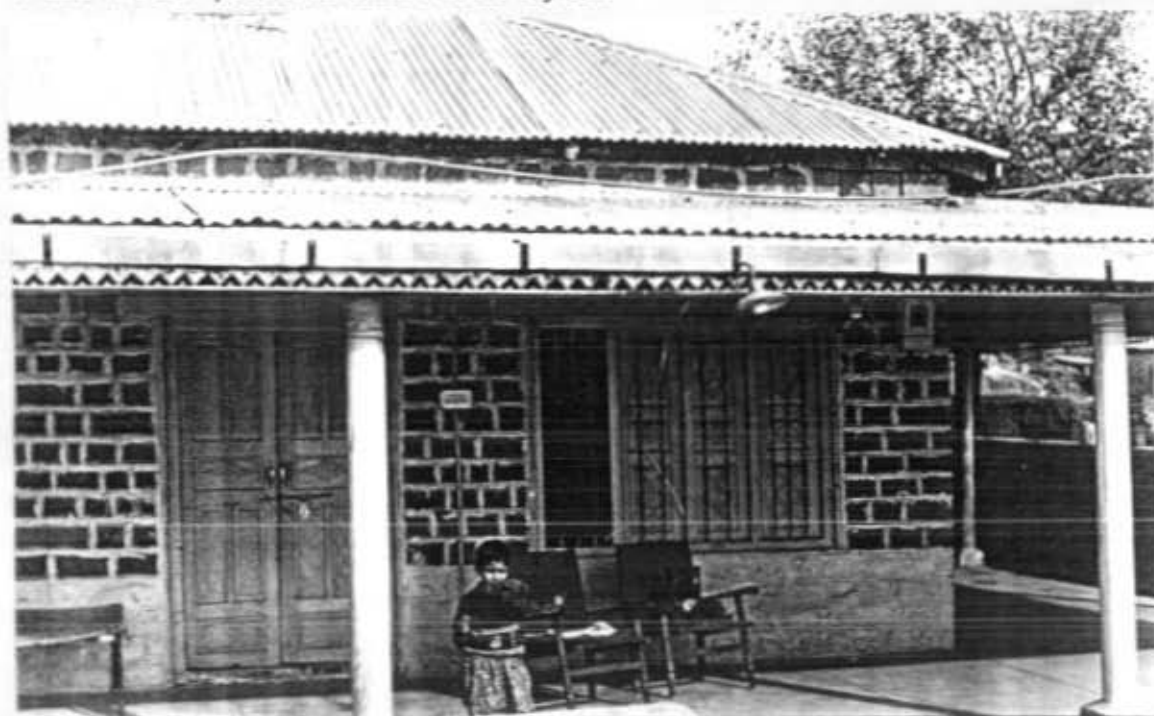


Plate # 6 A closer view of a *Pukkah* house with Geometric door patterns

Plate # 7 A standard *Pukkah* House



As the roof forms a cavity on the inside it is lined with a false ceiling, solely for aesthetic purposes. It is usually made of hard board and contains varying colorful patterns. The one depicted is Plate # 8 cost the price of fifteen days labor just for *an extra beautiful impression* while a simple one only costs two days labor. It serves as an aesthetic symbol par se.

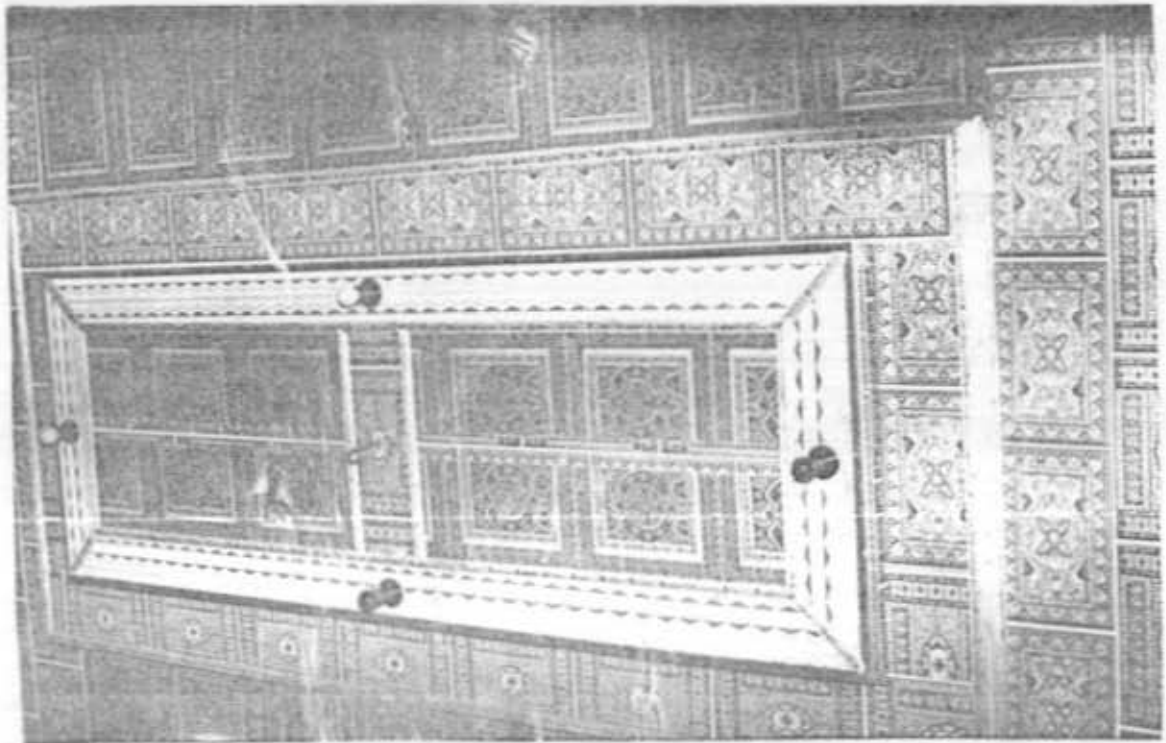


Plate # 8 A colorful False Ceiling

The walls are internally cemented and coated with paint. Even the floor is laid in colorful cement motifs. In other cases it is tiled in continuous black and white or colorful floral and geometric patterns. Plates # 9 & 10 (as shown on next Page) show the *Besaar* of two different houses embellished in colorful cement and tile motifs, respectively.

Plate # 9 Vibrant colors used in various motifs on floor

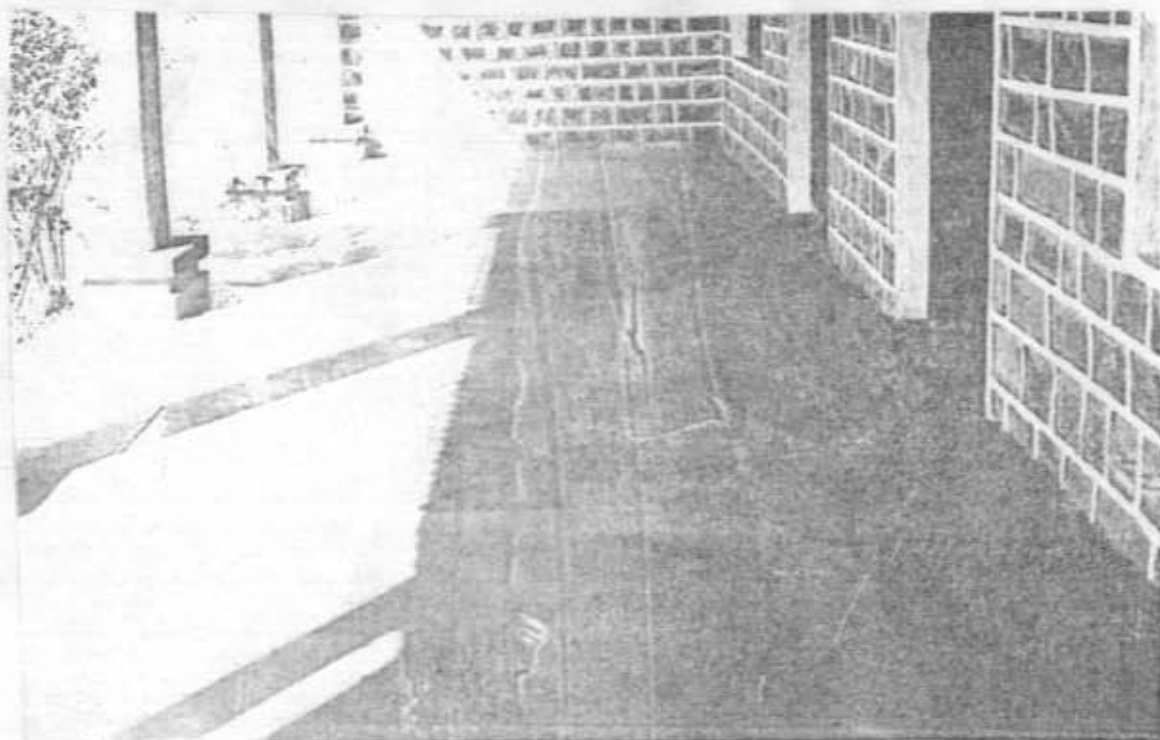
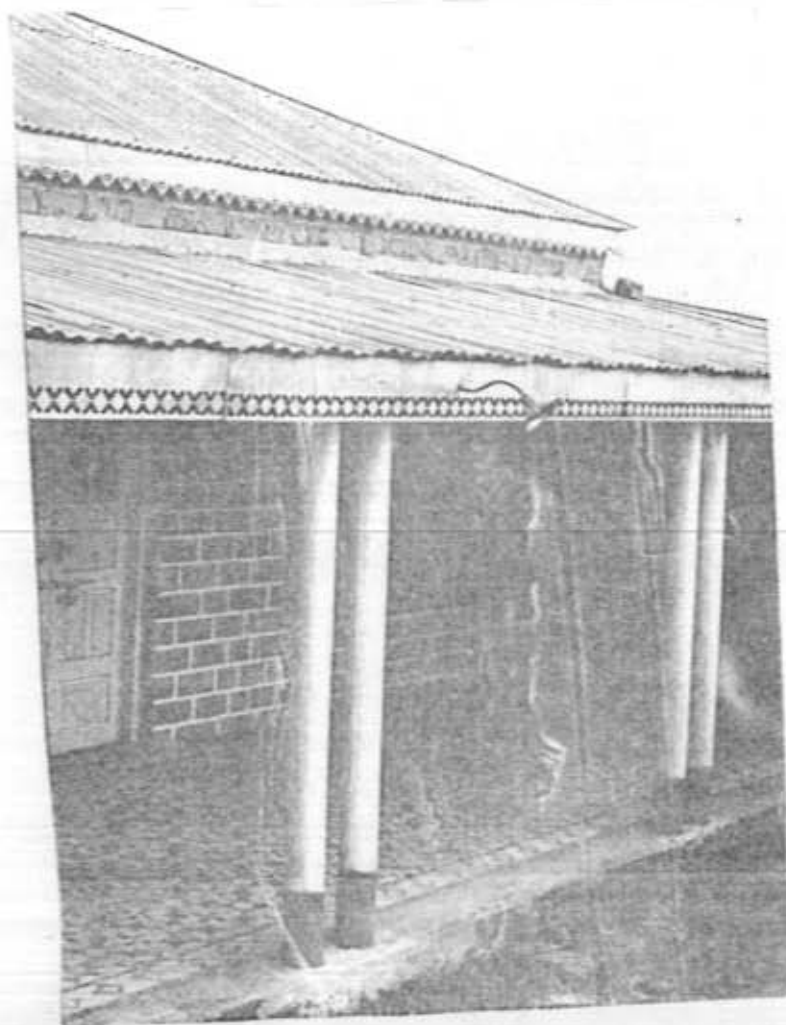


Plate # 10 Black & White tile motifs on floor



The legacy of the wooden windows is replaced with those made of metal frames inserted with plastic or fiber glass panes colored in vibrant hues of red, blue or yellow primary shades as shown in Plate # 11. Day light passing through

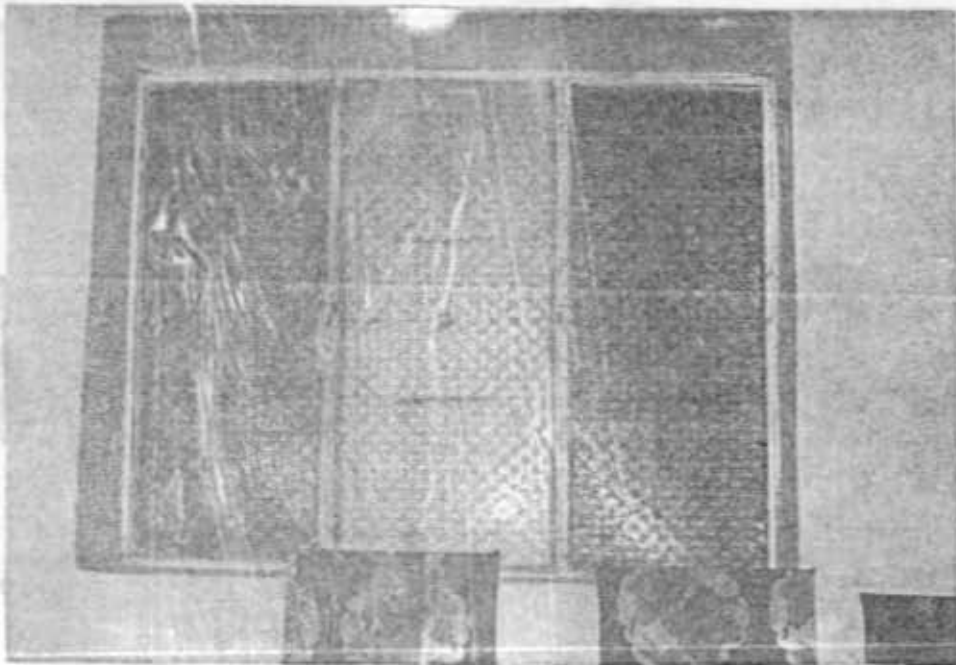


Plate # 11 Colorful window panes simply for aesthetic effects

them has an aesthetic effect on the insides, while at night when interior lights are switched on, a similar effect is portrayed on the outside.

While the older *katcha* houses have floral carved wooden door ways and beams, the contemporary ones have a quality of simplified geometric designs (refer to Plate # 6) indicative of an attempt at adjusting aesthetic values to modern day fashion requirements.

Such houses require more paintings and architectural decorations. Subsequently, men who have access to city networks participate actively in this regard. Masons constructing these houses are always essentially male. Many a times they advise their clients on the use of particular colors and material which are in fashion at the time. As an aftermath there is considerable uniformity in

architectural aesthetics. On asking a woman about a design on a door in her house, I was told that she did not like it very much and that the mason had put it there saying "its in fashion to have such motifs on the doors".

Katcha or *Pukkah* in almost both cases color is applied to the interiors only, perhaps because color on the exteriors cannot withstand the effect of weather thereby requiring an expensive recoat very often.

The community seems to be divided and indecisive when it comes to using the traditional and the contemporary ways. This is manifested in their preferred aesthetic indication. It effects their choice of decoration. In every *pukkah* house I noticed all kinds of modern decorations perhaps even an iron gate, but embedded on a raised cemented platform in the *berah* are always present a pair of earthenware *Tandoor* (Bread Oven) and *choola* (Stove) as depicted in Plate # 12.



Plate # 12 Illustration of *Choola* & *Tandoor*

They are made by the females of every household and embellished with crude designs. The following figure 1 shows sketches of some such designs.

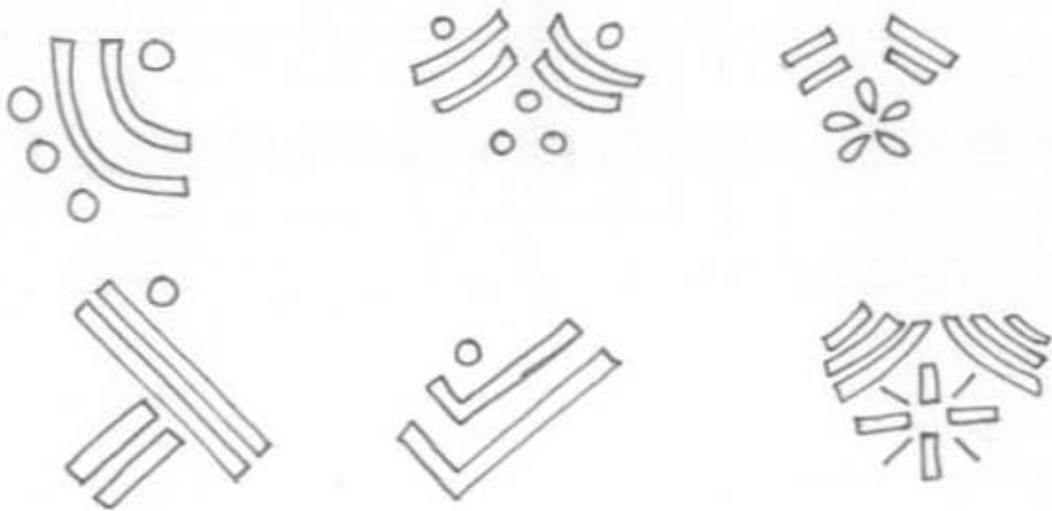


Figure 1 Some commonly used designs on *Choola & Tandoor*

Females finish off their daily chores by painting these objects with thinned red paint added to soil. No matter how modern a house may appear, such symbols speak of its roots.

Inhabitants of *katcha* houses spoke of their dwellings with a certain sense of shame saying that they are going to demolish and renovate as soon as they get an opportunity to do so. Contrariwise, dwellers of *pukkah* houses took pride in showing me round while narrating stories about how much they spent on it and how other people also appreciated their decorative tastes. Hence, among others house and its related decor have become a status symbol.

In wake of the afore narrated description, it can be safely deduced that architecture is mixed with a combination of utility and aesthetics. Tasks of preferential aesthetic relevance are carried out to complete a house.

In the beginning aesthetic urge was satisfied through the construction and beautification of a standard *katcha* house. With the passage of time a few *pukkah* houses were erected thereby challenging the community's uniform style. Consequently a trend was set and everybody followed suit to keep in pace. Equilibrium was maintained to the extent of having similar aesthetics in decor as well.

If a house in *Kiyah* does not possess the stylistic elements of architecture mentioned here it is not considered complete. They preach this art, they practice it yet when inquired about it they can not tell you why they feel it necessary to create such standardized beauty.

3.3 PORTRAIT OF INTERIOR DECOR:

After having painted a picture of the architectural features, it is now essential to move a step further into the realm of interior decorations to elicit a better understanding of the aesthetic patterns popular with the community.

Aesthetic impulse is a pervasive force behind desire to decorate one's house. In the community under study, an aesthetic trend towards decorations was noticed in both the traditional and contemporary categories. The houses were emphasized and accented heavily with perky decorations. Even the most cursory of glances at three or four houses would ensure striking chords of uniform decor to the observer. It is endeavored to highlight this style here.

This section deals in division of houses with regard to decorative perspective, so as to acquaint the reader with an overall descriptive view of the interior decorative style as well. From such a decorative standpoint, a house can be spatially divided into two portions. The '*baithek*' and the 'inner house'.

This interior spatial segregation is in keeping with the communal concept of *pardah* in Islamic Ideology. Interaction with the inner house is restricted to strangers, especially men. so when such a guest comes along he is taken to the '*baithek*' where he is entertained by the male members of the household. Hence such accommodation enhances the separation required by the concept of *Purdah*. The following is a brief description of these two sections:

3.3 - 1 BAITHEK:

While the inner house is appropriately decorated, the '*baithek*' is always in apple pie order. As its doors are open to all people it is decorated to represent one's status. It articulates a stylized representation of the concerned household's aesthetics. It entertains all signs of the cultural world. As one man of the community put it "*its an effort to make visitors feel comfortable and welcome*". They believe that it is most important to make the '*baithek*' appear beautiful because "*beauty is a source of perpetual pleasure, so when a guest is to enter a room full of objects exhibiting beauty his heart would rejoice and mood be merry.*" The '*baithek*' is therefore brightly decorated with items that provide color such as paintings, flowers, embroidered cloth, etc.

Although such objects are also used to decorate the inner house, the '*baithek*' contains them in larger quantities. It is endeavored to reserve the best quality of everything for this room. Those who could afford it had carpets in their '*Baithek*' also. Everything from the walls to the ceiling, floor, door and windows of this room are embellished and decorated in one form or another. Plate # 13 & 14 (as shown on next page), Portray the decorative treatment of *Baitheks* as prevalent in the community. The first one however contains a dining table which is rather rare. It was observed that only those houses which maintained strong links with the city had a dining table installed in their *Baitheks*.

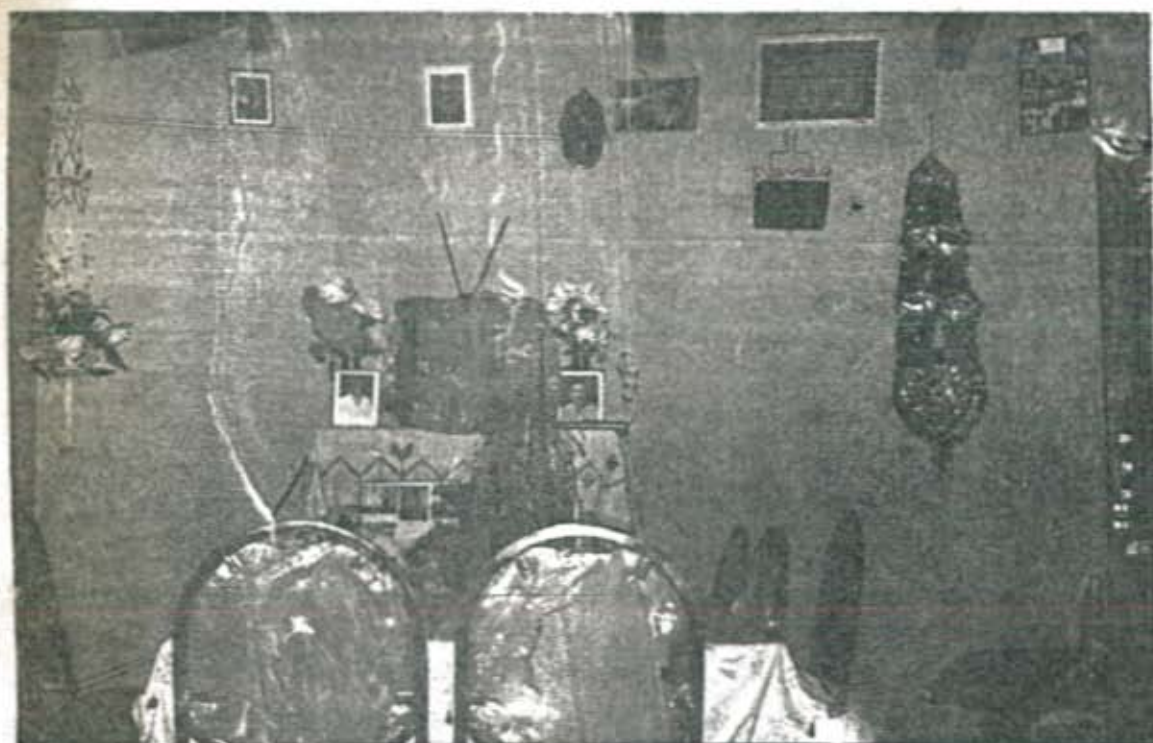


Plate # 13 A *Baithek* featuring a dining table

The second plate # 14 shows beds and chairs covered in printed cloth and other decorative elements arranged on the walls as commonly displayed in the drawing rooms.

Plate # 14 General view of another *Baithek*



A *Baithek* usually features pictures, furniture especially beds, a transistor radio or television set (if affordable), tiled floor, and other objects like flowers, clock, crockery showcase, etc.

3.3 - 2 INNER HOUSE:

Man has an unconscious desire to lean towards all that is lovely. This very emotion motivates him to enhance the look of even the most prosaic and ordinary objects of daily life. Embellished with a repertoire of design and color, such objects become a source of pleasure. They speak with muted voice of the aesthetic preferences of the owners.

In the research village, traces of an attempt to beautify the inner house was also observable. However as compared to the *baithek*, this section of the house features a more casual attitude towards precision in related decor. As it is allowed only to relatives and close friends hence it is not so extensively decorated as depicted in Plate # 15.

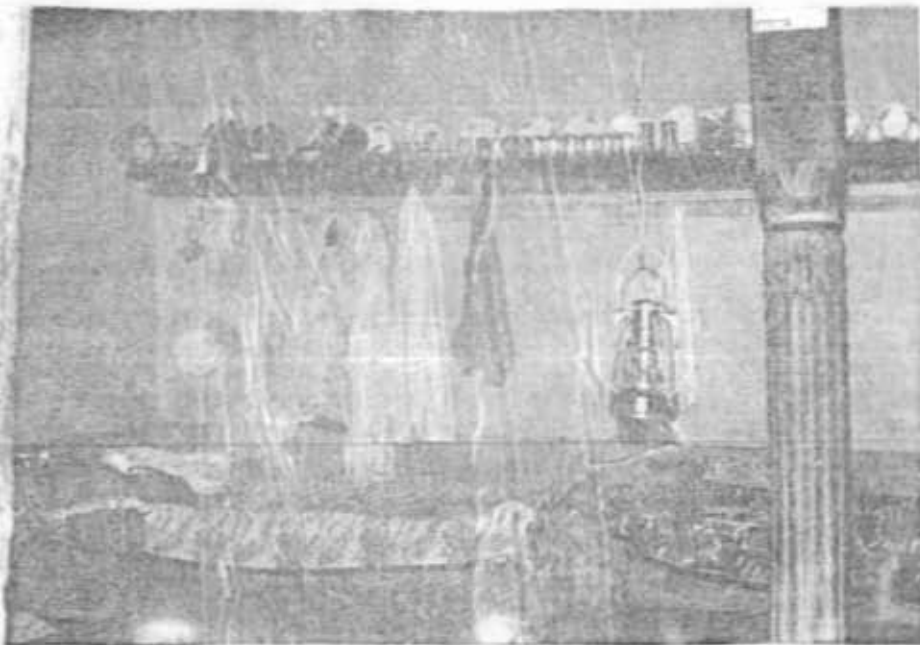


Plate # 15 Prevalent order of the inner house

A few pictures or objects lining the wall here and there is the common practice. The *Sofa* contains a *Kans* and a *thum*. The *kans* is usually covered with a colorful or embroidered cloth, displaying a number of crockery items symmetrically placed. These utensils are the very best of the collection and reserved for special occasions only. The *thum* (refer to Plate # 2) standing in the center of the room is painted in different colors for an aesthetic effect. In some of the *katcha* houses, ornate door posts were also painted in a similar manner. The floor may possess a design quality (See Plate # 9 & 10) and window glass (See Plate # 4) may also be of different color. Occupying the room are a number of beds, which are covered with similar bed sheets indicating a desire for symmetry. Trunks placed one above the other are also covered in special cloth cases. The *Aagi wala Andar* is adorned with all sorts of utility utensils arranged in order. Plate # 16 is a good example of this room's common arrangements.

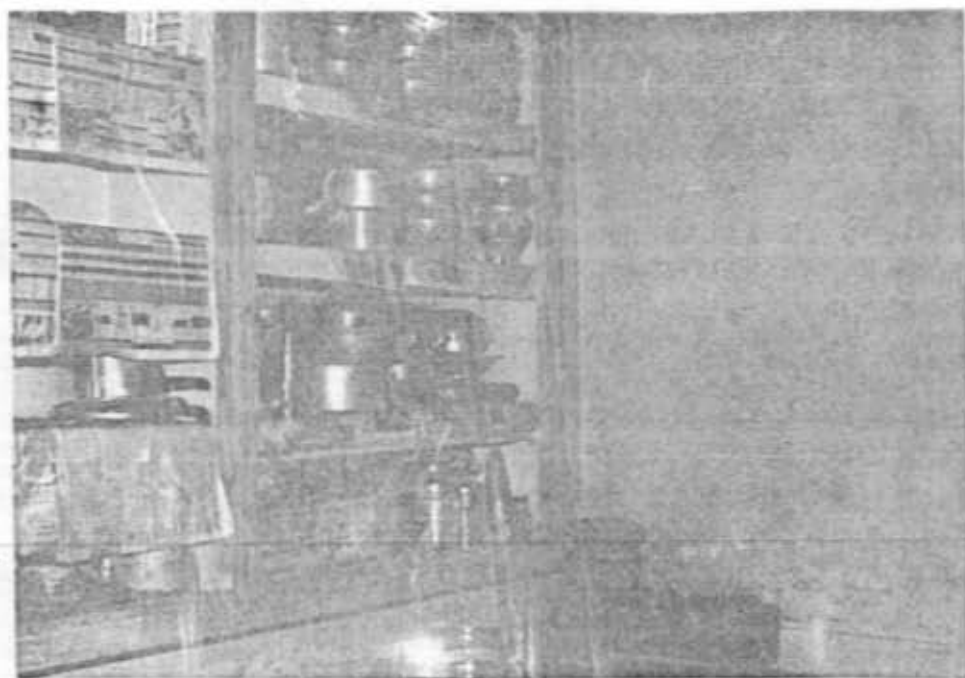


Plate # 16 *Aagi Wala Andar* - Kitchen

Similar objects of daily use are commonly found in different houses thereby establishing aesthetic harmony. Apparently, design quality of such object seems important to satiate their local aesthetic tastes. Plate # 17 shows this one particular print of big size roses entwining a stem, seen in as many as twenty-two different houses spread all over the village.

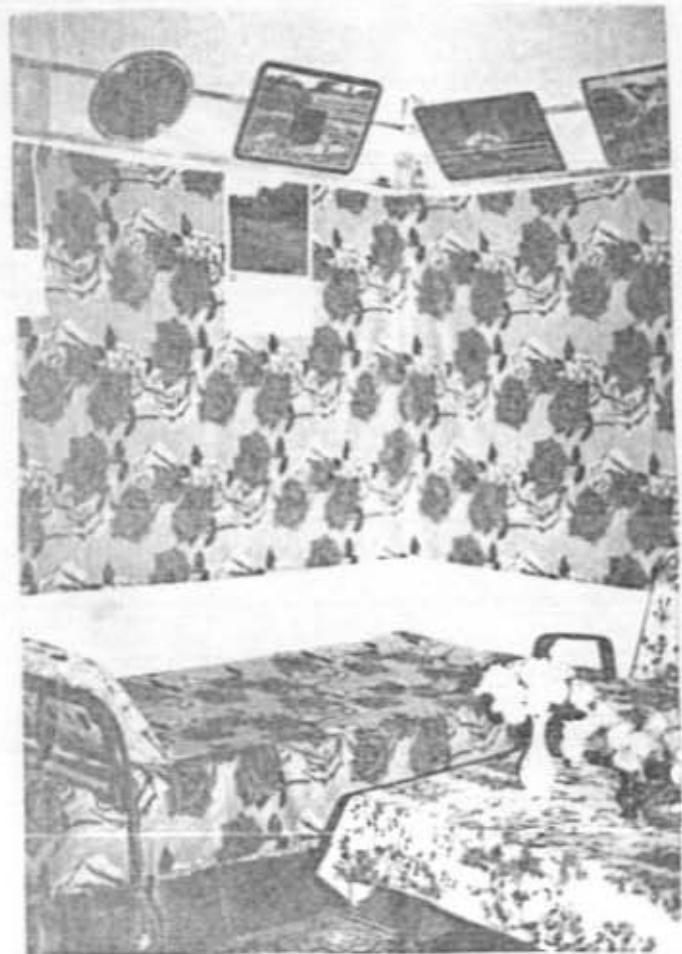


Plate # 17 A very commonly repeated motif on cloth

Generally people are very much aware of the changing styles and aesthetics, and when decorating a house care is taken to make it conform to the existing standards of aesthetics in vogue.

3.4 ELEMENTS OF DECORATION:

Repeated use of decorative objects may be conceived of as a style which projects the inner form of collective aesthetic values. In using these objects for aesthetic purpose, the people of Kiyah are practicing art through an unconscious

effort, which is evident in the luxuriance arrangement of their decor determining their aesthetic tastes.

Indigenous homogeneity in the assortment of beauty exhibited in the repertoire of objects allows latitude for chalking certain elements of decor. The following table provides data concerning these elements.

S #	ITEMS OF HOUSE DECORATION.	% OF USAGE.
1.	RELIGIOUS DECOR	95%
2.	PICTURES & PHOTOS OF FAMILY, FRIENDS AND SCENERY.	74%
3.	PICTURES OF ANIMALS.	30%
4.	WEDDING GARLANDS, BUNTINGS AND CONFETTI ETC.	40%

TABLE 3.1

Source: QUESTIONNAIRE

These statistics marshal the evidence of common place usage of such objects in decoration. In every instance, they stand out prominently catching the eye and leading the viewer to discover the emphasis attached to them.

In what follows ahead is an elaborate discussion of these elements with regard to preferences in usage. Mention will be made of different age and gender groups in capturing their views on the elements under consideration.

3.4-1 RELIGIOUS DECOR:

Such decor includes anything from pictures of various Mosques, the

Kabah to calligraphic verses of the *Quran* in various shapes and sizes as shown in plate # 18.



Plate # 18 Religious decor in *Baithek*

It is represented on a wide variety of materials ranging from cloth to paper, plastic, steel and china. As it speaks of strong bondage with religion hence it is displayed and placed where ever pleased. Both the *baithek* and inner house adorn it. In any case, due respect is attributed to it as such pictures and verses are always placed at a high place. Hence with regard to prestige it is held in high esteem. Such treatment meted out to it portrays strong symbolism attached to religious faith. To quote a respondent of the community, " *I have put up such things all over my house so that when I get too involved in worldly matters and forget about my creator, just one look at such pictures reminds me to think of him and thank him*". Another person explained, " *It is a means of instillation of love and inculcating reverence for God Almighty in ourselves and our children.*"

When asked to elaborate their opinion about such decoration 86% of people unanimously talked about it with reverence and benevolence. There were about 14% who openly admitted that they did not find such decor very appealing yet even their houses contained such elements. A total of 95% people are using it in their houses for religious cum aesthetic reasons. This element by far pre - dominates all others.

3.4 - 2 SECULAR IMAGES:

Next in gradation of use are various pictures of friends, family or natural sceneries decorating the dwelling. They may just be ordinary colorful scenes cut from newspaper, magazines or large size posters expensively picture framed.

Such images are used simply for aesthetic reasons. They are commonly found in paper medium. Such images are very rarely depicted on cloth. Despite religious taboos associated with them they are found in abundance. Nonetheless, a lot of people of the older generation spoke against such treatment of the human image saying that it is shunned by religion. Such images are either hung on the walls or arranged on a table or show case. In Plate # 19, an array of secular images are found lined on a wall.

Plate # 19 An array of secular images.



As is evident from table 3.1 a total of 74% people are using them. Following is a brief description of various types of secular images being used.

i) **SCENERIES:**

Scenes of natural beauty for example the mountains, the sky, the sun and Sea, etc. are much appreciated and commonly in use. It does not matter how they are displayed but it is essential that they be represented in one form or another. It may be a scene from an old calendar or a page torn from a book but it is decorated in much anticipation of lending beauty to its surroundings. In a couple of houses, entire walls of rooms were covered with such sceneries. The *baithek* essentially contains these pictures. Plate # 20 illustrates a large size scenery covering the entire wall of a drawing room.

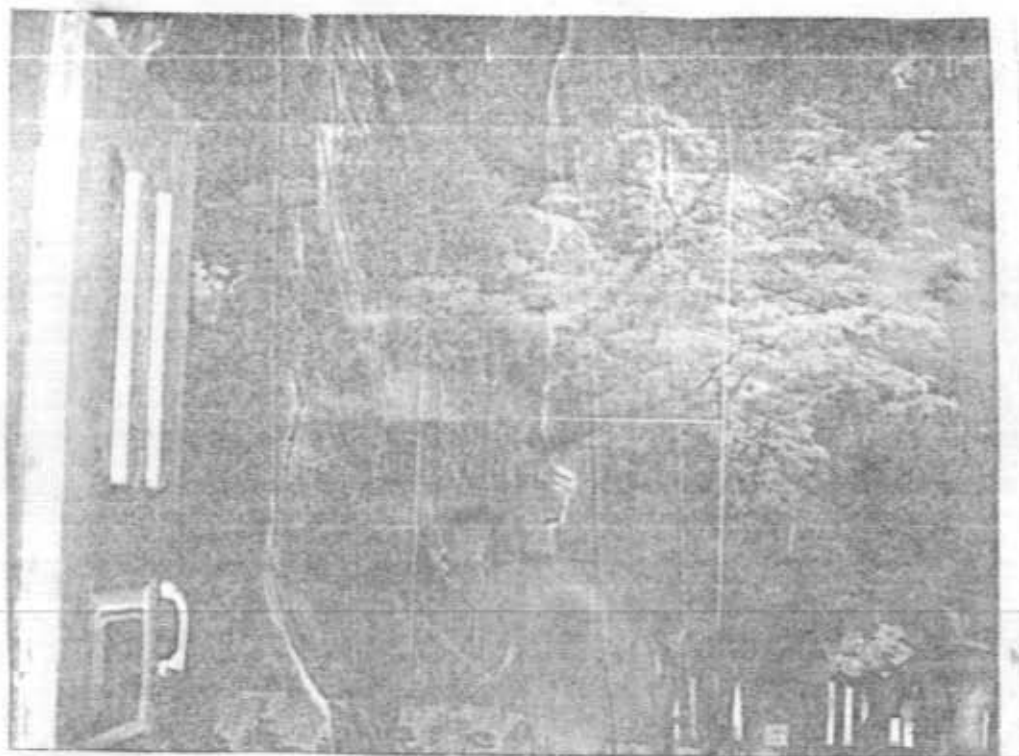


Plate # 20 Large scenery covering the entire wall.

There is really no restriction to their placement as the use of such pictures is not denounced by religion. They are favored by both young and old. In response to a question 53% of people said they prefer displaying Scenery to all other images.

ii) PHOTOGRAPHS:

These come with a lot of expenses. It is in fashion to have ones photo taken in a studio which is developed in a larger than average size and framed elaborately before being put up for display. Such pictures as decorated in a *Baithek* of a local house can be seen in Plate # 21.

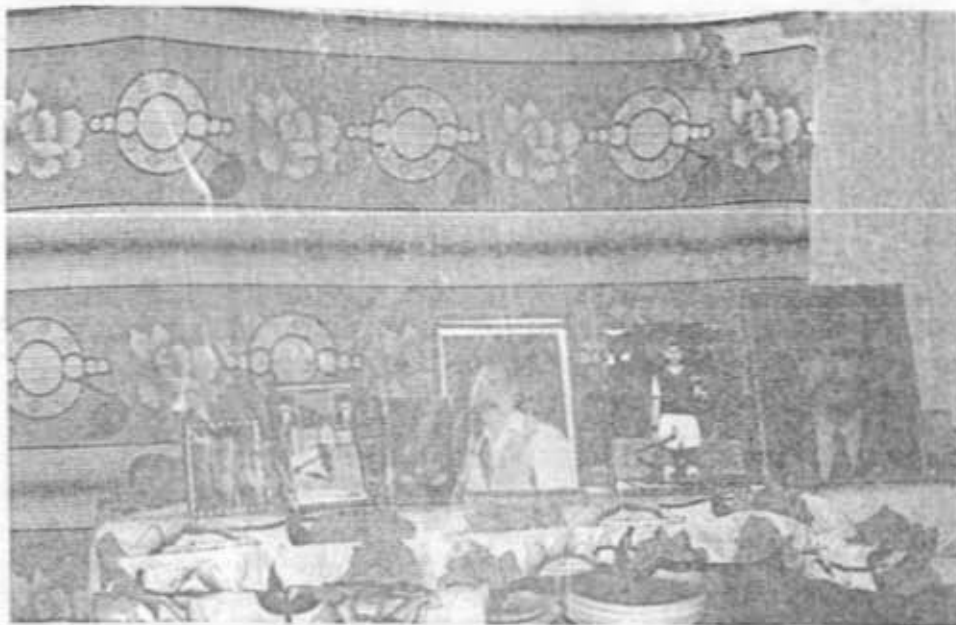


Plate # 21 Display of family / friends photos

Similar treatment is awarded to infant images as well. Although wedding garlands may be in use to symbolize a wedding, the actual pictures of the wedding are for some reasons never displayed. For that matter even pictures of females are never displayed. During the entire research period I did not come

across a single house displaying either of the two categories of the pictures mentioned.

Male Family members, especially those who are away from home are remembered at all times through their displayed photos. Pictures of such members occasionally show them in full uniform speaking of their achievement and rank in occupation (see Plate # 21). They are placed mainly in the *baithek*. Where ever prayers are offered representation of such images is forbidden. While the younger generation eagerly poses before the Camera to preserve their image to be decorated in their houses, the older generation frowns upon such concepts. Preferential representation of such images decreases with increase in age.

iii) ANIMAL SCENES:

Various animal pictures are also found and adorned by 30% of the sampled population. In this context Plate # 22 depicts a poster of dogs engaged in furious hunting activity flanked on either sides by smaller posters of peaceful and calm kittens. Such pictures are more popular among young men who are fond of hunting. Females of the same age group approved only of peaceful portrayal of animals while those of older age group showed a dislike towards any such pictures.



Plate # 22 Animals scenes portrayed in a *Baithek*

3.4-3 WEDDING GARLANDS, BUNTINGS AND COLORFUL CONFETTI:

Such elements mark the event of a happy occasion. At the outset of such a festive occasion, the concerned area of the house is elaborately decorated with all sorts of colorful buntings and confetti. This decoration remains in its place long after the function is over. In spite of faded colors it is not removed as it bears witness to the occasion for which it was put up. A symbolic connotation is attached to it. Plate # 23 illustrates such decorative elements crowning a wedding bed. Gold and silver garlands are hung on the background walls.



Plate # 23 Colorful buntings & confetti surmounting the wedding bed.

Garlands of gold and silver color are hung on the walls of both the *baithek* and inner house. Such garlands are gifted to each other on happy occasions, e.g. on a return journey from pilgrimage or on weddings, etc... It is interesting to note that garlands bestowed upon a groom, hung on the walls were disliked and

not approved of by 40 of the 50 people questioned. Such practices were attributed to the contrastive life style of *Kammis* found in the village. Similar garlands, however, presented for other reasons are proudly displayed. Hence it is for what they symbolize that they are decorated, e.g. one respondent told me, "*The Kammis decorate such things to showoff. I do not like that at all*" but when looking round her house I observed a similar garland hung on her wall, too. On inquiring about it I was told that it was gifted to her husband on his arrival from pilgrimage, hence proudly displayed.

3.4-4 MISCELLANEOUS:

Apart from the major elements discussed, other objects furnished to beautify a house are also in use. These include flowers, furniture covers, cups and trophies, toys, wall cloth, *Macramé*, vases and clocks. In this regard, Plate # 24 shows such objects as displayed in a *baithek*.

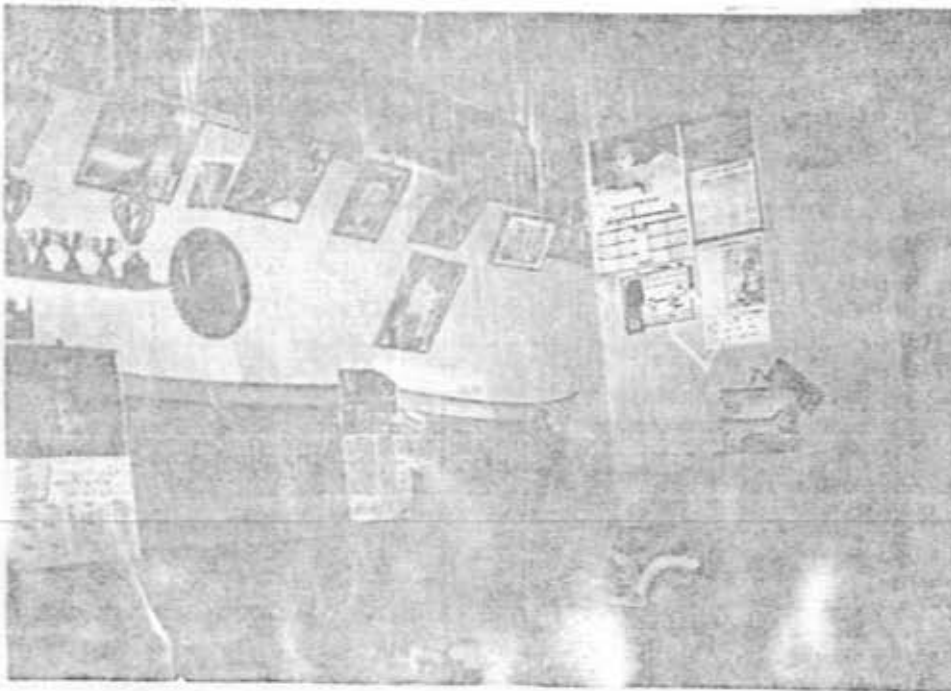


Plate # 24 General placement of decorative elements.

Notice the order of decor is such that, the top most line consists chiefly of religious pictures followed by secular ones.' A toy duck' and trophies are also prominent. Communicating aesthetic interests real flowers self planted in colorfully painted pots lining the *behrak* or *besaar* are also found in abundance. Plate # 25 represents flowers as used in a *baithek*. The rose or *gulaab* is commonly displayed. It is the most appreciated, as its image is also represented in plastic and paper.



Plate # 25 Use of flowers as object of decoration.

Females at school are sometimes taught how to make artificial flowers in colorful paper medium. Once the art is mastered, bunches upon bunches are made to be put up in vases or *macramé* for decorative motives. It is the beauty exhibited by these flowers which inspires the popular floral motifs on items as discovered and discussed in chapter four.

Furniture is a basic element of utility, its beauty is enhanced by use of

various colorful cloth, tailored in the exact shape to cover it. Everything from beds to cushions and sofas or chair backs are covered thus. It is noted that care is taken to repeat and match similar colors.

In houses where infants abound, it is observed that toy animals or dolls are put up for display in the *Baitheks* especially. Similarly, silver cups or trophies won in sports, etc. decorate the *baitheks* of some houses. Such objects symbolize and tell of the status of different household members.

Macramé and vases (see plate # 13) are also frequently used. They are made of varied colors and designs. In some instances *macramé's* and the flowers put in them are made by female members of the household. Thirty-five of the fifty respondents held such objects important in decor of their dwellings.

Wall cloth (see plate # 17) tantamount to wall paper is yet another element of decoration. One look at it confirms the users desire to break the monotony of the wall's color. Its use justifies the aesthetic urge to beautify all parts of a room.

The *baithek* is kept closed and not used for daily purposes. It is opened only to welcome and accommodate guests. Yet a clock which is an essential element of everyday life is found in this room only. Perhaps it is considered to be more so an object of beauty than one of utility.

In evaluating the house decor of village *kiyah* in this chapter, I am concerned with house as an art form or art gallery. It is endeavored to discover aesthetic tastes in the community's carefully planed monotonous decorative style of house. It is found that virtuosity in aesthetic expression is not only maintained via display of decorative adornments but also managed through use of a wide variety of media. These numerous media (i.e., wood, plastic, steel,

earth, etc.) of decorative adornments bring new perspective to a house structure, serving a function of creating an illusion of enhancing the basic form. Such conditioning of aesthetic forms express cultural form.

In the vestigial course of the growth and spread of man's habitat considerable evidence is found to substantiate his inherent impulse of making his ambience measure up to his aesthetic standards. Aestheticism, despite its non-utilitarian functions, is an intrinsic part and parcel of human life. It is one of man's basic needs to acquire some sort of shelter which is almost always followed by an urge to enhance its structural beauty. The desire to embellish and adorn one's dwelling dates as far back to the ancient cavemen. House decorative pattern of any community are a statement of its respective aesthetic values. Consequently, the symbolic aesthetics of house decor can be looked upon as part of a total system of communication within cultures.

Further more the subsequent uniformity discovered in house decorative patterns of *kiyah* is of vital concern in reaching to a conclusion on the research at hand. This uniformity is taken as a baseline from where to penetrate into the cultural fabric of the village. Probing beneath the surface, various aesthetic notions which speak of striking uniformity in preferential, usage become a recurring theme of the following chapter four.

CHAPTER 4

EMERGENT AESTHETIC PATTERNS

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

In the preceding chapter, a detailed ethnographic mention is made of the existing visual art of decorations at the time of the research. In circumspect, this chapter features the essence of an analytical standpoint of thought. Phrased in a more skeptical vein, it highlights the researcher's understanding of the situation at hand. Bringing house decor into the realm of meaning, it is attempted here to probe

beneath the surface in discerning the preferential features which serve as the determinants of aesthetic values, apparently contributing to uniformity.

4.2 EMERGING PATTERNS:

Under close scrutiny, major constellations of evidence revealed the emergence of subsequent patterns. Equipped with evincing data these patterns yield insight into local aesthetic patterns of decor. Demanding due consideration, each of these patterns are discussed under separate headings in what follows ahead.

4.2-1 MOTIFS:

Desire for change is a pervasive force behind a variety of decorative motifs. Although many design categories abound in the area, floral motifs outnumber all others in each individual case. In some mediums (such as wood), however, heavily worked whimsical floral designs of the past are simplified to depict a category of geometric motifs which is fast gaining popularity. A third very rare, to the point of being extinct, is a category of figural motifs.

As regards local aesthetic preference in decorative motifs even the most ordinary objects of use may be embellished with designs. In an interview with an elderly woman of the community I was told, *"In today's fashionable world its the designs people buy not quality. Even though the same thing in plain may cost a lot less, they will pay more money just to get one with a design or print"*

It is unfathomable to leave a bed or pillow uncovered in the presence of a guest. Both have to be covered in one of the lively floral prints in fashion. Similarly while for average daily use simple and plain utensils may be in use, before a guest only designed ones are displayed. Forty of the fifty respondents questioned gave an

affirmative response towards this treatment of designed objects being reserved for guests only. It is no hard and fast rule yet such practices prevail commonly indicating a heavy premium on aesthetic trend towards motifs.

In casual discussions I noted that some people advocated "*simplicity and a dislike for elaborate designs*" quoting Islamic values, yet the objects which they possessed did not confirm their statements. Another woman in reply to a question of whether she would be willing to pay more for design quality of an object said she would do so even if it meant having to borrow money. She justified herself by adding further, "*If I am to pay and buy a long lasting object for decorative purposes than the element of design on it is a must as it would enhance its beauty*"

In chapter III pictures taken from various houses in *kiyah* represent diversified use of motifs on doors, windows, ceilings and even floors. The three preferred motifs identifiable with the community, derived from certain constituent categories of art, are discussed as follows:-

i) FLORAL CATEGORY:

In discovering the uniform style a penchant was observed for flowing floral patterns and leaf ensembles sometimes entwined round stems. Such motifs reflect an inspiration of nature and are found in large quantity.

Figure 2 Some common floral themes

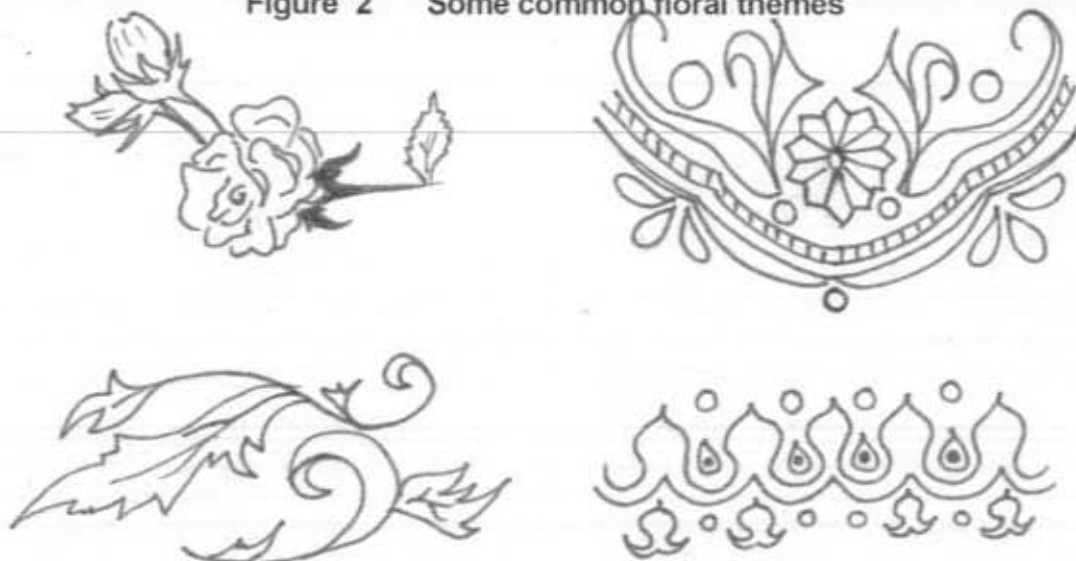


Plate # 26 Various objects in floral designs



Flowers seem to be a favorite of the community and are constantly repeated in dress, crockery, jewelry and architectural decorations. Whether its on the wall in picture form or on cloth in varying shapes, size and color its presence is by all means predominant.

While some preferred them in the gardens only others did so all over the house but there was not a single person who did not consider flowers attractive. They embellish each dwelling in one form or another. Out of the ten randomly chosen houses eight of them adorned floral motifs in excessive quantities on household items while seven of them had real flowers planted in pots kept in the *besaar* or in the gardens.

Interchangibility has led to unanimous repetition of floral motifs in different materials. I was told by Mr. *Atta Ullah*, my key informant, that in olden days it was

customary for every woman to master the art of embroidery and crochet.⁵ The theme of this art would always be floral motifs. Plate # 27 shows floral motifs in crochet and embroidery form on cloth.



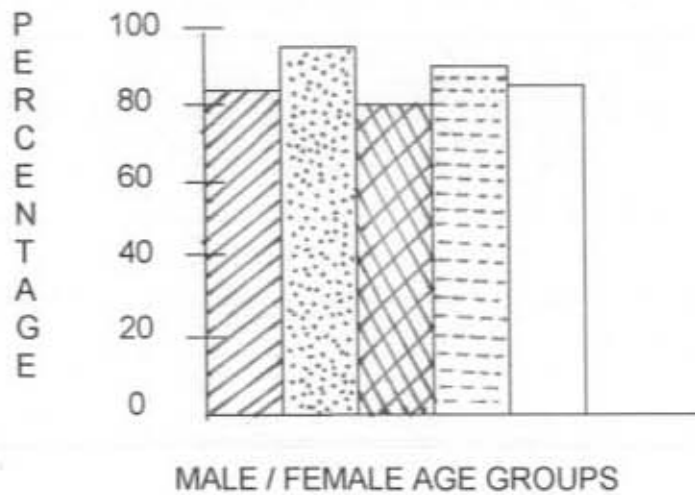
Plate # 27 Crochet and embroidery in floral theme

As time progressed and women became engaged in other activities, they were left with no time on their hands for such fine art but they still yearned for floral motifs. With the advent of industrialization, floral prints of all sorts were produced in massive quantities. As it is much easier to buy them than to tediously embroider or crochet them, hence such prints won popularity in use. I noticed exact similar printed bed sheets in so many houses, that it felt as if those prints were manufactured exclusively for this community only. Such uniformity in large scale usage of floral motifs can be attributed to an aftermath of modernization and easy access.

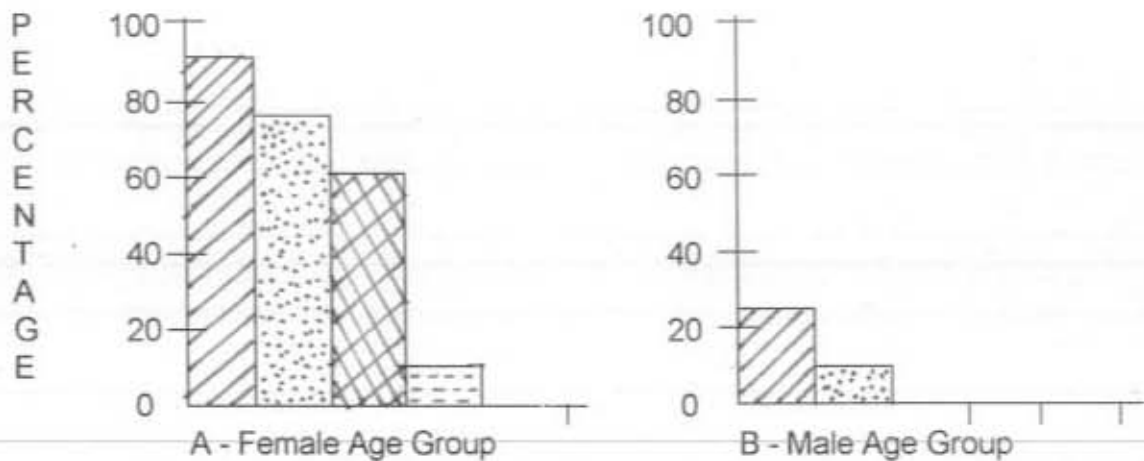
Although women restrict themselves to wearing big floral motifs at a young age only, outrageously huge floral prints are preferred and used by women of all

⁵ Appertaining to this a survey was carried out which showed that every three out of five women belonging to age group forty-five and above either knew how to embroider or crochet or could do both.

ages to decorate furniture and other utensils in their homes. On asking elderly women why they would not care to don such prints themselves, most of them would burst out laughing and say that society would never approve of such practices and that they would be mocked. Similarly men of all ages are forbidden use of such prints.



GRAPH 4.1 PREFERENTIAL USE OF FLORAL MOTIFS ON HOUSEHOLD ITEMS



GRAPH 4.2 PREFERENTIAL USE OF FLORAL MOTIFS ON CLOTHES

KEY in Yr	
12 - 24	25 - 34
35 - 44	45 - 54
55 & Above	

A study of graph 4.1 reveals that preferential usage of floral motifs on household items for display remains relatively equal with both male and female genders irrespective of increase in age. But however Graph 4.2 illustrates that when it comes to wearing floral motifs preferential usage decreases sharply with increase in age. As religion shuns such practice for males, only the first category of boys aged 15 - 25 Yr. show a marked lean towards it. For women of older age group it is a cultural taboo to wear such motifs. Because of so much inhibitions and restrictions on the use of such motifs on one's body, the people choose to carry out their heart's desires elsewhere and consequently end up displaying a lot of floral motifs on household items.

In response to a question of preference of floral, geometric or abstract motifs on certain items in household use, a vast majority of 88% inclined towards floral category in crockery, bed sheets, chairs, table and cornice cloth or plastic covers especially.

While such motifs are used for possessing innate aesthetic values along one dimension, they also possess utility along another for example, as *kheswar* a 28 year old woman put it, "*I like big colorful flowers in print on my furniture as such prints do not get dirty very quickly*".

As there are no religious taboos associated with adornment of such motifs, their representation knows no limits. Use of floral motifs capacitates aesthetic desires within the realm of religious beliefs therefore it is also displayed in mosques.

Mutual influence⁶ or borrowing from wood and cloth has led to such motifs being adopted in various mediums ranging from plastic to earthenware to china and basketry. Floral sprays on any material confer the most prestige in aesthetic taste.

⁶ Concept taken from A. Rowe's study documented in "Anthropology of cloth" written by Schneider Ann. Rev. Anthropol. 1987 16: 409-48

Such motifs are by far the apogee of these people, as summarized in the words of respondent Asia Bibi, *"floral motifs are composed of flowers which are a source of beauty and joy, my house would be very empty without them"*.

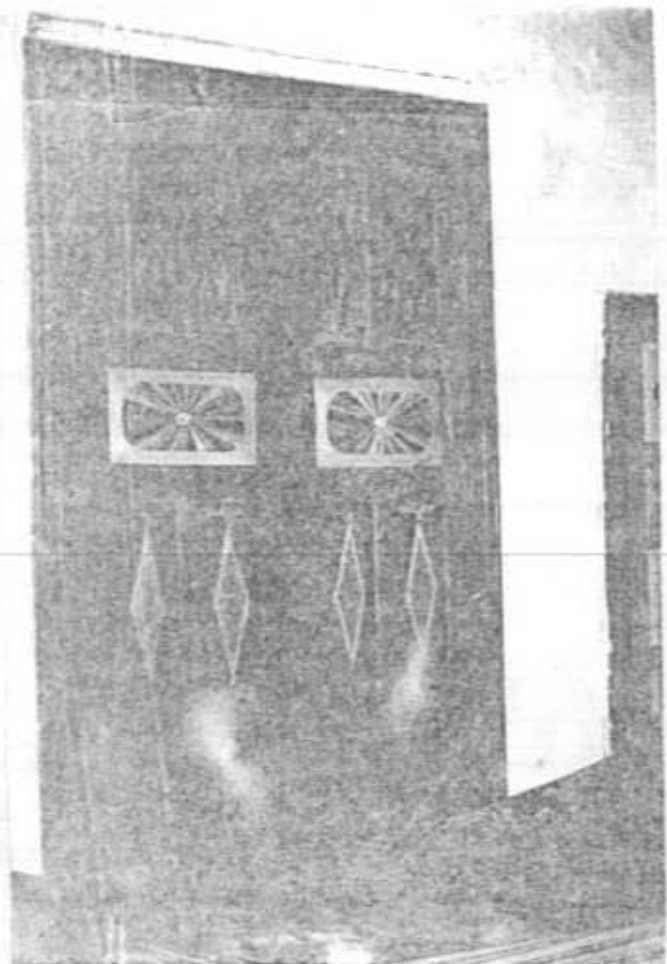
ii) GEOMETRIC CATEGORY:

Geometric designs are also inspired by nature's symmetry. Such patterns depict an impressionistic approach towards nature's original design. An element of precision is found in rendering and treatment of such motifs.

In the community under research, predominant traces of geometric motifs were noticed on some particular objects only, e.g. doors, metal railings and floor tiles. Such motifs on cloth were neither preferred very much nor in use. Forty-four of the fifty respondents questioned showed disregard for wearing any of the three geometric prints⁷ shown to them. Wherever there were metal railings at the edge of

a roof, they were always incised in geometric designs only. One of the most commonly repeated geometric designs in metal is illustrated in Plate # 6. Carpenters who made doors insisted and had the people convinced that geometrically carved motifs are in fashion. Consequently such motifs largely adorn not only wooden but also iron doors and windows installed in houses. Plate # 28

Plate # 28, A cupboard painted and carved in geometric patterns.



⁷ See appendix

depicts a cupboard with geometrically carved motifs painted in different colors.

Dots, checkers and lines of various thickness abound on crockery. Data processed in response to preference of design on crockery shows that 70.5% of the people who did not prefer too much flowing floral motifs settled for static geometric ones calling them '*simple*'. Such patterns woven in colorful shades were also found on baskets, etc. The presence of such a category of motifs may be perceived as symbolic of change in times and aesthetic tastes in keeping with patterns of modernity.

iii) FIGURAL MOTIFS:

As body representation is anathematized in Islam, such motifs are therefore avoided. It is believed one cannot offer prayers before any sort of figural motif display. They are considered pagan and are frowned upon. As mentioned earlier photo's of family and friends (see plate # 21) are widely in use for decorative purposes but to have a figural print on cloth is very rare. 94.5% of the respondents showed considerable disregard for all three of the figural ⁸ motifs shown to them. I saw only two such examples, one where cartoon figures adorned the beds and sofas of a woman who had been married for fourteen years and did not have children perhaps she is nourishing the child in her. In the other instance, there were minute peacocks hidden in branches adorning some beds in a room. The head of the household was serving abroad and it was on one of his trips home that he had brought these bed sheets to be used, although his parents disapproved of them his wife refused to discard them.

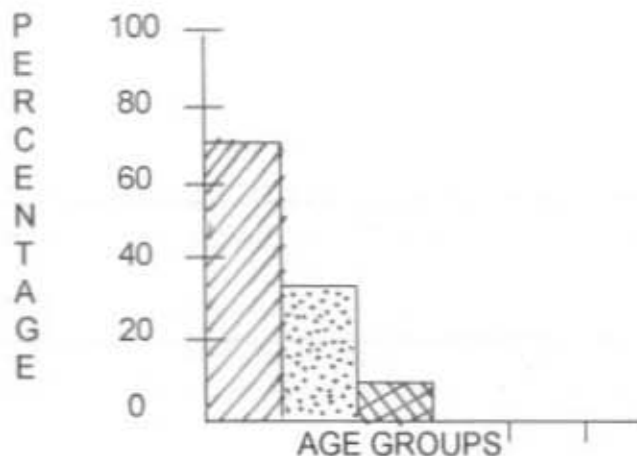
It can be concluded, in the end, that design quality of objects is important to satisfy their aesthetic urge, 65% as against 35% said when buying household items

⁸ See appendix

they give a lot of importance to motifs as it serves decorative purposes while 40% said they would be willing to pay more for a design they like.

4.2-2 COLOR:

With the focus group many colors have been identified as part of a frequented pattern in use. The people are familiar with a wide spectrum of color range. Representation of color knows no adherence to any strict restrictions or limitations to the extreme extent of discarding its use altogether. Colors which are considered socially intolerable to some cultures may be taken in stride and held in esteem by others. Anthropologically such behavior encourages interpretation. Like wise in *Kiyah* taboos are attached in the field of donning color on one's body where it is advocated to do so in conformity with age and gender (Graph 4.3 illustrates this). Social pressures manifested in the collective will of society work to maintain equilibrium in its use in the architectural realm also.



GRAPH 4.3 USE OF BRIGHT COLORS ON CLOTHES BY AGE AND GENDER

KEY in Yr	
12 - 24	25 - 34
35 - 44	45 - 54
55 & Above	

Color plays a significant function and is manifested in all cultures. It is an expressive media of thought which is more concerned with aesthetic results than anything else. Aesthetic values induce people to prefer using certain colors over others. Such dynamics pertain to the syntax of color as it transmits an aroma of attempting enhanced beauty.

Until a house in *Kiyah* is painted in the standard colors, it remains incomplete for its owner. Importance of color on dwellings can be judged by the fact that every four out of ten house holds white wash their houses annually, while the remaining do so after a period of two years.

As the years take their toll, personal use of bright color decreases indicative of a social death. Despite such concepts 53.5% of the higher age group (33-44 years) questioned, chose bright colors in house decor irrespective of age. This information serves as a practical demonstration of how art takes potentially disruptive impulses and rechannels them into socially acceptable direction.

Pink is a favorite of the concerned people and is even replacing red with the brides. In fact wherever I was served custard it was always pink more so for the color than the flavor, while 68% of the houses are painted blue or green, 30% of the people wished it could be pink or something else more bright but feared ridicule from the community. The following cases will cut a clear picture of the notion suggested above:-

CASE 1:

Shahid a thirty-two yr. old man was preparing for his wedding. With the help of hired masons, friends and relatives he renovated and repainted his house. He had doors and windows painted pink in keeping with the

festive mood that the occasion so demanded. But however this act of the groom to be was met with a lot of mocking response from the community . The following plate # 29 shows the doors and windows in glistening, wet pink paint.

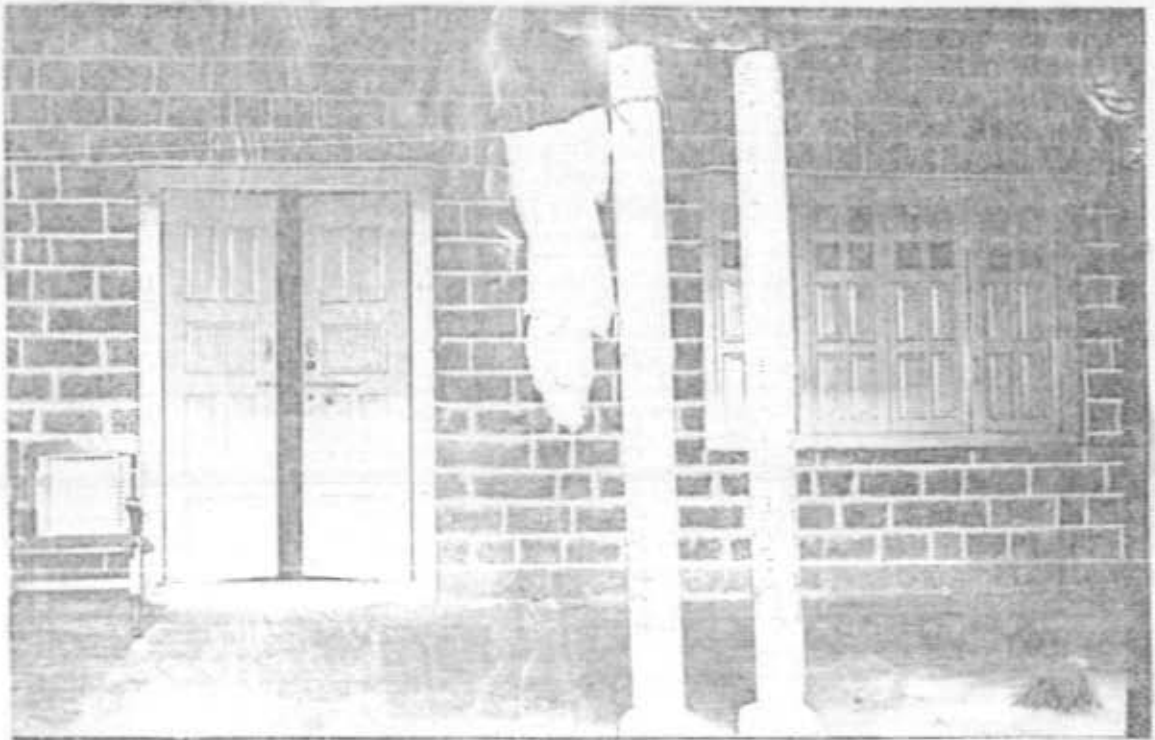


Plate # 29 Glistening pink paint on exterior doors and windows.

CASE 2:

Muqaddas Bibi lives in a secluded part of the village. There are only three other houses there and the place is known as *Lehri*. She, too has had her doors and wooden windows painted pink. Apparently, for some reason the larger village has maintained a social boycott with this woman and her family. Also due to difficulty in access to the area, her act of having pink color painted on her dwelling went somewhat unnoticed. To evaluate this act in the social context, I informed a few of my respondents about it. The ensuing

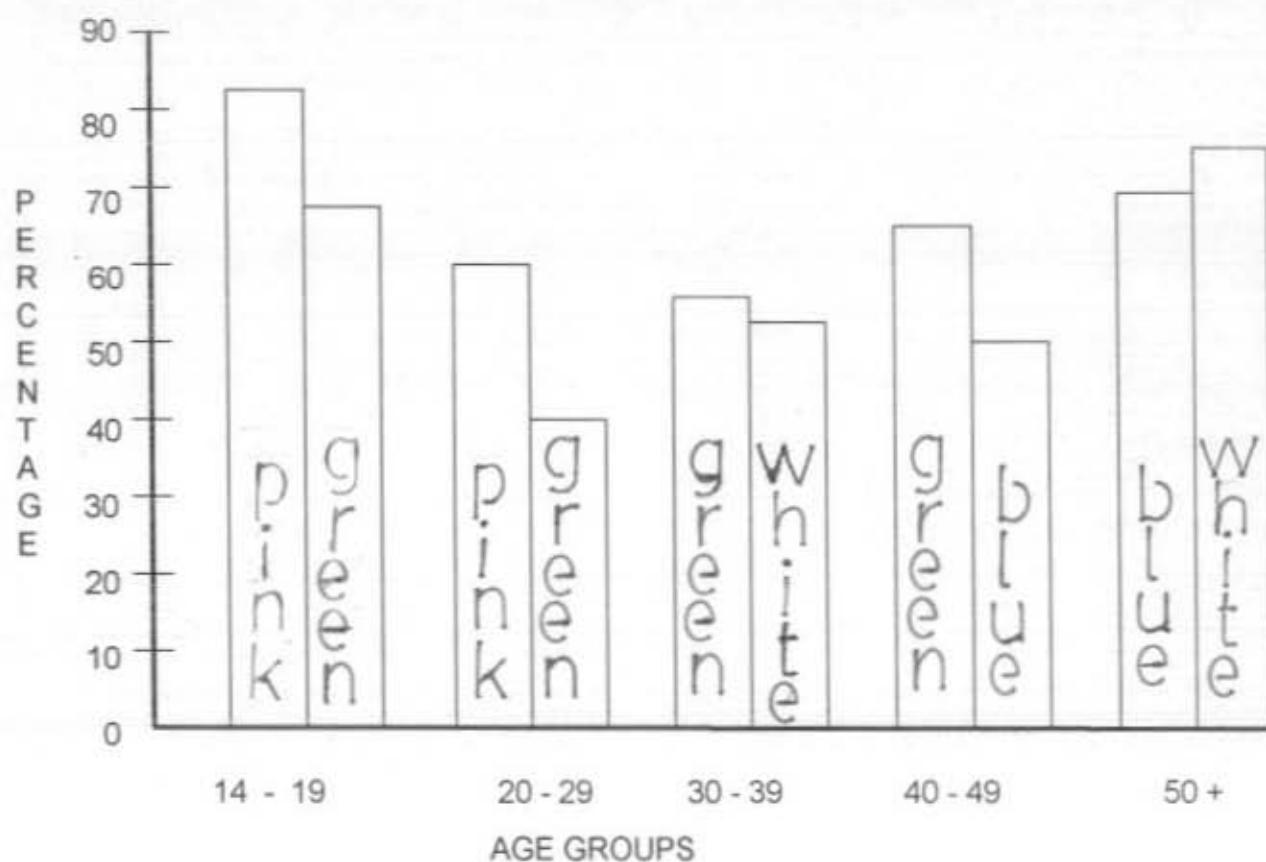
responses were not at all positive. Given the social position that she enjoyed, she was more mocked than in the above case. Plate # 30 illustrates the doors and windows on the interior of her house in the said color.



Plate # 30 Pink in the interior house.

On asking people to picture themselves in a situation of setting out to buy a refrigerator only to find an exact replica, but lacking the desired color, 60% of them said they would continue looking elsewhere despite being spent and weary, in hope of finding the right color too. This example is suggestive of the fact that color plays a somewhat important role in their decision to buy a product for their house.

As observable in Graph 4.4 (shown on next page), the appeal of Pink color paint is experienced by majority of the younger age groups ranging from 14 - 29 yr. Age groups 30 and onwards do not cherish the use of this color. Green, Blue and White do best with the older age groups.



GRAPH 4.4 PREFERENTIAL COLORS OF HOUSE DECOR.

These colors i.e.; blue, green and the much preferred pink are drawn from nature's gifted environs. Blue is the color of the sky, green is predominant in natural vegetational growth and pink locally termed *Ghulaabi* derived from the word *ghulaab*, which is the rose flower.

4.2-3 SYMMETRY:

The arrangement of their house decor transmits an aura of liking for symmetry. Aesthetic values induce them to follow such downplay of symmetrical representation.

Symmetry is preferred and displayed as a major pattern in the area of house decorations. Aesthetics of any room is bracketed within the matrix of symmetry. Obviously, such claims of systematic rhythmic commonalties encourage interpretations.

It is re-echoed evidently in the use of color and objects. Similar objects or similar sized objects are placed side by side to create harmony-e.g. flower vases on tables, wall hanging etc. Plate # 31 shows balance being maintained through symmetrical size and placement of various objects.



Plate # 31 Flower vases and wall hangings in rhythmic symmetry

Furniture is arranged opposite each other to create such effect and decorative elements are placed at equally spaced intervals. 79% of the people are using a darker shade of the wall color on their doors and windows, to create a

symmetrical impact. Such care and involvement in achieving symmetry is no accident and is obviously concerned with aesthetic results.

4.2-4 UPDATING WITH CURRENT TRENDS:

With the onward march of time, trends and patterns are tremendously effected. What was perceived as ugly in the past, may be accepted as beautiful with its inclusion in fashions of the present. It has become part of human nature to follow fashion. Everything is suited to meet the requirements of prevailing fashions.

Active involvement in fashion trends is also a pivotal pattern in aesthetics of the concerned community. Taken in stride is the use of modern fashion items for decoration, while outdated objects are discarded as in a way they become socially intolerable. A case study from the community will further help in grasping the importance attached to this aspect of aesthetics:

Case-1

Mr. Abass and two of his sons are doing jobs while he and one son are away in the military, the second son is serving abroad. His wife, two unmarried daughters, a third son and a daughter-in-law are living in the *Katcha* House, he inherited from his father. His sons felt incumbent to move with the fashionable trends and insisted that they make a modern *Pukkah* House. Today, their dream of owning a modern house, equipped with all the standard decor required for such a house is fulfilled but it remains vacant. They entertain only their formal guests in the *Pukkah* house. Their family is satisfied living in the ancestral *Katcha* house. The only reason they had the new house erected was so that they could up-date their family with present fashions.

Quite a few respondents admitted that they didn't like certain motifs depicted on items in their houses but had them there only because its considered fashionable to do so-e.g. common use of elaborate designed doors despite preference of simplicity.

83.3% of the people asked said they lean more towards 'what's in fashion' when choosing objects for house decor. Consequently *katcha* houses and its related '*thum*' (see plate # 2) and ornate door posts are no longer in demand. Today, these carved monolithic pillars are used as fire wood.

In identifying common themes in the data presented in chapter III, an approach at a detailed portrait of the underlying determinental aesthetic patterns of house decor in *Kiyah* is made in this chapter. The existence of a uniform style is confirmed through inference of repeated use of objects. For precision in characterizing style, objects are graded with respect to intensity in use by comparing to a standard picture as illustrated in chapter three. Data processed in the present chapter escalates a step further to present eminent uniformity in aesthetic aspect of house decor.

It is elucidated that, in the process of trying to acquire a house pattern that everyone else has, a co-occurring style is born. Only a handful of people follow their innovative desires, mainly due to fear of community's disapproval. They rather adapt to things which have been experimented upon and liked by all. such inhibitions of thought ultimately mold a majority opinion. The emergent aesthetic patterns discussed in this chapter harbor and give surface to this majority opinion which is portrayed as a statement writ large on each dwelling of the area. This striking uniformity is manifestation of the culture as a whole and serves as a visible sign of its unity.

It can be concluded that the bondage of uniformity in house decor

incorporates it as a symbolic process and from this stand point a speculative approach into the community's organizational set-up can be adopted. Drawing on such concepts the succeeding chapter features a conclusion, explaining how a sense of common kinship affiliation influences such monotonous standardized uniformity.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

In the process of discovering the underlying aesthetic patterns, a marked trend in similar usage of a series of decorative elements was observed. It was deduced that variations are few and standardization is the order of the day. Drawing on much of the data encapsulated in chapter 3 & 4, it is attempted in this chapter, first, to establish this uniformity of house decorative style in anthropological perspectives, than in accounting for it to attribute it to certain social aspects of village life. Featuring an epilogue, the last leg of this chapter is a synthesis of the entire study.

It is elaborated in chapter 3 that there are certain elements of decor which have won popularity in usage. Re-echoed in each case they are made prominent for adding aesthetic liveliness. Such similarity in common uses of objects identifies particular styles in the socio-cultural milieu of a community. Supporting this view silver states :

"Where clusters of features repeatedly co-occur we may speak meaningfully of stylistic trends. Common uses of objects allows us to situate these styles in an appropriate socio-cultural context " (silver, 1979: 270).

Findings narrated in the previous chapters, justify the existence of a signature sui generis house decorative style that signalizes uniform perpetuality. This peculiar dimension of uniformity in aesthetics beheld, enkindled and impinged my interests towards analytical paradigms.

Shifting focus to this problem it was attempted to adopt certain techniques which would channelize flow of information concerning monotonous aesthetic treatment of houses.

In this regard a survey, which aimed at eliciting personal response towards one's taste in decorative style being copied by others, was conducted to a random sample. Despite rebuking of the concept on my part, most of the people remained adamant, citing varied reasons such as, concern for collective welfare to natural catching vibrations of copying anything good, for justifying their confirmation to the process. Such views lead to emergence of uniform aesthetics. To quote a female on the issue, *" I feel happy if any body from my biraderi is able to copy me and I pray to God that all of them may have as much as I do."*

A majority of 78% showed no dislike for being copied by other people of the village. In fact, most of them were of the opinion that they should consciously work towards maintaining such uniform standardization as it would herald cultural conformity and no fellow brother would feel deprived or envy another.

Such native cognitive orientation towards uniformity in general led me to infer that it is no accidental outcome, and is consciously shaped to promote

certain ideology. Consequently, uniformity in aesthetics prompted me to look at it as a researchable stance from where to probe deeper into the cultural organization of the village. Hence as a final concern, it is endeavored here, to see a systematic linkage between social aspects incorporating the organization of village life and artistic style of house decor.

In this connection, as mentioned in chapter 1, I have speculated on the mechanism of kinship affiliation as an emergent binding force, demanding and requiring its members to follow certain set of contingent rules. It is a powerful principle of organization which provides interactional reference structuring village life. Offering a synoptic review of the phenomena, *Cartwright & Alvin* state:

"Kinship systems are an aspect of a society's general adaptation to the physical and social environment the study of any aspect of such a society (small scale) must entail an understanding of the system of kinship "

(Cartwright & Alvin, 1968:232)

In village *kiyah*, *biraderi* is a term synonymous with kinship. As mentioned earlier in chapter 2, the village is composed of three *biraderis*. *Dhaniyaal biraderi* with a total of 80.5% emerges as the largest from the three. To legitimize their respective sense of *biraderi* belongingness, the *Dhaniyaals* trace their links to *Dhanni Khan* as a chief reference point. Being a majority, its members enjoy primordial position in ordaining and patronizing social life of the villagers.

In what follows ahead, the mechanism of common *biraderi* affiliation is highlighted with regard to its role in projecting and maintaining group cohesiveness. -i-e, the problem of how a sense of belonging to one *biraderi* shapes or governs social behavior, is concentrated upon.

Field stay in the community afforded me a fair opportunity of acquainting myself to the mechanism of *biraderi* affiliation. It was observed that people feel very strongly towards their *biraderi*, both in good and bad time, depicting solidarity. To support this claim I will caricature two references from the village :

CASE 1:

Mr. A of *Dhaniyaal biraderi* does not enjoy a very sound reputation in the village. It was during my field stay that he got arrested for an illegal act of cutting down a forest tree. Exemplifying the case to other villages, the forest department raised a lot of hue and cry, despoiling the village name.

As Mr. A belonged to the *Dhaniyaal biraderi*, this group felt inclined to vindicate the blemish caused to the village's name. Consequently the fine money was gathered and a few prestigious members collectively representing the whole *biraderi* appealed to pardon Mr. A. Despite the fact that he was not a very popular man but because his act put up the *biraderi's* honor at stake, his group came forward to help him.

CASE 2:

Mr. *Najeeb Akhtar* was born in this village. He worked hard and joined the Air Force way back in 1963. Today he occupies a prestigious rank of Air Vice Marshal. He has spent a large sum of money in erecting a house on his ancestral lands in the village, where his family is occasionally seen. The locals believe that he has done this to show that his priorities lie with affiliating himself to his kin group.

As he belongs to the *Dhaniyaal biraderi*, they credit themselves for having such a prominent figure in their stride. Singing praises of his

achievements to me, most of them would be sure to add with pride, "he is from our *biraderi*."

As the *biraderi* as a 'consolidated whole,' accounts for all acts of credit and discredit of its members, a certain set of norms has been prescribed for them. Such set of norms give a number of ready made solutions for different difficulties emanating from behavior situations e.g. *Dhaniyaal biraderi* defines for its members in the village what type of marriage patterns are to be adopted, such as the entire *biraderi* should be summoned and so forth....

Aesthetics of house decorative style is also governed by such given traits. At this point reference may be made of a particular case study narrated in chapter 4. According to it, Mr. Abbas felt pressurized to fulfill the societal demand of erecting a *Pukkah* House in all its standard aesthetic grandeur, so that he would not be out of pace with his Kinsmen. His new house, however, remained vacant as his family was satisfied living in the *Katcha* House. Nonetheless as a sincere inclination to vindicate the solidarity of his *biraderi*, he adapted himself to the prevalent standard aesthetic patterns of house decorative style.

Data concerning house and its emergent aesthetic patterns elaborated in chapters 3 & 4, basically generated from observations and interviews of the *Dhaniyaal* households. Although the *Kammi* households were also scanned but due to differences in *biraderi* origin, their aesthetic tastes have not been included in the text. The *Quereshi's* were far too less and assimilated to be considered as a separate group. A table showing fifty *Dhaniyaal* households using certain elements of decor, which have gained popularity is formulated in chapter 3.

Such statistical citations are evident of the fact that the *Dhaniyaals* of village *Kiyah* are united in their preferences of aestheticism as manifested in house decor. As each component household unit works for the maintenance of the whole *biraderi*, hence they share and portray collective norms and values without any reservations. Collective opinions are formed and there is considerable consensus in major aesthetic issues as well.

In order to create pivotal bondage with their *biraderi*, the *Dhaniyaals* of village *Kiyah* feel incumbent to contain themselves within the premises of its preferred patterns and trends whether they like it or not. The following case study will help clarify this point :

CASE 1:

Retd. Capt. *Ismail* is a reputed and well off member of the *Dhaniyaal biraderi*. Presently, only he and his old wife inhabit their family home. Despite personal disregard for Television, etc., with the advent of electricity in 1993, he felt inclined to buy a Television set. He admitted to me that he had done this solely to avoid loss of face. In spite of his unwillingness, he gave in to the collective will of his *biraderi*, so as not to loose appreciation from his Kin group.

Hence sentiments attached to the concept of common *biraderihood* are a pervasive and acute mechanism of informal control whereby each member family is kept on a path that is collectively cherished on the holistic *biraderi* level. As recorded in chapter 4, despite preferring certain other colors for painting their houses, 53.3% of age group 33 - 44 Yr. chose to stick to the customary practices of having blue or green. It is fear of loss of face and its consequent ridicule from Kinsmen, which binds them to follow set patterns, maintaining uniform standard levels.

Deviance from the established ways is undesirable and an individual who does this is subjected to dire consequences of psychological punishment. He may be met with criticism in the form of gossips and slanders or even social boycott in extreme cases. In this context mention may be made of the *kammis* in the village. They are kept at a social distance because of major differences in their outlook towards life. They are mocked and ridiculed for their different trends, such as painting bright color flowers on the walls or for wearing vibrant color clothes without any consideration for age limits.

It was observed that in order to maintain cohesiveness and group integrity, required behavior norms were inculcated to members in a setting of social interaction. In this regard two levels of interaction, which highlight flow of information have been discovered. These are discussed as follows :

i. **HOUSEHOLD LEVEL :**

As majority of the population draws reference from a common *biraderi* hence, they are inevitably bound to situate their houses in close clusters. Such social spacing of houses provide a breeding ground for interactive forces to generate and vibrate particular aesthetic trends. While the male folks of the household are away at work, females finish off their daily chores and visit each other to exchange gossips, borrow or lend something or just perhaps for casual chit chat. Females of one locality are prone to meet those of another, on a daily basis, at the community wells. They also go shopping together and end up buying similar objects for themselves. Men interact with each other at the bus stop or bazaars en route to their place of work. They also meet at congregational prayers in the village mosque. Children make their contacts in the play grounds and school. Through these channels of interaction, where different households come into contact with each other, information about all aspects of village life ebbs and flows.

ii. **COMMUNITY LEVEL:**

Certain social events which have impact beyond the household unit are of more significance than compared to everyday activities. These events include life crisis ceremonies, e.g. marriage celebrations, birth of a child and death rituals. These events prompt and invoke cohesive spirit of co-operation due to participation at community level. At least one member of each household must attend such gatherings or that household will loose face in the community. Interaction on this level is reciprocal. Sentiments of *biraderi* affiliation are unreservedly instrumental for the social contact among the villagers on these events. The following case from the locale will explain this point better. The researcher had the opportunity of attending two weddings of the *Dhaniyaal biraderi*. In both cases it was observed that all the related families would engage in the ritual festivities and the entire village would rejuvenate. Older women and men of the village would go to live in such a house at least a week before the event. Other members of every household would gather there in the nights, on a daily basis. Such large gatherings provided an opportunity for flow of information. Given the scarce population, a high degree of constant interaction both at household and community level further facilitates solidarity among the villagers. They acquaint themselves with the standardized patterns through continuous on going interaction with other members of the community, which sequentially leads them to adopt harmonized patterns causing rigidity in behavior.

Discovering and attributing similar mechanism to stylistic similarity elsewhere, *Stephen Plog* succinctly states:

*" The degree of stylistic similarity
between individuals, residence
groups or villages is directly related to*

the amount of social interaction between those individuals, groups or villages "

(Plog, 1983: 126).

Thus to say that interaction communicates the cherished trends of the larger *Dhaniyaal biraderi* in *Kiyah*, giving a common platform upon which its member families establish and continue their inter-connectedness means that the sense of affiliation as created by one's kin group is in fact an umbrella of protection, whereby each member family extracts certain lucrative benefits of support and security in time of need. But to gain these benefits each family unit has to sacrifice its individual preferences and merge into the ocean of the *biraderi's* fabricated standard cultural traits. Such causal mechanism results in originating ritualized behavior. Consequently, conformity is the order of the day in everything from dress, occupation to religious practices. To take one aspect only, 53% of the *Dhaniyaal* families are directly or indirectly linked with Military occupation.

All members feel incumbent to follow the standardized rigidity in all fields of life, so that they can be accepted and appreciated by their fellow members. Aesthetic preference in house decor is also no exceptional case. As documented in chapter 4, quite a few individuals preferred to use floral prints on clothes but couldn't carry out their desires due to fear of *biraderi* disapproval.

The afore mentioned discussion on the impact of *biraderi* in organizing uniform aesthetic patterns in *Kiyah*, engenders a need to put this theme into conclusive perspective. In keeping with this requirement, the following section substantiates a retrospective conclusion, while at the same time attempting to summarize the study.

CONCLUSION:

Investigative researches which accent theoretical concern in systematic analysis of a community's aesthetic appreciation, yield promising insights into the structural patterns essential to societal functioning.

In this regard *Mikel D et al* (1964) carried out an experiment which profoundly proved that, consensus in aesthetic values of different groups depends on their respective cultural framework. He has deduced from his study that, aesthetic values are not intrinsic in objects but are culturally conditioned thus proving the proverbial adage:- "*beauty lies in the eye of the beholder*".

G.H.Mead (1934) emphasized that in any given culture, norms are not only formed for the required behavior but also "*other aspects of physical appearance*" whose main purpose is to identify and proclaim the users as a member of a specific group. Such shared behavior indicates to members of the group in question and to others who the members are; and also function as part of self-presentation of an individual.

Operating on similar wavelengths, the present study has sought to demonstrate how differences in value orientation can be translated into visual expressions to interpret differences in cultural orientation. In this respect, the two propositions, as put up in Chapter 1, form the gist of this research. Accordingly, to comprehend the dynamics of such a system, house decorative style was chosen as indicator to the research community's aesthetic preference. The similarity in taste was clearly brought out in the realm of its decorative arrangements.

The results of this research show that similar geometric representations on doors, incised metal railings, colored window panes, general preference for

floral motifs, a liking for symmetry and tendency to move with the drift of current fashions are some aesthetic features, which when taken together incorporate the uniform style of house decoration in *Kiyah*. This uniformity in style was interpreted to convey a message of social harmony which was evidently attributed to influence of common *biraderi* affiliation.

Such results were arrived at through participant observation fieldwork. An inventory of decorative elements in each of the houses was made. These inventories were compared with each other to draw out repeatedly used elements. The results were then compared with what was known about the family's Kinship affiliation from the interviews and questionnaire data. In this way it was discovered how houses in *Kiyah* reflect an attitude towards the dominant culture.

Discovery of uniform patterns led to the assumption that the constituent norms of aesthetic element in the house decor serve as a cue to the identity of the users. A style in itself is a manifestation of culture, while uniformity in style is a visible sign of unity. In his article on *Style*, Schapiro describes it as:

"A system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the broad out look of a group is visible. It is a vehicle of expression within groups, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social and moral life" (Schapiro, 1953 : 287).

Analysis of style helps to construct the institutionalized patterns of art in the context of social behavior. The anthropological study of art is essentially an analysis of culture forms and the social process which produce them according to the aesthetic precepts of a special group of people.

Carried out in such anthropological fervor, the present research contends that aesthetic appreciation is an integral part of a culture that serves to communicate the social values held in esteem by people.

APPENDIX

- (1) SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
- (2) INTERVIEW GUIDE
- (3) QUESTIONNAIRE
- (7) SAMPLES OF GEOMETRIC MOTIFS
- (8) SAMPLES OF FIGURAL MOTIFS

Socio-Economic Survey of village Xiyah

H.Hold No.

Sr. #	Name	Age	Sex M/F	Relation ¹ with HHH	Number of People in H.Hold	Place of Birth		Marital Status ²				Religion	Biraderi/ Tubber		
						In Village	Else where	M	UM	W	D				

¹ 'HHH' = Head of Household.

² 'M' = Married 'UM' = Un-Married 'W' = Widow 'D' = Divorced.

S. #	Level of Education	Occupation ³				Property ⁴			Place of work	Type of Dwelling ⁵				Domestic Utilities			Remarks				
		S	WL	B	O	LH	LS	OA		K	P	M	O	Elec.	Gas	Water					
1-5	6-11	11-12	Above																		

³ 'S.' = Service, 'WL.' = Wage Labour, 'B.' = Business, 'O.' = Others
⁴ 'LH.' Land Holding, 'LS.' = Live stock, 'OA.' = Other Assets,
⁵ 'K.' = Kacha, 'P.' = Pukka, 'M.' = modern, 'O.' = Old,

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. How important to you is the way decorate your house? Please elaborate.
2. If you were given the choice of a gift of a sum of money or decoration object for your house which is of equal value to the sum of money, which one would you choose? why?
3. Do you like the use of elaborately designed utensils? Please explain.
4. Would you mind if other people from this village were to copy your taste in house decor? Give Reasons.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____ Gender _____

1. Which ethnic background (*Tubber*) are you from?
 - Jamyaal - Sakerwal - Any other
 - Khairyaal - Bhatti

2. In which of these categories does your age fall:
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Below | 14 years | 30-34 yrs | 50-54 yrs |
| | 15-19 yrs | 35-39 yrs | 55-59 yrs |
| | 20-24 yrs | 40-44 yrs | 60-64 yrs |
| | 25-29 yrs | 45-49 yrs | 65 plus |

3. Assuming you were shopping for each of these products, how important would its design be in your decision to buy that product?

Products	Very	Some What	Not at All	Not Sure
Clothes				
Bed Sheets, Chair, Table or Cornice Cloth				
Water storing earthen Jar				
Furniture				
Crockery				

4. Would you be willing to pay a little extra for the design you prefer?
 - Yes - No - Depends

5. Which of the following motifs would you prefer ¹ on each of these items?

Items	Geometric	Floral	Figural	All	None
Clothes					
Crockery					
Furniture					
Bed Sheet, Chair, Table or Cornice Cloth,					

¹ These preferences were supplemented with observations on the use of motifs on the items enlisted.

6. How important a factor would color be in your decision to buy a product?
 - Very - Somewhat - Not at all
 - Not sure

7. Which of the following colors would you like to see standing out in your home's decoration?
 - Red - Purple - White
 - Brown - Black - Blue
 - Orange - Green - Pink
 - Any other.....

8. Every color has a wide range of shades. In general which shade do you prefer on the following objects?

Items	Vibrant	Pale	Dark	N/S
Clothes				
Crockery				
Furniture				
Bed sheet, Chair, Table, Cornice Cloth.,				
Walls and window panes.				

9. When selecting decoration objects for your home do you lean more towards modern or traditional² styles?
 - Modern - Traditional - Depends
 - N/S.
10. Would you like to have all rooms in the same color? If so please state the color.
 - Yes - No - N/S
 - Color.....
11. Do you like traditional wooden beam doors and pillars?
 - Yes - No - S/W
12. Please tell me if you have at least one items of the following kinds displayed in your home .
 - Photo of family and friends.....
 - Religious decor e.g. Quranic Ayaats.....
 - Garlands and colorful buntings.....
 - Flowers (artificial).....
 - Pictures of animals.....

² These and all such other categories were explained in the local language.

- Scenery.....
- Any other.....

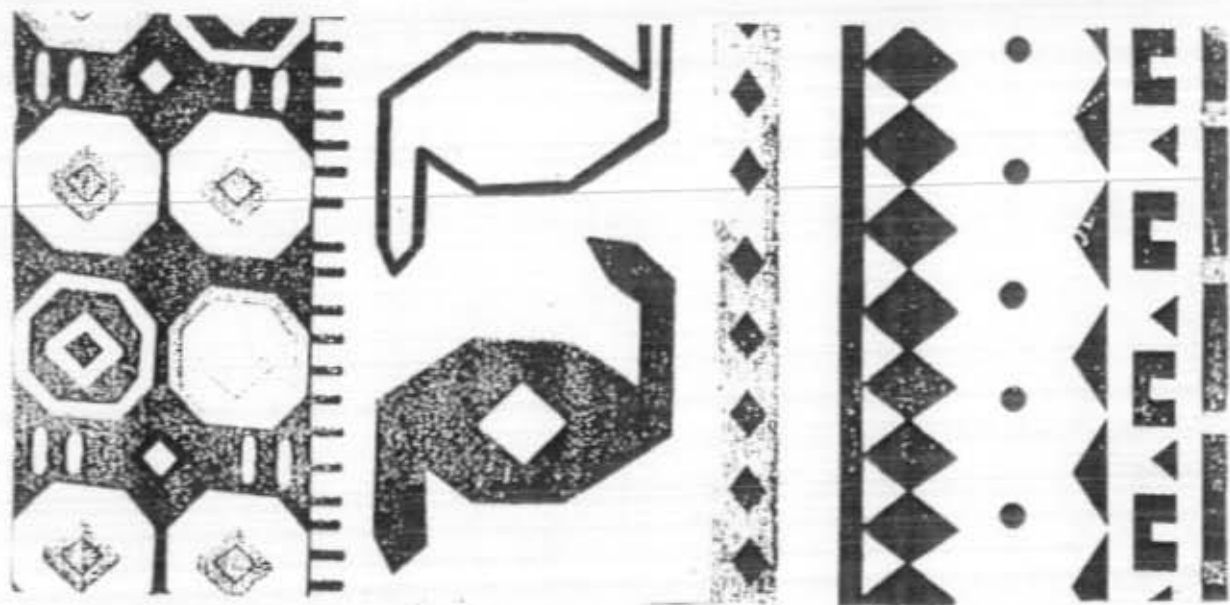
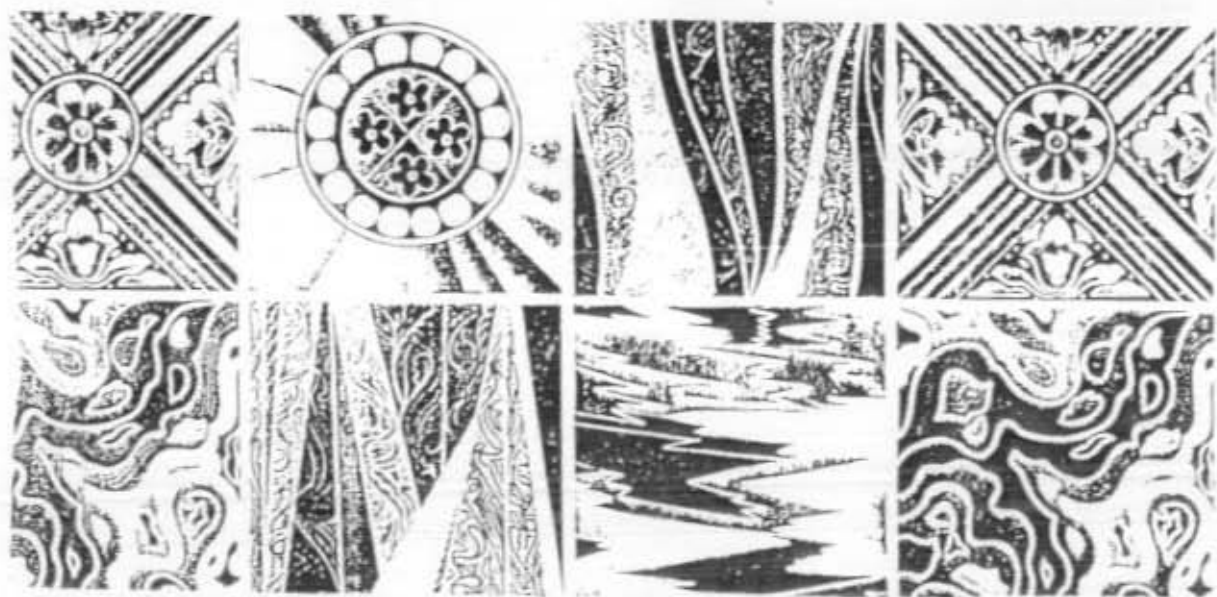
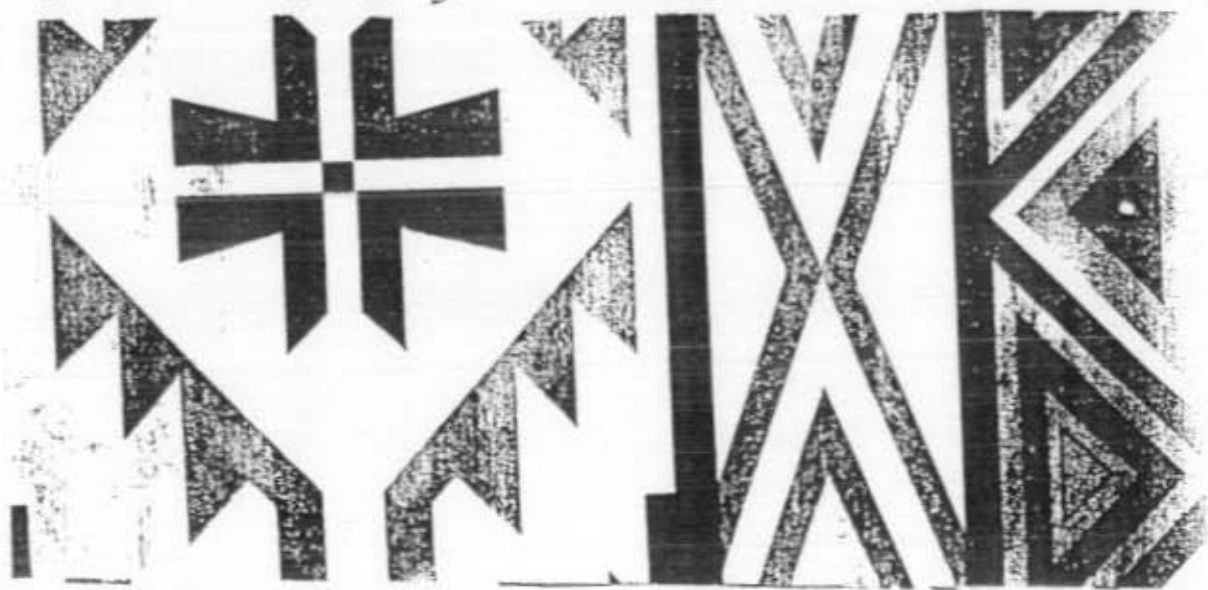
13. Do you prefer displaying pictures in your house that are predominantly of:
- People - Scenery - Depends
 - Animals - All - N/S

- 14 Which pictures do you like?
- Religious - Not Religious - Depends
 - Not Sure

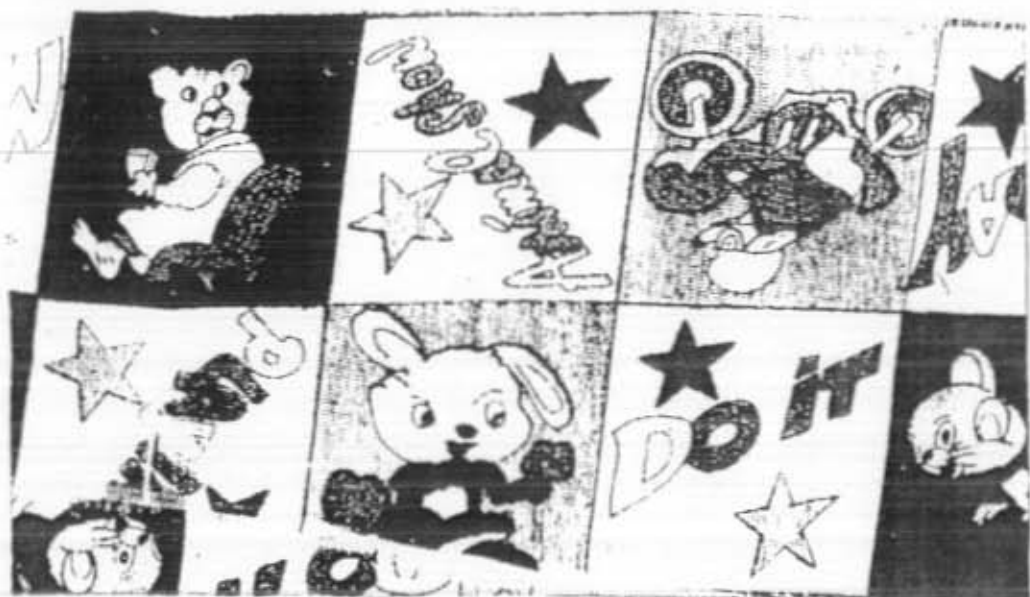
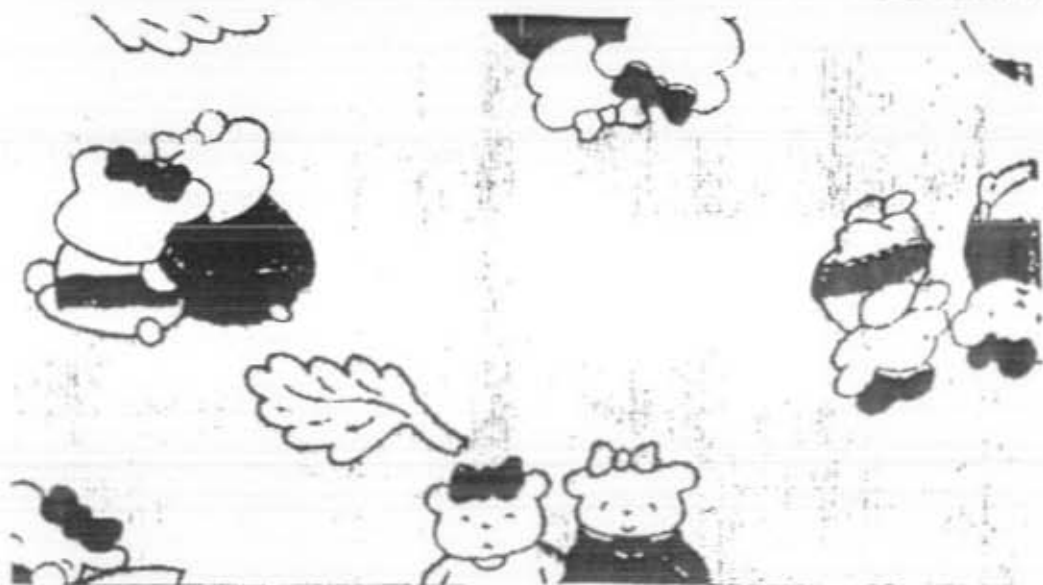
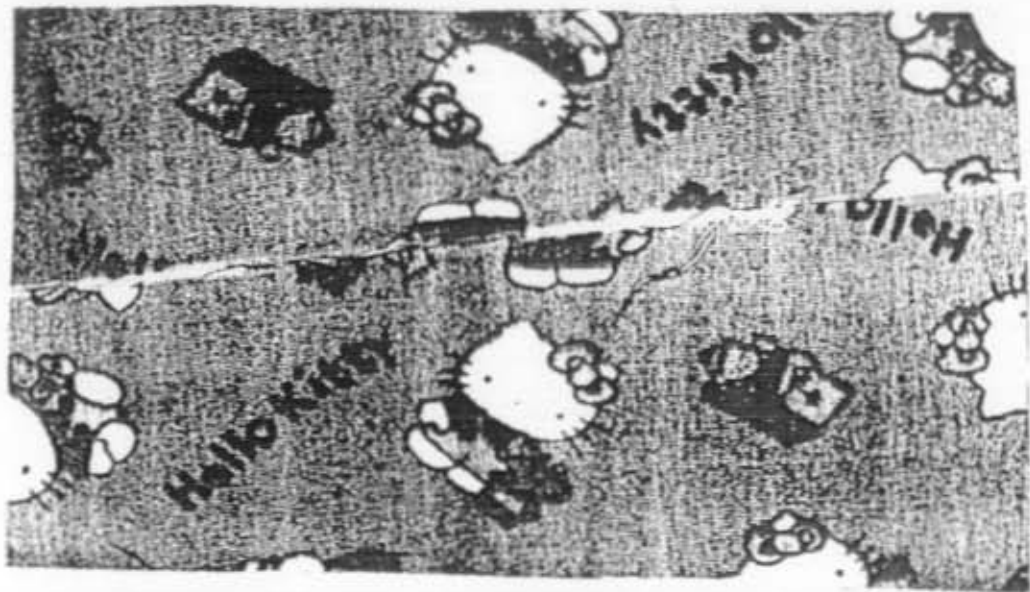
- 15 How often, on average, would you say you visit your

	Very often	on occasions only	Not at all.
a) Neighbours			
b) other people in the village			
c) Relatives			

SAMPLES OF GEOMETRIC MOTIFS # 7



SAMPLES OF FIGURAL MOTIFS # 8



GLOSSARY

A

Assah	August
Aagi wala	
Ander	
/ Kothi	Kitchen

B

Biraderi	Kinship
Butka	Patriarch
Basakh	March
Baithek	Drawing room
Bara Sofa	Bed room
Basaar	Verandah
Berah	Open courtyard
Butan Wala	
design	figural motifs

C

Chang	January
Chitr	February
Choola	Stove

D

Dai	Mid-Wife
Dhari/dubbi	
wala design	Geometric motifs

H

Harh	April
Heedh	May

K

kameez	Shirt
Khanka	Shrine
Kattah	September
Kans	Cornice

L

Lepai	Technique of mud coating walls and floors
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M

Munger	October
Mahn	December

N

Nikah	Marriage
Numberdar	Chief
Nika Ander	Bedroom

P

Pir	Spiritual guide
Patwari	Village Registrar
Puoh	November
Padra	July
Perkot	Store room
Parolena	Technique of painting walls

Phuldar	
design	floral motifs

R

Rajput	Famous Indo -Pak tribe
--------	------------------------

S

Shalwar	Pajamas
Sunni	Religious Sect
Sawan	June

T

Tubber	Kindred
Thum	Wooden Pillar
Tandoor	Open bread oven

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