

Maintenance and Assimilation of Ethnic Identity in an Urban Setting:

(A case study of an immigrant baloch tribe settled in a town of Southern Punjab)



By

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QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
ISLAMABAD

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

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Kamran Aziz

Abbreviations:

BMP. Border Military Police

CRBC. Chashma Right Bank Cannal

ECP . Election Commission of Pakistan

FATA. Federally Administered Tribal Areas

KP. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

MNA . Member National Assembly

MPA . Member Provincial Assembly

NA . National Assembly

PA. Provincial Assembly

PATA. Provincially Administered Tribal Areas

PCO. Population Census Organization

PP. Punjab Province

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Chapter No.1

1.0. Introduction

The present research was conducted to explore the maintenance and assimilation of ethnic identity in a *Baloch* (*Buzdar*¹) immigrant tribe settled since long time in *taunsa*, thus making the area a complex organization of mainly two groups of separate ethnic origins. The research focused on the ways in which the socially held notions of the individuals of *Baloch* migrant group about their own selves were incorporated in social actions to form a distinct identity. It must be mentioned that the proposed research explores the maintenance and assimilation of a migrant tribal group's distinct identity through actions carried out with predefined notions of who "I" am or "we" are. *Balochs* who have been specifically called here as *Buzdars*, living in the mountains of a *Suleman*² range migrated to the eastern city of *taunsa sharif* in different phases. For diverse reasons, *Buzdars* had started their migration to *taunsa* since 1950s as they left the rough mountainous belt called *Koh-e-Suleman*, which surrounds the Punjab's district of Dera Ghazi Khan from its southern and western sides and links the district with eastern districts of *Balochistan*. This trend to migrate to the city of *Taunsa* still continues and it is said to be the ideal for a mountainous *Baloch* (in this case a *Buzdar*) to manage a plot of land in the city.

The research was to take an overall view of the *Balochi* life, their activities, perceptions of others (local citizens), and of themselves. On the basis of insights into these and other primary areas of activity like economics, ideals like reasons for migration, and attitudes like vote patterns and affiliations like those they held with their tribal chief and religious figures i.e. family members of

¹*Buzdars* are a tribe of Rind faction of the *Baloch* Nation. They arrived in the western mountains of Dera ghazi Khan in the times of *Mughal* Kings *Babur* and his son *Humayun*, as they expedited into eastern plain areas while fighting the famous thirty years' war between two *Baloch* factions namely, Rind and Lashaar. *Buzdars* decided to stay in these mountains and developed their unique cultural features while living here. They developed a social system of group organization, politics, morality, cooperation and communication which does not entirely deviate from the revered and preserved traditions upheld by legendary *Baloch* characters like *CHAKAR-E-AZAM* who led the goriest thirty years' *Baloch* war while he was the Chief of Rind faction of the *Balochs*. The word *Buzdar* is generally said to be of Persian origin and consisting two words, "*Buz*" meaning goat and "*Dar*" meaning the caretaker or grazer. It is generally held that they were given this name due to the large number of goats that they used to graze while they settled down in the mountains, by the neighboring Afghan tribes. However, *Baloch* scholars as well as historians of the tribe differ regarding the origins of this word.

Source: A conversation in the field with a local political activist of a nationalist party.

the great saint whose tomb in the city many of them regularly visit, it was attempted to infer if any sense of a distinctive identity prevails specially among the heads of fifty households who were interviewed during the research and with whom the researcher remained in constant interaction. It was also attempted to depict any struggle to retain a different sense of the local culture of the *Buzdar* population living in *Taunsa*.

A cursory glance at the native setting, which was the city of *Taunsa Sharif*, with a constantly decreasing majority of *Saraiki* speaking native population due to the ever increasing influx of *Buzdar* migrants from the western mountains, reveals the separate structural formations (shops, residential areas etc) of the immigrant *Buzdar* tribe in the city. It was apparently denotes to the existence of a kind of mutual cooperation and a desire or tendency on the part of migrants to live together. We cannot equate this tendency to live together, perhaps, with the migrants' inability to mingle freely among the natives despite the barrier of language and a perceived sense of cultural inferiority that most probably is there.

However, the separate structures in the city were neither consciously developed by the immigrant *Buzdar* tribe with an intention to sustain a distinctive *Baloch* identity nor it implies the absence of any supportive mechanism from within the city that helped the emergence of these separate structures. Rather, the very presence of these structures highlights the importance of prior social bonds among *Buzdars*, bonds that they held prior to migration with those members of their tribe that had already migrated to city, and reflects the "ease" in interpersonal cooperation among *Buzdars* who surely share a sense of being identical in some form. Thus the basis of any apparently concrete and detached political/ economic action may lie in shared sense of being the "same".

This sense of being the same may be called a distinct identity or the ethnicity of *Buzdars* that rests on "a sort of fictive kinship, called, Ethnicity" (Deborah E. Tooker, 2004.pp. 2) and the process of the maintenance of the distinctiveness through individual action by manipulating differences with out-group of urban *Saraiki* that was called there, the politics of identity. The urban environment in which *Buzdars* of the tribal area are now settled, presents some features that are to some extent similar to the features of tribal *Buzdar* society. At the same time, there were important structural, cultural and historical differences between the two communities. The political practices of the city dwelling natives were especially in line with those of *Buzdars* of the tribal area.

Both the communities tend to cast their votes on the basis of their ethnicity or caste and factional affiliations that was the primary political familiarity that became the basis of perpetuating ethnic politics among the *Buzdars* living in the city. The practicing politics on ethnic basis was not something alien in the new urban environment in which *Buzdars* settled. So they carried out a collective politics in electoral realm with relative ease. However, it was a corollary of some other reasons that derived ethnic politics among *Buzdars* of the city and could not stand as a sole reason explaining the emergence of same tribal/ ethnic politics among them.

There were various tendencies and strategies found to have been carried out by *Buzdars* which considerably helped them in maintaining their ethnic identity and demarcating boundary between them and natives of the city. The study focused on explaining the tendencies and strategies, their impact on overall politics of the city and their role in maintenance of *Buzdar* identity. Similarly, the features of *Buzdar* collective life in the city that mark assimilation have also been discussed.

Moreover, the expression and assertion of identity by *Buzdars* through the prisms of local politics was also explored. It was demonstrated in the present research that the determining factors in the maintenance of a group's boundary were based on subjective meanings of the group's identity. Meanings that were ascribed sustained and incorporated in to collective action by the members of the group itself. It follows from the argument that the relative importance of some of the key features of a group's culture and social life, also depends on the perception of importance among the actors themselves. The endogamy, which was the key feature of *Buzdar* culture, social organization and politics, has come to occupy a dormant and less significant place among *Buzdars* living in *Taunsa*.

The expression of political alliances through casting votes, though they were in the past and in present were built on internally homogenous and mostly endogamous groups and families, has come to occupy a significant place among *Buzdars* of the city. The determining factor of the formation of alliances was often endogamy itself, but the importance of alliance expression was found too strong than its determining features. Moreover, divergent economic and political interests of the individuals of *Buzdar* tribe in the city, contribute in the possibility of formation of political alliance on the basis other than endogamy. Similarly, the researcher observed rivalries among

various *Buzdar* families on political basis. It suggests that politics and more importantly, expression of political alliance with a member, political party or ideology in some cases, are gaining significance while *Buzdars* live in the city. There was now a firmly established politically rival faction consisting largely on one sub-caste of *Buzdar* tribe that always opposes tribal chief in general and local elections, while most of the other sub-castes living in the city, vote for tribal chief.

Expressions of political consciousness in *Buzdar* middle class have also come to the surface, recently. The victory of a middle class advocate against the political elite of *Taunsa* was attributed to the sympathies of native and especially *Buzdar* middle class who voted for him. It was interesting that the ethnic origin of this candidate, who was a *Buzdar*, was highlighted after his victory. It also illustrate that *Buzdars* want change but for it, they cannot vote for an ethnically 'other' candidate. All these factors will be discussed in detail in chapter No.4.

1.1. Statement of the problem

Apart from being an exploration into the maintenance of difference/ boundary by the people of *Buzdar* tribe in the city, the study also carried out to look at the potential of racially/ethnically different people to co-exist. It was evident from the approximate nature of the research that the study does not tend to over emphasize the distinct cultural features of *Buzdar* ethnic group. In order to explore the maintenance of a distinct identity or assimilation one has to emphasize the nature of ethnic group and the venues of interaction within the in-group of *Buzdars* and their interaction with city dwellers. The research focused on strategies of *Buzdars* to maintain various aspects of their social life, thereby enabling themselves of executing a collective action. The collective action was found political in its nature, however, the political nature of *Buzdar* collective action as an ethnic group should not be confused with politicized action directed towards a sort of ethnic chauvinism and collision. The political action takes place in a stable cultural and political environment and in an atmosphere of good will and socially acknowledged political liberty.

Similarly, the research was not driven by profound theoretical interests therefore it did not seek to solve the complexities of primordial or essentialist theories of ethnicity. It acknowledges the unique character of *Buzdars* as an ethnic group and seeks to explain the subjective meanings of their identity and related strategies as they were carried out in an urban political space. The general

outlook of *Taunsa*'s political scene was also inclusive and not discriminatory in any particular way that was the reason for the development of a largely political i.e. vote centered practice for expression of identity which keeps the possible chauvinistic aspect of *Buzdar* ethnicity in check. Ethnic competition did not prevail over there despite the existence of ethnic collision in parts of the country.

1.2. Objectives of the study

Objectives of the study were:

1. To explore the past and recent in-migration developments experienced by *Buzdar* tribe.
2. To explore the tribal and new urban political structure of *Buzdar* tribe.
3. To explore the subjective meanings of *Buzdar* identity or self as perceived and expressed by *Buzdars* themselves.
4. To explore the ways in which *Buzdar* identity was maintained while they live in the city.
5. To highlight certain patterns of *Buzdar* tribe's assimilation with the native culture of city.

1.3. Locale of the study

The research study was conducted by the researcher in *mohalla*³ *nizamabad* of *taunsa Sharif* in the district of Dera Ghazi khan that has certain unique features in terms of its ethnic diversity that were best suited for the study. This ethnic diversity in an urban setting was the prime feature for which the area was selected for the study. However, the diversity of the city life could not be attributed to ethnic variance only. The city of *taunsa* presented a multitude of various developments at present. A conscious middle class aspiring for a hybrid political action on the part of the masses, a divided populace seeking to assert their distinct identities and interests through politics, considerable flow of modern electronic technology onto the city like Mobiles, cable networks, internet and communication, all gave the city a distinct cultural and political character which was in

³ A local term used for a settlement within the town.

transition. The co-existence of two historically divergent communities, interaction and marriage between the two groups, presented an interaction which was of a great interest for the researcher.

1.4. Operationalization of conceptual terms

Every research is considered unique in some of its aspects not only because it is conducted in different material conditions and geography but also because the key theoretical concepts of the related debate in the field are not always manifested in the research setting just like the way they have been described by the practitioners in text books and theoretical works. Moreover, researchers all over the world are a unique group of individuals in themselves who often express their personal inhibitions about certain terms, words or even their connotations. In order to fill this gap and to overcome this deficiency, operational definitions of some of the important conceptual terms that have been excessively used in the present study:

1.4.1. Maintenance

The word maintenance, in the present research has been used for or connote to the maintenance of ethnic identity among the migrant *Buzdars* of *Taunsa*. It was conceivable that the migrant *Buzdar* community must have faced changed material conditions that have had inextricably affected their social mores, however, maintenance means that the migrant community was carrying-out most of its cherished values with relative stability of social action directed towards the achievement of those values.

1.4.2. Assimilation

The word assimilation has been used to denote a process in which migrant *Buzdar* community gradually integrates with the local population in terms of both material and non-material aspects of its cultural life. What remains is the basic difference between assimilation and acculturation, while the latter stands for differences in cultural orientations happening in groups but often in individuals primarily try to extended contact with an alien culture, the former denotes to the process where-by one culture or its people were so intermingled with those of the others that it becomes difficult for them to be told from one another. While the examples of ultimate assimilation

might be scant or even non-existent in the world, instances of hybrid cultures around the globe are witness to the process of assimilation.

1.4.3. Ethnic

The word, *Ethnic* has been variously defined by practitioners as a term that refers to a human collectivity that shares a sense of unity on the basis of a trait, characteristic, event, memory of an event or ancestral affiliation etc. The word ethnic has been used for *Buzdars* for almost same reasons except that they were living in the city in absence of any internally (culturally) isolation imposed or sanctioned isolation. The word Ethnic refers to the shared memory of their migration to the city.

1.4.4. Ethnic identity

‘Ethnic Identity’ refers to the sense of shared/ collective existence among *Buzdars* caused by the shared memory of migration and also by a sense of living together in a city which is not theirs’.

1.4.5. Ethnic group

The word *Ethnic group* has been used in this research for migrant *Buzdar* community living in *Taunsa*. It points to a ‘group, although living in harmony with its counterpart or ‘ethnic other’ that shares a sense of being peculiar from its ethnic other on the basis of some rationalizations or constructions of difference that may vary from individual to individual depending largely on his or her ideological position.

1.4.6. Household

The household stands for a geographical area marked by four walls or boundary in which some people live who depend on their guardian for subsistence.

1.4.7. Household-head

The household-Head is a person who earns, defends and makes social and political decisions on behalf of the people living inside the four walls of a household.

1.4.8. Urban

The word urban does not mean a cosmopolitan environment but relatively used to denote to a more concentrated and populated place with modern facilities available to the people. The facilities that *Buzdars* could not enjoyed while in the mountains.

1.5. Research methodology

Anthropology, like every other scientific discipline has a well established methodology and the corner stone of it is obviously the ethno-graphic field work which is marked by an intense and conscious participation of the explorer in the cultural life s/he confronts. However, the methodology is about the organization of activities directed towards satisfying a particular problem or question, delineating the various concepts involved in the question which are to be studied in the field, describing and justifying the allocated explanatory power ascribed to the concepts being studied and making clear the relationships among various variables or values involved in these concepts. "At the specific level, it's about what kind of sample you select, whether you do face to face interview or use the telephone, whether you use an interpreter or learn the local language well enough to do your own interview and so on." (Bernard H Russell. 1994. Pp. 2).

The question of identity poses two interrelated dilemmas. The first is its being a highly liquid and arbitrary term as no one 'really' knows what is actually meant by it. The second is the pervasive use of this term in the contemporary social science literature understandably with varying connotations and meanings. The present research was basically conducted to explore the sense of identity among the members of a migrant tribe who were settled in *Taunsa*. Drawing upon the previous knowledge of the community and a research project completed earlier by the researcher, it was almost obvious that both the communities (the migrants and the natives) were different in many ways. The migrants being under-developed and slightly 'backward' in the eye of the native, facing linguistic barriers while interacting with the native population and were collectively settled in

various ghettos within the city where everything from houses to shops belongs to the members of their own tribe.

The phenomenon presents exciting opportunities to an ethnographer to look inside the process of slightly different cultures organized by them, to compete with their ethnic 'others' economically as well as politically, interact with them in harmony without losing what Frederick Barth has characterized as 'ethnic boundaries'. The concepts involved in this question of assimilation or maintenance of boundaries are, politics, with its sub-component being voting pattern, economics, with its variable of who buys and to whom he then sells the products among the *Buzdars* living in *taunsa*, their apparent physical appearance and structures of the houses and how these differ from those of the natives, their ideals i.e. reasons of migration and the extent of their adherence to their pristine tribal values and tribal chief. It was also interesting to look into commonalities between the old political structure of this tribe which is still practiced in the western mountains of *Suleman* with patriarchy as intrinsic to the social organization of the tribe centered on the authority of a single tribal chief and the way they have organized themselves in the city. The data collection exercise included living in the community for more than five months, preparing detailed questionnaires and a socio-economic census form based on tabulated questions regarding quantitative aspects of the community life and then asking these questions to the potential respondents and recording their answers, conversations with the elders of these migrant settlements in the city and collecting case studies in a few cases.

1.5.1. Sampling

The total population of the city of *taunsa sharif* according to the 1998 Census was about 80,749 individuals⁴. However, since any substantive official population research, census or survey of any kind has since not conducted, the local municipal administration estimated the population of the city to 340,000 individuals. The estimation has been made keeping in view the total population growth rate according to Population Census Organization (PCO) stands at almost 2%⁵ per annum of the total population size. However, the figures suggested by the local municipal officials seem to exceed from the given approximation by the PCO and its reason provided by the local officials was

⁴ Census Report of the District Dera Ghazi Khan 1998, fourth edition alhamra publication (Reprinted in 2004)

⁵ In fact the exact figure provided by the inter-censal population growth report of the PCO published by the same in 2010 is 1.9% of the total population size.

the in-migration of *Buzdars* in the city. Moreover, there was a general speculation that the overall growth rate of the country's population has fluctuated increasingly during the intervening years although not recorded by the state given its inability to conduct the population census since 1998.

A further dilemma was posed by the 1998 Census Report which did not explicitly declare the population of the various settlements of the city individually. However, an educated guess puts the population of *mohalla nizamabad* to more than 50,000 people. It was from that sizable population that the sample comprising fifty households come for the purpose of the present study. It is known that a researcher, in the limited time and resources, cannot meet and interview every resident of the research locale. Thus, in almost all kinds of social research, including anthropological research, a representative sample is taken from the larger universe of the research field. This technique is not used to reduce the burden of research. Rather, its purpose is to make the research understandable and comprehensive. The importance of sampling has been emphasized by Russell as following, "If you are studying variables in a population of diverse elements, then a scientifically drawn sample is must A study based on a representative sample, however, is often better than based on the whole population and the data has greater internal validity than data collected from the whole population". (Bernard H. Russel. 1994. pp. 72)

1.5.2. Random sampling

Present research was conducted on ethnic identity maintenance and assimilation in a migrant tribal group. Every member of the community was, presumably, a potential respondent since everyone was considered as a potential carrier of identity. Thus the method of random sampling was chosen while taking the sample of 50 households in *mohalla nizamabad* in the city of *taunsa*. Participant observation, in-depth interviews and socio-economic census survey were the primary tools that were employed to get the relevant information regarding various aspects of *Buzdar* life as they continue living in the urban setting in their peculiar style. Every male head of these households was interviewed in fair detail. In case the head of a household was not available, or that family was not living there during the research period, the next household was assigned the next number in the sample.

Similarly, the streets in which the households were situated were also selected by leaving every street next to the selected street of the *mohalla*. For example, if the houses situated in Street. No1 were selected as the representative houses of the sample the second street was left untouched and the households in Street. No.3 were selected and incorporated in the sample. However, the selection of the first street was made by a draw and was randomly selected among the ten major streets of the *mohalla*. Hence, a standardized random method was applied to allocate equal probability to each street and house in the settlement. *Mohalla nizamabad* is too populated to be studied under single research undertaking and has a population that exceeds 50000 in total⁶. Thus only those areas of the *mohalla* were selected in which *Buzdar* migrant population has chosen to settle down.

1.5.3. Participant observation

Participant observation is the key anthropological tool for data collection. Important insights are gained regarding the cultural, symbolic and subjective aspects of a particular community and behavior of its members. The researcher used the technique in order to make sense of the way *Buzdars* thought about them, the way they created difference between them and city dwellers and related aspects of their ethnic and political life. For example, during the research, one of the respondents told that the city dwellers were amoral and less faithful than the *Balochs*. When probed further, he objected that their women only take *dupattas* and don't cover themselves fully. Thus, there were many ways in which a person may create the difference between himself and others.

1.5.4. Key informant

Mr. Ghulam Qadir khan *Buzdar* was my key informant who was known as an elderly person of the tribe. Most of the people knew him and he also referred the researcher to many persons from *Buzdar* intelligentsia who gave valuable commentaries and information on the subject. He also provided the researcher with some necessary readings regarding *Buzdar* history and culture. But the most important reason for his selection as key informant was that he has been a part of migration process. He has closely observed the migration of *Buzdars* to the city and provided the researcher

⁶ Please refer to the district census report of Dera Ghazi Khan 1998, the year in which the most recent population census was conducted in the country. Although the house count survey has been conducted in 2011 on national level by the Population Census Organization (PCO), its results have not yet been made public.

valuable insights regarding the process of how *Buzdars* settled down in the city and how they developed economic strategies to survive and make themselves felt, politically and economically.

The structure of the research, the time line and conditions in which it was conducted, did not permit a prolonged engagement with many people at one time. Researchers at that level, tend to select more than one key informant for verifiability of the collected data. It was not done so in the present research firstly because the research setting was not too isolated to allow someone to be to be misled or fall a pray to a social bubble. Secondly, the selected key informant was a well known writer who has written several books about the *Buzdars* and other *Baloch* societies and had knowledge of the history and language of *Buzdar* people which was very important for the research to be collected and explored. Thirdly, the writings of key informant were also discussed with many of the other respondents and it proved to be a means of getting deep into the history and poetry of the concerned ethnic group. And finally, it was not feasible to go for many key informants as the focus of the research was only the fifty selected households of the sample.

However, as there was no parallel writer found among *Buzdars* with such a prolific writing career as that of the key informant, his books or their material was not incorporated in the present research in the absence of any other material to cross check his assertions regarding *Buzdars*. Finally, because the target community lived in the city, it was possible to spend a lot of time, sometimes even a few days, with a single informant or household head. The in-depth involvement with every single informant turned almost all of them into informants who encompassed particular life histories and a unique cultural outlook.

1.5.5. Unstructured interviews

The structure of the interviews that was used during the research was largely open ended. The subject of identity leaves little things to be asked in tangible and quantifiable terms. Thus the nature of the interviews was open; however, quantifiable data was taken through census. Most of the questions were the corollaries of previous questions, while some important issues like those of voting choice, endogamy and child education were given more place than other issues and most of the descriptive data came from the interviews.

1.5.6. Case study method

The case study method was used on a small scale in the areas of research that were limited or closed i.e. access to women and children, status of women in *Baloch* society and among *Baloch* people of the city, required the description of specific individual accounts regarding the aspects. A few case studies have been included due to their heuristic value for the present research.

1.5.7. Socio-economic census

A census form was developed before the research to ensure that no part of *Buzdar* life in the city remains ignored or underplayed, while preparing the form. Almost all tangible information regarding *Baloch* social, cultural and political life in the city comes from census forms that were taken to every household heads and were carefully filled up with the information given by him.

1.6. Significance of the study

Present research was conducted on the aspects of identity maintenance and assimilation in *Buzdars* who are a tribal group and migrated from western mountains of *Suleman* range. The current interest in the subjects of cultural assimilation and boundary maintenance transcends anthropology and related social sciences. The emergence of numerous ethnic movements in the modern nation states has revived interest in ethnic groups. Today, thinkers from social science academia, politics, economics, religion and philosophy are reconsidering their constructions of human identity. This study contributes to the literature in this regard. Theorists of identity maintenance often emphasize the ethnic politics as a reason for boundary maintenance. The present research shows that how a culturally different group can maintain the politics of its ethnicity while changing its very culture of which its ethnicity was a part. It deviated in many aspects from the established ideas of ethnicity and identity and that was why it was considered an important study.

Chapter No.2

2.0. Area profile

In this chapter, we describe various physical and social features of the locale of research and its inhabitants. As mentioned earlier, this research was conducted in *mohalla nizamabad* of *taunsaSharif* in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan inhabited by a single ethnic group *Buzdar*. As the *mohalla* was the focus of research, the descriptions of various features of the place are attempted in the following pages. Specifically, the physical/ structural and social properties have been described that relate to the identity oriented aspects of living.

A major objective of the study was to determine the maintenance and assimilation of *Buzdar* tribe with the local population of *taunsa*. Thus, it was important to describe those features of residence, culture and social life of the migrant *Baloch* tribe that have changed during their long-term contact with the urban phenomena after living in the tribal conditions for at least five centuries. It required a close examination of the living patterns of *Buzdars* and their possible interpretations. The source of this information was obviously the on-field observation that was carried-out along the research endeavor. Although the general social norms of the city as well as those of the *Buzdar* tribe do not permit the entry of non-relatives inside the four walls of the house, it was possible to observe the apparent patterns of the house hold during the research. For example, the existence of a separate structure (often a room) for entertaining the guests was something peculiar to *Buzdar* culture of hospitality.

Thus, whenever a household head was visited, he led the researcher to that room for interview. It was often a small and simple room without any imagery and wall paintings except few guest rooms with little frames of Muslim sacred places namely; the mosques of *Madinah* and *Makkah*. Like the urban population of the city of which the researcher himself was a member, *Buzdars* have not still developed any taste of embellishing walls with large and small frames of paintings, while *Buzdars* were often observed to be living in normal, simple households. Here are certain key features of the locale that possibly relate to the topic:

2.1. Topography

The area where present research was conducted was *Taunsa Sharif*. The town was situated right on the bank of *Sungharr* a water course that emanates from the *Suleman* mountains in the west of the city and flows only when it rains on the mountains. That water course surrounds the city from southern and eastern side and then continues its journey east toward to join a little river before entering in the Great Indus River in south-east of the district.

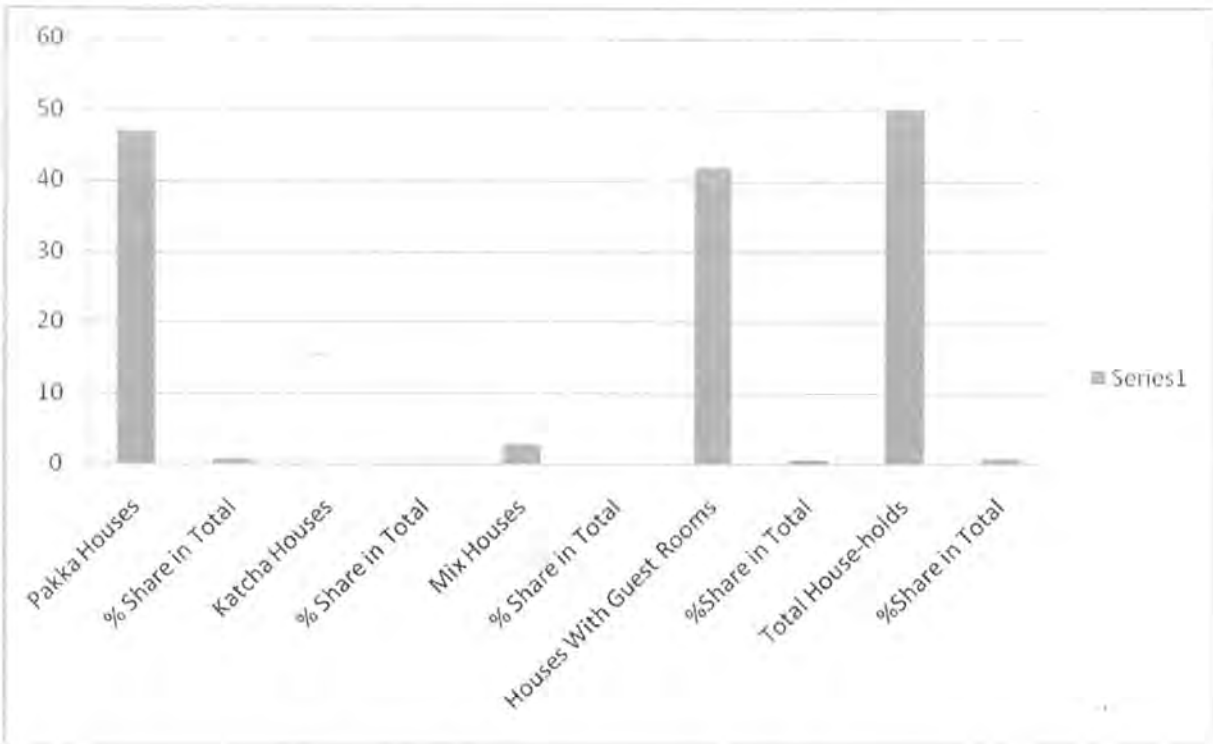
Sangharr is a word acutely involved in local identity as the name of an ancient state governed by a local *Nawab*. The land of the area of city was plain field which was largely arable. Its crops depended, in the past, on the flow of water courses emanating from western mountains and of course on seasonal rains. The construction of 'Chashma Right Bank Cannal' (C.R.B.C) that crosses the city from its western end has made possible large scale agriculture and has enhanced production of the lands surrounding the city from every direction. However, the lands that lie beyond the western end of the city, cannot be irrigated by the water of above mentioned canal and often require their tillers to stabilize Peater Engines near the canal to get illegal water in the nights of dry days.

Topographically, the city was surrounded by plains that stretch to the foot of western mountains and in the east till the Indus and beyond. Similarly, the plain fields stretched endlessly to the north and south of the city along the Indus highway which was stretched from south to north. *mohalla nizamabad* was situated in the heart of the city. If one enters from its main western entrance called *Vahova* road, there was a main street stretched from west to east that gives way to numerous other little streets on both of its northern and southern sides inside the *mohalla*.

2.2 Physical structure of the household

Most of the *Buzdars* households in the city were *pakka* houses, while there was hardly any mud house. The table shows that most of the houses were made of bricks and cement. There seemed to be no tradition of making mud houses in the city except some of the houses situated in the eastern periphery of the city. However, the external walls of few houses were made of mud.

Graph No.1: Physical layout of the households



The migration of *Buzdars* has not brought them in an entirely different social milieu, however, rigid patriarchal structure of previously tribal society stood as less blunt and a bit moved by a mildly moderate patriarchy. Its expression was manifest in the physical structure of the *Buzdar* households in the city. Leaving aside the migrants living in extreme conditions of poverty, almost all the *Buzdars* had built a *Bethak*⁷, a kind of drawing room for male guests, attached to their house in the city.

Most of the houses were *pakka* houses made of cements and bricks, however, the structures of houses were not entirely different from city houses. The only distinct feature of the *Buzdars'* house building practices was *Visakh*. The male drawing room was not found to be a frequent practice among the native population of the city nor it was entirely absent in the house structure of the city. However, what was absent was a sense obligation towards hospitality as a big feature of *Baloch* culture that prompts and necessitates for them to build an exclusive guest room to attend

⁷ It is a local word usually used for a male guest room.

male guests. It will be no exaggeration to say that hospitality still serves as a means of social prestige among the migrated tribal people in the city.

2.3 Religious institutions

There was no shrine in the specific locale of the research in *mohalla nizamabad*, however, the shrine of *Khawaja Shah Suleman*, the great Sufi-saint of early 19th century was the central spiritual place frequented by *Buzdars* almost every hour of the week. The shrine was situated in the north-western side of *nizamabad* and was not far away. *Khawaja Shah Suleman* belonged to the western most area of *Suleman* mountains called *Gur-Gojee*. Whenever he travelled through mountains, *Buzdars* found themselves in close contact with the great saint. Thus there was a great following of *Khawaja Sahib* among the *Buzdars* living whether in the mountains or the city. The time when few *Buzdars* lived in the city, they used to travel a great deal to pay tributes to the great saint. According to some of the respondents, the influence of *Sufi* tradition was manifest on *Buzdar* collective character and personality. The tomb was situated in western part of the city surrounded by a busy market, named after the great saint called *Sulaimani* market.

2.3.1 Mosques and seminaries

If one enters from the main road into *nizamabad* through *jalil shaheed Street* mentioned above, he finds a mosque and an adjacent seminary (*madressah*) alike, at the eastern end of the main street. This *madressah* was called *Jamiah-ul-quran*. It was a *barelvī*⁸ *madressah* located in the heart of the settlements of migrant *Baloch* tribe. The influential of *Buzdars*, doctors, elders and some nondurables offer their prayers there. The mosque has four rooms built inside it where 15 students from the mountains reside. They go to their respective schools, colleges and academies in the morning and acquire *Quranic* education in the evening. The rich among the locals provide funds for the maintenance of mosque and food for *Buzdar* students coming from far-reached areas and residing there to study. Another *madressah*, *Ilmul Quran* was also there, inside the *mohalla*. Only

⁸ *Barelvīs* is the local name of one among many religious sects of the Muslims and its adherents particularly in the sub-continent follow the teachings of a saint *Ahmad Reza Khan Barelvī* who lived in a town of the same name i.e. *bareli*. *Barelvīs* are thought to be a rather moderate and culturally oriented sub-continental version of the main stream official *Sunnī* Islam. Unlike the more puritan and *Shar'ia* based *Devbandī* sect of *Sunnī* Islam, it allows particular forms of singing like *Qawali* and dancing like *Dhamal*. Those called *barelvīs*, particularly associate themselves with mystical Sufi tradition of Islam and adherents of this sect out-number those of any other in sub-continent.

children of settled migrants come here for religious learning in the evening. *Buzdars* from middle and lower middle classes have started paying more attention and importance to the religious education of their children as compared to that of natives in the city. The details of the religious/sectarian identity have been given in the coming chapters.

2.3.2. Graveyard

The *Buzdars* people share the city grave yard and there was no exclusive one of their own. However, their *barelvi* sect was manifested with green color of their graves. Green color was often used on the graves of the dead who belong to *barelvi* sect. The use of green color was in fact an imitation of the color of the tomb of apostle's grave which was painted green. The people of that culturally oriented sect also use green turbans as an identity and to show their love of the Prophet (PBUH). Majority of *Buzdars* were belonged to *barelvi* sect and built little tombs on the graves of famous virtuous personalities of their tribe.

2.4. Public spheres

Besides having a drawing room in almost every household of the *Buzdars*, the market also serves as an important public sphere. The *Buzdar* society was fundamentally a patriarchal society and especially *Balochs* living in the far-reached mountainous areas of *Suleman* range, were not so kind to their women.⁹

They like to spend most of their time in public spheres with male counterparts. Similarly, you find the male members of *Buzdar* households sitting in the guest rooms and not inside their houses with women, even when there were no guests. Market was a typical male sphere where issues of diverse range were discussed. Politics, Islam/ethics were the favorite topics of the people sitting at the shops of their relatives or friends. Public job holders, retired army men/ BMP men and

⁹(Source: An interview with a retired head master and elder of migrant *Buzdar* community regarding status of women in *Buzdar* society).

some educated youngsters gather at the shops and *Buzdar* transportation stations and meet different people in the evening. Mostly household heads and elders were found there. So, these business places transform into public spheres in the evening. They serve a good purpose of socialization and diverse conversations.

2.4.1. Communication

The most important of all other aspects of *Buzdar* social organization and the profile of the semi urban *tehsil* of *taunsa* was the recent arrival of modern communication systems in the city. Although radio and television (T.V) were not new for the people of *taunsa*, the recent arrival of modern communication systems include Cable T.V. Networks, Dish Antenna, Internet and specially the mobile phones. The post 9/ 11 military rule in the country was marked by a pervasive flux of foreign money in the country's economy, coupled with large scale introduction of modern communication systems. Generally, any citizen of the city could tell that there has been a significant drop in the number of people going to play grounds and in occasional sports events in the city that included games like Volley Ball and Cricket. That was largely attributed to the introduction of Cable T.V networks and mobile phone technology. Youngsters prefer to watch movies or the political talk shows on numerous news channels or engaged with a friend on through their mobile phones during their free hours.

Before discussing the infrastructure of modern communications, it would be helpful to travel back and recall the traditional ways of communication that prevailed in the city before the arrival of modern communication system that has helped to understand the social significance of the traditional systems and to better grasp the nature of change.

2.4.2. Temporal changes in communication patterns in the city

Before the arrival of modern technologies, especially mobile phones, the city used to have, what was called, gossip cults. The groups of youngsters and elders involved some people of relatively equal ages who used to gather at some designated place at a viable hour of the day, mostly after sunset. The venue used to be either a tea stall locally known as *Khokha* or a corner of a

street with a *Charpaai*¹⁰. The meeting places often used to be away from the houses so that women do not listen to the amoral words that were the part of the discourse carried out in the gossip cults. Although the elders of *Buzdar* households in the city do not as frequently attend the daily gossip sessions of the cults that were held after the sunset and continue till late night.

It was often observed during the research that, except few *Buzdar* families that have settled in *taunsa* since long time. Most of the elders of the recently settled *Buzdar* households do not encourage the participation of their children in these late night gossip cults as they deem it immoral to remain absent from the house after the sun set. That was perhaps due to their recent past. While living in the mountains, it was really difficult for one to remain absent from the house after the sun set due to many reasons including security in the barely inhabited mountainous wilderness. Moreover, the idea of going out in the evening was unthinkable in *Suleman* Mountains where there were neither markets nor lights. A gloomy dusk and darkness prevails in the mountains after the sun set, which was deemed fit for lovers [read] only. However, the youngsters of many *Buzdar* families could be seen participating in the unique type of local communication sphere.

2.5.3. Games as spheres of social interaction

The indoor games had a crucial role in bringing people together in the times gone-by. Groups of elders as well as youngsters would gather at a designated place to play the in-doors games like *Luddo* and Cards. The timings of the games were often set after the dusk so that everyone was free from his work and can easily join. These games make up spheres of interaction between people and the members of these spheres almost always remained the same.

The mountainous life although has its own ways of organizing people and forming interactive spheres among the members of the society, however, with the changing times, all the spheres and friendships seem to have disappeared. Technology and information at the every door-step has changed the ways of people as well.

¹⁰ It is a sort of wooden bed with four legs. The place in between the four legs is masterfully filled with relatively hard but flexible strips or straws of a locally found plant called "*KOONDRR*". These *CHARPOYS* are also used as beds in the local houses. However, the one that is put in the street corners or roadsides for Gossip purpose, is fairly large than that used in the houses and is called *HAMACHA*. Nearly ten t twelve people can sit on a *HAMACHA* at one time. The size of the Gossip Cults also used to be the same with little variation. These *HAMACHAS* once used to be so popular that a local term '*HAMACHA CULTURE*' was used for this routine sittings and gossips.

2.6. Social organization

The perennial theorist of ethnicity in particularly anthropology and generally in social sciences, Frederick Barth, in his 1969 classic model describing *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* describes social organization as “a set of social roles, responsibilities and relations that are incumbent upon the constituting individuals of a group while living in a society is the social organization of the tribe in question.

The present research was to explore the migrant community settled in an urban area which has not been completely alien to them as they have maintained their acute contact with the city through their history for two major reasons. Before the partition, the Sufi saint lying buried in the city was the sole motivation of *Buzdars* to visit the city every year at least once, on the anniversary of the saint. Secondly, after partition, the divisions of the political constituency included the city and mountain area into a single provincial constituency. Thus *Buzdar* chief was politically compelled to maintain contacts with the political elite of the city and plain area in order to secure his seat in the provincial assembly, same was the case with urban political elite.

All those factors combined to instill a certain potential among *Buzdars*, for adjustability in an alien setting. Urban facilities were another important factor in driving their migration. Moreover, *Balochs* of *Koh-e-Suleman* was historically a nomadic tribe, constantly changing their geography in search of grazing spots. Thus, their social organization, while living in the city, must be described with due consideration to their customs, ceremonies, professions and businesses, in order to highlight the difference between the old and the new mode of life and to better understand what they have shed and assimilated during the process of migration and then settling down.

2.6.1. Identity discourse and social organization

The question of identity can readily be explained as far as social organization of a people is understood and the roles played by individuals in their respective societies, However, this way of looking at identity of a people may be more relevant in societies where institutional organization has not been over powered by modern economic concerns and where societies have been organized along their indigenous value systems. It should be noted that it is very difficult to argue that such

societies exist, at least in our part of the world, that have been completely isolated from the effects of politics and history. However, we may find human collectivities that in the third world where people play their roles as part of the larger whole and where they owe an obligatory sense of belonging to the larger society. This way of theorizing identity is extremely popular in constructivist discourses of identity where ethnic identity is understood, sometimes literally, as something that organizes the people and places them in a particular [perhaps stereotypic] context especially in view of the ethnic ‘others’. This is evident in the way the most quoted constructivist theorist of identity, Frederick Barth (1969), defines an ethnic group:

“Ethnic group is a population that has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified with others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order”. (Barth 1969)

How *Buzdars* constitute a separate category, according to this principle definition, the way they were organized in the city after migrating from the adjoining mountains. The data explained that has been largely taken from the daily diaries, personal notes and observations made during the research. In many ways, *Buzdar* social organization in the city in fact marks something different from the city dwellers. The extent of the difference would possibly become clearer after the detailed description of various aspects of *Buzdar* social organization.

2.6.2. Family structure

Family structure of *Buzdars* living in the city was largely nuclear, they preferred to live exclusively in extended or even joint family. Much of its reason comes from the nature of *Buzdar* family in the tribal area and the nature of migration.

2.6.2.1. Table No.1: Family structure among migrant Buzdars in Taunsa

Nuclear Family	Joint Family	Extended Family	Total Families
22	18	10	50
(44%)	(36%)	(20%)	(100%)

Source, Socio-economic census forms.

As *Buzdars*, both in mountains and city, face the needs of modern life they were adopting to any means of income generation. Income generation was impossible while living in the mountains. Typically, most of them join state militias and army at a very early age, mostly in junior ranks. Ideally after retirement, they buy a plot of land in the city and construct a house there. So they move in the city in their personal capacity and cannot accommodate members of joint family with them. The economic reason was most important in shaping the family structure of *Buzdars* in the city.

Table No.1: Lineages/ sub-castes encountered among migrant Buzdars

Sr.No.	Title of sub-caste	Number of household-heads
1.	Rustamani	7
2.	Chakarani	15
3.	Shahwani	10
4.	Habibani	3
5.	Sobhani	4
6.	Dostlani	2
7.	Jalalani	2
8.	Ghulamani	3
9.	Shadmani	4
10.	Total	50

The above table shows that the concentration of resident sub-castes in the city was high, the main sub-castes of *Buzdar* tribe and a few were left out of the list has been given in the table. Similarly, *Chakrani* sub-caste was more concentrated in the city than many others. It was a

politically very important sub-caste because they were the also internal opposition to tribal chief. There was no other sub-caste which was as ardently perceived as anti-chief caste.

The chief of the *Buzdar* tribe belongs to the *Shadmani* lineage of *Buzdars* which was mentioned above. The colonial period was particularly important as the chiefs of these *Baloch* tribes kept changing as they shifted their political alliance away or towards the British. Most of the chiefs of *Baloch* tribes residing in *Koh-e-Suleman* pledged loyalty with the British and actually fought against the other *Baloch* chiefs of local areas. *Buzdars'* tribal chief was also elected as member of provincial legislative of Punjab in 2008 general elections from pp-240 which includes both, the tribal area of *Buzdars* in the mountains which was a political stronghold of their chief.

2.7. Ceremonies and rituals

Every cultural group demonstrates, from time to time, certain ceremonies in which it demonstrates its cultural ethos and social values various ceremonies reflect various perceptions and mores that are vital expressions of that particular culture.

Buzdars also perform certain ceremonies, both religious and cultural, from time to time. Some of them were shared by city dwellers as well, while others were their own distinct cultural expressions. Some of the ceremonies are described here under, as they relate to the topic of the research:

2.7.1. Marriage

In the old days, *Buzdars* used to have entirely different set of customs during their marriages in the tribal area. They retain some of the features of those pristine customs to date. For example, endogamy was one of them. They largely marry within their lineage, the causes of which are to be explained later.

The most important reason behind such a high ratio of endogamous marriages among the household heads of *Buzdars* was that most of them were married in their own tribes before their migration to the city; therefore there were little chances of exogamy there.

2.7.2. Marriage processions and festivities

They used to arrange various traditional sports on the day of marriage lasted all day long. At the evening, meal was served to the guests, only meat and rice, by the bridegroom's family. After that bride was departed with her new partner in life. However, now while they live in the city, most of those cultural events like sports, serving meal without taking money from anyone, arranging musical night at the end of marriage, were not possible. So, most of their marriage customs now resemble those of city dwellers. Even marriage songs were often sung in *Saraiki*, the language of the native people of *taunsa*. They arrange *Waleemah* in which every attendant has to pay some money. Marriage starts several days earlier and was not concluded in a day, like they did in the past. *Mehndi*, *jaaga*, *parna* are some of the marriage customs that were carried out which were originally plains area's customs.

2.7.3. Death ceremonies

There was a custom in the tribal areas that the grave of the deceased was dug by her/his relatives, while no one has to pay for it as they collectively do it for *sawab*. The professional grave diggers of the city do that for *Buzdars*. However, funeral procession carried out in the same way as traditionally practiced by city dwellers. The only occasional difference was that *Buzdars* call for a virtuous person from the family of their great Sufi saint, only if some influential or pious person passes away. One or two days after the funeral, *Qul-Khawnin* was arranged. Immediately after the burial of a person as well as on the third of the death, that praying session was arranged in which a lot of people read the holy verses and pray for the *sawab* gained from these recitations, to be transferred to the deceased so that his soul may be absolved. On both, the first and the third day of the death, large quantities of food were prepared for the attendees. All the activities were perfectly performed in line with the death ceremonies arranged by the city dwellers. It shows that while both the people were fundamentally different from another in many ways, they were strikingly similar to each other in some other ways. So, in all the aspects, *Buzdars* have completely assimilated themselves with the local population.

2.7.3. Rituals

There was a significant difference between ceremonies and rituals, the ceremonies were demonstrated occasionally, while ritual demonstration was often found to be repetitive and simultaneous among the *Buzdars* that relate to their identity on one way or the other.

2.7.3.1. Eids

The *Buzdar* community shares Muslim faith with the city dwellers. Both communities perform *eids* and its rituals in their own way. Some of *Buzdars* return to the mountains but they were very few and relative new migrants. They meet each other at *Eid namaz* (prayer) like city dwellers and cook sweet food. However, *Buzdars* were fond of meat, so they cook meat in their houses and serve their guests.

2.7.3.2. Urs

The *Urs* is the native terms for the anniversary, every year the people of the area as well as people from far reached areas of the country commemorate the anniversary of great Sufi saint *Hazrat Khawaja Shah Suleman* especially *Buzdars* from the whole tribal region and from the city throng around the tomb of the great saint. People of *Buzdar* community have great reverence for the saint. The event was so rich that it has numerous aspects, musical programs were held in which famous *qawal*¹¹ (singer who sings only the devotional *qawals*) from all around the country present sufi verses in melodic *qawals* and markets were stalled specially for the occasion. Sweet shops were seen everywhere. However, increasing modernization, education and urban life has desensitized the younger generation of the *Buzdar* community. But they were not averse to the feelings of reverence.

2.8. Dress patterns

The *Buzdar* tribe, more than any other tribe of the area was found to be uniquely dressed, most of them, often elders, place a particular turban on their heads, their cloths were often very

¹¹*Qawal*, in a language, is a singer who sings devotional songs at shrines.

bright and of unique colors. They like to wear dark blue and green dress; their women were also fond of the bright shades including yellow and pink. *Buzdars* were comprised of a colorful community not only in dress, but in character and conduct as well. The *Buzdar* men wear a particular shoe made of hard leather which was durable in the mountains. Most of them use that variety of shoes even in the plain areas. Like most of the rural areas, *Buzdars* too widely use *shalwar Kameez* as their dress by both the gender groups.

2.9. Physical appearance

An important feature of *Buzdars* was their appearance of face, almost all of them have a short beard, both young and old. Most of the elders and some of the youngsters also shave their mustache's little part right under the nose. Although it was a general facial feature of other *Baloch* tribes of *Koh-e-Suleman* and was prevalent among *Buzdars* only. The beard and shaving of a little part of their mustaches was according to them a religiously sanctioned style and a traditional *muhammadan* style and one can locate a *Buzdar* in a crowd by observing those facial features. It gives them something which was their own, their self of their physical identity. In spite of changing trends, the *Buzdars* would maintain that kind of norm at their own.

2.10. Formal institutions within urban social organization

Within the social organization of *Buzdar* community and the urban social setting, it consists of two types of institutions. These can be identified as the formal and informal social institutions. The functional aspect of these institutions in the maintenance and assimilation of the identity of *Buzdar* community are given in detail in the later chapter. Structural explanation of the institutions is given below

2.10.1. Police

Police was one important formal institution within the urban life of migrated *Buzdar* community. The *Buzdars* were basically non-violent and gentle disposition collectively. Crime rate was almost zero in their community. Their traditional values, norms and conceptions of honor were, apparently the major factors that derive their conduct in daily life.

2.10.2. Educational institutions

Although they had educational institutions of mostly primary and middle level in their native area, the importance of education was significant in their urban lives and was the most important reason behind their present spell of migration. Education was the sole factor, inducing change in the minds of their youngsters and was creating an urban outlook in them. Their previously traditional modes of socialization have been completely replaced by educational institutes of public and private sector.

A most important corollary of that influence was the change in the status of women among the *Buzdar* community of urban area. Education was the sole factor behind economic, and as a result of that, domestic emancipation of women to some extent. Its effects will be analyzed in the coming chapters.

2.10.3. Health institutions

Migrated *Buzdars* living in *Taunsa*, have the facility of public hospital where their patients get almost free medical care like the city dwellers.

2.10.4. Local government system

The local government system has also been providing several services and incentives to the *Buzdars*. They owned the system largely, because the city *Nazim* was from their ethnic group. Although *Nazim* (elected political administrator of the city) was from middle class and relatively less biased in terms of ethnic affiliation, it was still a plus point for *Buzdar* community of the city apparently because of the numerical strength of *Buzdar* who voted for the man to become the *nazim*. He felt indebted to them for providing support because it was finally his ethnic origin which secured him a bulk of vote bank among the migrant community of the same ethnic origin and enabled him to defeat the local political elite of the city who also have the religious and spiritual leaders of *Buzdars* themselves. The event of defeat to locals emerged as the most important expression of *Buzdar* ethnicity in the public political discourse and has highlighted the political/electoral importance of migrants.

The influence of the victory of a *Budar* in local elections of the city on the local political make up and resurgence, of *Buzdar* ethnicity in the city were closely linked. Most of the respondents attributed the success of a *Buzdar* candidate for city *nazim* as an expression of distinct identity on the part of new immigrant community of the city who collectively voted in his favor. However, various local castes also opted for the candidate belonging to immigrant community.

2.11. Informal institutions- Tribal chief

The division of area as political constituency has to do a lot with the prevailing socio political make up of the immigrant community. The tribal chief of the immigrant community usually contests the elections for the seat of provincial assembly in the constituency named PP-240 which includes the tribal areas as well as the town. The tribe oriented voting practice in the tribal area puts the tribal chief at a great advantage in relation to the candidates belonging to the city. Thus their tribal chief has to play a significant role in the politics of the city. He frequently visits the city and listens to the *Buzdars* living there as they also form a major part of his vote bank in his non-native, plain area. He also resolves day to day conflicts of the city *Buzdars* who often prefer informal solution to their conflicts and try to avoid courts and police for reasons well known.

2.11.1. Local mukaddims¹² and elders

Mukaddim was the local term in *Balochi* language used for a local decision maker-cum-investigator and often the chief of a clan or elder of a lineage or in some cases a rich man who assumes the responsibility. *Mukaddims* were found active in the mountains, but assigning the responsibility of tackling various affairs of a moiety, lineage or an extended family, was entrenched in the *Baloch* culture. So, even while they live in the city, surrounded by formal laws and institutions, they retain the cultural trait of their previous rigid patriarchal social structure. Some of the *mukaddims* have themselves migrated now, from various regions of *Buzdar tummun*. They are not named as such though in the city, but they play important role in keeping the community of *Nizamabad* intact and in resolving day to day conflicts and issues of fellow *Buzdars*. Similarly,

¹²*Mukaddim* is the Persian word used for something or person that comes first or that which is prime, held above, revered, honored etc. In *Baloch* social world, the elder of a particular setting inhabited by the extended family of one or in some cases more than one lineage is called *mukaddim*. *Mukaddims* make decisions regarding local conflicts, make a very important feature of local council of elders or *JIRGA* etc.

more educated persons among the community, like doctors, have also assumed the status of a kind of decision makers and power brokers in the immigrant community. They also donate funds to the seminaries established by immigrant community in *nizamabad*.

2.11.3. Relatives, friendships and networks

It is imperative to mention that *Buzdars* of the city were not living in a constant feeling of our alien places of being in an alien place. As they live close to each other, their relatives were their friends, same was the case with both *Baloch* elders and youngsters. Youngsters share every secret of their life with their relative-cum-friends and spend whole day with them. Similarly, the elders whenever they were free, either they prefer to stay home, which was not the case with them in native area, or they come in *Aotak*¹³ where TV or cable was provided for entertaining young guys of their family and their guests. But the 'menace' was hardly allowed to cross the boundary of male guest room and enter into the house. Such gatherings have, through the time, developed social networks of youngsters and elders who lived in cooperation. But during the research work, many of the *Balochs* complained for uncaring attitude of their compatriots.

2.12 Political economy

The socio-political conditions in which the present research on maintenance and assimilation of ethnic identity was conducted, involved the economic strategies of the migrant ethnic community in an urban setting as an important factor to be studied. Economy matters a lot in the overall social milieu in which *Buzdars* live as an ethnic group. They seem to have devised their survival strategies to maintain and uplift their material assets in an urban capitalist economy. As mentioned above, the city of *taunsa* was historically not an alien place for *Buzdars*. Their greatest spiritual leader, *Hazrat Khawaja Shah Suleman Taunsvi* was buried there. They have maintained their occasional contact with the city for quite a few centuries from now. As the pace of migration increased, the strategies to revive their economic status too increased among *Buzdar* middle classes, thus the retrospect increased the stakes of *Buzdars* in the peaceful and harmonic continuity of life in

¹³ *Balochi* word for a drawing room, mostly built attached to the building of the house and opens in the street. It is used for entertaining male guest only since the female guests are attended by household women inside the house.

the city as well because in the case of any ethnic tensions, *Buzdars*' have developed economic independence and political awareness.

2.12.1. Professions¹⁴

The *Buzdars* were pervasive in almost every field of economic activity in the city, while their exact numbers in various fields of income generation was not possible. Many of *Buzdars* were educated and hold public sector jobs in various departments as clerks, assistants, supervisors, teachers and head masters. Many individuals of *Buzdar* community own shops or some sort of business. Businessmen among them were mostly shopkeepers while those with poorer backgrounds were vendors. Some were tailors and others deal in clothes. Both parties (*Buzdars* and natives) own shops, side by side, in *Sulemani Bazaar* of *taunsa*, the market comprising thousands of shops selling toys, clothes, jewelry, cosmetics, shoes, tin boxes and stitching services to ladies and gents and sweets etc. They have their separate transport stations which were consciously developed separate from the transport satiations owned by the native transporters, having valuable space for *Buzdar* shop keepers inside them. They sell products of daily use and the number of their shops was above one hundred in two main transport stations of *Buzdars* where traffic comes from and leaves for only mountainous destinations of the tribal people in the west. Vehicles were owned by *Buzdars* themselves. Some of them live in the city; others live in the hills. Many of the *Buzdars* were vendors who stall their carts through the city bazaars all the day. They sell vegetables, fruits, sweets and seasonal eatable eatables. There were few among the *Buzdars* who fall under the label of unskilled labor and do wage labor on daily basis.

¹⁴ Please refer to page 67 of the fourth chapter for detailed description of various professions held by the interviewed respondents of *Buzdar* community

Chapter No.3

3.0 Literature review

The idea of ethnicity is thought to have flowed from the Greek word, *Ethnos*, used to refer to human collectivities¹⁵. Although many believe that the ethnicity led movements and the inception of various identity led conflicts in the last century were largely the result of the failure of leftist politics, the debate on ethnicity, as it is perceived and practiced in parts of the world even in these days, had started from the 1900 onwards. The idea of ethnic or tribal group became a convenient expression to mark group differentiation especially after Second World War when notions of “race” had almost completely been discredited. Since then, ethnic movements and resurgent politics of ethnicity even among the populations of developed world, have kept social scientist busy in explaining the nature of ethnicity or perhaps more accurately, that of “identity”. This was not an isolated intellectual exercise as “Identity”, “Ethnicity” and “Ideology” in some cases continued to shape the political reordering of the post-war world. Thus, massive works have been carried out by scholars of social sciences on different aspects of human identity i.e. its origins, formation of identities ethnic, racial, regional, political, ideological, religious and others, their assertion in political processes and numerous related aspects and processes.

In anthropology, the seminal work on the issue of ethnic identity was carried out by Frederick Barth. His work was so influential that it created heightened debate within the scholarly circles of anthropology and related fields. A debate, that still goes on within the main stream anthropological concerns of identity. While Frederick Barth, through his major work sub-titled as “*The Social Organization of Culture Difference*” emphasized the inherent liquidity and social constructions of the notions of ethnicity and identity and, as is clear from the title, understood the phenomena of ethnic identity as a form of social organization, others in the field remained more inclined towards static models explaining ethnicity and were more convinced of ethnic identity as being inherently basic, prejudiced, objective or primordial, as they call it. Although the decades long debate about whether identity and more particularly Ethnic Identity is a biological/ natural and internally static phenomena or is the situational outcome of social strategy as various human collectivities struggle to situate themselves in a particular socio-political environment, was already

¹⁵http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_group

occupying greater space in intellectual circles interested in explaining human cultural diversity, the work of Frederick Barth successfully caught the attention of the experts of the field and was widely debated. Present research was also conducted on the maintenance of ethnic identity of a tribal and ethnic group called *Buzdars*. Before we delve further into the available anthropological literature on the subject, it is imperative to define an ethnic group and see whether this migrant tribal group is an ethnic group according to the definition or not. Frederick Barth, eminent anthropologist, quotes the definition of an ethnic group:

1. It is largely biologically self-perpetuating.
2. It shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms.
3. It makes up a field of communication and interaction.
4. It has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order [quoted by, Narroll.1964]” (Barth F. 1969. pp. 10-11)

Some of these characters correspond to the ethnic group under the research, while it is difficult to categorically ascribe *Buzdar* tribe living in *taunsa* as biologically self-perpetuating, it can possibly be so. The wide spread practice of endogamy that was observed during the field work, attests to this partial generalization. However, *Buzdars* do share a strong sense of common values and fundamental cultural affinities of language, dress, belief (to some extent) and other overt cultural forms. Similarly, *Buzdars* have settled down in the city in a manner that clearly establishes a field of communication, transportation and economic transactions, things that, according to above mentioned definition, make a group an ethnic entity by establishing a field of interaction among the members of human group in question. Similarly, another condition for a human group to be called as ethnic group, as expounded by Barth, was that the group in question has a mechanism of membership that clearly differentiates its members from the out group and establishes among its members a sense of being alike. *Buzdar* community fulfills the criteria as they were known to the city dwellers as a group which is different from them and the members of which were alike in many ways.

The present research was conducted on the ethnic identity of the tribal group which migrated towards an urban area and has settled there. The culture of the tribe was not entirely different from that of the native culture of city where the tribe has migrated. Thus, the foremost question that comes to mind was whether it was feasible to conduct a study on ethnicity in a place where the cultural features of various constituent groups of the community were not entirely different from each other?

In other words, is it possible for distinct ethnic groups to live in the same cultural and ecological conditions and still maintain the boundaries that differentiate them from other groups living in same cultural and social proximity? Frederick Barth, in his important work on the ethnic identity called *Ethnic groups and boundaries*, answers this basic question by stating that:

"First, it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of inclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories. Secondly, one finds that stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. In other words, ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence".

(Barth F. 1969. pp. 9-10)

According to Frederick Barth, the present study derives its practical justification, while it is important to mention that despite the above mentioned fact that inter-ethnic contact does not always alters the cultural features of one or the other ethnic group, *Buzdars* were an ethnic group in a slightly different way than the natives of the city. *Buzdars* were tribal group and were more

cordially organized around their tribal chief and their cultural values. Most of them were migrated to the city. The natives of the city tend to lead a more personal life, their ethnic affiliations only glow at certain important events i.e. mostly during general or local elections. While *Buzdars* lead a life with a constant sense of themselves as members of a group and with a shared sense of obligatory cooperation.

Similarly, in the same study, Barth further notes that:

"It is important to note that although ethnic categories take cultural differences and into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Not only do ecologic variations mark and exaggerate differences; some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied".

(Ibid.,pp. 14)

The relevant part of the above mentioned argument is the selection or rejection of similarities and differences between ethnic groups in the process of ethnic categorization, by the actors of the groups themselves. The actors themselves signify or downplay and deny some similarities and differences that are regarded as significant by them. In other words, the construction of difference which finally becomes the identity of an ethnic group, which excludes certain individuals from the group and includes others, depends on the choice of the actors of ethnic groups themselves and do not naturally follow from the overt similarities and differences that exist in reality. Same was the case with *Buzdars*, they occasionally object to certain overt features of native culture in order to explain their differences with natives. Their objections were often moral or religious in nature. For example, one respondent told that the dress pattern of the females of city dwellers was not proper and un-Islamic. They should use white shuttle cock *Burqas* (veils that cover the whole female body) rather than like the urban women simply hiding their faces behind *Dupattas*.

The corollary of this argument is that, socially relevant and significant forms of similarities and differences between the groups will determine the nature of ethnic boundary/ boundaries between them. And that this boundary should be the object of empirical investigation and not the apparent cultural differences and similarities. Between the two communities of the city i.e. *Buzdars* and the natives, electoral politics serves as form through which social process of inclusion and exclusion takes place. It is purely the result of people's choice of this institution for this purpose and has not resulted from any pre-existing cultural differences or similarities. Although there were certain similarities regarding the political systems of the two communities, the ascription of politics to represent inclusion and exclusion is the result of actors' choice.

The debate on choice regarding factors determining their identity enters into the subjective field of meanings. The actors in an ethnic group are likely to choose those factors, as determinants of their identity, which mean for them a lot. That is the factors they consider significant will be chosen in a given situation as determining their identity. Leonie Huddy has rightly stated that:

"Taken together, research on ethnic and national identities suggests at a minimum that identity formation cannot be simply explained by the salience of a group designation. Rather, it hints at the first of four key issues- the subjective meaning of identities- that I believe need to be addressed by social identity researchers before the theory (social identity theory) can be successfully applied to political phenomena. As research on patriotism demonstrates, American identity does not mean the same thing to all Americans. And it is the meaning of American identity, not its existence that determines its political consequences".

(Huddy L. 2001. pp. 130)

The salience of being a *Buzdar*, and that's why a *Baloch* of course, is stronger but their identity needed a form before it was given the political form. That is, being a *Buzdar* did not ensure the political prestige unless the *Buzdar* identity came to be associated with and asserted through politics that being a *Buzdar* ensured a politically important space in the urban area. Among the *Buzdars* living in *Taunsa*, neither the traditional outlook, nor any other cultural feature accounted

for *Buzdar* identity. It is only through politically expressing the alliances that the members of the group become part of a legitimized and recognized group.

It must be noted that the recognition and salience that results from association with a political group, is certified by the larger *Buzdar* group which itself is a pro-tribal chief political entity. That is, if someone seeks this certification and legitimization of ethnic salience, he must seek it by becoming, politically, a part of that larger group (which means casting vote for tribal chief) or part of the relatively smaller anti-chief faction (which means opposing the Chief and casting vote for this faction's candidate). Thus political alliances have been ascribed the function of boundary maintenance between the two groups of *taunsa*. It means that even if they remain in close contact, practice inter-marriage and retain friendly relations across their ethnic group, the identity of the *Buzdars* will maintain itself due to somewhat exclusive tendency on their political practice or vote pattern.

Here an important question arises regarding the old *Buzdar* migrants who were completely assimilated in native culture. How the division between them was to be theoretically explained? What warrants the continuity of their separate identity when they seem to be continually assimilating in the local culture?

Leonie Huddy cogently notes the difference between a nominal identity and a virtual identity by stating:

"To better understand how identities are acquired, it is helpful to consider the distinction that has emerged in several different lines of research between belonging to a social category and internalizing its meaning. Anthropologist Frederick Barth (1969, 1981) called this the difference nominal identity based on a name and virtual membership based on an experience. Others have referred to this as the difference between a category in which individuals are "united by some common characteristic" apparent to outsiders and a group in which members "are aware of their similarities" and define themselves on that basis

(Ibid., pp. 141)

The writer is highlighting the basis of acquisition of identity among ethnic groups. This distinction applies to the two kinds (in terms of identity) of *Buzdars* living in and around the city. The old ones endure the nominal *Buzdar* identity which is based on the name only. That's why their politics is not the same as practiced by the new *Buzdars*. Nominal identity among the old migrants has not resulted in the kind of political participation, among them, of the sort found among the new *Buzdars*. Besides various factors that have led the old *Buzdars* to the kind of cultural, linguistic and political assimilation, their present identity cannot be attributed as a *Buzdar* identity in the same way as it is attributed to the new *Buzdars*.

On the other hand, new *Buzdars* have internalized the meanings of their identity as it developed in the city and which is centered on particular electoral and political alliances that they practice to assert their identity. The groups may practice Endogamy, say that they are *Buzdars*, retain their outlook, some of the old *Buzdars* may also speak *Balochi* language as well, but the *meaningful* pattern of political behavior separates them from new migrants. Thus, ethnic boundary between migrants and natives of *taunsa* consists of varying political behavior and diverse meanings and significance attached with this behavior. As a result, these differences are asserted on the occasions of general and local elections or discussion about elections. Similarly, the writer explains the process of sharpening of identity in multi-ethnic communities:

"The notion that out-groups help to define category membership is linked to Barth's (1981) view that much of the meaning of identity is created at its boundaries in interaction or dialogue with out-group members. One obvious political implication of this finding is that group identity may be more diffuse and less intense in the absence of a clear out-group to sharpen the meaning of group membership and identify the kinds of people who lie outside the group boundary".

(Ibid., pp. 141)

The above mention assertion explains the strongly prevailing *Buzdar* identity in the city. It is interesting to note that the *Buzdar* identity, as it prevails in a politicized framework did not existed at the time when new immigrants lived in their tribal area. There, they were divided on the

lines of sub-caste descent and general *Buzdar* identity did not prevail at that time. It became highlighted only when they arrived in the city. It was only when there used to be a strong out-group that *Buzdar* identity became highlighted. Similarly, the existence of a large out-group led to the sharpening political and to some extent social, cohesion among *Buzdars* though it served their tribal chief. However, this sharpened identity should not be taken as the sole identity of *Buzdars* living in the city. Individual variations and inconsistencies should never be unexpected in a multi-ethnic social sphere. Forcing a particular kind of identity on members of a group is not supported theoretically as well as socially.

There are small factions that endure a different kind of ethnic identity and practice a different politics which is often opposed to tribal chief centered political orientation of the larger *Buzdar* ethnic group. Again the diverse meanings of a designation, orientation or an identity based set of social and political practices become important. However, ethnic identities have often been found to be stable and long lasting in social research conducted across disciplines.

The paradox that still remains to be addressed is the existence of many *Buzdars*, who migrated to the city fifty years ago, or more, and who stand as completely assimilated with the native *Saraiki* culture and even politics. Before we describe the social conditions that led these *Buzdars* to total assimilation, it is imperative to see whether and how such a complete assimilation becomes possible.

Jimmy M. Sanders describes such assimilation in these words:

"The ways in which insiders and outsiders go about characterizing a group, and thereby positioning it and its members in the larger society, are responsive to the social and historical context within which intergroup interactions take place (Nagel 1994, Waters 1990). Consequently, ethnic identities are fluid across time and social contexts, sometimes even to the point of "ethnic switching"(Alba 1990, Nagel 1995)."

(Sander M. Jimmy. 2002. pp. 328)

The concept of ethnic switching somewhat explains the complete assimilation of *Buzdars*. However, it was the result of prevailing socio-political conditions that led them to complete assimilation. It was not the result of any collective ethnic instrumentalization on the part of old

Buzdars. They assimilated as they individually entered into the city and its surroundings. For social prestige and survival, it was necessary for them to align themselves with native political forces for social and economic security and legitimization. There existed no politics of *Buzdar* ethnicity at that time.

The writer further discusses:

"Researchers must also investigate patterns of interaction that link groups. The locations of cross-group interactions are usually better understood in terms of social space than as physical places. The social spaces wherein cross-group interactions take place are the effective social boundaries between groups. In this sense, it is "the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses (Barth 1969, pp. 15)".

(Ibid., pp. 328)

In case of the two communities of the city, *Buzdars* and natives, the social space in which inter-ethnic transaction occurs, is provided by the political phenomena. Casting of the votes becomes a way to express alliances that in turn determine the individuals' sense of their selves. Thus, generally, elections are the social spaces where identities are expressed on a massive level. In fact, the alliances that are expressed through casting of votes remain a subject of discussion and debate until the next election. In all this period, people's conduct and relations with one another depend on the nature of their respective political alliances. Here it must be explained that political parties and ideologies are intertwined with certain religious ideas in a complex way. A liberal political party is perceived to represent certain ethnic (native) and religious groups (non-Sunnis mostly). Thus, the expressions of political alliances become ethnic boundaries through which people are identified. Here, despite certain real cultural distinctions, nothing of their culture determines the creation of difference between the two communities. But the theoretical appropriation of the above mentioned ethnic categorization and division of the city requires some explanation and debate. Theories of ethnic closure or assimilation and ethnic competition or in other words maintenance of ethnic boundaries form a greater part of recent theorization on ethnicity.

3.1. Closed ethnicity

Sean-Shong Hwang and Steve H. Murdock argued in their study argued:

"Ethnic enclosure," derives primarily from Milton Gordon's (1964) assimilation theory, subsequently expanded by human ecologists (Marston and Van Valey 1979; Massey and Denton 1985; Massey and Mullan 1984) incorporating spatial assimilation as an intermediate variable. This approach sees ethnic identity as immigrants' sense of common nationality, a residue of shared cultural heritage brought to the host society and maintained as long as they are physically and socially isolated from members of groups outside their ethnic enclave. Newness in the host society and cultural and structural barriers that hinder full integration create isolation"

(Hwang S. Sean & Murdock S. H. 1991. pp. 468)

They continue to explain the ethnic closure model as:

"Ethnic identity erodes over time, however, as minorities learn the host's language, adopt its cultural patterns, improve their socioeconomic standing, and are exposed to and interact more frequently with majority members and other minorities on a primary basis. In sum, the ethnic enclosure thesis maintains that lack of opportunities for intergroup contacts and socioeconomic advancement sustain ethnic identity. As cultural and structural barriers fall, most minority members relinquish their ethnic identity and seek full assimilation"

(Ibid., pp. 469)

In various theories of ethnicity, the ethnic makeup of *taunsa* does not warrant the application of a single theoretical model. Situation of ethnic competition and closure, assimilation and economic segregation, is too diverse to be explained under the premise of hard and fast theory of ethnicity. For example, *Buzdars* living in the city, compete with the city dwellers in every field of life. They maintain their identity without being subjected to economic marginalization. Their

relatively low economic status at present is not the result of marginalization. Similarly, there is no lack of opportunities of their interaction with the natives. *Buzdars* maintain friendly contacts with their ethnic 'others'.

3.2. Competitive ethnic phenomena

Both the above mentioned writers have explained the ethnic competition model. "Ethnic competitionists see ethnic identity as a dormant political consciousness aroused among minorities as they confront majority prejudice and discrimination. According to Portes and Bach (1985, p. 285):

"Ethnicity is not . . . a mere consequence of the persistence of traditional cultural traits, but . . . created by the host society." Confrontation with host society "realities" makes ethnics of "immigrants who shared only the most tenuous linkages in the old country" (p. 25). Such realities, intrinsically discriminatory and prejudicial, exist primarily outside of ethnic enclaves and hence are encountered only when minority members leave their ethnic enclaves and interact with majority members. Those confined in ethnic enclaves are unlikely to experience such outside hostility. This perspective expects ethnic identity to heighten as minorities increase their knowledge about the host society, enter mainstream occupations, and interact more frequently with majority members. In sum, the ethnic competition thesis asserts that greater intergroup contact intensifies minority ethnic identity".

(Ibid., pp. 470)

In *Buzdars* case, the exertion of ethnic identity through political process was the initiative of the settlers and it was not introduced by the host community. It is possible that the creation of difference was caused by existence of a strong out-group in the form of city dwellers that sharpened the ethnic element among *Buzdars* and may have persuaded them towards ethnicity oriented politics. However, it is increasingly possible that politicized ethnic identity among *Buzdars* originated out of their contact with the native population of the city. However, the form of this type of identity in the prevailing circumstances is neither alarming nor rigidly exclusive

because of other non-cultural elements that are shared by the both communities. These aspects which restrict the emergence of ethnic collision between the host and settler communities are discussed in the next chapter in detail. Moreover, the present circumstances do not suggest increase in ethnic identity among *Buzdars* as they increase their contact with the native population and begin to assimilate, in some aspects of their cultural life, with the native population. So we cannot single handedly apply any of the two views while studying this community and its identity. However, it is not to suggest that we need to develop an entirely new framework to explain contact between two communities and maintenance of distinct identity among one of them. The study lies between the two approaches. Each of them explains certain factors of assimilation and maintenance of ethnic identity among *Buzdars*.

Moving further, it is imperative to mention the nature of *Buzdar* identity as it exists. Does it exist as an important feature of their lives? Is it important for them to uphold the belief that they are different from city dwellers, as they go out there in their daily lives? These are important conditions to answer. It was found that although there were certain physical features among *Buzdars* like, dress, beard, and cultural ones like language etc that denoted their difference with the natives; their identity was largely expressed in political terms by respondents. They did not think these features, excluding to some extent their language, that so markedly differentiate them from city dwellers. The difference was to be cured and expressed through votes only.

F.J. Schryer in his study, *"Multiple Hierarchies and the Duplex Nature of Groups"*, highlights some further issues concerning the makeup and internal diversity of groups, whether ethnic, religious or cultural. He wrote:

"Group memberships overlap to a greater or lesser extent. For example, a person could be identified as being 'French', a 'worker', and 'Black'. But to what extent that individual identifies or interacts on a regular basis with members of any of these groups is another question. Even if there were such interaction, members of each of those three groups may not acknowledge multiple identities. Despite crosscutting ties, groups are portrayed as mutually exclusive both in research and daily life because most people see and understand groups in this way. Even scholars downplay or ignore internal diversity and overlapping group

boundaries to reveal the 'essence' of a group as manifested in common traits or similarity in social position. This is as true for communal groups based on ethnicity or religion as it is for occupational groups."

(Schryer J. F. 2001. pp. 707)

The writer emphasizes two important aspects regarding group formation and group perception. The present formation of *Buzdars* as an ethnically different group, though *Buzdars* also find in themselves certain religious differences with city dwellers but those are in fact cultural ones, cannot be categorized as a discrete group which is essentially exclusive. There are overlapping individual tendencies among educated *Buzdars* of *Taunsa*. They do not categorize themselves as *Buzdars* only although they may be perceived by some people to be. Casting their votes in general and local for candidates other than tribal chief was, to them, the strongest evidence to it. It clearly re-establishes the basic thesis of the present research and confirms that electoral practices are the key expressions of alliance which in turn give the actor a sense of his 'self' and makes his identity meaningful.¹⁶

Similarly, there were less examples of a closed social life among *Buzdars*. They maintained frequent and well established ties with the natives of the city. All that determined the local or general elections as events in which strongly practiced identities occasionally glow or are made to glow. However, strategies of maintenance in political and economic field are very important and are discussed in the next chapter. Especially the separate markets of *Buzdars* in the mainstream city serve a cordial function of arranging economic and extra-economic interaction among *Buzdars* of the city. Similarly, their feelings of being attached with the *Buzdars* of tribal area are also revitalized due to tribal *Buzdars*' constant contact with the city and their utilization of the markets of *Buzdars* in the city. Thus, through establishment of separate *Buzdar* markets, social and economic interaction is strategically channelized and successfully commercialized by the *Buzdars* of *Taunsa*.

¹⁶ In this research, I continuously refer to actors through terms like 'his' or 'him' only, because there was no access to the female members of *Buzdar* ethnic group. It was not feasible even to try for such an access due to the conservative outlook of society that does not allow gender inter-mixing. Thus, only the patriarchs or male members of the households in the sample were interviewed and it was assumed that the patriarch is the carrier of identity. Some information regarding females of *Buzdar* community in *Taunsa* and in tribal area also comes from male respondents with whom I was able to establish enough rapport to extract this information.

We come to know that one vital function of an ethnic group is to organize the interaction among the individuals of a particular group. And this quality of organizing interaction keeps the ethnic group living and ethnic boundaries maintained (Barth, 1969). Michael Hechter in his study argued:

"The Political Economy of Ethnic Change", cogently notes that "Every society has observable customs, styles of life, and institutions-in short, a distinctive set of cultural forms-through which meanings are ascribed, goals are enumerated, and social life is regulated. The totality of these cultural forms is often considered to make up the "ethnicity" of a particular group. In this conception, ethnicity becomes indistinguishable from culture".

(Hechter M.1974. pp.1152)

He further argued:

"However, it is likely that all the individuals observed to practice a particular set of cultural forms do not identify to the same degree with others sharing those practices. Hence, the tendency to conflate culture and ethnicity should be resisted. Let culture refer to a set of observable behaviors which occurs independent of a group's relationship to the means of production and exchange. Thus, indicators of religious affiliation or linguistic behavior may be considered to be cultural variables. On the other hand, let ethnicity refer to the sentiments which bind individuals into solidary groups on some cultural basis. Ethnicity therefore alludes to the quality of relations existing between individuals sharing certain cultural behaviors",

(Ibid., pp. 1152)

In the light of above passage, it should be noted that this research is not centered on finding exclusively explaining the existing cultural differences between the *Buzdars* and city dwellers. Nor I generalize any single identity on the community of *Buzdars*. Only those aspects of *Buzdar* social life in the city that organize interaction among the members of *Buzdars* have been given central

importance because after all it is the interaction that maintains the boundaries. Moreover, the practices and behaviors that strengthen their sense of self, i.e. political alliances, perceived religious and cultural virtues or positives etc, have been described. It is not difficult to understand that individual face-to-face relations among *Buzdars* are of economic or, equally important, social nature. That's why their mutual relations are qualitatively stronger than those of city dwellers' whose relations with their in-groups are of more ceremonial nature.

It has been observed that *Buzdars* were largely maintaining their ethnic identity through collective assertions of various political alliances and that with little variation, the nature of their maintained political, and that's why important, identity was similar to the one they retained in their tribal life, may be contested through an important question. How could the ethnic identity be the same after their migration to the city, adaptation to novice urban modes of socio-cultural life? The explanation to the question was provided by the widely held notion that change in cultural features and practices does not necessarily changes the nature of ethnic identity and cross-cutting ties between ethnic groups, mobility, interaction and contact does not liquidates the boundaries of difference that exist between groups. Rather, those elements were regarded as the very spheres where difference was constructed and felt. (Barth 1969 & Hechter, 1974. pp.1153)

Moreover, it is important to understand that both city dwellers and *Buzdars* were situated in a formal political structure and an electoral environment which was in many ways different to ancient, tribal political system of *Buzdars*. They compete in the same political atmosphere which pervades the whole plain areas. The fact alone pushes both of them to a simplistic model of political practice in the wake of a strong native community of the city with which they contest and negotiate their identity and struggle to maintain the ethnic boundary which was centered on politics. Recent victory of their from an assimilated family of *taunsa*, in local elections, and the support he secured from the middle classes of both the communities also establishes the fact that both communities were increasingly becoming conscious of their identical socio-political problems.

But the paradox remains the victory of a *Buzdar* candidate in the city was immediately attributed to its ethnic nature and *Buzdars* increasingly translated the event as a manifestation of their political importance in the city. It means that the level of assimilation was too narrow and insufficient to give way to a consolidated political expression in the city. It alludes to the transition

phase because above mentioned facts neither confirm ethnic competition thesis expounded by (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Portes 1984; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980)nor thoroughly establish the ethnic closure thesis extended by (Marston and Van Valey 1979; Massey and Denton 1985; Massey and Mullan 1984).

Thus, without being stuck in either theoretical presupposition, an attempt has been made to highlight the aspects of *Buzdars* culture and social life that continue to demarcate them from city dwellers, politics being obviously the most important. It was important to note that an absence of adherence to any specific theoretical model was not only because following a model evokes certain methodological complexities including that researchers tend to ignore pieces of information that may not be conveniently expressed or which may go parallel with the proposed model being applied to the study, it has got theoretical reasons too.

First of these as already been partially mentioned that the work on identity related issues is so immense that it seems something close to theoretical stereo-typing of the target population to describe the information drawn from its members under a so called model explaining the nature of basic research questions. Secondly, the wider debate on ethnicity, an identity based on ethnic affiliations and human experiences of identity is itself in the midst of nowhere. Although the models of ethnicity especially that of Barth is widely acknowledged in anthropological community, it has its own problems and critics. Theorists like Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have fiercely criticized the very nature of social constructionists approach to ethnicity. These two writers in their conclusion to a study “Beyond Identity” remark that “Identity,” however, is ill suited to perform this work, for it is riddled with ambiguity, driven with contradictory meanings, and encumbered by reifying connotations.

Qualifying the noun with strings of adjectives specifying that identity is multiple, fluid, constantly re-negotiated, and so on does not solve the Orwellian problem of entrapment in a word. It yields little more than a suggestive oxymoron a multiple singularity, a fluid crystallization but still begs the question of why one should use the same term to designate all this and more. (Brubaker R & Cooper F. 2000)

As the statement itself suggests, the word identity itself is highly ambiguous and it is even more ubiquitous to say that this particular thing is highly fluid, always negotiated and socially constructed. Moreover, the very sense of being same implies that certain actions are taken on the basis of this sameness or that this sameness serves some purposes. Thus, when identity, according to the above mentioned writer, is ascribed to be inherently liquid and weak, how can it be called an identity itself? Similarly, the very word of identity is, according to these theorists, reifying in nature and has imposing connotations which often result in people creating identities on paper. That is, the more you write identity, the more you create it because saying that someone has an identity, implies that he must have if he has not or that he or she actually enjoys an identity and is known with that. This reifying nature of the word, according to these writers, is highly misleading and ambiguous. This and many other works have cast many questions on the fundamental logic of a social constructivist understanding of identity. These provide sufficient excuse for not using a particular model of ethnicity as authentic and that's why followed.

Chapter No.4

4.0. Buzdar Ethos-past and present

This chapter deals with, primarily, the values central to organization of *Buzdars* as an ethnic tribe, description of *Buzdar* history and development of their culture through time before introducing the sample population. The purpose of this chapter is to explore *Buzdar* ethos as it was in the past and the changes that may have occurred to their value system since migration. It will help us to ascertain whether these changes can be expected to bring about change of a larger nature among *Buzdars*? Similarly, it will also help us to comprehend the identity of *Buzdars* as it is to be conceived at present. The debate will possibly open to us some venues to ponder over the state of contemporary *Buzdar* identity. Primarily, this chapter is concerned with non-material and cultural aspects of *Buzdar* ethos that have or might have changed since migration.

The chapter asserts that the grand events that form the consciousness of individuals of *Buzdar* tribe have partially shifted from being the history of *Buzdar/ Baloch* warriors to the events of their migration to the city and the permanent migration involved a vision of their future lives as different from what they expected from their lives, earlier in the mountains, to be. This chapter is largely devoted to the description of largely immaterial and cultural changes that have occurred in the lives of *Buzdar* migrants after they migrated to the city. On the basis of empirically collected data, this chapter paints a picture of past and present *Buzdar* ethos and ventures to understand the real nature of change that might have occurred in the lives of *Buzdars* after migration in order to understand the implications of this change for their ethnic identity.

The data for this description is mainly drawn out of the results of socio-economic survey that was conducted during the research. The contents of and questions asked in socio-economic survey, were prepared on the basis of literature review and were reviewed during the research in order to incorporate the observations and certain initially conducted interviews.

Furthermore, some of the information given in this chapter has been drawn from the earliest detailed descriptions of *Buzdar* tribe that were found in the 1893 – 97 gazetteer of the district of Dera Ghazi Khan, prepared and written by the colonial administrators. This chapter explains the

history of the immigrant tribe along with other *Baloch* tribes as they settled in *Suleman* range and introduces the basic social features of the sample population in order to draw an objective snapshot of their culture. This information will be further elaborated and analyzed in order to find various political, cultural and economic dimensions that can be used for insights into the contemporary issues of identity among members of migrant tribe living in urban area of *Taunsa*. Describing the ethnic identity is a complex task. To make the point clear and to situate the debate in real time, following few pages have been devoted to the description of how members of immigrant community used to live in the mountains, what social values and ethos determined their organization and under what tribal constraints they thought what they thought. This description will be complemented by the detailed data and its analysis afterwards in order to determine the nature of change that has happened in the tribe's life. The reason for the whole of this exercise is to get the emic perspective on present life in the city, or at least to get close to that perspective in order to comprehend their contemporary ethnic identity and to explore possible explanation of its assimilation or maintenance in an urban setting.

4.1 Buzdar history and culture

According to the 1893 – 97 gazetteer of the District of Dera Ghazi Khan, the oldest available resource to the history of *Baloch* tribes living in the mountain range of *Suleman*, “Elphinstone says in his *History of India*:

“In the 7th century of the Christine era, the mountains of makran were inhabited by the Balochs and those of Suleman by Afghans. But Elphinstone's authority for saying that the Baloch nation reached Makran so early is not clear. Another theory advanced by Pottinger is that the Balochs belonged to the hordes of Saljuk Tartars which in the 5th century of Christine era overran Persia and, forming two branches, wrested on the east under the house of Ghor, the sovereignty of Khorasan and India from the house of Ghazni, and on the west under the lead of TOGHRAL BEG conquered western Persia, captured Baghdad and invaded Roman empire.”

(District gazetteer of Dera Ghazi Khan, 1893 - 97)

The above mentioned description clearly informs us about the martial and warrior nature of the early *Baloch* tribes known to have settled down in *makran* and afterwards in the *Suleman* ranges, as they fought the great *Baloch* war under the lead of legendary characters like *Chakar-e-Azam*. The tribe is believed to have had settled in the *Suleman* range sometime before or after the said great war whose demographic consequences for the *Baloch* nation were felt to the date as hundreds and thousands of them perished in this epic internecine battle that lasted over 30 years.

4.2. Map of the *Suleman* Range

4.3. Development of Buzdar culture in Koh-e-Suleman

Although *Buzdar* culture¹⁷ flourished in *Koh-e-Suleman* yet there were certain key features of the *Buzdar* community living in the city as well as in the mountains that were traced back to ancient times when *Balochs* were living in Persia many centuries ago. There was a *Baloch* code of social organization and general patterns of conduct and behavior that pertains to every tribe of the *Baloch* nation and every member of the *Baloch* society. *Buzdars*, as a *Baloch* tribe, were no exception to it. That code of conduct surrounds all the spheres of individual and collective *Buzdar* life as well, especially in the mountains. Some of its features that were more relevant to individual conduct in the daily life were being carried out while *Buzdars* continue to live in an entirely urban and modern setting. That fact makes it essential to describe the form and content of the code of conduct called *tora-seestani*.¹⁸

Seestan was a province of Iran and it was known that the *Baloch* developed the code while they were living in *Sees-tan*. Local writer and an informant, *Mr. Ghulam Qadir Buzdar* writes in one of his essay:

"When Gangez Khan had occupied most of the Middle East and Persia, his nation's unwritten and indigenous code of conduct was called tora. Balochs also came into contact with them and found that both the codes had things in common. Thus Balochs of that time incorporated some of its feature into their own code of conduct. After that they started calling it "Baloch tora seestani".

It was a partially democratic, though rigidly patriarchal code as it was developed and nourished in an extremely male-dominated *Baloch* society. Women have no or only secondary role in the regulation of the code of conduct. They were only relevant to the code as passive and weak

¹⁷ Here I do not claim to be giving a historically chronological account of the development of *Buzdar* culture. I explain it with reference to the data collected during field research, historical accounts of the local *Buzdar* writers, poetry of old and new *Buzdar* poets and common sense approximations regarding what might have happened to the *Buzdars* during those many centuries on the basis of my observations and prior knowledge of the tribal area. I take responsibility for writing anything which might not confirm the local or foreign historian's view on the subject. The historical perspective in which I write this account has been incorporated to support my research on the identity of the tribe and it may not be generalized as an historian's view on the history of the tribe.

creatures that were governed by the patriarchs. Major injunctions and features of the un-written code of conduct to which *Baloch/ Buzdars* still collectively adhere are discussed below.

4.4. Balochi Tora-Seestani

*Tora-seestani*¹⁹ was a pristine unwritten code or customary law of *Baloch* society which was being practiced, with varying degrees of intensity depending on the *Baloch* group and its geographical location, among the *Baloch* of every caste and lineage, same was the case with the *Baloch* of *Koh-e-Suleman*. The *Buzdars* happened to be moderate people, influenced by South Asian *Sufi* traditions of Islam, and that's why tender in their outlook and disposition. These features have helped them in settling down in the city in an amicable manner, on the other hand they were more in-bound, cohesive and united as an ethnic group, more than any other tribe of the mountain range of *Suleman*. As a consequence, they were identified with that general *Baloch* code of conduct more than any other group among their *Baloch* compatriots. The hospitality of protecting the refugees and expressing the political allegiance with the tribal chief asking *Haal*²⁰ was a most prominent feature of *tora-seestani*.

4.4.1. Social organization

The foremost articles of this unwritten code, as narrated by the respondents concerned with social organization of *Baloch* society:

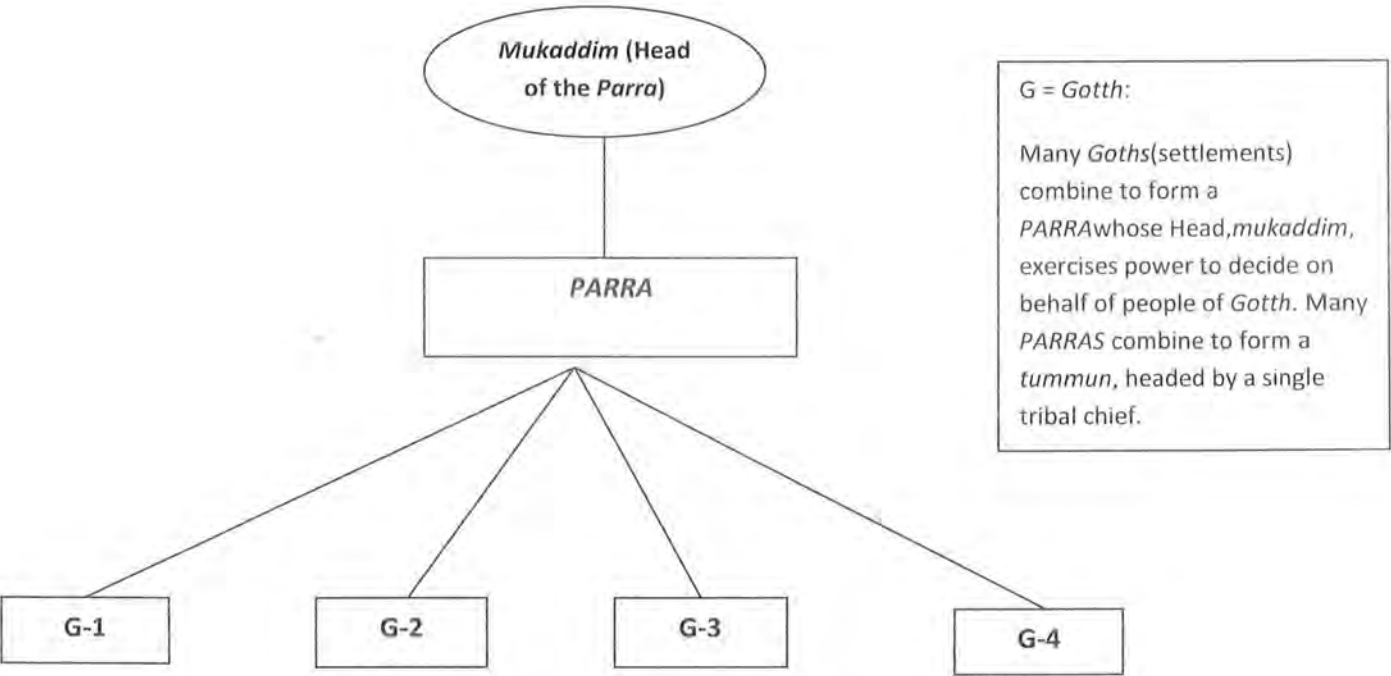
1. Houses of a lineage or two combine to form a cluster called *gott*. The person responsible for the affairs of a *Goth* is called *wadera*.

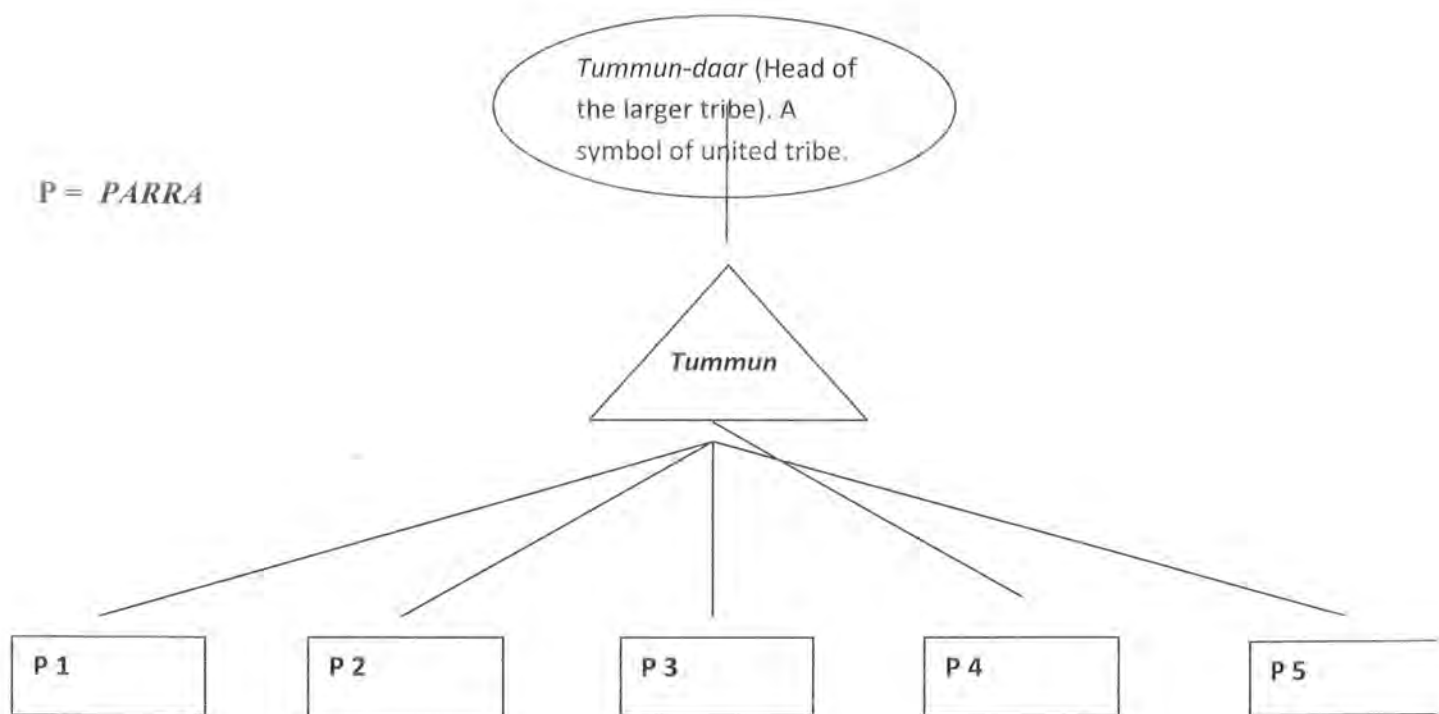
¹⁹ This is an unwritten code of conduct which was developed several centuries ago by the fore fathers of *Baloch* nation. Almost every informant knew it well and this code is entrenched in *Buzdar* life and conduct. Given information about this code of conduct has been extracted from an essay by key informant. It was published in a local newspaper *Al. Manzoor*.

²⁰ It is a native word that means "to ask". Every member of the *Baloch* community is bound to ask the overall situation of the person he meets with. During this asking, the new comer explains everything that happened to him and he observed since he last met the host/hosts. After he is finished, one of the hosts (often the eldest one) tells everything of his surroundings to the new comer since he saw him last time. It contributes to social cohesion and is an important indigenous strategy to communicate formal and less controversial things. While Giving "*Haal*", a person is expected, at least in these days, to narrate only the superficial and non-controversial things that he/ she came across or thought during the whole period since s/he left the audience. It is the oldest tradition and is still alive among all the members of every *Baloch* tribe no matter where he lives.

- 2. A few *Goths* are collectively called a *parra*.
- 3. The head of a *parra* is called *mukaddim* who is held responsible for every sort of affairs with a *parra*.
- 4. All the *parras* in which the people of a tribe are settled, form the collective and political entity called *tummun*.
- 5. The chief of the tribe heads the whole *tummun* and more serious matters relating to inter or intra tribal conflicts are to be solved by the collective council of *mukaddims* which is presided over by the tribal chief.

Diagram No.1. Diagram of Baloch social organization under tora-seestani





Tummun was the last hierarchical form of the tribe comprises of various *Parras*. *Tummun-daar* was the head of the tribe which was the combination of countless *parras*. Tribal Chief has the ultimate decision-making powers.

4.4.4. Principles regarding election and conduct of the tribal chief

The chief of a tribe, in *Koh-e-Suleman* belt was called *Tummun-Dar*. Other characteristics are as under:

1. Tribal chief is to be elected by the consultative council of the local *mukaddims*²¹.
2. Chief is to derive his power from the common *Baloch* people and he is nothing if he defies the aspirations of the group he represents as chief.

²¹ *Mukaddim* is a local term used for an honorable and virtuous elder in the society.

3. He is particularly expected to demonstrate the virtues like wisdom, standing up to his words, sharing the woes and problems of the common people and delivering the final decisions and verdicts of conflicts in a manner that is just, unbiased and based on truth.
4. If he demonstrates these virtues, he is to be regarded as equal to the seven holy saints.
5. If he fails to come up with these expectations, chieftainship is to be snatched from him and council of the *mukaddims* is to decide the person deserving the chieftainship.

4.4.5. Conflict resolution in Tora-Seestani

That portion was not practiced by the *Buzdars* living in the city because there were formal state institutions for addressing the crimes and resolving conflicts between individuals, however, internal and external conflicts were addressed in pre-colonial times, by the council of *mukaddims* and tribal chief often conformed to the collective decision of the council.

1. Adulterer (even if he is from the family of any influential) was banished from the area until he paid adultery fee called (*Sharmana*²²) to the husband or family of the women with whom he had sex illegally.
2. Adulteress was often killed at the spot where she was caught having sex with someone other than her husband. However, if she luckily survived, she was sold to an unknown person of a far reached area and she was never allowed to enter in her house for the remaining part of her life.²³
3. The poor used to hire the cattle from the rich and were given share in the cattle for grazing them, *Zursur*(under which payment is made either in monetary terms or in kind) and *Neem Sadomi*(which provides for half of the total cattle to be shared by the man who grazes them and brings them up) being two prescribed ways regarding the cattle rearing and cattle grazing.

²² *Sharmana* is the money claimed for honor damage by the guardian of the women involved in prohibited sex from the elders or family of the adulterer (a relatively new phenomenon).

²³ It must be noted that same is the case even today. Honor killing is frequent in the *Baloch* as well as non-*Baloch* areas.

4. The council of the elders used to meet after prescribed dates and solved the issues ranging from marriage, adultery, murder, theft etc. it had the legal powers to punish the guilty according to the crime. It was only recently that these powers were withheld from the *Jirga*²⁴ by the state in 1996.

5. If the person accused of a crime, denied the accusation, he had to prove himself innocent through water or fire ordeals. He had to sit under the water for a certain time or to walk through the bed of red-hot coals. This bed was often seven footsteps long.²⁵

4.4.6. Social and moral values in Tora-Seestani

There were some important moral and ethical prescriptions that are integral part of the *Baloch* code:

1. *Thalla* is a traditional way to attend a person who is in trouble or illness. According to it, one must pay something or the other in cash or kind, to the ill person. If someone does not pay this obligatory co-operation money, he is considered to be a bad person.

2. *Phatiha* is the traditional way of offering condolences. It is held after the funeral of the deceased person and all the relatives and friends of the deceased required or expected to visit the grieved family. It is also required from them to (in cases where the deceased was an influential person) to give a goat or sheep. All the collected goats or sheep are then slaughtered and served to the attendants of the *Phatiha* ceremony.

3. Every member of the *Baloch* male, female, young, old, must ask “*Haal*” to the person he meets with. It means that both must relate every event they confronted since they last met each other. It is an inseparable part of the *Baloch* culture and anyone who does not asks *Haal*, is considered a non-*Baloch* and a person with no honor. *Baloch* everywhere still practice it as something that defines them.

²⁴ The Council of tribal elders that used to hold legal powers until recently in the administrative structure of PATA (Provincially Administered Tribal Areas).

²⁵ It is interesting that contrary to the modern formal laws where “everyone is innocent until proved guilty” the *Baloch* traditions suggest the opposite i.e. “everyone is guilty until proven innocent”. The frequency of such trials has decreased considerably because these have been rendered outlawed now.

4. *Baahot* is another well observed tradition and it means to protect the refugees. The legendary *Baloch* war between *rind* and *lashaar* factions that continued for 30 years was fought to protect a refugee woman of the great *Chakar*.

4.7. Chhapao, early Baloch contact with eastern plains and local perception

A respondent while responding to a question regarding livelihood practices of *Buzdars* in old times informed that:

"In old times, Baloch of the whole Suleman belt, including Buzdars, used to raid²⁶ the nearby tribes to loot everything they could, in order to survive. But these raids were only pursued when the attacking party was sure that they can surprise the enemy with their attack without giving them any time to organize themselves and get ready for counter-attack. But they often found them too alert to surprise them and returned empty handed. It was due to this fact that Baloch started raiding the plain areas to grab the cattle of the local population that was often without weapons and were not affectively trained to fight. The population of the plains lived in a settled area and they did not reacted as severely as the tribes inside the mountains counter attacked against the raiders.

The attacks were so frequent and devastating that when English came here, they had to agree for a kind of aid for *Baloch* tribes of western mountains which was given in the form of wheat or other kinds in order to keep them from raiding the native population as the English had an interest in maintaining the law and order in these areas. Those food items were given to the elders of every tribe at the end of harvest who was expected to divide it among the members of his tribal clan or community. It was only then that *Baloch* stopped frequently attacking the population of plain areas. However, the aid was too short to meet the food requirements of the whole tribes and their members continued to live in conditions of malnutrition and dire poverty.

During the old days, there was a term in the eastern settled areas to mention to the western, mountainous raiders called *wazeeras*. The term referred to the raiders who came from the

²⁶ Chhapao is the local word used to refer to the activity involving sudden predatory attacks on rival tribes to rob them from their cattle etc.

Waziristan areas adjoining the extreme north west of *Suleman* mountains. So these raids by *Baloch* and other mountainous tribes were their earliest contacts with eastern settled areas. Their raids were often successful largely because the eastern agro-man was ill-suited to fight. Apart from his broad disposition, he was not as much physically hardened and strong to counter the *Baloch* and rough mountainous attackers, they were always to win. They were never resisted because the poor former was unaware of weapons and fighting techniques. Thus he developed a particularly dominant, awful and, as a result of course, the superior image of the hard and tall *Baloch*. In the local epic, it was the manly figure and fair complexion of the *rawal Baloch*²⁷ that the native girl *sammi* aspires for.

The epic, if read closely, reveals the wretchedness of the local formers of eastern plains, rigidity of the prevailing division of labor through caste system, tyranny of the local feudal lords and a patriarchal social structure that strongly resisted the inter-mixing of sexes. It was in the social environment that the native *Saraiki* people started eulogizing the values, virtues, righteousness, honor that he saw in the all encompassing figure of the *Baloch* invader. The perception was further fueled by the *Baloch* rulers of the State of *Sanghurr* who were capable of imposing their orders on the *Baloch* and *Saraikis* of the native land. Thus, the most exploited of all the castes, *kammis*, started calling themselves *Balochs* and were found bent on tracing their roots to a distant ancestor (often male) who came from *Baloch* background. While they were often not successful in the attempt to identify themselves as *Baloch*, a related feature was more interesting. In the attempt, they successfully managed to change their identity by referring themselves not by the word, used for them in the old days, which identified them with their profession. Their profession, in fact, was the source of their humiliation in the rigid old caste system that was further strengthened by the English in favor of the local lords and patriarchs who were often of *Baloch* dissent themselves.

The *Kammis* or working class has completely changed their professions in the wake of modernity; they also refer to themselves, at least in writing, by altered names of their caste.

²⁷ It should be noted that *Balochs* lived in the plains as well. Local, ancient, state of *SANGHAR*, was situated on the bank of watercourse, also called *SANGHUR*, which still flows near the southern end of *Taunsa* city. Head quarter of the state was city of *MANGROTHA* which lies in the west of *Taunsa* about four miles away just under the eastern end of the *Suleman* Mountains. It was formed and ruled by *Notak khan* (and later his descendants) who belonged to the *Baloch* tribe of *Nutkani*. One of his descendants, *Asa khan*, is still notoriously remembered by the locals for his cruel and inhumane methods of punishment to which he subjected everyone who in any way, defied him. Both, *Balochs* and *Saraiki* speaking native people of the area, acknowledged the suzerainty of this state.

It was mainly because of their lowest status in the caste ranks that they were dissociated from the virtues, honor, and respectability and anything good in the local culture. The *Kammis* deserved nothing out of these values which, at that time, must have been a source of social position and a value in them. Even still, when one betrays someone or continuously commits the wrong, he is said to be one among *Kammis*, who has no honor and defies his word. All these values which formed the ethos of native culture came to be associated with anyone who is a *Baloch*.²⁸ The impact of this shift in associations of values and ideas of good and bad proved to be substantial and continues to this day. People living in the plains still continue attributing social evils to these wretched classes that lie in the lowest strata of caste hierarchies.

That was the history of *Baloch* contact with the native people and its various ramifications for the native social structure, the impacts were however changing with the time. Both the communities were educating themselves and were involved in the same conditions of competition in every field of life, the distinctions between them was expected to melt and vanish through time. But the current situation hardly presents any allusion to a change that may lead to amicable assimilation of these rough immigrants with the local culture except in the areas of language and market.

However, the existence of a relatively strong state as compared to the tribal areas from also encompass some potential that may lead to the dissolution of feelings of exclusiveness that surely exists among the *Buzdars* living in *taunsa*. For example, take the state's education system which was the same for everyone although the affluent members among the immigrant community and native population prefer not to enroll their children in the government schools. Participant observation and census survey conducted during the research revealed that most of them migrated because they wanted to provide education to their children. Before the researcher embark on further

²⁸ *Balochs* in fact encompassed these virtues but the nature of distinction that excludes certain working classes is being discussed. It was because tribal life necessitated mutual cooperation and upholding of these values among the in-group members i.e. truthfulness, cooperation, compassion and standing to one's word, that made life possible in extremely rough and unfriendly conditions of dry mountains. However, the binary that excludes the working classes of the plain areas as having nothing of these values, reduces them to sub-humans which seems to be a strategic hang-over since colonial period when the English tried to undermine the local productions of India and thus the producers as well, and started calling the skilled people of India as *Kammis*, the word literally means, working people. As it was in their interest to undermine the workers, so they may not produce and people depend on their productions, they undermined the 'work' and eulogized the feudal and their values. Thus *Kammi* stood for people without values and inferior.

description, it will be useful to mention the role of retired *Baloch* soldiers who form a great part of the migrant population in *taunsa*. It will make clear the reasons behind the prevailing and growing sense of education among the migrant *Buzdars*.²⁹

4.8. Administrative contact of Buzdars with eastern plains

The inclusion of the areas of *Suleman* range inhabited by *Baloch* tribes particularly *Buzdars* in the administrative structure of Dera Ghazi Khan which was a plain area in the east of the *Suleman* range, inextricably linked the contact of *Buzdars* and other *Baloch* tribe with the east, more than the western side of the mountain range of *Suleman*. However, that was not the only element that enhanced the *Baloch* contact with the eastern side of mountains. As it was mentioned in the gazetteer of eastern district of Dera Ghazi Khan that:

"It was decided that all the tribes residing in the plains of Dera ghazi khan district should remain under the authority of the deputy commissioner, Dera ghazi khan district, including the portions of the tribes resident in the hills. The Buzdars were also placed under his authority because, although only a small part of the tribe is resident in the plains, their relations are more intimate with the tribes on this (eastern) side of the Suleman than with those of the other"

(Gazetteer of the district Dera Ghazi Khan 1893-97)

The oldest available description mentions that the decision to keep the portions of native tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan under the authority of the Deputy Commissioner Dera Ghazi Khan district was done after realizing the fact that tribes resident in the hills have more dynamic and constant interaction with those living in the east of the mountains rather than the tribal populations living further west inside the range.

²⁹ This information primarily came out of the field notes.

4.9. Spiritual and economic contacts with the eastern plains³⁰

The already established links can be attributed to many factors, Sufism one of them. *Baloch* people happened to be of a religious orientation that drove them to the centers of spirituality and mysticism. The Sufi saints of the local area could only be approached and revered by travelling to the east rather than west. However, there could be a material explanation to that as economic and subsistence urgencies still drive a fairly large portion of the *Buzdar* and other tribes to the fertile eastern plains especially during the harvest of the wheat. *Buzdars* as well members of other tribal groups still migrate in great numbers during the harvest season of wheat crop.

The temporary migration from the mountains was visible to anyone present in the eastern plains during the harvesting. The tribal migrants render their services to the local land owners and work in the harvest process as an exchange for wheat only as it was difficult to find and grow patches of arable land in the mountains. The seasonal migration of *Buzdars* towards the plains seems to be an almost natural process for those who lived in the plains. Thus, it could be argued that those two factors, at least during the past few centuries, must have been at work in establishing a more substantial contact between western mountains and eastern plains. It was a contact that finally made the colonial masters to link the western tribes, administratively, with east on behalf of their increased contact. Relevant political interests must have been considered by the British while making that decision.

4.10. Target population

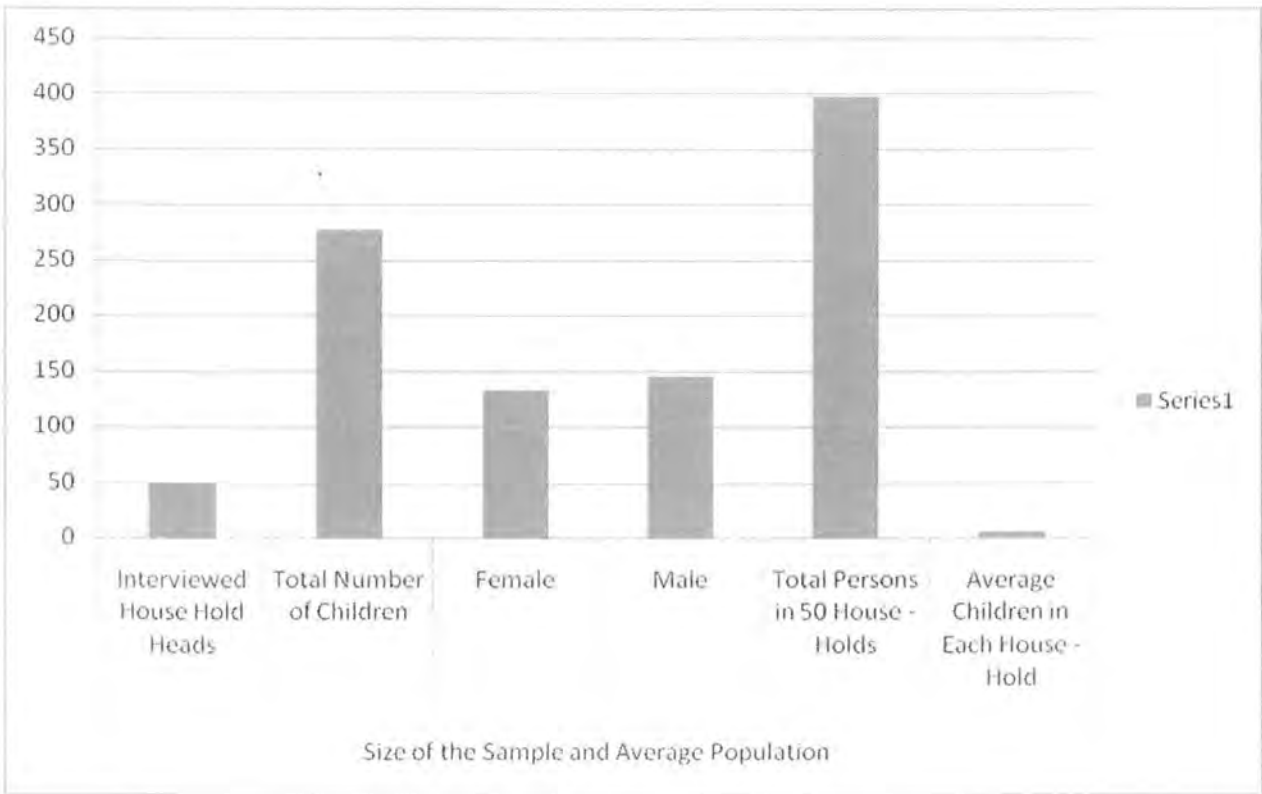
The sample for the present research was selected in the northern *mohalla nizamabad* in the city of *taunsa sharif*. The standard sample was based on the fifty households of the *mohalla* where most of the migrants belonging to the *Buzdar* tribe were living.³¹ Participant observation, in-depth interviews and a socio-economic census survey were the research tools employed in the selected vicinity. The streets, in which the households were situated, were selected on random criteria which, according to the observation, do not alter the nature of the sample as the people of almost

³⁰ The data for this assertion also came out from field notes and informal conversations with the people of community during the research.

³¹ Please refer to the first chapter, Rationale of the Study and Sample, to know the rationale for selecting the population of recent migrants as the sample for this research.

the same economic strata were living inside the research locale. The following figure describes the total numbers of households, their population, average number of children and other basic introductory features of the sample population.

4.10.1. Graph No.2. Population of the households included in sample



A total of 50 household heads were interviewed in-depth during the research. The total number of male and female children in the households included in the sample amounted to 277. Similarly, the total population of the households remained 399 people. The average number of children in every household came out to be slightly more than five children.

4.10.2. Figure No.2. Types of professions held by household heads

Sr. No.	Income Range	10- 15000	15- 20000	20- 25000	50000& Above	Less than 10000	Total	% Share in Total
1.	Public Sector Job	3	2	3	1		9	18%
2.	Private Sector Job						0	0
3.	Agriculture						0	0
4.	Job & Agriculture	11	8	4		1	24	48%
5.	Business	2	3			1	6	12%
6.	Job & Business	1	2				3	6%
7.	Business and Agri	4	2	1			7	14%
8.	Daily Wages	1					1	2%
9.	Total Respondents	22	17	8	1	2	50	100%

The given figure largely establishes the perceptions that the migrant community was involved in a range of professions to secure subsistence and survival in a competitive urban setting. It also shows that a monotony of the type of work or means of production that characterizes the mountainous life which offers little possibilities of things to do was largely absent here. Anthropologically, the fact was important as it ensures a cross professional socialization of the target population. Similarly, it was observed that none of the members of the community were entertained in the sample that were jobless, while 36% of the interviewed heads of the households were involved in one or the other kind of public sector job, 18% of them told that along with a public sector job, they are also pursuing some kind of agriculture. This clearly shows the assimilation of *Buzdars* in a competitive market economy in which they were not a passive character or parasites on the social body of host city. They actively pursue their economic activities and continue to enlarge the market volume. During the research, however, it was found that members of immigrant community fairly cooperate with each other in finding work or establishing business. It was one important assumption that was made in the initial chapters that *Buzdar* community living in the city was internally more coherent and has an increased level of internal cooperation among the members.

The figures also confirm the assumption that they have cooperated with one another in finding the new migrants new avenues of work or means of livelihood. Going further into detail, the researcher observed that while most of the household heads had public sector jobs, many of them dealt in various forms of businesses and agriculture. Similarly, some of the members of community had some land in their possession which ensured their annual needs of food. This means that unlike the private sector entrepreneurs among the city dwellers, members of the tribe living there, It also means that they spend lesser shares of their incomes on food items. The corollary of the fact was that they must have more money to spend on economic and social ventures as their patches of land in the mountains or the lands they have bought after settling in the city, often proves enough to secure them annual supplement of wheat for their needs.

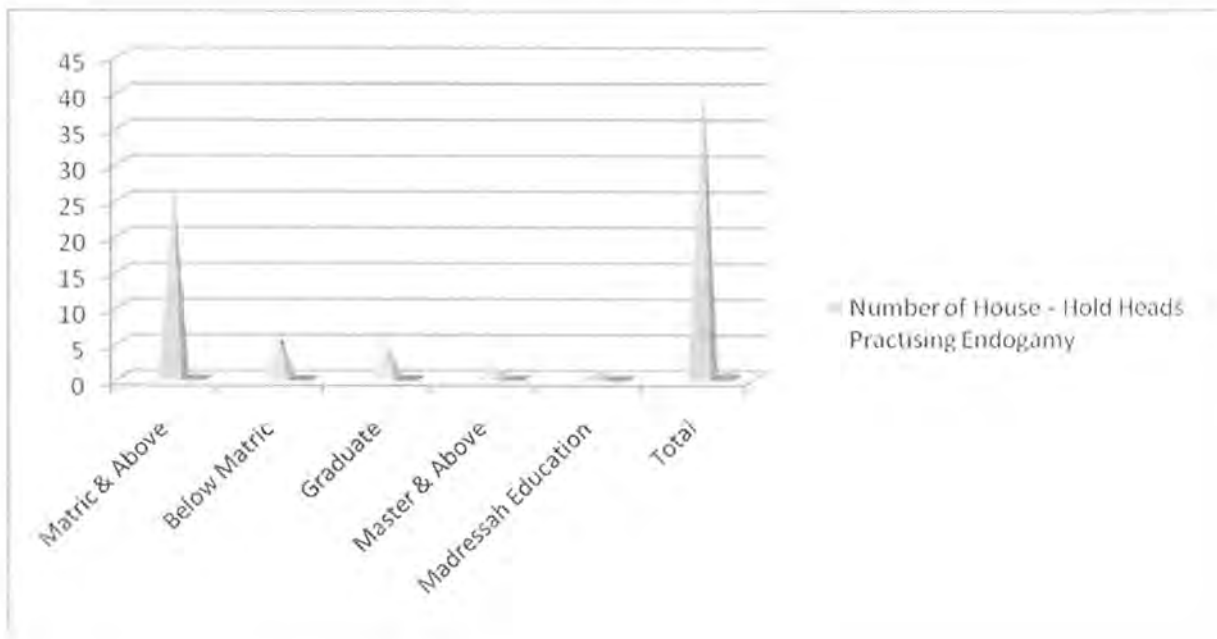
4.11. Education and marriage among household-heads

The practice of endogamy was found pervasive among the local *Buzdars* of *taunsa*. The heads of the household who were interviewed and engaged throughout the research period, gave detailed responses regarding the practice of endogamy. A supplementary question regarding the educational background of the household heads has also been incorporated in the analysis to highlight various aspects of identity and local cultural practices. An integrated graph given below, demonstrates the extent to which household heads, in the past, practiced endogamy. Similarly, a further analysis will be provided in the next chapter regarding what the household heads think about the marriage of their children. The below mentioned graph shows the interviewed household heads received education till matriculation and intermediate. All of such respondents told that they were married among their close relatives. The practice of endogamy was believed to be a factor that enhances the internal cohesion of a people and gives way to a more integrated group living in varying socio-cultural situations.

Moreover, endogamy prevails in such societies as those of tribal *Buzdars* living in the city, in order to protect certain interests, material *vis a vis* social. It was observed that the household heads married within the circle of their close relatives, owned some land in the city while mostly in the mountains, while that might be one reason behind such a pervasive trend of endogamy among the household heads, as most of them did not marry after they migrated to the city. They were already married given the general trend among the *Baloch* people of the area who marry their

children, especially females, as soon as they approach puberty and become adults. So, the practice of endogamy could be explained as more result oriented of the cultural tendencies and internal dynamics rather than a rationale choice in order to save some material interests that were, however, inextricably linked to many such cultural practices among the *Buzdar* people of the area.

4.11.1 Graph No.3.Number of household heads practicing endogmy



4.11.1.Urban social organization

Due to historical nature and ecological factors that determined the *Baloch* culture, the social organization of the tribe throughout the Indus region was rigidly patriarchal. The feature was not so alien to the natives of *taunsa* city who were also patriarchal though less in intensity due to the settled living of several centuries. One of the respondents, a retired head master and an honored elder among the immigrants, provided a case study that sufficiently explains the nature of patriarchy among the tribes of the *Suleman* belt. He was himself from the mountainous range and migrated to the city some fifteen years ago. He told that the people of immigrant tribe are sensitive regarding their women. He added that those among the tribe who still live in the far reached areas of the *Suleman* belt do not even recognize the basic rights of their women in their daily life.

4.12. Case study on women's status

One of the respondents told that, “there was a mountain in the western direction of our village in the mountains called *Jhundi*. We used to visit the hill for the sake of hunting. Hunting was considered the hobby of well off persons in those times because lesser mortals could not afford the expenses that it required. Since I belonged to a well off family and visited that hillside frequently along with friends in a group of 8 to 10 people with at least two to three cattle, some chickens and flour as food in case we missed the hunt or could not find it. Our group gathered the utensils and entire luggage, loaded it on the camels and left for the hill. In the nights, the group used to stay as guests to someone who was well off and could entertain so many guests. In the far reached areas of *tummun*, it was a tradition to slaughter cattle for the group of eight to ten guests.

Once our group stayed as guest inside the mountains and the host cooked the cattle in a large pot. It was customary in those days for the hosts to slaughter a goat or sheep if the arriving guests were eight or more. When the host got everything ready, he served all of the food to us. Only one or two persons from them joined us for eating. In contrast to that, people in our areas used to divide the cooked food in three equal parts and serve to the guests, to women and children inside the house. But our host living inside the mountains in a far reached area, put the whole food in front of us and insisted that we should eat it all. It was an expression of their hospitality. We objected to it and asked, why don't you people send some fresh meat inside the house (to their women)? They were unhappy on the question and replied,

“Zal ae waraghaey na hao”.

Which means, ‘what difference does it make if a woman eats or not?’ Implying that it was only the privilege of men to eat and they do it so nicely.”

The reason for the above mentioned assertion that the status of women in the more far-reached areas of the western *Suleman* range was not more than that of a sub-human species. The narrator of the case study who was an elderly man of the migrant tribe, was skeptic regarding any improvement in the status of women in the far reached areas of the mountains since his own early days.

In the light of the above case, one can duly imagine the way life inside the *Suleman* range. So it was the right of the men to carry out anything respectable and subtle. However, surely that was not the case with women in the city where *Buzdars* have migrated. Although both men and women have largely defined spheres of activity within and outside the households, women were not as much suppressed neither men were so fetishized here as they were, according to many respondents.

4.13. Changing conceptions of life and priorities

It is well known that every society is organized or organizes itself around a value system that determines its members' consciousness. It provides them some ideals to achieve in their lives or some values to be upheld in any case. The collection of such values is variously called as the Ethos of a community or what sociologists name as social structure. *Buzdars*, as they lived in the mountains, upheld a value system which necessitated their mutual cooperation, standing to one's word, upholding one's honor and many other socially sanctioned values. However, after they migrated to the city, the value system on which they used to prioritize their lives and decided to uphold certain values has changed to some extent. The data collected during the research, demonstrates that migration of every single individual and household was done to achieve something, or to do something as a value in itself, that which could not be done or achieved in their homeland such as economy, education, modern facilities etc.

Similarly, it was observed that there were very few immigrants who left their homes under some compulsive situation like that of, a conflict or danger of life, for example. Almost all of the *Buzdars* migrated towards the city at their own will and had something of a vision of life that lay ahead, as they migrated. The fact demonstrates that they broke off with the previous order at will which was important for the debate. The researcher observed the interplay of values they had in mind while they migrated to the city and these included some very noble desires like that of educating the children.

An important change that may rightly be called as the great shift in the case of *Buzdar* migrants was that they no more lived in a confounded and strictly tribal, patriarchal social organization that entails its own internal mechanisms of obligatory cooperation and conceptions of

honor etc., for its social regulation. It was very important to comprehend the nature of change and assimilation of their ethnic identity with that of the local culture that one must take into account the nature of social world into which the particular tribe has migrated.

Although it must be a social environment neither entirely unknown nor extremely alien to them (*Buzdars*) but it was also not a social environment that they were firmly entrenched with previously. The individual members of the tribe must now organize themselves as a largely independent family unit in the absence of any large scale or socially sanctioned environment of obligatory cooperation that their tribal life insisted and based its social solidarity upon. Those shifts constitute that what was being mentioned as the great shift in *Buzdar* social life and organization. Their constant interaction with the state institutions must have eroded formerly held conceptions of dependency on their tribes, clans and their respective elders to some extent. The city was a social world that perhaps makes everyone his own elder. It was in that context that the change in the socially held conceptions of *Buzdars* about themselves, their tribes, chiefs and ideas about life in general will be highlighted in the coming discussion.

4.13.2. Reasons of migration for identity

The shift in *Buzdar* social outlook and conceptions about life in general that was mentioned earlier, in view of the data collected, was based on the reasons for which *Buzdars* have migrated towards the city. Rationale choice and exercise of will were regarded as fundamental expressions of human social groups that lead them to one or another kind of change. It was in the context that *Buzdar* migration and its reasons, as stated by the heads of migrant households, were being emphasized.

One can argue that assuming or aspiring for a particular life style is *a priori* to any human movement from one social environment to another. However, what is being propagated here, or the rationale for writing the reasons of migration is that, these reasons are not about the fundamental human needs or subsistence etc. What these migrants say as reasons for their migration to the city, things or ideals whatever they may be called, are more subtle and in a way modern. For example, 60% of the total household-Heads told that they migrated primarily because they wanted to educate their children. It can be argued that the stated reason falls under the category of subsistence

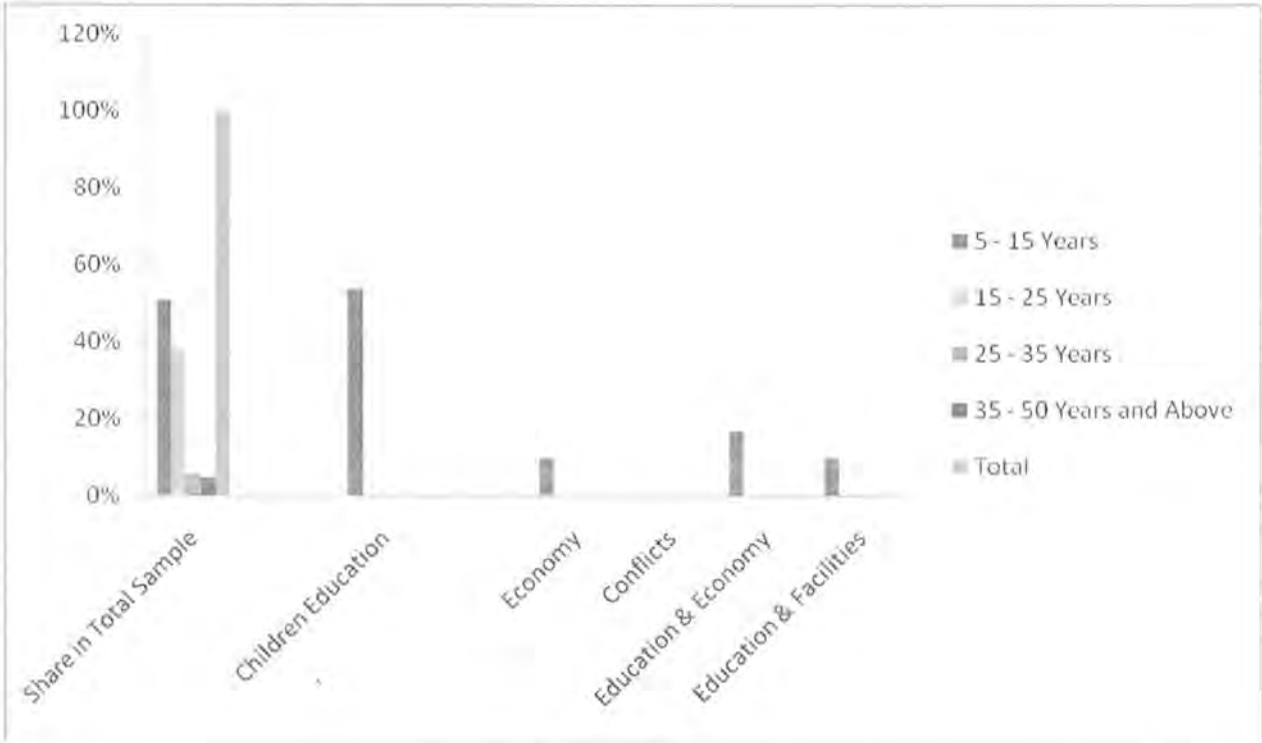
acquisition as they know that only educated persons can get good job and as a result maintain their families well. But at the same time, we see that they did not replied to the question that they want jobs for their children and that's why they want to send them to good schools to become successful professionals. Most of the responded replied by implying that education was something good and that's why they want to educate their children in the city. While earning was inextricably linked to the acquisition of good education, migrant *Buzdars* do understood that education was a value and that they must educate their children. Surprisingly, most of them told especially that they wanted to send their female children to schools which were not available in the tribal area, so they migrated to the city. The fact demonstrates that education has a value among them for their children irrespective of the gender bias.

The ideal or reason to migrate more than half of the *Buzdar* Household heads clearly shows the signs of awakening among the community. A modern ideal, education, was something that gives way to a decent citizenry that ultimately benefits the community and nation at large. Add to it the desire of most of the household heads regarding female education and you have a community that already acknowledges the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) without literally knowing anything about that animal and has actually migrated from their homeland to achieve the ideals. That was something which was regarded as most fundamental in determining the ideas about life and existence among *Buzdars*. That was an action based on rationale agenda [imparting Education to Children] was something that could hardly be called a reason for migration only related to subsistence and was no more than a survival strategy.

Besides the 60% of the household heads, other 20% respondents combined education with economy, implying that economy, more than education, was the real reason of their migration. However, it was interesting to note that even these poor guys migrating from the tribal region in search of work, did not downplay the education of their children as a factor or possible outcome of their migration. It means that they, too, attach some value to education while prioritizing economy as the major reason for migration. The purpose here, is not to over emphasize the importance of education but to mention that even a poor man from the tribal community, bears in mind an image of education as being something good and worthy to be achieved along with livelihood.

As many as 10% of the respondents vowed that economy was the only reason for their migration towards the city while another 10% of the 50 sample household heads expressed that they wanted to avail the modern facilities as well as educational opportunities. Finally, the overall inspiration towards imparting quality education to the children comes out as a major reason for *Buzdars* to migrate to *Taunsa*.

4.13.2.1. Graph No.4. Reasons for migration as expressed by household-heads³²



Note: The total number of respondents interviewed against above mentioned variables is fifty.

4.14 Rural to urban migration

Generally, the physical movement of human beings from one place to another is called as migration”. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Migration>)

³² For reasons of clarity and multiple variables, the size of the graph could not be increased and the use of colours was inevitable. The 50 heads of the selected households made 100% of the respondents in the present graph.

The *Buzdars* migration from the western mountains to the eastern city was primarily a migration from a rural or tribal hinterland towards a relatively modern town with certain similarities with the tribal features of social organization but largely different from tribal society in more important features. But the migration could not be categorically put into that category for several reasons. Firstly, the migration has not been a visible process and the inclusion of *Buzdars* in the urban set up did not create any ripple effects on the native inhabitants. It was largely due to the historical interaction between the two communities, no one was alien for the other. The *Buzdar* migration to city became highlighted due to its political ramifications and ceased to be a silent process. Secondly, the process was not measureable because of its continuous nature. One cannot attribute it to have begun in one particular year or even decade, however, we can divide the migration into different phases to understand the nature and causes of migration in every era. Information extracted from the in-depth interview with a local elder and political figure alludes to at least three phases of *Buzdar* migration to the city. This information has been largely taken by the researcher from an interview.

4.14.2. First phase of migration

First phase of *Buzdar* migration started after the partition in 1947. Starting in the fifties, it continued through the seventies. Major cause of this migration is told to be internecine wars of the *Buzdar* tribe. Intra-tribal enmity was the common feature of Indus valley ethnic groups. The wars created a security crisis for the lineages and families involved in the conflict and threat of complete annihilation always lurked at both. The obvious solution was the migration of a whole lineage or at least an extended family to the city. Elders of the lineage used to utilize the help of some acquaintance in the city or their few relatives who were already settled in *taunsa*. They knew that the city will never let them unemployed because there were opportunities in every field at that time. Apart from that, their great Saint was also buried there.

4.14.3. Second phase of migration

One of the respondents, who was also a senior political worker among the migrant *Baloch* of *Taunsa*, explained that the second wave of migration started in late eighties and early nineties. It was mainly due to the severe drought in the areas of *Koh-e-Suleman*. Some people of the *Buzdar*

intelligentsia doubt the assertion. There might be some other reason for the migration during that period but there was little doubt that there was in fact the most dreadful famine condition in *Suleman* belt during the period. He reported that due to such severe kind of drought people shifted towards *taunsa* to their already settled relatives who helped them settle there.

4.14.4 Third phase of migration

According to a respondent, the present phase rightly be called third phase of migration still in progress. The providence of modern amenities was basic cause of the migration, similarly, quality education for the children of *Buzdars* has been rendered impossible in the mountains due to the inefficient educational officials. Although there were no hospitals and employment opportunities yet education stands to be the primary cause of the ongoing phase of migration to the city. He was of the view that the new modes and methods of education that *Buzdar* children were receiving would alter their personality and could be a cause of fundamental changes among future educated generation of *Buzdars*.

4.15. The question of ‘new’ and ‘old’ migrants

It might be useful to inform the reader at this point that most of the sample households of *Buzdars* were relatively newly migrated to the city. More than half of them arrived in the city only 10-15 years back. However, *Buzdars* and other *Baloch* tribes have made up an essential part of the city’s population since a long time. There were many *Buzdar* families living in the area who have virtually completely integrated into the city life because the life standards in general did not fluctuated so much at some point earlier in the city’s history across the classes and ethnic groups, it was difficult to assess the integration of people of a different ethnic background in city’s culture in terms of material development or economic prosperity etc. Language served as a single source to assess the integration. So those old *Buzdars*, as most of them were overwhelmingly surrounded by relatively different culture and completely different language, with little possibilities to speak their language outside their homes, gave up at this front. Their children too got education in local schools where most of the teachers and class-mates spoke *Saraiki*, too forgot their language since early age. Thus they became firmly integrated into local culture and are/ were not considered aliens.

The construction of 'the other' among *Buzdars* and city dwellers started late, almost in the late 90s. During successive interviews and conversations with respondents and other stakeholders, it was observed that recent debate on *Buzdar* culture and a sense of other that city dwelling people feel in relation to *Buzdars* actually started after the arrival of new *Buzdars* or what is mentioned above as third phase of *Buzdar* migration to city that was relatively massive. When *Buzdars* started living in Ghettoes within the city and asserted themselves as distinct cultural entity through participating in electoral politics that they were realized as a different group. In fact it was, when a *Buzdar* candidate, although old migrant, who won the local elections for *City Nazim* in the last local elections that the debate started towards *Buzdars* as different cultural entity. It was because most of the *Buzdars* who now form nearly half of the city population voted for the candidate to win the elections. Excerpt from a case study narrated by a local *Seraiki* speaking professor of sociology in *Govt Degree College For Boys Taunsa* which will help understand this scenario.

As far as *Buzdar* elite were concerned, they have always been allied with the urban political elite who were called *Khawajgans*. *Buzdars* of *nizamabad* were in one way an asset for the local political elite. Their absence would have created problems for them because it was easy to secure *Buzdar* vote in the city just by making alliance with their chief. Native population was so diverse that it was hard to secure their vote as easily. Present member of the national assembly (MNA) and *Buzdar* tribal chief were allies and there was little doubt that *Buzdars* living in the hills and in city were strengthening them both. And local elite was very much aware of the political importance of new urban *Buzdars*. Massive migration has only added to their political significance. It has grown two-fold. If the local elite somehow align itself with *Buzdar* or some other tribal chief and secure all of the votes of that tribe in the mountains, how will they avoid city *Buzdars*? Thus they must go for *Buzdars* in every political adjustment because otherwise they would lose local elections which matter for their political hegemony in the city and the whole area."

4.16. Emergence of Sufism

By looking at sectarian divide within the city, one finds that demographically, *barelvi* sect was dominant among *Buzdars* of *mohalla nizamabad*. Most of the *Buzdars*, almost all of them were Barelvi, but different from those Barelvi who were opposed to the ones who were not *barelvi* by sect. They were not sectarian in that sense and just use the word *barelvi* to mean that they were

devoted to the great Sufi saint *Khawaja Shah Suleman* so that the listener might not conclude that they were not devoted to the saint as was the case with the people of other sects who averse to visiting shrines. Their sectarian knowledge tells them that the one that does not express that he was *barelvi*, might not be devoted to the great saint. The saint passed away at least one and a half century ago. There was a great tomb of him inside the old city and a large mosque attached to it.

The *Urs*³³ of the great Sufi was commemorated every year and thousands of *Buzdars* throng to the tomb on the occasion. For many reasons, the numbers of the devotees have slightly decreased but the reverence to the saint was widely confessed among the *Buzdars* of the city as well as those living in the mountains.

The great saint and some of his early predecessors so completely influenced the *Buzdar* tribe that they almost transformed the collective disposition of the folks of the tribe. During the census survey, more than 95% of the respondents expressed their strong reverence for the great saint.

The saint belonged to the *Suleman* belt but established himself in the eastern city of *taunsa*. For *Buzdars*, being the devotees of the saints ensured a certain degree of mobility towards the city and prestige as well. Moreover, *Buzdar* area was the constant route of the saint and his predecessors as they moved towards western mountain for their native area. It ensured a constant interaction of the *Buzdar* tribe with the saints who kept on enlightening them through spirituality and message of love that were the hallmarks of Sufi tradition in South Asia. The contact also made the rough mountain *Buzdars* less contemptuous of the city and modern life because their own religious leaders had chosen the place and they started loving the area as the place of their great saints. The reverence and constant contact with the city has certainly contributed to their amicable settling down in the city.

Change in the local perception about tribal chief, emergence of Sufism and its influence on the collective character of *Buzdars*, rise of electoral politics and local government system in the present time, general decline in the old values and influx of modern technologies to the grass root level, all combined to instill a potential among the migrating *Buzdars* to accept the change. Although migration from their native areas was itself a solid sign of their acceptance of change but

³³ The annual congregation which is held at the tomb of the saint on his birthday is called *urs*. It is a widely held practice throughout the south Asia.

these factors increased their will to delve into the modern life and shed tribalism to every possible extent.

The trend to change their lives for the better was so pervasive that now it was said to be the ideal of every *Buzdar* living in the mountain to buy a plot of land in the vicinity of *taunsa* and build his home there. Now almost every common man with a certain degree of education and ability to visualize his future has made up his mind to move his family to the city educate his children there and raise his life standard. All this demonstrates that *Buzdars* think of themselves as capable of moving to the urban areas and endure a degree of adjustability to cope with the new environment. Those factors have positively affected the collective character of *Buzdar* tribe. They retain a sense of citizenship and are more civic than other tribes of the *Suleman* belt. One hardly finds a spendthrift person among *Buzdars*. Ratio of crime was too short among *Buzdars* as they do not indulge in unnecessary conflicts.

All those virtues reflect a century and a half of Sufi orientation and keeping intact the universal components and virtues of *Baloch* code of conduct. Because of being more in-bound and socially intact, they were easily adapted to the latter. Similarly, it also reflects the lessons they were taught by persuasive but humble *Buzdar* poets through all those centuries they spent in *Suleman* hills. The moderate and enlightened mindset was shielding their younger generation from orthodoxy and extremism of any kind. *Buzdar* students have continued securing high positions in the secondary and middle levels of education even in the face of competition posed by urban students.

Table No 2.Political allegiances of respondents across sects

Sr. No	Sectarian Divide	Local Buzdar Candidates	Local Peers	Tribal Chief	Khawajgans and Tribal Chief	Political Parties	No loyalties	Situational Satisfaction	Buzdars and Tribal Chief	Total %
1.	Barelvi		4	16	10	7		4	2	43 (86%)
2.	Deobandi	1					2			4 (7%)
3.	Others			3						3 (7%)
4.	Grand Total	1	4	19	10	7	2	5	2	50 (100%)

Note. Figures involving the fractions above .5 had to be inadvertently added in the total as part of the formula.

As the figures in the table show, that most of the sample respondents expressed their allegiance to *barelvi* sect which is a variant of *Sunni* Islam whose adherents outnumber any other sect in the whole muslim sub-continent and are known for their extreme devotion to Sufi saints who were largely responsible for the spread of Islam in sub-continent and propagated a non-violent, inclusive and cultural brand of faith by immersing themselves in local forms of expression like music and poetry. However, most of the *Buzdar* house-hold heads, in spite of belonging to *barelvi* sect, expressed that they voted for parties, candidates or individuals other than the religious leaders who were variously referred to as *Peers* or *Khawajagans* in the local language.

Those leaders were in fact all of them, the off-springs of the famous Sufi saint mentioned above, *Hazrat Khawaja Shah Suleman* and remain, internally, in a constant strife for power in local politics and often oppose each other vehemently during the elections. The internal ridges among the off-springs of the great saint were believed to have emerged from various factors, ranging from contesting each other to be real (deserving) descendent of the saint and thus the rightful heir or the heir of the seat of the great saint to issues involving obtaining political and economic leverage in the city.

Nearly 33% of the *barelvi Buzdars* vowed that they always prefer their tribal chief while casting their votes including 5% others who belonged to religious sects different than the above

mentioned 33%, who also preferred the tribal chief as their political leader. Both these types of respondents made 38% of the total sample population consisting of people who go for tribal chief while they cast their votes. Apart from these hard-line supporters of the tribal chief, 20% of *barelvi Buzdars* expressed that while they do vote for tribal chief, sometimes they also choose their religious leaders as well. The casting of votes for the National Assembly elections in favor of tribal chief while going for *Peers* during Provincial Assembly elections.

By contrast, only 7% of the *barelvis* who made up to 86% of the total sample expressed that they opt for the candidates who were off-springs of the great saint, during elections. However, 7% of the *barelvi* household-heads affirmed that they opt for the candidates who satisfy them and they vote for these candidates on their personal choice and 6% told that they vote for local candidates of *Buzdar* descent or ethnic background as well as for tribal chief, sometimes.

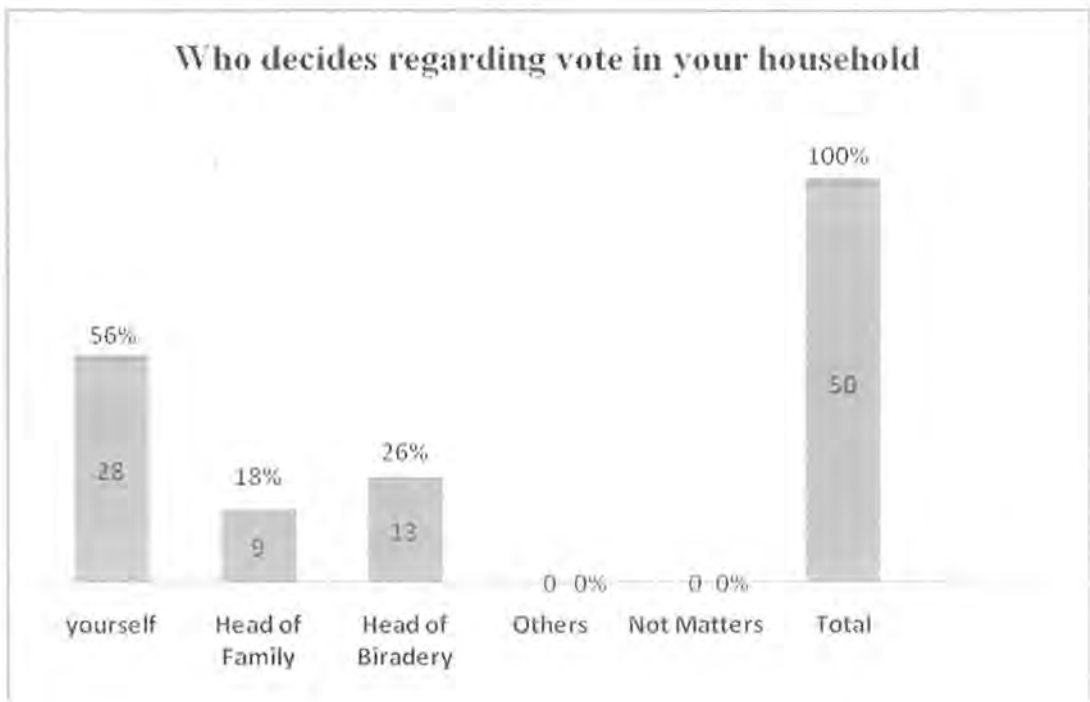
Nearly, 13% of the total *barelvi* household-heads told during the interviews and census, that they were allied with particular political parties and they always vote for the political parties. No matter who was nominating the candidates of the respective parties? The figures confirmed the assertion that although many of the immigrants *Buzdars* were devoted to the local saint to a great extent, they make political decisions not solely on the basis of their allegiance or devotion. We saw that out of 86% of the *barelvis* among the household-heads, who were most likely to have reverence for the great saint, do not actually opt for the candidates who were the direct descendents of their spiritual leader while they cast their votes. It was so true that only 7% of them reported their strong and unconditional affiliation with the descendents of their spiritual leader and 20% suggested only partial and unconditional affiliation.

4.17. Decision of vote among migrant household-heads

According to the figures collected from heads of the households included in sample, 56% of the total interviewed, 50, household heads informed that they make the decision of whom to vote for, by themselves, largely. That was a great change since they arrived in the city, especially those respondents who were from weak/ poor background; it used to be difficult for them to decide whom to vote for, freely, while they lived in the mountains. Tribal life necessitated mutual cooperation even in that regard and they had to conform to one's or the other's choice in their family, *biradery*

or clan that was the part of the great shift in *Buzdar* consciousness, mentioned earlier. The sense of power and determination that they must feel while making such important political decisions, was almost a value in itself. Such values gather to form a *Buzdar* character and personality which was truly different from *Baloch* persona created by the tribal society in the upper western mountains.

4.17.1. Graph No 5. Decision regarding vote among respondents



The 18% of the respondents told that the decision regarding casting of votes was the will of the heads of their families. Similarly, a slightly higher number of 26% of the respondents told that they vote for only those candidates, who were favored by the head or heads of their larger families or lineages. One important point in the discussion also suggested by the data from the 50 respondents, no one expressed that the decision of vote does not matter for them. Similarly, the data also shows that the asked categories of possible decision makers were the only ones who decide the casting of vote. No other personality or figure ever enters into the social world migrant *Buzdar* community to decide, whom they were going to support or not, that illustrates that *Buzdars* were more internally bound and important political decisions were made within the family, clan or lineage and that no outsider, for example, political or religious leader, was given the privilege or allowed to influence such decisions. At the same time, the data also suggests that *Buzdar* migrants

of the city have not yet completely shed the values of tribal system. The social organization of the city was also largely patriarchal and various parts of the native population are organized, at least politically, through caste and clan lines. Caste hierarchies were fairly rigid in the social structure of the city itself. Although large tracts of its population live under the umbrella of family unit, most of them have close social links with their relatives and endogamy was thought to be largely prevalent in the city as well though this assertion was without any data. The caste based identities particularly glow at the time of elections when various stakeholders and candidates try their best to extract as much votes as possible through negotiating with the dominant elders of the castes of the native population. Thus, all these practices do effect the organization of new comers who tend to ghettoize themselves in particular ethnic cocoons in response to the city dwellers.

4.18. Prioritized forms of marriage for children among the tribe

Another factor that could be called as reminiscent of a change in the social order and value system of *Buzdars* after migration was the form marriage that *Buzdars* prioritize for their children. A question regarding the marriage of their children was asked from *Buzdar* heads of the households that what form of marriage they think was better for their children's lives while living in the city. All the respondents answered the question and half of them, 50%, responded that they would like to marry their children (male and female) amongst their close relatives. In other words, for half of the elders of households included in the sample, endogamy remains the prioritized form of marriage for their children. Some aspects were very important to comprehend the nature of the stated fact.

Firstly the study was different from those conducted on assimilation or integration of ethnic groups and their identity that were conducted in settings that were already culturally rich and were home to various cultural groups, like metropolitan cities of the modern world. We have to understand that although *Buzdars* have migrated into a city which was fairly developed, in material terms, the social organization and moors of people living here were not entirely different from those in the mountains. That was, if endogamy was the dominant form of marriage among the mountaineers of tribal area, same was true with a less emphasis for the city dwellers. If patriarchy was the only form of social organization among *Buzdars* and other *Baloch* people of *Suleman* range, same was true for the city dwellers except that they live in a patriarchy that ensures relatively more economic and social independence to its women. Although we may find cases in which

women of the city might be living under conditions harsher than in tribal areas. So, the point was the social organization and value system that has a quantitative difference between the two communities and not the qualitative difference.

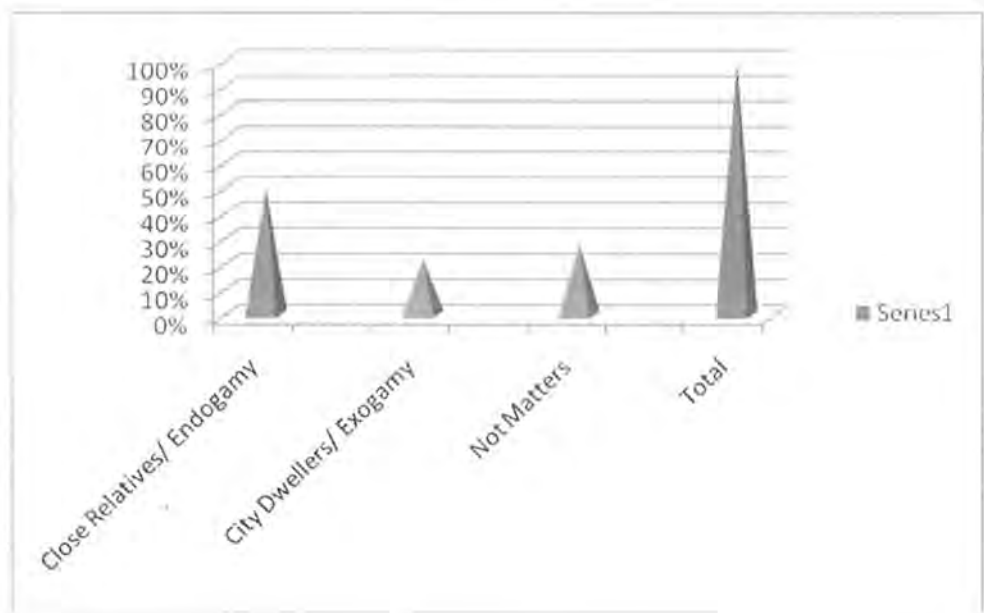
However, both the communities may never accept a woman as their tribal or community leader, while it does not look surprising if half of the household heads of migrant *Buzdar* community interviewed prefer endogamy. Moreover, endogamy as a social practice was not always sanctioned by patriarchy or any other form of social organizations. There were always other factors contributing towards such practices. For example, individuals of an agricultural society were more likely to practice endogamy because in case of exogamy, they have to give away some of their lands to another family.

Apart from half of the household heads, more than 30% of the respondents expressed it does not matter for them whether their children marry within the family or outside, implying that they intend to respect the wishes of their children regarding marriage. However, 22% of them responded that they will like to marry their children outside their close circles of the family and that they would prefer if their children marry among city dwellers. Keeping the Endo/ Exogamy debate in mind, it was rather surprising that a considerable number household heads among *Buzdars* want their children not to marry among the relatives. The fact may not seem too revealing if compared with the ratio of exogamy practiced among city dwellers; which according to casual/ non scientific observations did not vary too much. However 22% people from *Buzdar* household expressing their will for exogamy seems a bit unusual in the face of above debate.

If we delve deep into the situation, we find that *Buzdars* were a migrant community that has willfully dissociated themselves from the pre-existing tribal order. Thus they by living in an altered social organization whose symbolic value was not as much important to *Buzdars* as it may be for the local people living continuously there. Thus the chances of newly arrived migrant community to defy the existing social norms, slightly increases as compared to those of city dwellers. Mainly because *Buzdars* have little if any stakes in maintaining the existing order and if they do, they might not get the feelings of change in their lives. The change, as mentioned above, was a kind of qualitative change that almost all of them aspired while leaving their homelands. If situated in the

context, the stated fact that endogamy or a desire for it prevails among 22% of the household heads that could be interpreted as strong evidence of assimilation.

4.18.1. Graph No 6. Prioritized forms of marriage among respondents



4.19. Income groups across sample population

Before going further ahead into the analysis of various facts about the population of city, it would be imperative to look closely at the occupational structure and income ranges of the sample studied during the research. The division of labor related data stated in the following figure provides interesting details regarding the migrant *Buzdar* household-heads. One interesting feature of the sample studied is that less and less people of the migrant *Baloch* community are involved in less and less occupations. That many of the respondents were found working across the occupational spread of the city. John Milton (Ethnicity, 1985) while quoting [Yinger 1985] states that: “A group is integrated to the degree that its members are distributed across the full range of associations, institutions and regions of a society in a pattern similar to that of the population as a whole.”

(Yinger 1985)”

4.19.1. Table No.3. Income ranges and occupational variation

Sr. No.	Income Range	10-15000	15-20000	20-25000	50000& Above	Less than 10000	Total	% Share in Total
1.	Public Sector Job	3	2	3	1		9	18%
2.	Private Sector Job						0	0
3.	Agriculture						0	0
4.	Job & Agriculture	11	8	4		1	24	48%
5.	Business	2	3			1	6	12%
6.	Job & Business	1	2				3	6%
7.	Business and Agri	4	2	1			7	14%
8.	Daily Wages	1					1	2%
9.	Total Respondents	22	17	8	1	2	50	100%

Although the second art of the quotation is difficult to show as the research was primarily conducted on one ethnic group and we do not have the data about occupational spread of the city dwelling population as an evidence to fulfill the criteria defined in the lines, to say that an ethnic group is completely integrated. However, as we know from our prior knowledge that the urban setting of *Taunsa* and its rural surroundings are primarily agriculture driven economies in which people tend to get the wheat needed for subsistence through-out the year from their agricultural lands that are often found scattered in shapes of arable patches. For their daily expenses and kitchen items, these city dwelling people tend to do some government job or else. We find that almost same is true in case of *Buzdars* as is evident in the table given above.

Nearly half, 48% of the sample population stated that they were engaged both in agriculture and public sector jobs while living in the city. While 18% of the respondents stated that do only public sector job, 14% were found simultaneously engaged in business and agricultural activities. It should be noted however, that most of the *Buzdars* who stated that they own arable land and do agriculture, have lands in the mountains, their homelands. Secondly, most of them do not do or look after their crops as city dwelling people do while farming patches of scattered lands. *Buzdars* tend to leave one or two persons of the family in the mountains to take care of their lands who in

exchange for their services share 50% of the product. The migrants living in the city in turn get the wheat for the next season and do not have to spend large swaths of their monthly income on buying basic food item, flour.

Besides the stated activities, *Buzdar* migrants were also involved in Business and trade related activities and as a result, contribute a lot to the local market volume. That was extremely important to understand in the context of ethnic collision. Equal in-put on the part of migrant community in the market means that migrants have stakes in maintaining the smooth running of daily life and they were more likely to avoid any politically or religiously motivated ethnic collision in the future with their counterparts, city dwellers. It was expected to pave the way towards further integration of migrant *Buzdar* community in the native social life.

Similarly, no impression from the data has been derived that *Buzdars* were living as a marginalized ethnic group in the city. Although the persons with daily wages were included in the data collection, only 2% of the total 50 household-Heads told that they were involved in a sort of daily wages work that indicates that most of them were not living an economically confounded life. As the following Graph shows that most of the migrant residents were active economic agents and could not be called as useless parasites just sucking the resources of the city, through any stretch of the imagination. Similarly, some people among the sample were also observed to be involved in side businesses as well along with their jobs which made up to 6% of the total sample population.

As it is observable in the graph, 22 of the 50 household heads reportedly earned 10 to 15 thousand rupees in a month which places them although in a not very prominent place in the middle class. But if considered relatively, their income has, as they told, improved since the days they lived in the hills. A good 17 of the total sample respondents were at the 15 to 20 thousand income range which must not be considered as low an income. Especially, it is not bad when most of them have already stored wheat for annual usage in the house. However, there was only one person in the sample of 50 who told that he earns nearly or even more than 50 thousand rupees a month. Two of the respondents earned less than 10 thousand rupees a month. Eight heads of the household however revealed that their monthly income exceeds 20 thousand rupees.

It was encouraging that the *Buzdars* were a dynamic part of an on-going economic process and their participation in the process was in no way hindered by any cultural inhibitions. As the literature review suggests the studies of integration of ethnic groups replete with examples when culturally bred confounding elements constrain the inclusion of one or the other ethnic group in certain activities which finally result in ethnic grievances and possible collision. That, however, was not true in the case of *Buzdars* who have not let anything of their cultural moors and social/ tribal taboos to effect their participation in the mainstream economic arena of the city that not only benefits them in fiscal terms, but wider outreach to economic activities was often observed to be a natural interaction bridge between city dwelling people and migrant *Buzdars* who make important transactions involving both, which creates a trustworthy operational relationship between the two ethnic groups. Historical contact of *Buzdars* with the city due to the great saint who lies buried in *Taunsa*, temporary seasonal migrations of *Buzdars* to eastern plains during the harvest of wheat, were also some of the elements that have eased this interaction and have largely diluted the sense of complete alienation between the two communities.

Chapter No.5

5.0 Migrant Buzdars: A larger case of assimilation or maintenance?

Theoretical debates and exploratory practices that have surrounded the fields of ethnicity, identity based on ethnic affiliations and ethno-national movements are pervasive across the social sciences like anthropology, sociology and political science. Human phenomena are so diverse and unpredictable that more often than not, it disproves and defies the human intellectual efforts to understand and categorize it. Theories and positions that, in the past, ventured to provide unilateral and singular explanations for particular human condition or phenomena, have badly failed themselves. These theories, like human social evolution as propagated by Herbert Spencer or the stages of civilizational development essentialized by Morgan, have not only been challenged but in response to them, possible alternative and perhaps more coherent and less self contradictory explanations did surface before us.

Today we know that it is possible for a group or people or "*imagined community*", to borrow the term from Benedict Anderson, might degenerate from being a highly civilized and culturally rich group of people into a less developed and backward human collectivity in the next stage of its evolution. We know that the *Arabs of Baghdad or Damascus or Cairo* were, till 13th century A.D, the inheritors of a great civilization and inhabitants of prospering cities that were the centers of Inter-continental exchange of goods, ideas, knowledge and information. However, we have seen in recent times, that the off-spring of the same people are unable to cope with the values of the modern times and cannot stand for themselves in the face of almost internationally held perceptions like Arabs are somehow unfit for democracy because they still live in a tribal life style, they persecute their women in the name of morality and that they tolerate monarchs and kings.

Although the Arabs are, very recently, desperately struggling against their decades old butchers, these perceptions are still largely in place for them. The irony is how can a backward bunch of tribal Arabs come out in street and demand for democracy, accountability of rulers and their political and legal rights? And if they do all that, how can they be called to be backward, tribal and people with almost medieval ideals and dispositions? But still, if they are not all that, why it is that most of the Arab countries are being ruled by self-declared (In-fact British-Declared) Kings

and Monarchs who then evoke religious laws in constitutions of their countries in the name of tradition or faith and make both their laws and people look like oh-these-are-unfit-for-modern-ideas-and-democracy.

The purpose of the above mentioned example was to make it clear that if one is standing on particularistic bits of information about societies and basis her/ his explanations on these, one might feel strayed into the ocean of uncertainties and contradictions.

Same is the case with anthropology where we gather as much relevant and people-centered information as possible to say something about those people that might explain their position in time. The present study was conducted in order to ascertain, whether the evolution of migrant *Buzdar* community in the city of *Taunsa* warrants that they are integrating themselves with the local population or they are just maintaining themselves culturally and socially as they used to maintain their values and life styles while they live in the western hills of *Koh-e-Suleman*.

In the previous chapter, some very important pieces of information were provided and explained in some detail, regarding what has actually changed there in the lives, heads and surroundings of *Buzdar* community and from this change, what sort of change we can expect or hope to come into their cultural and social life in the future? It was also described that *Buzdars* migrated from their homelands not because they were enforced to do so by someone. Neither they left their homes because of any conflict. However, some crisis in some point in the past may have established firmly for these migrant *Buzdars* that they cannot or should not live in the mountains and start looking towards somewhere else.

It has also been mentioned in the last chapter that this prospect of looking somewhere else is not new among the *Buzdars* as they always have looked to eastern plains. Sometimes, they looked to eastern plains to attack the natives and to grab some of their cattle and on others, to offer their services to eastern landlords in exchange for wheat for the coming season. Similarly, the great role of establishing a constant link between *Buzdars* and city dwellers, played by the Sufi Saint *Hazrat Khawaja Shah Suleman* was also discussed in detail.

It was noted that there were some changes, at least apparently, that allude to *Buzdars'* integration with the local population. For example, many of them want their children to marry

among the city dwellers. Similarly, it was found that 22% of the total 50 parents interviewed during surveys and other interactional activities, were willing to accept the choices of their children regarding marriage. By contrast, many of the respondents, nearly 28%, told that they will marry their children among their close relatives only. We argued that while this is evidence that suggests the opposite of integration, it might also be because of the overall marriage trend in the city as well which most people practice endogamy there.

Moreover, it was argued that if 40% of the household-heads are saying that either they will leave the question or decision of marriage to their children or they will be happy if their children marry outside their kin-group, it is in itself a great change in the social attitude of *Buzdars* which is only helpful in integration of both the *Saraiki* speaking native population and *Balochi* speaking *Buzdar* migrants. Further-more, we may argue that Endogamy may not be the only way to ascertain the level of integration between the two communities or Exogamy may also not be the sole parameter to judge the extent of maintenance of ethnic identity among *Buzdars*. This is largely because in a closed society with strong patriarchal social organization, such choices are not always free. Although we can argue that marriage, in such societies, is often more than a bond between two people and its impact are great, we can also look at some other aspects, like that of language, or daily life, education etc to assess these trends and patterns.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and contextualize all these and other changes among *Buzdars* in the context of ethnic identity. This is to ascertain that whether *Buzdars* can be called to be a major or larger case of either assimilation or maintenance in the context of research.

5.1. Maintenance of identity

Maintenance, as it has been described is being taken to mean that *Buzdars* were largely striving to uphold the ethos and values that they used to uphold during their lives in the mountains. As it was stressed in the last chapter, that *Buzdars* have not migrated into a completely alien social structure, some of their cherished values were largely the same as it used to be. However, there were also some considerable differences and exceptions to that as well. In line with the social system of the city, a large number of the sample population said that they prefer endogamy for their children but many among them did not approve the practice and said that they choose otherwise.

Similarly, while most of the *Buzdars* used to vote for Tribal Chief in the good old days, many of them now have their own favorite parties to vote for, no matter who was the candidate. It will be imperative to look at some of the structural problems in the provincial constituency of the city from which *Buzdar* Tribal Chief often wins the election for provincial legislature. The researcher will look for some inconsistencies on the part of constituency location that draw *Buzdars* towards a politics that reinforces the political value of one important tribal symbol, Tribal Chief, in the politics of the city as well. After that the focus will be on the last local elections to understand the victory of a local city dwelling *Buzdar* candidate as *nazim* of city. It was something that reinsured *Buzdars* of their political worth and that if they choose 'good', they will have 'good'. These factors will be described in detail before the identity related aspects of culture and language.

5.2. Electoral constituency and higher Buzdar stakes in city politics

The provincial and national constituency of *taunsa* includes the population of mountains and the plains to form one provincial and one national seat for public representative. Any candidate for national assembly seat must align himself with *Buzdar* tribal chief if he has to win the elections because thousands of voters in the tribal area cast their provincial assembly votes for him. They cast their national assembly vote only for the person allied with the chief. Same was the case with city *Buzdars*. Although they were less in numbers from the *Buzdar* voters of the tribal region, their vote means victory in local bodies' elections.

Converging interests because both were mutual allies in most of the elections. Thus the candidate of the city political elite secures the tribal votes both in the mountains and the city because of his alliance with tribal chief.

The tendency of *Buzdars* and city voters to adhere to the primordial loyalties and identities that glow only occasionally at the time of elections, to the benefit of political elite, has given way to the emergence of new politics of identity within the city. As mentioned earlier, elections were perceived by the populace as personal contests due to the occasional identities and loyalties that glow at that time barring, to some extent, the individual choices during the voting process. Thus everyone wants his own ethnic candidate to win the elections. In the near past another political

paradox was created in the area during the last local elections, *Buzdars* of the city voted for a *Buzdar* candidate of middle class while the candidates of city political elite were defeated.

The political elite of the city took it a great disadvantage and a challenge to their future political legacy in their own city. Their defeat was largely due to the ethnic *Buzdar* vote that played a decisive role in it. It was an expression of political consciousness on the part of city *Buzdars*. It was an indication of the emergence of a strong middle class of *Buzdar* migrants in the city whose votes are decisive in local elections. As mentioned above, collective living of the *Buzdars* in the city has increased *Buzdar* stakes in local politics at least in the eyes of *Buzdars* themselves. Generally, political choices were increasing with the consciousness of the people and increasing modernity in the daily lives of the people. That was why any politically motivated ethnic collision between the natives and migrated *Buzdars* was beyond imagination. However divergent interests of the two communities were visible. One political activist, while responding to a question told that:

"The difference between the Buzdars and natives of Taunsa cannot be exploited to create violence or permanent enmity. There is no venue to this venture. This is because the difference itself is of ideological or more appropriately abstract nature. This is not the difference of material conditions. The problems of the common man of both communities are the same. There is only the difference of historical process that has shaped the two communities. Material conditions, in which Saraikis and Buzdars are living, are the same".

The rise of city's middle class politics, one can only hope for the emergence of a collective and democratic contract among the two internally diverse ethnic groups of the city i.e. *Buzdars* and natives. It was only the political practices of the two segments that seem to be parallel. At the social level, one hardly finds people behaving or acting on the basis of ethnicity. There were little friendships or enmities among the people just because they belong to an ethnic group. Interaction of the individuals of same ethnic groups was, however, more likely to be there. Ethnic collision was also not viable because *Buzdar* community and others living in the city have almost equal stakes in the development of the city. Similarly, the city had acquired the status of a holy place for *Buzdars* as it was the city of the great Saint.

All the factors have given way to a politics among *Buzdars* which was although exclusive for the natives but it was in no way exclusive for the city itself. They practice their politics while counting themselves as part of the city itself.

5.3. Population dynamics and new politics of identity

A respondent who was a professor of sociology at the Government Boys' Degree College *taunsa*, told during an in-depth interview that:

"This (victory of local Buzdar candidate as the city council in last local bodies elections) only highlights political importance of new Buzdars who are under the influence of tribal chief in many ways. But a considerable number of old Buzdars is out of his influence. Similarly, in the present time, political choices are emerging from within the Buzdars themselves. There is a large faction of new and old Buzdars which is politically opposed to tribal chief."

Political awareness was increasing and local compulsions for casting vote were slowly losing their importance in the wake of economic stability that *Buzdars* were accumulating through education and employment. There were little chances that it would revert to the same tribal chief centered politics of the past. A conscious middle class was expected to give way to a pragmatic politics in the future. There existed no middle class before *Buzdar* arrival in the city, rather, it was an immigrant group that opted for change than status-quo and it has more stakes in the development and modernity because it feels itself behind in the race than the natives of the city.

The figures of last local elections clearly show that there has been a massive migration from mountains towards city and *Buzdars* make up at least one third of the local population. There political significance lies in their ability for a collective decision regarding casting of the votes. Such a combined vote in the city was unheard of in its political history and it puts the candidate in a much better position for success in the elections. The absence of *Buzdar* sympathy in the city politics and especially in local elections means an almost guaranteed defeat for any candidate.

5.4. Local government system

The local government system is the subject which is most relevant to the current chapter of politicized maintenance of *Buzdar* ethnic identity. The introduction of this form of government played an important role in incorporating lower and middle class aspirants of politics into power structure as the last local government elections produced the results that shaped most of the on-going political discourse in the city. A middle class advocate from *Buzdar* ethnic background won the elections for city *nazim* by defeating all other forces including urban political elite of the city.

Many explanations were found about his success during the research, some of the respondents told that he was a commoner and winning of election by a common man was entirely a shift in the political arena. By looking at his political career, he has been contesting local bodies' elections for the last ten years or so, while others were of the view that he was competent, educated and people centered in his political and administrative conduct. But the question was again the same. In fact, it matters a lot that he was a *Buzdar* commoner, the found in him a better alternative of tribal chief and *khawajgans*.

It was understood by the researcher that the winning of a *Buzdar* has provided an opportunity to select anyone who can be a good alternative to *lazy* tribal chief and local elite which is bent on exploitation and at the same time they should not feel that they are voting for an ethnic alien. But the victory of *Salam Buzdar* cannot be entirely attributed to the rise of ethnic politics that emerged due to massive migration of ethnically sensitive population of new *Buzdars* in the city. While it may be partially true, his success reflects a shift from tribal chief centered politics to from within the same ethnic group. It reflects that people no longer think of tribal chief as a holy saint to whose wishes they must comply. *Buzdars* are beginning to be pragmatic voters and success of a middle class, fully assimilated old *Buzdar* alludes to this tendency. Similarly, the reasoning of choice in the elections is now being seriously pondered over by the members of new *Buzdar* community. This choice of such a political candidate is at the same time similar to their previous political choice of ethnic or native candidate sanctioned or favored by their tribal chief. And it is different because the candidate did not represent status-quo politics of the elite. He belonged to middle class and kept himself skeptical of all kinds of elite politics in his political career. His gentleness reflects the general softness of the *Buzdars* who are not as hot-headed, rough and

regressive as other tribes of *Suleman* belt. Thus his success had a two prong effect on the political scene of the city. It undermined the legacy of local political elite in the politics of *taunsa* on the one hand and annihilated the popular view of *Buzdar* voters that they always go for tribal chief, on the other hand. His success sufficiently demonstrated that *Buzdar* voter is a free agent now, to a great extent. In addition to these apparently positive outcomes, it may be ascertained from the case study that devolution of power and elections at the grass roots level has increased political consciousness of those who are most affected by the power of elected members of local and provincial governments. It has given them, in this case, a chance to realize and cast their impact on the outcomes of political process. In contrast to local elections, traditional candidates have performed well in general elections since larger tracts of population and more and more elite groups are involved in the process leaving little space for residents of small electoral pockets to cast their impact on the final outcome. Thousands of voters cast their votes for a few contesting candidates for the membership of the National Assembly. It makes little difference if people of a small village, Union Council or even a small town do not like one or all the candidates. But in local elections, their vote matters a lot since the electoral areas are squeezed. Thus it is recommended that the government should immediately resume the local government system in order for the people to elect their representatives with relatively greater freedom and interest. Local government system is a crucial part of the democracy and in the present case, resuming this system will add to the strengthening of democracy at grass roots level.

5.5 Supportive elements in maintaining ethnic political practices

The above deliberations have reflected the ethnicity oriented political practices among *Buzdars*, there were many elements that support the continuity of ethnic political practices for example, living united in one geographical area, informal networks of cooperation and an economy largely independent of outside competition. But there were some more important elements as well. According a respondent:

"Now we are looking for o political savior. In fact there is no leader in this area who can unite all these groups into a single whole. That is why everyone is supporting his own ethnic group. This ethnic categorization must be rejected and gunned down. Only then can people of both communities come together and only

then the development of area is possible. But there is no single personality whom people can trust. The last city nazim (a local Buzdar) was a good person. He represented poor class of the area and people expressed their trust on him. I think he was successful in fulfilling the expectations of people and that he will succeed in the future as well. We (Buzdars) have still not managed to mix up with the city people. They are also helpless like us and there is no one who can demonstrate his leadership qualities and unite the people. We are looking for such a leader. We do not know when he will come".

According to the researcher's point of view, there was a vacuum of leadership, the people were having no choice other than electing the person from same ethnic background as their representative, because it not a matter of prestige for them for electing someone else. So why shouldn't they prefer their "own" man. Another visible reality was the political environment of the city itself based on ethnic politics. Natives of every street or *mohalla* have their own person to follow and support during elections, thereby restraining the emergence of a collective and decisive political force that represents the whole city or a larger faction of city population. Thus making it not very difficult or defying for *Buzdars* to go for their tribal chief at the time of elections. Because in this situation, they were just following the general political normality as it was practiced by the natives of the city and by the whole area.

In that environment, a little change in political stake holders in the previous elections was brought not by the urbanized natives, but the tribal *Buzdars* who by choice or by default went for a middle class *Buzdar* candidate of unconventional political reputation. All the factors have combined instinct to give way to a cohesive *Buzdar* existence in the city. They made possible their economic and political survival in a more or less independent fashion i.e. independent of any influence from the out-group even while living amidst an out-group. It has been mentioned earlier that *Buzdar* tribal social structure was rigidly patriarchal.

The city where they lived was also patriarchal in most of its features of social and political organization that has contributed towards the continuity of the politics of same old nature among the new *Buzdars* of the city. Women were utterly devoid of any decision making power in political sphere. It has largely hindered the emergence of an ideal and egalitarian political contract among

various ethnic groups of the city. Thus making it even more possible for *Buzdars* to carry out a political identity through practices that largely resemble the way they practiced politics in the old times inside the hills.

Apart from the problems, the *Buzdar* elite class was also centered in the city having large properties there and many of them serve in the state institutions which was a welcoming fact. Their children were married there and in case of tribal chief wins, he formally represents the population of the city as well. Since the city of *taunsa* was the center of local politics, tribal chief cannot be completely oblivious to the city as well. While he has made the city as the center of his political activities, many of his voters suffer a great deal as they have to approach him for their problems by travelling hundreds of miles from the mountains.

5.6. Common features of social life between Buzdars and natives

By observing the general social organization of the city and its native population, it was found that *Buzdars* were not living in a completely alien social world. The history and development of their contact with the city has been discussed in previous chapter. There were certain features of the city life that resemble those of *Buzdar* tribal culture as well as institutions and situations to which both the communities were equally exposed that however, does not imply that their respective responses and adaptations to the situations were also the same.

5.7 Cultural and structural commonalities and patriarchy

Buzdars came from a rigidly patriarchal structure of social organization where all authority rests in the patriarch. Native culture of the city is also largely patriarchal. However, it does warrant a degree of mobility to its female members which may not be found in *Buzdar* tribal culture.

5.7.1 Politics

The *Buzdar* tribe came from a culture which was entirely centered on the persona and figure of the tribal chief. As a result, tribal chief dominates the political scene. Similarly the native population of the city was divided into numerous factions that were organized on caste or *Biradery* lines, the economically well off and competent patriarchs were politically dominant.

5.7.2 State institutions

Both the communities lived in the city; *Buzdars* occupy, largely, the north eastern *mohalla* of *nizamabad* while the natives lived in the remaining part of the city. Both came under the jurisdiction of same institutions of law and order and the local government structure was the same for both the communities.

5.7.3 Technology

Given the modern area of telecom revolution, both the communities equally face the onslaught of electronic media, mobile phones, television (T.V) and cable networks. The intensity of adaptation to cable T.V. was however inconsistent between the two communities. The youth of both the communities uses Mobile phones with almost same intensity and frequency.

While we have mentioned some similarities, it is imperative and interesting to note some differences between the two. It will make the distinction easier to understand if we comprehend the structural and emotional feelings of the 'other' between the two in similar situations.

5.8. Cultural and structural differences

It was an acknowledged fact that the tribal belt of *Koh-e-Suleman* has received very little incentives from the state. The areas and their populations still live at the mercy of tribal chiefs and elders. Border Military Police (BMP) was mentioned, by many respondents, as the only state institution that was found active there in the mountains. But the institution, during a visit to the tribal area, was found to be engulfed by the tribalism and local traditions there. An ordinary individual could hardly expect to receive justice from B.M.P because its key officials were always relatives of tribal chief who could hardly remain impartial in any conflict. There were few active schools in the area and even in the schools; teachers did not ensure regularity. These were the causes of massive *Buzdar* migration which were in practice on a large scale.

It is mentioned in the previous chapter that provincial constituency of *taunsa* city which was PP-240 includes the tribal area where *Buzdars* were living. *Taunsa* was the centre of political and administrative activities and *tummun Buzdar* lies at a great distance from the centre. *Buzdars* cast

their votes for tribal chief who visits his native people occasionally but no substantial gains could be made regarding government functions in such a far reached area. That was a structural problem for neither the native city dwellers nor those of *Buzdars* living far inside the mountains. In spite of all the factors, people cast their votes on the basis of tribe and caste basis.

As a result, all the *Buzdars* living in the mountains vote for their tribal chief. Moreover, large scale rigging was almost usual in some parts of the area as no writ of the state exists there and it was a great hurdle in ensuring free and fair elections there. While thousands of *Buzdar* people vote for their tribal chief in the mountains, it becomes extremely hard for any candidate in the city to defeat the chief as no one has such a staggering vote bank in the plain areas so as to compete with thousands of *Baloch* votes. Thus, these votes ensure *Buzdar* leader's victory every time the elections are held. Although this apparently is a problem of constituency allocation on the part of the authorities or Election Commission (ECP) of the country, that contributes in creating a tension among some classes of the city dwelling natives and *Buzdars*. People of the city think that the division of the constituency imposes on them the rule of a tribal chief who was not least interested in the matters of the city dwelling people.

5.8.1 Adaptation to modern technology

A degree of contempt and inhibitions caused primarily by tribal religiosity prevail among some a few sections of the *Buzdars* for modern media. During the research, it was found that most of the people of *Buzdar* community do not allow the cable T.V. inside their homes. They say that it spreads vulgarity. However, there were only few male sitting rooms of *Buzdars* where cable T.V. connection was not present. A moral and religious justification was provided by every member of *Buzdar* community in response to the question that why they didn't allow cable connection inside their houses for their females. 'It spoils the children inside the home', was the universal answer³⁴.

As is evident from the data given above that most of the 50 sample households used the cell phones more than any other technological invention. That also has its roots in the social

³⁴*Buzdars* are still a conservative community like many among the natives of the city. They even do not allow one to ask the number of female children. One may ask that how I managed to ask such 'private' questions to them. It was only after the rapport building and developing a degree of familiarity with every respondent I interviewed, that I was able to put questions pertaining to the 'inside' of their four walls.

organization of the tribes, at least as far as the researcher's understanding is concerned. It was found that mobile phone was something which facilitates the male mobility, so, 86% of the male respondents told that they use mobile technology. The researcher was convinced that the ratio must be too low in the case of *Buzdar* female members of the household just as it should be, presumably, among the city dwellers. That was mainly because both the communities were set in a historical, social and political context which ensures male supremacy. Thus the mobility of the female members was curtailed to some degree.

However, it may be argued that apart from this anthropological insight, respondents use mobile phones without any cultural hindrance in place that prohibits or creates inhibitions at least in the use of that form of technology. Thus it was also changing their interaction patterns to some extent.

An interesting aspect of the data was the 43% of the guest rooms in the respondents' homes were said to have cable connection and a TV inside, only 1% of the respondent said that they have cable connections inside their rooms for female family members and children to watch that confirms the above mentioned assertion that in some sections of the *Buzdar* community, it was largely felt the cable connections spread vulgarity in the homes so they would never allow it inside the house. According to their perceptions, they could only afford to spoil their men and not women which was again very much understandable given the larger structural, social and political setting.

5.9. Economy of the tribe

The economy of the *Buzdar* tribe in the city was also discussed in previous chapter. There markets were in fact remarkable expressions of exclusion from the native population. It will not be wrong to call their markets as "Ethnically Pure Markets". Imagine a market, right in the centre of a bustling city, which involves the persons of only one ethnic group.

As far as assimilation is concerned, there was a mixed tendency towards it. Two aspects of *Buzdar* life in the city were found to be revealing the patterns of assimilation. Those two aspects were the Marriage and Education. After briefly describing the general differences and similarities between the two communities regarding their social, cultural and political life, it was easier to account for the two most relevant aspects of migrant *Buzdar* community in the city.

5.10. Bi-Lingual Buzdars and nature of integration

The *Buzdar* ethnic community was completely bi-lingual. No data was needed to show the trait of the guest community as it was widely acknowledged. Similarly, during the field research, it was widely observed that *Buzdars* have no difficulty in speaking the native *Saraiki* language and in some cases it was observed that *Balochi*, the mother tongue of *Baloch/ Buzdars*, was being continuously reduced to a sphere which was related to mutual conversations of *Buzdars*. Even a *Baloch* who looks like a city dwelling person, arrives in the community of Balch, they start speaking with him in *Saraiki*.

That was an indicator according to the anthropological understanding, but some considerations are however, very important to make opinion regarding this argument. Firstly, the argument must not be viewed as if the host community must lose its language and cultural heritage in order to integrate with the natives of *taunsa*. Just like the practice of exogamy as an indicator of assimilation and integration does not mean that *Buzdars* should cease to see their dear ones.

The point was however raised by an elder while speaking during an informal conversation, .

He told that:

“One of our great achievements, during all these years of migration is that we have kept intact our language. We have not ceased to speak it. Once you lose your language, you lose yourself”. It is evident from his conversation that he did not mean that they hate any language. One of the problems with the essentialists in the field of ethnic studies is that they argue that someone must hate ‘others’ after creating them, in order to submit to her own identity and ethnicity. This seems entirely outlandish in this case. Rather, as it is evident from the conversation of the elder, that in order to integrate, one must learn to be himself. That will only ensure a respectable and durable integration”.

5.11. Patterns of assimilation in marriage

Marriage is an important social institution. Patterns of marriage among the migrant *Buzdars* of *taunsa* reveal much about the extent of their assimilation with the native population of city.

Historically the *Buzdar* community was largely endogamous that reveal that their assimilation was not matured and they were living as a closed society in the city as well. However, marriage, if taken as a ceremony of *Buzdars* taking place in a new urban social setting, all the ceremonies were celebrated by the community according to the prevailing trends which were not practiced by *Buzdars* while they lived in their native tribal area.

5.11.1. Assimilation in marriage ceremonies

Before describing the assimilated ceremonies of marriages among *Buzdars*, it is important to mention that ceremonies and rituals are integral parts of any culture. Rituals and ceremonies reveal the ethos of any community and are given central importance in cultural studies. Ceremonies and rituals are the physical/ visible hallmarks of any culture. Modern anthropologists have demonstrated their central importance in the organization, interaction and cognition of a particular community.

The structures of *Buzdar* marriage as it takes place in the city were *mehndi*, *aaga*, and *parn*, which largely concern the gathering and interaction of females. All the ceremonies were carried out inside the house and female relatives of the groom and bride take part in these functions for three whole days. They sing song, apply *mehndi* to the hands and feet of bride and groom. Close female friends of bride gather around her for three days, keep on congratulating her, encouraging her, sing songs and sometimes make jokes with her regarding her marital life. Female acquaintances of the families of bride and groom gather in the marriage house in the evening. They keep on singing songs together while some women only sit and enjoy the songs and dance performances by young girls from both sides. Young girls often compete with each other in singing songs and demonstrate their dancing skills in a natural way. They feel secure and energetic in the company of other females who keep on clapping with the rhythms of their songs. Women with throaty and bad voices do not dare to sing any song because if they do, they will be ridiculed by fellow females. They just mutter the words of a melody in a low voice and just sit down and keep on swaying their bodies on both sides. It is necessary for all women guests to give a prescribed amount of money to the bride or her mother. This money is called 'wail' and women sway it on the heads of dancing or singing girls, who are close relatives of the bride, before giving the money to them.

There were three stages of a typical *Buzdar* marriage in the city, all the components of marriage were still unknown in their native tribal area. Marriage completes there in only one day and the collective feast given by the family of groom was the only vital event there. But *Buzdar* migrants practice the marriage rituals as practiced by the natives of the city. The rituals were in fact the pattern of assimilation among *Buzdars* after their migration to the city.

5.11.2. Assimilation in ceremonial music of marriage

In *Baloch* poetry, there was a little place for women and marriage. There was perhaps not a single song in *Buzdar* poetry which was sung by their females during marriage. If there was any such song, famous figures of *Buzdar* literature who were interviewed during research, were unaware of it. Thus, *Buzdars* also sing *Saraiki* songs and melodies during marriage, the songs sung by the natives during a marriage were also sung by *Buzdars*. Themes of marriage have little sound in *Buzdar* culture and poetry. Most of the poetry has been written in a religious fervor in which appreciation of God has prominent space. There were also numerous examples of poetry attributed to tribal wars, *Baloch* legends and heroes like *Chakar-e-Azam* and other famous figures. There were some love poems as well but were not much prominent or popular. When *Buzdars* arrived in the city, native culture offered a bulk of songs and melodies traditionally sung during the marriages. There were also many popular tunes and songs written on the subject of marriage itself. Thus *Buzdars* also employed the cultural stock and their marriage music was in a purely assimilated form.

5.11.3. Food serving in marriage

A respondent, while responding to a question regarding food serving tradition currently practiced by *Buzdars* of the city, remarked that:

"Buzdars have learnt a lot of things after migration and their collective experience and disposition is not so tribal at present. Their mental horizon is broad now. But they are slowly shedding their Baloch traditions. They are forgetting them with the passage of time and do not attach much importance with them. For example, when there is a marriage among our Buzdars of the city, the

contents, proceedings and functions, everything related to marriage is identical with those of the native Saraiki people of the city. There is no Balochi touch in the marriage of city dwelling migrant Buzdars. Music and melodies and everything else, are the same as those of people of the plains. Buzdars also practice the tradition of Waleemah just like the natives of the city. Like the natives, Buzdars also have the custom of 'neanderr' or the obligatory amount that everyone traditionally pays on the occasion of marriage. This money is in fact repaid by those who get it when they attend others' marriages. It is an event on which the family has to entertain and keep happy everyone."

Another vital aspect of tribal *Buzdar* marriage was to serve food to the guests and attendants by the family of groom. All the guests from both sides gather in groom's house where they were served with meat and rice. A marriage ends with after this event, while same was the case with the marriage among natives of the city with some important variations. The most important was called *Waleemah*. It was the traditional native name for the function in which food was served to the invitees at the end or often, one day after the marriage. The invitees pay for this food. The name of every attendant was written down along with the amount of money he paid. The list of attendants was afterwards matched with the list of invitees. That was a purely an urban practiced followed by the *Buzdars* as well. However, in their tribal culture it may be regarded as something unethical and even prohibited. As was evident from the above mentioned interview, people in the mountains barely ask someone for money and they do not count it in that acerbic manner as it was done in the city. But it was a widely practiced norm and *Buzdars* have shown assimilation in that regard.

5.12. Exogamy

Exogamy was barely practiced among the *Buzdars* of the city, there were only a few cases of exogamy among *Buzdars* of the city. Endogamy was keeping them internally bound to each other. *Buzdars* have been a closed society since a very long time and they were closed to out-group influence and assimilation. Marriage within one's own family and sub-caste has in fact characterized their tribal life. They shared an obligatory sense of cooperation and favor for their in-group and marriage was the only institution which physically formed the group. It has been demonstrated in last chapter that they were collectively averse to exogamy. The practice of

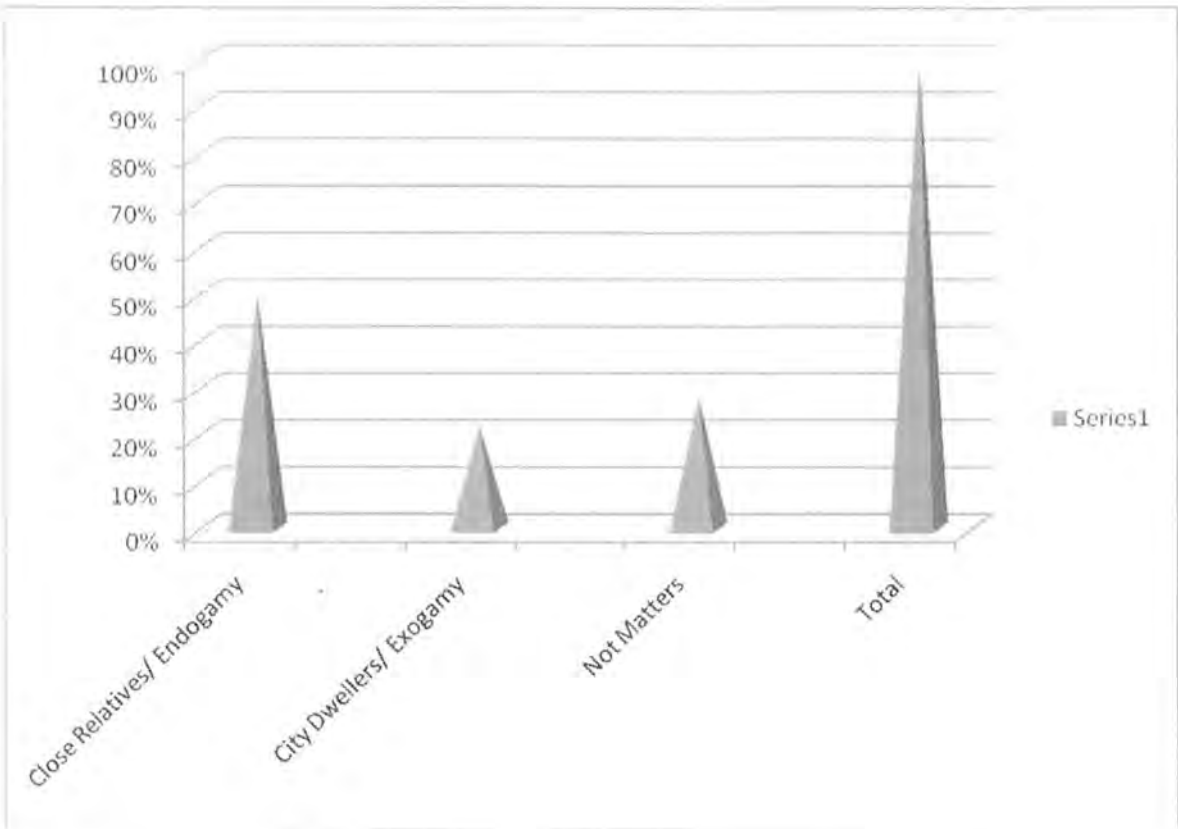
exogamy on a small scale becomes much difficult for the members of society in such a strong state of closure and in-group unity.

Although, the exogamy was not entirely unknown for *Buzdars* yet the numbers of such people was relatively limited. There were reasons that explain the gradual ascendancy of the members of migrant community towards exogamy. As was evident from the figure given below, many of the *Buzdar* households expressed that they will preferably go for exogamy when they will have to marry their children. Similarly, more than 30% of the respondents said that it does not matter, whether their children go for marriage within the family or out of it. That denotes to the changes among *Buzdars* at the level of value system, they were no more inclined to carry out and fulfill the old values. As it has been argued elsewhere earlier that at least something other than the old values was required to characterize *Buzdar* life in the city.

Similarly, the people who have broken off the old order to fulfill what they say their aspirations or reasons of migration were more prone to changes and more likely to devise mechanisms for adaptation as it would be very hard for them to stick to something (like endogamy) even after they have migrated out of the mountains where it was binding on them as a rule of social organization. The might explains the given figures that indicate that more and more *Buzdar* household-heads were coming to recognize the choices of their children regarding marriage or were beginning to value the practice of endogamy which largely means that they will marry their children among the city dwellers as most of the *Buzdars* were relatives to each other.

However, endogamy may sometimes mean that they marry them in *Buzdar* families that were long settled in the city or have recently migrated but were of a different sub-caste or lineage. That should also be considered as exogamy for them.

5.12.1. Graph No 7. Endogamy and Exogamy among Buzdars



5.13. Education among Buzdars

There is no doubt that modern education plays an important role in reducing the degree of closure in closed societies, *Buzdars* were no exception to it. Individual members of their community were well educated and capable of thinking beyond ethnic lines. It has already been described that *Buzdars* were gentle and soft tempered people as compared to other tribes living in *Suleman* belt. Thus, a modicum of education and exposure transformed the life and thinking of a *Buzdar*. Education also instills a passion to compete for better jobs and to attain high living standard. The pursuits also pull an individual further away from his kin-group centered worldview. Thus there were few cases of exogamy in educated migrant *Buzdar* families.

5.13.1. Assimilation in education

After marriage, education is the most important factor that may cause a greater degree of inclusion among *Buzdars* and may end the ethnic closure which still characterizes the *Baloch* community living in *taunsa*. The effects of education on ethnic closure among the *Buzdars* may reveal themselves in the distant future. However, the influx of external forces and elements is too rapid in these times that we can expect a substantial change in the coming generation of *Buzdars* which is now being educated in the city. *Buzdars* are sensitive to the education and they say that the reason for their migration was that they wanted to educate their children. It is encouraging that *Buzdars* pay special attention to the education of their female children.

5.13.2. Education as language

Education is regarded as a primary source of change in modern times. It is only through education that progress and change open their way for a backward and unskilled society. Quality education influences an individual or a group in many ways. It is primarily because it opens the way for outward and external influences on a closed society after enabling its individuals to absorb this influence. In other words, it makes the psychological and as a result, social boundaries, permeable. The change induced by quality education is always durable. It is because of two properties of education that are highly important in a society.

Firstly, education of all kinds, at least in modern times, is a language in itself. Every field and sub-field of knowledge has its own vocabulary. This vocabulary or collection of key terms, are in fact the domains of that field of knowledge and they categorize the external world for the student as this world is perceived and analyzed in his respective field of education. So first of all, the cognitive domains of an individual that form his or her worldview are replaced with a formal collection of words and domains in which she categorizes her outer world. Thus, he or she may continue to maintain and speak her native language; her thinking would be different if she has been educated. Same is the case with the educated members of *Buzdar* community. Most of them said that they make their political decisions by themselves. Similarly, many educated people expressed their allegiance with one or the other political party and ideology. There were few respondents who expressed and identified themselves with humanism and other universal ideologies rather than their

ethnic or sectarian affiliations. These few people of were educated and were serving in various public and private institutions.

5.13.3. Education as socialization

Secondly, and more importantly, education is a kind of socialization. But this socialization is carried out according to the ethos or identity (perceived or real) of the state or central political authority that administers the geographical area in which the person or institution of education is located. The importance of socialization is immense in recent and past anthropological literature. The whole sub-field of psychological anthropology started after the socialization studies conducted by eminent American anthropologists of twentieth century. Socialization in a particular cultural world makes the persons of that culture. Scientists have demonstrated that this process is acutely linked with personality development. Education also develops an individual's personality according to its own culture and values. An educated person is expected to uphold the values that have been instilled into her personality through learning process. It is in this way that education, if provided properly and qualitatively, transforms the whole societies and their value system.

Whatever the values of modern education are, which was largely being provided to *Buzdar* and native students by private sector institutions, they were expected to absorb and practice them in the future. But the situation was not so ideal with reference to providence of quality education in educational institutions of *taunsa* except a few private institutes of secondary and higher secondary level. However, it was most likely that whatever they learn from there in early ages, they were expected to carry it with them in later life.

However, the change driven by education could only be expected in distant future. In fact, an experienced educationist from *Buzdar* community of *nizamabad* denied any chances of change or assimilation due to education or identical syllabus taught to the children of both, the native and *Buzdar*, communities of *taunsa*. A respondent was asked: "*Do you expect the emergence of a combined/ hybrid culture after the next generation replaces the existing one because they will be educated persons whose education and syllabus is identical?*" He answered:

"No sir, I do not think that common syllabus can ever lead the children of two communities towards integration or assimilation. Physical closeness of both

populations, their relations with each other, inter-marriages and interaction can lead to their integration. But education or syllabus can never do that. You tell me the person here in our society who has taken some practical inspiration from education? Identical syllabus cannot make them identical due to this reason. I do not think that anyone is getting anything substantial, positive or practical inspiration from education, at least it is not easy in these educational circumstances that we confront. Everyone is reading syllabus to pass the exam and he/ she ensures that he is not moved or influenced by the syllabus or its meanings and implications. No one reads to implement education or educated behavior on her. Moreover the nature of the syllabus is also exam oriented. It is not made to make anyone good and full of character. It is itself made to facilitate the students in passing their exams. Only the leaders and educational policy makers can change it if they want to do so".

That was a line of reasoning prevalent in the community that can be explained by the argument of subjective meanings. Sometimes divergent perceptions of the community about a formal state institution can undermine or reduce their potential of instilling change. This argument leads us to think in terms that it is the ascribed meanings that give importance to anything in a society. For example, in case of *Buzdar* settlers in *taunsa*, they do not have social importance to their features like Endo-gamy that keep them in-bound and united. Rather they give importance to their political practices for expressing their alliances. Thus they were retaining a sense of identity which was politicized in an ethnic environment largely centered on Tribal chief. Moreover their cultural features like endogamy that was not serving their purposes of living together in an urban environment. It was only through political unity and collective political expression in electoral politics that they have found the source to pursue their political ends and assert their identity as a distinct group i.e. the case of last local government elections has been discussed previously. It was a manifest expression of their assertion as a group.

According to above mentioned respondent, it was hard to imagine any change among *Buzdars* just because their children were being educated with natives of the city under same syllabus and schools. However, the results of education might not be undermined for altering the mindset and raising the life standard of educated *Buzdars*. All that must be expected to bring

changes in socio-political structure of *Buzdars* and the whole city. But it was too early to predict and mark the nature of the future changes and could be asserted that education has made the life routines of the children of both the societies similar to some extent.

5.14. Economic factors involving identity issues

An elder of a family told the researcher during an interview that:

“Most of the exogamous marriages that I have observed among the Buzdars, proved stable. There is not a single example of divorce regarding these marriages. And if it ever happened in a case of exogamous marriage, it will oblige other Buzdars not to go for it again. But still there is no such example. The reasons for it are obviously economic. The people of city are now class oriented and they struggle for economic elevation a lot. So they are economically stronger as compared to the Buzdar settlers. For me this fact explains the success of these marriages”

The remarks of an influential person among the settlers who was the part of migration process were in accordance with the prevailed situation, everyone wants his daughter to be in an economically secure environment after her marriage. However, in most of the cases, people judge the family background and social fame of the groom family before agreeing to give the hand of their daughter. Economy was a factor which sustains the relationship and prevents any break down or divorce. It was still not sole reason for which settlers were practicing exogamy.

5.15. Young Buzdars, old politics

Present research was not focused on *Buzdar* younger generation. However it was to indicate the nature of politics emerging among the youngsters of *nizamabad*. There were frequent references by political commentators to the on-going operation in Balochistan. Youngsters, being emotional and sensitive, do listen to the political commentary on Balochistan by various local *Baloch* activists. They were found to be more interested in Baluchistan centered politics and to be cherishing the virtues and adventures of insurgency in the province. Major source of the political commentary were the activists who were working for the inclusion of Dera Ghazi khan and Rajun Pur into

Balochistan. Historically, both of the southern Punjab districts have been part of Baluchistan and were annexed into Punjab in the nineteenth century by colonial administration of the time. However, due to physical proximity, providence of roads and economic opportunities, people of the districts have maintained more intimate ties with the central Punjab area of north and east. It is essential to mention that a huge part of government employees from the area were employed inside Balochistan. Thus, economic ties of the people with the *Baloch* mainland were also strong. All the factors gave considerable strength to the demand of *Baloch* activists.

Given the syllabus oriented text centered and passive outlook of today's student, most of them were utterly unaware of the issues involved in above mentioned political demands. Rather than activists, they could be more appropriately described as student folks who gather around any slogan provided that it was extra normal and emotional.

5.15.1. Case study

The following case study was relating to local degree college professor who teaches sociology at Government Boy's College *taunsa* who told:

"Now a days there is a great influence of Balochistan centered politics of Buzdar community of the city. Their sympathies are with the movement for greater Balochistan movement. Earlier, certain Qaisranis (another tribe that resides in Suleman Range) used to run this campaign but now Buzdars also participate in it. Some days ago Buzdar students of our college expressed their wish to organize a Baloch cultural day. They contacted with the principal of the college and some teachers, including me, in order to get permission. They told that it will be a purely cultural program and that they will arrange some Music and Dance session to display the features of Baloch culture. I agreed and suggested that we should get together before the announced date of the function so that we can have a rehearsal session. It will also help us to arrange the contents of the function in a proper way.

I also said that if they don't mind, perhaps it will be possible for me to guide them in arranging the function in its true spirit. I wanted to supervise them because in

an earlier function arranged by the students, participants had ridiculed the teachers in a bad manner and teachers took it as their insult. And you know that teachers, in these times, have to beg their due respect from their students (laughter). They didn't come up for the rehearsal however and I didn't mind it. On the day of the function, principal summoned me into his office and asked me about the function. I said that yes, function is going on outside and it is a purely cultural function. Then he asked, if it is a cultural function then what the outsiders and politicians are doing here? He expressed his discomfort on that and ordered that no outside politics should be allowed to intrude inside the walls of college. I went outside and saw that local politicians are making speeches their on political issues and most of the attendants and guests are outsiders. I did not react, thinking that politics is also a component of culture (laughter). Local Buzdar politician, some local Buzdar notables were also there and they too made a speech and demanded that this part of southern Punjab should be included into Balochistan. He also expressed some separatist ideas which were not in any sense abnormal or based on misinterpretation.

After all it is a fact that whatever is going on in Balochistan is victimization of the people of that province. And it is a fact that people are subjected to oppression and exploitation there. So they conducted the function according to their own wishes and parts of the participants' speeches were published in the local newspaper. Buzdars collectively announced that they are united on the issue of greater Balochistan and these two districts of Dera ghazi khan and Rajun pur should be included into Baloch mainland. So, obviously we can say that it is part of the new developments in politics of this area".

From the case study one can easily understand the political consciousness that was underway among the youth of Buzdar migrant community. If fact the areas from which they have migrated was not closed to the Baluchistan's main stream political administration of *Qalat*. Due to physical proximity and main market, *Balochs* living in *Suleman* belt have more intimate relations with eastern *Saraiki* speaking area and its inhabitants. That was the reason behind the pro-centre psyche of the *Baloch* inhabitants of western mountains. They have not been the part of any political

movement regarding Baluchistan in the past as well. Perhaps they were altogether a different kind of *Balochs* when compared to the *Balochs* living in the *Baloch* mainland.

5.16. Economy of migrants in the city and identity maintenance

Entirely separate and independent markets in the centre and peripheries of the city were the most vivid expressions of strong internal cohesion and cooperation among *Buzdars* of the city as an ethnic group, at least economically. This cooperation has made possible the emergence of economic centers in the city of *taunsa* that involve the people of only one ethnic group i.e. *Buzdars*. By looking at these markets, that were independent of, and indifferent to native customers, one wonders the remarkable transcendence of ethnicity and the in-group cohesion that results from it over the economic structure of an urban town. The markets were setup in and around the transport stations. The vehicles arrive in the stations from every single part of the tribal area inside the *Suleman* mountains on daily basis. Hundreds of ordinary people, shop-keepers and customers arrive and depart for the mountains from these stations every day. The shops, tea stalls, hotels and vendors in and around these stations, all were ethnic *Buzdars*. All the customers shop from the retailers of their own ethnic group and return home in the afternoon. During the research, it was observed that the stations and shops were closed after the *Buzdar* customers from the mountains depart for home. While native shopkeeper trade all day long and do not close their shops in the afternoon. It was observed that no one from the nearby settlements of the native people comes to buy anything from inside *Buzdar* stations. The stations were surrounded by hundreds of shops where sellers, customers, market language, bargaining, everything of the economic activities of modern times takes place in a *Buzdar* context. During the whole research period, no single customer from the native *Saraiiki* speaking residents was found other than children who buy biscuits, toffees and chocolates from these shops when they return home from school. Thus transportation and economy are rightly channelized to benefit the people of an ethnic group right in the centre of the city. It was revealed by one informant, Mr. Muhammad khan during an in-depth interview:

"I have been part of the recent developments that led to the construction of a new transport station and emergence of another new market of Buzdars. The land, on which this transport station is erected, belongs to a local person, Ghulam Muhammad Jaffar. Obviously, Buzdars started talking about the

construction of the new station; there were stakes of many people involved in it because many shops were to be constructed there. Buzdars of the city put some conditions before they hired the land from the local person. Firstly, that the owner of land will invest on the construction of station and shops. Secondly, the allocation of the shops, inside the station will be their own (Buzdars) discretion. They will allot the shops to anyone they wished to.

Consequently, they allotted all the shops to the people of their own ethnic group and the station was a purely *Buzdar* Market and the *Buzdar* economy was partially independent from the economy of city.

Thus the socio-economic interaction among the *Buzdars* of city and mountains keeps them intact and bares any feelings of alienation between the two groups. It creates cohesion because city *Buzdars* were dependent on their compatriots living in the mountains and not on the natives of the city that contributes to the maintenance of *Buzdar* identity while they were living in the city.

Chapter No.6

6.0 Conclusion

While the continuous and increasing migration of *Buzdars* from the western mountains of *Suleman* to the eastern city of *taunsa* city was reaching the point of saturation, some circles in the city vow their concern regarding uncertainties in the future. *Buzdars* have made their presence in the city as the candidate they supported in the last local elections for *nazim* won the elections. However, no particular signs of partial governance have come to the fore since his electoral victory over the candidate belonging to traditional political elite of the area *khawajgans*. While the winning candidate was by caste a *Buzdar*, lived in the city since last forty years and his family was regarded as one assimilated in the city life. Nonetheless, he has maintained strong ties at public level among the both communities and was respected by others alike. It goes without saying that his victory owes to the demographic boom of *Buzdar* population in the city.

Thus the demography becomes the primary structural adjustment most desirable in the prevalent scenario was relatively on higher level of cohesion among *Buzdars* giving way to a strong political electoral orientation among them causing great shift in the established political order of the city in which usually local *barelyvi* oriented but largely secular religious elite of the city prevailed in. Hence population and increasing vote bank of the migrants causing slightly antagonistic feelings among some limited circles of the city. However, largely the city remains a center of mutual co-existence in the face of all odds. As mentioned in the fifth chapter, the peaceful co-existence too comes largely from the migrant's economic stakes in the city.

Similarly, the religious face of *Buzdars'* historic contact with the city does not allow for a convenient parting of the ways between the two communities merely on the basis of ethnicity or politics.

A collection of fifty household heads were the primary focus of this study conducted on the maintenance and assimilation of ethnic identity among a migrant tribe in the city of *taunsa* in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan. The settlers in the city belong to the *Buzdar* tribe, a prominent tribe of the western mountain range of *Suleman* which makes up the provincially administered tribal areas (PATA) in Punjab. Migrant *Buzdar* tribe was almost entirely settled in *mohalla nizamabad* of

Taunsa city which was the specific location of the research. It was taken care that more recent immigrants were included in the sample in order to get a better picture of how the previously tribal identity of the migrants was negotiated in the newly urban setting.

Identity formation is a complex process and takes a lot of time for a group identity to develop. It is also evident from the recent research that the identity of a group is never singular and uni-dimensional and could not be predicted. Like that of individual's, group identities were often permeable, multiple and fluid (Barth 1969). *Buzdar* identity also developed during several centuries of their almost static life in the rough mountains of *Suleman* range. They migrated towards many regions inside Punjab while fighting alongside their revered tribal leader *Chakar the great* in the famous thirty year war between two rival factions of *Balochs*. The ramifications of the long and gory episode were felt on the *Baloch* demography in the hilly areas of Balochistan as millions of people lost their lives in the gory episode. Harsh external environment and intolerably dry ecological conditions worked uninterruptedly to form a *Buzdar* character and disposition and gave form to some of their outer appearances like that of dress and particular beards. They wear hard shoes to walk; they were tall and incessant workers.

Similarly, centuries of tribal cum nomadic and predatory life style have made them warriors of no match. *Buzdars* developed their distinct identity in a rigidly patriarchal social structure whose leader was the Tribal chief. He was the central authority and a symbol of *Buzdar* pride and occupied such a prominent place in the tribal culture that he almost personified the whole tribal group the he led. Through centuries of almost un-interrupted living in the rough mountains of *Suleman*, it was the chief who led tribes into wars fought for honor and revenge, he was expected to provide for the needy, and he personified wisdom and was supposed to know everything. According to a popular anecdote, the *Baloch* was eating in the daylight during *Ramadhan*, the fasting month for Muslims that someone asked him, why you were not observing the fast? The *Baloch* replied, with uncanniness on his part, 'my sardar (Chief) keeps everything which belongs to me, so he must be observing fasts, mine as well'.

But at the same time, however, it seems that many of the individual *Buzdar* migrants have been successful in pursuing their ideals they espoused while migrating to the city in the recent times like those of educating their children, finding a job or work in the city etc., that has casted many

changes in the ways they have begun to think about politics, casting votes and tribal chief. *Buzdars* pursue their personal careers and have started being part of the peculiar urban politics based on and responds to the politicians on the basis of provision of better governance facilitating the urban life.

Although there were visible changes in political make up of the tribe living in *taunsa* yet the tribal ethos and chief centered politics has a prominent place in political practices of the tribe in urban area. Their distinctiveness and feeling of the other in an urban setting necessitates political consensus among *Buzdar* urban settlers who were not yet entirely assimilated in the native population although increasing exogamy alludes to the possibility of integration at some point in the future. However, the consensus was not essentially developed around tribal chief. Similarly, when they lived inside the mountains, their traditional sense of loyalty and obligation to their chief derived their political /electoral impulse.

However, political structure of *Buzdars* living in the city was gradually altering its outlook and the consciousness of middle class was slowly overpowering the tribal sentiments in *Buzdar* politics. Victory of a middle class assimilated *Buzdar* in the last local government elections as city *nazim* was a manifest example of rising political consciousness of *Buzdar* and native *Sarai*ki middle classes and a witness to shifting trends in urban politics that were slowly undermining the chief centered political identity. As discussed in the previous chapters, general elections do not provide the people of the city with an opportunity to change their leader through vote since thousands of voters were settled in the tribal and other rural areas of *tehseel* and even if people in the city entirely go for a single candidate, which was not likely, it makes a little difference since tribal and traditional leaders have strong vote bank in areas other than the city.

Thus the local government elections always give them an opportunity to change their immediate rulers and leaders through vote thus increase their confidence in democracy. A major recommendation of the present research is that local government system should be immediately re-introduced and elections be held at the local level. Since this is the only way enabling people to bring about the change they want. It will lead to a healthy political evolution of the classes in the city and tribal migrants and may give way to a probable political consensus among natives and migrants just like the last local government elections.

The subjective meaning of identity for *Buzdars* is closely linked with the formation and expression of alliances. These alliances are formed for economic, political and electoral compulsions. Tribe, caste and sub-castes are the units that usually endure these alliances. An example may suffice in this regard. Members of an anti-tribal-chief sub-caste often refer to themselves in terms of their specific caste. They usually avoid to be identified as the members of the larger ethnic group i.e. *Buzdars*. Because they know that to be identified with the larger group means that they vote for tribal chief of the larger group while they always vote against the chief but in favor of the chief of their own sub-caste.

Thus, it is the politics and political alliance that infers the legitimacy of a caste within the tribe, to be identified exclusively from the larger ethnic group. Members of other pro-chief sub-castes rigorously identify themselves with the name of larger ethnic group and say that we are *Buzdars*. They do not refer to their sub-caste as their identity because the sub-caste is, politically, part of the larger tribe and votes for the tribal chief. It is a short example to illustrate that how a primary uniting feature of *Buzdars* i.e. Endogamy and the unit which emerges from this practice i.e. sub caste, is rendered meaningless in the absence of politics of alliance in that sub-caste. This profoundly illustrates the point that politics of alliance determines the identity of *Buzdars* and their sense of who they are. Political alliances are so important that such basic, close and in-bound units of a tribal group like sub-caste or clan, are rendered irrelevant in the face of political, or more narrowly, electoral agenda. Thus, the primordial loyalties of *Buzdars* are regulated, to a great extent, by external and internal political alliances. Even close kinsmen part from each other in worst cases of political opposition.

Buzdar identity, as it has developed in the city in previous couple of years, is largely shifting towards modern trends. However certain cultural features and practices like Endogamy, common language and same *mohalla* in the city keep them in-bound and political alliances often emerge in form of consensus with some individual and in other cases group, exceptions and variations. While the recent local government elections and success of *Buzdar* candidate in *taunsa* against the local political elite has demonstrated a degree of convergence between political aspirations of middle classes of *Buzdars* and natives, a structural inconsistency continues sharpening the differences between the two. The structural paradox is, tribal area of *Buzdar* tribe is combined with plain areas of *taunsa* to form provincial assembly's constituency. As a result of that it becomes hard for any

candidate of provincial assembly to defeat *Buzdar* tribal chief who secures a massive vote in tribal area due to his influence. Thus, he cannot manage the affairs of urban areas and his home i.e. tribal area due to various reasons. People of the plain areas are increasingly feeling this dominance of tribal chief with whom they have nothing to do and Vic versa. Similarly, they think that the funds of the plain areas are not being properly spent there and *Buzdar* tribal chief spends most of his time in the tribal part of the constituency. Thus, here we see that a formal and structural inconsistency is fueling ethnic tensions or at least grievances. However, these grievances are not likely to harm the cultural harmony as *Buzdars* have equal stakes in maintaining peace in the city as they are vibrant business and economic class of the city as well. So, an ethnic collision is highly unlikely in such situation. It is in this socio-political environment that *Buzdars* maintain their ethnic outlook and identity.

Patterns of assimilation have been discussed in the last chapter. Assimilation has largely occurred in certain customs of the *Baloch* culture which cannot be carried out in urban areas. Marriage pattern of *Buzdars* has largely changed in the city and they have adopted native customs of marriage. While the larger values of marriage, like endogamy etc, remain partially the same, many among *Buzdars* are fed up and have not been found to be bent upon maintaining their tribal outlook. Education is another factor which is bringing youngsters of both communities together in certain aspects of their lives. However, socio-cultural and particularly political convergence and assimilation on a mass level is too early to imagine.

Apart from that, while we see that *Buzdars* are largely preserving their *Balochi* language while residing in the city, virtually all of them are bi-lingual and can speak *Saraiki*. This certainly shows that an integration of *Buzdars* is continued at the moment. We can partially attribute their case as a larger case of integration. But, this does not mean that ethnic outlook of the tribe has dissolved. Rather, while they participate in local rituals, ceremonies, customs, language and economics of the local community of *taunsa*, their ethnic outlook remains to be shed yet. It must be noted that the development of their ethnic identity is partially the result of the burden of traditions they carried with them and partially due to the urban socio-political compulsions. We see that both communities are living in a cultural environment which is not alienating for either; they are utilizing and sharing the same sources of education and modern amenities but settlers have struggled to develop an independent economy and they are maintaining their language to a great

extent. Until now, there have not been any ethnic collision and no one has still attempted to exploit and sharpen the distinction between *Buzdars* settlers and natives. We can say that all these developments resulted naturally out of the interaction of two communities. Expressions of inclusion and exclusion, wherever they are found, are based on real social and political compulsions and they are not politically motivated. Both the communities are neither entirely different nor similar. However, they know each other very well since their contacts are older than the emergence of politics itself. Thus they are not likely to be exploited on the bases of distinctions and differences in the future as well. *Buzdars* do not feel alien in *taunsa*. They own the city and think them capable of free action in the city without fear of discrimination on any forum. Their political influence and recent successes have increased their perceived political significance.

While this situation is ideal for the emergence of an egalitarian and inclusive political contract among various class and caste stratum of the two communities, it has not happened still. It must be acknowledged that these times are transitory times. Old structures and values are gradually vanishing in the face of an uninterrupted external influx of ideas and technology into far reached societies like *taunsa*, in the form of modern electronic media, outspoken political discourses in media and public spheres, considerably open debates on matters ranging from religion to ethnicity on various private channels and frequent use of internet etc. Members of both the communities use the Mobile service frequently and are adoptive to modern technologies. There was only one restriction found and that was, *Buzdar* middle class does not allow modern media into their houses except their male guest rooms. Mobile phone technology has challenged the traditional and conservative ideals of morality that are the hallmarks of patriarchal societies in our part of the world. Instant inter-gender access is expected to gradually minimize the restrictions on interaction between males and females. However, it is difficult to predict the form that this intrusive freedom is to take in the coming times.

From the above debate we learned that all these factors have made the city of *taunsa*, a place in cultural and political transition. This transition phase has led to status-quo where both the communities and their sub-groups (whether caste or class based) are pursuing political agendas that best suit them. As a result, majority of *Buzdars* continue to participate and acknowledge tribal chief centered politics. Politics of alliances among *Buzdars*, from a broader perspective, may be seen as a status-quo but for many among *Buzdars* it means a lot. It is their identity and an assertion of their

selves. The sense of being a different person from the natives of *taunsa* inevitably and immediately bestows on him a sense of ethnic identity because there is no venue and category for a less educated and relatively poor *Buzdar* living in the city. While voting for tribal chief legitimizes this expression of alliance in a larger external world where his sub-caste has little heuristic element and value for others and his personal influence is negligible. Thus he opts for larger legitimacy.

The research also gives us insights in how to deal with the tribes which has been a constant dilemma faced by our in regions like Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Balochistan. One particular recommendation in this regard is the provision of minimal services like communication, education and health to the tribal populations in order to stop their unprecedented migration to the cities where it becomes obviously difficult to integrate thus leading them to form rigid ethnic divisions in urban areas causing grave problems of governance and out-reach of the state in these inner ethnic ghettos in the cities. Karachi may form a good example of this process and at the moment, many areas of the city are said to be inaccessible not only for the people of other regions and ethnicities but also for the state authorities in some cases because of extreme ethnic tensions that are reinforced by the economic competition among various ethnicities. Heavy armament, bitter tribal rivalries and systematic killings of the members of rival communities have followed as a result in previously peaceful cities with relatively liberal political and social spheres that were based on inclusion rather than exclusion. Thus, more self rule, a state present with minimal necessities of life, de-politicization of economy, introduction of local government system and educational out-reach of a progressive and uniform syllabus around the country can reduce the increasing ethnic divisions in the national polity. The case of *Baloch* is peculiar in that they reside in areas that rich in mineral resources. It is unfortunate that despite the state extracting precious minerals like oil and gas from the *Suleman* range, it has largely ignored the provision of basic governance like education, health and communications. According to some political activists of the community, this neglect seems to be intentional on the part of the state since it wants *Buzdars* to migrate and evacuate an area which is now important both in terms of mineral resources, uranium and geo – strategy. Although there were few people who thought like that, the spread of such feelings can prove ominous for the already weak writ of the state in tribal areas if it continues to ignore the people whose lands are continuously feeding the urban middle classes of this country with their riches.

Last but not the least, it seemed wonderful to hear the tribal migrants talk about educating their children and specially their young daughters. The ideals of the common *Buzdar* seemed to be more progressive than many people living in the city. This perhaps can be attributed to the rather peaceful evolution of a tribe that is perhaps necessary in order for its individuals to learn from each other's success and breed economic jealousy or class consciousness of a kind that throws them into action and forces them to earn. That is, if the narcissism and the tribalism of an ethnic or tribal group is left undisturbed and allowed to breed, it finally dissolves with its members beginning to learn from themselves. A tribal does not like teachers, so he must be given time in order for him to learn from himself and as we have seen in the case of *Buzdars*, facilities, modern life, fruits of education finally *lure* him. Perhaps the predicament of a tribe is its internal peace and continuity of its cultural life. If we want the tribes to change their minds, perhaps we just need to let them live by themselves. It is perhaps a better solution for the integration of tribes in the normal national life than to chase them in their caves.

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Glossary:

Baloch: A martial race residing in southwestern province of the country named after the name of the race as 'Balochistan'.

Buzdar: A *Baloch* tribe whose majority still lives in the *Suleman* mountain range which is in southern parts of Punjab province of Pakistan.

Taunsa: A sub-district of southern Punjab's district of Dera Ghazi Khan

Koh-e-Suleman: A mountain range named after the apostle *Suleman*.

Dera Ghazi Khan: A district of Southern Punjab.

Balochistan: A province of Pakistan inhabited by the *Baloch* nation.

Mohalla: A section of an urban population.

Saraikis: A nation living in southern Punjab and who are the host community for *Buzdars* who have migrated to *Taunsa*.

Nizamabad: A section or distinct settlement of the city in which mostly *Buzdars* live and where this study was conducted.

Madinah and Makkah: The two holiest places in the monotheistic religion of Islam in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the Gulf.

Sungharr: An ancient state formed at the outskirts of today's *Taunsa* city and was ruled by local Baloch lords.

Nawab: A title often given to a powerful person.

Chashma Right Bank Canal: A canal that flows from Indus at the Chashma district and distributes water in many parts of southern and south western Punjab and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP).

Vahova: Northern sub-*tehsil* of *Taunsa Sharif* which is a sub-district.

Baethak: The word that city dwelling people use for guest room often built near the outer most entrance of the house in *Taunsa* and elsewhere.

Visakh: The *Balochi* word for the room specified to entertain guests and where regular meetings of the elders of community are held.

Khawaja Shah Suleman: A great *sufi* saint much revered by *Buzdar* tribe.

Madressah: An Arabic word used in our society for a Religious seminary or school.

Khokha: A wooden box used as a little shop.

Charpaati: A four legged and wide wooden stable used to accommodate six to seven persons to sit.

LUDDO: A local in-door game resembling dice.

Waleemah: The feast that is offered to relatives and friends immediately after the marriage ends.

Mehndi: A marriage procession in which a locally grown and prepared fragrant paint is applied to bride and groom.

Jaaga: A marriage function in which relatives of the bride dance for most part of the night.

Parna: when the bride departs for groom's home, the procession and function is called *parna*, meaning departure of a kind.

Sawab: virtue which pays in the after-life.

Qul-Khawni: A collective prayer usually organized two or three days after the death of a person.

Eid Namaz: Eid prayer, an annual social function of Muslims.

QAWALS: Mystic singers singing verses sung in the shrines or gatherings of *barelvi* sect of Islam.

QAWALIES: Mystic verses combined to form a *Qawali* which is often sung at the tombs of saints in South Asia.

Nazim: Locally elected administrator.

Tummun: Part of the tribal area inhabited by one tribe and headed by tribal chief.

Mukaddim: Elder of the local people in parts of tribal area who resolve conflicts at local level.

Aotak: Balochi language's word for drawing room.

Burq: A piece of cloth women use to hide their body and face.

Dupatta: A piece of cloth girls wear over-head.

Makran: Most Southern part of Balochistan near the sea.

Chakar-e-Azam: The legendary leader of all the *Baloch* people who led the famous thirty year war between the two factions of *Baloch* nation sometime around 16th century.

Tora-Seestani: An old and pristine code of conduct to which *Baloch* all around the world adhere with varying degrees.

Haal: Balochi word for communicating everything chronologically and in detail.

Tummun-Dar: The head of a *Tummun*.

Sharmana: The fine paid to aggrieved family in case of rape.

Jirga: The grand tribal council.

Lashaar: A branch of Baloch race.

Rind: A branch of Baloch race.

Wazeeras: People who are *wazeer* by caste or belong to wazeeristan. It is an ancient term used by the natives of the plains in the foot of *Suleman* range for the attackers.

Rawal: A character in local romantic epic.

Sammi: A character in local romantic epic.

Kammis: People who work to earn. They lie at the bottom of caste hierarchies.