Time, Space and Social Change in Rural Pakistan: An Ethnographic Study of Jhokwala Village, Lodhran District

MUHAMMAD AURANG ZEB MUGHAL

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the social organisation of time and space in a Pakistani village. The fieldwork was carried out in Jhokwala Village, Lodhran District through 2010. A rapid population growth in the second half of the last century resulted in an inadequate supply of agricultural land, leading to a gradual shift from an agricultural to the market economy. Many farmers are abandoning agriculture and entering wage labour. This combined with urbanisation, more pervasive telecommunication services, the media, and technological changes has affected shifts in the ways of perceiving and managing time and space. In this thesis, I examine generational changes in the village. There have been generational shifts in the types of calendars and the contexts for which they are used. Household organisation and composition have also undergone dramatic change as a consequence of economic transformations. Fundamental economic changes have included a number of shifts in how people engage with information technologies, the media, and urbanisation. These have resulted in a transformation of the physical layout of the village along with changes in the design and structure of places such as the mosque and the house. Such changes in the physical environment have also triggered a shift in the sociospatial relationships, which has resulted in negotiation of some social boundaries between different gender and social classes. I examine the ways in which changes in the social organisation of time and space are indicative of the pace, direction and mechanism of social change.

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Look O thou enthralled by Yesterday and Tomorrow,	اے اسیر دوش و فردا درنگر
Behold another world in thine own heart,	در دل خود عالم دیگر نگر
Thou hast sown the seed of darkness in the clay,	در گل خود تخم ظلمت کاشفی
Thou hast imagined Time as a line;	وقت را مثل خطے پنداشتی
Thy thought measures length of Time	باز با پیمانۂ لیل و نہار
With the measure of night and day,	فکر تو پیمود طول روزگار
Art thou a Moslem? Then cast off this girdle.	مسلمی؟ آزاد این زناد باش
Be a candle to the feast of the religion of the free.	شمع بزم ملت احرام باش
Knowing not the origin of Time, Thou art ignorant of everlasting life.	تو کہ از اصل زمان آگہ نئہ
Life is of Time, and Time is of Life:	زندگی از دھر و دھر از زندگی ست
“Do not abuse Time” was the command of the Prophet.	لا تبسو الدھر فرمان نبی ست

Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was a philosopher, poet, and politician. He is regarded as the national poet of Pakistan because his poetry and philosophy inspired the Pakistan Movement. He wrote many books of prose and poetry in English, Persian, and Urdu. Among his many views, he believed that the Islamic conceptualisation of time and space is vital for Muslims at individual and collective levels. The conceptualisation of time and space shapes the worldview of Muslims according to which they maintain their individual as well as social lives and adapt to the changing circumstances of the world. The above poem is from his Persian book *Javidnama*, translated by Arthur J. Arberry (Allamaiqbal 2013).

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Dedicated to
my parents, brothers, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews

Note on the Text

The words in quotes such as “dictated to” are by the authors cited in the text. The words quoted with single commas such as ‘ideal’ show that I have reservations to the literalness of the words. All the local terms used in this thesis are italicised. If there are two terms used for a single concept then the first one is always Saraiki, for example, *Katiyen/Katak*. In this example, *Katiyen* is a Saraiki word whereas *Katak* is an Urdu word. This convention is used only in the first instance of a local term in the thesis. Thereafter, I use only the Saraiki term, if both Saraiki and Urdu terms have been given in the first place. This is for making the text easily understandable for readers and because most terminologies used in the thesis are from the Saraiki language. Only one local term is used if it has the same meaning in both the languages, unless specified otherwise. The names of places and personal names are not italicised, for example, Tahir and Lodhran. I have used pseudonyms for some research participants in order to maintain anonymity.

I use the word *“local”* as a local term, which represents a specific group of people (Saraikis) in this research. Therefore, the term is italicised and must not be confused with the English word local, which has multiple meanings and senses. Similarly, I use such terms as *nais* and *mochis* not in the sense of *biraderis* but as occupations when in italics to distinguish between the occupations and *biraderis*. I have used the plural of local terms by the addition of s for simplicity sake. However, I have also used the plural of some local terms, such as *maheenay* (plural) for *maheena* (singular), where the addition of s may change the context of local terms. Some local terms use retroflex r. I have used rr to distinguish it from r, for example in *Saawanrr*. I have used the spelling of some local terms without any change as these are used, with a formal or informal standardisation, in Pakistan, for example, *waqt*, *wala*.

There are some Arabic and Persian terms, which are used in Pakistan, with their local variants. I have used the spellings that are more colloquial in Pakistani languages than in the original Arabic or Persian terms. For example, for the Islamic month of fasting, I have used *Ramazan* instead of *Ramadan*. A local term may have multiple meanings but I have provided only the meanings in the context of this research. A glossary of local terms used in the thesis is given at the end.

1

Introduction

In this thesis, I explain the social organisation of time and space in a Pakistani village. I argue that change in the social organisation of time and space is indicative of the mechanism, pace, and direction of social change taking place in the social, cultural, and economic spheres of human activities. I also present the interrelationship of the notions of time and space and the ways in which change in the sociospatial and sociotemporal relationships affects overall social organisation. By presenting change and continuity in cultural practices, this thesis also explores people's adaptation to social change.

There has been a gradual shift from agricultural subsistence to a market economy in rural Pakistan in the last few decades (Weiss and Mughal 2012). Consequently, many villages are turning into urbanising towns. One of the major reasons behind this shift has been the growing population, which has resulted in an inadequate supply of agricultural land. Farmers have increasingly abandoned agriculture and adopted different wage occupations. The labour relations associated with the agricultural economy such as between landlords and peasants (cf. Eglar 1960; Ahmad 1977; Lyon 2004a) have undergone changes, in some cases dramatically so. In search of economic opportunities, people have migrated to cities and overseas as wage labourers. Exposure to urban areas and foreign countries has brought about changes in the social organisation of time and space in rural areas. Temporal and spatial organisation is an essential part of a culture, which underpins social organisation. Change in the conceptual organisation of time and space triggers changes in the organisation and nature of social relationships. Such changes are negotiated by and contingent upon the needs and desires of the people involved, but must necessarily take place within the constraints of the conceptual notions of time and space. This thesis presents an ethnographic study of Jhokwala Village, Lodhran District in the southern part of the Punjab province. I discuss different formal and informal ways of measuring and organising time and space and explain how the changing aspects of temporal and spatial organisation are indicative of social change in rural social organisation.

1.1 Time, Space and Social Change

Time and space are the basic elements of social organisation in any human culture. It is the social organisation of time and space through which different parts of social organisation interplay. Humans perceive time through physical phenomena such as the alternation of days and nights, phases of the moon, seasonal variations, and biological changes in the human body throughout the life cycle (cf. Geertz 1966: 360-411; Goody 1968; Ohnuki-Tierney 1969). In other words, time is perceived through changes in nature and the environment as well as in the human body. Time and change are thus interrelated in human experience. In order to regulate social and economic activities, every culture has specific ways of measuring and managing time through calendars, clocks, and other formal and informal temporal markers. The categorisation of age, constructing the past through memories, and aspirations for the future are socially constructed. Religion, economics, politics, and other aspects of human culture, therefore, form and inform temporal organisation. Calendars, clocks, the categorisation of age, and other ways of organising social and economic activities are thus the cultural models of time. Just like time, the concept of space is also broadly defined. Depending upon various scholarly perspectives, nature, the environment, culture, and society can also be defined as spaces or parts of a single space, the universe (cf. Kokot 1997; Rapoport 1994). Humans perceive space through distance, boundaries, shapes, and design in natural as well as built environment. Space is transformed into place through "social practice" (Bourdieu 1977, 1990). Space is appropriated into economic, political, and religious places such as the house, the market, the mosque, church, school, or playground. Similarly, the human body is also a space around which certain social boundaries are constructed in the form of gender and generation (Low 2003). Therefore, social relationships and human-nature interaction are shaped by the perception and organisation of time and space. Studying change in the social organisation of time and space can thus provide an insight into change in socioeconomic conditions and human behaviour.

Most early theories proposed by anthropologists regarding change in culture and society were the result of the West's contact with non-Western societies (cf. Koppers 1955; Kroeber 1940; Boas (1938[1911]). Many political scientists have also presented theories about change by explaining the social and political transformations in Western society only (cf. Bouwsma 1979; Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981). Using such specific perspectives may well explain some of the dynamics of Western society but there is a danger that this

may be misleading in the case of non-Western societies. Some anthropologists have viewed society as a stable place and only an outside factor can bring change (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1952; Malinowski 1945). However, recent analyses of change in society presented by social scientists account for more broad perspectives on change such as globalisation and world-systems theory (cf. Etzioni 1981; Wallerstein 1974). From some global economic and geopolitical perspectives, globalisation seems to take place rapidly but finding out the implications of new economy and changing demographic features on culture and social relationships, hitherto, poses a challenge. This has created a space for anthropologists to contribute to and or come in dialogue with such generalisations about the world cultures by providing local evidences and holistic analyses of changing sociocultural conditions (Barth 1967; Forte 1998; Inda and Rosaldo 2008; Mittelman 2000).

Studying globalisation, however, is not a straightforward task to do in anthropology because of some methodological and theoretical limitations and the focus of the discipline on small-scale communities (Gough 1968; Rankin 2003). I argue that the anthropological analysis of small-scale communities can provide a detailed understanding regarding the forces, factors, and dimensions of globalisation at multiple levels. The study of a particular community, a village, a mobile social group, or a virtual culture like cyberspace can be analysed within the wider context in which they are 'situated'. This wider context can be a region, country, or international economics. There has been an increase in the number of transcultural studies on migration and diasporas in the last two decades (cf. Bolognani and Lyon 2011; Chen 2012; Kalra 2009; Qureshi 2009, 2010; Schiller et al. 1995; Sökefeld 2006). These studies provide insight into changing identities, linguistic trends, and material and ideational aspects of culture. Without such studies, it would be difficult to measure varied dimensions of the world processes. By the world processes, I mean dynamics in the macro and microeconomics, political ideologies, religious movements, and national and international policies and operations of governments. Electronic media, faster transportation, and mobile communication have given new dimensions to these world processes. Therefore, holistic studies of small-scale communities can provide a detailed understanding of these world processes through an analysis of how forces and means of globalisation are affecting people's life, above mere fluctuations in their per capita income. This will also enrich anthropological understanding regarding the mechanism and process of change in society and culture. Although sociologists analyse change in roles and statuses with respect to their combination and distribution within a social system (Mayer 1972: 28-

45), anthropologists have been interested in change in individual prescriptions for behaviour (Woods 1975: 76). The former is referred to as social change whereas the latter is defined as culture change. Generally, both are interrelated and can be treated as similar (Moore 1968: 366). In this thesis, I generally use the term social change to indicate change in its entirety. I use the terms socioeconomic, socio-political, and sociocultural to stress the economic, political, and cultural elements of social change, respectively, when the distinction between them is necessary to made.

Contemporarily, anthropologists view change as an inevitable phenomenon in every human culture; therefore, analyses of social change account for such change in ways, eivh draw on the available local evidence. In recent analyses of social change that consider it a globalised phenomenon, time and space are at the core of these theories. Societies and cultures are coming closer to each other, with a higher intensity than ever, because of "time-space compression" (Harvey 1990) or "time-space distanciation" (Giddens 1984) through modern ways of transportation, migration, the media, government policies, and international trade. There has been a justifiable emphasis placed on globalisation and urbanisation in theories about social change because they would appear to be applicable in almost every culture today. Such ubiquity should not be over stated, however. Different societies respond differently to the effects of globalisation and urbanisation and any explanation of social change must make sense of the phenomena on the ground. Local economic conditions depending upon available resources, religious and national ideologies, and multinational political alliances also play a decisive role in how people respond to social change.

Studying the social organisation of time and space may serve two purposes. Firstly, it will help to understand the factors, mechanism, processes, and direction of social change. If change takes place in any part of social organisation, it affects the social organisation of time and space. Consequently, overall social organisation undergoes some transformations. The nature and extent of the transformations depend upon which part of the social organisation of time and space has been triggered to induce further changes in social organisation. Economic change may bring about changes in the ways of measuring time and space. For example, people experience the scarcity of time and space because of industrialisation, which results in certain re-adjustments in the allocation of time and space in order to maximise productivity. This affects their daily routine and the attention they

pay to the religious, leisure, or other non-economic activities. Demographic change, technological change, migration, religious conversions, and other types of changes will have similar corresponding effects on the social organisation of time and space, which will eventually transform overall social organisation in particular ways. Secondly, it will help to develop anthropological understanding regarding the interrelationship of time and space. Many anthropologists, as well as other social scientists, following developments in sciences and philosophy, have suggested studying both the concepts in relation to each other (cf. Adam 1990; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Rapoport 1994). Anthropologists have been analysing the concepts of time since initial ethnographic studies in various parts of the world but there have been many conceptual and methodological complications in studying time (cf. Adam 1994; Fabian 1983; Gell 1996; Munn 1992). Consequently, the anthropology of time could not be developed as a formal domain of inquiry. There have been more studies on the spatial aspects of social organisation in anthropology, which have also challenged some important theorisation in the discipline regarding culture and space (cf. Kokot 2007; Low 2003). This highlights a need to enhance anthropological understanding the concept of space, which can be well fulfilled by studying the interrelationship of time and space. However, this has so far posed a challenge to anthropologists because of the intricate nature of the two concepts. In this regard, this thesis contributes to the anthropology of time and space, on the one hand, and anthropological analysis of social change, on the other hand.

The interrelationship of time and space, I argue, can be well understood by studying social change. The reasons and nature of changes in the cultural models of time are the same as those of space. If change takes place in the social organisation of time because of industrialisation that results in the scarcity of time, altering the cultural ways of measuring and managing time, it is accompanied by the scarcity of space. This happens so due to several reasons. Firstly, the mechanism of perceiving time and space is generally based on human-nature interaction. Secondly, the cultural models of time and space are so intertwined that change in one will affect the other directly and contemporaneously. Thirdly, time and space as social realities and being the basic elements of social organisation provide a mechanism for other parts of social organisation to shape social relationships in particular ways. If a factor of social change attempts to cause modifications in social, economic, or political spheres, this will be negotiated by existing social order shaped by the social organisation of time and space. Changes that suggest better

socioeconomic alternatives are likely to take place and are reflected in the cultural models of time and space. Some changes in social organisation are caused by both internal as well as external factors. Both these factors may trigger, augment, or even oppose each other. A teleological explanation of their interplay is contingent upon the factors or the nature of social change. In the contemporary globalising world, certain global actors such as the media, international and global politics, national and transnational identities, and global market relations play an important, and sometimes decisive, role in changing the nature of social relationships and bringing change in the outfit of a society. However, local socioeconomic, political, and ideological circumstances may challenge some of the external or global factors to bring about change. This negotiation between local realities and external or global factors of social change will be mediated by the social organisation of time and space in a culture. With this conceptual and theoretical framework, this thesis explains the dynamics of social change in Pakistani society and demonstrates how the social organisation of time and space plays a crucial role in mediating social change.

1.2 Social Change and the Anthropology of Pakistan

In general, the anthropology of Pakistan does not dwell much on social change.[1] It is due to the way the anthropology of Pakistan has developed over time. Pakistan is generally studied within the framework of the anthropology of South Asia, which emerged as a colonial encounter between South Asians and the colonial administration. During the colonial era, the existing social, economic, ethnic, and political structures were transformed at varying degrees and levels in different regions of South Asia, while maintaining some indigenous ways (Mathur 2000). Some colonial officers and missionaries studied South Asian cultures in detail (cf. Crooke 1896; Risley 1908; Rose 1907), helping colonial administrators to exercise power. Some of the vocabulary and the ways of analysing South Asian cultures as it was used in these initial studies influenced the anthropology of South Asia even after independence. After 1947, Western anthropologists continued studying South Asia for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Britain maintained a connection with South Asia being an important member of the commonwealth after independence. For this reason, South Asia remained a favourite destination for British anthropologists as a viable place for studying "others". Secondly, the region occupies a geopolitical significance, therefore, people in the West wanted to know more about South

[1] I only refer here to the social and cultural anthropological studies on Pakistan.

Asians. In Pakistan, anthropologists have been studying the areas that are the power centres from some political and economic perspectives. Therefore, Punjabi and Pukhtun social organisation gained particular attention in this regard (cf. Barth 1959; Donnan 1988; Eglar 1960; Lindholm 1986; Lyon 2004a; Marsden 2005). Some anthropologists also studied tribes and communities that are considered remote and marginalised, such as Gujjars of Kohistan and Kalashas of Chitral, in search of "exotic" cultures (cf. Keiser 1991; Parkes 1991).

Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan by population and its economy is mainly based on agriculture. However, a tremendous social change has taken place rural areas for several reasons, such as migration, urbanisation, the media, an increased literacy rate, and a gradual shift from an agricultural to the market economy in the last few decades. The province maintains a good deal of geographic and economic diversity because of its large population and area. Punjab can be divided into three parts based on different geographic features, modes of agriculture, and languages or dialects: northern, central, and southern. Western anthropologists have carried out more ethnographic studies in the northern and central parts of the Punjab. In the last few decades, many people from the northern and central Punjab have migrated to Europe whereas people from the southern part migrated mainly to the Persian Gulf. Therefore, it has been convenient for Western anthropologists to establish contacts with families and friends of the migrants in Western countries for carrying out researches in the central and northern parts of Punjab. Further, most villages in these areas are easily accessible from the national and provincial capital cities, Islamabad and Lahore. Consequently, a majority of the anthropological literature on Pakistani Punjab is based on these two regions. This thesis thus contributes to the anthropology of Pakistan by adding some insights from the southern areas of Punjab, known as South Punjab. Some recent political and ethnic movements in Pakistan are also invoked to expand the understanding of the issues related to ethnicities and social inequalities from different parts of the country for a comprehensive analysis of social change in Pakistan.

Western anthropologists have been studying the South Asian village as a representative sample of entire society (cf. Cohn 1961; Marriot 1953). A major focus of these studies has been the service relations, known as *jajmani* or *seypi*, between different castes. In Hindu society, these relations largely involve the notions of occupation, ritual, and purity. Some

anthropologists also applied the caste framework to non-Hindus as well (cf. Barth 1959; Leach 1960). Barth (1959) studied ethnic boundaries in Swat and applied the caste framework among Pukhtuns. Dumont (1970: 256) argued that the socioeconomic stratification among Pukhtuns is in fact a patron-client system that apparently looks similar to caste-relations. Therefore, the application of a caste framework to Pakistani society was criticised by many anthropologists (cf. Ahmad 1970, 1977; Donnan 1987, 1988; Eglar 1960; Quigley 2002). Ahmad (1977: 70-90) argued that *biraderi* or *qaum* in the Pakistani Punjab does not fulfil some essential criteria of the caste, as set by Hutton (1946), mainly because of an absence of the ritualistic dimensions. However, it has been argued that *biraderis* or *qaum* have certain boundaries that are largely defined through marriage preferences (cf. Eglar 1960; Donnan 1988; Lyon 2004a). Drawing on the initial colonial tradition, anthropologists categorised Pakistani society into two cultural divisions: the tribal communities in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and Balochistan and peasant communities in Punjab and Sindh. The rural ethnographies of Punjab and Sindh have mainly focused on the relationship between peasants and landlords in terms of political economy, land as a source of power, and marriage preferences of different *biraderis* or *qaums*. Similarly, the Pukhtun traditions of hospitality, agnatic rivalry, the honour of women, blood revenge, and refuge have been categorised as Pukhtun ideal types (Ahmed 1980; Ahmed 2005). However, Lyon (2004a) criticised the cultural divisions arguing that display of power, social networking through marriages, and men's socialisation places like *dera* and *hujra* are common cultural traits, among others, to all Pakistanis. Therefore, he suggested studying Punjab and Pukhtunkhwa as a contiguous cultural area. He also suggested analysing Pakistani culture as "hybridised" between Afghanistan and India, or in other words between Central Asian and South Asia, being at the crossroads of these cultures.

Over time, anthropological studies found more similarities between various Pakistani communities. For example, Titus (1998) showed an overlap between Pukhtun and Baloch social structure even though linguistic difference exists between both the communities. Similarly, Keiser (1991) found resemblance between Gujjars and Pukhtuns in the notion of revenge. In these debates and discussions regarding the caste-relations, ethnic boundaries, and power hierarchies, no distinction has been made between rural and urban areas. This resulted in a lack of comparison in terms of the literacy trends, population growth, poverty, urbanisation, and technological change in temporal and spatial distinctions: between the past and the present and between rural and urban. Consequently, social change that has

been taking place in rural areas because of urbanisation and technological change has not been analysed. One the one hand, Pakistani villages in these ethnographies have been treated as if they are isolated units with least interaction to wider Pakistani society, the state, and the globalising world. With a few exceptions, such as Lyon (2004a), the interrelationship between rural people and the Pakistani state has been overlooked in most of the rural ethnographies. This gap has been produced because of an intermittently disconnected 'long-distance relationship' between Pakistan and Western anthropology. However, there is a great deal of emerging literature on the Pakistani diaspora in the West but it only accounts for the change and continuity in transnational perspectives and does not deal with the dynamics of social change within Pakistani society (cf. Kalra 2009; Qureshi 2009, 2010; Werbner 1991; Shaw 2000). It is only recently that Pakistani anthropologists have realised this gap and are now studying social change that has been taking place in rural areas (cf. Ali 2003; Niazi 2012).[2] On the contrary, Indian anthropology started studying socioeconomic change with reference to social mobility within the caste structure soon after the colonial period (cf. Charsley 1998; Dumont 1970; Srinivas 1956). Some anthropologists also studied post-colonial developments and the effects of the green revolution in India that resulted in sociocultural transformations in rural social organisation (cf. Gupta 1998; Leaf 1983).

Recently, an increased interest in the inter-disciplinary approaches and the involvement of local and international development organisations working on human rights, poverty, natural calamities, and democracy have provided an opportunity for anthropologists to study social change in Pakistan. Papers presented at the annual Pakistan Workshop in the last ten to fifteen years indicate an increasing trend to study change in Pakistani society from historical, economic, and political as well as anthropological perspectives (cf. Blell 2005; Bolognani and Lyon 2006; Mughal 2011a, 2013a).[3] Further, the anthropological analyses of social change in Pakistan have mostly been limited to evaluating the impact of a particular social intervention or a government programme (cf. Honigmann 1960; Dove 1991). Such an analysis accounting for a short-run development programme cannot explain the dynamics of social change in a society and has limited scope for contributing to anthropological theory and methodology in general. Therefore, the anthropology of

[2] By Pakistani anthropologists I mean those researchers whose country of origin is Pakistan and who have been trained in anthropology at either Pakistani or Western universities. Most of the studies conducted by these anthropologists are part of their PhD theses and are not widely accessible.

[3] The annual Pakistan Workshop, UK is an inter-disciplinary forum on Pakistan Studies. The workshop series started in the 1980s.

Pakistan has not been able to gain attention from general anthropological audience (cf. Donnan 1987). Ideally, a longitudinal as well as contemporaneously comparative analysis is required to understand social change. This may not be possible due to some practical reasons in some situations. These constraints cannot be overcome without devising a conceptual and methodological framework that could provide a comparison between the past and the present with a potential to suggest implications for the future through a time-bound ethnographic research. Later in this chapter, I discuss how studying the social organisation of time and space in rural Punjab can prove to be helpful in this regard.

1.3 The Dynamics of Social Change in Pakistan

There are two basic points, which must be taken into account in order to study social change in Pakistan. Firstly, although relatively a new country, Pakistan is home to ancient civilisations like the Indus Valley. The region now called Pakistan has a long history of arts, architecture, town planning, and agriculture. It has experienced many social and cultural transformations throughout history because of wars, foreign invasions, international trade, religious conversions, and natural catastrophes like earthquakes and floods. Several dimensions of Pakistani society such as the state formation, ethnic identity, and language have always been in flux. Although urbanism is not a new phenomenon in the region, its economy has largely been dependent upon agriculture until today (Weiss and Mughal 2012; Wright 2010). More than half of the country's population lives in rural areas. A detailed analysis of recent social, economic, and technological transformations in rural Pakistan will help to deal with rural poverty, illiteracy, and conflicts. Further, studying the effects of globalisation and urbanisation will enhance our understanding about socioeconomic conditions in the Third World and the ways people themselves view and deal with socioeconomic inequalities, if they do so at all. It will thus help to launch social interventions in order to combat poverty keeping into account people's sensitivities towards change in social structure. Secondly, Pakistan is located at the crossroads of the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia, being a geographic and cultural gateway to these regions. Prior to colonisation and the recent waves of globalisation, the region has been intensively involved in the exchange of cultural ideas and technologies with other parts of the world, to varying degrees in different times. Therefore, Pakistan has a lot of ethnic and geographic diversity that shapes linguistic and national identities, politics, group relations, economics, and other social institutions in the country. Since independence in 1947, several factors have been vital in social and cultural transformations in Pakistani

society. Pakistan is one of the largest Muslim countries in the world. The state and society represents a Muslim culture in general. Given the country's ideological basis on Islamic identity, the religion and politics weave a complicated nexus (cf. Ahmed 1997; Talbot 1998; Weiss 1985; Abou Zahab and Roy 2004). The Arabic and Persian imprints on Pakistani languages, dress, marriages, and architecture are largely due to a long history of cultural exchange between the Middle East and people of this region (cf. Avari 2013; Malik 2008; Mughal 1992b). Most Pakistanis refer to Islam in their personal, social, and political lives.

Political scientists, economists, and sociologists have been studying the issues related to Islamisation, migration, green revolution, demographic change, government policies, security situation, and change in agricultural technology in Pakistan (cf. Ahmad et al. 2004; Butt et al. 2010; Evenson 2005; Haider 1981; Rogers 1990; Sathar and Kiani 1998; Weiss 1985, 1990). Sociological and economic analyses of social change in Pakistan, which only include demographic features such as population growth, the literacy rates, and availability of modern amenities, not only produce inadequate explanatory models, they also risk reproducing ethnocentric casuistic models which sometimes lead to flawed development policies. These studies focus on what is changing, such as the literacy rates, the income levels, the employment rates, and so on. Less attention has been paid to what is not changing, at least significantly, and to the reasons behind the continuity of some cultural norms and values. Therefore, an anthropological analysis will help to understand how Pakistanis respond to the effects of globalisation and urbanisation. I have nonetheless referred to these sociological and economic analyses of social change in Pakistan throughout this thesis for comparison sake in order to point out what is missing in these analyses and as evidences of demographic trends and policy related issues.

Migration is an important factor as well as an element of social change. People migrate for several reasons such as natural calamities, search for better educational and economic opportunities, and insurgencies. This also results in closer contact of different communities with each other, negotiating their identities and reconfiguring their social relationships in a new setting. The nature of group relations in such circumstances depends upon religious orientation and kinship structure of the communities coming together as a consequence of migration as well as economic interdependency. Pakistani society has experienced various types of migration. As a consequence of Partition of British India, one of the largest

migrations in human history took place. Muslims coming from various parts of India were relocated in different parts of Pakistan. While these migrants were settled in rural areas, particularly in Punjab and Sindh, Karachi has been the focus of most studies in order to analyse group relations between Sindhis, Pukhtuns, and the migrants who maintain their identity based on different languages, mainly Urdu (cf. Anwar 2012; Siddiqi 2010). These migrants were allotted land in South Punjab too, mainly after land reforms in 1959. The relationship between these migrants and those already living in the country needs a special attention, which is almost missing in the rural ethnographies of Pakistan. This will help to study the changing dimensions, if any, of group relations and its implications for bringing about social change in Pakistan. Similarly, a rapid population growth coupled with less availability of economic, educational, health, land, and natural resources is a major concern with respect to social change in the Third World. Pakistan experienced a high population growth between the 1960s and the 1980s, resulting in urban expansion, occupational change, and migration from villages to cities and overseas. On the one hand, this has resulted in technological change at the household level, in agriculture, in communication and transport, and so on. For this reason, people have abandoned many indigenous practices that were an important part of social organisation in the past. Traditional healing practices are being replaced by modern health facilities because of government's policies to fulfil the demands of the growing population and advancement in health sector. Indigenous learning practices have now been replaced by formal and modern education. On the other hand, these changing socioeconomic circumstances have changed the nature of social relationships that existed between different groups in the agricultural economy. Similarly, electricity is a recent addition to modern day facilities in most Pakistani villages. This resulted in technological change as well as introducing new ways of connecting remote and small villages to the globalising world through the media. The radio, television, and mobile phones have enhanced the pace of and given new directions to social change in rural areas.

Despite all these changes, there are certain elements of social organisation that do not appear to be transformed, at least partially if not fully. Some indigenous practices and cultural norms and values have not been transformed over time. These continuities are due to cultural sensitivities in terms of morality and religion, for instance. Ecological relationships are also shaped through some localised social, economic, and geographic perspectives. The continuities in cultural practices are, hitherto, a puzzle for the proponents

of "cultural globalisation" (cf. Hopper 2007). Ethnography can thus provide an insight into people's attitude towards social change that will be helpful to make comparisons in order to fill in the gap of demographically based generalisations (cf. Dumond 1965; Gage 1985; Hampshire et al. 2012). Flawed and biased policies, natural catastrophes, and uneven economic development may also affect the pace of social change in different areas. In a geographically diverse country like Pakistan, it is therefore necessary to account for social change from a broader perspective at regional or national level as well as at a smaller level such as a village.

1.4 The Social Organisation of Time and Space in Rural Punjab

Most ethnographies of rural Punjab largely elaborate on kinship, marriages, and, to some extent, the gendered dimension of household relationships (cf. Ahmed 1977; Alavi 1972; Eglar 1960; Donnan 1988; Lyon2004a). While these ethnographic studies rightly highlight the importance of kinship in Pakistan, an over-emphasis on the peasants-landlords relations and *biraderi* networks has led to several gaps in developing a sound theorisation regarding many aspects of Pakistani society that could have otherwise been explored for a clearer understanding of sociocultural and socioeconomic dynamics. The analytical framework related to *biraderis* and service relations has gained less attention from anthropologists working elsewhere on social change, hierarchies, boundaries, or the issues related to state and society. Therefore, it leaves less space for a cross-cultural comparison and vigorous contribution of Pakistani anthropology to general anthropological interests. Edgar and Henig (2010) compared the Islamic dream incubation practices between Pakistan and Bosnia. Such a comparison prompts to take into account various other conceptual models and methodological frameworks to study Pakistani society that may provide a basis for cross-cultural critique contributing to anthropological theory in general. Studying the social organisation of time and space, I argue, can be one of such frameworks to study the dynamics of social change in Pakistan. On the one hand, it will help to overcome the issue of the missing accounts of some key features of Pakistani society. On the other hand, it will help to provide the vocabulary that may fit into general anthropological analysis for cross-cultural comparison. Nevertheless, studying the social organisation of time and space does not suggest to overlook or undermine the role of kinship, group relations, and socioeconomic hierarchies that have been analysed as essential parts of rural social organisation in Punjab. In fact, it explains social relationships in an extended scenario linking it with other parts of social organisation such as politics and economics. While

doing so, it also highlights the changes that negotiate and reshape social relationships as a consequence of social change.

Generally, ethnography studies culture in a given point of time but it can be understood what change has taken place by comparing between past and present social conditions. People can perceive change by comparing their past and present through memories, which provide a gateway to the social conditions they have lived in the past. Individuals' memories about certain events in their lives are a reflection of change in the social conditions they have been living in different times (Bertaux and Thompson 2005; Edgar 2004). Therefore, documenting the generational changes through memories and narratives can help to understand the process of social change. Similarly, cultural memories are generated through a shared past. Some cultural memories are accumulated in the cultural models of time and space such as indigenous knowledge about seasons, the names of the weekdays, and terminologies used for expressing various notions of time and space. We can thus understand the social and economic conditions of the past through these cultural memories. Just as studying perception of the past provides a mechanism how a community's social structure has undergone changes, their idealism and struggle for the future depicts their goals (Persoon and van Est 2000). The collective representation of time and space creates and shapes people's temporal and spatial experiences "for it seems that we cannot think of objects which are not in time and space" (Durkheim 1915[1912]: 22). An analysis of linguistic expressions that are used for various cultural models explains the relative influence of different religions, nations, and political regimes that have shaped the present day Pakistani society. Since time and space are embedded in every aspect of culture, local terminologies used for various temporal and spatial expressions provide a comprehensive overview of the past and the present of Pakistan.

Celebrating life cycle rituals and ceremonies, such as birth, marriage, and death, is an important aspect of the social organisation of time (Goody 1968). By participating in these ceremonies, people develop new social relationships and reiterate the existing ones. Rituals and ceremonies are an integral part of rural social organisation in Punjab. Many socioeconomic boundaries and hierarchies become visible in the ways these ceremonies are celebrated by different *biraderis* or families. The differential ways of celebrating the birth of a son or a daughter, who marries whom, and gift relations are regulated by social relationships and economic conditions. Therefore, these ceremonies can provide a way to

understand the nexus of socioeconomic relationships. The introduction of the market economy, electricity, and the media has affected the ways of celebrating these rituals. Changes that have taken place in the nature of social relationships as a consequence of occupational change or shifting in marital alliances will be reflected through exchange relations and the ways of celebrating these ceremonies. However, change in the temporal organisation has occurred in several ways, not just limited to these ceremonies. Three different calendars have been used in rural Punjab and each one has a specific history and use (Mughal 2012c). The older generation have been using an indigenous agricultural calendar through which they regulated their agricultural activities (Eglar 1960: 50-55; Mughal 2008). Since most ceremonies are celebrated according to agrarian cycles in the agricultural economy, this calendar has been important in regulating agricultural as well as social activities. Therefore, the use of this calendar was not limited to cultivators but other occupations linked with agriculture have been using it for regulating their social and economic activities because of socioeconomic inter-dependency. Urbanisation has led to an increased use of the Gregorian calendar by younger generations. In addition to a shift in the ways of reckoning time, there has been a corresponding drop in the transmission of knowledge about local cultural astronomy, indigenous agricultural practices, and seasonal cycles associated with the older calendar[4]. The third calendar in use is Islamic one. People use the Islamic calendar for religious festivals, such as *Eid* and fasting. These festivals have a lot of social and economic significance too. The Gregorian calendar is also used for civil purposes in Pakistan as it is officially used by the government and is widely practiced in cities.

Similar changes have been taken place in the social organisation of space in rural Punjab. The house is a basic residential and social unit in Pakistan. It provides a space for familial relationships to play. The design and structure of the house is informed by religion, economics, and cultural norms and values. It has been suggested that population growth has caused changes in family structure in many Asian countries (Vervoon 1998). In Pakistan, there has been a clear distinction in the housing pattern between rural and urban areas as the house is normally resided in by a nuclear family in big cities. The extended households in rural areas are also turning into nuclear ones because of the growing population. This has resulted in modifications in the design and structure of the house

[4] It is a common phenomenon in many developing countries where people adopt modern technologies abandoning indigenous farming practices (cf. Ellen et al. 2000; Scoones 1999).

because of demographic change, technological change, and economic transitions. Places such as the mosque have also undergone changes in their design and structure because of social change. There are an increasing number of studies being carried out on the role of the mosque in identity formation, local politics, and other forms of community participation like charity in Western countries (cf. Avcioglu 2007; Gale 2004; Jamal 2005; McLoughlin 2005). This increasing interest to study the mosque as an organisation as well as an institution is due to the complicated relationship between Muslims minority groups and the non-Muslim majority populations in the West. In any way, this reaffirms the vital role the mosque occupies for Muslims from some social and religious perspectives. Despite its importance, anthropologists have paid less attention, if they did at all, to the mosque as a place of worship as well as socialisation in Pakistan. Analysing the role of the mosque in social organisation is almost absent in all the classic and recent ethnographies of Pakistan. Another reason for overlooking the role of the mosque in rural social organisation has been a lack of conceptual and theoretical framework that could encompass this important dimension into anthropological analysis. While studying the social organisation of space one has to study the role of the mosque in Pakistani society due to its significance. Despite having certain essential features, the design and structure of the mosque has undergone some changes reflecting technological and economic transitions. Since there could be some gender related issues to access the house while studying the household organisation, the mosque can be an important place, also as an alternative, in order to study the social organisation of space. In many areas of rural Punjab, the mosque is accessible to people from every faith. It can be helpful at least for the researchers doing "anthropology at home" in Pakistan. The social organisation of space also includes social distance and social boundaries constructed between various individuals and groups in the form of age, gender, ethnic groups, and economic classes (cf. Gupta and Fergusan 1992; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Pellow 1996). In rural Punjab, some social boundaries constructed around gender and ethnicities are being negotiated because of social change and people's aspirations for the future. Studying these boundaries from a temporal-spatial perspective will reveal change and continuity in the factors that are decisive in defining these boundaries, helping to understand social change at different levels.

Agricultural land has been found to be the source of power in rural Punjab; therefore, big agricultural landlords are also influential in Pakistani politics (Alavi 1976; Lyon 2004a). Land has been a major reason behind feuds due to its economic significance and central status in the rural economy. After the green revolution in the 1960s, there was a dramatic increase in agricultural productivity in Pakistan. However, over decades, there has been a relative decline in overall agricultural productivity in Pakistan because of occupational change and urbanisation. Population growth and industrialisation contributed to the occupational change and a lesser reliance on agriculture. This has resulted in managing time and space as scarce resources, which can be analysed within the framework of the social organisation of time and space by studying the phenomenon of the increasing commoditisation of land and the time allocation for different activities.

Although social change has taken place in many spheres of social and economic life, there is a continuity of certain cultural practices, norms, and values. This change and continuity in social organisation is regulated through the cultural models of time and space. Similar pattern of social change has been taken place in most rural areas of the country with some differences reflecting specific economic and ecological circumstances. People's response to social change is crucial to sustainability and economic development. Studying transformations in the social organisation of time and space will thus help to understand the effects of globalisation and urbanisation on rural communities.

1.5 Thesis Structure

In chapter two, I introduce the anthropology of time and space. Initial anthropological studies on time and space revolved around dichotomies of Western and non-Western notions of time and space. However, recent anthropological analyses highlight that every culture has particular way of perceiving and managing time and space according to social, economic, and ecological conditions. This chapter provides an account of how anthropology studies time and space, and the relationship between both the concepts. I argue that the interrelationship of time and space can be well understood by studying social change. Such a linking of time and space with social change is vital to understand the social organisation of time and space in anthropological analysis. I also present different theories and perspectives about social change.

In chapter three, I discuss the research methods used during the fieldwork. There are some methodological concerns depending upon the researcher's "positionality" in the field, which must be taken into account. Since I carried out the fieldwork in my home country, I also discuss my personal experiences of doing "anthropology at home". After that, I will discuss how I applied various research methods in the field and how I dealt with some ethical issues concerning the research. At the end of this chapter, I also share my experiences regarding modifications in my research techniques while working with children in the field.

Chapter four discusses change and continuity in sociocultural spheres of Pakistani society. By doing so, I relate the contemporary dynamics of Pakistani society with the country's past in a historical perspective, as early as the ancient Indus Valley. Although Pakistan is relatively a new country, the history of this region dates back millennia old cultures and civilisations. Many foreign cultures such as the Greek, Persian, Arabic, and British influenced the region. I discuss change and continuity in the social, cultural and economic spheres of Pakistani society, bridging the country's present with its past, as it is viewed by Pakistanis. It will help to understand how Political, ethnic, and cultural dynamics of Pakistan are unique, which define and shape the nation's identity. I focus on the material aspects of Pakistani culture such as architecture as well as non-material ones such as religion and language. I also present the history and socioeconomic scenario of South Punjab and Lodhran in general and Jhokwala in particular. This chapter provides some basic information and demographic data about the study area. I discuss the transition from an agrarian seasonal to the market economy as well as the influence of the media, modern education, and urbanisation on rural social organisation.

The subsequent four chapters deal with the social organisation of time and space in Jhokwala. In chapter five, I discuss the basic concepts and cultural models of time in Jhokwala. I present local terminologies that express different notions of time, and explore their meanings within the cultural context. This chapter explains that the beliefs about the world and the afterlife shape people's perception of time. I discuss the construction of time through memories, the categorisation of age, the long-term and short-term temporalities, taboos, and beliefs associated with time. This chapter also includes the meanings related with the contextualisation and commoditisation of time as well as its construction in rituals and ceremonies. Later in this chapter, I present data on time allocation for various activities

to show people's preferences of some activities over others in order to determine their time trends and their relationship with social change.

Chapter six explains the temporal rhythm in the village life. It presents the use of different calendars in the socioeconomic and historical context of Jhokwala. This chapter also introduces the indigenous methods of measuring time and dividing it into different units. I discuss how clock time is an indicator of transition from an agrarian seasonal to the market economy. I discuss the rationale behind indigenous time reckoning and its varying use in the changing economic perspectives. Three calendars, namely Bikrami, Islamic Hijri and Gregorian, are being used in the village at varying extents to manage time for different activities. I present the history of these calendars in the area and their contemporary use in various spheres of socioeconomic and sociocultural life to highlight that each calendar reflects different dimensions of time and change. The changing use of these calendars among people from different generations and occupations highlights the process and direction of social change.

Chapter seven explains the use and management of land, the mosque, the house, and the sociospatial relationships constructed around these spaces. In this chapter, I discuss the construction and appropriation of space through social practice. The growing population has led to an inadequate supply of land in Jhokwala. This became one of the reasons behind change in the village's economic pattern from an agricultural to the market economy. The change in the physical structure of any place negotiates the social relationships that it bears. I present two examples in order to explain the social relationships weaved around places: the mosque and the house. The mosque connects transcendental space and the mundane world. The house is a residential as well as moral and social unit in Jhokwala. The change in the design and structure of both the places is indicative of social change. I present the sociospatial relationships with respect to the inner as well as outer boundaries of the house.

Chapter eight presents the concepts of boundary and everyday mobility in Jhokwala. I discuss the differential access to various spaces between two major social groups in the village. I explain how physical and social boundaries are constructed to maintain privacy between different social groups. Some places in the village like the mosque, the market, and school are shared spaces where people interact outside their social and physical boundaries at varying levels and intensities. This chapter also reflects upon women's

participation in public spheres. The everyday mobility pattern of women highlights a shift in their role from agriculture to formal education. While explaining this, I highlight that social and economic transformations and mediated through local moralities and cultural norms and values.

In the last chapter, I conclude that it is necessary to study the social organisation of time and space in the methodological and theoretical framework of social change. I sum up by relating the cultural models of time and space in Jhokwala with social change. Time and space relate to each other not only with respect to social organisation but also in terms of their fluidity and change. I also discuss some implications of this study within a framework of the anthropology of Pakistan. I argue that there are many under-researched regions and aspects of Pakistani culture in anthropological analyses and studying them may bring about new insights about the issues related to economy, group relations, history, and social change.

2

On the Study of Time, Space and Social Change

2.1 Introduction

I present in this chapter an overview of the anthropology of time and space. I explain some basic issues with the anthropology of time and space as well as some constraints in studying these concepts. Before highlighting how time and space can be studied in relation to each from a broader framework of social change, I also discuss various theories and concepts related to social change that has been put forwarded by anthropologists and other social scientists. The contemporary understanding about time and space is that these are interrelated concepts. I argue this interrelationship can be well analysed by studying social change.

Scholars in the ancient world such as the Indus Valley, Greece, Egypt, and China investigated time and space in the fields of astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and mathematics by relating these concepts to natural and supernatural forces (Evans 1998; Kim and Sosa 2000; Rosen 2004). Unlike philosophers, who studied time and space as mathematical and astronomical concepts, intuition, mental processes, or abstract ideas (Friedman 1983; Grunbaum 1974; Lucas 1973), anthropologists and other social scientists have investigated these concepts with their relevance to social structure (cf. Bogoras 1925; Heirich 1964; Hough 1893; Klingman 1980; Sorokin and Merton 1937). However, there are some problems in the anthropological analyses of time and space (cf. Adam 1994; Fabian 1983; Frederiksen 2008; Low 2003; Rapoport 1994). One major issue has been dichotomising of the concepts of time and space into Western and non-Western. Another important issue is the challenge to study time and space as interrelated concepts. I discuss these issues and various ways to deal with them.

Anthropologists and other social scientists have proposed various theories of social change. Most of these theories are West oriented and discuss social change in Western societies in relation to the Enlightenment or the industrial and technological advancements. Anthropologists also proposed theories of social change in non-Western societies. Most theories discuss social and cultural transformations in non-Western societies as a

consequence of their contact with the West. Some theories discuss social change with a specific reference to modernity and development (cf. Haferkamp and Smelser 1992). Others have also seen modernity and development as a form of Westernisation that creates the hegemony of the West on the non-West (Escobar 1991, 1994; Kothari and Minogue 2001). Some analyses of social change take into account the broader perspectives of social change such as globalisation and suggest "time-space distanciation", "time-space compression", or "Global Village" as the fundamental features of change in the contemporary world (Giddens 1984; Harvey 1990; McLuhan 1964). I will discuss how the social organisation of time and space shapes human behaviour; therefore, change in the cultural models of time and space will result in change in overall social organisation. I will also show how anthropologists study time and space and why it is important for them to develop an in-depth understanding of these two concepts. I also propose that the interconnectedness of time and space as vital elements of social organisation can be analysed in a better way, conceptually and methodologically, by studying social change.

2.2 The Anthropology of Time and Space

Many studies of the social aspects of time and space during the first half of the twentieth century were inspired by Durkheim's "collective representation" that is created by and "dictated to" individuals (Gell 1996: 5-14; Schmaus 2006: 1-18). In these studies, the term "category" adopted different connotations as either the Aristotelian highest predicable (Ackrill 1963) or the Kantian presupposed by experience (Kant 1958[1781]). In his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life,* Durkheim (1915[1912]) argued that the most primary categories, including time and space, are social in their origin. The category of time, for example, forms through the seasonal and daily rhythms of social life. Similarly, the spatial distribution of social groups generates the category of space. According to Durkheim, people create societies, though unconsciously, and societies create categories. Therefore, categories are collective creations and prior to any individual's experience. For Durkheim, the primary categories of understanding the world have their roots in religion as he said, "If religion has given birth to all that is essential in society, it is because the idea of society is the soul of religion" (ibid. 415). He argued that the category of time was defined by the calendar, which people created for keeping a record of social gatherings and rituals. He explained these phenomena based on his concept of "social fact" having an independent existence (Durkheim 1964[1895]).

Anthropological analyses of time and space, indeed, include the social connotations attached with these concepts. However, there are some complexities and issues in these analyses. Arguments over the temporal axis in "traditional" societies, which have been the very object of anthropology, stretched over the absence of time as a category of experience to highly complex notions of time. For instance, Evans-Pritchard (1940: 103) denied the prevalence of any such expression of time in the Nuer's language equivalent to Western notion of time. He argued that time in the West was a notion that could be "wasted" or "saved" whereas the point of reference in the Nuer were activities themselves. He described the Nuer's ecological time and structural relations in comparison to Western concept of clock and calendar time. This analysis of the "traditional" concepts of time, as Adam (1994: 503-518) argued, had a specific "framework of observation and interpretation" by comparing them with Western notions of clock and calendric time, which are not the only sources of reference to time. This analysis overlooked the fact that various clocks and calendars existed even in the pre-historic non-Western world long before the West started to use them. For instance, people used shadow clocks and water clocks in Mesopotamia, ancient China, and ancient Egypt more than two millennia ago (cf. Bruton 1982). On the other hand, many anthropological studies showed that the perception of time in "traditional" societies was highly developed, and the expressions in their languages for the fine grading of time were clearer than Western ones (Gluckman 1977: 275). In the same way, some anthropologists recognised the "traditional" concepts of time as contextualised in contrast to those of the Western ones as non-contextualised as they viewed measuring time through calendar and clocks in the West independent of the context. On the other hand, the use of clocks and calendars does not necessarily label time as non-contextualised because referring to time as good or bad also exists in the West (Adam 1994).

While describing the concept of the person in Bali, Geertz (1966: 360-411) analysed Balinese conceptualisation of one another as generalised "contemporaries" in terms of their personal identities through titles, kinship, and religious statuses. He argued that all conceivable people in Bali were present "simultaneously" concluding that all person types were permanently represented by their tokens and one person could have multiple statuses. Bloch (1989) asserted that Geertz confused ideology with cognition in interpreting the Balinese time. He argued that cognition was a human universal whereas ideology was dependent on the context. Since all natural languages operate on "fundamentally identical logical premises", therefore, all speakers must similarly apprehend time. If people from the

West and other cultures had profound difference in their notions of time then the communication between these two could not have been possible.

Lévi-Strauss (1963) categorised societies into "hot" (modern) and "cold" (primitive) ones. According to him, "hot" societies have a sense of linear history whereas "cold" societies have a noncumulative sense of time due to their cyclical repetitions in myth. On the contrary, Gell (1996: 24) argued that periodic repetition implied a linear temporal extension. Similarly, some anthropologists associated cyclical concepts of time with "traditional" societies and linear concepts of time with "modern" ones (cf. Adam 1994). Goody (1968: 31) argued that the repetitive or cyclical pattern of human life and the world of nature, for instance in the rites of passage in "traditional" cultures, had been a reason for categorising societies into "traditional" and "modern" ones. Adam (1994) maintained that such anthropological analyses did not take into account Western festivals such as Christmas and Easter when making such comparisons. People in the West also 'reproduce' time while repeating the cycle of their everyday life, for instance, by going to the office every day and then having the weekend once every week.

Studies of space also include dichotomies of Western and non-Western spaces. Harwood (1976: 795) stated that the spatial axis predominated in "non-literate" cultures in contrast to the precedence of the temporal or historical axis in "literate" cultures. Such an assumption was, in fact, in response to the view that Western notion of time was non-contextualised. Similar to some arguments on the concepts of time, debates over the concepts of space in terms of "traditional" and "modern" also include the dialogue between anthropology and the cognitive sciences over cultural and universal patterns of spatial organisation (Levinson 1998). Therefore, the distinction between "ours" and "theirs" does not include only temporal but spatial allusions as well. The physical aspect of space in the West is usually characterised by geometric designs whereas in non-Western cultures it may also involve social, ritualistic, or symbolic rules, which may appear incomprehensible for a Western observer. Rapoport (1994) noted that many anthropological analyses maintained this dichotomy despite the fact that non-Western structures also contained geometric patterns. He argued that the difference in the type of geometric order in one culture could be difficult to understand for people from other cultures because the construction of a building (physical space), for example, involved ecological, geographic and other forms of physical and cultural setting.

Another significant debate in terms of Western and non-Western dichotomies is the commoditisation of time and space. Some anthropologists assert that the "modern" or Western notion of time constructs it as money that can be "saved" or "wasted" while such an attitude does not exist in "traditional" cultures (Gross 1984: 520). There are similar views about space, and this commodification of time and space is associated with the growth of industries and capitalism in the West (Hornborg 2003; Ingold 1995; Thompson 1967). According to Nowotny (1975: 329), the most fundamental divide between modern industrialised and traditional non-industrialised societies lay in the "value" accorded to time for its relative "scarcity" or "abundance". Therefore, time appears to be a scarce resource to Western observers and their economic analyses propose how to cope with this scarcity (French 1982: 505). Bourdieu (1972: 10-17) proposes that the concepts of time in traditional agrarian economies are appropriate to their particular mode of production. He also argues that Western capitalist time is not adjustable to the specific mode of production in these agrarian economies.

In some recent analyses, many anthropologists have criticised distinguishing between Western and non-Western concepts of time and space (Adam 1994; Bloch 1977; Gell 1996). Some even regarded it as an ethnocentric approach of Western researchers (Hoskins 1997: 380-381). Gell (1996: 241-315) refers the objective conditions of existence in the world to the imaginative construction of time in cultures. He opposes the views that distinguish between different types of time based on different types of processes, which happen in time. He argues that there are only "other clocks" and other schedules in different cultures:

> There is no fairyland where people experience time in a way that is markedly unlike the way in which we do ourselves, where there is no past, present and future, where time stands still or chases its own tail, or swings back and forth like a pendulum. (ibid. 315)

Gell's argument prompts some questions: why then do anthropologists differentiate cultures from one another? Do they recognise only explicit processes and not the underlying rules associated with these processes and activities? If there is no fundamental difference in the concepts of time and space between cultures, should anthropologists attempt to mark all the world cultures as one? In order to extricate these issues, it is important to consider some important points. Firstly, time and space are universal phenomena and every society perceives them in a particular way (Bennardo 2009; El

Guindi 2008a; Hoskins 1997). Secondly, the difference between various cultures in the concepts of time and space is because every cultural order has its own form of historical action, consciousness, and determination (Palmié 2010; Sahlins 1983: 518). Thirdly, it is equally important to note that a culture may have differences and not just similarities in its time reckoning system within itself. For this reason, Green (1972: 402) proposed that time concepts of every class or group should be analysed. After many decades, or even centuries, of extensive studies, many disciplines have developed a substantial amount of knowledge on concepts of time and space, far better than anthropology (Gingrich et al. 2002). Therefore, anthropology needs to develop a greater understanding of these concepts through a multidisciplinary approach. Otherwise, as Adam (1994: 523) and Kokot (2007: 10) opined, without understanding the complexities of the issues about time and space, anthropological knowledge of these concepts will remain far behind the contemporary understanding in other disciplines.

2.3 'When' is Time and 'Where' is Space?

It is intricate to apprehend the extensively studied and apparently simple concepts of time and space. Space is a visible phenomenon, as far as its physical forms are concerned, but time is such an experience that has no apparent and visible form. Time, therefore, occupies a distinctive prominence in metaphysics. It is the enigmatic nature of time that many philosophers associate time with divine (Iqbal 1982[1934]: 11; Ramble 2002: 77). Various artistic and scientific disciplines have specific standpoints on the nature of time and space but there are no universally applicable definitions these concepts possible so far. A standard definition of time can be:

> ...a limited stretch or space of continued existence, as the interval between two successive events or acts, or the period through which an action condition, or state continues. (Dictionary 1989: 100)

Space is a "continuous, unbounded, or unlimited extent in every direction, without reference to any matter that may be present" (ibid. 88). These definitions of time and space are certainly far from an exhaustive set of meanings that can be attributed to these two concepts. However, as the above-mentioned definitions explicitly maintain, time and space are interrelated concepts; therefore, contemporary scientific fields study them in relation to each other. Prior to Einstein's Theory of Relativity, the absoluteness of time and space formed a classical view in the sciences (Hawking 1988: 151; Mughal 2009). According to

another less popular view, mainly referring to Bergson, about the relativity of time and space is the prioritisation of the former and the subordination of the latter. The compound expression "spacetime" referred to these concepts jointly as early as in the eighteenth century. Therefore, as Archibald (1914: 409) and Tegmark (1997) suggest, it will not be realistic to study both the concepts in isolation from one another. Disciplines such as geography and sociology have already felt a need to understand the spatial and temporal organisation in relation to each other; therefore, domains like chronogeography have emerged (cf. Rapoport 1994: 465; Schurer 1978). In order to describe the nature of relationship between time and space, Giddens (1990: 17-20) quoted a simple example of a timetable or schedule of trains. This schedule, although seemingly only about the timings of trains, in fact tells about where and when a train will arrive. From this example, it is obvious that "when" and "where" point towards the notions of time and space, respectively. While contrasting modernity with "pre-modern" time-space relations, Giddens argued that the calendar and clock made the concepts of time and space "empty" because the measurement of time in "pre-modern" societies was associated with "socio-spatial markers". Therefore, nature, landscape, and the built environment are not just perceived as spaces in human experience, instead, these have temporal dimensions associated with them too (cf. Adam 1998: 8; Bender et al. 2005; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Lynch 1972). Social scientists overlook the notion of time while studying the present because they take it for granted. This logic can be well understood in archaeological studies where both time and space are studied as essential to each other (cf. Rosen 2004; Thomas 1999) because one has to 'travel' into the past in order to explore cultures.

El Guindi (2008a: 32-33) argues, similar to a Durkheimian analysis, that individuals perceive time and space, and their attitudes towards these two notions are then collectively represented. Time and space are thus social realities entrenched in beliefs, moral values, and social relations (Gingrich at al. 2002). Humans recognise them as resources, especially after the advancements in technology and industry in society, which require maximising their use (Hornborg 2003: 7). Therefore, studying the concepts of time and space in a culture provides a better understanding of the social order prevailing there. Anthropologists analyse temporal and spatial models of social organisation through specific concepts and approaches (cf. Bailey 1983: 167-168; Leach 1961: 124-136; Ramble 2002: 84). They treat these concepts in so many ways. They focus only on the social organisation of time (cf. French 1982; Musharbash 2007; Pickering 2004; Scaglion 1986; Sillitoe 2006) or space

(cf. Gilmore 1977; Levinson 1996; Low 1996; Smith and David 1995), or include both these concepts (cf. Edmonson 1977; Radu 2010; Ross 1982; Sinclair 1987; Strathern and Stewart 2003; Titiev 1970).

2.3.1 Time

Time reckoning appears to be a universal phenomenon and many anthropological studies assert that every society has a peculiar system of time reckoning, which "circumscribes" their existence (Gingrich et al. 2002: 3). Time is a part of social organisation and interacts with other components and conditions of social organisation (Burman 1981: 266). In other words, time is a source for "co-ordinating relationship[s]" (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 108). We can thus understand the worldview of a community by studying the social organisation of time (Munn 1992: 123). Goody (1968: 30-38) explained that the social organisation of time includes three main components. Firstly, it includes systems of time measurement based upon a "cosmic cycle" and "human cycle". The "cosmic cycle" includes divisions of time such as day and night, week, month, season, and year. It also involves two types of rites of passage: religious such shrine festivals and non-religious having no religious connotation such as national holidays. The "human cycle" includes the categorisation of human life into different stages such as childhood, adolescence, and old age. It also involves rites of passage to mark and celebrate these stages. Secondly, the allocation and scheduling of time by individuals is also an element of the social organisation of time. People allocate different amounts of time for different activities. Thirdly, people's attitude towards time is also a part of the social organisation of time. This attitude is based on the aforementioned cycles that result in categorising time as past, present, and future. Calendars and clocks help humans to regulate their activities, keep a record of their past, and plan for their future. Similarly, the categorisation of time into different stages of human life holds different social, economic, and moral connotations associated with these stages.

Time is embedded in religion, identity, and other social and economic spheres of human activity. Anthropological studies in various cultures have highlighted the importance of time in social structure. For instance, while explaining his theory of practice, Bourdieu (1977: 6) indicated that the timing in "delayed exchange" between giving and reciprocating the gift provides information about obligations involved in the gift exchange. Gluckman (1977: 271-275) found that the lineage system has a fixed stretch of time, from the origin

of humans to their "present-day descendants" in tribal societies. For each type of group and social relationship, there is a specific "time-scale" in these societies. People in Zaire differentiate between heroes based on their deaths in either wet or dry seasons. This reveals the preference for some seasons over others in the group's socioeconomic structure (Roberts 1982: 725). In the same way, differential notions of time for both men and women in Sri Lanka and the power of time in the mythical aspect of Sinhalese astrology also show the correlation between time and social structure (Kemper 1980). There is a great deal of anthropological literature to show how rituals and ceremonies are organised and celebrated through temporal organisation (cf. Evers 1972: 48-60; Geertz 1960: 30-85). Rappaport (1999: 169-235) not only described the temporal dimension of the performance of rituals but also explained the rationale of the temporal organisation to fit the social order in a society. According to Rappaport, the significance of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday as sacred days for Muslims, Jews, and Christians, respectively, is in fact a religiously defined expression of identity. He also explained that people take "time out of time" from some activities such as economic for others such as religious rituals (ibid. 190). Such temporal bearing, by individuals or society as a whole, indicates people's preference for one activity over the other.

The use of time is a key to making distinctions between work and leisure. Work is seen as an economic category through which humans earn their living whereas leisure is defined in terms of a surplus economy where it is the additional amount of time saved from work (Cooper 1984; Weltfish 1976). Leisure has become an economy in the form of sports, tourism, the cinema industry, and many more activities. However, social scientists study leisure through locally perceived notions. The use and analysis of time is, of course, not limited to the above-mentioned aspects. Anthropologists approach time in a variety of ways. Fabian (1983: 21-33), in *Time and the Other*, categorised three uses of time in anthropology. The first category is the "physical time", which is a parameter describing sociocultural processes, and demographic or ecological changes. The "mundane" and "typological" times lie in the second category. The former describes the working of natural laws and the latter differentiates between traditional and modern, rural and urban, and so on. The third category is the "intersubjective" time, which refers to human actions and interactions. The problem of distance between the anthropologist and the community being studied is common to all these uses. During fieldwork, anthropologists typically identify themselves or become "coeval" with the community but organise their writings according

to physical or typological time so that their reports may not be regarded as poetry, fiction, or political propaganda. This issue of distance between the anthropologist and the community has taken new dimensions when more and more anthropologists are researching their own cultures, called as "anthropology at home" (cf. Jackson 1987; Peirano 1998), through which anthropology re-considers the way it constructs "other". Adam (1994: 503-512) argues studying time turns out to be complicated because it is concerned not only with the "subject" of anthropology but also with the lives of anthropologists, and it is "curiously invisible". Therefore, it is important to understand the meaning of time and its various expressions in language. In this thesis, I explain the meanings of several local expressions of time in the cultural context. For a better understanding of these local expressions in the thesis, I use four important concepts related to time as explained by Adam. These are "timing", "temporality", "time frame", and "tempo". "Timing" is related to "when time" in everyday English communication. "Temporality" forms a central component of time. "Time frame" is that within which people organise, plan and regulate their daily existence. Aspects of time such as "timing" and "time frame" are associated with "temporality" in the same way as "temporality" is associated with "timing" and "time frames". "Tempo" is the speed of time passing.

In his famous *Two Essays concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time*, Leach (1961: 124-136) described three experiences of time. First, time-intervals and durations always begin with and end in the same thing. Leach recognised this experience as "repetition". Second experience can be "aging", which involves birth, growing old and death through a process of irreversible change. Another experience is the "rate at which time passes". This third experience is the passing of time at a different speed at different stages of life. He offers a pendulum view of time as "a repetition of repeated reversal, a sequence of oscillations between polar opposites". For Leach, "we create time by creating intervals in our social life", where intervals are marked as repeated opposites. Ohnuki-Tierney (1969) analysed Ainu's time reckoning and showed that the Ainu and Super-Ainu dichotomous concepts of time were, in fact, "repeated contrast" operated at several levels in their time structure. Barnes (1974) used the term "cycle" instead of "oscillation" and argued that in the yearly ceremonies of Kédang, the sequence of events returned to its original state when it was completed. On the other hand, Rappaport (1999: 169-215) argued that stages of life were not "irreversible" because "recurrence" was undoubtedly entrenched into them. He quoted the example of Evans-Pritchard's (1940: 94-138) study on the Nuer in order to

support his argument, where the death of the grandfather was associated with birth of the son. Anthropologists tend to denote the cyclical expressions of time to experiences that involve repetition. These cyclical expressions of time are observable in the monthly or yearly celebrations of rituals, the division of seasons, and, in a physical sense, in the coming of day and night. On the other hand, Bailey (1983: 167-168) and Ramble (2002: S84) argued since time is perceived through events, therefore, it is one-dimensional or linear and asymmetrical, and flowing irreversibly from past to future.

2.3.2 Space

Rapoport (1994) explained that space is a three-dimensional, symmetrical, and reversible notion, which humans perceive through the disposition of objects. Space can be tangible such as physical, geometric as well as non-geometric, intangible such as imagined, and social. Space can also be divided into its various types including, but not limited to, human, non-human, designed (includes ordering such as cultural space), and non-designed space (such as natural space). It is expressed as an economic category related to value and exchange as well as behavioural and electronic spaces. With respect to territoriality and proximity, these spaces can be categorised into various expressions from the individual's space to that of community, city, country, and so on. The human and non-human body itself is a space. Its perceptional and representational aspect gives rise to the notion of "embodied space" (Low 2003). Low (ibid. 10) argues spatial analyses in anthropology usually overlook the body. This has two reasons; first, it is difficult to understand the duality of subjective and objective body, second, confusion between the body itself and its representation. Douglas (1971) conceived the body as a medium of communication in the sociospatial relationships. Most studies about the human body with an explicitly spatial analysis use symbolic frameworks. Symbolic anthropology associates different aspects of the human body with cosmological and mythical notions (Hugh-Jones 1979; Johnson 1988). In other domains, such as health, anthropologists study the body without any reference to a spatial framework.

The appropriation of space by society turns it into place. This appropriation of space is easily understandable through Bourdieu's (1977: 72, 1984: 170) concept of "habitus". Bourdieu explained "habitus" as a relationship between space and practice while describing the complexity of the sociospatial relationships:

> …systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 1990: 53)

Therefore, these structures of a collective nature, called "habitus", generate and organise socio-spatial practice and representation. This does not mean that habitus determines, it rather delimits, practice and representation at an individual as well as collective levels. The cultural aspect of space manifests the cultural landscape, settlements, neighbourhoods, urban spaces, buildings, and rooms, which gives rise to the idea of social space (cf. Crabtree 2000; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Pellow 1996). The way in which humans interact with these spaces and how their social relationships are constructed around these spaces can simply by termed as the social organisation of space. Social spaces are shared between individuals, and between communities. Shared spaces, such as city or country, give rise to shared identities, which may cause cohesion or generate conflict over their use (Bowman 2011; Dandy and Wal 2011). Social space thus reflects the rules and principles of social relations, networks, and hierarchies. Therefore, certain norms, values, and principles are associated with places, for instance, regarding their use and ownership. These notions of use and ownership create boundaries and the corresponding rules demarcating between the spaces. People negotiate their social relations within the limitations of these boundaries (Munro 1999: 116). The notion of transgression can better explain the rules and principles associated with spaces. Cresswell (1996) associated two meanings with place: geographic or physical and social. Place in the geographic sense indicates the locale or location. Social place or space highlights "expectation about behaviour that relates a position in a social structure to action in space" (ibid. 3). This notion of place refers to someone being in their "proper place" in relation to others, based upon social and cultural norms. For example, depending upon the cultural context, women are considered "in place" when they are in the private sphere and "out of place" when they are in the public sphere. "Out of place" is a place transgression and, therefore, can be regarded a 'deviant behaviour' against social norms. On the other hand, certain cultural norms are 'negotiated' in some situations. For instance, Werbner (2010a) showed that the gendered and ethnic boundaries in Sufi pilgrimages in Pakistan are negotiated, which is otherwise not freely possible because certain cultural norms and restrictions are attached to the gendered, economic, and ethnic spaces.

From the above discussion, it emerges that the construction, transformation, and management of place is integral to the anthropology of space. Beyond any eco-centric view of what a place is, the experience of place is a social construct. There are two dimensions of understanding human-place relationships: "people make places and that places make people" (Gruenewald 2003: 621). Humans perceive the existence of a place in relation to other places (Casey 1996). For example, the distinction between a small town and a big city is made on their relative sizes, in addition to other characteristics. I have already discussed that people appropriate space into place through social practice. In this way, place holds meanings for people in the forms of countries, regions, houses, mosques, churches, and so on. These places shape human experience of the world and construct their statuses, identities, and affiliations with respect to fellow human beings (cf. Feld and Basso 1996a; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). In other words, "As people fashion places, so, too, do they fashion themselves (Feld and Basso 1996b: 11).

Various social and economic spaces in a culture unfold themselves in the form of gender, age, wealth, and other such notions of relatedness, otherness, and hierarchy. Therefore, space, as Gilmore (1977: 437) said, "reifies social cleavages, limits mobility and intensifies cultural polarisation". On the other hand, linkages between places, through transportation (such as vehicles) or communication (such as mobile phones), also indicate the human activities along them having social, economic, and political dimensions. Similarly, some aspects of space are sacred (mosques, temples) or profane (offices, airports), and associated with certain taboos (El Guindi 2008a: 129-130). Understanding the concepts of space in a culture provides information about how people perceive the universe and things ordered in it, which can be regarded as worldview in other words (Pinxten 1983: 8-38). Anthropology studies culture and culture itself is a space, therefore, studying culture and its various dimensions is in other words studying space giving rise to an "isomorphism of space, place and culture" (Stoller 1996: 785). Following Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Kokot (2007: 10-13) looks at the notion of 'field' in anthropology as a tool for "othering" in the colonial context. Kokot argues an increasing number of studies on globalisation, diasporas, and migration in the post-modernist era negotiates the concept of culture as a singular space. Studying the people living on the borderlands or in transnational settings has thus become a critical issue pertaining to the definitions of space, culture, and field in anthropology.

2.4 Understanding Social Change: Theories and Perspectives

Change, as a process, is a series of alterations in an entity from one moment to another. This concept of change is, of course, too broad. In order to study the alterations in the social order of human societies and cultures, the terms of social and or culture change are used. In a simplified way, social change is the modification in "the combination of roles and statuses, and their distribution within a social system" (Mayer 1972: 28-45). This "combination of roles and statuses" in a system of social relationships is referred to as the social structure. Therefore, social scientists analyse variables such as social problems, structural phenomena, and tools of intervention in order to study social change in a society. Cultural change, on the other hand, refers to modifications in individual prescriptions for behaviour (Woods 1975: 76). Social change and cultural change are studied in the ways as if they were the same because the distinction between the two is not straightforward, and both are interrelated (ibid. xiii). Culture change requires social actors whereas social change is likely to have cultural counterparts (Moore 1968: 366). There are various theoretical approaches towards social change, which generate typologies of social change. These typologies may include sociocultural evolution, social revolution, growth, progress, and development. These theories can be divided into several categories such as revolutionary, evolutionary, interpretive, human rights movements, and so on. These theories explain social change as the outcome of adaptation, movements, inventions, and policy oriented actions "undertaken with change in mind", and study the phenomenon of social change in its demographic, cultural and social components (Weinstein 1997: 51-109). Most of the theories discuss specific circumstances in different cultures in response to any philosophical, political, religious, or sociological debates, which later becomes a basis for an analysis of social change in general. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explain all the theories and perspective about social change. However, I discuss some major theoretical perspectives because a brief overview of these theories here will be useful in order to understand some important concepts regarding social change.

A significant theoretical approach to explain change in society is that of revolutionary theories, sometimes referred to as conflict theories in sociology, which informed or inspired many anthropological analyses on social change. Following Kant, the Hegelian dialectical model explained change as an interrelationship between the opposing forces

(Fox 2005). [5] German philosopher Hegel presented civil society as in a dialectical relationship between the state and the family (Hegel 2001[1821]). Hegel's followers had different stances on this dialecticism. The major dialectical theory following Hegel was the Marxian dialectical materialism, linked with historical materialism, which influenced the broader debates in the social sciences on social change (cf. Heinen and Harris 1975; Llobera 1979). Karl Marx analysed French society in his time, in which he saw that the bourgeoisie (elite) class exploited the proletariat (labour) class (Marx and Engels 2008[1848]). Marxian dialectics explained that the base of society consisted of human work on nature to produce the necessities of life collectively by the "means of production" through the division of labour (Marx 1978[1867-1894]). These "relations of production" induce the concept of class in human society such as some people live from the labour of other people, based on property ownership. History thus, according to Marx, is a fundamental struggle between classes and "relations of production" are changed because of new "productive forces", resulting in transformation of society into a new "mode of production". Marx identified the main modes of production as a prehistoric stage of primitive communism or tribal society, ancient society or antiquity, feudalism, and capitalism. In the 1850s, Marx and Engels also discussed Asiatic mode of production, referring to a distinct form of social transformations between tribal society and antiquity, which can be regarded as civilisation (cf. Dunn 1982). They described the monopoly of state in Asiatic society over land ownership and irrigation system based on the view that villages in Asia are isolated communities. Although they stopped referring to this concept later, it generated many controversies among Marxists as well as non-Marxists. Many have questioned the interpretation of socioeconomic conditions in Indian and Chinese society as described by Marx and Engels (cf. Bailey and Llobera 1981; O'Leary 1989). Similarly, Wittfogel (1957), while presenting his concept of Oriental despotism, showed an uncomfortable similarity between Asiatic mode of production and Stalin's Russia.

In general, there are two major perspectives on Marxism to explain change in society: materialist and idealist (cf. Layton 1997; O'Laughlin 1975; Roseberry 1997). Cultural lag theory by Ogburn (1922), a materialist perspective, proposes that material culture such as technology changes more quickly than nonmaterial one such as values, norms, and ideologies. The technological change creates new opportunities, alters interaction among

[5] Heinrich Moritz Chalybäus presented the Hegelian model of thesis-antithesis-synthesis. Hegel referred these terms to Kant and presented a three-valued logical model, similar to the antithesis model, but used the terms abstract-negative-concrete (Fox 2005: 43).

people, and creates new problems. On the other hand, idealist perspectives focus on the ideational aspects of culture, such as values and beliefs, as the major factors in affecting social change. Max Weber's ideas influenced idealistic perspectives to much extent. Weber (1992[1930]) argued Protestant ethics sanctified work and worldly achievement, and encouraged capitalism as an unintended consequence. On the contrary, Catholicism encourages otherworldly asceticism where the highest form of activity was devotion to God and work is merely a mundane activity to keep one alive. Therefore, Weber argued faiths in China and India were not favourable to the development of capitalism. Similarly, Lewy (1974) argued that religion was a major factor behind the seventeenth century Puritan Revolt in England, Islamic renaissance in Sudan in the 1800s, and the Taiping & Boxer Rebellion in China.

Some social theorists explained social change as an evolutionary phenomenon spread over a longer time scale. Lewis Henry Morgan and Edward B. Tylor introduced the ideas of social evolution in American and British anthropology, respectively (Woods 1975). While biological evolution is the change in genetic characteristics of biological organisms over successive generations, social evolution can be regarded as the evolution of social systems and structures. The evolutionary explanations of social change have been based upon the Darwinian concept of biological evolution and Lyell's views about geological stratification. For Morgan (1907[1877]) and Tylor (1958[1871]), societies could be ranked on a single scale in terms of a hierarchy. In this scheme, people at the bottom of this hierarchy were less intelligent (savage) than those at the top (civilised). Consequently, evolutionists ranked Western people higher up the ladder than non-Western ones. These classical theories of social evolution also implied that all societies were moving in the same direction, and most savage societies would become similar to Western ones over time. Leslie White and other neo-evolutionists took a different stance that not every culture passed through the same unilinear stages in its development (Moore 1997). White (1949, 1959) proposed three subsystems, technological, sociological, and ideological in which technology was the prime mover for all other functions. Anthropologists like Franz Boas and others criticised highly these social evolutionary theories (Boas 1938[1911]; Lewis 2001). Until the 1920s, the majority of anthropologists had discredited such evolutionary theories, fully or partially. During the 1920s to the 1950s, functionalist approaches, such as those of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, held the view that societies and cultures were

stable in their own ways. This view implied that only outside factors could bring change in a culture (Malinowski 1945; Radcliffe-Brown 1952).

Two major paradigms, diffusionism and cultural relativism, emerged in the American anthropological tradition to explain change in society, largely as an outcome of discussions over the transmission of cultural traits between Europeans and the indigenous tribes of America (Koppers 1955). Boas (1938[1911]) used the concepts of diffusion and modification while explaining culture. According to him, the cultural inventory of a community was the cumulative result of the diffusion of cultural traits, and that a culture while having its indigenous traits consisted of many foreign ones after modifying them into its own context. Kroeber (1940) later explained and popularised the concept of diffusion. There are various approaches and theories within diffusionism. For example, a heliocentric view describes the transmission of cultural traits to all cultures from one cultural centre (usually Egypt), while another view about cultural circles explains the origin of all cultures from a limited number of cultural centres (Harris 1968: 379-83). According to another view, the process of diffusion is contingent as well as arbitrary (Winthrop 1991: 83-84). Two other theories, "independent invention" and "historicism", emerged in response to diffusionism. According to these theories, preindustrial cultures had minimal contact between them but all human beings were equally innovative and capable of developing the tools and skills that they needed (Hugill 1996: 343). Diffusionism also paved the way for cultural relativism as the views about borrowing of traits from one culture to other implied that the reason behind change in society was not people's level of intelligence in one culture but the geographic closeness of different cultures (Spiro 1986).

Kroeber (1948) linked diffusion with acculturation, and explained that the former describes only the transmission of elements of culture whereas the latter is a process that occurs with culture as a whole. The process of acculturation results in an increased resemblance of two independent cultures encountering each other. It also suggests that the dominant (donor) culture influences the recipient one. Acculturation may be socially structured, such as in wars, planned or achieved through some other ways, such as media and policy. Another related concept is assimilation, which refers to the modification in behaviour and values of one culture in a way that it assimilates into a different culture (Ferraro and Andreatta 2010: 305; Gordon 1964). As an opposition to diffusionism, Steward (1929) explained cultural change with respect to the progressive adaptation of a culture to its environment.

According to this cultural ecological view, the course of change in a society over time can be predicted, in principle, based on society's response towards certain environmental conditions because the subsistence base of society depends upon its environment. This implies that people show a similar response towards similar environmental conditions. Frake (1962) opposed this view by arguing the environment was in fact culturally mediated. According to him, people experience the world through cultural systems of thought and different people's respond to environmental conditions in a different way.

In Europe, the concept of "modernity" is associated with the Renaissance, which questioned the foundation of past knowledge (Bouwsma 1979; Habermas and Ben-Habib 1981). The discussion on "modernity" also involves a historical reference to the Enlightenment and "progress" in the European context. Modernity has generally been considered as a progressive merger of political and economic rationality with scientific objectivity (Boyne and Rattansi 1990: 5). The concept of modernity is rooted in the emergence of capitalism as an inevitable and global form of unilinear evolution (Blim 2000; Lushaba 2006). During the European colonial period, Western powers imposed their ideas on the colonies. Therefore, "modernisation" can be seen as a process of socioeconomic development as well as change in belief systems turning non-industrialised non-Western societies into something similar to the industrialised world. Theories of modernisation involve dichotomies of "traditional" vs. "modern" and "developed" vs. "underdeveloped" (cf. Haferkamp and Smelser 1992). This implies that post-colonial nations are perceived as "behind" in developmental process in relation to the developed world (Gupta 1998: 104). A related term, Westernisation, is used to indicate the process of modernisation as inducing Western ideas into the non-Western world.

In the South Asian context, the process of Westernisation is generally described as the gradual cultural, political, and economic influence of the British colonisation, roughly from the seventeenth century until the end of the British Raj. Indians started to adopt British values, the English language, and Western clothing as a consequence of Westernisation. Turning into a Westernised individual was thus a way of striving to achieve a higher status in society. Similarly, modern education, legal and political systems are a continuity from the British Raj as a colonial legacy. Some Indian social and political scientists view Westernisation as similar to Sanskritisation (cf. Charsley 1998; Nanjunda 2010; Shah 2010; Srinivas 1956). Sanskritisation was a localised process in some places in India. It

denotes the upward mobility of the lower caste people within the Hindu caste hierarchy to achieve a better status by emulating the rituals of the upper castes (Jaffrelot 2005).

After the Second World War, colonies in Asia, Africa, the Pacific, and the Caribbean became independent nations. This raised a concern for the West as to how the modernisation process would occur in these former colonies. Escobar (1991, 1994) argues the creation of the Third World is the result of a post-colonial discourse on development. This turned peasants, women, and nature into objects of knowledge and targets of power by the practitioners of development. Escobar and many other social scientists consider the practice of development in the form of international aid agencies and corporate economic reforms as a form of "neo-colonialism" (Kothari and Minogue 2001). Neo-colonialism is the geopolitical practice of controlling a country by capitalism, commercial globalisation, and cultural imperialism without any direct or indirect military or political control (Sartre 2001[1964]). In most developing countries, small cities are expanding because of population growth, industrialisation, and other demographic features. Urbanisation results in land being commoditised and taken out of agricultural use but advancement in technology helps to increase the agricultural production. Therefore, villages are disappearing being merged into nearby cities or amalgamating into towns. Many anthropological studies (cf. Campbell 2010; Satterthwaite 2009) have shown that changes in land use from agricultural to industrial and urban have been a contributory factor in climate change and subsequent losses in indigenous knowledge relating to nature and environment.

In the early 1970s, a shift from analysing the micro-level change to the larger economic and political developments of the world took place. This view is referred to as world-systems analysis, mainly developed by Immanuel Wallerstein (cf. Wallerstein 1974). The mainstream-periphery and dependency theories, which assert that the dominant First World is extracting resources from the Third World, also influence world-systems analysis (Etzioni 1981). World-systems analysis divides the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries. Core countries influence or dominate the rest of the world because of their higher skilled and capital-intensive production. At the heart of world-systems theory is the idea that all the countries in the world influence each other in various ways. This perspective provides the ground for globalisation theories. One of the major differences between the theories of world-systems and globalisation is that the former primarily

assumes the dominant role of state and interactions at the nation-state level whereas the latter also encompasses other social and cultural factors (Forte 1998; Robinson 2011). Theories about globalisation discuss how different cultures are coming closer to each other because of the improved conditions of transportation, communication, trade, the media, and other economic and political factors (Inda and Rosaldo 2008; Mittelman 2000). It is argued that the diffusion of ideas and commodities is standardising cultural expression around the world, a feature known as cultural globalisation (Hopper 2007).

It has been argued that societies have always been in contact with each other through various means but the contemporary focus of the globalisation actors is actually due to the corporate interests of the capitalist economies (cf. Germain 1999; Nash 2001; Stiglitz 2003). The reasons behind varied responses to globalisation or any other forms of social change can be explained relatively easier and clearer by recognising the fact that social change involves risk-taking and freedom from customary obligations (Keesing 1981: 443). Mathur (1989: 75) argues "traditional" societies are more sensitive to the changes that alter the "ordered" system of existing social relationships. These societies consider social change as a threat to their existence, fearing that it will alter the social order that provides security for individuals to survive. On the other hand, according to Niehoff (1967: 76), people adapt to social change if they find some benefits in doing so, otherwise they resist at least until they become aware of the advantages of new changes. It is, indeed, difficult to assess how much a society has an "awareness of alternatives to established ideologies" (Eickelman 1977: 39-41).

It is equally important to look at the nature, causes, and mechanism of social change. Ihsan (1992: 18) categorised three dimensions of change, which are routine change, regression or negative change, and progress or positive change. The first category indicates the changes that are inevitable, for instance, population growth. The second one highlights any abrupt change in society that may shatter its social structure undesirably. It includes wars or changes that are result of any crime or chaos in society. The third category includes the changes in society that result in increasing the chances of survival for individuals. It includes, depending upon various perspectives, economic growth, better health facilities, and quality of life. For instance, from an economist's perspective, technological change can be positive because people lose their traditional skills and knowledge but their capital and marketable skills help them to earn more (Plattner 1990). It also increases productivity

in industry (Strassmann 1998: 266). However, these are not the only effects of technological change. Technology modifies people's lifestyles, and a comparison of lifestyle over generations can clearly explain this change (Stoneman 1983). This makes a case for anthropology to contribute to studies on globalisation.

2.5 Social Change: Temporal-Spatial Perspectives

Giddens (1984) used the phrase "time-space distanciation" while explaining that social life consists of face-to-face and remote interactions. Previously distinctive social systems are more connected and interdependent now due to the increase in remote interactions. Similarly, David Harvey coined the term "time-space compression" to indicate "...processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter" (Harvey 1990: 240). The terms "time-space distanciation" and "time-space compressions" signal the process of globalisation through which different cultures are coming closer to one another (Inda and Rosaldo 2008). McLuhan's (1964) concept of the "Global Village", which denotes the flow of information particularly through virtual means of communication, also supports the view of increasing closeness between the world cultures. Many studies on globalisation suggest that communication and transport are the major factors bringing the world cultures together. Economic cooperation, international political alliances, and multi-national companies are also the integral aspects of globalisation (Day and Masciulli 2007). All these aspects of globalisation or any other phenomena of a broader-level change do not merely influence macro-level economics and regional or world politics but also almost every aspect of the world cultures through the internet, radio, and television. "Time-space compression" or "time-space distanciation" is not only applicable to extremely distinct and remote cultures. It is equally applicable to cultures existing relatively closer to each other. For instance, the phenomenon of urbanisation is also a "time-space compression" in many countries where villages are now connected with big cities through efficient transport, the internet, telephone and other means.

In this way, "time-space compression" highlights the fact that both time and space provide a ground for social change to take place. However, social change is linked with time and space in many other respects as well. Humans perceive time through changes in their bodies, 'alterations' of seasons, movements of the sun and moon. Geertz (1966: 360-411) presented that whenever there will be a change in the experience of time, it will alter the

greater part of culture. Errington (1974: 264-265) analysed social order in Karavaran as highly desirable, and people achieved social order during their rituals. Errington argued that a cargo movement contains symbols of social change to "becoming like Europeans". Therefore, the cargo movement is "an effort to instantaneously acquire a European level of social order" through the way local people perform their traditional rituals. In many studies anthropologists found that new authority patterns, formed as a consequence of social change, mediate new forms of the social organisation of time (cf. Burman 1981; French 1982; Gingrich et al. 2002). Time and change are intertwined with each other; therefore, Barth (1967: 662) suggested studying social change by analysing people's time allocation for different activities. People allocate different amounts of time to different activities based on their preferences, needs, and beliefs. Information about the difference in the amounts of time allocated for different activities between different social groups helps to analyse the direction of social change. For instance, Ember (1983) noted that intensification in agriculture increased along with technological change for yielding additional production. Technological advances result in a reduced need for human input, therefore, women who were previously engaged in agricultural activities then allocated more time to their household activities.

Space and social change also weave a very robust nexus. Just like Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) concept of "habitus", which explains individual and collective practices. "Habitus" is not "static". On the contrary, it involves change through reviewing, selecting, and transforming the previous elements of social life with the new ones. I mentioned earlier that culture is a space where events and values occur (Kokot 2007: 12-13). In order to study social change, anthropology compares one culture with other in either a historical sense or a dialogue between cultures and sub-cultures, and so on (Gupta and Fergusan 1992: 7). In other words, studying social change is in fact analysing and comparing any modifications in space over time. Physical infrastructure, or in other words tangible space, provides evidence of social change at a very concrete and observable level. For instance, the natural landscape is being transformed into a built-environment because of urbanisation. Alternatively, change in tangible space will alter social structure and human relations. Pader (1993: 132) showed that domestic space provides a basis for developing perceptions and interactions; therefore, change in the ways of using domestic space will transform social interactions along with changing life style. The use of place can be changed over time resulting in a transformation of one social space into another one. For instance, the demographic situation of a city over

years would re-shape its physical layout because of change in its population size and availability of modern facilities. Similarly, the human body is a space, which is subject to biological changes. There is a great deal of anthropological literature on rites of passage, which mark changes in human body from birth through adolescence, puberty and old age till death (cf. Gingrich 1994; Magida 2006; Palmer 1993). Anthropologists study these changes and rites of passage within the framework of time and ritual, which itself express the notions of change in human body and social relationships.

2.6 Conclusion

I have discussed how anthropology studies time and space as basic elements of social organisation and what the major issues have been in these analyses. Every culture has particular ways of perceiving, measuring, and managing time and space. There have been some theoretical and methodological constraints in order to develop anthropological models of time and space. Although many anthropological analyses suggest studying time and spacing in relation to each other, there is no specific way of studying their interrelationship in cultural context. I have argued that culture perceives time and space through change. Change is thus a central theme to the nature of these two concepts. Therefore, it is worthwhile studying time and space through the framework of social change by analysing what change has been taken place in the social organisation of time and space. On the one hand, it will help to understand the interrelationship of time and space because studying these concepts in isolation from each other will not be conceptually and methodological viable. On the other hand, such an analysis of time, space, and social change will provide understanding about the nature, mechanism, and direction of change. Further, change in the cultural models of time and space will have an impact on overall social organisation.

In chapter three, I will explain the research methods that I used for this ethnographic study. I will particularly discuss the methods that have been useful in overcoming some of the issues with documentation and analysis of the information about the cultural perception and management of time and space. In the subsequent chapters, I will explain the social organisation of time and space through ethnographic evidence from rural Pakistan. I will argue that cultural models of time and space define and regulate other elements of social organisation; hence, change in these models is indicative of social change. Therefore, by analysing change in the social organisation of time and space, we can develop

anthropological understanding about the factors, processes, and mechanism of social change in efficient ways. I will also explain the dynamics of social change in Pakistan in general and in Jhokwala Village in particular.

3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

There is a difference between ideal descriptions of research methods given in the textbooks of research methodology (cf. Bernard et al. 1986; Kumar 1999; O'Reily 2008) and their application in real settings and circumstances (cf. Viladrich 2007; Winchatz 2010). Anthropological research has some flexibility in opting to use various research methods in order to produce the valid type and quantity of data. There is no fixed set of methods and inflexible way of using these methods in the field. There are, however, certain prescribed and validated methods, which a researcher must use to collect reliable and 'understandable' information (Bernard 2011; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). These research methods are the accumulated result of diversified and extensive fieldwork experiences of anthropologists over several decades. Anthropologists develop and adapt to these methods through the research conducted within the disciplinary framework or by an interdisciplinary crossover. Different disciplines in the social sciences have different questions when studying a society and every discipline follows particular approaches in theory and practice. This should not lead one to assume that the methods used in one discipline are too distinctive that they are not usable in other disciplines. On the contrary, researchers take inspirations from disciplines other than their own and benefit from the experience and learning in various fields because "methods belong to all of us" (Bernard 2011: 1-2).

In this chapter, I describe the research methods that I used during the ten-month long fieldwork through 2010 in Jhokwala Village and some other areas in Lodhran District, Pakistan. There are various ways of conducting anthropological research depending upon the goals and objectives of the study, theoretical orientations, and practicalities in the field. I used the methods and approaches that I found appropriate for researching in the rural context of Pakistan to document social change, cultural norms, and the social organisation of time and space. I used conventional methods such as participant observation and interviews along with some innovation in these methods by either using multiple methods in combination or experimenting with various techniques. Some of these methods related

to particular themes or questions of this study. For instance, time allocation surveys and spot checks helped understanding people's management of time in the same way as photo-elicitation and mapping helped in studying their association with various places.

Conducting fieldwork in the researcher's own culture or country raises some questions in anthropology. Anthropologists usually refer to such a study as "anthropology at home" (Peirano 1998). Since people's experience of social as well as geographic conditions is very subjective that demands an extensive engagement of the researcher with the community (Sigaud 2008), such an engagement gives rise to some concerns over the researcher's conduct and bias. Therefore, I reflect upon my "positionality" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 38) in relation to the community before describing the research methods that were used during the fieldwork. After discussing the methods, I will discuss some ethical considerations related to gender and security issues regarding this research. Another important aspect of this research was working with children and using imagework and photo-elicitation interviews with them. Working as an adult researcher with children raises some ethical and methodological issues. I will also discuss this aspect of my fieldwork.

3.2 Anthropology at Home

"Anthropology at home" is not as easy a concept to define as it seems from its name. Anthropologists generally refer to this term as studying one's own culture, usually by conducting fieldwork in one's own country (Morton 1999; Munthali 2001; Peirano 1998). Ever since the initial anthropological studies in the second half of the nineteenth century (Jackson 1987: 2), many critics associate anthropology with colonialism, the expansion of Western influences in the non-Western world, and the ways through which the West controls the non-Western World (Lewis 1973: 582). This is chiefly because European and American researchers always lead the discipline by conducting fieldwork in the so-called "remote" and "exotic" cultures (Hayano 1979: 99-104). Conducting ethnographic fieldwork within Western countries themselves started soon after the Second World War and gained popularity from the 1960s onwards. This trend of studying one's 'own' culture in the West had economic and political reasons including the decrease in research funding and lesser availability of jobs at the universities (Fahim and Hermer 1980; Jackson 1987). This does not mean that Western anthropologists quit studying non-Western cultures at all. In fact, they continued studying "others" often in their respective former colonies for some political and historical reasons. British former colonies, which had joined the

Commonwealth, became a preferred destination for many British anthropologists. In North America and Australia, nonetheless, this trend has different dimensions as the "others" had been living 'at home' in the form of Amerindians or Aboriginals with their "exotic" cultures, though they also study elsewhere, especially in South East Asia. Anthropology at home includes discussions ranging from the definition of "home" as a territorial classification like a country or a region to legal and political categories such as the citizenship and identity of anthropologists and the communities they work in.

In Britain, the need to study one's own culture and society was felt as early as before the Second World War. The Mass Observation project in the 1930s is one of the early examples in which anthropologists and journalists called upon the social investigation of everyday life in Britain (Hubble 2006). There is also a great deal of anthropological literature from the 1950s and 1960s studying British culture at home (cf. Emmett 1964; Firth 1956; Frankenberg 1957). British anthropologists are increasingly conducting their researches within Britain because of some financial issues and choices made by the funding bodies, which in turn influence their research policies. Another interesting aspect of doing research at home is studying Asian and African diasporas in the United Kingdom. To categorise such studies is complicated, as Hutnyk (2005) noted, and can be variously and or simultaneously termed as "anthropology at home", "homeless anthropology", or "anthropology of others". Another reason is the increased academic and political interest of big donors, like the European Union, to carry out research within Europe. This has led to a decreased interest and opportunities for European researchers in carrying out researches in non-Western countries. The perceived and real threats to security in various parts of the world, Western and non-Western, have given rise to concerns over conducting fieldwork abroad. The safety risk for Western researchers in travelling and living in small villages of non-Western countries is 'perceived' to be even higher today after increased security threats and wars. In the post 9/11 scenario, security threats have further intensified. Therefore, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) advises against travelling to many countries including Pakistan, at least to some parts of the country (FCO 2012). British universities are bound to conform to these policies in order to allow researchers to carry out research overseas. These 'unfavourable' circumstances are leading towards a decline in the interest of studying "others". Alternatively, these conditions encourage British researchers to study their own culture at home. Another possibility for anthropologists is to use only secondary information, particularly as Werbner (2010b)

proposes, to rely on the journalistic information about the places, where conducting fieldwork appears to be risky in the post 9/11 scenario. This might suit an 'arm-chair' analysis of social realities to some extent, but will undermine the strength of anthropology, which lies in the analysis of social conditions within cultural context by using the tools like participant observation and engagement with the community.

On the other side of the picture, anthropology is gaining popularity as a discipline in non-Western countries. Western countries fund various developmental projects, for example, through the agencies like DFID and USAID, which seek to involve local researchers in their projects because it is not feasible for Western researchers to work for these short-term and low paid projects in the security risk areas. Sustainability of such projects is contingent upon participation of local researchers and communities. The popularity of these participatory approaches has helped flourishing applied anthropology by encouraging it as a profession in non-Western countries. The doctoral students from non-Western countries studying anthropology in Western countries carry out their research projects in their home countries or their respective diasporas in 'host countries', and this trend can easily be noticed by visiting any postgraduate conference in the West. (cf. Handley et al. 2012; Mughal 2012a). Many universities in non-Western countries have established anthropology departments and research institutes. The anthropology students after being trained at Western universities return to their home countries because of either fewer job opportunities in Western countries or contractual agreement with their 'home' universities. Consequently, there is an increase in the number of local anthropologists working in these countries.

Anthropologists, especially those from Britain, have been carrying out research in South Asia since the colonial era, studying social organisation, caste, religion, and political organisation (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1922; Hutton 1946). Britain's interest in the Commonwealth nations always made South Asia a favourite destination for British anthropologists to carry out their research in the region. Pakistan is an important country in the Commonwealth as well as in the Muslim World from a geopolitical perspective, not merely limited to the cold war era and the on-going war on terrorism. The state of affairs regarding anthropology and the number of Western anthropologists travelling to Pakistan is not highly different from the aforementioned scenario regarding non-Western countries in general. However, because of the so-called "war on terrorism" and the stereotyping of

Pakistan in the Western media (cf. Bousfield and Catrin 2013; CIL 2009; Oborne 2012), the number of Western anthropologists doing fieldwork in Pakistan is continuously decreasing. Recently, the emphasis by Pakistani government on higher education has encouraged Pakistani anthropologists and students to carry out fieldwork in the country in order to fill the gap of the full or partial absence of Western anthropologists researching Pakistan through fieldwork. This is not my first research in and about Pakistan. In 2005, I conducted fieldwork for my MSc dissertation in a small village in Dera Ghazi Khan, for a few months (Mughal 2006). My research experience at the professional level helped me familiarising myself with the regional cultures and local issues across many areas in Pakistan.[6] I used the learning from these experiences during my fieldwork for this PhD project, which was carried out in 2010.

Although I am a native to the Punjab Province, I had never visited Lodhran prior to this fieldwork. I selected this city for several reasons. Firstly, I wanted to work in the Punjab to save the time that could be otherwise required for learning a new regional language. I had no problem in communicating with people in Lodhran, as I am fluent in the Urdu, Saraiki, and Punjabi languages. Secondly, I wanted to work in an area new to me so that I could explore its culture as an 'outsider' and might not ignore some of the usual things that a regular visitor or native might otherwise overlook. Thirdly, there is a good deal of anthropological literature available on the Punjab in general but fewer studies have been carried out in the southern part. Fourthly, Lodhran is not a well-known town and has been relatively safe from terrorism, and ethnic and sectarian violence compared to some other cities in the Punjab. Another very important and more practical reason was that my father has personal contacts in Lodhran as he has been working there at the Punjab Agriculture Department. When I discussed my plans to carry out fieldwork in a village, he suggested Lodhran as a field site because he thought his personal contacts could be useful in this regard. I told Muhammad Akram, one of my father's colleague and friend by telephone before visiting Lodhran the purpose of my research. My preference was any rural area close to the city with an increasing literacy rate, urbanisation, and economic development alongside its indigenous patterns of rural life. After discussing with his friends living in various villages in Lodhran, Akram suggested Sumra Union Council as a field site for my research. Working in this Union Council was also feasible because there I could get

[6] After receiving MSc, I worked at the World Bank, Islamabad and Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund where I had an opportunity of traveling across Pakistan, particularly in the Punjab and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa provinces, for conducting research and monitoring the projects.

accommodation and some initial contacts along with other requirements about the area suitable for my research. I was impressed with hospitality of the people upon my arrival. I have been visiting many villages and urbanising towns in the Punjab for many years and can now easily distinguish between the villages remote from big cities with respect to their infrastructure, technological facilities available for agriculture, and the availability of other modern day amenities. I finally decided to work in this area and to stay with Zafar Chaudhry, a staff member at the Agriculture Field Office, who was very well familiar with the area and the community. With the help of Zafar Chaudhry and his colleagues, I met with many people in villages, government offices, markets, hospital and health clinics, and schools situated in the Union Council.

A Union Council in Pakistan has a considerably large area to work in for an ethnographic project. A rural Union Council normally comprises of more than one *mauzas* (Revenue Villages) having several spatially distinct *wastis* or *bastis* (settlements). Therefore, I selected Jhokwala, which was located closer to my accommodation. The village is spread over approximately one mile square kilometre with about one hundred and fifty households. I found some very useful contacts in the village, particularly Rao Tahir and later Sajjad Faridi. There are some important considerations from methodological point of view behind selecting Jhokwala for this study. Jhokwala is a medium sized settlement in terms of its area and population when compared with other settlements in the Union Council. The village is accessible via road, and is located beside the junction of national highways connecting various parts of the country. It is a secure and 'peaceful' village with fewer or no feuds at all, which are frequent in some rural areas in the Punjab. It has an increasing education rate having at least four schools within Jhokwala or in its closer proximity. The two major ethnic groups, Saraiki speaking *locals* and Urdu speaking *muhajirs* (migrants) living in two separate settlements, demarcated by a road, make this village more interesting for an anthropological research on social change.[7]

I was simultaneously 'outsider' as well as 'insider' in the field. I was an 'insider' because I belong to Pakistan and come from the Punjab Province, to be precise, from the same part of the Punjab in which Lodhran is located. Nevertheless, issues regarding the identity and affiliation of an anthropologist do not conclude here. Multi-faceted notions of identities in

[7] After Partition in 1947, the people who migrated from India to Pakistan are known as *muhajirs*. In order to distinguish between the migrants and those already living here, the term *muhajir* is used for the former whereas *locals* is used for the latter. Both the groups use these terms for each other.

terms of gender, age, social and economic statuses, appearance, and language take this discussion further. There are many layers and strings attached to these notions. I do not have affiliation with any political party in Pakistan. Therefore, I have been neutral during the discussions on politics. This strategy helped me making good friends without any controversial stances over the issues, which might be sensitive for them. Being fluent in the native languages and aware of the social values of 'how to behave' in particular situations helped me finding a quicker and better way for "settling in" after entering the field (Bernard 2011: 156). It also helped collecting valid, reliable, and 'inside' information.

Rural Pakistanis are welcoming and friendly. I always respected the local norms, for instance, paying respect to elders, even if they were strangers, with a humble attitude, and not talking to women in the public spaces. I mostly wore Pakistani *shalwar qameez* (traditional long shirt with loose trouser) but also wore jeans and t-shirts at times, which are trendy among youth and have considerable social acceptability in rural areas. I developed friendships with young people and children, sometimes by taking photographs and making videos of them in sports activities. It was not possible to conduct interviews with women, with a few exceptions. On the other hand, I was an 'outsider' in the field because Lodhran is not my hometown. I was new to local people and they, too, were new to me as I had never been to this district prior to this fieldwork. In this way, where country and province related me with Lodhran as an 'insider', I was an 'outsider' for the city. Studying in the UK is looked as a prestigious status in Pakistan. I was well received by officials or businesspersons in Lodhran City, particularly if they knew that I was studying in the UK. They all met me with generous hospitality. In the village, the local residents easily notice anyone new to their area, no matter whether they are a Pakistani or a foreigner, especially if someone is visiting 'inside' the settlements and meeting with people in public places in an interview-like situation. Doing research in a Third World country has some issues with respect to resources available for doing fieldwork and access to various segments of the society given the cultural and political reasons (Bulmer and Warwick 1993); therefore, the fieldwork was challenging in the context of my own positionality as well.

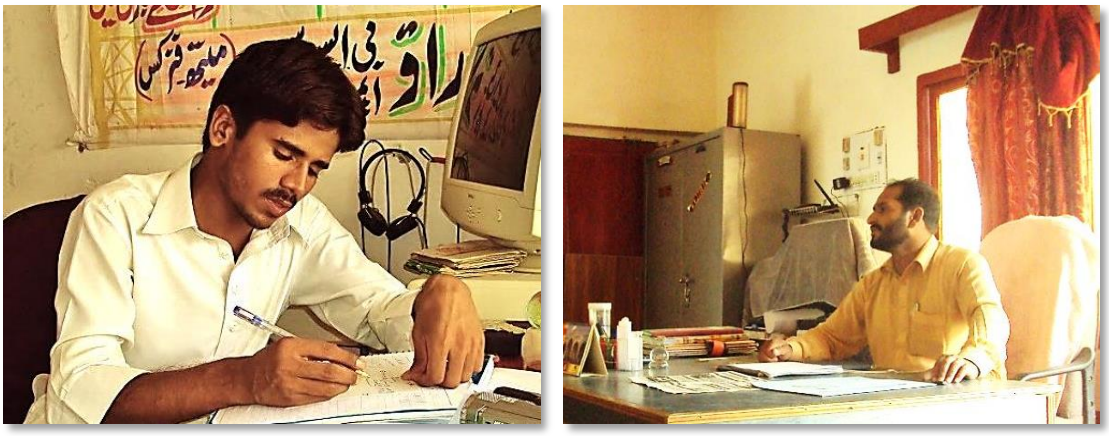
3.3 Methods

Ethnographic research provides an in-depth and qualitative insight into human behaviour by using valid and reliable methods of data collection. A single PhD project is not sufficient to study the process of sociocultural change spread over decades or even centuries due to some temporal and budgetary constraints. However, a cross-sectional analysis of variations in the cultural patterns at a given point in time can help to understand the process of change (Woods 1975: 55). Following this approach, I used various methods for collecting the information about the physical layout, socio-economic conditions, and meanings, and management of time and space as well as factors and elements associated with social change. I will now briefly discuss these methods and their relevance to this study.

3.3.1 Rapport Building and Observations

Developing rapport in a new community is the first challenge for an anthropologist. It requires patience and being respectful to the local norms and values. I used my native language skills and prior knowledge of the local culture to acquaint myself with local people. I explained the purpose and focus of my research to the staff members of the Agriculture Office and to my initial contacts in the community. Farmers used to visit the Agriculture Field Office to seek advice for their crops. This provided me with an opportunity to familiarise myself with farmers. Zafar Chaudhry introduced me to some local residents, shopkeepers in the local market, and officials of the Union Council, hospital, and health clinics, setting a way forward for my research. Staff at the Agriculture Department and Union Council offices helped me socialising with people from different villages in the area. I explained my research to all the people I met in the initial days of my fieldwork and told them that I wanted to study the culture, history, and economy of the area. I remained in touch with some of them throughout my research as they helped me developing further contacts. Rao Tahir, Muhammad Athar, and Sajjad Ahmed became my good friends. Tahir and Sajjad are the principals of Al-Akbar Public School, Jhokwala and Al-Faisal Model School at Adda Parmat, respectively. Athar is an employee at the local hospital and lives in a village near to Jhokwala. They helped me developing more contacts and building rapport. The Agriculture Field Office, schools, the *numberdaar*'s *dera*, the Murshid's *dera*, and the Adda Parmat market were among the places from where I developed contacts with more people over time.

Picture 3.1: Rao Tahir (left) and Sajjad Ahmed (right)



Within a couple of month of entering the field, people started recognising me because I was easily noticeable while interviewing and visiting various places like mosques, the cemetery, schools, offices, and the Adda Parmat market. When I approached them to ask for an interview or to have some informal discussions, they normally agreed. This had a snowball effect and I met more people through these initial contacts. I found elderly people and children particularly enthusiastic about interviews and photography. Whenever I asked children about someone's address in the village, they walked with me in a group to the address. After developing rapport in the community, it became easier for me to engage with people in their activities. They invited me to their events, be it a cricket match or harvesting the crop, which they deemed necessary I should have documented as part of their culture. Participant observation, the most significant feature of anthropological research, of routine activities, has been helpful in understanding how people form and maintain social relations (Holy 1984: 13-34). I participated in mundane activities and special events whenever it was possible and whenever the community allowed me. Participant Observation provided me with a native insight into how people create, experience and utilise time and space in their lives.

3.3.2 Jottings and Fieldnotes

During the fieldwork, anthropologists are "more or less *contemporaneously* with the events, experience, and interactions they describe or recount" (Emerson et al. 2001: 353). They rely on the jottings and fieldnotes to record the data in order to use it later while writing down the research. Anthropologists take a variety of jottings, depending upon the situation, and a piece of information comes out of the discussion or through observation that might

be useful for the research. It is, nonetheless, difficult to take jottings or write fieldnotes during the flow of conversation. On the one hand, how, when, and what to jot is a critical decision to make. On the other hand, being engaged with the community at a ceremony or accompanying someone during the mundane activities provides an opportunity for participation more than just observation. I jotted on paper and sometimes used my digital recorder to record the observations or important local terms in my own voice in order to save time and to avoid the difficulty of writing down when it was not feasible, like while walking. Some people were reluctant to talk when they saw a notepad in my hand whereas others felt privileged when they knew that the information they were providing was so valuable to me. Initially, I used my personal judgement on when to take jottings in front of people. After knowing people's attitudes in a better way, I adopted the strategy that suited them in particular. At times, I let myself go along the flow of participation and relied upon my memory, which is sometimes termed as "headnotes" by anthropologists (Ottenberg 1990: 144), to recall while writing the fieldnotes if jotting down was not instantly possible.

Fieldnotes, in contrast to jottings, are a more formal and mature record of information and observation. Many anthropologists prefer writing fieldnotes by the end of any fieldwork activity or after a day or even a week. This is what I chose to do. I wrote down fieldnotes by the end of a day or the start of the next day, temporarily detaching myself each day from "cultural immersion" (Bernard 1998: 137). The fieldnotes were not highly systematic as I anticipated prior to my fieldwork but they were neat and organised enough to use them for analysis afterwards. I arranged them thematically, whenever and wherever possible, mainly into history, geography, calendars, places, agriculture, and economic information. I wrote down the case studies separately. Some of these were developed along the course of the data collection.

3.3.3 Interviews and Discussions

A "person-to-person interaction" in the form of an interview with "a specific purpose in mind" is the most commonly used technique for data collection in social research (Kumar 1999: 109). I conducted about sixty semi-structured individual interviews after drawing an appropriate sample from the socioeconomic survey and through snowball sampling. Five focus group discussions provided valuable and reliable information that I also used to crosscheck the already collected information. Since this study did not involve any sensitive topics such as conflicts, sexuality, and drugs, I could collect detailed and authentic

information through open-ended group discussions and interviews. I discussed in these interviews the topics such as routine activities of people, their time allocation for various activities, issues regarding social development, modification in the time measurement methods over time, significant places, affiliation with various places, and social and physical boundaries.

Picture 3.2: An Interview with Khuda Bukhsh

I conducted group interviews with people from different age groups and occupations to see how people from different social and economic groups had different understandings and attitudes towards time and place. I used a digital recorder during the interviews as these conversations included indigenous terms, names, phrases and stories. This flow of conversation was helpful in analysing the meanings and etymology of these terms in the cultural context, for instance, how people mark different life stages without measuring age in exact years or any other units. Some minor details may have otherwise been missed, which is either difficult to remember with accuracy or note down on the spot if I were not using the digital recorder.

3.3.4 Case Studies and Oral Traditions

Collecting the case studies of certain events and life histories helped in many ways. Participating in various ceremonies, cultivation, harvesting, and social get-togethers was useful in terms of studying people's time trends and spatial organisation, by analysing frequency of such events, and the timings and places of these events. Data on these case studies comes from participant observation, interviews, and informal discussion.

Myths, oral traditions, and folklore are important sources of information about the perception of time and many anthropologists have used these tools to study time (cf. Errington 1974; Harwood 1976; Ohnuki-Tierney 1969). Studying the experiences of one generation passed on to the next generation through oral stories gives an insight into the social and moral world of the past. These social realities of the past were compared with contemporary conditions to see what changes had taken place in these trends with the passage of time (Bertaux and Thompson 2005; McComb 2008). These oral traditions contain information about time measurement, memories of certain events, and stories about different places. I collected the oral traditions in the form of phrases and myths about different times and places, and analysed them to ascertain the concepts of time and space embedded in these oral traditions within the cultural context.

3.3.5 Imagework

Transmitting social values to the next generation starts as early as a time when child is not even able to describe those concepts verbally (Lyon 2005: 923). Therefore, asking participants to recall their childhood memories provides information about how people develop their perspectives on time, landscape, economic patterns, and social values. I collected people's memories of various events and places. Memories are not as simple and clear as they are normally described through narratives because they can be vague and blurred. Therefore, I used image-work in order to understand what people were referring to while describing their memories. To understand the construction of space in the memories of people, I used a "memory imagework" technique (Edgar 2004: 97-100). I asked people to recall the times of different stages of their lives and the various places they had been living in or had ever visited. I asked them to draw sketches of the places they could recall. People drew sketches of the places on either paper or the ground, whichever was feasible for them. I compared some of these sketches with the current layout of the village to see what changes had taken place with the passage of time and how these places looked like in

the past. These exercises helped analysing the varying importance of these places with the changing socioeconomic conditions as well as the cultural meanings associated in the construction of spaces. I also asked people to draw sketches of their ideal places, for instance an ideal house. I used these sketches to analyse people's aspirations and futuristic visions.

3.3.6 Spot Checks

A spot check is "snapshot-like recording of behaviour" to measure the time allocated by people for different activities (Gross 1984: 539). Many time allocation studies solely rely on such quantitative data. I used spot checks by directly observing people at their engagements without taking part in their activities in order to record the time they allocated for different activities. I carried out this exercise with people from different age and socioeconomic groups. These spot checks were often pre-informed but I also paid unannounced random visits to people. I used a stopwatch for counting time in minutes and hours in order to record the temporal rhythms of the community's life. The timing of observations depended upon season. It was normally between six am to nine pm in summer and between eight am to six pm in winter. I did not make these visits every day and these were generally brief, as people were sensitive about the presence of a researcher and instead of doing their regular activities, they often started talking to me, particularly in the initial days of carrying out this exercise. However, people did not pay any heed to me when they were busy working in the market or at shops.

Spot checks are useful to calculate the accurate estimates of time expenditure (Johnson 1996). Anthropologists have described the quantified time estimates in their studies based on a particular period, ranging from a few days, weeks, or months during the entire extended fieldwork by using spot checks and random visits. The ethnographic information, on the other hand, is an account of different activities at least over a year across different seasons. Therefore, direct observation is too exhaustive in the sense that it takes a longer period to study time allocation in a community. However, this PhD thesis is not focused only on time allocation; therefore, I also used the data obtained through these spot checks to authenticate the information obtained through surveys and interviews regarding time management. I carried out these spot checks on different days of different months, sometimes systematically and sometimes just randomly. I recorded most activities, of men

and women, outside the household boundaries by taking into account the concerns regarding privacy and gender segregation.

3.3.7 Surveys and Questionnaires

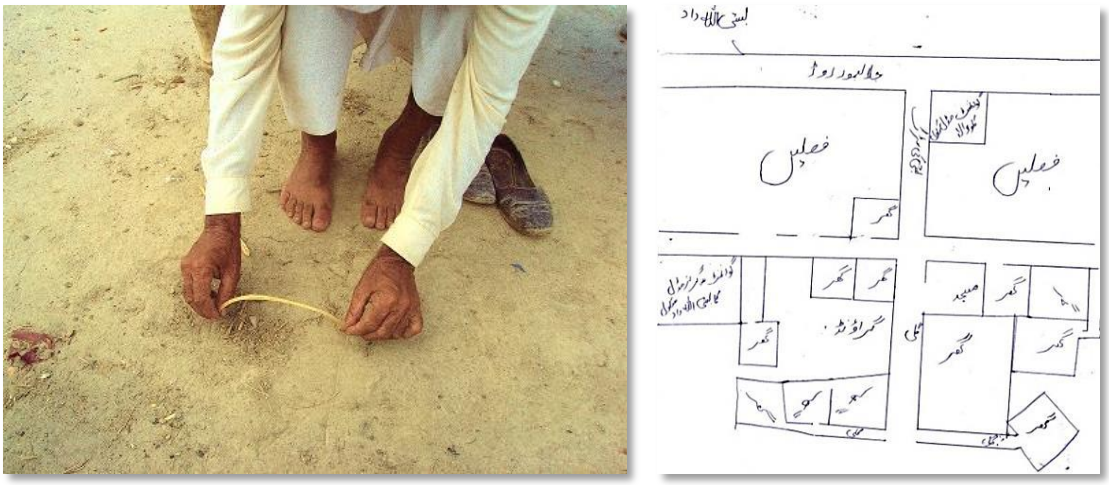
A socioeconomic survey is not only a primary source of demographic data that helps to design and move the research forward but also a means to draw out the sample for in-depth interviews (Bernard 1998: 81). I conducted a socioeconomic survey during the third and fourth months of the fieldwork in many households of the village, with the help of my friends in the community for analysing the socioeconomic conditions in Jhokwala. I used the data obtained from this survey regarding population size, household income, and household facilities to verify and update the figures from the national census report. This information was required in order to understand the dynamics of social change in terms of occupational change, change in household structure, and the cause-and-effect relationship between education, gender, and household income. I also conducted surveys in schools on the time trends and everyday mobility of children. I used questionnaires for women whom I could not directly interview to document their time allocation and spatial knowledge. Women themselves or a male member of their households completed these questionnaires by asking them the relevant questions.

3.3.8 Mapping and Transect Walks

Mapping is a useful tool to understand the relationships between people and various places such as a worship place, workplace, household boundaries, and other places of cultural significance (Goldman 2000: 153-154). I asked people to draw maps on paper. Those unable to draw on paper drew sketches on the ground with a stick. People from different occupations, gender, and age groups described the village in these maps in various ways according to their interests and perceptions. Transect walks with members of the community on the roads, in the streets, and in the fields were useful for getting information about the village layout and to making ‘discoveries’ about socioeconomic conditions. During these walks, I used a Geographical Positioning System (GPS) device to mark significant points in the village, for instance, mosques or the market. With the help of GPS, I measured the distances and the time needed to cover the distance between various places, and drew maps from this data as part of a spatial analysis (Aldenderfer and Maschner

1996). GPS data provided precise information regarding the village layout. I used this data to crosscheck the information provided by participants through mapping and interviews.

Picture 3.3: Mapping on the Ground (left) and on Paper (right)



3.3.9 Visual Methods

According to Harper (2002: 17), there has been lesser acceptance of images in social sciences as a tool for revealing "the truth" because more emphasis has been put on linguistic expression. However, the use of visual methods in field research is increasing for a number of reasons. Firstly, visual tools are gradually becoming user friendly and easily available in the form of disposable and, more recently, mobile phone cameras. Secondly, photography helps to attract people, especially children, and engages them during the interviews (Smith et al. 2012). Thirdly, it is helps to generate a different kind of data in addition to words and text (Harper 2002: 13). This different kind of information also helps to explore abstract themes by provoking people and retrieving comprehensive information (Collier 1967). Therefore, the use of visual methods goes beyond documenting social events in the field, landscape and built environment, or as evidence of fieldwork. Researchers can probe interviewees during interviews or informal discussions to discuss social relationships in the contents of the photographs. This exercise is generally termed as Photo-elicitation Interview (PEI) in which researchers themselves take photographs. Researchers then ask the interviewees relevant questions or they may ask them to organise the photographs according to themes (cf. Collier 1987; Schwartz 1989). Similarly, the term reflexive photography, auto-driving photography or hermeneutic photography is used in nursing research and such interviews include photographs taken by participants (Clark

1999; El Guindi 2008b; Harper 2002). In this method, people are given cameras and are asked to take the photographs of their own choice so that the researcher can understand what the important or attractive things were for people or what they wanted to include in the research.

In a number of researches related to mobility and landscape, people are asked to draw images or maps of landmarks, places, and physical features of the area to highlight their access to and association with different places. This technique has its limitations with respect to people's ability to draw images and maps, which may result in misleading or incomprehensible conclusions. For these reasons, photography is one of the salient features of research conducted on topics related to physical spaces and landscape. Therefore, using photographs to supplement the interview data proves to be useful in social studies on space and landscape related studies (cf. Beilin 2005; Lynch and Sweeney 2010). I took photograph of certain individuals, landscape, and the built environment for attracting and engaging them as well as for documenting the use of spaces. Similarly, I used these photo-elicitation exercises in two ways. First, in a qualitative way, I asked questions about particular places and used photographs during the interviews in order to facilitate the conversation about people, events, and places. This exercise helped obtaining detailed information about any physical feature of the area, the design of the buildings, and the management of space. Second, I asked people to recognise images of people and places in a fixed amount of time. I used around twenty different photographs in one such exercise. I carried out these exercises during an interview, informal discussion or as a stand-alone activity.

The quantifiable photo-elicitation is an inspiration from the biologists who use photo identification techniques in a quantitative way in order to identify certain species through their prominent features (Gilkinson et al. 2007; Weir 2009). Another visual tool that I used was videography. I made videos of different social and economic events in the village. I also recorded the videos of some interviews and group discussions. Some of the pictures used for photo-elicitation were extracted from the videos recorded during fieldwork. Analysing the photographs of past events taken by the community serves as a tool to study change and continuity in the cultural patterns (Schwartz 1992). My friends in the community also provided me with photos and videos of various ceremonies, which had

already taken place in previous years. I used them to analyse the trends in marriages, *urs*, and other social and economic aspects of their lives.

3.3.10 Free Listing

Psychologists and cognitive anthropologists use free listing techniques in which participants list all the important items related to a particular category. A large amount of data can be obtained in a small amount of time through this simple and cost-effective technique (Bennardo 2009; Quinlan 2005). I asked people to list the five to eight most important items in various categories, such as the famous people of the village, places they visited most, and places they thought were representative of their village. I limited the list of items to five to eight because after conducting a few pilot exercises I found that the list could not go further beyond this number, given the population and size of the village associated with the types of items to be listed. The analysis in this thesis does not fully rely on the data obtained through these lists. I used this data to fill the gaps in the data obtained through photo-elicitation exercises and to verify the information during informal discussions. The data obtained through free listing also helped selecting the photographs for photo-elicitation exercises by ranking people's association with people and places.

3.3.11 Computer and other Technical Equipment

Using computers started in anthropological research as early as the 1970s (Dyke 1981), and has faced some criticism (Kippen and Bel 1989). The reluctance to use computers in research is linked to the nature of ethnographic data, which is sometimes argued to be more complex, qualitative, and subjective. The use of computers in anthropological research has increased significantly to manage data and analyse complex datasets and relationships between different variables, qualitatively as well as quantitatively more than just the presentation of the data (Fischer 1999; Lyon and Fischer 2006; Lyon and Magliveras 2006; White and Jorion 1992). During the fieldwork, it has been difficult for me to use computer in the village at a time when Pakistan is experiencing serious energy shortfalls and the rolling blackouts, also referred to as loadshedding, for a couple of hour or longer are common once or twice in a day. I used a portable solar panel and a re-chargeable battery to keep my electrical equipment working. It helped me designing the questionnaires and printing them out as an efficient time management. I regularly backed up my audio, video, and other digital data, such as maps collected during the fieldwork, in my laptop and an

external disk drive. One of the main reasons for staying at the Agriculture Field Office was the availability of computers and the internet, a relatively uncommon facility in rural Pakistan. This helped me being updated through the internet with the information relating to various Pakistani organisations. I accessed the secondary information from the websites of the Government of Pakistan, local and international organisations, and newspapers.

3.4 Data Analysis

Before leaving the field, I made sure that I had enough information about the village, local terminologies, and the cultural concepts of time and space, required to write up the thesis. There is no "formula or recipe" for the analysis of ethnographic information (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 158). This study primarily includes qualitative data as evidence. However, it also includes quantitative information from the surveys I conducted, free listing, and other secondary sources. I categorised this data into different domains, such as time, space, and social change during the fieldwork with appropriate labelling in the fieldnotes for increasing the "usability" of the qualitative information (Lyon 2004a: 47-50). On the other hand, quantitative data was entered in the excel spreadsheets with codes to keep the names anonymous for ethical reasons. I codified variables for tabulations, to crosscheck the responses, and to develop "theoretical categories" (Charmaz 2001: 165).

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethnographic research is about and by human beings. It is, therefore, important to consider ethical issues before entering the field. Every society has its own cultural norms and values to which an anthropologist has to respond reflexively and act appropriately. On the other hand, there are certain methodological concerns when carrying out an ethnographic research while being engaged with people, and analysing and writing about them. Broadly speaking, the ethical concerns include issues of consent, privacy, bias, appropriate research methods, correct reporting, being honest, and the proper use of information (Patton 1990: 476). I made every effort to follow the ethical guidelines for good research practice set by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA 1999), and also referred to the code of ethics developed by the American Anthropological Association (AAA 1998) to deal with any ethical issue during this research. For the sake of privacy and ethics, I have used some pseudonyms throughout the thesis.

A few points regarding ethics during the fieldwork have been particularly important. Firstly, Punjab is a relatively secure and peaceful province of Pakistan in contrast to some regions in the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Balochistan, and tribal areas particularly with reference to the "war on terrorism". In the same way, Jhokwala is located in a small district, Lodhran, while big cities like Lahore, Islamabad, and Peshawar have been victims of serious terrorism during the past decade. Small villages are relatively safe and peaceful with less prospects of making the news. Therefore, I selected Jhokwala Village in Lodhran District considering by taking into account these issues related to security. Secondly, land disputes are a common occurrence in villages (Lyon 2004a: 176-182). However, it is difficult to find any area with no disputes at all. I selected Jhokwala as my field site for two reasons in this regard. First, this village had fewer land disputes than some other villages in the area so it was safe to work in. Second, the ideal location of the village allowed me to interact with people from other villages. I could thus have a first-hand account of land disputes in those villages without directly involving myself in the villages' social organisation. I never disclosed the comments and remarks of one party to another or even to anyone within or outside the village. I normally avoided inviting two opponent parties to the same group discussions, which could invoke serious tensions, to the detriment of my reputation in the community. Thirdly, gender is another important concern in any social research involving fieldwork. It was difficult for me as a male researcher to interview women. However, I did not take this as a hindrance in collecting data but as an opportunity to understand the "crucial insight into field realities" (Silverman and Marvasti 2008: 319).

The extent to which I, as a male researcher, was able to interact with girls and women in the community provided an understanding of "unspoken gender rules" (Viladrich 2007: 111-113). With the permission, and in the presence, of the men of the household or schoolteachers, I was able to have conversations with some school-age girls, teachers, and women working in the fields. I trained a few of my friends in the village to fill in the questionnaires from their women relatives. I did not share the personal names and photographs of families with anyone else in the field unless I got their consent to include some photographs of men in the photo-elicitation exercises. People were generally happy with the photography but they were equally sensitive towards photography of women, which I strictly avoided. Interviews and questionnaires about time and space were not proved sensitive for the community because these were not directly focusing on sensitive issues like gender, sectarianism, reproductive health, and conflicts.

3.6 Researching with Children

Most social researchers kept children in the background until recently and only contacted them when the study particularly related to them, just as decision makers usually pay no heed to children's opinion. Recently, an increasing number of researches involve children as active participants. Nonetheless, how much children's opinion counts is a challenging question. There are many examples of successful completion of the projects involving children and young people as active participants or even co-researchers in participatory action researches (cf. Porter et al. 2012; Oerlemans and Vidovich 2005). During the fieldwork, one of the most interesting and challenging tasks was to involve children in the research. I crosschecked responses given by children with those of adults to authenticate the information. Children were more open compared to adults in discussing critical issues like conflicts. However, taking into account the ethical concerns, I always discussed with parents and teachers how and where I was going to conduct the interviews with children, what sort of questions I might ask, and how I might use this information afterwards. Involving children in the research raises an important concern from the methodological perspective too.

Some researchers have found issue with conventional research methods when working with children. For instance, using questionnaire-based techniques with children is subject to errors of memory and misunderstanding of terms. Parker (1984) noted that the conventional verbal interviews are problematic as these mainly rely on the linguistic capabilities of children. Clark (1999) argues that the question-and-answer interview is outside children's sociolinguistic range because they seldom take part in such exercises in their daily life, thus such verbal communication with children limits the questions that the researcher can explore. Many researchers prefer integrating visual methods like photos and drawing with verbal interviews to make them more attractive for children, particularly of a younger age (cf. Cappello 2005; Clark 1999). Photographs, taken by the researcher, also act as an "ice breaker" allowing a comfortable zone to involve children in the research (Collier 1987).

Picture 3.4: Researching with Children

There can also be some moral issues related to the involvement of children in the research with an adult researcher. Some forms of power relations exist during adult-child communication, and children can be hesitant, puzzled, defensive, or unruly with the adult researcher. For these reasons, researchers working with children suggest various modifications of verbal interviews to lessen the effects of such power relationship by either conducting interviews during children's everyday activities or conducting group instead of one-on-one interviews (cf. Clark 1999; Eder and Fingerson 2003; Tammivaara and Enright 1986). To minimise such effects, I conducted interviews by sitting at an equal level with children because such a seating arrangement plays an important role in the power relations. I used different techniques such as providing refreshments and gifts to children. I conducted interviews and informal discussions with children mainly in their schools in the presence of their teachers.

4

The Country, the Region and the Village

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss social change in Pakistan from a historical perspective. Pakistan is located at the crossroads of the Persian Gulf, South Asia, and Central Asia. This location gives the country a geographic and cultural diversity as well as a great geopolitical significance. The country comprises diverse cultures because of a complex history, migrations, wars, natural calamities, diverse geographic features, and different economic patterns. Despite all this diversity, as Lyon (2004a: 14) noted, "there are patterns of roles, values and world views which run across the nation." I discuss social change in Pakistan in general and Jhokwala in particular with respect to three interrelated factors: demographic, technological, and policy-related. Social scientists have considered these three factors as the general reasons behind social change, vehicles for social change to take place, or even the spheres where social change occurs in any society (cf. Dumond 1965; Satterthwaite 2009; Vasey 1996).

In rural Pakistan, the scarcity of agricultural land, industrialisation, migration, and a shift towards nuclear families are indicative of social change due to the growing population, as one of the key factors (cf. Fricke et al. 1986; Haider 1981; Rogers 1990; Talbot 1998: 38-52). Similarly, the use of modern technology in agriculture and in other activities of life has not only changed the environment but has also reshaped the social relationships. One of the results of the above two factors is the abandonment of labour or services-production exchange between peasants and agricultural landlords. For this reason, I use the term farmers for all those engaged in agricultural activities for which the Urdu term *kisaan* or *kaasht-kaar* is used in Pakistan. The government policies regarding settlements and education also affect the course of social change. I discuss change in educational trends, transport, and technology, which are largely the result of change in government policies. For instance, the introduction of electricity, construction of roads, and health facilities in rural areas are dependent upon the government's planning and policies, which may also involve certain political and demographic factors behind them. By using the symbols used in the national anthem of Pakistan, I present how the nation views its past, present, and

future. It will serve two purposes. First, it will highlight specific social and cultural transformations in Pakistani society. Second, the state's perspective regarding the construction of identity, development, and futuristic vision can be explained using the country's history and national symbols.

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in Jhokwala Village, Lodhran District in the Punjab, which is the largest province of Pakistan. Just like the country, the province has some diversity in population and geographical features in its various regions. Given its size, the province represents many cultural traits that are prominent in the cultural, economic, and political landscape of Pakistan. The province is generally divided into three regions based on geography and languages or dialects. Although the region is a centre for cotton production and other agricultural products, the level of poverty in this region has remained higher than the rest of the Punjab. All the cities of the Punjab that are considered in the thirty poorest districts of the country are located in this southern part (Jamal et al. 2003). The culture of South Punjab is a fusion of many ethnic groups due to its peculiar history and geographic location at the confluence of all the four provinces of Pakistan. The introduction of modern technology such as the radio, television, transportation, mobile phone, and modern educational institutes has accelerated the pace of social change (cf. Ali 2003; Ihsan 1992; Lyon 2010a, 2010b; Qadeer 2006; Shami 2012). It was not until recently, however, that people of this area started to view themselves as a distinct ethnic group within the Punjab at political level based on linguistic differences as well as economic alienation. This assertion of ethnic identity is, in fact, an effort to develop the region in economic and political terms. People of this region embrace the national level policies for economic growth, modern education, and technology. By doing so, they are simultaneously engaged with tradition and modernity representing the overall scenario of social change in Pakistan. After discussing a general introduction of the province and the region, I will present some salient features of Lodhran District. I will focus on the social and economic transitions in the district with reference to its agricultural economy. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss the history, social organisation, and some demographic trends in Jhokwala.

4.2 The Land and People of Pakistan: Change and Continuity

Blessed be sacred land
Happy be bounteous realm
Symbol of high resolve
Land of Pakistan
Blessed be thou citadel of faith

The Order of this Sacred Land
Is the might of the brotherhood of the people
May the nation, the country, and the State
Shine in glory everlasting
Blessed be the goal of our ambition

This flag of the Crescent and the Star
Leads the way to progress and perfection
Interpreter of our past, glory of our present
Inspiration of our future
Symbol of Almighty's protection

This is translation of the *qaumi taraana* (national anthem) of Pakistan.[8] Qadeer (2006: 4) states that the symbol of "land" (*sarzameen*) in the anthem represents Pakistan's national identity and society. I discuss the process and patterns of social change in Pakistan, and the factors affecting it through the symbols used in this anthem. This will also help to understand how Pakistanis respond to social change. A very basic point about Pakistan is that the country came into being as a 'change' on the world map in 1947 but the cultures of this area date back to one of the earliest civilisations in the world history. According to a safe estimate, about 67.5% of the country's population lives in rural areas and largely depends upon an agrarian economy (GoP 2013b). The state and society of this area has been under a series of social, cultural, religious, political, and technological transformations since ancient times.

Archaeological evidences at Mehrgarh suggest that the village existed 9,000 years ago and it was one of the earliest agrarian communities on the earth discovered so far (Dani 2007). In addition to Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro discovered in Pakistan, Dholavira and Kalibhangan in India and some sites in Afghanistan belonging to the Indus Valley show that the extent of the Civilisation was extended across a major part of today's South Asia (Mughal 1992a). The Indus Valley's cities show a high level of sophistication in town planning. The streets and roads in Mohenjo-Daro were designed in a gridiron pattern. The

[8] The translation from Urdu to English has been reproduced here from the websites of Pakistan's embassies in China and Canada (GoP 2011a, 2013a).

straight streets opened at small roads. These small roads were then connected to the large avenues. This pattern is the most advanced form of city planning in the world today. For centuries, this pattern was not practised in Pakistan at a wider scale until the British government designed new cities like Sargodha and Dera Ghazi Khan prior to 1947. Islamabad is also designed on the same pattern and almost all the planned modern housing colonies in Pakistan follow this pattern. The sewerage system in Mohenjo-Daro was highly developed (Jansen 1989; Mughal 2011b). The waste collecting ducts were connected with each house. These small ducts opened into a main duct. The main duct then discharged the waste outside the settlement in a pond. This type of sophistication in town planning made the Indus Valley more advanced than other contemporary civilisations. It also indicates that these structures were developed and regulated not at household level but at a broader administrative level. Different irrigation and agricultural methods were practiced in different regions depending upon different demographic and geographic features. The people of the Indus Valley developed various methods to store wheat, barley, and other agricultural products. They also managed to transport these products to different cities across the Indus Valley and to other civilisations. They practised domestication and breeding of different animals. This diversity gave rise to complex labour relations in the "agro-pastoral economies" of the Indus Valley (Wright 2010). Large cities emerged over time after an increase in the production and complexity of labour organisation.

Expansion and transformation from an agro-pastoral to a craft economy and small towns into large city centres took place in different areas of the Indus Valley in different eras. Similarities in the crafts and finished products indicate the contacts over long distances between different cities and regions (cf. Kenoyer 1997; Mughal 2011c; Possehl 1990). However, there are fewer evidences, available so far, to argue that a centralised political authority governed the entire Indus Valley. After looking into the kind of political economy in the Indus Valley Civilisation, it has been suggested that city-states existed across the Civilisation (Wright 2010). There were gateway cities, which provided link to the centres of city-states. It is, however, difficult to know if all the Indus Valley's regions used a similar measurement system or that the idea of city-states involves a separate currency or measurement system. The idea of proposing gateway cities for the city-states is also problematic considering the diversity among different regions across the Indus Valley. Therefore, the question arises if the Civilisation had any centralised government and its entire population shared the notion of nationhood.

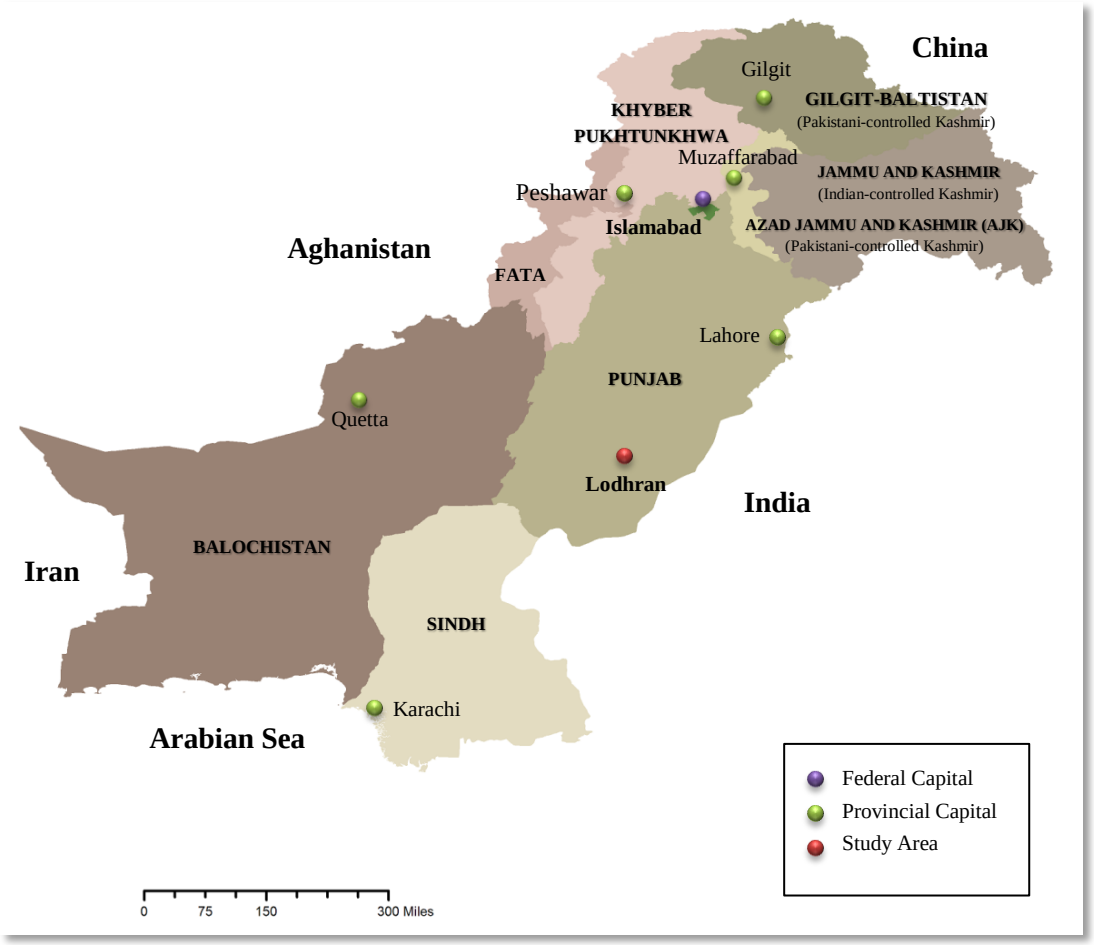
The area now called Pakistan has been a part of greater empires during the periods of King Ashoka, the Mughal Empire, and the British Raj. There were more geographic and ethnic similarities within one region than between them, albeit they were inter-dependent for economic reasons or sometimes for political motives to gain support against common enemies. The Aryans, Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Turks, Mughals, British, and other foreign nations invaded this area as rulers, preachers, or traders (cf. Avari 2007, 2013; Malik 2008). These incoming cultures enhanced its cultural diversity by bringing in their traditions. About seventy-two living languages and dialects in Pakistan today explain these historical contacts with different cultures (Lewis et al. 2013). The major outfit of social and individual life has been influenced by religion, *biraderi* (kinship circle; the people related to each other by blood or through conjugal relationships, normally bound together through a mutual exchange of rights and obligations) or *qaum* (tribe), agriculture, politics, migrations, and wars.[9] On the other hand, several small dynasties ruled over small territories. The regions or provinces, which became parts of Pakistan, shared a continuous landmass except what is now Bangladesh. These regions remained together under unified governments in different eras.

Since the Indus Valley Civilisation until the twentieth century, the question remained unresolved: were all these unified governments the result of a peaceful process or of a coercive force imposed upon people to keep them together? However, the sense of a unified nationhood among these four provinces never existed until the Pakistan movement. During the Pakistan Movement, all the peoples across the "land" shared a common public motivation and vision for a homeland for the Muslims in South Asia. This struggle overcame their diversities through the binding force of the "faith". Muslims living in various parts of South Asia migrated to this land for being the part of a single "nation". Therefore, Pakistan's cultural and political identity is overwhelmingly associated with its Muslim character in the contemporary world. Its formation rests upon the idea of national identity through religious identity, encompassing all other forms of ethnic and regional identities submissive to this central notion. This ideology intertwined with the faith made the land "sacred" for its people. The state structures developed over time. However, social inequalities, complicated ethnic relations, sectarianism, and linguistic divisions continued.

[9] Pakistanis use these terms in several ways. The term *biraderi* has been translated as a patrilineage by some anthropologists (cf. Eglar 1960: 75; Ahmad 1977: 25). However, the term *biraderi* encompasses the kinship and social networks more than just a patrilineage group (Donnan 1988: 68-86). The term *qaum* is used for a tribe or even for the entire Pakistani nation.

The power dynamics in the state sometimes gave rise to violent conflicts between its provinces and within small territories such as villages and cities. The patron-client relationship between peasants and agricultural landlords in rural Punjab is a representative example of this power hierarchy. However, as Lyon (2004a: 12) discussed that the clients have power to get their rights and restrict the demands of the patrons by influencing behaviour in some cultural contexts. Similarly, the powerful rural and industrial elites are dominant in the state politics. The military, civil society, the judiciary, and media gradually developed into stronger institutions. The power discourse between these institutions in the form of martial law or political injustice has been at times normalised by the masses. The "Brotherhood of the people" resting upon idea of the country as a unified entity through economic interdependency, sharing a religion, and other forms of mutual contacts by majority of the population in the country provides strength to the state as a cohesive force.

Map 4.1: Administrative Map of Pakistan



Source: This map was generated in ArcGIS by using data from geoCOMMUNITY (2012)

The state of Pakistan started its journey with a small number of industries and a weak economy. In fact, the Pakistan Movement can also be seen as a struggle to gain the economic prosperity for Muslims living in poverty after the fall of the Muslim rule in the British India. The nation memorise its past into two ways. Firstly, Pakistanis relate their past with the entire Muslim history from the period of early Islam through the power of Muslim rulers across different eras and different parts of the world such as the Caliphate of Medina, Umayyads, Afghan rulers, Mughals, and so on. The country's official history, academic curriculum, and debates in the media revolve around this notion of nationhood and glorious "past". However, this does not imply that the nation lives in its golden past. Pakistanis celebrate their victories in cricket and hockey matches as well as the country's nuclear technology as the "glory" of the "present". With more than 190 million people, Pakistan is now the world's sixth largest country by population (CIA 2012). To meet the requirement of this growing population, rapid industrial development has been taken place (Weiss and Mughal 2012). Modern technology in agriculture and industry started to yield higher outputs. The modern agricultural methods are gradually turning kinship-based relations into mercantile nexus in rural areas. Family structure is shifting from the traditional extended households to nuclear units. Many people have started to migrate overseas to earn money for their families. This change towards modern technology, industrial growth, increase in literacy, and better employment opportunities, is generally referred to as *taraqee* (progress).

Pakistanis use the word *taraqee* for either the entire nation or individuals, for example, as job promotion. In a practical sense, it is the equivalent of economic development or progress. There are two aspects intrinsic to development. Firstly, the term development highlights the sense of developing or progressing from lower to higher, poor to rich, backward to forward. Secondly, individuals compete in the process of development. This competition is based on a comparison of individuals' achievements between each other. The same applies to nations in the form of international standards of categorising some countries as under-developed while others as developed based on their comparative economies. For this reason, certain ethical and moral standards are devised for individuals, groups, and nations to make their progress measurable and peaceful. Many educated Pakistanis describe the vision of "progress and perfection" for the country as *Quaid-i-Azam ka Pakistan* (Pakistan according to the vision of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah). However, what exactly *Quaid-i-Azam ka Pakistan* is, remains debatable. A majority of

Pakistanis believe that the country was created to be an Islamic welfare state. Therefore, they believe that Islamic laws should be practised in the country, though with modern interpretations. On the other hands, some people envision Pakistan as a secular state where religion has no role in politics and state affairs. This debate continues until today at an intellectual level. Pakistan is thus a blend of tradition and modernity, change and continuity, and religiosity and secularism. This blend manifests through its marriage ceremonies, dress patterns, social norms, politics, and education system. In this thesis, I argue that Pakistanis make these choices between tradition and modernity through a collective awareness of their needs and "inspirations" for the "future".

4.3 Punjab

Lodhran is located in southern part of the Punjab province. This region is known as Janoobi Punjab (South Punjab) and has some particular cultural features like the Saraiki language, which make it distinctive within the Punjab. I present here an overview of the province with a focus on its southern part to highlight some significant historical and socio-political dimensions of this region. Punjab literally means 'five waters' in Persian. It takes its name from five tributaries of the Indus River namely Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej, and Bias. Although it is not exactly confirmed when the term Punjab came in common use, some historians have mentioned the term as early as the sixteenth century (Khan, A.A. 2009: 297). Mughals used the term alternatively for Lahore and Multan provinces or for the entire territory divided into these two regions (Allami 1873-1907). Punjab has been referred to as Sapt-Sindhu, Pentapotamia, and Taki in history. Mahabharata, an ancient Sanskrit epic, mentions this region, or at least a part of it, as 'pancha-nada' (the country of five rivers). The waters of these five rivers join at a place called Panjnad (literally meaning fiver rivers), located in the southern part of Pakistani Punjab.

In 1947, most of the Muslim majority areas were included in Pakistan's Punjab Province whereas the Hindu and Sikh majority areas became part of India. The former and larger part is referred to as West Punjab and the latter as East Punjab to make a distinction between the two. The Chenab and Ravi rivers run only in Pakistan while the Bias, Jhelum, and Sutlej rivers have headwork in India, ultimately draining into Pakistan. The Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is also linked with control over these waters, as Kashmir is the source of all these waters. This issue remained the main cause of the wars both the countries have fought since gaining independence in 1947. In 1960, India and

Pakistan signed the Indus Water Treaty to regulate the usage of water (UNMOGIP 2013). The Indian government divided East Punjab into the Indian states of Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, and Himachal Pradesh.

Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan by population with an estimate of 86,448,706 as of 2007 (GoP 2012a: 40). Agriculture is the main occupation but the province is one of the rapidly industrialising areas in Pakistan. Punjab can be divided into three parts with respect to distinctive geographic features. The northern part is an arid zone comprising the Salt Range and Pothohar region with 2,000-3,000 metres high mountains. People in this part speak Pothohari, Hindko, and Dhanni dialects. Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, and Rawalpindi, the military headquarters, are located in this region. The central part of Punjab comprises of fertile land with substantial availability of water through canals. Lahore, the provincial capital, lies in this region and is one of the significant cultural and historical cities in South Asia. The majority of the Punjab's population lives in this part of the province and mainly speak Majhi dialect. This part is relatively more developed in terms of economy and availability of facilities than the rest of the province, as well as the country in general. Industrial cities like Faisalabad, Gujranwala, and Sialkot also lie in this part. Nankana Sahib is located in this part, which is the birthplace of Baba Guru Nanak and one of the venerated places in Sikhism. Although most of the Sikh population migrated to India after 1947, there is still a sizable population of Sikhs residing in these cities.

South Punjab mainly includes Saraiki speaking area.[10] There are no definitive geographic boundaries of South Punjab so far at the official level. However, in general, the districts where Saraiki is a predominant language are collectively referred to as South Punjab. South Punjab roughly comprises eleven out of thirty-six districts of the Punjab. The region lies south and southwest to the northern and central parts of the Punjab. It shares boundaries with India to the southeast, Sindh to the south, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa to the northwest or west, and Balochistan to the southwest. Multan is the largest city in this region and a central point for transportation across the country because of its geographic location. It is one of the ancient cities in the world, also mentioned in the writings of the Mesopotamians and Greeks with various forms of its names in their languages (Bivar 1988: 202). It is generally accepted that the name Multan evolved from Mulasthan,

[10] The word Saraiki is pronounced with different accents and is spelled as Seraiki, Sarayeki, and Siraiki in English. The Saraiki Studies departments at the Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan and many local scholars use "Saraiki" as the standardised spelling.

meaning the city or place of the Sun god, as it was apparently the first city with a Hindu temple of the Sun god in South Asia. Harappa, a significant town of the Indus Valley Civilisation, is located in Sahiwal District, which has been a part of Multan Division. The socioeconomic life in this region has been in a state of transition ever since pre-historic times. The rulers from eastern parts of India invaded this region. Vikramaditya of Ujjain attacked the region in 57 BCE to fight with the Sakas (Sachau 2007[1910]: 6). Alexander the Great also invaded Multan. Similarly, the city at different times has been under the control of Mauryans, Guptas, Kushans, and Sakas who played a major role in shaping up its cultural landscape before the arrival of Islam.

During the eighth century, Umayyads conquered Sindh up to Multan introducing Islam in South Asia under the command of Muhammad Bin Qasim (cf. Avari 2013: 17-36; Mughal 1992b). Similarly, Mahmud of Ghazna conducted several campaigns to Multan starting from 1005 CE to massacre with Ismaili rulers. Thereafter, Muhammad of Ghor also invaded the city. Mahmud of Ghazna supported the Abbasids against the Umayyads. The Sumra Dynasty in Sindh was the functionary of the Abbasids at that period. After the siege of Baghdad, Sumras became independent. Later, they conquered Multan along with many other areas now included in South Punjab. During the Mughal era, Multan became a province under the rule of Muhammad Akbar (cf. Dasti 1998). The province included the present day territories of South Punjab. Soon after the death of one of his successors, Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire started to fall apart. In the meantime, Muhammad Shah Durrani, who was born in Multan, spread the Persian Durrani Empire to Afghanistan, Kashmir, and many parts of the Punjab. In 1758, Marahattas captured Multan along with other territories ruled by Durranis in Lahore, Kashmir, and Attock under the rule of Raghunath Rao Peshwa. Although Durranis re-captured Multan in 1760, the empire started to decline and various Afghan rulers governed the region afterwards. In 1802, Nawab Bahawal II founded the princely state of Bahawalpur after the fall of the Durrani Empire and later signed a treaty with the British to guarantee its independent status. Kharak Singh captured Multan for Ranjit Singh in 1818. Later, in 1849, the British took complete control over the Punjab, including Multan, after the second Anglo-Sikh war (Khan, A.A. 2009). After the creation of Pakistan, Multan was divided into other divisions and districts over time such as Faisalabad, Dera Ghazi Khan, Lodhran, Mianwali, and Sahiwal. Bahawalpur, however, became an independent province and remained so until 1955 when it was merged into West Pakistan, as part of the One Unit scheme. One Unit was an administrative reform

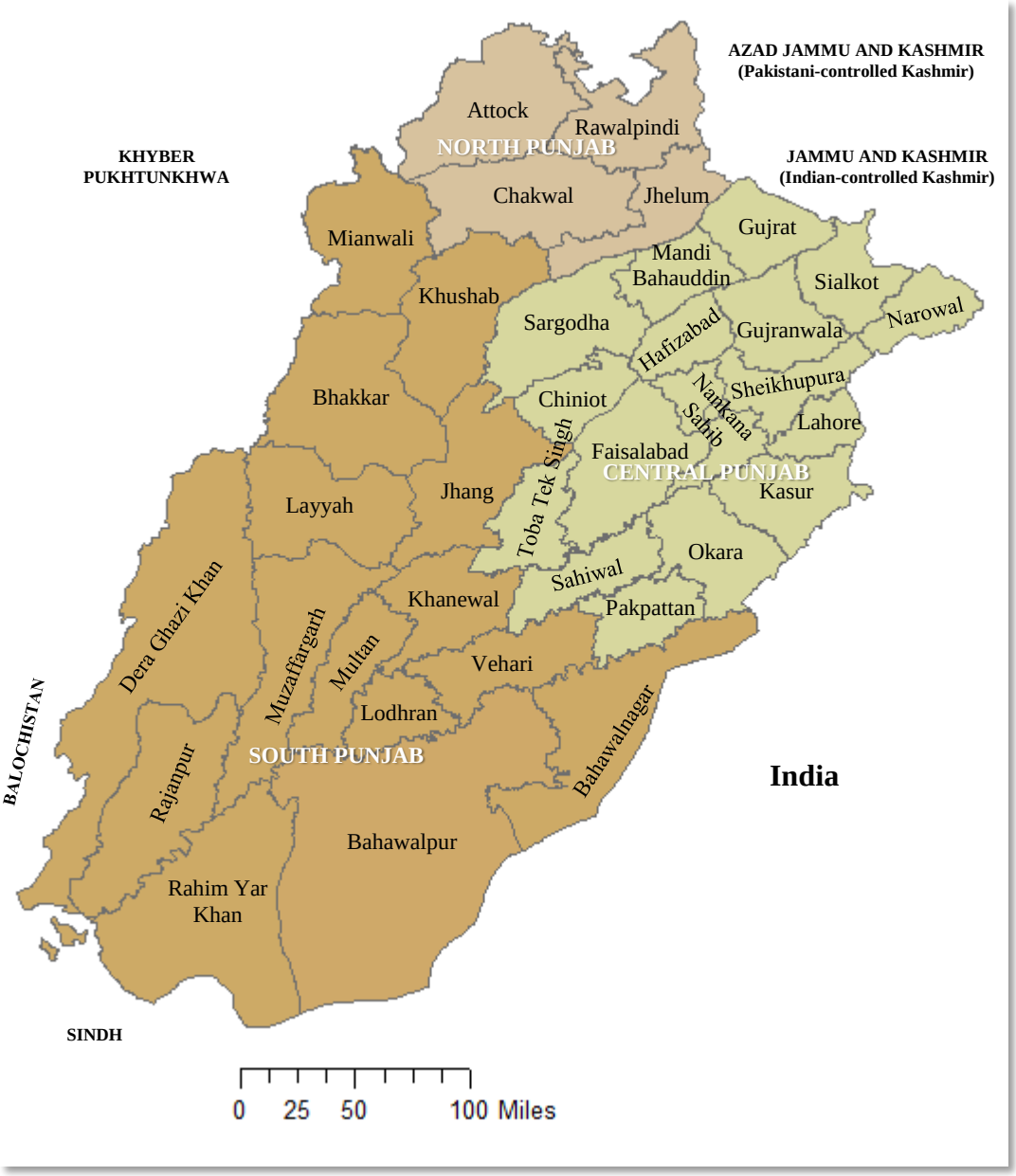
in which the provinces, states, and tribal areas of the western wing were merged into the One Unit to counterbalance against the numerical dominance of the ethnic Bengalis in the eastern wing of the country, now called Bangladesh,. After 1971, when the provinces were restored to their status prior to 1955, Bahawalpur was merged into the Punjab (Javaid 2009; Langah 2011).

The influences of the Persian and Arabic languages are easily noticeable on the Saraiki language, just like all other Pakistani languages due to such a long history of contacts with Arabs and Persians. Old shrines, palaces, forts, calligraphy, and architecture of the region show a lot of inspiration from the Arabic and Persian traditions (cf. Vandal 2011). Sufism is an important aspect of Punjabi cultural and religious landscape. Sufis like Bulleh Shah, Warish Shah, Mian Muhammad Bukhsh, Sultan Bahu, Baba Farid and Khwaja Ghulam Farid used folkloric metaphors and romantic folktales for preaching Islam and creating harmony between different religions. Sufism also flourished in South Punjab since the early period of the arrivals of Muslims. Multan and Uch became centres of Suhrawardiyya and Qadiriyya Sufi orders in South Asia, respectively. The tombs of thirteenth century Sufis such as Bahauddin Zakariya and Shah Rukn-e-Alam in Multan represent eight-cornered Persian architecture.

Saraiki *wasaib* (society; culture; region) is generally divided into four geographic regions from the local perspective: *roh* (literally means mountain and refers to the Sulaiman Mountains), *rohi* (Cholistan Desert), *Thal* (Thal Desert), and *daamaan* (fields). South Punjab is an agricultural area like the rest of the Punjab with some deserts. It produces the major part of the country's cotton crop whereas wheat and rice are also produced. The region is famous for mangoes, date palms, and melon production in the country. The climate is hot in summer and sometimes reaches 45 Celsius. The winter is extremely cold and dry. In many areas, such as Thal and Cholistan, the agricultural pattern is arid or semi-arid. The traditional dress is *shalwar qameez* whereas in rural areas men also wear *dhoti* (unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist and legs). *Khussa*, *kherri*, and *norozi* are traditional shoes used in various areas in South Punjab. Poetry is a significant aspect of Saraiki culture. Khwaja Ghulam Farid was a famous poet of the early twentieth century from South Punjab. He wrote poetry in Saraiki as well as in Urdu and Punjabi. His poetry is very popular in South Punjab and beyond until today. Some new generation Saraiki

poets are also very popular in the region. Shakir Shujabadi is the most famous Saraiki poet who belongs to Shujabad, a city near Lodhran.

Map 4.2: Regions and Districts of Punjab



Source: This map was generated in ArcGIS by using data from geoCOMMUNITY (2012)

Note: This map shows the districts, which are normally included in South Punjab based on a relatively high number of Saraiki speaking population. Different political activists, the media, and research institutes show various boundaries of the Saraiki speaking areas or the proposed province to represent their specific political and ideological points of view.

4.4 Saraiki: Language and Identity

Saraiki is a language of Lahnda group of Indo-European family. There are various views about the origin and meaning of the term Saraiki. Dani (1981) argues that the term originates from an ancient Sauvira Kingdom, mentioned in Mahabharata.[11] This view is widely accepted by linguists in Pakistan. In the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Grierson (2005: 240) explained that the term Saraiki meant "of north". He made this argument because *siro* is a Sindhi word meaning north or northern as the region lies north to Sindh. However, many scholars such as Shackle (1977: 388) rejected this view. A majority of the native speakers believe that the term originated from the word *sarai.* The word *saraa'n* or *sarai* is used for motel. It is also the root word for the English word caravanserai. South Punjab provided a gateway, mainly the Sakhi Sarwar Pass in Dera Ghazi Khan, for the people coming from Afghanistan and Iran to the subcontinent. The caravans used to stay here, as there were many *sarais* in this region for traders and travellers. For this reason, today's Saraiki has many loan words from Persian and many other languages. Rahman (2002: 452-454) noted that Sumras who ruled Multan, Uch, and Sindh after the fall of the Ghaznavid Empire used Saraiki as an official language. Saraiki is written on a wall of a fort in Bahawalpur from this period in Devanagari script. Some Punjabi linguists consider Saraiki a dialect of Punjabi. Rahman also noted that the classical writings from today's central and northern Punjab, now classified as Punjabi, greatly relate to Saraiki.

More than seventeen million people speak Saraiki in southern and northwestern Punjab, the adjoining area of northern Sindh, the Dera Ismail Khan and Tank districts of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, and parts of the Loralai and Naseerabad divisions of Balochistan. In this way, Saraiki is the fourth largest language in Pakistan after Punjabi, Sindhi, and Pashto by number of its native speakers according to the 1998 national census (GoP 2004[1998]).[12] Saraiki is also spoken in India, mainly in Delhi, by those who migrated there from Saraiki speaking areas after Partition in 1947 or were already living in different parts of India for economic reasons (cf. Khan, W. 2009; see Saraiki, Lewis et al. 2013). They usually use the names Multani, Derawali, or Bahawalpuri for the language. Some Hindus in Afghanistan also speak Multani (IRBC 2001). There is a sizable population of Saraiki migrants in the Persian Gulf countries. Along with Saraiki, other languages like Urdu, Punjabi, Balochi,

[11] Sauvira was located near Sindhu Kingdom (the present day Sindh Province).
[12] I have shown here the official figures from census but some Saraiki nationalists claim that the actual number of Saraiki speakers is higher than reported (cf. Langah 2011).

Pashtu, and Sindhi are also spoken in South Punjab because of its geographical location at the confluence of four provinces. On the margins of South Punjab, there is an inter-mixing of the adjoining languages into Saraiki. For example, there is more influence of Balochi on Saraiki in Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur districts. In Khanewal, Mianwali, and Bhakkar districts, Saraiki has influences of central Punjabi whereas it is closer to Sindhi in Bahawalpur and Kot Mithan. In the same way, Saraiki influences its neighbouring languages too. The alternative names for Saraiki are Western Punjabi, Jataki, Multani, Riasti, Thali, and Derawali, which are various dialects of the language spoken in different areas. The canal colonies, mainly populated by Punjabi speakers, have also played a significant role in introducing new words in the vocabulary of Saraiki from other regions of the Punjab. After 1947, many Muslims migrated from India, which are known as *muhajirs* (migrants). The government allotted lands to the *muhajir* population, left by Hindus who had migrated to India. The migrants settled in South Punjab mainly speak various dialects of the Urdu, Punjabi, and Dogri languages.

The assertion of a collective Saraiki identity by Saraiki nationalists in a politically radical way is a recent phenomenon (cf. Shackle 1977; Rahman 1997: 838). Saraiki was included as a regional language in the national census in 1981 after a demand from Saraiki nationalists. It can also be seen as a reaction to some Punjabi movements which assert Punjabi identity over the greater Punjab region (cf. Ayres 2008). However, politics at the national level and poor economic conditions in South Punjab has been the major reasons behind the quest for a separate Saraiki province. Saraiki has been considered as a dialect of Punjabi until recently, but in the last three decades, Saraiki activists demanded recognising of Saraiki as a separate language. These movements recognise South Punjab and Dera Ismail Khan and Tank districts of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa collectively as Saraikistan (Land of Saraikis). In the 1960s, some Saraiki scholars standardised the Saraiki script (Rahman 2002: 18). Later, they demanded for teaching Saraiki as a medium of education. Until now, although the regional languages are used as medium of explanation in public schools throughout the country whereas the private English medium schools also use Urdu as an explanation language, there are no text books and exams in the regional languages, with an exception of Sindhi (ibid. 14). However, Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi, and Sindhi are taught as optional language subjects at undergraduate level in Pakistan in their respective provinces. In Punjab, the text books for Punjabi, which are also taught at undergraduate level in South Punjab, only include the prose and poetry in those dialects of Punjabi that are spoken in the

central and northern regions of the province. For example, the classical poetry includes Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah, Muhammad Bukhsh, and Sultan Bahu. Although there are Punjabi poems by Khwaja Ghulam Farid included, none of his Saraiki poems are the part of the syllabus. This clearly indicates the incompatibility of Saraiki with Punjabi in a textbook of the Punjabi language. Similarly, modern Punjabi poets like Pir Fazal Gujrati and Sharif Kunjahi are also part of the syllabus but no contemporary Saraiki poets such as Shakir Shujabadi, who has wider readership and popularity in South Punjab, are included. [13] In 1989, Islamia University, Bahawalpur, opened the Saraiki Studies Department to award a master's degree in Saraiki. Later, the Department also started a PhD programme. Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, also opened the Saraiki Studies Department in 2006. However, some Saraiki speaking people prefer their children to speak Urdu so that their children may have better social and employment prospects.

In 2011 and 2012, some major Pakistani political parties supported the making of South Punjab a separate province, though there is still a political debate going on whether new provinces should be created or not. Many political parties support the division of Punjab into smaller provinces for better administration and good governance. However, the government will have to consider that some other ethnic movements will have similar demands that may not be possible for the state to fulfil. I saw the graffiti in favour of making South Punjab a province while traveling across the region. The region is still a part of the Punjab Province. Some political leaders from Bahawalpur also demand to restore the status of Bahawalpur as a province before it merged into the One Unit in 1955 (Langah 2011). I have mentioned elsewhere that certain constitutional amendments were made for satisfying the demands from various communities as the government considered resolving the issue of the Basque autonomy (Mughal 2012b). For a country like Pakistan, given the national and international political circumstances and economic conditions, a separate Saraiki province may pose serious constitutional and political challenges.

[13] Shakir Shujabadi is regarded as a symbol of modern folk wisdom by Saraikis. It is important to clarify that Shujabadi is not a Saraiki nationalist and his poetry is not used to define or assert Saraiki identity and ethnic radicalism in South Punjab.

4.5 Lodhran

Jhokwala lies in tehsil and district Lodhran. Lodhran District lies 29° 32' 0" North and 71° 38' 0" East and is situated on the northern side of the Sutlaj River. Multan District lies to its north and west, Khanewal District to the north, Vehari District to the north and east, and Bahawalpur District to the south and east. The district comprises three tehsils[14] (sub-divisions) namely Dunyapur, Kahror Pacca, and Lodhran. Prior to its status as a district on 1st July 1991, Lodhran was a tehsil of Multan District. Lodhran District was also a part of Multan Division, a third tier of the government in Pakistan, until this administrative system was abolished in 2000. Lodhran is well connected by a network of roads and railways with the rest of the country. Its location at the junction of two major cities Multan and Bahawalpur plays an important role in bringing it to the regional and national culture and economy. Lodhran is famous for its *khussa* and mangoes. I experienced a glimpse of its rural and urban life, from the *jhugis* (huts) of Od people, caravans of camels crossing the busy roads, lush green fields, dense markets, and a vast network of roads.

Picture 4.1: Milad Chowk in Lodhran City

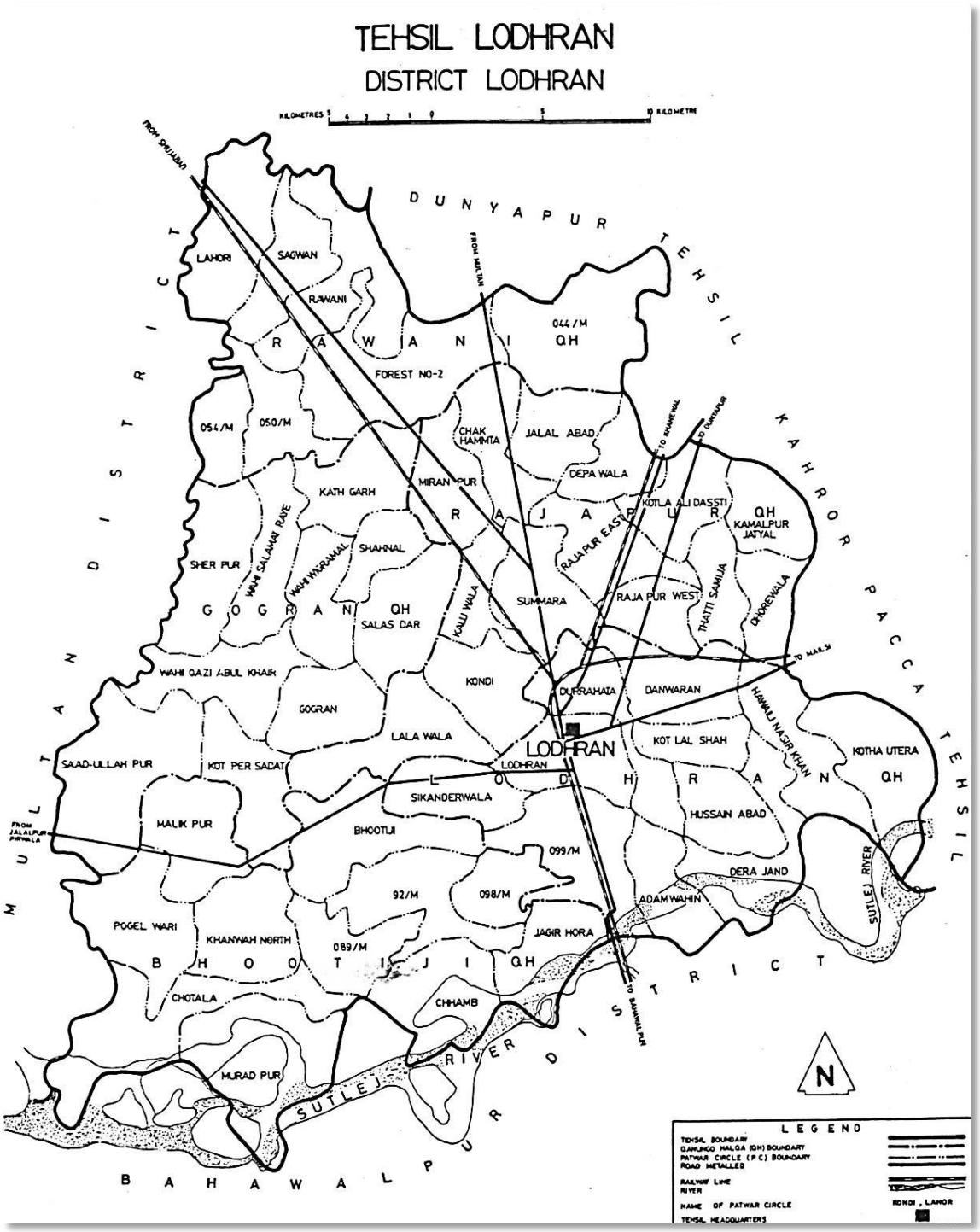
[14] Each district in Pakistan is comprised of two or more tehsils.

4.5.1 Demographic Features

In 1947, almost the entire Hindu population of the area migrated to India and the Muslim population migrating from India to Pakistan was allotted land in those areas. Muslims are now in majority with 99.4% of the total population of the district whereas 0.3% people are Christians (GoP 2000: 4-5). The majority of Muslims belongs to the Sunni sect whereas there is also a sizable population of Shias. However, any violent sectarian conflict between the two communities is very rare in Lodhran. A social worker, Mirza Saleem, once showed me a *maseet* or *masjid* (pl. *masajid;* the mosque), called Faisal Masjid, in Lodhran City. It is a popular mosque because both Shias and Sunnis offer prayers here, though at their own timings in separate congregations. The major *qaums* settled in Lodhran before 1947 include the Saraiki speaking Baloch, Arain Joya, Kanju, Uttera, Ghallu, Bhatti, Lodhra, Metla, Chaner Syed, Qureshi, Tareen and Pathans. Kanju, Joya, Noor, Baloch, and Pathans are prominent in local politics.

Arain and Jat *muhajirs* settled mainly in Dunyapur whereas Rajputs settled across the whole district. Rajputs are the dominant *muhajir* group by population in the district. They migrated from the Haryana region of India. They speak Haryanvi dialect of Urdu. These Rajputs are sometimes called Rangarr; hence, this dialect is referred to as Rangrri. Rangrri dialect is different from the Rangri language of the Malwa group of languages. Other *muhajir* groups such as Mughals also speak Urdu whereas Arain and Jats speak Punjabi. Punjabi is also spoken by those who settled here from different parts of the Punjab due to the British Raj's schemes for irrigating the unpopulated lands or after the country's land reforms. They are called *aabaadkaar* (settlers). The nomadic people, known as Od, have also been living in the district prior to 1947. They speak the Od language. Pashto speaking Pukhtuns also live in the districts who mainly work as labourers. According to the 1998 census (ibid. 37), 69.1% of the population speak Saraiki, 18.6%, Punjabi, 9.1%, Urdu, and 0.2% speak Pashto. The population of the district thus includes diverse ethnic and linguistic groups.

Map 4.3: Lodhran Tehsil



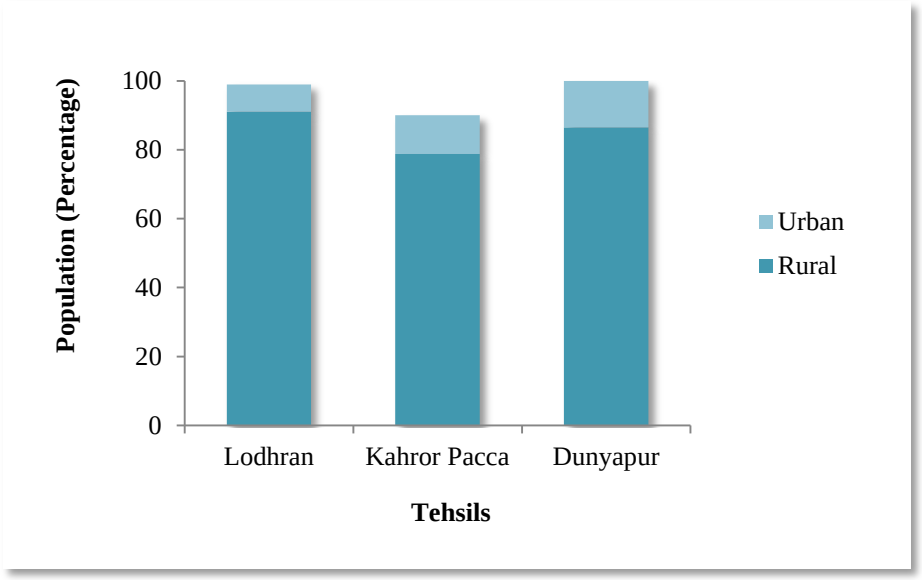
Source: GoP 2000: XXI

Lodhran is considered among the poorest districts of Pakistan. In 1997, Lodhran scored 68.92 on the Deprivation Index of the Human Development Index (HDI) set by the United Nations (UNDP 1997, as quoted in Jamal et al. 2003). Being at the bottom of the HDI in the Punjab, Lodhran is also considered as one of the thirty poorest districts of Pakistan with 48.37 per cent population below the poverty line (Jamal 2007: 15). Lodhran has an overall literacy rate of 44.5%, with 58.6% for men and 29.1 per cent for women, ranked among the three districts with the lowest literacy rate in the Punjab (GoPunjab 2009). In the past few years, however, an increasing number of government and private schools have been set up to boost literacy in the district after the strong demands raised by the civil society organisations and the local media. Many NGOs like Lodhran Pilot Project (LPP), Punjab Rural Support Programme (PRSP), Akhuwat, and Olympia Association are working in different sectors to alleviate poverty, improve infrastructure, and encourage youth participation in social development.

Lodhran District comprises an area of 1,790 square kilometres. According to The Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908), the population of Lodhran tehsil was 109,752 in 1893 and 113,359 in 1901. These figures include Kahror Pacca and Dunyapur, which had been included in Lodhran tehsil at that time. After a century, the total population of the district was 1,171,800 in 1998 (GoP 2000: 17). According to 2011 estimates, this figure has risen to approximately 1,529,000 (GoPunjab 2011). Lodhran is the largest among the three tehsils by area and population. The gender ratio in the district is 108.3 males for every 100 females. Its 73.5% of the population is fifteen years of age or older. Lodhran comprises of two Municipal Committees, two Town Committees, 75 Union Councils, and 438 *mauzas*.[15] In Lodhran, more than 85% of the population lives in rural areas. Figure 4.1 shows the rural-urban breakdown of population for the three tehsils.

[15] During the British Raj, a representative from the *mauza* was responsible for liaising between the government and other landlords. This person was called *numberdaar;* hence, the arrangement is referred to as the *numberdaari* system. A *mauza* may consist of one or more villages and is named after the largest village. The official record about the revenue is maintained by *patwaris* (s. *patwari*; accountants) at the *mauza* level. The *mauza* administration system has now been replaced by the Union Council administration.

Figure 4.1: Rural and Urban Population in Lodhran District



Source: GoP 2000: 55-63

The district's terrain is flat and the area is cultivated mainly through irrigation canals and tube wells. The subsoil water is sweet in Kahror Pacca and Lodhran but brackish in Dunyapur. The sweet soil is particularly suitable for growing mangoes and date palms. The district has an average rainfall of seventy-one millimetres and most rainfall occurs during the monsoon in July and August. Winter rainfall occurs from January to March. The minimum temperature in winter is five Celsius. In summer, it reaches 42 Celsius, though I also noted up to 44 Celsius. There is no significant wildlife in the district except for jackals, wild cats, and wild rabbits. Partridges are also found in some parts of the district, mainly in the Miranpur forest. Migratory birds like teal, quail, and crane visit the district in winter. Lodhran's economy mainly relies on agriculture. Lodhran produces twenty per cent of Pakistan's cotton. Wheat, mango, sunflower, and Guava are among its other agricultural products. Presently, only the Sutlej River provides water for its two canals, Qutub Pur and Mailsi, for irrigation. The Bias River that once flowed through Lodhran shifted its course though its dry bed can be seen at many places in the district. For this reason, it is now called *Suk* (dried) Bias. Lodhran has more than four hundred industrial units such as oil and flourmills and cotton factories. Most of these industries are agriculture-based. The growing industrial infrastructure has changed the district's natural landscape as well as economic scenario with an occupational shift from farming and agricultural labour to

industrial labour. Table 4.1 shows the percentage of population employed in these industries.

Table 4.1: Percentage of Employed Population by Industry in Lodhran

Industry	District %	Rural %	Urban %
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	61.8	68.3	20.9
Mining and quarrying	0.3	0.3	0
Manufacturing	1.1	0.9	2.2
Electricity, gas and water	0.1	0.1	0
Construction	21.6	19.4	35.5
Wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels	5.5	3.3	19.1
Transport, storage and communication	1.4	1.3	2.5
Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	0.1	0.1	0.2
Community, social and personal services	8.1	6.3	19.6

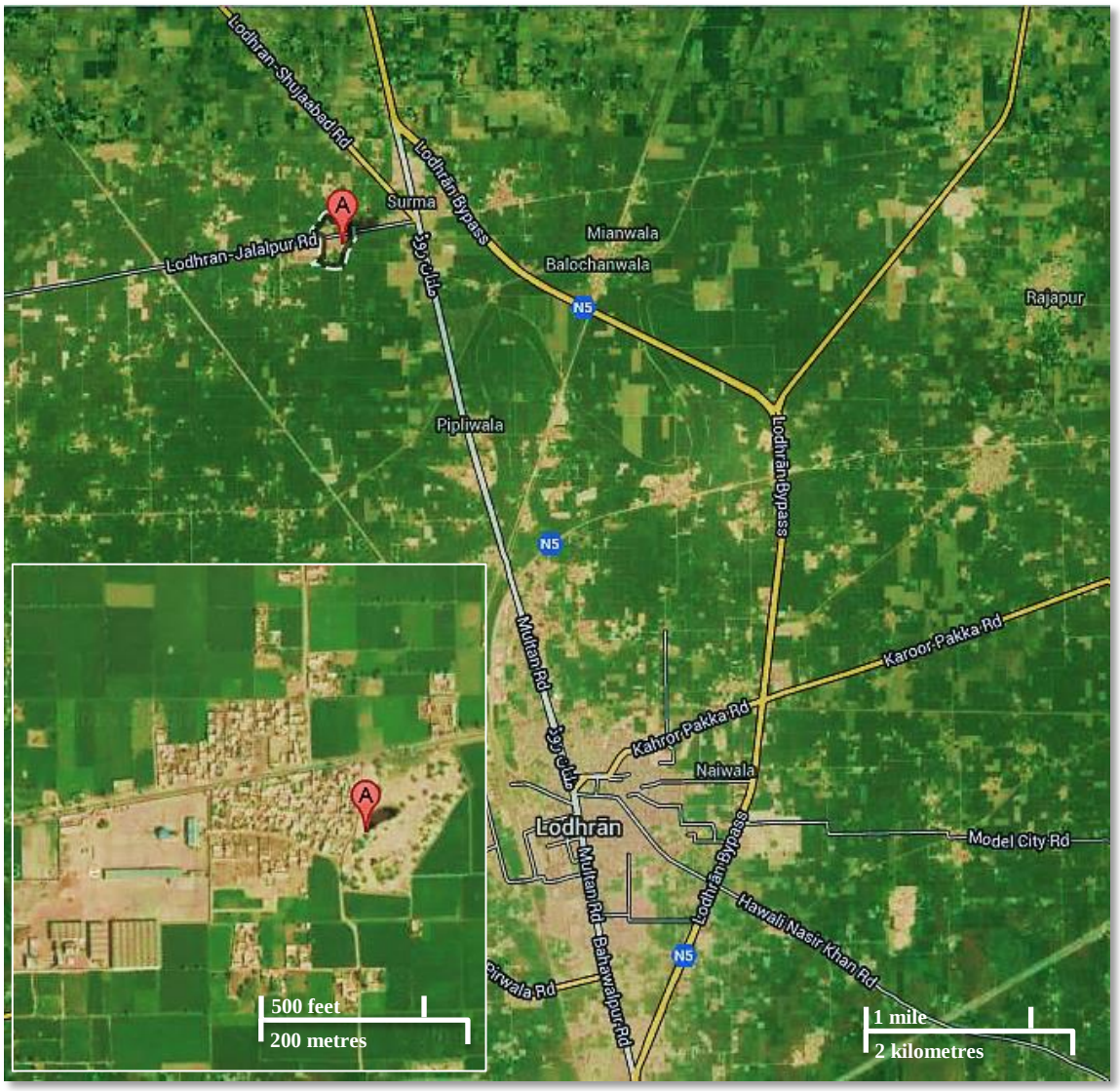
Source: GoP 2000: 33

4.6 Jhokwala

Jhokwala is one of several settlements of Sumra, which is one of the two *mauzas*, the other being Kalluwala, in Haji Shah Union Council. Sumra takes its name from a small settlement by the same name. It is located near a highway junction, called Adda Parmat, just seven kilometres to Lodhran. It is a junction at the Multan-Bahawalpur, Lodhran-Jalapur Pirwala, and Lodhran-Shujabad roads, which provides access to the intra-city and inter-city transport for local residents. The Multan-Bahawalpur Bypass is only a few kilometres from Adda Parmat. There is also a highway marketplace at Adda Parmat. Jhokwala is located on the Lodhran-Jalalpur Pirwala Road. The road passing through the village divides it into two spatially distinct sub-settlements. This road provides access to Adda Parmat, only half a mile from Jhokwala. There are vast fields on the northern and southern sides of Jhokwala and more settlements come after a few miles in these directions. Basti Raqba and Basti Sandewala lie on eastern and western sides of Jhokwala,

respectively. Both these settlements are directly linked through the Lodhran-Jalalpur Pirwala Road. Houses are located on both sides of the road in Jhokwala. On the southern side of the road, there is a large cemetery. This is one of the oldest and largest cemeteries in the *mauza* used by people in Jhokwala as well as nearby villages. It also has a shrine of a saint, Hazrat Pir. His *urs* (annual shrine festival) is celebrated at this shrine in summer. Located on the road front, a large empty area just adjacent to the cemetery is bounded by four walls. This ground is *Eidgah*, used for annual *Eid* congregations.

Map 4.4: Satellite View of Jhokwala and its Surroundings



Source: Google 2013

The original name of Jhokwala is Wasti Jhok Aala in Saraiki. *Wasti* literally means a settlement or hamlet. This word is used for small rural settlements. *Jhok* is a Saraiki word, which means a hamlet in the lowlands near the river. *Aala* means "of". Jhok Aala thus literally means 'of hamlet'. *Aala* is a common postfix with many village and towns names in South Punjab, which stands for *khoo* (well; the land associated with a well; fields). In this cultural context, Jhok Aala Khoo means the well or field of Jhok. Many names of villages in South Punjab represent the well around which a settlement was developed. Indeed, the desert-like geographical conditions in many areas made the well an important sign of life. The well provided water for drinking as well as irrigation. In official documents, newspapers, and postal addresses, the Urdu version of its name, Jhokwala, is used. I have used the same version of its name throughout the thesis for consistency. There is no documented history of Jhokwala or its surrounding villages available so far. An old grave in the *qabristan* (cemetery) of Jhokwala, distinct from the rest of the graves, represents an older architecture of at least two centuries ago. Many people told me it was grave of the man who had once owned the entire *mauza*. They told me that he was from the Sumra *qaum*; hence, the *mauza* was named after him. Elderly people also said that they had been living in Jhokwala for at least three to four generations. During the reign of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, the Bias River used to run in this area. A large sandy area along Jhokwala further strengthens the view that Jhokwala was a *basti* along the river. I found some broken pieces of baked clay pottery in the sand and the deeper one goes, the more pieces one finds. However, the exact age of this settlement cannot be verified until more archaeological and historical evidence is analysed. A local historian, Taqi Shamim, told me that he found seven to eight centuries old coins from various villages in Sumra and some of these are now kept in a museum in Bahawalpur.

Two major groups are living in Jhokwala. Saraikis live on the southern side while *muhajir* Rajputs live on the northern one. Bhattis, Paolis, Mochis, Klasras, and Piraheens are the major Saraiki *biraderis* in the village. All these *biraderis* are said to have been living in Jhokwala for centuries except Klasras. Klasras moved here in the 1940s but earlier than 1947, from Muzaffargarh after purchasing land here. They merged into the local population as they shared the same language, religion, and other local customs. My informant and friend, Sajjad, belongs to the Klasra family. According to him, his grandfather was a religious person who had purchased a land here and, apparently, it took no time for his family to be a part of the community in Jhokwala. Klasras use the suffix

title of Faridi with their names as a gesture of their devotion to the Sufi saint Khwaja Ghulam Farid. The saint Hazrat Pir whose tomb is in the cemetery of Jhokwala was also from this family. They are also called Molvis. Rajputs migrated from Bhiwani District (presently in India) after 1947. Nearly all the Rajput families regard Bhunna as their ancestral village, except a few whose ancestral village is Chaank. They are called Bhunnay and Chaankiay, respectively. All the Rajputs use the prefix title of Rao with their names. Rao Tahir is one of my friends and was my host at Jhokwala. His family belongs to Bhunnay group. They initially settled in Vehari District and other village in Lodhran before they were allotted land in Jhokwala in the early 1960s after the land reforms in 1959 (cf. Ahmad et al. 2004; Nalty 1972).

4.6.1 Socioeconomic Profile of the Village

On the southern side of the road in Jhokwala, the Bashir Cotton Factory is located just beside the settlement. An industrialist who did not belong to Jhokwala built the factory in the 1980s. Most streets are paved with baked clay bricks, while a few are muddy. A few main streets are directly connected with the road whereas others are connected with the main ones like branches of a tree. The underground water is used through hand pumps or electric motors for household consumption. There is a new sewerage system in the village built by the Lodhran Pilot Project through people's participations. The waste from most houses is drained into a big sump by a network of underground tubes, which is located on the northern side of the road just opposite to the factory. There are two mosques in the village. One is located on the northern bank of the road, known as Noori Mosque. It is a big mosque with a new concrete structure. A new section of the mosque for a *madrassa* (religious school for children) is under construction. The other mosque is located beside the cemetery in the southern settlement, sometimes referred to as *chhoti* (small) mosque by people of Jhokwala. Another small mosque is also located in the factory. A government hospital with some basic facilities is located at Basti Dhalai, about two miles from Jhokwala. Built in 1988, it provides basic health facilities for the entire Union Council. Women health workers also provide health counselling for women at their homes. Some privately owned clinics and dispensaries are also present in the Union Council. Such facilities provide basic medical aid only for minor infections and injuries, and run some government health campaigns such as poliomyelitis vaccination. For severe medical conditions, people go to Lodhran, Bahawalpur, or Multan. A veterinary clinic is also located beside the Union Council office in Basti Dhalai. A field office of the Agriculture

Department is located at Adda Parmat, which provides counselling, training and support for farmers. Jhokwala comprises about two hundred households with a population of about 1,500 at the time of my fieldwork in 2010.[16] It is a medium sized settlement compared to some larger ones in the *mauza*. Saraikis are in the majority with more than 65% of the village's population. All are Barelvi Sunnis. The gender ratio in Jhokwala is 0.97 male for one female. The longitudinal population data about the *mauza* indicates that its population increased more rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s as shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Population Density in Sumra *Mauza*

Census Year	Total Area (km^2)	Total Population	Number of Families	Family size	Density ($/km^2$)
1998	25.76	15,434	2,030	7.6	599.14
1981	25.76	8,233	1,128	7.3	319.6
1972	25.764	6,148	1,034	5.9	238.66
1961	25.75	3,526	577	6.1	136.93

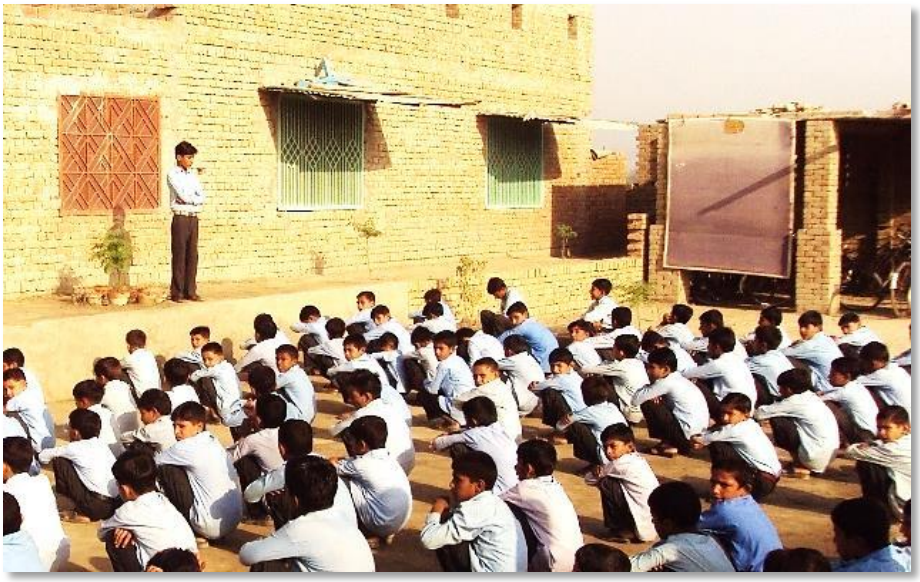
Source: GoP 1961, 1972, 1984, 2000

The agricultural and residential land gradually became insufficient to meet the needs of this growing population. Lands started to be divided into smaller plots. People who could not get enough land for cultivation sold their lands. They started to work as wage labourers or migrated to big cities or the Middle East, usually Saudi Arabia. This scenario also boosted the trend towards education to attain better employment opportunities. Some land was purchased for schools and the factory because of the location of Jhokwala on the road providing easy access for transportations. I have visited many other villages in the area, but not too many small settlements have shops as these are in Jhokwala. There are a few shops and tea stalls on the road. I met with Arif Faridi, a staff member of the Union Council office, in the initial days of my fieldwork. He suggested Jhokwala as my field site. The reason he told me was that Jhokwala had a better literacy rate and lower crime rate than other villages or settlements in the Union Council.

[16] In Pakistan, a household is generally defined as those residing under the same roof or living in the same boundary and share the everyday expenses such as for food.

A simple indicator of increased literacy rate in Jhokwala is the presence of and access to several schools. There are about eight to ten easily accessible schools in the *mauza.* Four of them are in or around Jhokwala: two government schools one for boys and another for girls. Tahir runs a private school, Al-Akbar Model School, which provides education up to secondary level for both boys and girls. Another private school, Al-Faisal Model School, run by Sajjad, is located at Adda Parmat. It also provides education up to secondary level for both boys and girls. Many children from Jhokwala study at this school as well. In all these schools, children from the nearby villages having no schools also come to study.

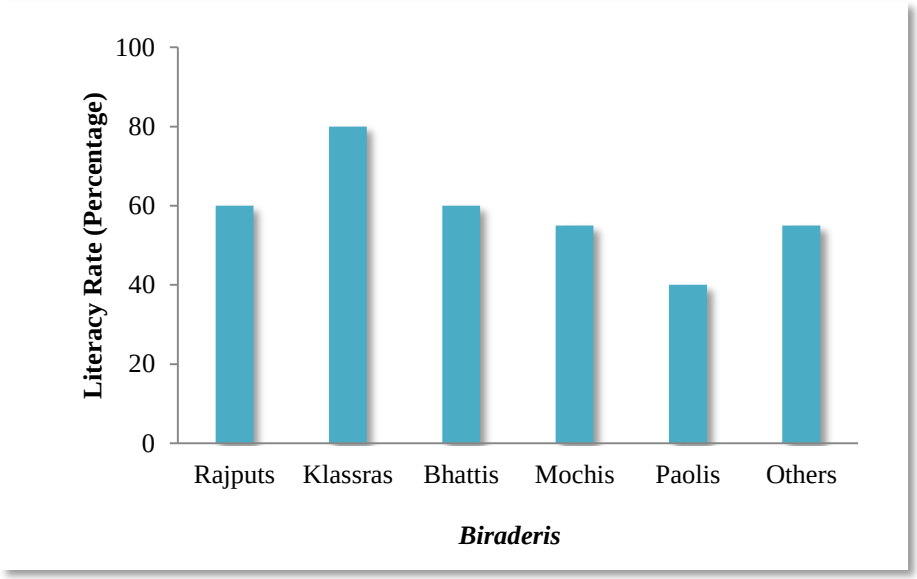
Picture 4.2: Assembly in Al-Faisal School



There is no facility for higher secondary education in Sumra. The easy access to Lodhran makes it suitable for people to travel to the city every day to studying in the colleges there. In fact, many students in Jhokwala travel to the city every day and study in different educational institutions there. Some boys are also studying in Multan and Bahawalpur. Many people in Sajjad's family are educated to a higher level. His uncle, Nazir Ahmed, is a lecturer in English at Lodhran College. Girls are also getting education, albeit their number is smaller than that of boys. After completing their secondary level education from Al-Akbar and Al-Faisal schools, a few girls are now teaching in these schools. The trend towards education has increased in the last ten to fifteen years for a number of reasons. The government policies have also been effective in this regard. The lesser availability of agricultural land for every family, access to the city through roads, and increase in the number of schools are among these factors. Further, the government initiated the Punjab

Education Foundation in 2008. According to this programme, the government bears the expenses of education, including fees, books, and uniforms. Al-Faisal Model School is part of this programme. Those, who cannot afford to educate their children, will send their children to this school. However, the literacy rate is not uniform among different *biraderis* in the village. This is due to the relative reliance of different *biraderis* and families on agriculture and their differential access to educational facilities. Further, the trend to educate girls is very recent, so the age and gender of children in a particular family may affect the literacy rate of a *biraderi* in such a small population. Figure 4.2 shows the difference in the literacy rate between different *biraderis* in the village. The trend to education is relatively higher in Klasras and they are not much engaged in agriculture.

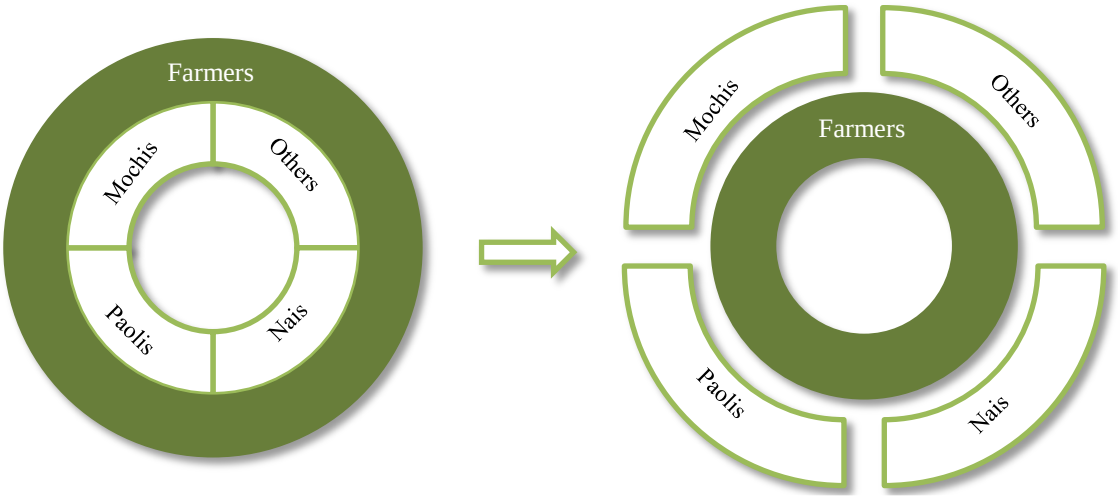
Figure 4.2: The Literacy Rate among Different *Biraderis*



A gradual shift from agriculture to other occupations in the last three decades does not mean that people have completely abandoned agriculture in Jhokwala. Some farmers fully rely on agriculture and livestock for their subsistence. However, there are two major types of change associated with agriculture. Firstly, the exchange of services in agricultural production that was common in most agrarian communities in South Asia, known as *jajmani* (Orans 1968; Srivastava 2005: 115) and *seypi* (Eglar 1960: 32, 200; Jaffrelot 2004: 203; Lyon 2004a: 99-100) by Hindus and Muslims, respectively, has disappeared. This system was called *oluk* in Saraiki. It consisted of "mutual obligations for work and payment" between agricultural landlords and so-called *kammis* like *nais* (barbers) and

mochis, similar to the *seypi* system. *Oluk* is no longer practised in Jhokwala after the widespread trend of temporary migration to cities and overseas, and the opening up of alternative ways of earning such as shops and wage labour. The abandonment of the *oluk* system itself is an indicator of a market-based cash economy. Since the *oluk* system is no longer practiced, therefore, *biraderis* like Mochis and Nais, are no longer associated with their traditional occupations too, although some of them continue to work in the same occupation as they used to do before but now for cash only. They still use the same name for their *biraderis* as they used earlier as opposed to social mobility among castes as Ahmad (1977: 70-90) noted elsewhere in Punjab that *kammis* usually adopt the name of the *biraderi* they are serving to. For instance, Paolis still call themselves as Paolis.[17]

Figure 4.3: Shift from an Agricultural to the Market Economy



Secondly, there has been a tremendous shift in the technology used for agriculture. There is now less reliance on animals in cultivation, harvesting, and the transportation of products. However, at times, some people use animals for agricultural purposes due to energy crisis and unavailability of fuel and electricity. The use of tractors started as early as the 1980s for agriculture in Jhokwala but only a few farmers own tractors. The majority of the farmers hire tractors and other agricultural machinery like threshers, when required. Similarly, new varieties of crops, hybrid seeds, modern fertilisers, pesticides, and insecticides are available in the market. Farmers have to buy these things from the market,

[17] I use the terms like *nais* and *mochis* not as *biraderis* but as occupations when in italics to distinguish between the occupations and *biraderis*.

which requires cash. Therefore, the entire agricultural economy has now turned into a market-based economy. Farmers need to earn more cash from their production to re-invest in it. Lack of money also became the reason for some small farmers to abandon agriculture. This has increased the yield, on the one hand, while has decreased the human resource input, on the other hand, with the intensification in agriculture. In addition, there has been an overall shift towards the market economy due to intensive contact with cities. All other economic groups previously linked with agriculture through the *oluk* system, such as *nais* and *mochis*, cannot rely on seasonal agriculture now. This change has led towards an increase in the trend to work as labourers in factories, cities, and overseas. Some people have started small businesses, generally based on their skills such as *nais* who have opened barbershops in the market. However, most of the labourers and shopkeepers are linked with agriculture directly or indirectly. For example, labourers offer their services for sowing rice paddies and earn cash in return. Similarly, farmers perform marriages, buy new dresses, and repay debts after harvesting when they have sufficient cash after selling their agricultural production.

Picture 4.3: The Use of Animals (left) and Tractors (right) in Agriculture

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed some particular aspects of social change in Pakistani society. I have shown, by symbolising Pakistan's national anthem, the historical dynamics of the country and the futuristic aspirations of the nation. There are two major factors in shaping Pakistani identity: land and religion. The ethnic and cultural diversity in Pakistan has its roots in the long history of this land. People from different parts of the world came to this

land in different eras. They influenced the indigenous culture and some of these incoming groups settled here permanently. Islam worked as a binding force for these ethnically diverse people and provided the ideological basis for the emergence of a separate homeland for Muslims in South Asia. Pakistanis respond to social change according to their needs and idealism. In Some Asian countries, such as China and Japan, significant changes in kinship organisation as well as marriage and family patterns occurred, though may not be greatly explicit or publically evident, because of the recent demographic changes like controlled fertility and increased life expectancy (Vervoon 1998). Similarly, population growth, migration, technological change, and the state's policies influenced cultural and social transformations in Pakistani society ever since 1947.

I have discussed that South Punjab reflects the influence of many cultures. People of South Punjab developed a sense of regional identity over time in the wake of economic development. I have described how the Saraiki language provides a basis for this regional identity within the Punjab. I have provided a brief account of the South Punjab and the Saraiki language. South Punjab is experiencing a gradual social change because of population growth, urbanisation, and technological change. I introduced Lodhran District, in which Jhokwala is situated. The economy of Lodhran is primarily agriculture-based even in an era of rapid industrialisation and technological change. Jhokwala is a small village with considerable access to cities through a network of roads. The settling of *muhajirs* in Jhokwala enhanced the village's ethnic diversity and population density. Many farmers abandoned agriculture because of less availability of agricultural land and higher expenses involved for buying seeds, fertilisers, and pesticides. Those still farming do not practice the *oluk* system any more. This has changed the nature of extended social networks. I have also described that modern education is an important factor of social change in the village. In the next four chapters, I will discuss the social organisation of time and space in Jhokwala with reference to social change. I will explain how the indigenous ways of measuring, managing, and celebrating time have been in flux due to social change in the village. Similarly, I will describe the sociospatial relationships in the village and will discuss the changing nature of these relationships. In doing so, I will point out those aspects of the social organisation of time and space, which have not been undergoing major changes because of their vital role in defining certain defining features of social organisation.

5

The Social Organisation of Time

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the social organisation of time in Jhokwala. I discuss some local terminologies that are used to describe the concepts of time such as the social categorisation of different stages of human life and the associated cultural notions. The passage of time from past to future and from childhood to old age highlights that time and change are intertwined. Such changes are perceived by every culture in particular ways. I explain the relationship between change and the social organisation of time in Jhokwala. For example, the changing aspects of the temporalities of the ceremonies like birth, marriage, and death are indicative of social change. In order to understand the temporalities in the relationships of exchange, I present some examples of gift relations and cash flow in the rural economy. Daily rhythm of activities and the allocation of time for different activities show people's management of time and experience of change in everyday life. At the end of this chapter, data about the management and allocation of time is also given.

I explain how people act in the present, share with each other their experiences of the past, and express their inspirations and visions about the future. Elderly people regard the time when they were younger as an 'ideal time' and associate it with morality, honesty and other such cultural values. They consider the linear progression of time from past to future as a continuous decline of morality. The younger generation, on the other hand, consider the present as a time to struggle for future to achieve *taraqee*. I argue that this changing attitude towards time is due to the changing nature of social relationships as a consequence of an overall social change including, but not limited to, urbanisation, the media, and modern education. Time and change are not only linked in the context of social change, every individual passes through different biological stages in his or her life. These stages reflect biological and psychological changes in an individual's life. At each stage of an individual's life, different social roles and statuses are associated in some cultural contexts. I discuss the social connotations that are associated with different stages of the life cycle, which are unfolded in the development and attenuation of personhood at different stages of

life (Davis-Floyd 2004; Kaufman et al. 2005; Van Hollen 2003). These rituals and ceremonies are an important and integral part of social organisation. I discuss three major ceremonies that are celebrated in Jhokwala: birth, marriage, and death. The ways of celebrating these ceremonies are in flux due to social change and are indicative of economic and technological change in the village.

People allocate time for different activities with certain social intervals, which follow each other with an 'ordered time'. The description of the time spent by individuals for different activities is the fundamental aspect of ethnography but the "ethnographic estimates of time inputs" are rarely quantified (Johnson 1996). The quantified estimates help to make comparative generalisations allowing us to study the processes of change within a community over time. Studying the time allocation for various activities helps to analyse the nature and direction of social change (Barth 1967: 662). This is because the differential time allocation shows people's preference for one activity over another, for example, leisure over work or vice versa. I also present data about the time allocated for various activities by different social groups in Jhokwala.

5.2 Some Basic Concepts and the Local Terminologies of Time

The terminologies used for various expressions of time in Jhokwala are of Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Sanskrit origins, and not limited to Saraiki and Urdu only. The reason is obvious: both Saraiki and Urdu have a diverse history of cultural exchange with several other languages. The vocabulary used for any expression of time that has religious connotations is of Persian or Arabic origin. A literal translation of the English word "time" is *waqt*. *Waqt* is used in a broader context of time. In philosophy and literature, the word *zamaan* is used to express the comprehensive meanings of time. A very basic and important concept of time and space in Jhokwala, like elsewhere by Muslims, is derived from the Islamic notions of the *dunya* and the *aakhrat.* The *dunya* literally means the world. The word *dunya* does not only encompass the attribute of the space the world occupies. It is a time in which people live. It goes back into the past to the time of the creation of the universe and, into the future, ends with the notion of the *qiyamat* (the day of judgement). The *aakhrat* can be translated as the afterlife. The *dunya* represents the *maazi* (the past), the *haal* (the present), and the *mustaqbil* (the future), this worldly, at a longer scale such as *zamana* while the *aakhrat* only represents the *mustaqbil* (the future) as in the afterlife. The *dunya* is the time and space where humans interact with each other and with nature. Their

good or bad deeds in the *dunya* will be judged in the *aakhrat* and they will be rewarded with heaven or hell accordingly. Therefore, the type of life one will have in the *aakhrat* depends upon one's deeds in the *dunya* (cf. Ahmed 1986; Hussain 2009). The deeds of *khair* (good deeds) are accumulated as *sawaab* (merit) while bad deeds are accumulated as *gunah* (sin). These deeds are considered as 'earning' out of the entire life. If one earns more *sawaab* by practicing *khair*, he or she will be rewarded *jannat* (heaven; paradise) in the afterlife. On the contrary, if one earns more *gunah*, he or she will be sent to *jahannam or dozakh* (hell) in the afterlife. However, one may ask for *tauba* (repentance; asking Allah for forgiveness and promising not to do commit the sin again). Sometimes, *kaffara* (compensation for sin), such as giving charity or performing certain rituals, is also offered as repentance. For example, it is believed if one performs *hajj* or *umrah* pilgrimages, his or her sins are forgiven by Allah's mercy. This backward movement from sin to purity and from hell to heaven, until a person commits the sin again, represents a time reversal in an individual's life. This time reversal is present in most rituals, at least in Sunni Islam, where most of the celebrations are considered as a way of commemorating the performance of certain acts of the prophets or saints. For example, the *hajj* rituals appear to be a time reversal of the narrative about the family of the Prophet Abraham by performing the same acts as they did, like the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (the Sacred House in Mecca) and running back and forth between the hills of Safa and Marwa (Werbner 2003: 106).

Generally, *waqt* is measured as an interval between two events or a reference to an event itself. In quantifiable terms, it can be measured through clocks, calendars, or numbers (two days, three years). People use specific terms to express the short and long terms, social and biological, sacred and profane, and so on. *Daur* and *zamana* are two approximately synonymous terms to represent the irreversible duration of time and can be translated as "era" in English. They may be stretched over centuries but not numerically measured. Instead, the succession of events marks the completion of a *daur* or *zamana*. For instance, the expressions like *purana daur* or *zamana* (ancient or past times), *aaj ka zamana* (today's age), *navaan daur* (new age) do not provide measurement in numbers, instead they compare between old and new. Therefore, *daur* or *zamana* also express the notion of change. Elderly people use the terms *sada daur* or *hamara zamana* (our age) to express the time when they were young. In this way, the past of the community is owned by the older generation whereas the younger generation owns the present as their time. The term *sada daur* does not only refer to the biological *javaani* (youth) of an individual but also the

social conditions people experienced in the past. The Saraiki word *vela* is used to describe a portion of a day, for example, *tussan kehrray velay oso aj?* (At what time will you come today?). Other expressions used for a shorter period are *lahza*, *lamha*, and *gharri.* The literal translation of all these three terms can be 'a moment'. Interestingly, the Saraiki and Urdu for watch and clock are *gharri* and *gharriyaal*, respectively. Such use of the term *gharri* for watch and a moment is apparently due to measuring time in smaller units by watch in contrast to the larger ones that were used prior to depending on clock time. These relatively larger units of a day are called *pah'rs.* People mark *pah'rs* by the shadow of the sun and movements of celestial objects in the sky. I will discuss *pah'rs* in the following chapter in some detail along with other calendric divisions of time into years, months, and weeks. People also use the expression *tam* for clock time, which is in fact the local pronunciation of the English word "time", for example, *kay tam hua hai?* (what is the time [by your watch]?).

There are also some subjective expressions of time, which highlight the qualities of time to distinguish between different social conditions. The temporal expression as *achha* (good) represents the good social conditions one lives in. Events and places also provide a temporal reference. For example, one may ask someone to meet again when the buffalos have finished bathing in the canal or to wait until after one goes to buy something at the Adda Parmat market. In such cases, the time taken for buffalos to bathe is not measured in any concrete units. Instead, it is mutually recognisable, as both the persons know how much time it would take buffalos to bathe. Similarly, the time needed to cover the distance between a given place and the market is also a shared experience of the time it takes to cover a distance to a mutually recognised and shared place.

The timing of preparing land for cultivation, irrigating the fields, seeding, fertilising, spraying pesticides, and harvesting is a critical aspect of agriculture. Shahid, Zafar and other staff members of the agriculture office told me some basic requisites of being a farmer. Agriculture requires a precise knowledge about seasons and climatic conditions. A farmer must be able to assess change in the weather, analyse the physical conditions of land, recognise the phases of the crop growth, and count the days from one agricultural activity to the other. The agricultural cycle in Jhokwala roughly begins in the middle of March, with the *ageti* (early) cultivation of wheat. Some farmers may start cultivating the crop as late as the middle or end of April, called *pichheti* (later) cultivation. *Ageti* and

pichheti cultivation timings apply to all the crops in a year, hence, these are indicative of farmer's knowledge about seasons for agricultural purposes. There are a number of factors behind this differential timing of cultivation. For example, rain at the right time in August leads to the cultivation of rice. Only farmers with sufficient economic resources will be able to cultivate on time, or vice versa. The farmers in Jhokwala are not big landholders, and not all of them own their own tractors and other agricultural machinery. The availability of this machinery and tractors at the right time when it is required is an important factor behind the time of cultivation. Ceremonies like marriage and burial, and other socioeconomic situation may also contribute to an individual's circumstances in affecting the timing of cultivation. A late cultivation (*pichheti*) of a crop will result in late harvesting, eventually delaying the timing of cultivating the next crop. Therefore, the terms *ageti* and *pichheti* represent a relative proximity in time. These are thus linear reference points in seasonal cycle.

The five-time obligatory *namaaz* (prayer) plays an important role in religious as well as overall temporal organisation in Muslims' everyday life.[18] This important aspect of Muslims' social organisation has not been comprehensively explored in anthropology because of some theoretical and methodological constraints (Bowen 1989). One of the major reasons might have been the issue of access to the individual prayers we well as congregations in the mosque for many Western researchers, or they were not interested in this aspect of the religion at all. Although *namaaz* can be offered elsewhere other than the mosque, if the place fulfils certain criteria such as purity, men offer *namaaz* in the mosque in *jamaat* (congregation) whereas most Pakistani women offer it at home. *Namaaz* is not merely a combination of religious rituals and symbols, but has also a social significance when it is offered in the mosque. Each *namaaz* has its specific timing, which is prescribed through the religious teachings. For instance, the Morning Prayer can only be offered before the sunrise, and the Evening Prayer can only be offered soon after the sunset. If one cannot offer a prayer in its prescribed time, one has to perform it as soon as thereafter but it is considered as a *qaza* (carrying out or fulfilling). To offer *namaaz* one has to perform *wazu* (ablution) for ritual purification in which one washes one's hands, arms, face, and feet. This ablution gives purity to the human body required for offering *namaaz*. People take their shoes off at the entrance to the mosque and perform *wazu*, if they have not

[18] The Arabic of *namaaz* is *salat*. Although people in Pakistan are familiar with the Arabic term, they use the word *namaaz* in everday communication.

performed it already at their homes. Children also perform *wazu* when they go to the mosque to learn how to recite the Qur'an. This bodily purity achieved through *wazu* lasts until one verbally abuses anyone, bleeds, such as after a tooth injury, has intercourse, and some other circumstances. One has to re-perform *wazu* in order to offer *namaaz.* Similarly, during menstruation a woman's body is considered impure. She does not fast during these days and cannot have intercourse with her husband. A man is considered impure following intercourse. He cannot offer *namaaz* until he bathes. All these notions indicate the temporal notions of purity and impurity, mainly linked with bodily secretions.

5.3 The Arrow of Time: Past, Present and Future

> There was a king. He thought, "I have developed the country during my *daur*, so I should invite some wise man to praise me." His courtesans said that they knew an old [wise] man and suggested inviting him. He was an old man of hundred, [or] hundred and fifty years old. He came. The king asked, "Tell me how the *daur* of my grandfather and father was, and how my *daur* is". He [the old man] said, "If you allow me, I tell you". He said, "In your grandfather's era, I met with a woman who had run away from her home. She was very beautiful, loaded with jewellery. She lost the way. I took her my home. I let her stay in my home at night and asked if she was fine, and if she needed anything. She told me her address. In the morning, I called her people. I placed my hand on her head and made her my sister before she left. It was your grandfather's era. Then your father's era came. I thought I should have snatched her jewellery. Then your era came. I thought I should have eaten [taken] her jewellery and eaten [raped] her as well." The good time that passes never comes back! (Hanif Ahmed, 90)

This folktale points two ideas about time. Firstly, time moves from past to present in a linear fashion. Secondly, past is expressed as an *achha* time. The older generation recognised their *zamana* as an *achha* time by the moral values they practiced, which they think are not practised now a days. They think that *pehla zamana* (earlier time[s]) was *sacha* or *khaalis* (pure) because there was morality everywhere in those days and people were honest. Wealth was not common but people wore simple dress, used simple food for living, and were content with whatever they had. According to them, people now compete to excel instead of cooperating with each other. They sometimes used the term *pehlay zamanay* (earlier times) in collective sense, to assert that their ancestors lived a more *khaalis* life than they did. They tell stories about their parents and grandparents to their children and grandchildren, to show how honest, moral, and hardworking they were. These stories are, however, not always about their biological ancestors. They tell stories about the prophets, saints, and other heroes in Islamic history. According to them, *zamana* of the

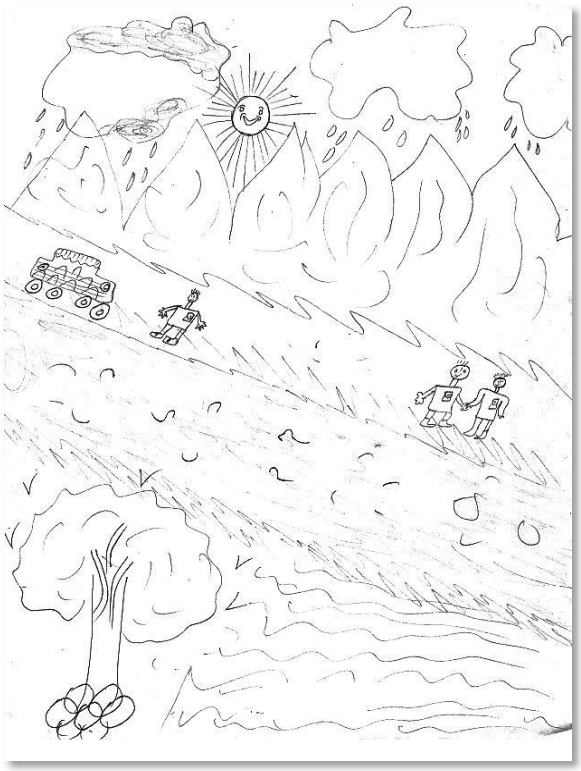
Islamic Prophet was better than that of his companions, and *zamana* of his companions was better than that of those who came afterwards, and so on. These concepts of purity and morality as good deeds associated with past and with the people of the past *zamanas* are informed by beliefs about the *dunya* and the *aakhrat*. The *zamana* of the Prophet as a model of morality and purity represents an ideal period and people judge their own deeds, and that of others, in social and economic life at an individual as well as communal level through such ideals.

In the above narrative about the moral past, it is obvious that the notion of change plays an important role in creating memories of the past socioeconomic life in Jhokwala. The denotation of time as *achha* is spoken in relative terms and involves the changing social and economic conditions as I discussed earlier. However, memories are not merely about the social realities of past. The notion of pureness also indicates the construction of an 'ideal time' in cultural memory. Social, economic, and emotional relations weave a complex social network between and among individuals and groups. These relations affect the entire human life, from childhood until death. There are not always 'good times' in an individual life and individuals also pass through traumas. Traumatic memories affect their lives afterwards. In cultural memory, pains and sufferings are merged into nostalgia and pureness of past. For example, elderly Rajputs describe not only their sufferings during migration from Haryana, they also tell of the *achha* time in the past:

> It was considered as a sin to sell your children and milk. Whenever a guest came, he was offered some milk to drink. Anyone who asked for milk, we used to give it free of cost. There was no such thing as selling milk. It used to be [available] free of cost when we came here [in Jhokwala] and [*local*] people already living here, too, never sold milk. Now, the *zamana* has changed. Now as you see how expensive it is…the inflation has increased [now], that is why, there is no prosperity. (Aulia, 72)

Another interesting dimension about the memories of the past is that these depict change from the mundane. The subjective memories of the past have a concrete sense of time, space, and social relationships. A girl described to me one of her memories of a trip to Islamabad with her relatives through her sketch of this memory as shown in picture 5.1.

Picture 5.1: A Girl's Memories of her Trip



> It was the wedding of my cousin. It has been one year [from now]. It was little bit winter. I do not remember the date. We went to grandmother's home from here [Jhokwala]. Then from grandmother's home, we all went together by train at night. Then we went to Islamabad. I, my cousin, and people from Karachi came there. My aunty lives in Karachi. We all went together. There were ten to fifteen people. We went to a hill there. It was hills all around and the water was in the middle. We played in the water, for some time. We walked around for one hour. Saw the hills. Climbed up the hills a little bit, then we returned. (Zunaira, 11)

The description of this trip has more than just the temporal and spatial references of the places she visited and the time she spent there. This memory is also about celebrating the joys of meeting with relatives as well as seeing a landscape different from that of Jhokwala. There are trees, roads, and streets in Jhokwala but the hills in Islamabad helped creating the details of this memory. Similarly, she specifically mentioned the relatives who live in a different city whom she only met at some special occasions like this.

One day while I was walking with Tahir, we met Azeem in the street. He complained to Tahir in a loud voice that his son had low grades in the school examination. Tahir replied that if his son has not been able to secure good marks, it was nobody's fault except the student himself. Azeem seemed not convinced with this reply. He said that he was regularly paying a high school fee and it was the school's responsibility to teach and guide the students effectively, and if it were the case, his son could have achieved a higher grade in the examination. After this debate, Azeem took both of us to his home. We sat in his guest room and he served us with snacks and tea. Azeem told us that he was born to a poor family. In order to improve the economic conditions of his family, he migrated to Saudi Arabia to earn a better living. He said that he was doing *mehnat* (labour; hard work) over there to provide a high quality education to his children so that they could live their lives with *izzat* (respect; honour). People have many such stories about the *mehnat* they perform in order to maintain and 'improve' their economic conditions. Aslam runs a business now in Jhokwala but he was a farmer about thirty years ago. He changed his occupation as he thought agriculture was not paying well. He had to do a lot of *mehnat* but the economic circumstances of his family remained the same, so he left agriculture:

> …I got married. My parents asked me to do more *mehnat* [to feed my family]. I used to see that the money that came from the cotton production, we used part of it for our expenses. We used to invest the rest of the money on wheat cultivation. When the wheat was harvested, we consumed it ourselves…so our condition remained the same. I said to my father that the entire life would pass like this. Neither could we improve our business nor could we eradicate our poverty. My father said to me that I was talking strangely because his father and grandfather were farmers and lived the life in this way. I thought how I could have more landholdings, how I could start a business. I told my father that I would do this. I went to meet a shopkeeper. I observed how he was doing business, how he was measuring things, how he was bargaining. I asked, "where does from you get the soap?" He replied, "from Shujabad." I asked, "How much it cost you?" He said, "I buy it for two and a half rupees and sell it for four or five rupees." I said to him, "I will get you the soap; you sell it in five rupees and give me four rupees for this." I did business in this way. (Aslam, 51)

A few elderly people told me how actively they participated in the Pakistan Movement and went to public rallies held in those days, as they wanted freedom and a separate country for themselves and for their generations to come after them. Hanif Ahmed is a ninety years old man. According to him, Muslims were poor but Hindus were rich. Muslims had to borrow from Hindus by mortgaging land and gold on interest. Therefore, Muslims decided to have

a separate country. All such stories represent the cultural perception of the past and the future. People are involved in a struggle to change their present from the past, and to make the future, more prosperous in economic terms. Therefore, the present is associated with struggle in Jhokwala. People believe they will earn more and have a better quality of life after putting more effort into their education, businesses, and jobs. Doing *mehnat* is not only limited to men. Women also put additional effort to support their families financially. A woman, in her 50s, while cutting the grass in the fields told me:

> …we do *porhiya* (saving for household through additional labour) for our living by cutting the grass. If we do not do this then it will be difficult for us to live a reasonable life, and our men also do labour." (Hajra, 53)

This *porhiya* saves the money spent for fodder for livestock. Women are no longer involved in agricultural practices largely and the women who still work in the fields do not belong to farming families. Their husbands work only as labourers. *Porhiya* can be a small business on regular basis or as a casual work. Some women run small businesses like tailoring, embroidery works, and poultry keeping from home. The struggle to improve their living conditions is also the result of power relations between the different *biraderis* and among relatives. Both Saraikis and Rajputs not only speak different languages, their cultural values and traditions appear to be different from each other in some respects. They might not invite each other for some ceremonies like birth rituals, in which only family members and close relatives participate but they do participate in ceremonies like the funerals and *Eid* prayers.

It is not merely due to living in the same village that gives people a sense of being one community. The mutual awareness of rights and obligations through participating in each other's ceremonies, economic interdependency, going of their children to the same schools creates the sense of 'living together'. Both Saraiki and Rajput children study in the same schools and befriend each other. Saraiki children speak Urdu with their Rajput friends. Similarly, Rajput children speak the standard Urdu dialect instead of Haryanvi or Rangri among themselves and with their Saraiki peers. In this way, common schooling gives them a sense of being one people. The curriculum books develop a sense of shared national identity. Children thus develop the sense of a unified national identity based on religion, the Urdu language, national monuments, Islamic history, and so on through schooling and the national media. This does not lessen the disparities created or shaped through maintaining *izzat* in the community, competition, and jealousies; but it does provide more

ways of stressing sameness, commonalities, and sharing.[19] I asked schoolchildren to draw their perception of Pakistan on paper. They always drew the national flag and national monuments from different parts of the country like Lahore and Karachi. They also drew religious words in Arabic to highlight that their national identity is expressed through Islam.

Mehnat, *pohriya*, and *izzat* are not the only qualities of the *haal* in Jhokwala. People do not practise them for their *aj-kal* (now a days). Their struggle for their children is to provide them with a better future, though they might have their own meanings of 'a better future'. They normally describe their additional *mehnat* and *pohriya* as a saving for the future. Just as memories of the past reflect 'ideal' times, future visions are also related to certain ideals. Their concept of having a 'moral past' also implies that that the future *zamana* will lack morality. There will be more technology, *taraqee*, and modern education but people will become dishonest and immoral. Despite doing all the *mehnat,* people associate the future with uncertainty. People say *Insha Allah* (Allah willing) when they promise or decide to do anything. If one person does not utter these words, the other one taking to him or her utters these words to express the submission of their plans for the future to the will of Allah, linking it with the Islamic concept of *taqdeer* (destiny). People also use the words *naseeb* (fate) and *qismat* (luck) to express their belief in destiny. For example, farmers recite Surah Rahman when crop is ready to be harvested praying that it does not rain or a pest attack does not waste all their *mehnat* and investment. The concept of destiny is not east to comprehend as practiced by Muslims or in other religions. After discussing with my friends in the community about the concept, two points are of particular significance. Firstly, one has to work hard at one's best. Secondly, one's efforts are rewarded by Allah. This corresponds to an Islamic belief that Allah rewards, with justice, according to one's efforts. No one will get lesser than one deserves. However, Allah may reward someone more than one's efforts or even destiny with His mercy. Therefore, one can ask for Allah's favours and kindness in order to be rewarded.

[19] *Izzat* is a comprehensive term involving the notions of respect, self-esteem, power, patronage, group-relations, and many other connotations to social hierarchies (cf. Lyon 2004a).

5.4 The Life Cycle

The social categorisation of age does not only represent how people differentiate between child and an adolescent, it reflects the set of rights and obligations one assumes at different stages of one's life (Fry 1980; Keith 1980; Laz 1998). Many people in Jhokwala do not remember their date of birth. They also believe it is not good to celebrate birthdays. For them, birthday is an indication that the time one was given to earn good deeds in this life has decreased by one year. In fact, no one celebrates his or her birthday in Jhokwala. The Gregorian calendar was not in use in rural areas in the early decades of the twentieth century. Therefore, the older generation cannot tell their birth date according to this calendar. They only calculate age with reference to some significant events, which are a part of collective memory. They have the same attitude for all past events because they only memorise them with respect to some other event. For example, when I asked Muhammad Akbar, what year it was that he moved to Lodhran, he replied:

> My grandfather was allotted land here. Therefore, we shifted here… I do not remember the exact (calendar) year. I was approximately four or five years old. I was six or seven years old when the [19]65 war took place. [I remember] the planes used to come. (Muhammad Akbar, 49)

When I asked Khuda Bukhsh, Hanif Ahmed, Rao Hanif, Rao Aulia, Mehfooz, and other elderly people about their age at some specific point in history, they were unable to tell me. They only related certain events to mark their age. For example, when I asked Allah Wasaya what his age was when Pakistan came into being. He pointed towards Saifullah, and said that he was at his age at that time, though he was not even sure about Saifullah's age in years when I asked about it. Since Saifullah was about fifteen years old, it meant that Allah Wasaya's age was fifteen in 1947. I later asked Allah Wasaya how old he was when Pakistan fought the 1965 war with India. This time he said that he was about the age of his elder son Shahnawaz, who was about thirty-two in 2010. Elderly people have their date or at least year of birth written on their national identity card. According to them, they never remembered their exact year of birth. Therefore, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government introduced national identity card for citizens in 1973, they enrolled their approximate year of birth. Children in schools normally do not remember their birth date. However, they can easily tell who the older ones are among their peers without knowing their birth date. I cross-matched their recognition of each other's age with their school records, and found it accurate. Such precise recognition of age without knowing the birth

dates has two explanations. Firstly, an older person can tell the date of younger ones because they were born after him or her. Peers grow up together and for them it is easy to recognise that they are of the same age. Secondly, and mostly importantly, they recognise age with certain physical features that can only be attributed to a particular stage of human life cycle. The simplest examples are that a young man has black hair and an old man has white hair, an old man has wrinkles on his face and some or all of his front teeth may have fallen out. Table 5.1 indicates the categorisation of age in Jhokwala into different stages.

Table 5.1: The Social Categorisation of Age

Stages of life	Age in years	Male	Social Connotations	Female	Social Connotations
Baby	1-5	*Nikka baal/bacha*	Fragility; love; blessing	*Nikki baal/bachi*	Fragility; love; blessing
Childhood	5-10	[*Putr da*] *baal/bacha*	Innocence; playfulness	[*Dhi da*] *baal/bachi*	Innocence; playfulness
Adolescent	11-16	*Chhowaar/larrka*	Learning; playfulness	*Chhoher/larrki*	Learning; adequacy;
Adult	16-40	*Javaan* [*mard*]	Strength; hardwork	*Javaan*[*aurat*]	Beauty; love; adequacy
Middle age	40-60	*Pakka sann/adherr umer*	Responsibility; worries; wisdom	*Pakka sann/adherr umer*	Responsibility; adequacy; worries; wisdom
Old age	60 to above	*Buddha*	Experience; respect; blessing	*Buddhi*	Respect; blessing; love

Note: The first local term is in Saraiki while the alternate one is in Haryanvi dialect of Urdu.

People also ascribe certain social meanings to these physical features. For example, the white hair of older people symbolise weakness in the biological sense. The more white hair one has, the older and weaker one is considered. Grey hair also symbolise wisdom and experience.[20] During my initial days of fieldwork, I was searching for someone in the area to learn more about the seasonal variations, different phases of crop cultivation, and history and geography of the area. Younger people always referred me to elderly people in the village. They believed older people had more knowledge and experience. An Urdu proverb "*yeh baal dhoop mein sufaid nahi kiay*" (these hairs were not turned white in the sunshine) points to the experience elderly people have. Such social connotations are not associated

[20] The term grey hair is used here to describe what is generally known as white hair in Pakistan from Western angle.

with old age only. An individual's age is recognised as being divided into various stages from childhood to old age. These stages are not just biologically differentiated but also socially categorised. Each stage has particular roles, statuses, and cultural values associated with it. For instance, a girl moves from being a *bachi* (female child) to a *chhoher* or *larrki* (adolescent girl) when she is about twelve or thirteen years old. She starts wearing a *bochhanrr* or *dupatta* (a headscarf worn across both shoulders like a cape around the entire torso); though many girls start wearing it at very early age just to imitate their women relatives. She spends most of her time inside home from this stage of her life onwards. If she has to go outside her home to Adda Parmat or any nearby village, her younger or elder brother accompanies her. This categorisation of age into various stages is not strict with respect to years and is fluid and flexible for different individuals. A Saraiki phrase highlights the roles associated with childhood, youth, and old age:

> *Chhotiyen velay laten te zor*
> *Javaani vich seenay te zor*
> *Budhapay vich zaban te zor*
> ([There is] more stress on legs during childhood, [there is] more stress on chest (heart) during youth, [there is] more stress on tongue during old age)

The above phrase indicates the association of different stages of life cycle with different types of role that a person assumes in the cultural context. Children have no responsibility; they do not have to think about earning. Their parents manage everything for them. They are free of any worries and enjoy this period of life. They are engaged in sports and hanging out with peers. Therefore, there is more stress on their legs. When people grow up, they have different anxieties. They have to earn a living for themselves and their families. They have to maintain social relationships and their prestige in society. Therefore, one feels stress on the heart during youth, which is culturally perceived as a centre for all emotions. During old age, on the other hand, one does not need to perform many activities. Old people are free of all the worries because they have been relieved of the burden of responsibilities. Therefore, in the old age, they only keep talking and, in this way, there is more stress on their tongues. They advise younger people, and they want to gossip and share their stories all the time.

5.5 Rituals and Ceremonies

People celebrate different rituals and ceremonies, such as birth, marriage, and burial, which are an important aspect of the social organisation of time (Goody 1968). I will now discuss how social change is reflected in the performance of these rituals and ceremonies. This account is not purport to be comprehensive and only discuss three types of ceremonies in Jhokwala in order to highlight changes in the ways celebrating these ceremonies over time as a consequence of change in the socioeconomic spheres of the rural life. Generally, these ceremonies are categorised as *ghami-khushi* (happiness and sadness; sorrow and joy; funeral and wedding) in Jhokwala like most areas of Punjab, which is similar to *gham-khadi* in Pukhtun culture (Ahmed 2005).

5.5.1 Birth

Perception and management of time is central to pregnancy, labour, and birth (McCourt 2009). I will focus on the rituals and ceremonies at and after childbirth in Jhokwala, which can be help to understand the sociotemporal organisation in the village. Both Saraikis and Rajputs celebrate the rituals of childbirth in somewhat similar ways. A *dai* (traditional midwife) attends childbirth and provides counselling to the *haamla* (pregnant woman) for the entire period of pregnancy (cf. Towghi 2004). There are two *dais* in Jhokwala. A majority of the childbirths occur at home while some occur at a small hospital at Basti Dhallai. This indicates the increasing role of women health workers in providing health services and counselling to women. If there is any medical complication during pregnancy, then the patient is taken to the hospital in Lodhran for childbirth as there only very basic medical facilities available in rural areas.

Childbirth usually occurs at the mother's *paykain* or *maykay* (parent's home), at least the first one if not all. Therefore, the expectant mother stays in her *paykain* some weeks before childbirth. The mother's *saas* (mother-in-law) visits her regularly during this period if the *paykain* is in a nearby village. If the *paykain* is in a different city, usually in the case of Rajputs, childbirth occurs at the *sohrain* or *susral* (in-laws). Childbirth normally takes place on the ground. The mother's mother takes Qur'an in her hand and stand by her for blessing. After delivery, the *dai* immediately cuts off the *naarr* (umbilical cord), which is then buried in the ground. Only a few women relatives are present during delivery. Everyone exchange *mubarakbaad* (congratulations) with each other and the mother's mother and *saas* receive special congratulations. The baby is then bathed and his or her

head is pressed to give it a round shape. The father of the baby gives some cash to the *dai*, known as *inaam* (reward). The *dai* may demand more cash for a baby boy than for a baby girl. During a group discussion, some men said that the gift for a *dai* depended upon the *haisiyat* (economic status) of the family. Since *dais* come from Jhokwala, they know how much the father can afford to pay as *inaam*. Some people also give her gifts in kind such as new clothes. The news about the birth of a baby starts circulating among friends and relatives very quickly. They come to congratulate the family and bring *mithai* (sweets). *Molvi* (Imam; cleric) or an elderly male relative recites *baang* or *azan* (the call for prayer) in a loud voice alternatively in each ear of the baby. This is a way of welcoming the newborn in society and proclaiming the faith. The *molvi* is also given some gift in the form of cash. In a few hours, or the next day if the baby was born at night, the *ghutti* ritual is performed in which elderly relatives like the grandfather and uncles make the baby lick their fingers wet with milk. *Ghutti* is an initiation of the newborn into the family. It is also a symbolic transmission of family values to the baby. It is believed that the baby receives the characteristics and temperament of the person whose finger he or she first licked as *ghutti*. For example, if someone is ill mannered, people may ask him or her, "*taikoon ghutti kayen lai hayee?*" or "*tannay kis ki ghutti lagi thee?*" (Whose *ghutti* did you get?).

There is no particular naming ceremony. In many families, the grandfather or grandmother names the baby. However, the final choice is by the parents of the baby. There are no strict consistent rules in naming the baby except that the name must be an Islamic one. For instance, *Ramazan* is a venerated Islamic month of fasting.[21] People who born during this month are often named Ramazan. Now a days, the parents name their children with the names of celebrities or the names most common in media, which are completely Arabic in their structure. Therefore, elderly people have names like Khuda Bukhsh, Allah Ditta, or Allah Wasaya, in which a part of the name is in Saraiki, whereas their children rarely have such names. When a mother bathes the baby and the baby's first haircut is performed, *satthi* (the seventh) among Saraikis, and *dasvaan* (the tenth) and or *beesvaan* (the twentieth) among Rajputs, is performed. On this day, the relatives offer gifts to the mother in a ceremony. These gifts include clothes for the baby and some dried fruit. Close relatives also present tiny gold rings to the baby with some cash. Although the ceremony is named after particular days like *satthi*, *dasvaan* or *beesvaan*, there is no fixed day for celebrating

[21] The name of the month is generally transliterated as *Ramadan* from Arabic but I am using the spelling that are more colloquial in the Pakistani languages.

it and is celebrated when it is convenient for the family. It can be performed as late as two weeks after the birth while the haircut or bathing had taken place already. Sometimes, an Islamic ritual of *aqiqa* is also performed on the same day (cf. Shaw 2000: 252). On the *aqiqa*, a goat or any other animal is sacrificed for charity purposes and a special food dish, usually made of rice, is prepared with this meat to distribute it among relatives. The *aqiqa* can also be performed separately usually within forty days of birth. It may depend upon some economic considerations such as availability of cash to buy a goat. Some thirty years ago, the haircut was normally performed as a separate ritual called *jhand* and was mainly celebrated at a shrine. People do not practise *jhand* any more for various reasons. Firstly, people used to travel by animal carts in a group in the past. Now, they can only travel by motor vehicle, which is a costly option. Secondly, apart from its ritual aspects, people used to celebrate *jhand* because it provided them an opportunity for leisure. Now, they have alternative forms of leisure in the form of television and movies. Similarly, the ways of celebrating *satthi* or *dasvaan* have been changing over time. For example, a special desert, known as *panjiri*¸ was made at these occasions. Now a days, people prefer to use ready-made *mithai* and clothes bought from market. There was particular food associated with these ceremonies:

> At *dasvaan*, the mother [of the mother] used to bring many gifts. She used to bring *ghee* (clarified butter), *shakkar* (unprocessed sugar). She used to stitch clothes for the baby. The parents [of the mother] used to give gold and silver to the baby. Now, they buy things from the market and give them. (Rao Aulia, 72)

Tahor or *khatna* (circumcision) is mandatory for the male children. However, there is no specified age to perform circumcision. It can be as early as a few months after birth but no later than six to seven years. A Piraheen used to perform circumcision with an *ustra* (traditional knife) without any anaesthesia. Now a days, most of the people prefer to get their children circumcised in the clinic. Piraheens used to provide their service as part of the *oluk* system. Now that people no longer practise *oluk*, Piraheens have increasingly left this occupation. There used to be a big ceremony after circumcision to which relatives were invited. This ceremony is now merged with the *aqiqa* too if circumcision has already been performed. In general, the words *tahor* or *khatna* are not used for circumcision always. Instead, people describe this custom as the *sunnat* (the way of the Prophet that Muslims are supposed to follow), *nikki* or *chhoti shaadi* (small marriage).

5.5.2 Marriage

In general, Pakistanis prefer marrying their kins mainly because they share similar family traditions and have previous knowledge of each other (cf. Donnan 1985, 1988; Eglar 1960). Although hypergamy for daughters is preferred in some families, the selection of spouse is normally from within kins. In cities, some marriages occur outside the kinship circle. However, despite social change and the changing dimensions of inter-generational relationships (cf. Chaudhary 2010), kinship is an important form of bonding in majority of the rural areas (Alavi 1972; Lyon 2004a). Among the agricultural landlord families in Punjab, as Lyon (2013) explained, marital networks serve as an important strategy for making alliances and saving political and financial interests, but marrying their children is primarily to strengthen the bond between and among siblings and cousins. In other words, marriage not only serves as a connection between two families but its social function is also "to renew and strengthen an already existing connection" (Eglar 1960: 93). However, fraternal ties between contemporaries are given more importance than intergenerational ties (Ahmad 1974). Similarly, some recent studies have shown that second-generation of Pakistani migrants in Europe also prefer marrying their relatives in Pakistan (Hasan 2009; Qureshi et al. 2012; Rytter 2012).

The average age at marriage has not been changed significantly over the past fifty years or so in Jhokwala.[22] The average age at marriage for boys is twenty-two whereas it is twenty for girls for both Saraikis and Rajputs. Age at marriage, both of girls and boys, in Pakistan is shifting from early 20s to late 20s or 30s because of a trend towards higher education and career planning (cf. Fricke et al. 1986; Sathar and Kiani 1998). This correlation between age at marriage and socioeconomic conditions is not peculiar to Pakistan or South Asia, but has also been found in many other Muslim and non-Muslim societies elsewhere (cf. Heaton 1996; McNicoll 1992). In Jhokwala, boys who are studying at higher levels prefer to have a good job or set up a business before getting married. Girls, on the other hand, have less choice of planning for their careers. Parents want their girls to marry as soon as they reach the age of puberty. Girls are not considered responsible for providing

[22] There have been some issues with the calculation of age at marriage in Pakistan, particularly for girls, in the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Ahmed 1969). One of the major reasons has been the inconsistencies in reporting the age of girls due to some cultural factors. I have estimated the age at marriage in Jhokwala for the older generation through life histories and local ways of calculating age by recalling certain events of major significance.

food and other necessities of life to their families. Ideally, a girl is expected to have the skills of cooking, child rearing, and other household activities.

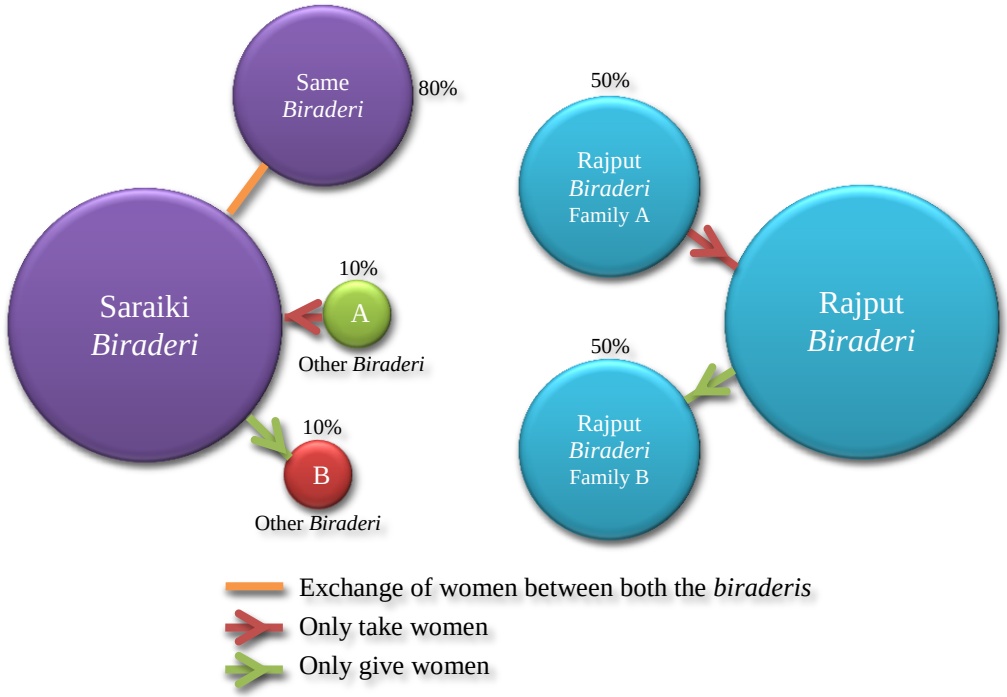
There are two types of matchmaking practices and *shaadi* (marriage) ceremonies in Jhokwala because there is a slight difference between Saraikis and Rajputs in this regard. Saraikis prefer marrying within their *biraderi*, though it is not strictly practised. The order of preference is cousin, own *biraderi*, kins, and then another appropriate *biraderi*. Such a pattern of preference is generally the same as elsewhere in Punjab (cf. Donnan 1988). Some marriages have also taken place between different *biraderis* but within Saraikis. Therefore, a *biraderi* is not limited to a fixed group of families; its extent grows as more marriages take place outside the *biraderi*. Rajputs practise strict endogamy but do not prefer marrying their parallel cousins. A couple of marriage took place in the *mauza* in which a Rajput married a non-Rajput, though this has never happened in Jhokwala. Rajputs prefer marrying the children of *phuphi* (father's sister) and *maamu* (mother's brother) but in a specific way. Tahir's father, Rao Muhammad Akbar, told me:

> We are Bhunnay. They call us Bhunnay. They are Chaankiay. We take [women] from them. However, we never used to give them [women]. In addition, to whom we used to give, say if we gave daughter to them, we never took [women] from them. For instance, if someone was from Bhunna, we gave him our daughter or sister. However, we could not marry their women. They [their children] became our *bhanjay* (sister's children). Now, *Masha Allah* (All accomplishments are so achieved by the will of Allah; the expression of appreciating some act or thing), we have started to take and give [women].

The internal divisions and alliances based on marital networks in Jhokwala are thus slightly different between Rajputs and other *biraderis*. Saraikis also practise *watta satta* (exchange marriage) in which the two families exchange brides (cf. Fischer 2006; Jacoby and Mansuri 2007). In *watta satta*, brother of the bride is married to the sister of her groom. *Watta satta* is perceived as a protection for the daughter against divorce, violence by her in-laws, or any kind of socioeconomic vulnerability. Rajputs, on the contrary, do not practise exchange marriages. Since almost all the Rajputs in Pakistan follow the same pattern, very rarely a marriage is performed within the same village particularly if no more than one group of Rajputs are living together. Therefore, the marital networks of Rajputs are spread across several villages in the area as well as in different cities in the country. In Saraikis, there is also a unilateral exchange between some families, though this is generally not the rule, and there are many instances where the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are

related to each other by blood. Klasras prefer marrying their relatives, most of them living in Muzaffargarh. Figure 5.1 shows the alliances and divisions based on the marital preferences of different *biraderis.*

Figure 5.1: Marital Alliances and Divisions



Note: This figure shows the marriages patterns in a Saraiki and a Rajput *biraderi.* The family or *biraderi* to whom each group is marrying may not necessarily be from Jhokwala. The size of the circle for the families and *biraderis* to whom each group is marrying shows the number of marriages between the both that means larger the circle, more number of marriages. The frequency is shown in percentage. Rajputs marry only Rajputs, therefore, the figure only shows the families whereas Saraikis also marry outside their *biraderi*.

Marriages are arranged by parents. Since marriages are performed within the *biraderi* in most cases, parents, siblings, and relatives show their approval formally or informally. The boy and girl know each other before marriage, as they are relatives, though their interaction has been limited by cultural norms and values regarding gender segregation. According to the older generation, they never had any objection to which their parents asked them to marry. However, they believe that their parents take into account whether other family or person will be suitable for their son or daughter. Although the same is widely practised even today, some married young men also told me they persuaded their parents with the help of their elder siblings for marrying a particular girl. In this way, these "arranged marriages" are not arranged by the parents only but the marrying couple also has some

level of involvement in the process as in many other countries such as Turkey and elsewhere in South Asia (cf. de Munck 1996; Fox 1975). Therefore, "arranged marriages" should not be confused with the "forced marriage" in which children, usually daughters, have no involvement in the matchmaking process and the marriage is arranged against the will of either or both the children (cf. Wilson 2007).

Among both the Saraikis and Rajputs, the parents talk to each other directly and express their interest in marrying their children. If both the parties are agreed, they invite their very close relatives to tell them that they are going to marry their children. This informal ceremony is called *amannah* (verbal agreement between both the parties to marry their children) or *baat karna* (to talk [about marriage]). The marriage proposal as well as the prospective relation is called *rishta* or *naata* (cf. Donnan 1988; Qureshi et al. 2012; Shaw and Charsley 2006). Next, they fix the date for a wedding in a small gathering of relatives called *gandheen* or *taareekh* (date). While fixing the date of wedding, people consider several factors. For example, if they are farmers, they should not be cultivating or harvesting at the time marriage ceremonies, which lasts for several days. They should have enough money to spend on marriage ceremonies. After harvesting wheat and cotton, farmers have sufficient cash to spend; therefore, these times are considered ideal to perform wedding ceremonies. There are certain Islamic months like *Muharram* in which people do not celebrate wedding, any other ceremony of happiness, or play music. Similarly, the fasting month, *Ramazan*, is not considered suitable because people fast for the whole month. In any such instances when the wedding has to be postponed, they perform *mangrri* (engagement) in which the boy and the girl exchange rings as a sign of commitment.

A decade ago, invitations were sent through a *nai* who tells the date by going door to door in the village but now this practice is now declining. Invitations are now printed on an invitation card, which are delivered by the family members themselves to all those people they want to invite. The bride does not go outside home during these days. There is no particular name for this tradition in Saraikis but Rajputs call it *maayoon bethna*. Usually, friends of the bride visit her regularly during these days and perform rehearsals for singing *sehras* (wedding songs), which are sung on some marriage ceremonies. Saraikis celebrate a traditional custom known as *mendhi*, now called *zulf kushai* (un-fastening the hair). Traditionally, the bride's hair were fastened into a particular hairstyle for a couple of week.

Although no fastening of hair is performed these days for such an extended period but the ceremony is still practised. Both Saraikis and Rajputs celebrate *rasm-e-hina* or *mehndi* (applying henna on the hands of the bride and the groom). At this ceremony, the relatives from both sides visit and apply henna on the hands of the couple. Saraikis never celebrated *rasm-e-hina* until recently and now celebrate it along with *mendhi* at the same ceremony. In many families, the ceremony takes place at the bride's home only and the groom does not participate in this as it is generally considered as women's ceremony.

On the day of the marriage, the groom, his family, friends, and relatives depart to the bride's home in a ceremonial way with *mirasis* (traditional musicians) playing traditional music. This procession is called *janj* or *baaraat*. Everyone, particularly the groom and his family, wears new clothes. The groom's face is covered with flowery *sehras* (garlands). In a Rajput wedding, the groom wears a special wedding dress. The bride's family and relatives receive the *janj* and entertain them with meal. A *nikahkhwan* (one who recites the sermon of *nikah*) meanwhile recites the *khutba* (sermon) of *nikah* (marriage) and registers the marriage after getting permission from both the bride and groom. The legal witnesses from both the parties also sign the *nikahnama* (marriage contract). The groom and his family members then meet the bride who is dressed up in bridal costume. The couple is offered milk on this occasion as a tradition. The sisters, friends, and female relatives of the bride also perform some traditional customs on this occasion. For example, they hide shoes of the groom's and ask for some cash in order to return the shoes to them. The Saraikis' *baaraat* has fewer rituals and is simpler than that of Rajputs. One of my Punjabi speaking friends, living in a village near to Jhokwala, described his only experiences of attending a Saraiki *baaraat*:

> Once they [Saraikis] invited me to a marriage. I decided to attend the ceremony and have some free and nice food there. When I reached there, all the people were sitting in a tractor-trailer. I excused myself not to sit there. I sat with my friend on a motorbike. It was a very hot day. We followed the trailer to the bride's home. I saw no *degs* [cauldrons]. I was depressed. They distributed *chhoharay* [dried dates]. [Then they] returned on the trailer. I went to a hotel to have my meal.

The trend of holding the *baaraat* at night has increased gradually, particularly after the coming of electricity in the 1980s but the daytime is still preferred. After the bride arrives in her new home, the groom's family welcomes her with some gifts. The groom pays *haq-e-mahar* to the bride, which is an Islamic obligation for the groom to pay a fixed amount to

the bride. It has a fixed minimum value but more can be paid than that according to the groom's *haisiyat*. On the wedding night, Saraikis celebrate a party, called *jaaga*, which literally means waking up [the whole night] because this ceremony normally runs the whole night. Women sing songs inside home and perform a local dance *jhummar*. Men sit outside the home and perform *jhummar*. At this occasion, traditional food is served to guests. These marriage ceremonies also provide an opportunity for other parents to search for *rishtas* for their own children. According to Auliya and Mehfooz, when they were young some thirty years ago in the 1980s and travelling was not as easy as it has become now, people used to perform more than one marriage in a single ceremony as *naata* was arranged instantaneously:

> In those days, vehicles were not common. Travelling was difficult. People did not have much money. When they used to go to marry their son, there were no hotels. All the relatives [of the bride] used to take them [the groom's relatives] to their homes. Each family used to host one of the two families [for the marriage days]. Everybody offered them free milk and food. Now see, milk is expensive [these days]. They were all Rajputs and when they used to meet in this way, they [the bride's relatives] arranged *naata* of their children [with the children of the groom's relatives]. Then they declared their intention to marry their children in the same marriage ceremony to save the money. It saved the additional cost of travel and other expenses, which would have incurred otherwise if we performed the marriages separately.

5.5.3 Death

I was conducting an interview in Tahir's office when I heard an announcement from the loudspeaker of Noori Mosque that someone from a nearby village was died. The time for his *namaaz-e-janaaza* (the funeral prayer) was also announced. I asked Tahir if he knew the deceased person. He replied in negative. He said that the deceased person might have some relatives or friends in Jhokwala but this announcement was not merely to inform his relatives, it was in fact an open invitation for everyone who could attend the funeral. It is obligatory according to Islamic teaching to offer funeral prayers for the deceased. However, it is *farz kifaya*, which means only some people in the locality can offer the prayer on behalf of all, and everyone will be rewarded with *sawaab* (cf. Hussain 2009). Funeral rites have overwhelmingly become a private affair in the West (Dubisch 1989; Palgi and Abramovitch 1984). In countries like Pakistan it is still an important public event where anyone, known and unknown, are encouraged to participate. In fact, the invitation through the mosque loudspeakers for participating in the funeral indicates the social value of this

event. Men and women gather at the deceased's home soon after death. Women mourn individually as well as collectively. There is no dress code for the funeral. The preparation to offer *namaaz-e-janaaza* and burying the *mayyat* (dead body) starts immediately.

The family members of the deceased decide the time for *janaaza* prayer. The time to offer *namaaz-e-janaaza* can be postponed for a few hours if any relatives are expected to come from other villages or cities, but it must be performed it before sunset according to Islamic teachings. Some relatives visit the cemetery and indicate the place to *gorkkan* (gravedigger) where the grave is to be made. The choice of the place for a grave has several considerations. People prefer to bury their family members next to each other in the cemetery. It is also considered that a younger person should be buried at the feet of an older one. For example, son from one family is buried at the feet of his father, and so on. Therefore, the graves of a family are close to each other, albeit no distinct areas are demarcated for each family. No distinction is made between a male and female *mayyat* in the grave construction. The relatives and *hamsaye* (s. *hamsaya;* neighbours) come to meet the family. They bring food to the family of the deceased so that they may not need to prepare food for themselves during this time of suffering. In their general conversations, people do not name this house by any of its family member as they do in normal circumstances. Instead, they call it *fotgi wala ghar* (the home where death has occurred). Death is considered as a 'transfer' from the *dunya* to the *aakhrat* and the words used to describe someone's death are *inteqaal* (transfer) and *vafaat* or *fotgi* (completion of the task [in the *dunya*]). All the men who come to pay their condolences sit outside the home in the street or on the bank of the road, on a *dari* (large mat), while women sit inside the home. An expert cleans and bathes the *mayyat*. This expert is male for the male *mayyat* and a female for the female one, and there is no mingling of the sexes during the whole process. The *mayyat* is then taken to the cemetery for burial after performing the *namaaz-e-janaaza*. Only men perform *namaaz-e-janaaza,* both for the male or female *mayyat*. Women remain inside the home with the rest of the female relatives and neighbours until the *mayyat* is buried in the cemetery. The graves are not concrete and only mud is used in the construction.

Picture 5.2: The Cemetery

For the following three days, people come to pay their condolences to the family and pray for the deceased. This praying is known as *faateha*. On the next Friday, they perform the *qul* for the deceased one. *Qul* is the recitation of Qur'an for the deceased so that Allah may bless him. Each person who attends the *qul* recites at least one Surah of Qur'an. Those who cannot recite, pray *tasbih* (repeated utterance of the names of Allah) in lower voice. The *Jumairaat* (Thursday) and *chahliyah* or c*halisvaan* (the fortieth) prayers are also celebrated on the first Thursday and the fortieth day after the death, respectively. During these days, the family pray for the deceased and distribute *halva* (a traditional pudding) and *chaaval* or *pulao* (rice dish). Mourning can continue only for three days after the death as prescribed by Islamic teachings. A woman whose husband has died does not have to wear any particular clothing during this period. However, she cannot accept any proposal for remarrying for a period of about four months and ten days, called as *iddat*. One of the rationales behind this practice according to people is that the *iddat* period helps to deal with any issues related to inheritance, as it is confirmed during this period if the widow is pregnant or not.

5.6 Time, Exchange and Relationships

The social organisation of time is also regulated through the relationships of exchange. These relationships may be defined through gift exchange or economic inter-dependency. Gift exchange is a cultural norm and value but is equally associated with hierarchies, economic organisation, and political manoeuvring (Alvi 2010; Sherry 1983; Strathern 1992). The gift relations are influenced by the temporalities of ceremonies and economy. Various forms of gift-exchange have been practiced in rural communities throughout Pakistan. One such example is *vangaar*. At the time of cultivation or harvesting, farmers need additional labour. Since there was no cash-based labour about fifty years ago, people used to help each other by participating as labourers in each other's agricultural activity. This work is called *vangaar*. As Ahmad (1977: 61-62) has noted, the number of people participating in a *vangaar* indicates social divisions, though roughly, within a community and the prestige of a farmer. The decision regarding the timing of *vangaar* is based upon the *ageti* and *pichheti* cultivation or harvesting. For example, if a farmer's land was cultivated early then the volunteers would help him first in harvesting. There are some villages in Lodhran where people still practice *vangaar* but a complete dependence on cash economy has now replaced it by wage labour in many villages like Jhokwala.

The gift relations in Jhokwala can be understood through the notion of *ghami-khushi*. On the one hand, the events of *ghami-khushi* show the existing boundaries between different groups, which assert group identity. Individual identities, roles, and statuses are also expressed through these events. For example, the role of father and eldest brother in decision-making process becomes more apparent while deciding about the timing of a ceremony. On the other hand, these events provide a neutral space for those relationships, which might otherwise be refrained by certain boundaries. For instance, matchmaking and many other decisions regarding marriages solely include family and *biraderi* members. However, not only *biraderi* members play a major role at the wedding ceremonies, the participation of friends and co-workers is equally vital to these events. The social organisation of time is not only limited to the timing of celebrations, the gift exchange at the events such as marriages involves the temporalities that may have long-term implications on social relationships. One good example to highlight the temporality in gift relations is the *sehra* as a gift. At the wedding ceremony, friends and relatives insert some *sehras* made up of the currency notes in the neck of the groom to show their closeness and importance of their friendship with him. These *sehras* are also part of the reciprocal

exchange between friends and relatives. If person A gives *sehra* of a particular value on person B's own or his son or brother's marriage, person B reciprocate it with that of an equal amount at the marriage of a son or brother of the person A, if the latter's marriage is within a few months or a couple of year. If the marriage takes place after many years then value of the reciprocated *sehra* can be slightly higher than the one received previously due to the "delayed exchange", taking into account the inflation and monetary value of the *sehra* (Bourdieu 1977: 6). Almost the same rule applies to *naind'r* or *salaami* (the cash given as a gift), which is given in the form of cash at the wedding ceremony.

The events of *ghami-khushi* do not include the exchange of money and commodities only. Participation in the *shadi-ghami* of someone can be through various symbolic means. For example, people ask their friends and relatives, if any help is needed in arranging the ceremony. The usual answer one may get is that *tusaan puchh giday, eeho kaafi hay* (you have asked, that is sufficient). Although one expects the same answer but this 'formal' way of offering help is considered as participation too. There is also a level of obligation between various ceremonies and timings. For example, one old man told me that one could express an excuse for attending a wedding but there are no words to in the language to express an excuse for being able to come for condolence at someone's death. Everyday relationships in Jhokwala are very intense and based on reciprocity and sharing, known as *vat-varta* or *sulook*. It is also expressed as *devanrr ghinanrr* (giving [and] taking]) and *lena dena* (taking [and] giving] in Saraiki and Urdu, respectively, to express the practice of reciprocity (cf. Shaw 2000: 227; Werbner 1991). This sharing and exchange can be in the form of, for example, sharing food or asking for help in the times of financial crisis by lending money, similar to elsewhere in Punjab (see *vartan bhanji*, Eglar 1960: 105). Women usually manage these exchange relationships, if these are related to everyday household activities or *ghami-khushi*

Although the agricultural seasonal economy has been declining, the market economy also has seasons of low and high transactions that are regulated by the agricultural seasons, ceremonies, religious rituals, and some other social and economic factors. The flow of cash within and outside the village is at various levels. It is between various occupations, *biraderis* and gender. However, the cash does not flow independently in the rural economy. Gift exchange and economic inter-dependencies are regulated through the economic transactions between various occupations and individuals, which are time bound. For

example, farmers celebrate weddings at the time of harvesting when they have enough cash to shop new clothing, jewellery, and so on.[23] Farmers hire tractors and machinery on loan when they need it during the cultivation process. They repay loans upon the production of wheat or cotton, roughly in May and October, respectively. For this reasons, many other occupations that rely on the rural economy are regulated through agrarian's cycle to some extent. A tailor in the village explained the flow of cash within the rural economy:

> We work according to [the routine of] farmer folks. If they have money, they will go to bazaar, buy cloth, and only then they can come to us to get their clothes stitched. If they have money, they will celebrate marriages provided the cotton [production] is good. If the cotton [production] is not good then, of course, it is difficult [to celebrate marriages]. Those who have money and have not cultivated, they are doing some other businesses. They have income. They can afford to celebrate marriages. We get clientele because of them. (Riaz, 26)

5.7 Daily Rhythm

In everyday life, humans regulate their activities by allocating a specific amount of time for specific activities. The amount of time, tempo, and timing through which humans perform their activities is just like the articulation of time between different nodes while playing music (Gabrielsson 1986; You 1994). The daily rhythm of an individual's life in Jhokwala is maintained through different activities. I broadly categorise these activities into religious, economic, leisure, personal care, household, and educational activities instead of providing a detailed reference like sleeping, bathing, and so on. In some anthropological studies, a detailed categorisation is made if the community comprises of a homogeneous population with respect to their occupations and a collective involvement in their activities in general. For example, Sahlins (1972) provided the details of hunting and gathering activities into traveling, hunting, and meat distributing because the concerned population was all hunters and gatherers.

In Jhokwala, people have different occupations as well as household and social activities may not always overlap. I refer to five times daily prayers, the recitation of Qur'an, and other such rituals as religious activities. Economic activities include all types of agricultural labour, selling, buying, trading, wage labour, brokering, and salaried jobs. I also calculated the time required to travel to the workplace as a part of the respective

[23] I will discuss in detail while explaining the agricultural calendar in chapter six along with respective activities in different months.

activity. Household activities range from child caring to preparing food and cleaning the house. I have categorised leisure into sports, watching TV, gossip with friends, and listening music. These activities are gender and age specific. For example, boys play cricket and some traditional games like *giti danna* or *gilli danda* (a game similar to tip-cat) and *pitho garam* (a game similar to seven stones). Some sports are specific to girls like *stapu* (hopscotch). Others are played both by girls and boys like *ludo* (a board game) and *chhuppan chhupai* (hide and seek). Similarly, men play volleyball, *ludo* and snooker. As leisure, men gather at the *deras* (the men's places for socialising). Women play *ludo* but for a majority of them chatting with peers and watching TV are the main or only leisure. The elderly Rajput men spend their leisure time with their peers at the *numberdaar*'s *dera*. Most elderly men and women smoke *huqqa* (a traditional pipe), which I have categorised as leisure activity. I present other activities like sleeping and bathing as personal care. There are certain social activities, which are part of the social organisation but people do not perform them regularly. These include attending birth, marriage, death, and other activities such as *timaardaari* and *ayaadat* (visiting the patients to inquire about their health, bring fruit or other things as gift, and spend time with them.

The timing and tempo of these activities varies from one individual to the other, even within the same age and occupational group. I present not a typical example but an average of all the people included in the sample of about fifty individuals. These people belong to different occupations, genders, and age groups. The activities also vary along the year, month, and week. For example, during the fasting month, people change their routine accordingly. Some people have a partially different routine on the weekend. Farmers are busy during some months and are relatively free during the other months when they are not cultivating or harvesting. Seasonal variations cause change in the day-length that affects the timing of various activities in different months of a year. For example, duration between the five time daily prayers is more in summer than it is in winter. I have included the calculation of time allocation for different activities on average basis. I have shown the schedule of these activities through clock time for simplicity sake but this does not mean that people follow a strict timing, except for *namaaz* and some activities like going and returning from their offices and schools. For instance, cooking may last for fifteen minutes to one hour. Similarly, some children go to the mosque for reciting Qur'an in the morning while others go in the afternoon. Their routine may also vary in different seasons. I have provided an average calculation of children's schedule.

The civil day in Jhokwala starts just before sunrise with the Morning Prayer around five a.m. in summer and six a.m. in winter. The *azan* calling the Morning Prayer is the first activity noticed in the village. Some people offer *tahajjud* (Early-morning Prayer) before the *azan*. The day ends around mid-night in summer and earlier in winter. Table 5.2 shows a rhythm of mundane activities in Jhokwala. It represents a typical daily scheme of an adult man, woman, and a child.

Table 5.2: Daily Rhythm

Season	Time	Activities		
		Men	**Women**	**Children**
Summer	04:30 - 06:00	Morning Prayer	Morning Prayer	Learning of how to recite Qur'an
Winter	06: 00 - 07:00	Morning Prayer	Morning Prayer	Sleep
Summer	06:00 - 08:00	Preparing for work + Breakfast	Preparing food + Breakfast	Preparing for school + Breakfast
Winter	07:00 - 09:00	Preparing for work + Breakfast	Preparing breakfast + Breakfast	Preparing for school + Breakfast
Summer	08:00 - 13:00	Work	Visit neighbours/relatives + Preparing lunch	School
Winter	09:00 - 14:00	Work	Household activities + Visit neighbours/relatives	School
Summer	13:00 - 14:00	Lunch + Afternoon Prayer + Nap	Lunch + Afternoon Prayer + Nap	Lunch + Afternoon Prayer + Nap
Winter	14:00 - 15:00	Lunch + Afternoon Prayer	Lunch + Afternoon Prayer	Lunch
Summer	14:00 - 17:00	Nap + *Asar* Prayer	Nap + *Asar* Prayer	Nap
Winter	15:00 - 17:00	Visit Friends/Relatives + *Asar* Prayer	Household activities + *Asar* Prayer	Learning of how to recite Qur'an
Summer	17:00 - 19:00	Visit friends/relatives + Evening Prayer	Household activities + Evening Prayer	Play + Homework for School
Winter	17:00 - 21:00	Visit friends/relatives + Evening and Night Prayers + Dinner	Household activities + Evening and Night Prayers + Dinner	Play + Homework + TV + Dinner
Summer	19:00 - 23:00	Dinner + Night Prayer + TV + Sleep	Dinner + Night Prayer + TV + Sleep	Play + Homework + TV + Dinner + Sleep
Winter	19:00 - 22:00	TV + Sleep	TV+ Sleep	TV+ Sleep

Now I present the daily time allocation for various activities by men, women, and children. Table 5.3 shows an average time allocation for different activities by men, women, and children. It shows that all the activities differ according to people's gender and age. There is a difference of time allocation between married and unmarried people. The unmarried adults are also engaged in educational activities. I present here only an average time allocation by adult men and women regardless of their marital status. Negligible differences for time allocation in different seasons have been rounded off. For instance, during certain seasons, farmers allocate more amount of time to their economic activities like cultivation and harvesting than they do in usual months when they are waiting for the right time to do these activities. This affects time allocation for other activities, such as leisure. Any seasonal variation in economic activities will be explained further through the agrarian calendar in the next chapter.

Table 5.3: Time Allocation of Men, Women and Children

Activities	Men		Women		Children	
	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%
Religious activities	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25	1	4.17
Economic activities	4.5	18.75	1	4.17	0.5	2.08
Household activities	1	4.17	8	33.33	2	8.33
Education	3	12.50	2	8.33	5	20.83
Leisure activities	4	16.67	1	4.17	5	20.83
Self-care activities	9.5	39.58	10	41.67	10.5	43.75
Others	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08	0	0.00
Total	**24**	**100**	**24**	**100**	**24**	**100**

Men and women allocate one and eight hours of time, respectively, for household activities. Children allocate two hours for household activities. Girls spend more time in their homes than boys. Girls help their mothers with household activities like cooking. Children do not offer prayers regularly but they learn how to recite Qur'an, which makes their time

allocated for religious activities almost equal to that of men and women. Men allocate more time (4.5 hours) for economic activities than women do (one hour). The children's time allocation for economic activities shows that they help their parents in agriculture, shops, and other businesses. For example, if a shopkeeper has to visit some friend or buy something from the city, he asks his son to take care of the shop for that period instead of shutting it down. Farmers, shopkeepers, labourers, and those doing jobs in offices allocate different amounts of time for various activities depending upon their occupations. Farmers allocate five hours to their economic activities at various stages of the agricultural cycle from cultivation to harvesting and marketing. On the other hand, shopkeepers and labourers allocate 9.5 and six hours to their economic activities, respectively. Similarly, farmers have a different time allocation for household activities and leisure than that of other occupational groups because they allocate less amount of time to their economic activities when they are not cultivating or harvesting. All the men, irrespective of their occupations, allocate approximately equal amounts of time for religious and childcare activities. Table 5.4 compares the time allocation of men in different occupations. This table also indicates that an average farmer finds more time for leisure activities than that of the men in other occupations.

Table 5.4: Men's Daily Time Allocation in Different Occupations

Activities	Farmers		Doing Office Jobs		Shopkeepers		Labourers	
	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%
Religious activities	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25
Economic activities	5	20.83	6	25.00	9.5	39.58	7	29.17
Household activities	1.5	6.25	2	8.33	0.5	2.08	1.5	6.25
Leisure activities	5.5	22.92	4.5	18.75	3	12.50	4.5	18.75
Self-care activities	9.5	39.58	9	37.50	9	37.50	9	37.50
Others	1	4.17	1	4.17	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08
Total	**24**	**100**	**24**	**100**	**24**	**100**	**24**	**100**

5.8 Conclusion

I have discussed in this chapter some basic concepts and local terminologies of time in Jhokwala. The concept of the *dunya* is a central notion in the cultural cosmology of Muslims. The *dunya* has a spatial as well as a temporal dimension through which people organise their personal and social lives. It involves the notions of worship, morality, power, struggle, and future. The arrow of time from past to future is seen as a moral decline by the older generation. For them, the past was an honest and pure time but the present is full of dishonesty. It is due to such a perception of an ideal and pure past, with its implications for the afterlife, that despite several socioeconomic and technological transitions, individual modernity is still a convoluted question to put forward in cultural context of Pakistan, even until today as it was a few decades ago (cf. Abid 2010; Ghazanfar 1980; Niazi 2012). On the one hand, the definition of modernity is a controversial concept, which generally involves the connotation of a developed West as an ideal or perfect form for the developing non-West, in economic as well as sociocultural sense. Such definitions have been challenged by understanding and rationalising the meaning and context of non-Western beliefs and practices (Asad 2003; Musharbash 2007; Schein 1999). On the other hand, social psychologists advocating the notions of individual modernity are still struggling to develop any agreed-upon methodologies and models for analysing individual modernity, if it occurs at all (Armer and Schnaiberg 1975; Inkeles et al. 1997). Sociocultural or technological change, for instance, the use of mobile phones, internet, or modern education, may affect the economic behaviour and some forms of institutional change through individuals' actions (cf. Giddens 1991). However, as the concept of *tauba* and the perception of a moral and ideal past indicate, people's attitude towards the afterlife is mediated through the notions of *gunah* and *sawaab*.

Just as nostalgia and memories are attached to past, ideals are attached to the future. People establish their social relationships keeping in view their future goals, which can be religiously informed, culturally constructed, or economically motivated. The concepts of past, present, and future also express themselves in the categorisation of age in some cultural contexts. Different stages of human life, from childhood to old age, are not divided into biological categories only but there are specific roles and statuses associated with each stage. Similarly, the ceremonies associated with births, marriages, and deaths indicate that both time and change are strongly connected to each other in social organisation. Another important aspect of these celebrations is to see how social change has played a significant

role in changing the temporal organisation of these ceremonies. These ceremonies are particularly influenced by the media and urbanisation in Jhokwala by the introduction of new ways of celebrating them by using cash and the sweets purchased from the market. Temporalities involved in performance of wedding ceremonies have been subject to change over time, which is indicative of social and technological change like electricity and cash gifts.

The time allocation data shows that men, women, and children allocate different amounts of time for various activities. People perform their activities according to their specific ascribed roles depending upon their age, gender, and socioeconomic conditions. Men spend most of their time outside their homes, be it economic or leisure. Women take care of homes and their leisure activities are mainly inside the household's boundaries. However, this time allocation also shows that rural women are involved in economic activities along with household care. The allocation of time by rural women to economic activities is crucial to analyse women's contribution to the rural economy. There have been some issues with reporting women's time allocation for various activities in rural Pakistan (Sultana et al. 1994). Some constraints in recording the time allocation of rural women are due to lack of access depending upon researcher's gender because quantitative surveyors normally rely on time-bound methodology that does not prove to be appropriate in rural areas. Therefore, I have used various ethnographic and survey methods to collect this information, particularly about women. Another interesting and important finding regarding time allocation is that the shopkeepers spend more time on their economic activities. This indicates the nature of activities they perform as part of their occupational engagement. For instance, markets are open until late in the evening and even on the weekend. On the other hand, wage labourers and farmers spend less time on their economic activities than shopkeepers do. Therefore, farmers and wage labourers have more time for leisure activities. However, all these occupation spend almost equal amount of time on religious activities, which indicates the importance of religion in their everyday life.

In the next chapter, I will explain the changing use of different calendars in Jhokwala in order to highlight the dynamics of social change, which has taken place over the course of history. I will also discuss other formal and informal temporal makers like the week, clock timing, and the indigenous method of dividing a day into various stages.

6

Social Rhythm and Social Change

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe three calendars and various methods of time reckoning in Jhokwala. The lunisolar Bikrami calendar, locally known as the *desi maheenay* (indigenous months), has been used in Jhokwala over centuries for managing agricultural activities. After the advent of Islam in South Asia during the eighth century (Avari 2013: 17-36; Malik 2008: 49-63), the lunar Islamic Hijri calendar came into use by Muslims for regulating Islamic religious activities. The use of the *desi maheenay*, however, continued for agricultural purposes because the solar component of this calendar was helpful in reckoning the seasonal cycles. Therefore, the *desi maheenay* are also a source of indigenous knowledge about seasons and ecology. During the eighteenth century, the British introduced the Gregorian calendar in the region but its use remained limited to cities even until the 1960s. The government of Pakistan officially adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1947. All the government offices now follow this calendar. The use of the Gregorian calendar in Jhokwala increased gradually after an intensive contact with cities and a gradual shift from a seasonal agricultural to market economy.

People perceive seasons and different stages of the day and night through their indigenous knowledge about nature and the environment. People started to measure time in smaller units like hours and minutes, in contrast to the larger units, known as *pah'rs* because of socioeconomic transitions. *Pah'r*s were reckoned through indigenous knowledge about the cultural astronomy and weather conditions. The shift from the *pah'rs*' system to clock time indicates the scarcity of time as a resource in new economy. The increasing use of clocks is due to the market economy and less reliance on indigenous knowledge about nature and the environment. Therefore, the Gregorian calendar has become an alternative to the Bikrami calendar for economic, including agricultural, purposes. Since the Islamic Hijri calendar regulates religious activities, therefore, the use of this calendar prevails because of its religious importance.

Time, just like space, is one of the important and fundamental elements of social organisation; therefore, change in the temporal models of a culture affects overall social organisation (cf. Barth 1967; Gingrich et al. 2002). Although time has been an important aspect of anthropological studies, there have been many complications with respect to the use of time, which I have discussed in details in chapter two. In general, these issues are related to the construction of 'other' in anthropological analyses (Fabian 1983). Some other issues are related to dichotomies of Western and non-Western notions of time (cf. Adam 1996; Gell 1996). Western notions of time relating to calendar and clock have been recognised as 'modern' because these appear to be non-contextualised to many anthropologists whereas non-Western or 'traditional' notions were analysed as contextualised and lacking a formal models like clocks and calendars in Western sense. However, in addition to the studies on the contextualisation of time in the West, some recent anthropological and archaeological studies discovered and analysed various forms of clocks and calendars in non-Western societies (Adam 1994; Hoskin 1997). Some of the methods of reckoning time have been found highly developed in non-Western societies. Calendars and clocks are not only the ways of regulating time, but also represent people's attitude towards time, nature, and the changing socioeconomic and socio-political perspectives (Goody 1968). Time reckoning through different informal and formal markers indicates that culture and ecology are interrelated just as space and environment are (Bennardo 2009; Engel-Frisch 1943). Studying the ways of managing social activities by calendars can also help to make cross-cultural comparison. For example, Muslims all over the world follow the same Islamic calendar for the religious festivals like fasting and *Eid*, in addition to some rituals that might be localised to a region or community like shrine festivals. Therefore, by studying rituals and ceremonies managed through Islamic calendar throughout the world can help to make comparisons and understand the local contexts of widely practised rituals (cf. Bowen 1992; Henig 2011). Calendars can thus be a part of investigating the foundational cultural model because calendars organise a "variety of knowledge domains" upon which human behaviour depends (Bennardo 2009: 173) for a comparison for widely practised rituals and ceremonies.

Many anthropologists suggest that time and space should be studied in relation to each other because both the concepts are constructed in relation to each other in human cognition and cultural practices (Rapoport 1994). The relationship between time and space can be analysed by studying change in humans' interaction with nature, landscape, and

built environment. On the one hand, it will provide an insight into change in natural environment, which is a category of space. On the other hand, it will help to understand various processes of social change, no matter however we define it (cf. Moore 1968; Weinstein 1997: 51-109), by studying change in the cultural models of time and space, which are shaped through human-nature interaction. There is a great deal of anthropological literature to suggest that the local context of global temporality can provide an insight about social change by studying the adoption of different calendars or change in the contextual use of the existing calendars (Burman 1981; Holtzman 2004). A calendar is not merely a system of measuring time, dividing it into years, months, weeks, and days. Instead, the calendar gives a 'rhythmic form' to time, which unfolds itself into social rhythms (Munn 1992: 95-96). Therefore, studying the use of calendar and clock in cultural context provide an understanding of the social organisation of time and space as well as the relationship between the two concepts. Since everyday social rhythm is regulated by calendars and clock, change in their usage will influence overall social organisation. I will explain how the changing use of different calendars and adoption of clock time in Jhokwala is indicative of social change.

6.2 Calendars

The Bikrami, Islamic Hijri, and the Gregorian calendars have been used in Jhokwala to varying degrees for different purposes. The Bikrami calendar is an ancient calendar and has been used for agriculture and reckoning of seasons. The use of this calendar is declining and only some elderly people use it, though to a limited extent. Each of these calendars has its specific history of use. On the contrary, people can count the Gregorian and Islamic months easily in contrast to the *desi maheenay* irrespective of their age, gender, and occupations.

6.2.1 *Desi Maheenay* and Seasons

One afternoon, in the mid of July, it started raining when I was discussing about various crops and seasons with Zafar Chaudhary along with some people from Jhokwala and nearby villages. Among those people, Ahmed said that the month of *Saawanrr* had come. I asked how he knew that *Saawanrr* had come. He replied that the rainy season comes at the end of summer, and they called it *Saawanrr*. Zafar added that these were the *desi maheenay*, which the *vadday* (elders; ancestors) used to calculate when they lived with

Hindus. They told me that through these months farmers could make *hisaab* (calculation) of seasons and timing of different crops. Now a days, people no longer formally practise this calendar.

These *desi maheenay* are, in fact, the Bikrami calendar. This served as an agrarian calendar in Punjab. Archaeological and historical evidences suggest that several local calendars were used in South Asia as early 2000 BCE (cf. Ashfaque 1977; McIntosh 2008: 345-348). These calendars were devised by using astronomical knowledge and were used to regulate the religious activities, mainly in Hinduism (Kennedy et al. 1965). Ancient scriptures such as Rig Veda mention these calendars to mark the religious festivals and seasonal cycles. Interestingly, no uniform calendric system has been practised by rural communities in South Asia since ancient times. Instead, people used different calendars in different regions and cities. Today, general terms such as *desi*, Hindu, Vedic, Punjabi, or Sindhi calendars are used for various forms and eras of these calendars.[24] Almost all of these calendars are lunisolar, having both lunar and solar components, which are synchronised through various methods (cf. Freed and Freed 1964). The differences in these calendars are of religious, astronomical, linguistic, and historical concern. For instance, crescent is the first date of the lunar month in some regions, such as Pakistani Punjab and the northern India, whereas in other regions, such as southern India, the full moon marks the new lunar month. The names of months are slightly different across different languages and regions but are, in many cases, mutually intelligible.

The most widely known eras are the Bikrami and the Saka. People living in different regions of South Asia practising the same eras may have followed different astronomical traditions. According to Al-Beruni, the Bikrami era marks the victory of Vikramaditya of Ujjain over the Saka rulers in a battle that took place between Multan and the castle of Loni in 57 BCE (Sachau 2007[1910]: 6).[25] Loni is now a small village in Kahror Pacca. Vikramaditya is also pronounced as Bikramajeet in the Punjab. Later on, many rulers used this name as a title. The Sakas regained power but Shalivahana Gautamiputra Satakarni,

[24] In some areas of Pakistan, particularly in rural Balochistan, some communities also follow variants of the Iranian calendar.

[25] Abu Raihan Al-Beruni (973-1048) visited India in the eleventh century and documented Indian cultures, astronomy, beliefs, and practices by using participant observation and other methods that are now being used by anthropologists. Although modern anthropology is considered as a product of colonialism, Ahmed (1984) claims for him the title of the first anthropologist. Al-Beruni wrote many books and most of them have not been translated yet. One of his books on India, popularly known as *Kitab-al-Hind*, is the only historical source of many events in India, which was translated by Sachau (2007[1910]).

the grandson of Vikramaditya, defeated them and initiated the Shalivahana-Saka era in 78 CE (Sagar 1992: 136). Its name was simplified later in general use as the Saka era. The Indian government formalised the official Indian national calendar in 1957 based on the Saka era (Penprase 2010: 157). The Bikrami era is traditionally practised in the northern and western parts of India, and Pakistani Punjab, including Lodhran.[26] The Bikrami calendar, with slight variations, is recognised as the official calendar of Nepal (Bezruchka and Lyons 2010: 57). Similarly, Sikh organisations adopted the solar Nanakshahi calendar globally in 2003, which is, in fact, an amended version of the Bikrami calendar (Nesbitt 2004: 50-65). Eickelman (1977: 44) found that Moroccan tribesmen did not recognise the formal name of their calendar. The same is valid for the people in Jhokwala as they, too, do not recognise the formal name of the Bikrami calendar. Murphy (2001: 195) also mentions that the people in Lahore use the term *desi maheenay* for this calendar. Eglar (1960: 50-51, 204) used the term "Punjabi months" for this calendar in her study of a Punjabi village. However, some people in Jhokwala do recognise its formal name mainly because some local newspapers also tell the date according to the Bikrami calendar. People are unaware of the history of this calendar and its association with the history of Lodhran. Not only Saraikis widely used the *desi maheenay* but Rajputs also practised the same calendar when they were living in Haryana. In fact, both Haryana and Punjab follow the same astronomical traditions in their practice of this calendar.

It is a lunisolar calendar having two components: lunar and solar. The synodic period or the time required for the moon to complete one series of its successive phases is known as the lunar month. Twelve such synodic periods of the moon form a lunar year. A lunar month is roughly equal to 29.5 solar days. There are twelve months in the Bikrami calendar and each month starts approximately in the middle of a Gregorian month. *Chaitr* or *Chait* is the first *desi* month and starts in the middle of March. Each month has fixed days either 30 or 31, except some yearly alterations of either a day or two in one or two months. Usually the months from *Wisaakh* or *Bisaakh* to *Asoon* are of 31 days. The intercalation between the solar and lunar cycles is done by adding a thirteenth intercalary month after two or three years. People do not know the exact method of intercalation between the lunar and solar cycles except for a few elderly people who can roughly describe this method. They explained to me that the new month begins when the cycles of

[26] In Sindh, a variant of this calendar is known as the Sindhi calendar or sometimes the Sindhi Samvat. Hindus call this calendar as the Vikram Samvat in Hindi.

the moon and the sun meet. The time or day when sun enters into a new zodiacal sign within a lunar month, marking the beginning of a new *desi* month, is called *saghraand*. The corresponding year of the Bikrami calendar in 2010 was 2067, as the Bikrami calendar is 56.7 years ahead of the Common Era. However, the chronological record of this calendar has no importance for the community; instead, people use the cyclicity of months to reckon the agricultural cycles. In Hinduism, some religious festivals are celebrated according to the lunar cycle whereas others are celebrated according to the solar one. Therefore, for Hindus, it is important to calculate both the components and synchronise them for practical reasons. Muslims celebrate their festivals according to the lunar Islamic Hijri calendar instead but they used the Bikrami calendar for reckoning the seasonal cycles.

The use of the Bikrami calendar is declining and is limited to some elderly people now. Khuda Bukhsh learnt the calculation of these months from his elderly relatives and parents. According to him, Muslims used *desi maheenay* for calculating seasons and agricultural activities:

> Now, the current month is *Saawanrr*. After this, *Badroon* will come, then *Asoon*, then *Katiyen*, then *Manghir*, then *Poh*, then *Mah*, then *Phagunrr*, *Chaitr*, *Wisaakh*, *Jeth*, *Ahrr*. These four are big. Then I tell, *Ahrr* has passed, *Ahrr*, *Saawanrr*, *and Badroon*. These are the months of summer. *Asoon*, *Katiyen*, *Manghir*, these are of autumn. *Poh*, *Mah*, *Phagunrr*, these are of winter. *Chaitr*, *Wisaakh*, *Jeth*, these are of spring. Those people [ancestors] had a good memory. Hindus, they also used to tell this [calculation of months]. They had written calculations [of these months] with them. (Khuda Bukhsh, 75)

This does not imply that people do not calculate the *desi* months at all. Whenever I asked them what *desi* month it was, they were usually able to tell the name of the current month. They were, however, not sure about the exact date. They used the expressions such as "*n month may be ending"* or "*n month may be starting".* This became convoluted when I asked this question in the very early or last days of a month because people then confused between two consecutive months. Once I was passing by the fields along with Tahir and met some women engaged in cutting grass for their livestock. I asked a woman, in her 50s, if she could tell me which *desi* month it was. She replied that it was *Jeth*. She could easily describe the names of all the *desi* months too. She also believed that elderly people in the village could calculate the *desi* months and that since she was illiterate so she could not calculate. It was surprising for me that majority of the elderly people, who were 'supposed' to be able to calculate the *desi* months, were unable to do so. Unlike the Gregorian and the

Islamic calendars, which are available in the printed form or even through mobile phones, the only sources of knowing the exact dates of the *desi* months are local newspapers and radio. Children can only name a few *desi* months but cannot recognise which month it is unless they know it from their parents.

People associate the change of seasons with these months. The seasonal variations, the movement of the migratory birds, and other natural phenomena help to reckon the *desi* months. For instance, *Poh* is marked with extreme cold in winter whereas *Ahrr* is marked with extreme heat in summer. These months played an important role in the celebration of ceremonies. For example, people used to prefer *Chaitr* and *Wisaakh* for performing marriages because of moderate weather conditions, the availability of money after harvesting wheat, and also because farmers were not busy in the agricultural activities. In Jhokwala, a season is not merely a cyclical duration of similar environmental conditions but an agricultural cycle can also define a season. There are two terms used in Jhokwala, both equally used in Saraiki and Urdu: *rut* and *mausam.* The term *rut* originates from the Sanskrit term *ritu or rutu*, and the Latin term *ritu*, used for periodical observances, also have common roots. There are six seasons recognised in ancient Sanskrit literature and each season marks specific religious rituals (Selby 2003). Presently, the term *mausam* is more widely used instead of *rut*. It is originally an Arabic word and is used to describe a season as well as the daily weather. The two seasons, *garmi* or *hunala* (summer) and *sardi* or *siala* (winter) are marked as a dichotomy between hot and cold. These are recognised as the major seasons in everyday conversation. For instance, "*sardiyan de garam te motay kaprray*" (warm and thick clothes for winter) and "*garmiyan de thaday te patle kapray*" (cool and thin clothes for summer). *Hunala* starts from *Chaitr* to *Badroon* or *Bhaadva* whereas *siala* starts from *Asoon* to *Mah*. People use the words *bahaar* (spring) and *pat jharr* or *khizaan* (autumn) as transitional periods between summer and winter. Table 6.1 shows the *desi maheenay* along with their corresponding temporal markers as well as agricultural and social activities throughout the year.

Table 6.1: *Desi Maheenay* and their Corresponding Activities and Temporal Markers

Desi Maheenay	**Gregorian Months**	**Temporal Markers**	**Major Activities/ Association**
Chaitr/Chait	March-April	Cool weather	Wheat harvesting; cutting of maize and millet; marriages; festivals
Wisaakh/ Bisaakh	April-May	Warm and dry weather	Wheat harvesting; cutting of vegetables; marriages; festivals
Jeth	May-June	Hot and dry weather	Cultivation of rice, sugar and cotton
Ahrr/ Haarr	June-July	Extremely hot weather	Cultivation of rice, sugarcane and cotton
Saawanrr	July-August	Monsoon raining; *Bataira* (quail) visits	Rice cultivation
Badroon/ Bhaadva	August-September	Monsoon raining	Weeding paddies
Asoon	September-October	*Koonj* (crane) and *tilharr* (starling) visit	Cotton picking; sugarcane and rice harvesting
Katiyen/ Katak	October-November	*Murghabi* (teal) arrives	Wheat cultivation; marriages
Manghir/ Mangsar	November-December	Cold weather	Wheat cultivation
Poh	December-January	Extreme cold	Weeding the wheat crop
Mah	January-February	Extreme cold; skin scratches	Weeding the wheat crop
Phagunrr/ Phaganrr	February-March	Cold weather	Planting maize and millet for fodder; planting vegetables

Note: The first local term is in Saraiki while the alternate one is in Haryanvi dialect of Urdu.

Crops are divided into two categories based on their seasons: *Kharif* (autumn) and *Rabi* (spring). The *Kharif* season starts from *Wisaakh*. The *Kharif* crops, such as rice and sunflower, are normally sown in *Saawanrr* during the monsoon and are harvested in the months of *Asoon* and *Katiyen* or *Katak*. The *Rabi* crops, such as wheat and barley, are normally sown in the months of *Asoon* and *Katiyen* and are harvested in *Chaitr* and *Wisaakh*. Sometimes, the terms like *kanrrk da mausam* (wheat season) and *phutti da mausam* (cotton-picking season) are also used. These are, of course, not the formal divisions of a year but indicate that people associate seasons with crops. For this reason, the reckoning of seasons and the *desi maheenay* were also important for people like the barbers, shoemakers, and others who were part of the *oluk* system.

Picture 6.1: Sunflower Fields

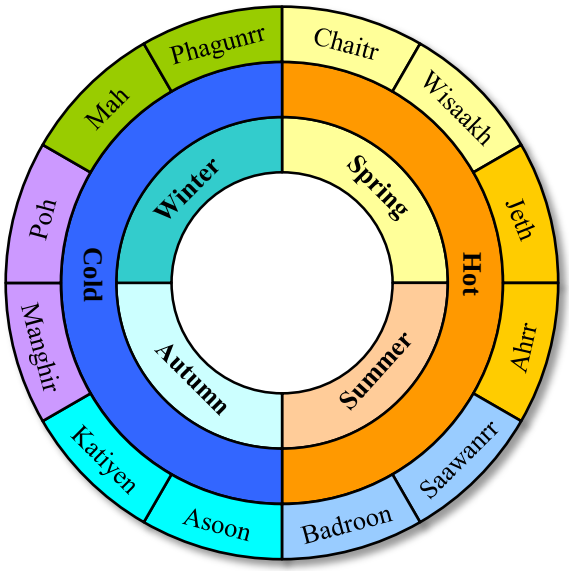
Although the use of the *desi* months has been minimised, there are still some linguistic expressions in Saraiki, which relate the *desi* months with seasonal variations. I collected many such proverbs mainly from elderly people. In these proverbs and phrases, the *desi* months are usually mentioned in pairs because of similar weather conditions during those months. For example:

- *Chaitr Wisaakh, ghumo phiro*
  [During] *Chaitr* [and] *Wisaakh,* walk [or travel]
- *Asoon Katiyen, thorra khao*
  [During] *Asoon* [and] *Katiyen,* eat less
- *Jeth Ahrr, sumo*
  [During] *Jeth* [and] *Ahrr*, sleep
- *Saawanrr Badroon, dhaan'o*
  [During] *Saanwanrr* [and] *Badroon,* take a bath
- *Manghir Poh, saiko*
  [During] *Manghir* [and] *Poh,* keep yourself warm [in front of a fire]
- *Mah Phagunrr, daikho*
  [During] *Manghir* [and] *Poh,* see [fire from the distance]

This pairing of months shows that there is a high degree of correlation between cyclicity of seasons and the *desi* months. It also reflects the ancient cultural reckoning of six seasons. It shows that the indigenous division of seasons into two was based on the two extreme classifications of hot and cold weather, with further six 'sub-seasons' as reflected through the pairing of these months. In some proverbs and everyday conversation, the distinctive features of each month are also recognised. In these proverbs, the *desi* months indicate their corresponding weather conditions. For instance:

- *Saawanrr aaya, siala jaya*
  Saawanrr comes, [it indicates that] the winter [is about to] born
- *Mah di thadi luhrri!*
  The cool breeze of *Mah*!
- *Phagunrr kandhi lagunrr*
  Phagunrr [makes one] stick to the wall [to take shelter]
- *Badroon bad bla wat wee Saawanrr hovay ha*
  Badroon [is a] curse, would that *Saawanrr* may have been [continued]

Figure 6.1: Seasons and *Desi Maheenay*



Note: All the local terms are Saraiki.

Both *Badroon* and *Saawanrr* are associated with rainfall. In the last proverb, *Badroon*, which follows *Saawanrr*, is being cursed because of the unexpected timings of showers and an increase in the cold during this month. The pairing of months in the proverbs does not only exist between the two subsequent months. It also exists between any two months having similar weather conditions. For instance:

- *Asoon Mah wilala, deehyen dhuppeen raateen siala*
  Asoon [and] *Mah* [are] strange, [its] days are sunny [and its] nights [are like] winter [during these months]

In the last proverb, the seventh *desi* month of *Asoon* and the eleventh month *Mah* are mentioned together. This is due to similar weather conditions as these are the transitional months between summer and winter.

6.2.2 The Islamic Hijri Calendar

On 25th of July in the evening, I was sitting with Tahir in his office. Suddenly we heard the sound of a blast followed some more in a sequence. When we came out on the road, a few boys were setting off fireworks. Tahir told they were celebrating *Shab-e-Baraat* (the Night of Innocence) as the fifteenth *Sha'ban* was going to be on 28th July.[27] *Sha'ban* is the eighth month according to the Islamic Hijri calendar. Muslims all over the world use the Islamic Hijri calendar to regulate their religious activities. The origin of this calendar marks the year during which the Islamic Prophet migrated from Mecca to Medina in 621 CE (cf. El Guindi 2008a: 113-121). The Arabic for migration is *hijrat* thus this calendar is known as the Hijri calendar. Islamic Festivals like *Eid*, *Milad-un-Nabi* (Birth of the Prophet) and fasting are celebrated by using this calendar. Some Islamic months have more significance than others in terms of the religious activities associated with them such as *Muharram*, *Rabi-ul-Awal*, *Rajab*, *Sha'ban*, *Ramazan*, *Shiwaal* and *Zilhajj*. It is a lunar calendar comprising of 354 days in common years while 355 days in the embolismic years divided into twelve lunar months. The lunar months drift eleven or twelve days earlier in every seasonal year and the seasonal relation repeats itself every 33 Islamic years (Richards 1998: 231-235). Crescent has become a central notion of Islamic symbolism because of this lunar calendar. This calendar was introduced when Islam first came into the regions of Sindh and

[27] There is a slight difference in the pronunciation of the names of the Islamic months in Arabic and in Pakistani languages. I have used the spellings that best convey the local expressions. For example, The Arabic name of the month, *Ramadan*, is pronounced as *Ramazan* in Urdu as well all in other Pakistani languages.

South Punjab in the eighth century. The use of this calendar spread across South Asia as Muslim rulers adopted it as the official calendar.

According to Islamic teachings, people have to sight the moon in order to confirm the start of a new Islamic month. Before the introduction of the media and modern transportation, Muslims had to rely on local witnesses of crescent sighting to celebrate any religious event. Therefore, it was quite possible that one town celebrated the event on one day while the other on the following one. After independence, the government of Pakistan formed the central crescent sighting committee, which gathers scientific information and eyewitnesses regarding crescent sighting. If the committee confirms any incidence of crescent sighting, the whole country celebrates the religious event corresponding to that month on the same date. All the people I spoke with could easily tell the exact order of the Islamic months. People normally do not calculate the exact date of the Islamic month unless there is any religious festival or ritual occurring in that month. Some people start counting the weeks or days remaining for the months like *Ramazan*, which is the fasting month. People start asking each other how many days are left to *Ramazan*. In 2010, the Hijri year was 1431 AH.[28] The chronology of this calendar is less important for people, albeit they do recognise that it is the fourteenth century according to this calendar. The reference to fourteen centuries according to the Islamic calendar is usually given when comparing the modern times with the early period of Islam.

Muharram is the first Islamic month. Its major significance is regarding the incidence of Karbala. Imam Hussain, the grandson of the Islamic Prophet, was martyred in Karbala, Iraq, along with his family and friends in 680 (61 AH). The Shia mourning procession during *Muharram* is the commemoration of this incidence. There are no mourning processions or public performances of any ritual in Jhokwala during *Muharram* as the entire population belongs to the Sunni sect. In the mosque, the Friday Sermon or any lesson during the first ten days of *Muharram* mentions this incidence with great respect. On the tenth day of *Muharram*, called *Ashura*, people visit the cemetery. They pray for their deceased relatives and leave flowers and green leaves at the graves. Women visit the cemetery on the eleventh. Some people give *khairat* (charity) and distribute *chaaval* or *halva* during this month. There was no music being played at any shop or public place particularly in the first ten days of *Muharram* during my fieldwork. People prefer not to

[28] AH abbreviates for 'After Hijra't' (Hijri).

perform marriages or other festivals of happiness during this month. The second Islamic month, *Safar*, is also considered as a month of suffering. Some people paste a *taviz* (prayers written on a piece of paper) at the lintels of their doors to remain safe from sufferings during this month.

Picture 6.2: Noori Mosque

The fourth Islamic month, *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, marks the great celebration of the birth of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad, known as *Milad-un-Nabi*, on the twelfth.[29] This day and month has religious significance for Muslims all over the world, particularly Sunnis (El Guindi 1995; Tapper and Tapper 1987). At the Adda Parmat market, there were a couple of special stalls where badges and other colourful paper flags were sold, with a dominant green colour. Some young men from Jhokwala and other areas went to participate in public rallies in Lodhran with green flags. *Maloods* or *naats* (devotional poems in praise of the Prophet) were recited in mosques and at various ceremonies. During this month, some people arranged public gatherings of friends, neighbours and relatives at their homes in which the *maloods* were recited in Urdu, Saraiki and Punjabi. During the seventh Islamic month, *Rajab*, another religious event of *Me'raj* (Night Ascension of the Prophet) is

[29] The festival is also called *mawlid*, *mulud*, or some local variations of the same word in different countries. In some countries, it is celebrated on the 10th *Rabi-ul-Awwal*.

observed on the 27th. On this day, special *dars* (lesson; lecture) about the event is also delivered after the Night Prayer. Mosques are decorated with lights on the fifteenth of *Sha'ban*, the eighth Islamic month, to celebrate *Shab-e-Baraat*. It is also believed that angels present the deeds of people to Allah for the past year in this night and receive new orders about their fate for the next year. Mosques were decorated with lights and people came to visited at night and took pictures of them.

Table 6.2: The Islamic Hijri Calendar

Name of Month	Important Dates	Major Activities	Taboos
Muharram	1-10th: Battle of Karbala in 680 CE	Charity is given especially on the evening of 10th	Marriages or any festivals of happiness are not celebrated; playing music is not appreciated
Safar	Suffering	*Taviz* at doors	
Rabi-ul-Awwal	12th: *Milad-un-Nabi*	Celebration of *Milad*	
Rabi-us-Sani			
Jamadi-ul-Awwal			
Jamadi-us-Sani			
Rajab	27th: *Me'raj*	Charity and prayers	
Sha'ban	15th: *Shab-e-Barat*	Celebration and prayers of *Shab-e-Barat*	
Ramazan	*Lailat-ul-Qadar* occurs during the last ten days	Fasting; *e'tkaaf* in the last ten days; preparations for *Eid*	Eating publicly during the day is not appreciated
Shiwaal	1st: *Eid-ul-Fitr*	*Eid* prayers; meeting with relatives and friends	
Zeeqa'd			
Zilhajj	8-12th: *Hajj* 10th: Eid-ul-Azha	Animal sacrifice	

Note: The terms represent the local variants of the original Arabic terms.

People are busy buying groceries and preparing for *Ramazan* in the later days of *Sha'ban*. Whenever I visited the Adda Parmat market during these days, people were buying flour, oil, rice, sugar, and other items of household consumption in bulk. *Ramazan*, the ninth Islamic month, is very significant from religious, social, and economic perspectives and, therefore, has been an important domain to study religion and economics in Muslim communities (Armbrust 2002; Schielke 2009). People observe *rozay* (s. *roza*; fasting) during the whole month and a significant change in their daily routine can be observed. During my fieldwork, in the evening of the 11th of August, which was the 29th of *Sha'ban*, the radio and television announced that the moon for *Ramazan* had been sighted, which meant August 12th was the first day of *Ramazan*. It was announced over the loudspeaker of the mosque as well. People had waited for this announcement, as men had to offer *tarawih* prayer in congregation in the mosque after the Night Prayer. *Tarawih* prayer has twenty *raka'ats* (prescribed movements and words in prayer), which are offered during the whole month of *Ramazan* after the Night Prayer. During *tarawih*, a chapter of Qur'an is recited every night in sequence so that the recitation of the entire Qur'an is completed at the end of *Ramazan*. This is called *khatam shareef* (the sacred end) and is preferably done by the 27th of *Ramazan*.

During the whole month, women get up much earlier than usual to prepare the *sehri* or *suhoor* (the morning meal before the start of fasting). Announcements over the loudspeaker of the mosque are made at regular intervals to wake people up for *sehri* and to tell them how much time is left before one should stop eating *sehri.* People can eat until there is the *azan* calling the *Fajar* (Morning) Prayer. During the *roza*, it is forbidden to eat any food or drink water or any other liquid. The *roza* is broken, preferably with dates, at the time of sunset with the *azan* calling the *Maghrib* (Evening) Prayer. This time and the meal are referred to as *aftari.* The timing in *roza* is very important as to when one has to stop eating or drinking at *sehri* and when to break *roza* at *aftari*. Now a days, a timetable is devised by various religious authorities and is available in mosques. This gives the calculation of *sehri* and *aftari* timings in hours and minutes to assist people in managing their schedules accordingly. When I visited a big mosque in Kalluwala Village, my friends particularly asked me to see a large calendar. This calendar had the dates of all prayers, *sehri* and *aftari* timings along with the possible dates of the Islamic months corresponding to the Gregorian calendar. The radio and television broadcast special transmissions at *sehri* and *aftari*. They also describe the timings of *sehri* and *aftari* for different cities. They

present religious programmes like *naats* and religious talk shows, especially regarding the timing and importance of *roza* discussing the acts that are not permissible during a *roza* and *qaza* of a fast if it could not be observed because of illness or any other reason. There were, however, different ways of communicating timings to keep people cautious about *sehri*, before the widespread use of loudspeaker, clocks, and media some thirty or forty years ago:

> …there were *mirasis* or other people who used to play *dhol* (traditional drum) in the streets to wake people up for *sehri*. This was a voluntary service and some people gave them gifts and rewards. (Usman, 55)

During the daytime in *Ramazan*, people do not appreciate someone to eat or drink publicly. Children are nonetheless an exception to this norm. Everyone respects this norm because *Ramazan* is a highly venerated month. It is not only taken as a month of fasting in terms of food but also of not doing anything that is generally immoral or against Islamic teachings. If people see someone deviating from these norms, they usually say "*sharam kar*" (shame). Marriages are not performed in the fasting month of *Ramazan* as it is only a month of worship. Music and dancing, which is common at marriage ceremonies, are not considered appropriate during this month. The last ten days of *Ramazan* are the most venerated days. They are important for many reasons. Qur'an started to be revealed on the night of 27th day of *Ramazan*, called *Shab-e-Qadar* or *Lailat-al-Qadar* (the Night of Value). The occurrence of this sacred night is not fixed to any date and is not given in Islamic sources too. It can occur at any of the nights in the last ten days with odd dates such as 21st, 23rd, and so on. However, generally the 27th is considered as *Shab-e-Qadar*. It is a *sunnat* to stay in the mosque during the last three, seven or ten days, called *e'tkaaf*:

> It is an isolation from the world. Only worship. Offering complementary prayers, reciting Qur'an and doing *zik'r* (a devotional act of repeating Allah's names). *E'tkaaf* ends with the end of *Ramazan*. At the moon of *Shiwaal*. When the moon [sighting] is announced, relatives and friends go to congratulate the person sitting for *e'tkaaf* with sweets and *sehras*. (Sajjad, 23)

Women practise *e'tkaaf* by confining themselves in a corner of their homes and not involving themselves in household activities. The sighting of the new moon of *Shiwaal* is also very important. It marks the end of *Ramazan* meaning that people will not offer *tarawih*, there is no preparation of *sehri*, and *e'tkaaf* is finished. Similarly, they have to prepare for *Eid*, for example laying out their new clothes, shoes, and doing other shopping.

The first day of *Shiwaal* is *Eid-ul-Fitr*. The *Eid* prayer is offered in *Eidgah*, in which people from the nearby villages such as Basti Raqba also join. After about half and a month, Muslims perform *hajj* in Mecca, Saudi Arabia from eighth to twelfth *Zilhajj*. Millions of Muslims from across the world travel to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. It is an obligation for every adult Muslim to perform *hajj* once in a lifetime, if he or she has the ability with respect to finances and health. Being one of the most important religious rituals, an expression of unified Muslim identity, and having economic significance, *hajj* has a special cultural value (Hammoudi 2006; Porter 2012). It is not possible for every person to perform the pilgrimage even once in lifetime considering economic and or health constraints. In Pakistan, when a person is going to perform *hajj*, relatives and friends visit him or her before departing to Mecca and say *mubarakbaad* for being lucky enough to go to perform the pilgrimage. One's ability to go for *hajj* is considered as a matter of *qismat*. It is believed that one can only have this opportunity if the person has a true desire and Allah willing. People told me that many people have money but they die before they could perform *hajj* because it is not in their *qismat*. When someone returns after performing *hajj* in the village, friends and relatives gather at his or her home to celebrate the event. They offer sweets and flowery garlands to the person. Another important and interesting aspect of performing *hajj* is that people start calling the person *haji* (the man who has performed *hajj*, for the woman the term *hajani* is used). *Haji* becomes a prefix title with the man's name such as Haji Siddique and Rao Haji Lal Din.

Eid-ul-Azha or *Qurbaani vaali Eid* (*Eid* of sacrifice) is celebrated on the tenth of *Zilhajj*. People slaughter a goat, a sheep or a cow, whatever they can afford, if any, as a sacrifice to commemorate the event of the Prophet Abraham's offering to sacrifice of his son according to the will of Allah. The animal for sacrifice is bought a few weeks or days earlier than the *Eid*. Children play with their animals during these days. The animal can be sacrificed any time after *Eid* prayer until the third day of *Eid*, albeit people prefer to do the sacrifice on the first day. Every family slaughters their animal in their own house. A butcher, or any man in the house who knows the *halal* (accorded by Islamic teachings) method, slaughters the animal. Women do not take part in the slaughtering process but they are responsible for dividing this meat for distributing it into various parts for the relatives, neighbours, and poor people. Men and children then take the meat in bags to distribute it. Children particularly enjoy *Eid* as they get an opportunity to have fun:

> …we wear new clothes, new shoes…then we go for [*Eid*] prayer, then we go to the fair, then we play. (Waqas, 14)

Like *Eid-ul-Fitr*, people visit their relatives and host them for meals at their homes. On both *Eids*, some young men from the village visit Lodhran city to visit the special fairs and enjoy special parties with friends.

6.2.3 The Gregorian Calendar

There is enough evidence to suggest that Indians knew the Western solar calendars as early as the fourth century (Freed and Freed 1964: 72-73). These calendars were not popular then because the local calendars fulfilled all economic and religious needs. The East India Company introduced the Gregorian calendar into South Asia, initially in Eastern India in, and then officially adopted it in 1757 (Sutton 2010: 74). The Gregorian calendar was thus the official calendar of the British Raj after replacing the Islamic Hijri calendar, which was the official calendar during the Mughal era. However, Hindus, Muslims, and other religious communities always managed their religious festivals according to their own calendars. Muslim scholars continued to use only the Hijri reference to dates in their books.

Following Independence in 1947, the Government of Pakistan adopted this calendar for civil purposes, as a colonial legacy. I visited the official records of land, health, education, crimes, and agriculture in the Union Council office, health centres, schools, police station, and agriculture office. These all mentioned only Gregorian dates. People in Jhokwala referred to the Gregorian calendar as *angrezi maheenay* (English months). The increase in the use of the Gregorian calendar had several factors behind it; among these are the gradual transition from an agricultural economy to a market one, an increasing literacy rate, and media. Therefore, it is a symbol associated with modernity and urban life. The introduction of radio, television, and mobile phones has increased the use of this calendar in everyday life. The use of this calendar in Jhokwala increased so rapidly that after a generation it replaced the Bikrami calendar for agricultural purposes. Thus, the Gregorian calendar provided an alternative to the Bikrami calendar. It also translated the seasonal context for December and January as being the coldest months, instead of the *desi* months of *Poh* and *Mah*, and June as the hottest month, instead of *Ahrr*. The literature provided by the government to the staff in its agricultural department and farmers is based on this calendar. In the agriculture office, whenever any farmer comes, the appointments are fixed according to the Gregorian calendar, as it is the ‘calendar of the day’. The contact of farmers with the

government offices, cities, and markets has increased the use of this calendar in their lives. My appointments for meetings with people, including farmers, were also scheduled according to the Gregorian calendar. This was not only because I was comfortable with this calendar but also because people schedule their meetings and all their activities according to this calendar. The major reason behind this practice is that the date according to the Gregorian calendar is readily available through mobile phones, television, and newspapers and one can inquire about the date from anyone around and so be punctual. Everyone, including children, is aware of the dates according to this calendar. In contrast to the other two calendars, people always told me the exact date according to this calendar. Children, who were not good at counting the *desi* or Islamic months, were fluent in counting the exact order of the *angrezi maheenay*. Although the Islamic calendar is part of the school curriculum and students can identify and tell the name of the current Islamic month, they do not see much use for this calendar in their everyday life, except for some rituals. On the other hand, the school registration, hospital, national identity card, and all other facilities ask for person's date of birth according to the Gregorian calendar. Both the modern educational and occupational systems also require the counting of Gregorian years (chronology) for planning purposes, for example, when to promote an employee to next grade, the retirement age, and the number of years a person has served in the office.

Picture 6.3: Training Session for Farmers by the Agriculture Office

The use of the Gregorian calendar is not limited to mundane activities. Only some public holidays like *Eid*, *Milad-un-Nabi*, and *Ashura* are regulated according to the Islamic calendar. It is because these are religious festivals. All other national holidays like Independence Day, Pakistan Day, Iqbal Day, Quaid-i-Azam Day, and many others are celebrated according to the Gregorian calendar. These days are celebrated on the March 23rd, August 14th, November 9th, and December 25th, respectively. Both Al-Akbar and Al-Faisal, as well as other schools, held special celebrations on these days. The radio and television celebrate these events with special transmissions just as on *Eid*. Similarly, the examination timetable, award-giving ceremonies, and holidays' timetable in the schools are regulated through the Gregorian calendar. Table 6.3 shows some major public holidays and festivals that are celebrated according to the Gregorian calendar.

Table 6.3: National Days and Local Festivals according to the Gregorian Calendar

Name of Month	Holidays and Festivals
January	
February	5th: Kashmir Solidarity Day
March	23rd: Pakistan Day
April	21st: Allama Iqbal Day
May	1st: Labour Day
June	16th June: *Urs* of Hazrat Pir
July	
August	14th: Independence Day 11th: National Minorities Day
September	6th: Defence Day 9th: Quaid-i-Azam Day
October	
November	9th: Allama Iqbal Day
December	25th: Quaid-i-Azam Day and Christmas

Rao Mehfooz and Rao Aulia told me that they considered only the Islamic and *angrezi* months to fix the dates for the marriages of their children. This is common to all the people in the village. It indicates that the Gregorian calendar is now an integral part of social organisation. The economic significance of shrine festivals, especially in agrarian communities is a common phenomenon almost everywhere in the Punjab (Lyon 2004a: 209-223). The *urs* (annual festival) at the shrine of Hazrat Pir in Jhokwala is celebrated soon after the wheat harvest, in summer. The date of the *urs* is fixed according to the Gregorian calendar. In 2010, the *urs* was celebrated on June 16th. According to Sajjad, it was observed in consideration that the corresponding Islamic month was suitable for festivals. For instance, the timing of this ceremony could be shifted forward or backward if it coincided with *Muharram*.

6.3 The Week

In many societies today, we take the concept of seven-day-week as for granted. According to most scholars, the historical evidence of practising a seven-day-week dates back to the sixth century BCE by Jews who adopted the seven-day-week concept from Babylonians during the Babylonian Captivity (cf. Senn 1997). This means that Babylonians might have been using a seven-day-week earlier than this period. However, the concept of a seven-day-week is not universal. For instance, Romans used an eight-day-week based on a market week or nundinal cycle adopted from Etruscans (Pinches 2003). They also adopted a seven-day-week during the first or second century. There are also evidences to show the use of a seven-day-week in China as early as the fourth century. The Basque people in Spain have a reference to a three-day-week in their language (Bausani 1982). Igbos of Nigeria and Javanese in Indonesia still use four-day and five-day weeks, respectively (Manus 2007). Similarly, there are examples of using a six-day-week in West Africa by some communities such as Nchumuru (Agorsah 1983). This implies that the calculation of days into the week varies in different cultures and is informed through indigenous knowledge about astronomy and is influenced by social practices as well as economic modes.

A week is of seven days in all three calendars practised in Jhokwala. According to the ancient Sanskrit scripts like Rig Veda, the practice of seven-day-week has millennia old history in South Asia. If I met some Saraiki speaking people and asked them to meet me again, they said *sat bismillah*. This was an indication that they were happy to meet me

again and that I was always welcome. *Sat bismillah* is also an equivalent of saying welcome to someone. Its literal meanings are 'seven [times] in the name of Allah'. In fact, it means you are welcome on any of the seven days in the week. Therefore, the idea of a seven-day-week is very much entrenched in local time reckoning. The term used for a week is *hafta*. It has two meanings: a week and Saturday. It is a Persian word derived from the numerical *haft* (seven). *Navaan* or *naya hafta* (new week), *pichhla hafta* (last week), *aglay haftay* (next week), and *aunday haftay* (coming week) are used to refer a week. When *hafta* is used for Saturday, it refers to the seventh day. Since Friday has been, and still is, the weekend in the indigenous time reckoning, Saturday has been numbered as the seventh day. There are also specific names for Saturday in both Saraiki and Urdu, which are *Chhanrr Chhanrr* and *Saniture*, respectively. However, *hafta* is also used in everyday communication. The apparent ambiguity of referring *hafta* to either a week or Saturday can only be understood according to the situation. People usually specify in their conversation to which *hafta* they are referring. For instance, *haftay aali deehnhvaar* or *haftay walay din* (the day of *hafta* means Saturday) and *navaan hafta* (the new week) are self-explanatory expressions. Philip (1921[1911]: 30) argued that the names of the days of the week were indicative of identity to distinguish one group from others.

Table 6.4: The Days of the Week

English	Local Terms	Meaning/Association	Origin
Saturday	*Chhanra Chhanrr/ Saniture/Hafta**	Saturn	Sanskrit
Sunday	*Aadit/Itvaar*	Sun	Sanskrit
Monday	*Soon'waar* or *Somvaar/ Pir*	Moon	Sanskrit
Tuesday	*Mangal*	Mars	Sanskrit
Wednesday	*Budh*	Mercury	Sanskrit
Thursday	*Khamees/Jumairaat**	Fifth [day]/Friday Night	Arabic/Urdu
Friday	*Juma*	Friday Prayer	Arabic

Note: The first local term is in Saraiki while the alternate one is in Haryanvi dialect of Urdu. The terms with * are equally used in both the languages.

The Saraiki and Urdu names of the days of the week are of Sanskrit origin except for *Khamees* or *Jumairaat* (Thursday) and *Juma* (Friday), which are of Arabic and Persian origin. The names of the rest of the days of the week are in Sanskrit and do not have any association with the Islamic beliefs. These names have religious significance in Hinduism but their continued use is a part of cultural memory now. Such naming also signifies the religious importance of these days for Muslims. Friday is the day of the communal weekly prayer. Hence, the day is called *Juma* after this prayer. *Juma* is an Arabic word and connotes the congregation. The significance of *Jumairaat* is primarily because the lunar Thursday starts on the eve of the solar Friday according to the Islamic calendar. Therefore, the solar Thursday enters into lunar Friday. *Jumairaat* literally means Friday Night. Therefore, for Western observer this concept of Friday Night may be confusing. *Qul*, part of the death rituals, is celebrated usually on the closest Friday to the death. Similarly, the death ritual of *Jumairaat* also highlights the significance of Thursday. *Soon'waar* or *Somvaar* (Monday) is also sometimes symbolised as a sacred day because many *urs* of the saints are celebrated on this day. Hence, it is named as *Pir* (saint):

> *Soon'waar, peerain da vaar*
> Monday [is] the day of the saints

6.4 The Weekend

In addition to *Jumairaat*, the Saraiki of Thursday is *Khamees.* It is an Arabic word, which means the fifth [day]. This meaning indicates Saturday as the first day of the week, which indicates Friday as the weekend. However, Sunday is the official weekend in Pakistan now. During the British period, Sunday was the official holiday but Friday remained an important day for Muslims throughout the history. Muslims offer their great congregation prayer on Friday and it is the most venerated day of the week in Muslim culture all over the world (Eickelman 1977; El Guindi 2008a: 130-131; Goitein 2007). Rappaport (1999: 190-193) argues that the selection of different days for grand worship distinguishes one society from others through a temporal identity. Saturdays, Sundays, and Fridays as the grand worship days for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, respectively, are examples of these temporal identities. He also argues that the use of the Islamic calendar and Friday as a significant day of the week has religious implications not social or economic. The weekly holiday has become a matter of debate in some Muslim countries and people argue in the opposition or favour of celebrating Friday or Sunday as a weekly holiday taking into

account the significant of Friday from religious perspective and that of Sunday for international business (Bley and Saad 2010). Sunday and Friday have been national holidays alternatively during the periods of different governments in Pakistan (Esposito 1998: 175). In 1947, Pakistan adopted Sunday as the weekend as a colonial legacy. The 1973 constitution officially named the country as Islamic Republic of Pakistan, given the history of its creation and Islamic identity. In 1977, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, declared Friday as the weekend. In 1997, Nawaz Sharif's government announced Sunday as the weekend to benefit from the international market and to promote business with the West. Some people in Jhokwala believe that Friday should not be celebrated as a holiday and there is no concept of a weekend in Islam:

> There is no weekly holiday according to Islam. Qur'an says close your shops, and buying, and selling when you hear the *azan* calling the *Juma* [Prayer]. Then spread in the earth for earning. (Hayat, 27)

On the other hand, some people support the weekly holiday on Friday. For them, Friday is a sacred day and symbol of Islamic identity. Therefore, they believe that the weekly holiday should be on Friday. In fact, the weekend is partially practised, be it Sunday or Friday, by farmers. No school in Jhokwala opens on Sunday. People working or studying in Lodhran City take Sunday off. However, not all the people take their day off on Sundays. For instance, the tailor's shop in the village also closes on Friday all day. Many people, especially some farmers consider Friday as the day of rest as this day they offer the grand congregational prayer as a major event of a usual week. It is important to clarify here that in the agricultural activities there is no consistent weekly holiday. Farmers work on any day that suits them and carry on their activities as needed. For instance, during the harvesting time, they hire the harvester on an hourly basis and a lot depends upon the availability of the harvester on the days when it is required according to the ripening stage of a crop. Therefore, farmers have to carry on their activities regardless of Fridays and Sundays to complete the task during the period they hire harvester or any other machinery. Their timetable is scheduled according to other service providers, offices, markets, and shops. Similarly, women at home, or who also work in the fields, work on all the days of the week.

The Adda Parmat market opens seven days in a week though some shops are closed on Friday. Farmers and shopkeepers, who work on Fridays, take a break during the Friday Prayer while others may not work on Friday at all. Many shops close at *Juma* Prayer time but re-open as soon as the prayer finishes. Since the market at Adda Parmat is a highway bus stop and traffic runs 24/7, some shops and hotels are opened from early morning until late night. Similarly, this market is at the junction of several villages so there are several mosques nearby where people offer *Juma* Prayer at different timings. This means that if shop A closes for *Juma*, shop B might remain open at that time. I mentioned earlier about the ambiguity in the term *hafta*. This ambiguity increases regarding whether *navaan hafta* starts from Saturday or Monday. Therefore, no fixed weekend is practised in rural areas.

6.5 Dividing the Day: *Pah'r* and Clock

There is a difference of timing when the date changes according to each calendar. Since the lunar day starts from moonrise at sunset, the Islamic date changes in the evening as opposed to sunrise or midnight in the Bikrami or Gregorian calendars, respectively. People calculate the date of religious festivals according to the Islamic calendar. For instance, mosques are decorated on the night between the 14th and the 15th of *Sha'ban* for *Shab-e-Baraat*, which is actually celebrated on the 15th and not the 14th. Similarly, the *tarawih* prayer for the first day of *Ramazan* starts before *sehri*. According to the indigenous time perception, a 24-hour *deehnh* or *din* (day) comprises eight phases of precisely equal duration, four for daytime and four for night-time. A phase is called *pah'r* or *peh'r*. The average length of each *pah'r* is approximately three hours. However, the duration of each *pah'r* is not uniform and varies throughout the year according to the timings of sunrise and sunset. The measurement of *pah'rs* is by no means through any formal tools. The movement of the sun and other celestial bodies, called *taaray* (s. *taara*; stars), visible in the sky, marks these *pah'rs*. People used to calculate *pah'rs* through various methods:

> *Taaray* rise from here [points Eastwards in the sky]. They are [visible] in winter. Not [visible] in summer. They disappear. In winter, the wells used to run according to these [*taaray*]. The wells used to start running after watching the *tarangarr* (a specific group of stars). Three *taaray* are together, these were called *tarangarr*. When the *tarangarr* rose in the east, it was the first *pah'r*. There are four *pah'rs* in a night. Then the *tarangarr* came in the centre. It was mid night. This was the second *pah'r*. Then the *tarangarr* start setting. Then it became the later *pah'r*. Then the *tarangarr* kept coming in this direction. As the *tarangarr* continued setting, time moved further ahead. We calculated time accordingly. In the day, we used mark lines. Look! If the

> shadow of the sun was at this line [he marked on his hand], it was this *pah'r*. If it was at that line, it was that *pah'r*. **[**We] measured the shadow by erecting poles at appropriate distances on the ground. People were able to reckon it easily. Even the bulls [running on the well] could reckon it. Upon their turn, they used to stop. They used to stamp their feet hard the ground [to mark a *pah'r*]. Then they used to start moving. When it was their turn, they stopped automatically. In addition to the *tarangarr*, there were [some other stars] the *munni* and *chitthiyan*. The *munni* is [located] below the *tarangarr*, which are two fat stars. The *chitthiyan* are just like this [he joins the tips of his two index fingers together]. They are also more visible in winter. Less visible in summer. Now you see, *Saawanrr* has started. After *Saanwanrr*, the *tarangarr* will be visible. (Khuda Bukhsh, 75)

The *pah'rs'* system is thus an indigenous way of calculating time in the day by measuring the length of the shadow of anything such as a twig or a tree. The night *pah'rs* are measured through the movement of planets in the sky. There is no differentiation between stars and planets in people's local cultural astronomy but a single term *taaray*, is used for both. A clear distinction between a single and a group of *taaray* is made to distinguish between different categories and groups of stars. This *pah'rs'* system was linked with the agricultural activities before the use of modern technology in agriculture until the middle of the twentieth century. This system also helped in regulating social activities. Elderly people told me some basic points regarding why farmers needed to divide the day into *pah'rs*. Firstly, there were no separate wells to irrigate the land. All the farmers who were dependent upon a common well divided the time in *pah'rs* to determine when to use the well. Secondly, there were more than two brothers or partners who had to irrigate the same land. In such cases, they divided *pah'rs* among each other for a just division of time between their bulls to give them some rest:

> We used to run the well [with the help of bulls]. When the two bulls [of one brother or partner] were tired then he asked the other one to run his bulls for the next *pah'r*. We used to calculate *pah'rs* according to the position of the *taaray* just as [now] we say it is 8 o'clock now, so it was 8 o'clock according to the position of the *taaray*. Therefore, the other [brother] might reply that his turn had not come because the *taaray* were not at the specific position of the next *pah'r.* (Muhammad Akbar, 49)

Thirdly, women at home used to estimate the timing of their men returning from fields and started to prepare food for them by reckoning *pah'rs*. Fourthly, people who had to start work early in the morning could start preparing before dawn through reckoning the night *pah'rs*. Fifthly, dividing time in *pah'rs* helped knowing the timing of different prayers as each prayer is offered at a specific time and cannot be offered at a different time in normal

circumstances. Since the *pah'rs'* system is adjusted to the five daily prayers to some extent, these are easily counted. However, with the passage of time, recognising *pah'rs* with their names started to decline. Similarly, when one refers to a particular prayer in the day like *Fajar* or *Zoh'r*, a particular phase of the day is referenced. Another factor behind the decreasing reckoning of *pah'rs* is the use of clocks. Table 6.5 shows the day and night *pah'rs* along with their temporal markers and corresponding activities.

Table 6.5: *Pah'rs*

Stages of a Day		Western and Clock Equivalent	Temporal Marker	Activities
1	*Vadda vela* (big time) or *Subha kaazib* (pseudo morning)	Very early morning 03:00-06:00	First *azan* (crow) of cock	*Tahajjud* prayer
2	*Fajar* (Morning)/*Subha saadiq* (true morning)	Dawn/Morning 06:00-09:00	*Sijh ubhar da vela* (sunrise; twilight); second crow of cock	*Fajar* Prayer; Sehri time ends during Ramazan; people leave for their businesses
3	*Dhammi da vela*	The perfect morning 09:00-12:00	Sun is in the centre of the sky	Economic/agricultural activities
4	*Doopah'r/paysheen or dopeh'r*	Noon 12:00-15:00	The shadow of things are visible	*Zoh'r* (Noon) Prayer; *kailoola* (daytime nap)
5	*Deeghir* (Afternoon)	Afternoon 15:00-18:00	The shadow of things is doubled	*Asar* (Afternoon) Prayer
6	*Namashen da vela* (Evening)	Evening/Sunset 18:00-21:00	Evening twilight	*Maghrib* (Evening) Prayer
7	*Raat* (Night)	Dusk 21:00-24:00	The *tarangarr*/ *jhumka* (a group of stars) are visible in the sky	*Isha* (Night) Prayer; go to bed
8	*Adhi raat* (Mid Night)	Midnight 24:00-03:00	The tarangarr disappear and the chitthiyan (a group of stars) appear	Sleeping

One night, I was recording video of the people watching a movie at the Rafique tea stall. Suddenly, the light went off because of loadshedding. It became difficult for us to see each other for a while. Out of the dark, I heard someone saying:

> Come at seven o'clock early in the morning. I am going into the fields to spray in Basti Fateh Rasheed. Make your video there. Take my photograph too. (Saleem, 40)

I could not recognise who he was. Tahir told me it was Saleem. I then agreed to come with him in the morning. On the next morning, I arrived on the road near Adda Parmat and saw Saleem coming with his two friends around seven o'clock. One of his friends gave me a lift on his bike to a village, Basti Fateh Rasheed, a few miles away from Jhokwala. They had obtained some land on tenancy there. There I shot the video of them spraying in the fields. They told me on their way that they had a plan to return home at twelve noon. When we reached there, I shot a video of them mixing water into the pesticides and then spraying in the fields. I could not stay there for the whole time because I had to meet someone elsewhere. I returned to Jhokwala with a friend who was returning early too. On the very next day, I saw them going to the fields in the morning at seven o'clock. Similarly, I observed them once coming back down the same road around twelve noon. I was curious if Saleem managed his entire timetable according to clock time. After some days, I asked him about *pah'rs*. He told me that his elders used to count *pah'rs* but he did not count them because he used only clock.

Picture 6.4: Sunset at Jhokwala

More than half of the people of the village wear watches, and almost every home and shop has a clock. The clock timings indicates the need for reckoning the shorter duration of time for jobs, television programmes schedule, and even the *namaaz* timings, which now strictly follow clock time. In the mosque, the time for each prayer is written on a board describing hours and minutes for *jamaat* timings. The prayer timings are managed accordingly as the day-length and shadow of the sun changes during different seasons in a year. Now, *pah'rs* are named after the names of *namaaz.* For instance, at sunset, the commonly used term for expressing a *pah'r* is not *namashen da vela*. Instead, people use the word *Maghrib* to express the time of sunset. They schedule their meetings by using *namaaz* timings as a temporal reference. Pakistan started practising, though intermittently, daylight saving time since 2002 in order to regulate its energy needs but it has been a debate since then if the country needs to practice it (cf. Kabir 2002). In rural areas, despite following clock time, people did not practice the daylight saving time whenever it was announced by the government because their daily rhythm is maintained through *namaaz* timing and a partial reckoning of *pah'rs*.

6.6 Conclusion

I have shown that calendars and other units through which people measure and manage time are an important part of social organisation in Jhokwala. The calendar provides a rhythm to social activities and serves as reference points for events. Freed and Freed (1964) mentioned various calendars being practised in rural areas of northern India. They suggested anthropologists being cautious which calendar they were referring to while making an appointment with local people. This suggestion may not be valid in Pakistan, at least in many urbanising villages of Punjab today, because Pakistanis use the dates of the Gregorian calendar by default unless they refer specifically to the Islamic calendar. They do not count the exact dates of the *desi maheenay*. People used the Bikrami calendar for centuries even after they adopted the Islamic calendar. There were several reasons behind the continued use of the Bikrami calendar. Firstly, the indigenous knowledge about seasons and agriculture was linked with this calendar. Secondly, many Muslims worked as peasants on the lands of Hindus and their economy was linked with the Bikrami calendar as Hindus celebrated their rituals and managed their economy through this calendar. The increase in using the Gregorian calendar had similar reasons. Firstly, after 1947, accurate knowledge about seasons and the Bikrami calendar started to decrease after Hindus left the area. Elderly people who used to own this indigenous knowledge continued to use the calendar

until the Gregorian calendar came into frequent use through the media and modern education. Secondly, farmers have to rely on the government to provide information about crop diseases, pesticides, and timings of cultivation and harvesting. Since the government staff and dating in the agricultural literature use only the Gregorian calendar, farmers have to follow this calendar in order to adjust to this system. Other factors like modern education, the media, and market economy also boosted the shift from the Bikrami calendar to the Gregorian one. For similar reasons, the *pah'rs'* system has been replaced by clock time, which was once an essential element of the agricultural rhythm. The use of the clock also indicates the scarcity of time in the industrial economy and technological change (cf. French 1982; Ingold 1995; Thompson 1967).

The Islamic calendar has been consistently used over centuries and both the elders and new generations use this calendar for regulating religious activities in Jhokwala. This calendar serves as a reference point for religious events, which are an important part of the village's social organisation. The Islamic names for religiously significant days like *Jumairaat* and *Juma* represent religious identity in a society where Muslims lived with Hindus, Sikhs and other religious groups for centuries. The continuity in the use of the names of other days like *Mangal* and *Budh* is the cultural memory and highlights the continuity of pre-Islamic traditions of South Asia. The use of older names in emerging cultures is common. For instance, *Youm as-sibt* in Arabic is, in fact, a continuity of *Yom Shabbath* from the Hebrew tradition (Böwering 1997). Similarly, the modern English names of the days of the week are the continuity of the ancient Roman and Greek names (Brown 1989; Richards 1998).

The younger generations are generally unaware of the indigenous knowledge regarding seasons, which has been used by the older generation. Given the anthropogenic factors of climate change (cf. Dow 2007; Mughal 2013b), more efforts from the government, academia, or the development sector are required to document this indigenous knowledge, as this could have be useful in dealing with climate change and sustainability (Sillitoe 1998). In rural areas, where clock timing is now increasingly uses, people still practice *pah'rs'* system to an extent. In the *pah'rs'* system, the frame of reference are natural phenomena, such as movement of sun, therefore, *pah'rs* are automatically adjusted with the seasonal variations, in contrast to clock time that is unable to coordinate climatic changes (Bastian 2012), without any need to adjust it for daylight saving. Further, people did not experience the scarcity of time before industrialisation and urbanisation. The

cyclicity of time through years, months, weeks, and days gives a rhythm to social organisation. This rhythm maintains the social and economic relationships as well as humans' relationship with nature through various temporal markers (Dove 1992; Lyon 2012; Mughal 2012c). The change and continuity in the use of different calendars and other temporal models show the preference of people to choose between different cultural and economic alternatives they encounter over the course of history. These alternatives can be the result of social change over generations. The continuity in the use of the Islamic calendar is not incidental. It was the result of a continued practice for the sake of identity and the religious organisation of culture. Similarly, people used the Bikrami calendar for economic and social reasons. When these economic and social circumstances changed, people gradually adopted the Gregorian calendar.

In the next two chapters, I will focus on the social organisation of space and the management and negotiation of places and boundaries. While explaining the changing notions of space in relation to social change, I will describe that time serves as a reference point in the sociospatial relationships too.

7

The Social Organisation of Space

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the social organisation of space in Jhokwala. I discuss the local terminologies of space and places, the use and management of land, and the sociospatial relationships constructed around places such as the mosque and the house. It is expedient to study time and space in relation to each other (Adam 1994; Giddens 1984, 1991: 17-20; Rapoport 1994: 465). The interrelationship of time and space can be studied by analysing social change. I will discuss the changing aspects of sociospatial organisation in the village. Culture itself is a space where events and values occur (Kokot 2007: 12-13); hence, social organisation built around a space can be regarded as a spatial event (Smith 1971: 56). Therefore, culture is a nexus of the sociospatial relationships. The *dunya* and the *aakhrat* are two interrelated concepts in Islamic cosmologies, which represent the fundamental model of time-space in any Muslim society. These two notions are embedded into social and economic organisation in Jhokwala and are not limited to a sacred or religious place only. However, the "social practice" of the beliefs about the *dunya* and the *aakhrat* is expressed in the construction and management of sacred places like the mosque (Bourdieu 1977: 72, 1984: 170). I argue that such cultural cosmologies play an important role in economics, social relationships, and other spheres of human activity.

Land has different uses for residence, markets, worship places, and so on. Land plays an important role in the social organisation of Jhokwala. The availability of agricultural, residential, and commercial lands is subject to change in population size and technology in the village. Although agriculture has always been an important occupation in the region, pastoralism and trade have also been common. South Punjab is a diverse region from a geographical perspective. Some parts of the region, including some areas of Lodhran, were not irrigated because of desert-like conditions between fifty to hundred years ago. Later, more cultivation took place because of population growth and a need for more food in the first half of the twentieth century and a couple of decade after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Settling of *muhajirs* and the government's policy of populating people from different areas in Lodhran also played an important role in the transformation of barren lands into

fertile agricultural fields. People used the indigenous methods of levelling up sand dunes for making the land cultivable. However, land available for agriculture became insufficient to accommodate the needs of the growing population because of a relatively rapid population growth from the 1960s onwards. This resulted in the division of land into multiple heirs and, consequently, technological transformations in agriculture for attaining maximum productivity. Many people also abandoned agriculture and sold their lands to factories and markets. This highlights the commoditisation of land resource due to industrialisation and urbanisation (Haider 1981; Rogers 1990). This scarcity of land resource along with occupational change had an impact on household structure and the physical layouts of the villages like Jhokwala.

Places such as the mosque and the house have culturally informed architecture. Therefore, the structure of these places represents social relations and cultural values. I explain what changes have taken place in the physical and social spaces of Jhokwala and how these are interrelated. The construction of the mosque and its practice as a sacred place, shared by the community, can be explained with respect to the cosmologies of the *dunya* and the *aakhrat*. The mosque is the central point of religious organisation in Jhokwala. It represents people's attitude towards the material and metaphysical world. I discuss the structure and role of the mosque in Jhokwala as a religious institution. I also show how the mosque plays an important role in change and continuity of some cultural patterns.

It appears to be difficult to reach at universally applicable or etic definitions of household and family. This issue poses a challenge for national census or cross-cultural comparisons of family and household anywhere in the world (Hammel and Laslett 1974). A widely accepted characteristic of the household is its association with space, proximity, and residence whereas the concept of the family is associated with kinship relations (Yanagisako 1979: 162-163). Therefore, the household has a cultural dimension, which can be studied separately from the broader models of family (Sanjek 2010). Domestic space is the dimension of sociocultural experience that provides an insight into the sociospatial relationships. The location, construction, and use of domestic space are important elements in the village's cultural landscape. The nature of the sociospatial relationships within and outside the house undergoes some transformations because of social change (Akbar 1998; Robben 1989). Since domestic space is arranged with respect to the social relationships of its residents, modifications in its physical attributes unfolds itself into social change at the

village level. Domestic space can be studied with respect to the ecological, structuralist, symbolic, phenomenological, or architectural perspectives (cf. Blu 1996; Korosec-Serfaty 1985; Oliver 1987; Rapoport 1969). A house has a connection with the outer globalising world, which influences change in household dynamics by introducing electric appliances, kitchens, new furniture, and toilets in Jhokwala. The scarcity of land for the residential or agricultural purposes has given rise to occupational change from the agriculture to cash economy in Jhokwala. People have migrated to cities and overseas for economic and educational reasons. They are, nevertheless, still a part of social network and an important factor behind changing the design and structure of the house in the village. Change in the demographic features of the village after the settling of *muhajirs* was one of the major changes in the reconfiguring of the sociospatial relationships at the village level. Urbanisation, the media, and technological change have also brought change in the structure of a house. The organisation of domestic space is thus indicative of the history, religion, economics, and socioeconomic and technological change.

7.2 Some Basic Concepts and Local Terminologies of Space

In philosophy and literature, the word *makaan* is used to express the comprehensive meanings of space just as *zamaan* is used for time. Generally, these terms are used together as *zamaan-o-makaan* (time and space). The *dunya* has temporal as well as spatial aspects. I have already discussed its temporal-moral aspects in chapter five. People use the word *dunya* in many ways. It can be translated as 'the world' in which humans live. Muslims believe that all humans will be judged on the Day of Judgement for their deeds they had performed in the *dunya*. In fact, it is a space where human beings interact with each other and with nature. It is this notion of interaction and social "practice" that appropriates the *dunya* as a place for actions (Bourdieu 1977, 1984). The *dunya* connotes wealth and involves economics, politics, land, and biology. For example, a wealthy person is considered as *dunya wala* (worldly; the person who has the world; wealthy). The person who cares for the *dunya* is called a *dunya daar.* The words *dunya wala* and *dunya daar* are almost synonymous but the former is used as an antonym to *deen daar* (the person who has the religion; a religious person). *Dunya daar* is thus the one who only thinks about what is in this *dunya* and spends life in the worldly affairs. The practical use of these terms implies that the *dunya* is a temporary place, and the *aakhrat* is an ultimate destination for which one needs to do *fik'r* (to care for). The *dunya* is thus about the physical existence in this world whereas the *aakhrat* is an 'imaginary' space where humans will eventually live

forever. *Jannat* is a place where there will be no suffering, which will be full of luxuries, servants, nice food, and palaces. It is for the people who believe in and worship Allah, refrain from sin, and practise *khair*. Good deeds are not just limited to performing rituals:

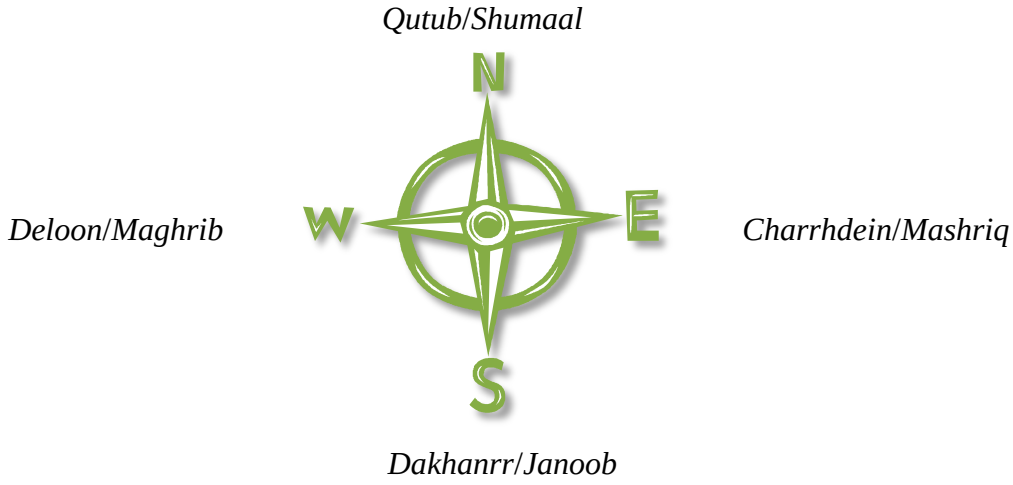
> Merely offering prayers is not a big virtue. Offering *namaaz*, *hajj*, and fasting are the debts that a human being has to return Allah. This is *imaan* (faith). Islam is not just a faith….there are two parts of it, *imaan* and *ehsaan*. *Ehsaan* means that one must serve the creatures of Allah and human beings are not the only creatures. There are eighteen thousand *jinss* (species) such as birds and animals – all are the creatures of Allah. One has to serve them. A human being should spend time for these things in life [to get reward from Allah]. (Khuda Bukhsh, 75)

On the other hand, *jahannam* or *dozakh* is the place full of suffering and fire. The place is meant to be for disbelievers, sinners, and those who do not perform the deeds of *khair*. In this way, the two spaces, the *dunya* and the *aakhrat*, are inter-connected in the belief system and in people's everyday practices. The concepts of *deen* and the *dunya* thus constitute people's worldview. However, this worldview is not only religiously informed but is shaped by cultural and geographic factors.

Zameen (earth) is the spatial form of the *dunya* in the physical sense. *Zameen* is the place where human beings live, interact, and exploit nature for their subsistence. The same term, *zameen*, is used for earth and for the piece of land. The global aspect of *zameen* is thus manifested as land in the local context. Here I use the local term *zameen* in the sense of land – land in Jhokwala. It includes the *ghar* (home), the *khet* (fields), the *dukaan* (shop), *bazaar* (market), the mosque, and the cemetery. It includes notions of mobility and borders through *bannas* (pathways), *galis* (streets), and *sarraks* (roads). The proximities between the places like the *ghar* and the mosque create notions of closeness and distance in a physical sense. People distinguish between these places based on their relative physical distance and structure. Directions play an important role in navigation as well as construction and management of the places in Jhokwala. The local names for the four directions are *ubhar* or *mashriq* (east), *deloon* or *maghrib* (west), *qutub* or *shumaal* (north), and *dakhanrr* or *janoob* (south). Muslims all over the world offer their prayers facing Ka'ba in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. This direction is known as the *qibla*. The exact *qibla* direction in Pakistan is normally the south-west, though different angles in different cities, for example, it is approximately 261 degree from north clockwise in Lodhran (IslamicFinder 2013). For simplicity sake and perhaps because no names for sub-directions

are recognised traditionally, west is referred as the *qibla* direction. However, when offering prayers anywhere other than the mosque, which are directed towards the *qibla* and not to the exact west, people adjust the direction of the prayer mat through by taking into account the direction of the local mosque.

Figure 7.1: Names of Directions



Note: The first local term is in Saraiki while the alternate one is in Haryanvi dialect of Urdu.

The human aspect of the *dunya* shapes social organisation in the sense that people distinguish and manage social relationships by considering "social distance" (Kuper 2003: 251). Social distance is managed at individual as well as collective levels in Jhokwala. For example, the notion of *biraderi* is constructed at a collective level. *Ja* or *jaga* literally means space or place, both in the social and physical sense. It mainly represents the individual aspects of space. Some local expressions such as, in Saraiki, *medi ja mal rakheen* (reserve the place for me) or, in Urdu, *mannay baithan ki jaga de* (give me some place to sit) represent the physical notions of space in the cultural context. Similarly, expressions like *tuadi ja maiday dil wich hay* (your place is in my heart) and *maan ki jaga kon le sakay?* (who else can take the place of mother?) show the social aspects of space in Saraiki and Urdu, respectively. There are some expressions of space, which represent social hierarchies. There are two cultural expressions *muqaam* and *auqaat*, which are important in this context. *Muqaam* is a status given to someone because of someone's good role, character or one's relationship with someone in a positive sense. For example, *ja* in the heart in the above example is due to someone's *muqaam* as a mother, a father, a brother, a friend, a religious personality, a political leader, or a beloved. Therefore, one's *muqaam*

makes one become a respected person. *Auqaat* is one's status due to one's capacity to do something. It is normally used in some derogatory sense. For example, *ghareeb* (poor) means that one owns less wealth, in relative terms. Therefore, *auqaat* is one's capacity to buy in comparison with someone who cannot buy. The use of the term *auqaat* is not limited to economic comparison only. If a man is physically weak and tries to fight with someone stronger than him, then the opponent will say, "*teri auqaat hi nahi*" (you do not have *auqaat* [to fight with me]). This means that the stronger one assumes so much difference in the physical strength that he thinks of no comparison. *Muqaam* and *auqaat* thus reflect social rules associated in creating social distance. Now I discuss different physical spaces in Jhokwala around which people weave the notions of social space.

7.3 The Transformation of Place: Land, Agriculture and Economics

During the 1960s, just like in other South Asian countries, the agriculture sector experienced a major development by following modern agricultural innovations and technologies such as the introduction of hybrid seeds, pesticides, fertilisers, tractors, and harvesters (Leaf 1983; Nalty 1972). This resulted in high yielding; thus termed as the green revolution. However, a high agricultural productivity could not be sustained longer in the absence of the government's continued support (Ahmad et al. 2004; Evenson 2005). A few major reasons have been a low literacy rate, government's unsatisfactory science policies, and the unequal ownership of land distribution. Agricultural land is the major source of power and authority in rural Punjab and big agricultural landlords play a major role in national and provincial politics (Alavi 1976; Javid 2011; Lyon 2004a). The Government of Pakistan implemented land reforms a few times in the country, in 1959 and during the 1970s, for addressing the issue of unequal distribution of land between feudal property owners and peasants. However, these land reforms were not without problems at the levels of policy and implementation, which include the monopoly of political and feudal alliances and less involvement of rural poor in the entire decision making process (Ahmad 1959; Herring and Chaudhry 1974; Rashid 1985). Therefore, the impact of these land reforms on eliminating rural poverty has always remained a question.

Through various folktales, people describe *zar*, *zan*, *zameen* (wealth, woman, and land) as the root causes of all conflicts in society. Cultivable land and non-cultivable land possess different economic values. A piece of land is normally expressed as *raqba*. A fertile *raqba*, well supplied with water, is more expensive than a non-cultivable or less fertile land.

Similarly, commercial land near Adda Parmat and on the Lodhran-Jalalpur Pirwala Road is more expensive than agricultural land. People use some specific units for measuring land. Table 7.1 shows these units of land measurement, which are also used in most areas of Pakistan. The older generation used to measure land in big units like *marabbas*, even though the smaller units like *wighas* and *marlas* were also known and were used less frequently. Now a days, generally, *wighas* or *marlas* are used for measuring residential and commercial property. The area of most houses is between five to ten *marlas* while some are spread over one *kanaal*. Only a few farmers possess ten to fifteen *killas* of land. Most farmers have only one or two *killa*s. Therefore, they measure and describe their land in *killas* or acres. The Agriculture Department and Tehsil Office also maintain the records of agricultural land in acres.

Table 7.1: The Units of Land Measurement

Unit	Equivalent in other units	Equivalent in Square Feet	Type of land measured through the unit
Foot	1 square Feet	1 square feet	Shops
Marla	272 square Feet	272	Residential
Kanaal	20 *Marlas*	5,445	Residential
Wigha/Bigha	4 *Kanals*	10,890	Agricultural
***Killa* (acre)**	2 *Wighas*	43,560	Agricultural
Marabba	25 *Killas*	1,089,000	Agricultural

Note: The first local term is in Saraiki while the alternate one is in Haryanvi dialect of Urdu.

Some elderly people told me that there was a plenty of land available for agriculture about fifty years ago. Some areas were not cultivated for a couple of reason. Firstly, people used to cultivate the part of area, because of smaller family size, that could fulfil their needs for the household consumption and *oluk*. Secondly, it was difficult to cultivate a larger area due to some physical conditions of the land unfavourable for agriculture and less availability of water. Some areas of the district had sand dunes making it difficult to raise the underground and canals' water raise up to the ground level to be used for irrigation. For levelling up dunes and uneven surfaces of agricultural land, an indigenous technique has

been practiced for centuries by using the *bhatta khisht* (brick furnace). These brick furnaces need soil for making baked clay bricks, which are then sold on commercial basis and are used in the construction of buildings. I asked the owner of a *bhatta khisht* near Jhokwala how and why he chose a particular piece of land to obtain soil for making bricks. He replied that the landholders contacted him if their land was not balanced. He then starts digging mud and soil from that piece of land until it is balanced and ready for cultivation. In this way, landholders get their land levelled up that is suitable for cultivation and the owners of the *bhatta khishts* acquire soil for making bricks. If the entire land has been levelled up in an area, the *bhatta khishts* working there is shifted to a different area. Shahid and Zafar told me their relatives moved to different parts of Lodhran some thirty years ago from other areas after they were allotted land here as part of the land reforms. They had to work hard to irrigate their lands. When Rajputs came to Jhokwala, not the entire area on the northern side of the road was cultivable. They used this indigenous method of *bhatta khisht* and digging more wells to cultivate the lands that were allotted to them in the land reforms.

Picture 7.1: *Bhatta Khisht*

In the 1960s, the Government of Pakistan introduced modern technology for agriculture, hybrid seeds, pesticides, and fertilisers along with agricultural loan facility. This increased the agricultural productivity for some period. Today, Pakistan is one of the major producers of crops like cotton, wheat, rice, date palms, and chickpeas in the world (FAO 2013). However, as I mentioned earlier, the high pace of agricultural development

achieved during the green revolution could not be sustained longer. Khan's (1979) study showed that there has been a strong correlation between farm size and agricultural productivity in Pakistan. Agrochemical industry is run by private sector. For small landholders, it is difficult to yield higher due to higher costs of hybrid seeds, pesticides, and fertilisers. The low literacy rate among small farmers also added to this situation. There has been a gradual decrease in the availability of land for agriculture due to the growing population. The division of hereditary land in several heirs caused further decrease of an average farm size. This scenario represents only the villages with farmers having relatively small landholdings. In many other villages in Lodhran, there are farmers with big landholdings who can afford to use modern technology and high-quality seeds, fertilisers, and pesticides. Thus, they achieve higher yielding. A farmer told me why he changed his occupation from agriculture to shopkeeper:

> They [my parents] came from India. How could they earn their living? They had no land here already. The lands were allotted them later. Then they allotted them twelve *killas* each. They asked them first to populate and irrigate that land before they transferred the ownership to them. We paid twenty or thirty rupees per *killa* in instalments. Then the property's ownership was transferred to my parents. Then the family size increased. It was difficult to earn a living from one allotment. My grandfather was allotted land here. (Pervez, 49)

People started to sell their agricultural lands in order to buy shops at the Adda Parmat market or for investing in other businesses. These lands were purchased by businesspersons from the nearby villages, Lodhran, or other cities, for constructing cotton factories, schools, and shops because of the location of Jhokwala at a main road and closeness to Adda Parmat. This type of land is referred to as *mauqay di zameen* (the land of good location) and is sold quickly despite higher price. I asked Riaz why he opened his tailor's shop at Jhokwala instead of Adda Parmat, he replied:

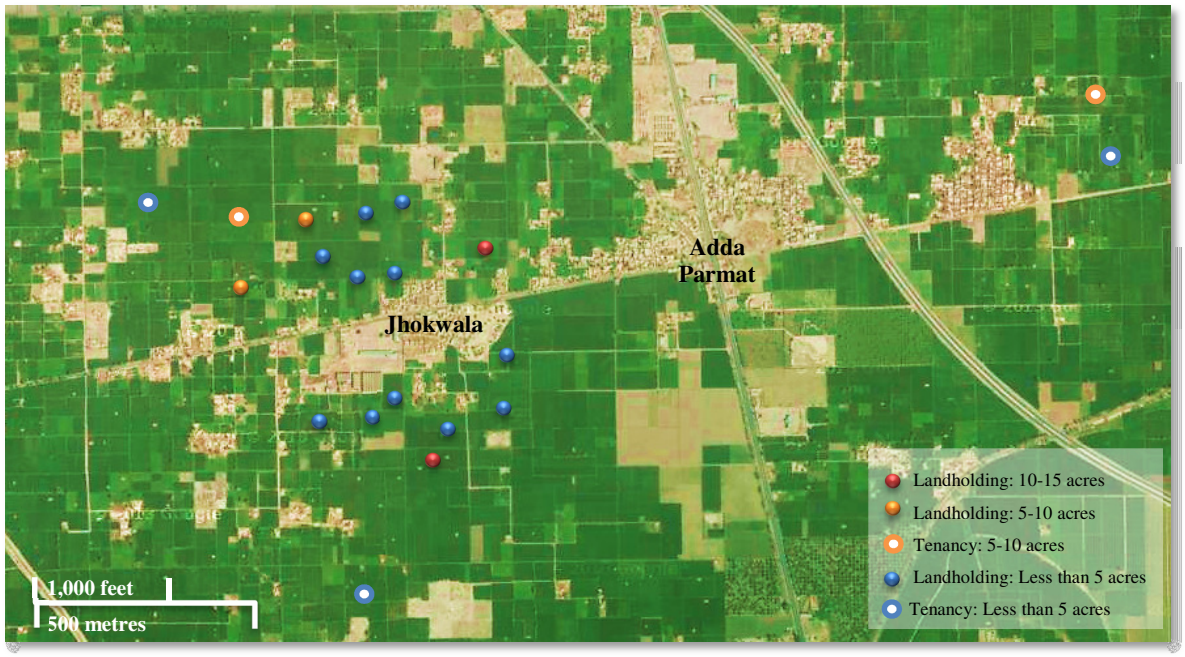
> This place is good. This is good from every point of view. The city [of Lodhran] is too far. The other [option] is Adda Parmat. It is better here than there [Adda Parmat]…Basti Sandewala's clothes come here [for stitching]. They are my clients. They are my relatives. The people of Jhokwala know [me]. They know [I] am nearby and whenever [they] will give me clothes [for stitching]; these will be prepared at the [earliest possible] time. We prepare one suit in two to three hours. (Riaz, 26)

The land that has a good commercial value is not always utilised immediately when it is sold. Some investors buy such land only to re-sell it on a higher price to earn profit. Sometimes, one such piece of land may have two or three owners consecutively until it is used for the purpose it was intended for, for example, as a shop. The price of such type of land usually increases with the passage of time. Demarcations of agricultural lands by walls can be seen in the area, as shown in picture 7.2, describing that the land has been sold or is now ready to be used for commercial purposes. These demarcations show the intensive commodification of land. Elderly people told me these demarcations were recent additions to the landscape and were rare when they were young.

Picture 7.2: Demarcations on Agricultural Land

Those who still work as farmers in Jhokwala do not own big landholdings as compared to several other villages in Lodhran or elsewhere in Punjab where several landlords may have five to twenty *Marabbas*. An average farmer in Jhokwala owns three to five acres land whereas only a few have ten to fifteen acres of land. Some farmers, who do not own land, farm it on a tenancy basis. The tenancy agreement is usually based on sharing half the crop, known as *nisf*, with the owner. The tenant is responsible for all expenses, from cultivation to harvesting. Two or more partners may also share the tenancy. The land acquired on tenancy may be located within Jhokwala or in a nearby village. Map 7.1 shows the current and past few years' landholdings and tenancies of the people of Jhokwala.

Map 7.1: Agricultural Landholdings and Tenancies



Adapted from Google Maps (Google 2013)

Note: This map shows agricultural landholdings and tenancies with their most recent use.

Trend towards emigration has also increased because of these economic shifts. The emigration is for the purposes of education and employment within and outside the country. Opportunities for wage labour in the village as well as in cities have also encouraged occupational change. Most Rajputs are farmers and businesspersons. Some also work as wage labourers. Bhattis and Mochis are usually wage labourers, shopkeepers, and overseas migrants. Paolis are mainly wage labourers and work as agricultural and factory labourers. Some of them work in Lodhran City as wage labourers. Some members of the Klasra, Bhatti, Mochi, and Rajput *biraderis* work in government offices, colleges, or schools. Some other *biraderis*, which are relatively less in number, are engaged in different occupations but a majority of them are farmers, shopkeepers, and wage labourers. Table 7.2 shows the major occupations for each *biraderi* in which they are currently involved in and their traditional occupations they previously held.

Table 7.2: *Biraderis* and Occupations

Biraderi	**Traditional Occupations**	**Current Occupations**
Rajput	Agriculture	Agriculture; shopkeepers; labourers; other businesses; overseas workers
Klasra	Agriculture	Government jobs; other businesses
Bhatti	Agriculture, labour	Wage labour; overseas workers; shopkeepers
Mochi	Cobbler; labour	Wage labour; overseas workers; shopkeepers
Paoli	Labour	Wage labour; shopkeepers

Note: Labour as a traditional occupation mainly includes agricultural labour.

Some people who do not own agricultural land may have better financial status than that of some farmers and landholders due to the availability of alternative, or in some cases better, economic opportunities after the abandonment of the *oluk* system. For example, if a man from Mochi *biraderi* is working overseas, his family may have all the modern amenities, which an average agricultural landholder family could get. There is, however, socioeconomic differentiation between and within the *biraderis* depending upon their occupations. Figure 7.2 shows average monthly income levels of different occupations.

Figure 7.2: Average Monthly Income Levels by Occupations

7.4 The Mosque: A Connection between the *Dunya* and the *Aakhrat*

The mosque occupies a central position in the social and religious organisation in any Muslim society (cf. Khan and Frishman 2002; Qureshi 1990; Zaheer 2011). Its primary purpose is to serve as a place of worship as the name *masjid* indicates. The Arabic word *masjid* means the place of *sajdah* (prostration to Allah). However, the mosque has not been used as a place of worship only. Muslims use it as a place of learning and socialisation too. Muslims have always paid special attention to design and structure of the mosque because of its importance in social and religious life (cf. Aazam 2007). There are some unique features of the mosque, which distinguish it from the rest of the buildings in an area. The existence of the features like dome and minarets, which is almost universal, has been used for identity sake as well. Today, some mosques in Pakistan are depicted as national symbols of identity. The design and architecture of the mosque is used as a source of celebrating the 'glorious past', for example Badshahi Mosque, and representation of the vision for a bright and modernistic future, for example, Faisal Mosque. The design and architecture of the mosque represents local as well as global facets of Muslim life. Calligraphy and other symbols used in the mosque represent the identity of the sect as well. For example, design of the Sunni mosques predominantly uses the colour green while the Shia mosques have the colour black and certain other calligraphic designs that express the sect's identity. The mosque in South Asia, particularly of Sunni sect, is normally used by men, with a few exceptions of women visiting the mosque for the sake of *ziarat* (visiting a sacred place for the sake of blessing) of little girls accompanied by their brothers or fathers.[30] A mosque usually takes the name with reference to its location or the *biraderi* living by it.

One day I and Sajjad went to meet Hanif Ahmed, the *Imam* of the mosque (prayer leader), at his home. We met him in a shop in the southern part of Jhokwala. We discussed the history of Jhokwala, his childhood, and Khwaja Ghulam Farid. After an hour, the *azan* was recited on the loudspeaker of the mosque for *Asar* Prayer. After entering the mosque, we took off our shoes near the gate and performed *wazu*. There were more than twenty men and children in the *jamaat*. The men were standing in the front rows just behind the *Imam* whereas children were in the back row. Nobody was looking at or talking to each other. Everyone was only following the Imam's verbal command, which was not more than a

[30] Women go to mosques, particularly of Ahl-e-Hadith and Shia sects, in offices and residential areas of some big cities in Pakistan.

couple of word, to perform particular steps in *raka'ats* in a collective manner. However, when the *jamaat* started, two children were playing each other. A man asked them to stop and concentrate on their prayer. The *jamaat* finished with everybody looking first at his right and then left shoulders, known as *salaam*. People started chanting *tasbih* in their heart or in a lower voice after that. After a few minutes, the Imam raised his hands for *dua* (pray) and everyone followed him by uttering the word *Aameen* (Amen) at regular intervals. After the *dua* finished, people started to leave the mosque whereas some started to talk outside the mosque near its gate breaking the silence they observed inside the mosque. Sajjad was talking to Ahmed Nawaz, a shopkeeper. I joined them and we had some a conversation about Ahmed Nawaz's work before we left.

Although people can offer *namaaz* at their homes, it is preferable for men to come to the mosque for praying in congregation according to the religious teachings. The mosque is a sanctified place where people worship Allah. The mosque is also a social institution where men meet and discuss their social and economic issues with their fellows. However, people do not consider it appropriate to talk about their worldly affairs as such discussions may include the topics like how to maximise profits with ethical or unethical means, or how to maintain prestige in society. If someone tries to shout on others in the mosque, he is criticised by others. During group discussions, people said that human beings have their psychological issues, jealousies, and enmities; therefore, if they talk in the mosque, they may not be able to respect its sacredness. Therefore, they remain silent in the mosque and call it a *pak* (pure) and *muqaddas* (sacred) place. Taking off shoes when entering mosque is not merely for the sake of offering *namaaz*, it indicates the purity and sacredness associated with the place. It is also not for performing *wazu* that they take off their shoes. One has to take them off even if one has already performed *wazu* at home before coming to the mosque. In this way, they consider the mosque *pak* from social and emotional as well as physical impurities. The reason why children are supposed to remain in the back row is that the children create disturbances, which may disturb the *jamaat* and distract people's attention from their prayers. However, many people encourage their sons to offer *namaaz* in the mosque. Children have to learn how to offer *namaaz*, etiquettes of being in the mosque, and how to pray in the congregation. I also asked men why women do not come to the mosque to offer their prayers. They identified two major reasons. Firstly, Although Islam do not restrict a woman to visit the mosque for offering her prayer, Muslims of the early era after the Prophet abandoned the practice of women going to the mosque.

Therefore, it is customary in almost all the Sunni mosques in Pakistan and many other countries that women offer their prayers only at home. Secondly, there are various cultural notions of *izzat* associated with women in their culture. If, for example, someone misbehaves towards a woman in mosque, it will result in a conflict, which is not good for the sacredness of the mosque.

Picture 7.3: Yard of the *Chhoti* Mosque

This practice of peace, purity, and sacredness is manifested in the construction and design of the mosque. During my fieldwork, I visited many mosques in Jhokwala and other villages. They share many aspects of their architecture and design.[31] The architecture and design of the mosque makes it distinctive from rest of the buildings around it. Noori Mosque, for example, looks distinctive because of its design and location. It is located at the front of Jhokwala when coming from the Adda Parmat's direction. The colour green is prominent in every mosque in Jhokwala, its nearby villages, and in fact almost everywhere in Pakistan particularly in the Sunnis' mosques. The use of this colour symbolises the

[31] It will be worth mentioning her that a *musalla* is different from the mosque. The *musalla* is a small place dedicated for offering prayer on temporary basis. In rural areas, many such *musallas* are constructed in the fields so that farmers may not need to travel to longer distances for offering prayers when they are working in the fields. *A musalla* can be used for some other purposes but the mosque can neither be transformed into any other building to be used for anything else other than the mosuque nor deconstructed permanently according to religious principles. *Musalla* also means the prayer mat that is for a single person use.

green dome of Masjid-e-Nabwi (The Mosque of the Prophet) in Medina.[32] Each mosque has a *mehraab* (semi-circular niche) that indicates the *qibla* direction and faces towards Ka'ba. The *mehraab* of Noori Mosque is not visible from outside as there are some houses in front of it. However, the *qibla* direction from Noori Mosque can be reckoned from outside through the direction of decoration and arches on the rooftop of its prayer hall. Some verses of Qur'an are written on the walls of the prayer hall from inside and outside in Islamic calligraphy.

Picture 7.4: Prayer Hall of Noori Mosque

Noori Mosque is consisted of concrete mainly. The floors are concrete and carpeted in the prayer hall. Before that, it had a mix of concrete and mud structure like the *chhoti* mosque. The funds for its construction were raised mainly from Jhokwala. Ceiling fans are fitted inside the rooms and halls in the mosque as well as in the yards, with the help of the iron rods. The prayers are offered in the yard during the moderate weather. At the entrance gate, there is an empty space distinctive from rest of the floor in the mosque. People take off their shoes here. Next to this area is the *wazu ki jaga* (ablution place). In Noori Mosque, two toilets also attached to this area. Noori Mosque has minarets, with a loudspeaker fitted in one of them. Elderly people told me that there were no loudspeakers in mosques until

[32] Masjid-e-Nabwi or Al-Masjid al-Nabwi is the second holiest site in Islam, the first being the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca.

the electricity facility was introduced.[33] The *moazan* (the one who recites *azan*) used to recite the *azan* without a loudspeaker by standing on a wall of the mosque. They said they could hear the *azan* without a loudspeaker:

> There were no loudspeakers before the electricity came into the village. Our fathers and grandfathers never had this in Bhiwani. It came just now [some thirty years ago]…we could hear the voice of the *moazan* from a long distance – for miles and miles. It used to be silence everywhere. Now as you see, it is noise everywhere – the noise of vehicles, factories, and TV. We could even recognise which *moazan* was reciting the *azan*. (Rao Hanif, 90)

The use of a loudspeaker has expanded the boundaries of the mosque space to outside its walls. I observed at many places that when an announcement was made on a loudspeaker, people paid attention to it and took a break for the moment whatever they were doing. They stopped playing music on their television or mobile phones, if they were listening, when they heard the *azan*. The *azan* itself serves as a temporal marker but the use of loudspeakers has given it a new dimension. For example, when people used *pah'rs* to reckon time, the units of time were larger and had fluid boundaries. Many people who could not reckon time themselves they used the *azan* as a temporal marker. Since the use of loudspeakers and watches increased at the same time, people who regularly offer prayers in a mosque predict the time of *azan* and start preparing for that the prayer. Further, the loudspeaker is not merely used for *azan* but also for other announcements, for example, about the funeral timings. The mosque can be also be used for purposes other than rituals. However, people only allow the mosque space to be used for *khair*. The mosque has always played a significant role during the times of risks and hazards (Cheema 2012). In August 2010, there were heavy floods in different parts of Pakistan. A huge number of people were left without any shelter, food and medical aid and the government and non-governmental agencies started the relief efforts. One day, I was talking to some schoolchildren in Tahir's office and it announced on the loudspeaker of Noori Mosque:

> The flood has caused destruction in the country. Thousands people have gone to their journey to the afterlife and around hundreds of thousands have become homeless. Considering the current times of *azmaish* [test by Allah], help the flood affected Muslims. Donate money, food, clothes, beds, medicines with an open heart…Remember to hand in your things only to

[33] There had been some debates among the scholars about whether or not loudspeakers should be used in the mosque when it was introduced in the early twentieth century in South Asia (cf. Khan 2011). However, there has been no resistance to using a loudspeaker in the mosque when it was introduced to these rural areas according to the older generation.

> responsible people and get your receipt. May Almighty Allah protect the life, properties, *izzat*, and honour of every Muslim in Pakistan and in the world! The Muslims who died in these floods, may Allah bless them. In addition, those who had any [economic] loss, May Almighty Allah compensate their loss soon. Ameen! Again Ameen! *Zakaat*, *sadqa*, and *khairat* (alms and charity) in the form of cash, medicines or in kind you want to donate, there are some volunteers present in the mosque [who will receive these things]. Bring it yourself or ask your children to bring it into the mosque as soon as possible to earn *sawaab*.

After a few minutes, people started to donate cash and other items of household consumption at the mosque. Each donation was being announced over the loudspeaker. The man who was making these announcements was also praying for the people who were donating, many times keeping their names anonymous:

> A *musafir* (traveller; who is not native) has donated a hundred rupees. May Allah bless him for this charity! May Allah bless peace to his family and relieve them from any suffering they have! A little *bacha* has given fifty rupees. May Allah provide his family peace from any suffering they have.

These announcements about the flood continued for some days. The mosque is not just a place for rituals but for all the deeds, which are considered as *khair* and for those who performed *khair* will be rewarded with *sawaab*. The association of the mosque with sacredness and *khair* makes it a place that provides a connection between the *dunya* and the *aakhrat*.

7.5 The *Ghar*: Domestic Space and the Sociospatial Relationships

Studying the sociospatial relationships constructed around domestic space can be very challenging. Questions such as whether structure of a home that shapes social relationships or the nature of social relationships give rise to particular architecture, still need to be explored in anthropology. It is evident that there is a strong correlation between the construction of the house and relationships of its members. The location of the house, the types of walls within and around a house, who can and who cannot share the rooms or beds, and gendered and age-specific management of domestic space are informed by cultural norms and values (cf. Dickey 2000; Nielsen 2011; Rapoport 1969).

The Saraiki and Urdu term '*ghar'* is an equivalent to home in English. It is used in both the singular and the plural. People use this term with respect to its residents. For example, *maida* or *mera ghar* and *Bhattiyan de ghar* or *Bhattiyon ke ghar* refer to my home and the

homes of Bhattis, respectively. Eglar (1960: 74) found the same usage of the term in her study in a Punjabi village. The rationale behind such usage of the local terms is because the *ghar* differs from the *makaan* (house). A *makaan* is a building that has no residents living in it, but was constructed to be a *ghar*. Therefore, the term *ghar* encompasses the sense of a physical as well as a social and inter-personal space, representing the geographic, social, economic, religious, moral, and security considerations in the cultural context. It is rather difficult to describe the structure of a typical house in any village, city, or country. Although there are similarities based on personal choices, the number of residents, economic conditions, religion, cultural norms, and ecology, variations exist between all the houses even within a culture. However, there are some essential characteristics in any given culture that can represent an average house.

The family pattern is experiencing a shift from joint to nuclear one because of population growth and consequent change in the physical layout of the village. Parents have divided their big houses into smaller ones to accommodate the wives and children of their sons. I came across many such situations during the fieldwork when one person told me that he was living in a separate home. By contrast, his father or brother told that they lived together. One such example was Abdul Haleem. When I interviewed him, he said that he was living with his parents and two brothers in the same house. After some days, I met his brother. He told me that only he was living with his parents while his brother was living in the house next to theirs. Upon asking, he clarified that his brother was married and had two children. Therefore, two years ago they constructed a small wall with a large gap in it. They share kitchen but these are now two different houses. Hence, the household boundaries and family patterns are changing at the same time. The *ghar* is an intimate space shared by a group of people who are related by blood or by conjugal relationships. "Sharing" is the key aspect of family and household organisation in human cultures (Yanagisako 1979: 162). According to elderly people, there used to be huts or rooms made of bricks, baked as well unbaked, sharing common yards, and accommodating several families living in a household-like situation thirty to fifty years ago:[34]

[34] The durational calculation means that the concept of this extended and large household setting gradually declined from one to other.

> There were no walls, just rooms. If we went into one house then we could come out the other one. It was when I was a child. Those were *khaalis* times and there were modesty and honesty. There were no thieves. We did not have precious things either. Everyone's *izzat* was safe. People were respectful and honest. We never thought of constructing big walls. People had respect for everyone and no one had bad intentions for others. Every household was like one's own household. If our women were alone [and we were working outside the house], we were not afraid of being looted. (Khuda Bukhsh, 75)

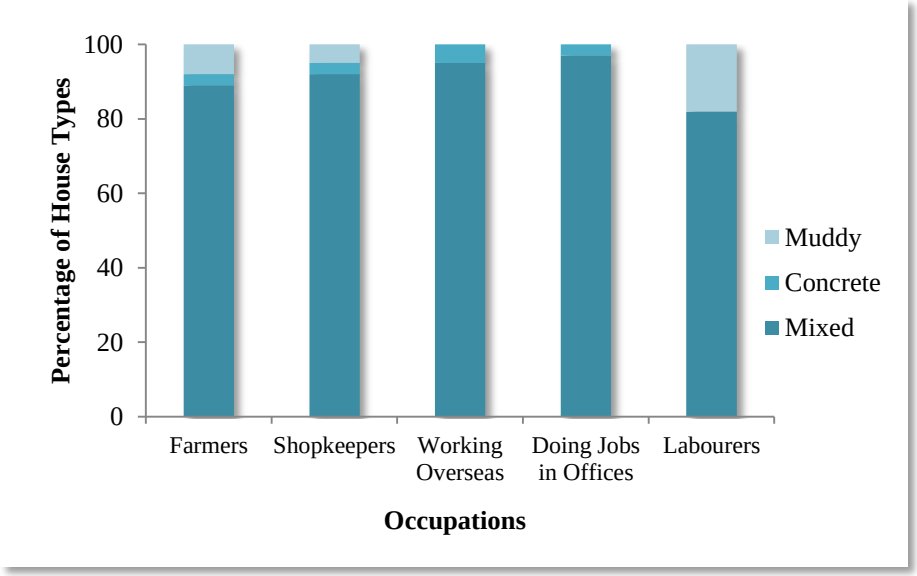
With the passage of time, the families in these extended households started to construct walls around their yards. According to Ghulam Hussain, in his 60s, this sharing of boundaries was common until the mid-1980s. Only a plain area outside the rooms marked the distinction between different houses and trees served as *purdah* (veil). In those days, houses were separated from each other not by walls but through the distance between rooms. People maintained their privacies, to the extent it was desired, by respecting each other's social boundaries. Such notion of respect among families in an extended household setting still exists in many Pakistani villages even though walls have been constructed in order to separate the dwellings of different families (cf. Lyon 2004a: 74). All families who lived in these extended household settings in Jhokwala belonged to one *biraderi*. Therefore, there were different extended households for different *biraderis*. For example, the houses of Paolis were separated from those of Mochis. Even today, if there are no such extended households, the houses of the same *biraderi* are located close to each other. Their sense of sharing a common ancestry and living spatially closer to each other give rise to various rights and obligations. For example, if someone dies in the village, people from within the *biraderi* provide a meal for three days to the family of the deceased.

7.5.1 The Inner Boundaries and Management of Domestic Space

A typical house consists of two or more rooms, a kitchen, a courtyard, a toilet, and a bathroom. Some houses have a concrete structure made of baked bricks whereas most use a mix of mud and concrete. The concrete houses are coated, fully or partially, with cement from either inside or outside, or both. A small number of houses are muddy. Although there is an association between socioeconomic status and the structure of house, but this is not a defining feature of socioeconomic differentiation. Not many houses in the village are fully concrete. Nearly all these concrete houses were recently built. On the one hand, the construction of these new houses indicates the improved economic conditions of people from the *biraderis* such as Mochis, which improved so because of overseas employment

and better economic opportunities. On the other hand, this shows that while traditionally the house was a shared unit within a *biraderi*, it now reflects one's economic attainment and independent living from one's *biraderi*. However, most houses of a *biraderi* not only show the closeness in distance but also in their structure. Figure 7.3 shows a relationship between house types and various occupations to highlight that most houses in Jhokwala follow the same structure.

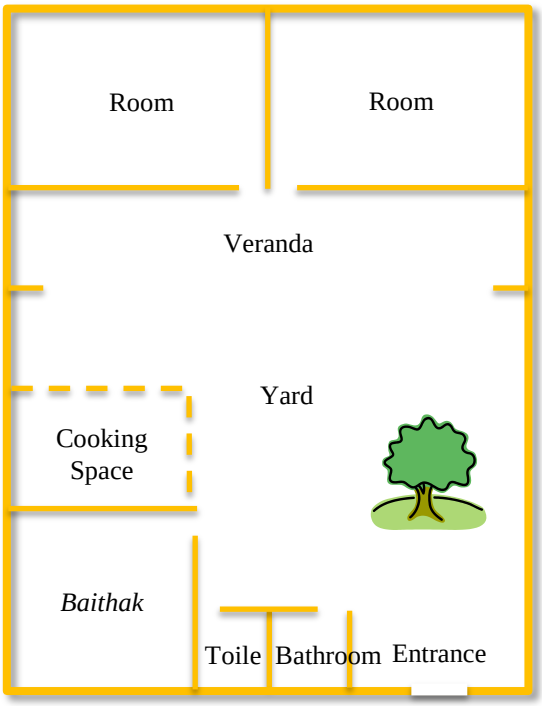
Figure 7.3: House Types and Occupations



Some houses also have one or two trees in the courtyard. An average five to ten *marla* house is usually resided in by five to six individuals. In general, most houses in Jhokwala, which were built two decades ago, have the features similar to elsewhere in rural Punjab (cf. Eglar 1960: 23-27). The houses built within the last ten years have iron gates while the older ones have wooden doors. All the room doors are wooden in every house. A house can be divided into two portions: the front and the back. On the front, there is a *seh'n* (yard), gate, *ghussal khaana* (bathroom), toilet, and sometimes a *baithak* (guest room). The rooms are located at the rear end of the yard. The houses built in the last ten to fifteen years have a veranda between rooms and the yard. The trend of having dedicated rooms for sleeping, entertainment, and studying is increasing in modern Pakistani houses. However, in the villages like Jhokwala, rooms serve multiple purposes such as storage, rest, and sex. Rooms are not used solely as bedrooms in Western sense. The kitchens are relatively

smaller or not present at all. In either way, utensils are kept in cupboards in the rooms where people sleep, eat, or watch television.

Figure 7.4: A Typical Plan of the *Ghar*



Traditional beds, known as *manjha*, *khat*, or *chaarpais*, are kept in the rooms, veranda, and courtyard. During the summer season, the whole family sleeps in the courtyard at night on these *chaarpais*. The beds are placed in such a way that their foot side is not directed towards the *qibla*. Further, people do not sleep in a position in which their left side is on the *qibla* direction, as it is not considered appropriate for some religious reasons. Therefore, the beds are normally placed in such a way that their heads are directed towards either north or west. The foot side of the beds of children or younger people are never directed towards the beds of their parents or grandparents because of their *muqaam*. The *chaarpais* do not only serve the purpose of beds. They are used as 'chairs', 'dinning tables', and for many other purposes. Not everyone has chairs in their homes. In many houses, chairs are kept only in *baithak*.

An electric water pump is fitted in the yard just near the bathroom. In many homes, a *nalka* (hand pump) is used. It is fitted in the bathroom. The bathroom is normally covered, but many are without roofs over them. The toilet is separate from the bathroom. Both bathroom and toilet are along the outer wall making it easier to clean them and flush out

into the street sewerage. The toilets are also new additions in the homes. The older generation used fields as open toilets and crops provided privacy. According to the description given by the elders, there used to be no toilets some thirty years ago. In such a situation, the timing of going into the fields for toileting was different for men and women in order to conserve *purdah*. This temporal and spatial arrangement for privacy without any dwelling was in fact the recognition of physical as well as social proximities. The absence of toilets within domestic space was partially due to some cultural notions related to purity (Douglas 1966).

The refrigerators and other household appliances are kept in a shaded area in front of the rooms, called as *bar'amda* (veranda) or alternatively, in one of the rooms. Women meet their guest women in either the room or yard depending upon weather and presence of men at home. If the female guest is not a relative and *purdah* is to be observed, the meeting between women takes place in an area of house where men are not present. Alternatively, men leave the room or yard to provide them privacy. The women who run small businesses from home like poultry keeping and tailoring do not normally have any specific room reserved for their businesses. They make temporal divisions of their domestic space between *ghardaari* (household activities) and *porhiya*. The sewing machines and related material, for example, are kept in the same room where the family members sleep and eat. Many of these guest women are in fact clients who buy the household women's products.

Picture 7.5: The Yard in a House

The bed sheets and covering on the shelves normally have flowers of bright colours on them. Since the flowers are only associated with female dress pattern, the decoration of a house thus clearly shows that women are responsible for cleaning and decoration the house. Similarly, cooking is also women's responsibility. Some new houses also have a separate dedicated small room for the kitchen. However, in many old houses, there is no dedicated room to be used as a kitchen. A corner of the yard has a *chulh* (traditional stove), usually under a tree. This place is located far from the rooms to avoid smoke going into them. Wood is used as fuel but buffalo or cow dung-cake is also used in addition to wood, which is a common fuel for household consumption by rural poor in rural Punjab as well as throughout South Asia (cf. Dove 1993). The new or expensive utensils are decorated on a shelf, known as *safeel*, on the wall in the room that runs across the entire length of the wall.

Picture 7.6: The Place of Cooking in a House

Only men use the *baithak*, which means the guest men sit there. The *baithaks* are normally well decorated. The walls have pictures depending upon the choices. I visited the *baithaks* where I could see pictures of saints like Khwaja Ghulam Farid, politicians, cricketers, and movie or television actors. The verses of Qur'an are framed on the walls in rooms as well as the *baithak*. It serves as a living room or a bedroom for men where there is no guest.

Picture 7.7: Late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Photograph on a Wall

The structural arrangement of domestic space represents the social and economic organisation of the house. The emotional attachment one develops with one's home is also due to the emotional bonding between its dwellers (cf. Altman and Low 1992; Cieraad 1999). Such social relationships and emotional bonding turn a *makaan* into a *ghar* in Jhokwala. Rao Waleed, one of my friends in Jhokwala, is studying in Multan. He stays there, as it is not possible to travel between Multan and Lodhran every day. He visits his home fortnightly. He told me that despite having many friends in his college in Multan, he communicates with his family over the telephone almost every day because "*ghar tou ghar hota hai*" (there is nothing similar than home) and there is no substitute of home. It is this central position of home in the social organisation of house through which people interact with their family, *biraderi*, and the village. I discussed with many people in Jhokwala about their ideal house. For them, an ideal house is the one where its members live happily, care for each other, and there is respect for everyone's *muqaam*. However, just as the media, education, and economic change influence social relationships, the attitude towards domestic space is also subject to change. The 'ideal home' for the older generation was those extended households where people shared their joys and sorrows with their *biraderi*. There were less physical and social boundaries between relatives. They describe the house in the past as simple but glorify it with the notion of morality and relatedness. On the contrary, the younger generation envisages a house with modern-day facilities and a fewer residents. I asked children and younger people to draw their ideal home on paper for me. In

these sketches, the most characteristic feature of an ideal home was a thrift roof, a television lounge, and mountains as shown in picture 7.8. On the one hand, such representations of an ideal house show human beings' attraction towards luxuries and fantasies. On the other hand, these are indicative of the use of modern technology in architecture as well as the influence of the media and modern education.

Picture 7.8: Sketch of an Ideal House by a Schoolchild

7.5.2 The Outer Boundaries of the *Ghar*: *Mohallah* and *Hamasaye*

Social relationships are developed and managed in the inner as well as outer boundaries of the *ghar*. The outer boundaries of the *ghar* may be the immediate encounter with the neighbourhood or the wider context of the national and global influences on household organisation. On the external side of the house in Jhokwala, there are normally two gates: one is the main entrance while the other is a door for the *baithak*. A few years ago, the streets had open drains running parallel on both sides of a wide street or as a central tube in the smaller ones. The Lodhran Pilot Project (LPP), a Lodhran based NGO, launched a project on the sewerage arrangement in Jhokwala in 2008. Almost all main drains are covered now and the waste is disposed of in the fields through a large sump (LPP 2007: 5-6). The road and most streets run in east-west direction. Therefore, mostly houses have

their doors on either the north or south side. However, the houses in main streets, which are constructed in north-south direction, have gates on the western side. The location of a house has economic as well as social implications in Jhokwala. The houses located on the road or in the main street are worth more for economic purposes and become *mauqay di zameen.* In this situation, a portion of the house is turned into a shop, if required. There are a few shops in the streets, which are in fact a re-appropriation of the *baithak* and serve both purposes.

Picture 7.9: Sewerage Sump

According to Khuda Bukhsh and Hanif Ahmed, the entire population of Jhokwala used to live on the southern side of the road until the late 1950s. There used to be a well just around the place where Noori Mosque now was. Khuda Bukhsh spent his childhood in Jhokwala. He said that the land on the northern side of the road was mainly owned by Hindus at the time of Partition. Initially, Muslims owned this land but they could not cultivate it with their limited resources; therefore, they used to borrow money from Hindus. They used to mortgage their land for money. When they could not pay the loan back, Hindus used to take their land in return and Hindus took the entire land so. These were the stories that he heard from his elders. This land was later allotted to Rajputs when they came to Pakistan after migration. Now these two settlements represent two different languages and social groups in Jhokwala. A few houses and shops belonging to Rajputs are also located on the southern side of the road. However, there is no Rajput family residing within the interior part of the southern settlement. The tea stalls are on the northern side of

the road, which mainly serve the labourers in the factory. The local residents of Jhokwala also come to these stalls, usually in the evening when the factory labourers have left. There are a couple of barbershops on the either side of the road. A few houses of Punjabi speaking families are there in the northern settlement. However, these are separate from the houses of Rajputs. These Punjabi speaking families are also *muhajirs* who were allotted land in Jhokwala, though they settled here later in the 1980s.[35]

Saraikis and Rajputs whose houses are located on the road have closer day-to-day interaction. By contrast, those living in the interior part of the settlements have more interaction within themselves than with those living on the opposite side of the road. Rao Tahir's house is located on the southern side of the road, though he is a Rajput. He has frequent interaction with Saraikis and many Saraiki children study in his school. The parents of the children also meet him regularly. According to Tahir, there used to be some minor conflicts between *locals* and *muhajirs* in Kalluwala when his family lived there. However, there has never been any conflict between these groups in Jhokwala at a collective level. I asked the same question of *local-muhajir* relationship from Khuda Bukhsh, he replied:

> A *Kiraar* (Hindu) arranged her daughter's marriage. She came back home [after some time]. The father asked [her], "Daughter! Is your father-in-law good [with you]?" She replied, "I am good." "Is your mother-in-law good [with you]?" She replied, "I am good." Is your husband good [with you]?" She replied, "I am good." He said…I asked about them. You are replying that you are good. She said, "Father! If I am good, [that means] everyone is good with me." Therefore, we are good, and that means they [Rajputs] are good with us. (Khuda Bukhsh, 75)

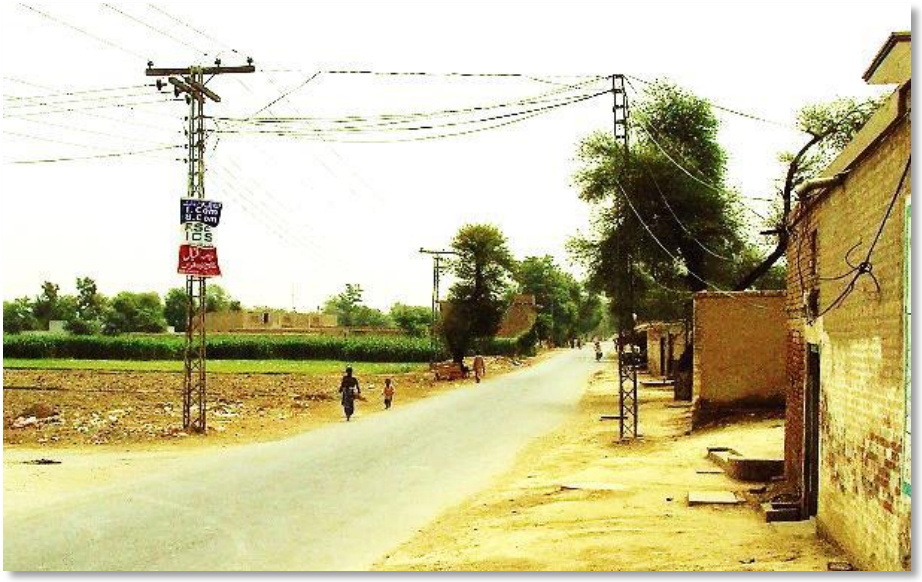
These comments show that even if there might have been any incidences of conflicts between individuals from the two groups, people did not normally consider it as a 'tension' between *locals* and *muhajirs*. During my fieldwork, I did not come across any violent conflict between the two groups. Just like the spatial separation between Saraikis and Rajputs, people from the same *biraderi* have their homes close to each other. For example, all the houses of Paolis are close to each other. Similarly, the houses of all the Klasras are located closer to each other. I asked Nazir Ahmed if Klasras consider Nais and Paolis as

[35] Some *muhajir* families did not immediately start to cultivate the land they were allotted. They lived in the cities like Vehari and Arifwala where they were were allotted lands on temporary basis.

kammis. He said that they do not practise any caste system, and uncles and nephews of the same family fight more than people belonging to different occupations do:

> *Kammi* is from *kam* (work). The one who works is the friend of Allah according to the Qur'an. *Mochi* and *nai* are occupations. These are not a caste. Caste was a Brahmin concept but we are all Muslims. We do not believe that. Anyone who earns a *halal* living should be respected. (Nazir Ahmed, 52)

Picture 7.10: Lodhran-Jalalpur Pirwala Road in Jhokwala



Immediate household boundaries in the form of neighbourhood have very important in the household and community organisation (Henig 2012). The interaction between various groups based on their relative closeness in the location of their houses is also important as *hamsaya* in Jhokwala. A neighbourhood is termed as *mohallah* in Pakistan mainly in urban areas, people in Jhokwala also use this term for their side of the road when talking to somebody at Adda Parmat, for instance. However, when I visited Lodhran City with my friends from Jhokwala, they mention everyone from Jhokwala as their *mohallay-daar* (with whom one shares *mohallah*; neighbour) no matter from which group the person belongs to. There is a saying in Saraiki and Urdu that *hamsaya ma jaya* (a neighbour is just like an offspring of your mother).

People from the same *biraderi* usually refer to each other as *apnay* (own). There is a common saying in Saraiki that *apna maar ke vee chaan te satainday* (*apna* puts you in the shadow [as a contrast to heat of the sun in warm climate] even after beating or killing).

Among Saraikis, neighbours and friends can also become members of another *biraderi* depending upon their closer physical and social proximity, while maintaining the exchange and reciprocal relationship with their own *biraderis*. For example, in the case of providing a meal for the family of the deceased, neighbours can also offer food even though they do not share the common ancestry with them. Similarly, if one has moved to a different city or overseas remains member of one's *biraderi* through mutual exchange of rights and obligations. For example, when those working overseas visit the village for holidays they bring gifts for their relatives like uncles and aunties and their children as well. During their holiday period, they participate in *ghami-khushi* of their relatives. For example, families pay *salaami* at the marriages of their relative, friends, and neighbours on behalf of their members who have been migrated overseas if they are not able to attend the ceremony in person. The Saraiki term *bhaaji-biraderi* (meal-[exchange] *biraderi*) can well explain such expansion of the *biraderi's* boundaries to friends and neighbours. Therefore, the boundaries of a *biraderi* can be at times very blurred and are intertwined with a common ancestry and social relationships developed because of the geographic closeness between houses.

7.6 Conclusion

In chapter five and six, I discussed the social organisation of time. In this chapter, I have discussed the spatial dimension of social relationships and the management of space. The concepts of the *dunya* and the *aakhrat* represent cultural cosmologies through which people construct their worldview. The *dunya* is the space for actual human actions and interactions whereas the *aakhrat* is an imaginary space in which humans will be judged for their worldly actions. They will be rewarded with heaven or hell for their good and bad deeds, respectively. I have also discussed that the social organisation of space is in flux due to population growth and occupational change. The growing population became one of the factors behind a lesser reliance on agriculture. In the market economy, land is now being intensively commoditised for commercial purposes. This has also changed the physical layout and landscape of the village. There are more shops in the village than these used to be twenty years ago. Change in the value of land from an agricultural property to a shop or market has altered the nature of socioeconomic relationships from long-term patron-client relationships into short-term market oriented relationships. This decrease of long-term and extended patron-client relationships have lessened the tensions of economic inequalities and rivalries between equals among kins and *biraderis* that spread over generations, which

has been common in rural Punjab (Ahmad 1974, 1977; Lyon 2004a, 2004b). This is not to say that there has emerged an economic equality because of the expansion of the rural economy to the occupations and overseas employment other than agriculture. I have already mentioned in chapter five while discussing *porhiya* and *mehnat* that the struggle to achieve better socioeconomic status has taken more individualistic dimensions.

In the Indian Punjab, as a consequence of green revolution, the credit policies of the government, land reforms, and political stability in the country has been one of the major reasons behind agricultural development and use of modern technology for agriculture that resulted in social and cultural transformations (Leaf 1983). On the contrary, agriculture in the Pakistani Punjab could not be developed as it did in India despite having larger area than the Indian Punjab. Poor land reform policies and implementation in Pakistan coupled with political instability resulted in the loss of agricultural development that had been achieved in the 1960s. However, in contrast to Gupta's (1998) findings in a north Indian village, where rural people experienced and contested "development" as a consequence of the green revolution, people in Jhokwala never resisted the state's narratives for socioeconomic development in general. As opposed to that north Indian village, not many people in Jhokwala had landholdings. Further, if they did, they changed their occupations because agricultural land had become insufficient to meet their economic needs. Gupta also noted that the nonfarm relationships between cultivators, political authorities, shopkeepers, and other occupations helped overcoming the marginalisation of rural poor by participating in political process. In Jhokwala, I argue, the economic diversification has a potential to deal with rural poverty in the times of urbanisation and rapid technological change.

I have also shown the mosque as a place of worship and welfare in Jhokwala based on the notions of the *dunya* and the *aakhrat*. The structure of the mosque represents ritual, social, and economic forms of organisation. Its design and structure represent the notions of purity, and religious symbolism such as the colour green and the inscription of the Qur'anic verses. There are certain etiquettes that one has to follow while being in the mosque. Similarly, age and gender-specific practices are also observable through the institution of the mosque. However, structure of the mosque has been subject to change throughout history. The use of a loudspeaker for the calls to prayer has given a new dimension to the sociospatial

organisation of the mosque. Its boundaries are now virtually extended as an 'oral space' using the loudspeaker, which engages people from a distance.

Spatial proximities give rise to certain relations. For example, the boundaries of a *biraderi* are not only defined biologically but also socially. Therefore, change in the physical layout of the village is indicative of change in social relationships between neighbours and between and within *biraderis*. The *ghar* occupies a central position in the sociospatial relationships. The design and structure of the *ghar* and the social relationships constructed around domestic space are influenced by social change. Domestic space is managed through relations configured with respect to gender and generation.

The structures of the houses in Jhokwala have changed over time. People used to live in extended households while now the families occupying a single house are smaller. The reason behind this change is manifold. Firstly, the *biraderis* were living in spatially distinct pockets. Within the sociospatial nexus of a *biraderi*, they did not need any special arrangement for *purdah*. With a growing population, these pockets tended to become larger over time. An inadequate supply of land to accommodate this larger population became a reason to bring these enclaves spatially closer to each other. Since there were some social distances between the *biraderis*, they started to construct walls in order to maintain their privacy. Secondly, the settling of *muhajirs* in Jhokwala enhanced this pace of constructing outer boundaries. This worked in similar ways for *muhajirs* who encountered different social groups and *biraderis*. However, the inner boundaries within the dwellings of a *biraderi* remained fluid and flexible. Thirdly, after a growth in population, and more reliance on cash economy and less reliance on collective engagement in certain occupations through the division of labour, family units within extended households started to become economically autonomous. The constriction of domestic space in Jhokwala does not merely indicate this increasing individualistic trend. The management of domestic space is also culturally informed, for example, through the practices of the *qibla* direction and *muqaam*. The notion of *porhiya* associated with the *ghar* makes it a place where people struggle to maintain their living and survive in changing economic circumstances. This relationship between the changing demographic features and domestic space makes clear that the *ghar* is an economic resource as well as being a social, residential, and moral unit.

Technological and socioeconomic, and socio-political changes at the levels of community, country, and the globe shape and influence the sociospatial organisation of the *ghar*. The social relationships within and outside the boundaries of the *ghar* directly influence the cultural dynamics in the village. The closeness in terms of physical proximity becomes a strong reason to create a sense of solidarity as expressed through relationships between neighbours. These physical and social proximities give rise to boundaries. In chapter 8, I will present a comparison of everyday mobility of different social groups with a special focus on women's mobility because people's everyday mobility pattern explains the nature of the sociospatial relationships in Jhokwala.

8

Boundaries and Mobilities

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the trends of everyday mobility in Jhokwala. By everyday mobility, I mean the movement of people within and outside the village for various mundane activities such as paid and unpaid work, socialising, leisure, and shopping. Mobility and boundary are two inter-connected elements of the social organisation of space (cf. Crabtree 2000; Feld and Basso 1996a; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Pellow 1996). In order to study the everyday mobility, one has to understand the construction of social and physical boundaries.

The concept of boundaries is not just limited to the physical aspects of borders and barriers. Physical boundaries are indeed crucial in people's access to various resources. However, some barriers and constraints in accessing various facilities or natural resources are not physical. Taboos, norms, and values also create boundaries. For instance, boundaries between two neighbouring countries are not just geographic. International borders are constructed through national identities and geopolitical dynamics. Similarly, social constraints give rise to the idea of social boundaries. Boundaries may be between individuals in the form of age or gender or between groups in the form of ethnic identities or social and economic classes (cf. Barth 1969; Gupta and Fergusan 1992; Herzfeld 1996; Lamont and Molnár 2002). I will discuss two categories of social boundaries in Jhokwala, which restrict people's access to certain resources or create the notion of 'other': boundaries between *biraderis* and between different genders. Although each *biraderi* maintains its own identity as being a group, the distinction between Saraikis and Rajputs seems more obvious than among *biraderis,* given the linguistic difference and historical background of both the groups. I discuss differential mobility patterns of both Saraikis and Rajputs. I will also discuss the changing attitudes of the community towards women's everyday mobility. I focus on local notions of morality, which are more critical while studying women's formal education.[36] Recently, there has been an increase in the number

[36] Women in Pakistan learn how to recite Qur'an and sometimes how to read and write Urdu or other regional languages in a traditional set up. I refer to non-traditional and formal education to the education in government or privately owned schools, which offer the government recognised certificates.

of rural women getting formal education in Pakistan. Population growth is one of the reasons behind this increase, which has led to an inadequate supply of cultivable land. In addition, education is widely regarded as a viable route to improved socioeconomic status (cf. Lyon and Edgar 2010). Urbanisation appears to be a catalyst for increasing women's literacy rates across the country. Although the unemployment rate is higher for both men and women in rural areas, rural women have fewer opportunities for educational and occupational development due to some cultural constraints on their mobility. I discuss these constraints and analyse them within the cultural context.

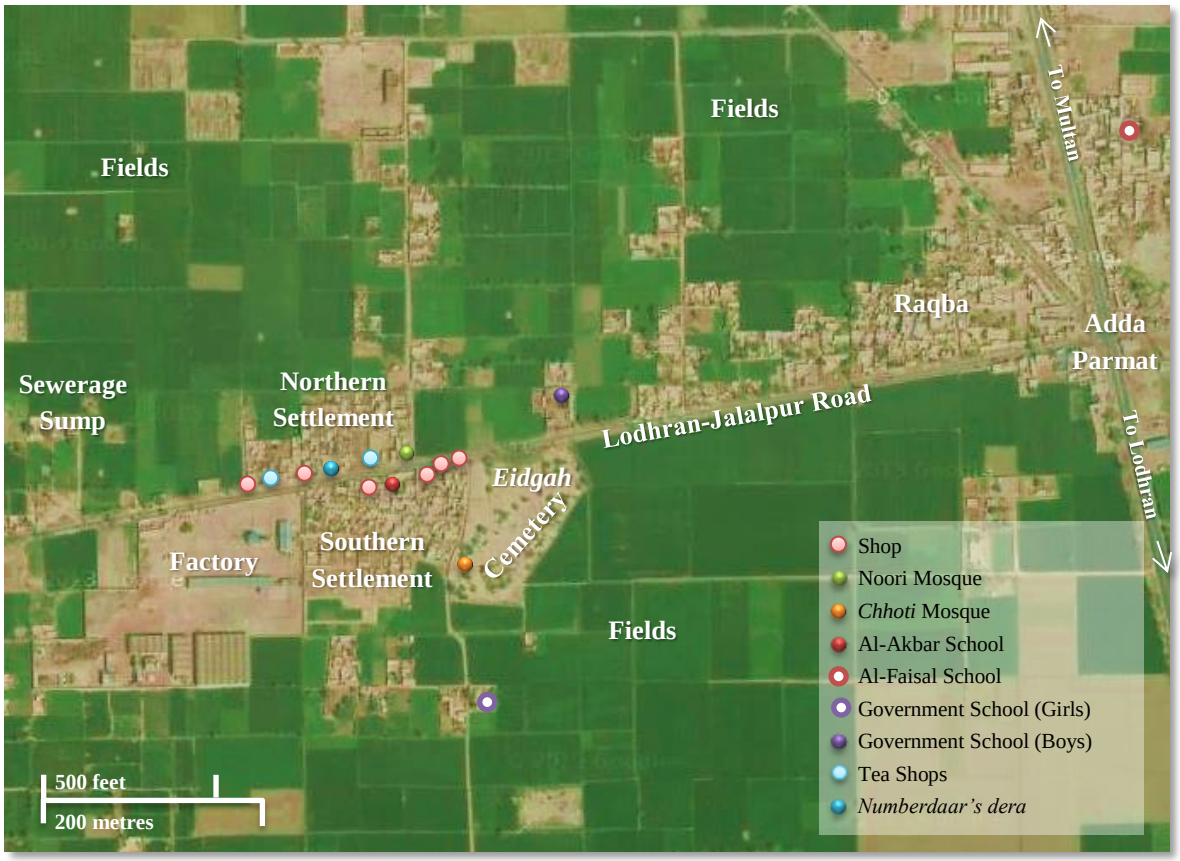
8.2 Everyday Mobility in Jhokwala

People's everyday mobility pattern and frequency in Jhokwala depend upon their occupations, age, and gender. By mobility pattern, I mean where, when and for how long they go, whereas by frequency I mean how many times they visit a place. Men and women have different mobility patterns and frequencies. On the one hand, their affiliation with any *biraderi* or family is not the primary factor behind their differential mobility patterns. For example, a farmer frequently travels to the fields, a teacher to school, and children to schools and playing areas. All these journeys start from their homes in the morning and shift along the course of the day to several places within and outside Jhokwala. On the other hand, people share common physical as well as social boundaries and relate to each other through the mosque, the market, neighbourhood, economic relations, and so on. Their languages, *local-muhajir* discourse, and living in separate settlements of the same village, on the contrary, create some sociospatial boundaries between them. While taking into account the relationships between Saraikis and Rajputs in Jhokwala, I will explain their everyday mobility patterns to show that their social relationships are not shaped by any physical boundary between them. Their social relationships are in fact based on the mutual awareness of private and shared boundaries in the social sense. They meet each other in social places like the mosque, the market, and schools but they distinguish and respect their private boundaries in set ways.

Before I discuss the differences regarding people's access to different places in the village and how cultural norms and values affect women's everyday mobility, it will be worth understanding where people work and visit in their everyday life. Farmers and agricultural wage labourers work in the fields, located within and outside the village boundaries. Shops are located in Jhokwala and at the Adda Parmat market. A majority of the shopkeepers and

hotel owners and workers work at these shops. A few people teach and study in Lodhran City, but a majority of the teachers and students study at the schools located in Jhokwala and near the Adda Parmat such as Al-Faisal School. Wage labourers also work in the factory in some seasons when the factory needs additional workers mainly at the time of the cotton production. Although most women are house-wives and remain at home, some also run businesses from home whereas others also work in the agricultural fields. Map 8.1 shows the places in and around Jhokwala where people work.

Map 8.1: The Village's Physical Layout and Workplaces

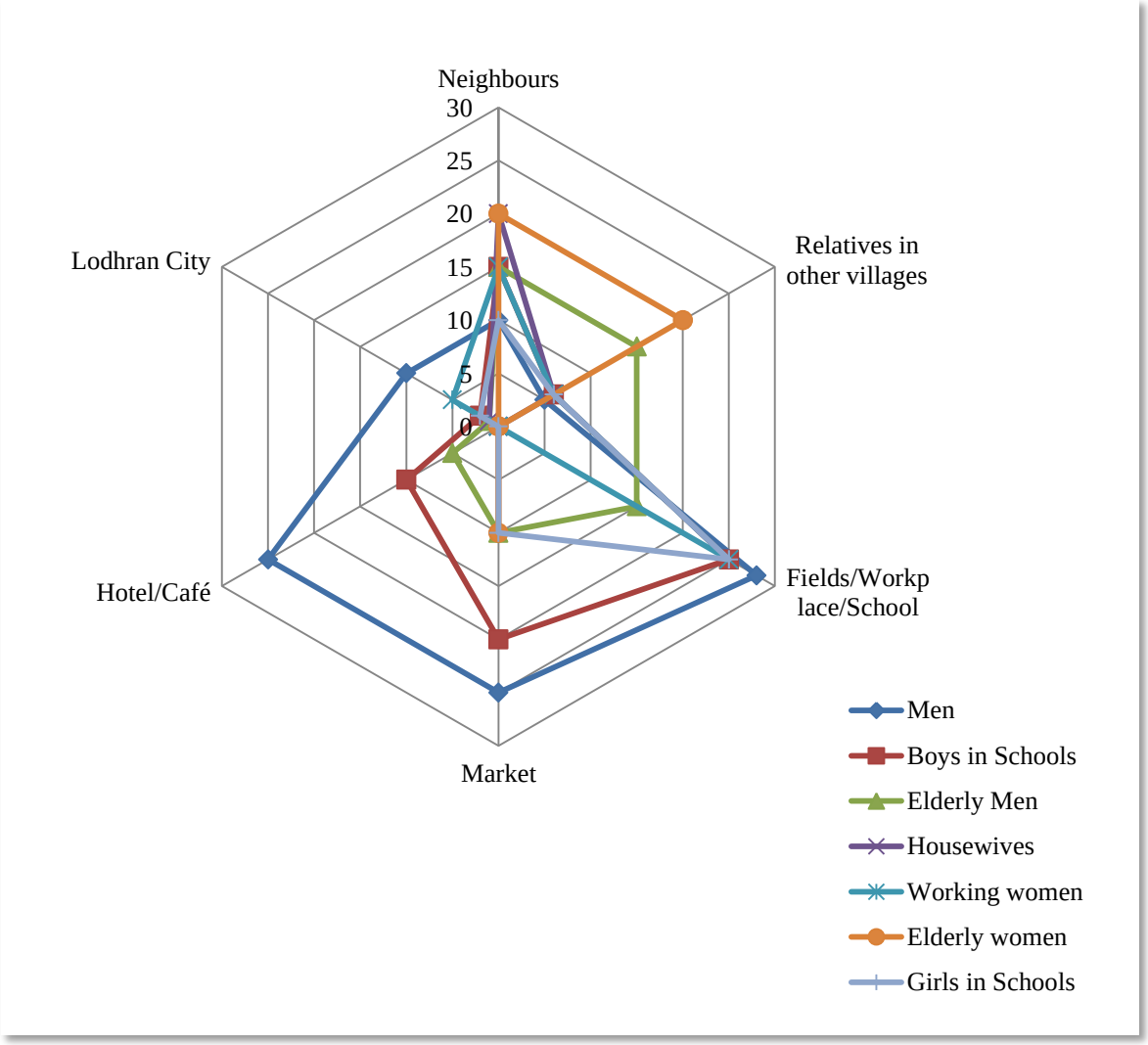


Adapted from Google Maps (Google 2013)

People belonging to different age, gender, and occupations have different patterns and frequencies of everyday mobility. Not all women work in the fields or do jobs and they are mainly engaged in household activities. Therefore, the overall pattern of women's mobility shows less movement towards the fields and marketplace. Similarly, children have less frequent visits to Lodhran City than men do. Figure 8.1 shows the everyday mobility of men and women in an average month. It also highlights any differences in the mobility

with respect to age. I will discuss socioeconomic reasons behind these differences in the subsequent sections.

Figure 8.1: Everyday Mobility in an Average Month

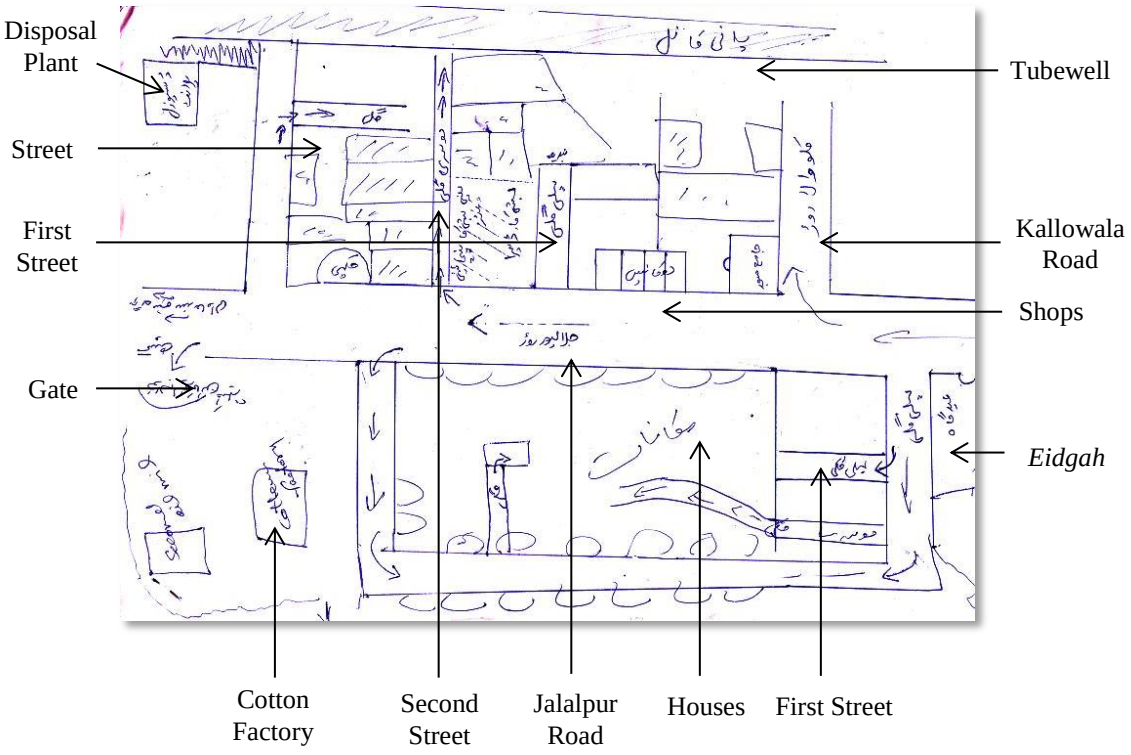


Note: The graph shows pattern and frequency of everyday mobility for thirty days, calculated through interviews, surveys, and observations. It represents an average member of each group shown. The grid in the radar stands for the number of days in order to show the frequency of visits to different places.

8.3 Social and Physical Boundaries

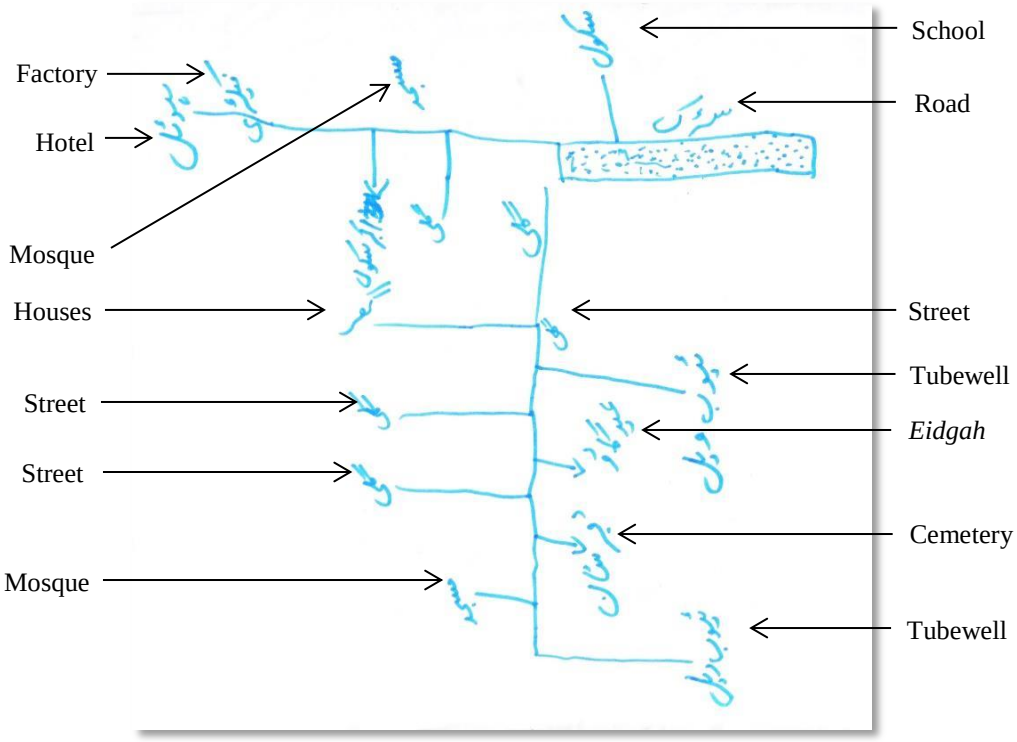
I asked the schoolchildren and young men, both Saraikis and Rajputs, to draw a map of Jhokwala on paper. Among many other observations, I found that some children from either group provided a detailed account of the mosque, houses, and other buildings of their side of the road whereas they briefly showed the landmarks on the opposite side. I present here two examples from each group in the first instance. A seventeen years old Rajput student drew map 8.2. This map illustrates all the major streets, road connections, *dera*, the mosque, shops, the tube well, and the sewerage sump, among other landmarks on the northern side of the road. On the southern side, it shows the cemetery, a few streets, and the factory. Just like on the northern side of the road, there are a few shops on the southern one too but this map does not show those shops. I asked him why he was unable to show the details of streets and shops on the southern side of the road. He told me he went to the other side of the road but he spent most of his time at his own side. He has all the relatives living on his side of the road.

Map 8.2: A Map of Jhokwala Drawn by a Rajput Student



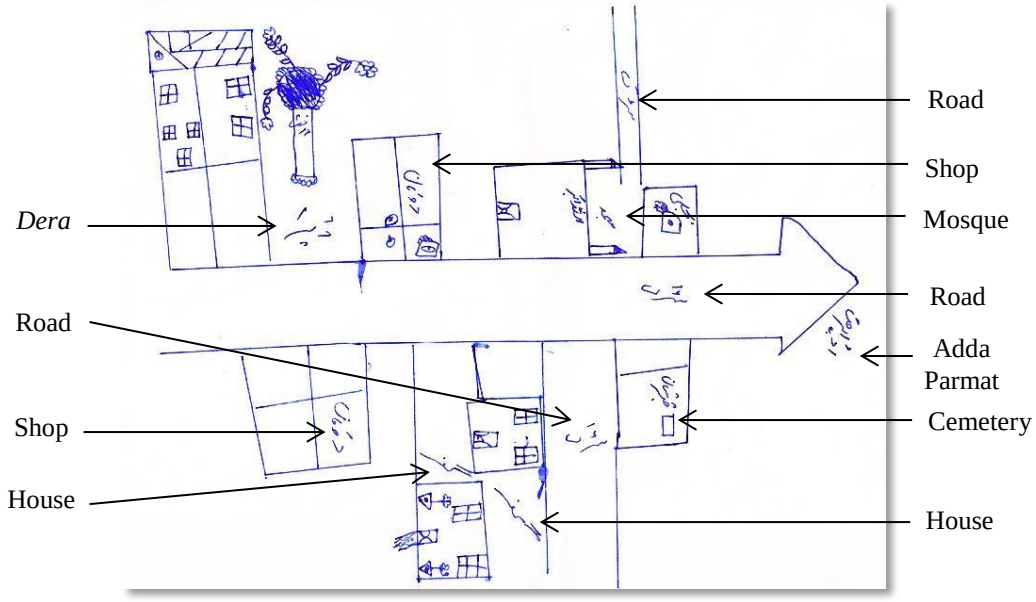
A sixteen years old Saraiki student drew the map 8.3. This map shows the streets, houses, the mosque, tube wells, shops, and school on the southern side but only provides a brief reference to the landmarks on opposite side of the road.

Map 8.3: A Map of Jhokwala Drawn by a Saraiki Student



These two maps are not, indeed, representative of an entire mapping exercise but they suggest a relationship between social and physical boundaries. The maps highlight the differential access and everyday mobility patterns between Saraikis and Rajputs. Jhokwala is not a big size village compare to other villages in the area, therefore, the majority of its residents are familiar with the entire physical layout of the village in detail, no matter which part of the road they are living in. Some people also drew maps showing balanced details of the settlements on both sides of the road. Another seventeen years old Saraiki student drew the map 8.4, which includes a balanced view of both the settlements.

Map 8.4: A Map of Jhokwala Showing a Balanced View of both the Settlements



For exploring the social relationships and boundaries between both the groups in detail, and to cross-verify the information obtained through mapping, I carried out a free listing exercise. I asked participants to name the people of Jhokwala that they considered were the most famous. This exercise included fifty participants drawn from different social groups based on age, gender, and so on. The names of the most famous people estimated through this exercise are given in table 8.1 along with their groups, occupations, and rank in free listing. There are obvious reasons why Nazir Ahmed and Rao Lal Din are famous persons in the village. The former is a college lecturer, who belongs to Klasra family enjoys fame because of the shrine and Al-Faisal School. He is one of the prominent Saraikis in Jhokwala. The latter is *numberdaar* of the village, has a *dera*, and is the most prominent Rajput. Everyone in the village irrespective of their *biraderi*, age, and gender knew him. Hanif Ahmed, a Saraiki, is the Imam of the mosque in the southern settlement while Rao Hanif, a Rajput, is a shopkeeper. Both are ninety years old and well recognised in the village. It was rare that a participant from a particular group listed the names of people from his or her group entirely. The information from this free listing suggest that people from both groups know each other very well, which shows close interaction between the groups at the level of the mosque, school, and market. These places work as social spaces where the boundaries of *biraderi*, language, and occupation are unwrapped for the other groups.

Table 8.1: Free Listing of the Famous People

Rank	Name	Occupation	Group
1	Nazir Ahmed	Lecturer in Lodhran City	Saraiki
2	Rao Lal Din	*Numberdaar*	Rajput
3	Rao Muhammad Rafique	Tea stall/Hotel	Rajput
4	Sajjad Faridi	School Principal	Saraiki
5	Rao Ali Nawaz	Shopkeeper	Rajput
6	Hanif Ahmed	Imam	Saraiki
7	Rao Muhammad Hanif	Shopkeeper	Rajput
8	Taj Muhammad	Imam; *Nikahkhwan*	Saraiki
9	Mazhar Faridi	Shopkeeper	Saraiki
11	Muhammad Ramazan	Retired from army; Shopkeeper	Saraiki

Now I present photo-elicitation data to show that despite living in separate settlements in the village, Saraikis and Rajputs share some social spaces. I asked participants from both the groups to recognise the places in photographs in a given time. The data given here shows the results based on seven photographs responded by forty participants, twenty from each group. Sample of participants includes different age groups ranging between twelve to sixty years old. This data also includes responses from eight female participants. I asked participants to recognise each photograph in five seconds but I gave them additional time until they recognised it but no more than twenty seconds at maximum. I considered this duration appropriate after carrying out a few pilot exercises with Zafar, Sajjad, and Tahir. If participants could not recognise any photograph, I discussed with them the reason behind not recognising it. I recorded the time taken for recognising each photograph. Most interviews were audio-recorded; therefore, I double-checked the timings after the exercise. I did not tell participants that the photographs were taken in Jhokwala. The photographs were of prominent spatial reference points from both sides of the road like Noori Mosque,

numberdaar's *dera*, and some landmarks situated in the interior parts of the settlements. The cumulative result of this exercise is shown in table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Responses from the Photo-elicitation Exercises

Place	Location	Tag	Time taken to recognise a photograph (Seconds)	
			Saraikis	Rajputs
Adda Parmat	Outside the village	Market	6-10	6-10
Eidgah	Southern Settlement	Religious	11-15	11-15
Noori Mosque	Northern Settlement	Religious	1-5	1-5
Al-Akbar School	Southern Settlement	Educational	1-5	1-5
Numberdaar*'s *dera	Northern Settlement	Social	6-10	6-10
A Street View	Southern Settlement	Landscape	6-10	16-20
Sewerage Sump	Northern Settlement	Landscape	6-10	1-5

It is obvious from the table that both Saraikis and Rajputs took equal amount of time to recognise the photographs of the places like Adda Parmat, Noori Mosque, *Eidgah*, and Al-Akbar School irrespective of their location. The reason for taking a longer time in recognising *Eidgah* is that it has is no prominent feature in its construction as it is a vast empty ground with only a wall around it. Many shops at the Adda Parmat market are similar in architecture, design, and decoration from outside except for a few hotels and tea stalls. Therefore, it took them longer to recognise the photograph of a view of Adda Parmat. It took longer for participants to recognise the photographs taken from the opposite part of the settlement than that of their own, if it is not a shared place or has no distinct feature in its structure. I also discussed with participants how they recognised some places quicker while it took them a bit longer to recognise some others. They mentioned that the structure of a place and its prominent features were the reasons some places were easy to recognise. I also found that they visited some of these places regularly such as Noori Mosque and Adda Parmat. Al-Akbar School and Noori Mosque are more easily recognisable because they are on the road and are located next to each other. Therefore, if one visits the mosque

one passes by Al-Akbar School and vice versa. The places, which were recognised quicker than others by both the groups, have economic, social, or religious significance. This implies that people have frequent everyday mobility to these places and both the groups have almost equal access to these places. For this reason, these spaces are central to the sociospatial organisation in Jhokwala at a collective level.

8.4 Physical and Moral Boundaries regarding Women's Mobility

There is no "sustained debate" and "connected history" on the study of morality in anthropology (Laidlaw 2002). Howell (1997) argued that the underlying models of morality in many anthropological studies are West-oriented or derived through a broader philosophical theory lacking an unequivocal understanding of local moralities. Therefore, studying any social practice through a "pre-conceived theoretical lens" will be misleading (Zigon 2008: 2). Howell (1997) goes further beyond Foucault's (1988) "technologies of the self" to argue that individuals continuously modify through actions and free choices. He argues that morality is based on multiple forms of moral reasoning across different societies. There are multiple moralities while religion, social values, and conscience are not the only sources of morality and ethics. Moral acts are induced by "ethical sensibilities", which are not "timeless" but are produced and revised through "disciplined practice" and "changing conditions" of human activities (Asad 2003). Norms, values, and economic factors play a decisive role in women's access to and restriction from the resources and facilities like education and their participation in the public sphere in almost every society, Western or non-Western. In Western societies, most of these issues have always been linked with economic change and the industrial revolution in the twentieth century. Many feminists and Western scholars regard the notion of *purdah* or *hijaab* (veil) in Muslim societies as women's oppression while other contest them as being biased and doing stereotyping against Muslims (Bullock 2007).[37] I discuss how access to the facilities like health, education, and employment demands women to come out of the household boundaries and whether *purdah* is a constraint on their mobility limiting their access to these resources in Pakistan (Lall 2010; Mumtaz and Salway 2005, 2009).

[37] Although there might be some differences in terms of its cultural practice, the term *purdah* or *hijaab* can be synonymously used. The terms *purdah* is normally used in South Asia as well as in some Central Asian countries while the term *hijaab* is used in the Middle East and North Africa.

Purdah is generally defined as a veil or covering face or body of a woman. It is a religious and social institution of female seclusion. In fact, *purdah* can also be described as going beyond or moving within a boundary. Its boundaries extend from physical movement to social distance as well as cognitive borders between individuals and groups (Abid 2009; Alvi 2013; El Guindi 1999; Papanek 1971). *Purdah* is thus a boundary to create "separate worlds" and "symbolic shelter" (Papanek 1973). *Purdah* may include many notions of concealment of partial or whole body as defined through various religious interpretations, cultural practices, and individual choices. For Muslims, it is also the matter of concealing *sat'r* (religious prescription of concealing the body, fully or partially, for moral reasons or, in other words, to inhibit the sexual appeal that the body may have otherwise). *Purdah* may also include, for both men and women, not to expose their genitals as well as to hide any makeup, clothing, or sound that may have sexual appeal. Therefore, in addition to some general codes in dress, *purdah* is practiced in many ways in different Muslim countries. I refer to *purdah,* in the context of difference in the everyday mobility of men and women, as the practice of veiling by women. This notion of *purdah* also highlights the gendered segregation inspired or motivated by the meanings and models of modesty in some cultural contexts. The concepts and models of modesty, particularly when it applies to women, derive many fundamentals from Islamic teachings in Pakistan but it is also informed through various cultural practices (Syed 2010). The notions of modesty and moral conduct have been negotiated and contested in many ways in Muslim societies particularly in contemporary political activism (cf. Asad 1986; Mahmood 2005).

Several symbols and practices are associated with the role and status of a woman in Pakistani society. Some of them are beauty, love, compassion, care, child rearing, household labour, honour, prestige, conflict, and modesty. The symbols or analogies antonym to these are also associated with women but are considered as a "transgression" (Cresswell 1996). Despite the prevalence of *purdah,* women have been involved directly or indirectly in political and public affairs throughout the history of Islam. A detailed discussion on the issues is beyond the scope of this thesis, but there is a plenty of historical evidence to suggest that some Muslim women have been very active in public spheres while remaining within some sorts of veil according to cultural norms, by following some

essential rules prescribed by the religion.[38] However, women are expected to stay at home and perform household activities unless there are certain needs when they can come outside the household boundaries. Certain analogies like *chaadar aur chaar devaari* (piece of cloth to cover the body and four walls) are used to describe a woman's place in Pakistani society in general. Although many debates on *purdah* are regarding Islam and the country's religious basis, the notion of *purdah* is not only limited to Muslims in South Asia. The constraints of mobility and women's empowerment among non-Muslims have equally been subject to debate about *purdah* in India because traditional Hindu women also observe *purdah* (Leigh 1993). Many such constraints with respect to mobility are also due to "street harassment" that women have to face, which is not uncommon throughout the world (Bowman 1993; Ilahi 2010). The consequences of such constraints may have economic or political implications but the reasons, as indicated through and described by cultural practices, have some moral grounds.

Although *purdah* is observed between men and women in Jhokwala, its strictness, extent, and nature varies among various social groups. Young women normally wear *naqaab* when they come out of the house. A *naqaab* is a headscarf covering the head and the whole face except the eyes. Elderly women and young girls normally wear a *chaadar*. A *chaadar* is a piece of unstitched cloth wrapped around upper part of body over the shirt and covers the head. Rajput women do not work in the agricultural fields at all. Tahir told me that it is not customary for Rajput women to work in the fields because it is considered as *be-pardigi* (un-veiling; antonym of *purdah*) and is against the cultural norms related to *izzat.* My Rajput friends told me that they observe the custom of *mohn dikhaee* (a marriage ritual of meeting bride for the first time when she arrives at groom's home) when the bride arrives in the groom's home. The entire family of the groom greets the bride. The in-laws offer the bride some gifts in the form of cash or jewellery. The groom's father is not present at this ceremony because the bride has to observe *purdah* from him for the time being. This tradition is changing in some families as people watch the television and movies in which they see *na-mahram* (strangers, or marriageable non-kin in Islamic terminology). Therefore, such restrictions for the father-in-law do not make any sense to the younger generation now. Only the women from some poor Saraiki families work in the fields to either cut the grass for fodder of their livestock or work as wage labourers, mainly

[38] There are some differences between various religious scholars over the definition of veil. For example, according to some jurists women should cover the entire body except face and hands, while others suggest covering the entire body from head to toe including face, and so on.

for cotton picking. I was once in the fields with Rao Saleem and his friends. There were some women walking in a group. They had some *daatris*, *dantris* or *drantis* (s. *daatri*, *dantri* or *dranti*; sickle) in their hands. They asked Saleem from a distance if they could cut the grass. Saleem permitted them to do so and guided them to a particular area in the fields where they could cut the grass. He told me that these are poor women and they cut the grass for their animals. I had a chance to speak with some of these women. They told me that they do not come out of their homes for entertainment but they had to do *porhiya* to meet their family expenses. I came across many such examples where a group of women asked permission from farmers to cut the grass in the fields. These women belong to poor families, which in the past were clients in the *oluk* system. Their livestock is one of the major sources of their livelihood in addition to wage labour. This grass is a pest. According to Shahid and Zafar, this practice is also beneficial for farmers; otherwise, they have to do an additional labour themselves to get rid of these parasitic weeds from the wheat or cotton crops.

Picture 8.1: A woman Cutting the Grass with *Daatri*

Most cultural restrictions on women's mobility are age specific. For example, a little girl up to the age of ten can move freely in the village like a boy of her age. If there are any restrictions on her mobility by her parents, then these are equally applied to boys also. The younger boys and girls normally remain inside or in close proximity to their homes. They are usually asked by their parents not to go beyond their own street while playing. In the school going age, both have almost equal mobility except that boys play outside the home

with their friends and girls with theirs. Almost all the games they play are gender specific. The boys usually play cricket in the street or any ground where crops are not grown in a particular season. Girls play with their sisters and cousins inside the home. I rarely saw any young woman walking alone in the settlement during my fieldwork. Women walk in a group when going to the fields. Alternatively, a man or a child accompanies a woman if she has to visit her relatives. However, elderly women from any *biraderi* walk alone in the settlement, visit the neighbours, and buy from the Adda Parmat market. Men sometimes greet elderly women on the way. By contrast, it is uncommon or 'indecent' for a man to speak with a young woman even if he is a related to her unless she is his mother, wife, or sister. Children and older women are exceptions to these norms.

Women doing some business at home usually do not go to the market themselves to buy the raw material or to sell their products. They ask their men and children to do this work for them just as they shop other household items. I rarely saw any young women shopping at the Adda Parmat market or the shops in Jhokwala during my fieldwork. Women above sixty or seventy years of age and little girls, however, do visit the market and shop. Women visit their neighbours and relatives once or twice in a week. They also visit some relatives in other villages with their children or any male member in their family. Women never visit hotels and tea stalls unless they are in another city with their family members and they had to visit it if there is a need to do so. A few girls and women visit Lodhran every day, along with their brothers or husbands, as they are teaching or studying in colleges there.

8.5 Pakistani Women's Participation in Socioeconomic Spheres

During the Pakistan Movement, women from a diverse social and economic background were involved in politics at various levels and intensities. Willmer (1996) explored the role of women in the Pakistan Movement in the context of the making of a modern Muslim state. He analysed the photographs taken during the speeches of women politicians in the Muslim League's sessions. Among other observations in these photographs, there is a clear distinction between women from the elite families with a "liberal" outlook addressing the "veiled" women from a middle or lower middle class background. These veiled women had lesser chances of participating in political activities in British India prior to these events. This dichotomy exists in the everyday life of Pakistan until today. Pakistanis acknowledge Fatima Jinnah as the "Mother of the Nation" for her great contribution to the

Pakistan Movement. Further, Pakistan became the first Islamic state having a woman, Benazir Bhutto, as the country's prime minister. Since the 1990s, there has been a significant increase in the number of women politicians in Pakistan. However, women's participation in the social and economic spheres of public life at large has always been a controversial issue in Pakistan in academic and NGOs' circles (Weiss 1990).

In rural Pakistan, the extent of women's participation in agriculture and other economic activities depends upon social norms and values as well as different patterns of the rural economy in different areas (Butt et al 2010; Khan 2010; Niazi 2012). There has been a perception of the international media and some Western scholars that the participation of women in the public spheres has been restricted because of the recent waves of "Islamic revivalism" during the Zia-ul-Haq period and after 9/11 (Alavi 1988; Ibrahim 2007; Weiss 1985). This might have influenced some segments of the Pakistani society, mainly in the cities. However, this does not appear to be a major reason behind declining participation of rural women in agricultural activities. Rural women in many parts of the Punjab province provide an important labour input into the agricultural economy through rice cultivation, seed sowing, cotton-picking, and livestock care. The contribution of women to the agricultural economy declined in the last two decades in various parts of the world, not only in Pakistan. Ember (1983) argued that intensification in agriculture after the introduction of modern technology is the major factor behind the declining role of women in agricultural activities.[39] Consequently, men are engaged in agricultural activities more than women are. However, many rural women in Pakistan have not been engaged in agricultural activities, they have always been responsible for household activities; no matter they are engaged in agricultural activities, to any extent and intensity, or not. According to the governmental statistics of 2010-11, women's rate of labour force participation is more than double in rural areas, which stands at the 27.6 per cent, than that of only 10.7 per cent in cities (GoP 2011b).[40]

Education has played an important role in increasing women's participation in the socioeconomic spheres of public life in Pakistan. The number of women politicians, journalists, doctors, engineers, paramedics, health workers, and, very importantly, teachers is increasing because of the growing female literacy rate particularly from the 1980s

[39] Intensive agriculture does not mean here to cultivate on a larger piece of land but to utilise the smaller area with multi-cropping and enhanced yield.
[40] The labour participation and literacy rates are calculated for ten years old and above.

onwards.[41] There are more educational institutions in cities than in rural areas. Therefore, urban women have better opportunities to obtain education and jobs. This also makes urban women more visible in the public sphere. Not only Pakistan's overall literacy rate of 58.5 per cent is lower than neighbouring countries, female literacy rate of 46.3 per cent is also lower than male literacy rate of 70.2 per cent according to 2010-2011 estimates (GoP 2011b).[42] The literacy rate was recorded 73.7 and 50.2 per cent for the urban and rural areas, respectively. Only 35.6 per cent women in rural areas were recorded as literate. The gender disparity with respect to education is higher in poor families but is minimum or non-existent in the rich ones (Chaudhry and Rahman 2009). Similarly, several microeconomic, geographic, and social factors such as household income, tuition fees, and availability of educational institutes and transport play a major role in increasing or decreasing literacy rate. When it comes to gender disparities, these are not only related to economic issues but also various sociocultural factors such as constraints on everyday mobility and a social attitude towards working women play a decisive role in women's access to education and jobs (Ferdoos 2005).

8.6 Women's Education and Everyday Mobility

If we look into non-traditional or informal educational patterns, then it is important to note that while what we call formal education is new for girls is not old for boys either. Before the introduction of this formal educational system, girls and boys both went to the mosque (or girls mainly went to a woman teacher in her home) to learn how to recite Qur'an for one or more years at a very early age. The trend towards formal education increased because of the economic transitions I mentioned earlier. This has led to an increase in the educational ratio and, arguably to an increase in jealousy and competition in teaching male children in the first instance and then gradually in teaching female children in order to attain respect and improved economic opportunities. However, it debatable whether the increasing trend towards girls' education is due to economic aspirations. The overall ratio of girls and boys is 2:3 in all four schools in and around Jhokwala. The women teachers in these schools are normally from Jhokwala and were educated at these schools. The women

[41] The female literacy rate increased only 4 per cent (from 11.6 to 16 per cent) between the census years 1971 and 1981, and it was a recorded 32 per cent in 1998 census (GoP 2012c). The growing population, government policies, and delayed census might have influenced this increase in the rate but it shows that there has been an increase in women's access to education.

[42] In Pakistan, the definition of literacy rate includes "all those persons ten years of age and above who could read and write in any language with understanding, as percentage of the population ten years and above" (GoP 2011: 5). Practically, it includes those who can read a newspaper and write a letter in any language.

teachers observe *purdah* and wear the *naqaab* on their way to and from school. During the class, they wear only a *dupatta* or *chaadar*. When I asked the reason behind this, I was told since they were not teaching adults so there was no need of wearing *naqaab*. The increasing trend towards formal education has also given women access to multiple literacies in Urdu (for Saraikis) and English (for both the groups) beyond just reciting Qur'an in Arabic (Ahmed et al. 2013; Zubair 2006). The multiplicity of literacies and use of modern technologies, such as mobile phones, have given them more exposure to and knowledge about the ever-changing world. Whenever I spoke with any educated women in Jhokwala or in a nearby village, some of them health workers, they were aware of current political affairs in the country, world sports events, and so on. This is contrary to the women engaged in agricultural activities, who are only concerned about what is going on in their household or in the neighbourhood. Women are thus being influenced by various forms of social change becoming aware of national politics and global cultural trends; for which Pakistani youth is considered very proactive (Bolognani 2010; Lyon 2010a).

Not every girl in Jhokwala goes to school. The girls who are not getting education at all or only learn how to recite Qur'an do not come out of their homes frequently, if their age is around fifteen. They have to observe *purdah* and mostly remain at home doing household activities. According to Tahir and Sajjad, many people started to educate their children only out of jealousy and competition with other families. If, for example, a *mochi*'s son was admitted to school, some Rajputs took it as a matter of *izzat* and started to educate their children. Such jealousies and competition also exist among close relatives. Similarly, some people initially did not like educating their girls. They thought that girls should only remain in the house and help their mothers with household work. Since girls were not supposed to do jobs, it was useless to educate them. Further, their economic conditions did not allow people to educate all their children. They preferred to educate their sons, as they would need good jobs, because it is the responsibility of sons to feed the family. However, those girls who succeeded in getting education with the support of their parents started teaching in school. A few women were also employed as teachers in the city. They provided economic support to their families on a regular basis through their salary. This paved the way for many other families choose to educate their girls as well. In the photo-elicitation exercise described above, women and girls recognised most landmarks in the village shown in the photographs very easily, particularly if the landmark existed in their side of the village. Further, there was not a significant difference between the time taken

by men and women in both Saraikis and Rajputs to recognise various photographs, even though women do not normally visit some of these places. For example, two women told me they used to go to the fields and *Eidgah* to play when they were kids but they still pass by these places sometimes and can easily recognise them, just as men can, even the places that have been subject to change over time in their structure:

> I recognised this picture from this wall. When we were kids, we used to play there. Now we never go there. But see, it is near my house. I know this [place]. I used to go with my father and brothers on *Eid*. All kids go [there on *Eid*]. We pass by *Eidgah* every day. Now we observe *purdah* so we do not go alone. (Tarannum, 24)

Picture 8.2: Girls and Boys Studying in the Same Classroom

Girls of five to seven years old or less accompany their fathers and brothers for *Eid* prayers on *Eid*. Rajput teachers and students told me that they had a few Saraiki friends who were their classmates when they were at school. After finishing school, they now have limited contact with them even though they live in the same village. The mobility of women is mainly restricted to own part of the settlement for a number of factors, but the movement to the opposite settlement is lesser or even completely absent. The contact between women after marriage is decreased even within a *biraderi* as well, but it is much more limited between *biraderis*. Therefore, girls from both Saraiki and Rajput families pay no visits to the settlements on the opposite side of the road unless any of the friends of their father or brother or a colleague invites them to marriages or any other social event:

> I go to see my friends who live on that [southern] side. But we do not go there every day. We meet here in the school. We have less time after school. When we are free from work, we meet. But we usually meet in the school. I only go to my next-door neighbours. They are my uncles. Their children are my friends. (Irsala, 14)

8.7 Conclusion

I have used mapping, free listing, and photo-elicitation methods to try to identify systematically the extent of mobility of different groups within Jhokwala. I found that despite certain boundaries exist between the *biraderis*, to be precise, Saraikis and Rajputs, sharing of social spaces like the mosque, *dera*, and the market in everyday activities set people to negotiate the boundaries that exist among different groups. Although both the groups do not inter-marry, but they participate in certain occasions such as wedding and funerals. This socialisation brings them closer to each other. There is more contact between the younger generations of both the groups than their parents had. An occupational change from agriculture to government jobs, working in schools, and shops has increased the everyday contact between people from various social groups. This resulted in developing personal relationships such as colleagues and classmates. Through these personal networks, some people manage to develop extended relationships in other *biraderis*. For this reason, a collective list of famous people in the village includes individuals from different groups regardless of which group compile this list.

The analysis of everyday mobility in Jhokwala also reveals that different age groups have different mobility patterns. This is due to different cultural norms and values associated with different age groups, which restricts or permits their access to certain places. Such an age-specific mobility pattern is not straightforward. Therefore, analysing the everyday mobility in Jhokwala provides information about people's management of social distances between various social groups. Rural social organisation in Pakistan is defined through the social networks of class, *biraderi*, and neighbourhood. Women, as family and community members, are bound to follow certain traditional gender roles. They have to follow the norms and values practiced by their families and communities, which sometimes restrict their participation in the public sphere at a wider level. However, rural women have always been contributing to Pakistan's rural economy. Even the families whose women were not involved in agricultural activity are now educating their girls. Will this scenario change the overall situation of women's participation and empowerment in Pakistan? This remains a

question. Most constraints related to this issue are related to women's every mobility, keeping in view the norms and values like the notions of modesty and prestige of a family. In general, there is not a huge difference between the mobility of educated and uneducated women in terms of its frequency. The actual divergence lies with respect to mobility patterns. Women working in the fields move freely, to some extent, in the village much as those who are studying or doing jobs. House-wives have relatively less mobility as they mostly remain at home and women in general have less everyday mobility than men do. Women's knowledge of the space around the village and, perhaps more importantly, their everyday mobility within those spaces would seem to have changed within a relatively short period. This not only implies changes to economic and political relationships within the village, but also to the moral boundaries associated with gender. Such changes are not unique to Jhokwala, to be sure, and while it would be an overstatement to suggest that women across Pakistan are experiencing a florescence of women empowerment, there is little doubt that a simple characterisation of Pakistan as bound by traditional patriarchal constraints is perhaps misleading. Pakistani attitudes to gender and specifically to the roles associated with women are intimately bound to broader social, economic, and political aspirations, and I would argue that rural Pakistanis have persistently demonstrated far more flexibility and ingenuity in gender patterns than they have been given credit for.

Increased participation in formal education appears to have shifted women's mobility from the fields to schools. A key question for both the state as well as the households is whether this has changed situation of women's empowerment beyond the shift in patterns of mobility. Further, an increasing trend towards formal education has offered some alternatives for rural women to adopt new occupations other than agriculture and livestock. Currently, there are primarily two options for educated women to translate their education into economic productivity: becoming a teacher in one of the schools in the village or working as a health worker. Both of these opportunities are scarce and there is clearly not enough demand to absorb all of the women now being educated to a satisfactory level to assume such positions. The commonly stated justification for education is, largely, to improve for job prospects. However it is not clear that this is viable strategy for rural people and in particular for rural women (cf. de Groot 2010; Lyon 2010b). Education clearly raises expectations, but in many cases, it seems that such expectations might be unrealistic for the local economic context. While dealing with the issue of women's formal education, which provides diversity in their literacies beyond just learning how to recite

Qur'an, the *intrinsic value* of literacy should not be undermined. Attaining formal education and learning Urdu and English have provided new forms of knowledge and information through newspapers, women magazines, and electronic media to rural women. This has led to an increase in the women's search for finding "a voice" through literacy as Zubair (2002) described in her study of rural women in southern areas of Punjab. Only women from poor families have been engaged in agricultural activities but now an increasing number of women are getting formal education from richer families too. This has also improved the quality of schooling for girls, which seems leading to a change of an overall traditional attitude towards women's education and professional career in rural Pakistan (Lall 2010).

In the final chapter, I will draw together the various strands in the argument and suggest a number of implications of this study. Such implications are significant not only for the Pakistani state and NGOs concerned with effecting social, economic, and political change, but also more broadly for a general understanding of the relationship between economic production, social relations, and foundational cultural conceptualisations of time and space.

9

Conclusion

This thesis is the story of a Pakistani village—the story of its times, spaces, social relationships. In this nexus of time, space and social relationships, there is embedded a story of change and continuity in the social, cultural, and economic spheres of rural life Pakistan. Despite recent urban expansion and industrialisation, agriculture is still an important part of Pakistan's economy and the majority of the population lives in rural areas (Weiss and Mughal 2012). I have analysed the social organisation of time and space in Jhokwala Village, Lodhran District to highlight some sociocultural and socioeconomic transformations in the broader context of social change in Pakistani society.

Every culture perceives and organises time and space in a particular way (cf. El Guindi 2008a; Giovanni 2009; Goody 1968; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). Since culture is a dynamic process, social change is inevitable. The social organisation of time and space is also subject to change to the extent that it is a part of culture and shapes cultural patterns. I have explained at the start of this thesis that there are various approaches and debates over the study of time and space in anthropology. One of the major debates has been related to a dichotomy between Western and non-Western notions of time and space (cf. Adam 1994; Gell 1996; Rapoport 1994). Some anthropologists asserted this dichotomy based on apparent and superficial notions of time and space. Therefore, it has been suggested that studying the interrelationship of time and space in social organisation is necessary to develop anthropological understanding regarding time and space in detail (cf. Adam 1994: Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Rapoport 1994). Time and space are the basic elements of social organisation. These connect other parts of social organisation with each other. Change in the social organisation of time and space is thus indicative of change in overall social organisation. I have argued in this thesis that we can understand the mechanism, processes, and direction of social change in any society from an anthropological perspective by studying the social organisation of time and space. Further, recent theories related to social change discuss it from the global and wider perspectives (cf. Inda and Rosaldo 2008; Wallerstein 1974). Therefore, such analyses which take into account the effects of globalisation and urbanisation highlight "time-space compression" (Harvey 1990)

or "time-space distanciation" (Giddens 1984), showing time and space as important domains of analysis to study social change. I have used memory imagework (Edgar 2004: 97-100), photo-elicitation (El Guindi 2008b; Harper 2002), free listing (Bennardo 2009; Quinlan 2005), spot checks (Gross 1984: 539; Johnson 1996), and mapping (Aldenderfer and Maschner 1996; Goldman 2000: 153-154) along with conventional ethnographic methods in this research for studying the social organisation of time and space.

Most economic and sociological analyses of social change in Pakistan only take into account the economic and political factors (cf. Haider 1981; Ihsan 1992), which are not sufficient to explain sociocultural and socioeconomic dynamics in small rural communities and how these are being influenced by the effects of globalisation and urbanisation. In this regard, this thesis explains the dynamics of social change in Pakistani society by offering evidence from a rural perspective. People in Jhokwala conceptualise, use, and manage time and space in several ways. I have discussed that the cultural models of time and space in Jhokwala, as a Muslim community, can be understood through the religiously informed concepts of the world (*dunya*) and the afterlife (*aakhrat*) in a better way. These two basic concepts of time and space play a key role in shaping social relationships. In this dichotomy, the *dunya* is a place to act. All human beings are answerable for their deeds in the *aakhrat*. The good deeds are not only limited to worship but include the social, political, and economic actions that have been performed for the benefit of humankind. One will be rewarded heaven or hell in the afterlife according one's deeds. I have not discussed the concepts of the *dunya* and the *aakhrat* just as a religious practice but have explained them as the symbolic and social models of time and space.

Jhokwala is located in South Punjab. The region is mostly arid or semi-arid and occupies a distinct identity within Punjab based on the Saraiki language. Jhokwala can be divided into two settlements. Rajputs live on one side while Saraikis on the other one. They are two different social groups or *biraderis* and speak two different languages. Rajputs migrated from Haryana (presently India) after Partition in 1947 and settled in the village as they were allotted land here because of 1959 land reforms. They speak Haryanvi dialect of Urdu. Since Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, Saraikis also understand and speak it. Nonetheless, it would be misleading to assume that the relationship between these two groups is limited because they speak different languages or belong to different *biraderis*. I have shown that they have ever-growing social relationships among each other being

residents of the same village as friends and neighbours. Further, I discussed that social spaces like the mosque and the market become the reasons for people to interact each other more freely without the constraints of social boundaries. The relationship between these two groups can also be explained with respect to different Saraiki *biraderis*. These *biraderis* maintain social and physical boundaries among each other, which help them to maintain their familial relationships in their private spaces and extended social relationships in public spaces as a group.

People categorise children, young, and old men and women with respect to their social status (*muqaam*). People consider childhood as an age of innocence, youth for hard work and gaining as well as maintaining prestige whereas old age a symbol of morality and experience. This arrow of time is also entrenched in their concepts of past, present, and future. The past is a nostalgic memory for elders associated with morality and amicable relationships. The present is a reality in which people struggle to overcome social and economic inequalities. They struggle for their future so that they may find it a better time to live in. People do not only reflect upon their lives through the mirror of past and present, they celebrate various phases of their lives such as birth and marriage with their relatives. Similarly, they also take part in the sorrows of their loved ones like death ceremonies. These ceremonies while being an important part of the social organisation of time are also linked with social and economic conditions. In these ceremonies, people reinstate their social relationships through the cultural practices of exchange and reciprocity between different families and social groups in the village.

A lunisolar Bikrami calendar has been practiced prior to the arrival of Islam in the Punjab in the eighth century. Muslims started to use the Islamic calendar for their religious activities. It became an important element of their identity in a society where they lived with Hindus, Sikhs, and people of various other religions. This calendar is an essential element of social and religious life in Jhokwala. People celebrate several Islamic festivals and activities like *Milad*, fasting, and *Eids* according to this calendar. The British introduced the Gregorian calendar in South Asia. This calendar has been used in Pakistan since 1947 for civil purposes and is widely practised across the country as well as in Jhokwala. One of the reasons behind the adaptation of the Gregorian calendar seems that Muslims used the Bikrami calendar because they needed a solar calendar for agricultural practices for reckoning seasonal cycles, and the solar component of this calendar served

the purpose. Further, their economy, trade, and agriculture has been with Hindus, therefore, they used this calendar until the Hindus left, as this calendar regulates Hindu rituals. After Partition, this calendar became gradually less important in their everyday life because Muslims practised it mainly for agriculture. The Gregorian calendar, on the other hand, can also be used in agriculture because it is also a solar calendar, has been adopted by the government, and is widely used in the country for multiple purposes. Therefore, people in Jhokwala increasingly used the Gregorian calendar for regulating their activities. There are also some more factors behind the change in the ways of measuring time. For example, the *pah'rs'* system is an indigenous way of dividing the day into eight phases according to the movement of the sun and by using the knowledge of cultural astronomy. This system was used to regulate agriculture activities along with the Bikrami calendar. Since only the older generation could reckon these *pah'rs* accurately, the younger generation started to use clocks for an accurate measurement of time. The same reason is valid for the decline in the use of the Bikrami calendar. Further, the use of the *pah'rs'* system is also linked with the timings of the five daily prayers. The daily prayers are pivotal in the daily management of time in the village and serve as temporal marker for other social and economic activities. As the *pah'rs'* system started to decline, people started to use clock time for calculating the prayers' timings. I have also shown that the names of the weekdays are part of cultural memory. The names used for Thursday and Friday, *Jumairaat* and *Juma*, respectively, mark religious identity and show the importance of these days in the religion (cf. Rappaport 1999: 169-235). Despite Sunday being the official weekly holiday in Pakistan, Friday is still an important day due to the grand prayer. However, the concept of a weekly holiday is partially practiced in villages, mainly because farmers organise their social life according to seasonal cycles of agricultural activities.

In order to explain the changing social organisation of time and space, I also presented the allocation of time for various activities, which showed that people from different social groups allocate different amounts of time for the same activities depending upon their roles. I have highlighted the differential allocation of time linked to spatial organisation. For example, people who work in the fields are busier in one season than the other. Similarly, women allocate a greater amount of time to household activities because they mostly remain within their household boundaries. Further, people allocate more amount of time for their economic activities and some occupations such as shopkeepers have less time for leisure whereas farmers spend a great amount of time on social and leisure activities in the

months when they are not engaged in cultivation and harvesting. Such change in the ways of measuring and managing time indicates social and technological change caused by a number of factors. Firstly, the population grew over time, which resulted in an inadequate supply of land for agriculture. Many people have changed their occupation from agriculture to labour and government jobs or have migrated overseas, which has led to an urban lifestyle in the village. People started to run shops in the village and the market was expanded. A factory was also established in Jhokwala. People started to bring televisions, washing machines, and other modern technology from cities and overseas. Farmers also started to use modern technology in agriculture. All these changes affected the nature of social relationships in the village. For example, *oluk* that is similar to *seypi* elsewhere in Punjab (Eglar 1960: 32, 200; Lyon 2004a: 99-100), which was a relationship between landlords and the so-called service castes like *nais* and *mochis*, is no longer in practice. This technological and occupational change also affected the social organisation of time. People needed money to buy machines and modern facilities, and to spend on their ceremonies and rituals, among other usage. Many farmers sold their agricultural land and opened shops at the Adda Parmat market. People started to measure time in smaller units like hours and minutes, in contrast to the larger ones like *pah'rs*. Similarly, they started to measure land in smaller units like square feet instead of using larger units like *marabba*. The extended household shared by the entire family became fragmented into smaller nuclear units. These all changes highlight the scarcity of time and space as resources, which has been a consequence of industrialisation and urbanisation (cf. French 1982; Thompson 1967; Haider 1981; Rogers 1990).

While agricultural land is an important part of the rural economy and the sociospatial relationships in the village, the social organisation of space extends beyond the management and use of land. I have discussed the management and use of two places, the mosque and the house, that are of particular importance in order to understand the sociospatial relationships and effects of social change in the village. I have shown that the mosque serves as a connection between the *dunya* and the *aakhrat* as it is used for worship as well as for other purposes that are considered as good deeds, for example, collecting donations for the flood affected people. The design and structure of the mosque represents some aspects of Islamic identity, connecting small villages like Jhokwala with the greater Islamic world. The modifications in the structure of the mosque, from a technological perspective, have also given rise to new dimensions in the sociospatial organisation of the

village. For example, the use of a loudspeaker has extended the boundaries of the mosque from its walls to the market and the houses.

The design and structure of the houses in the village shows how people are influenced by changing socioeconomic conditions and relate their future to a home where there will be luxuries and peace like an ideal house in this world and heaven in the afterlife. The use of domestic space in Jhokwala provides information about the socioeconomic conditions of its dwellers. Domestic space is organised taking into account the norms and values related to gender and generation. The shift from extended households to small families, more like nuclear units, is due to the division of household space into multiple inheritances, which resulted in smaller houses. Change in domestic space did not occur only in terms of decrease in the area. The structure and decoration of the house and the management of domestic space also has been transformed over generations. Large muddy houses became smaller and made of concrete. There were open toilets some thirty years ago but now there are toilets inside the house. This change in domestic space in its inner and outer boundaries has also reshaped the physical layout of the village. However, some practices have been continued, for example, the notion of *muqaam* is still practised in the sociospatial relationships regarding respect for elders and women. A religiously informed management of domestic space is also indicative of continuity in the sociospatial practices. At the outer boundaries of the house, neighbourhood and *biraderi* are important aspects of social organisation. On the one hand, the houses are constructed closer to one's own *biraderi* given the strong social relationships based on kinship, which are particularly manifested through mutual rights and obligations between relatives. On the other hand, neighbours even not being a formal part of *biraderi* are also a part of exchange and reciprocal relationships. Therefore, the location and boundaries of the house occupies an important status in social organisation.

I have also discussed women's participation in the public sphere and their contribution to the household as well as to the rural economy. I have argued that women have always played a significant role in the rural economy. They run small businesses from home and work as labourers in agricultural activities, thus, contributing to the household economy to varying degrees. While it is important to analyse women's everyday mobility from an economic perspective, it should also be studied with respect to local moralities, norms, values. Cultural norms and values shape and are shaped by the sociospatial relationships.

The families, whose women had never worked in the fields given some cultural notions such as *izzat* (Lyon 2004a), now, send their girls to school, also as a matter of *izzat*. I have also explained that sending girls to schools, be it for people's struggle to achieve better socioeconomic conditions and prestige, or any other factor, will (re)negotiate the boundaries constructed through set forms of social relationships in rural areas. It may result in change in an overall attitude towards women's education (cf. Lall 2010; Lyon 2010b).

The analysis of the social organisation of time and space highlights various dimensions of social change in Pakistan. These can be broadly categorised as demographic changes, technological change, and changes that have been the result of government's policies. This analysis also shows people's response to social change. People adapt to social change according to their inspirations for their future, mainly economic related, but are also sensitive to any changes that may negotiate the cultural norms and values that are integral and essential elements of social organisation. In the broader context of Pakistani society, this research has several implications. Firstly, a majority of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas. I do not infer that the pattern of social change in Jhokwala is or will be the same in all rural areas across the country. However, many villages have similar social and economic conditions, therefore, social change in many areas can be analysed or predicted by analysing people's ways of negotiating the nature of the existing sociospatial and sociotemporal relationships. The pace and extent of social change is certainly different in different areas depending upon forms of economy as well as political, ethnic, and geographic factors. In order to analyse the processes and trends of social change across the country, an understanding of historical and cultural dynamics of small villages and towns is vital as many of villages are now growing into towns. Government agencies and NGOs working on formal education, women's empowerment, poverty alleviation, and other environmental and development-related issues should develop a detailed understanding of the social organisation of time and space in rural areas. They must take into account people's socioeconomic, moral, and religious sensitivities for a sustainable social and economic development to take place before launching any project that, directly or indirectly, may lead to the negotiation of social and physical boundaries and temporal organisation. Secondly, Pakistan is a culturally and geographically diverse country. The media, modern transportation, and communication system have connected all the cities across the country. People living in remote and small cities like Lodhran have an overwhelming consciousness of a unified national identity, but disparities between

different local communities do exist in different cities and villages, which sometimes result in a violent conflict. The analysis of the sociospatial and sociotemporal relationships in various areas will help to understand group relations in the country.

The anthropology of Pakistan have mostly focused on the northern areas, Pukhtuns in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and the northern and central Punjab (cf. Ahmad 1977; Ahmed 1980; Barth 1959; Donnan 1988; Eglar 1960; Lyon 2004a; Marsden 2005; Naveed-i-Rahat 1990; Sökefeld 2005). While there is not a huge difference of social organisation between various regions, given the large area, population, and diversity, there should be more studies in different parts of the country that are still 'under-researched' in anthropology such as South Punjab. South Punjab has some unique dynamics with respect to *local-muhajir* relationships, a blend of multiple ethnicities, and from being a part of Muslim empires in the early centuries of Islam. Therefore, comparative studies on this region will contribute to enhance our understanding about the issues regarding language, ethnicity, religion, gender, and social change, which are generalised, sometimes misleadingly, in the broader context of Punjab, Pakistan, and South Asia. Recently, although there has been an increase in the number of anthropological studies on Pakistan, mainly by local anthropologists, the anthropology of Pakistan has not been fully able to attract the attention of general anthropology (Donnan 1987). One of the several reasons behind this has been a continued emphasis on the issues related to castes and rural social organisation inspired from colonial anthropology that cannot be generalised to the whole country. A theoretical and conceptual framework has been lacking through which cross-culture comparisons between Pakistan and other societies, beyond caste, local politics, and marriages, could be viable. This thesis has contributed to general anthropology by studying Pakistani rural social organisation through a framework of time and space, which will be helpful in many ways. It provides evidence of the interrelationship of time and space in order to expand anthropological analysis on these two concepts. It will thus be helpful in making cross-cultural comparisons about contested boundaries, gender segregation, adaptation to social change, the organisation of space, and the effects of globalisation and urbanisation on rural communities between Pakistan and other societies and cultures.

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Glossary of Local Terms

Aabaadkaar	Settler(s); those who settled in Lodhran and many other areas from different parts because of the settlement schemes for irrigating land during and after the British period.
Aadit	Sunday. See also *Itvaar*
Aaj ka zamana	Today's age
Aakhrat	The afterlife
Acre	A unit of measuring land equal to 43,560 square feet, which is also known as *Killa*
Aala	of; a part of the original name of Jhokwala hence it is pronounced as Jhok Aala
Aameen	Amen
Achha	Good
Adda Parmat	A highways junction and market near Jhokwala
Adherr umer	Middle age. See also *Pakka sann*
Adhi raat	Midnight
Aftari	Evening meal when Muslims break their fast especially in the month of *Ramazan*. It is also spelled as *Iftari* or *Iftar*.
Ageti	Early [cultivation or harvesting]
Agla	Next
Ahrr/Haarr	Fourth month of the Bikrami calendar
Aj-kal	Now a days
Amannah	The ceremony or the initial meeting to fix the marriage in which both the parties agree to marry their children. See also *Baat karna*
Aqiqa	A ritual that is celebrated when mother takes her first bath after childbirth, usually on 40th day after the delivery. It is an Islamic ritual and is sometimes celebrated with *Satthi*, *Dasvaan*, or *Beesvaan*.
Asar	Afternoon daily prayer. See also *Deeghir*
Asoon	Seventh month of the Bikrami calendar
Auqaat	One's status because of one's capacity to do something. It is generally used in economic sense.
Aurat	Woman/women. See also *Zan*
Ayaadat	Visiting a patient and inquiring about his or her health
Azan	Call for prayer. See also *Baang*

Azmaish	Test by Allah
Baal	Baby; Child. See also *Bacha* and *Bachi*
Baaraat	Marriage procession. See also *Janj*
Baang	Call for prayer. See also *Azan*
Baat karna	The ceremony or the initial meeting to fix the marriage in which both the parties agree to marry their children. See also *Amannah*
Bacha	Baby boy; male child. See also *Baal*
Bachi	Baby girl; female child. See also *Baal*
Badroon/Bhaadva	Sixth month of the Bikrami calendar
Banna	Pathway
Bar'amda	Veranda
Basti	Settlement
Bazaar	The market
Baithak	Guest room [for men]
Beesvaan	A ritual celebrated on the twentieth day of birth. See also *Dasvaan* and *Satthi*
Be-pardigi	Un-veiling; antonym of *purdah*
Bhaaji-Biraderi	The people related to each other by blood or through conjugal relationships, normally bound together through a mutual exchange of rights and obligations. See also *Biraderi*
Bhaanjay	(s. *bhanja*) Sister's children
Bhatta Khisht	Brick furnace
Bigah	A unit of measuring land equal to 10,890 square feet. See also *Wigha*
Bijli	Electricity
Bikrami Calendar	The agrarian traditional calendar
Biraderi	Kinship circle; the people related to each other by blood or through conjugal relationships, normally bound together through a mutual exchange of rights and obligations. See also *Bhaaji-biraderi*
Bisaakh/Wisaakh	Second month of the Bikrami calendar
Brelvi	A sub-sect of Sunni Muslims closer to Sufism
Bochhanrr	A headscarf worn across both shoulders like a cape around the entire torso. See also *Dupatta*
Budh	Wednesday
Buddha	Old man

Buddhi	Old woman
Chaadar	A piece of unstitched cloth wrapped around upper part of body over the shirt, which also covers the head
Chahliyah	A ritual that is celebrated on the fortieth day after death. See also *Chalisvaan*
Chaitr/Chait	First month of the Bikrami calendar
Chalisvaan	A ritual that is celebrated on the fortieth day after death. See also *Chahliyah*
Chhanrr Chhanrr	Saturday
Chaarpai	A traditional bed. See also *khatt* and *manjha*
Charrhdein	East. See also *Mashriq*
Chaaval	Rice; a traditional rice dish
Chitthiyan	A group of stars in local cultural astronomy
Chhoharay	Dried dates
Chhoher	Adolescent [girl]
Chhoti	Small
Chhoti Shaadi	Small marriage, the word used for circumcision. See also *Khatna*, *Nikki Shaadi*, *Sunnat*, and *Tahor*
Chhowaar	Adolescent [boy]
Chhuppan chhupai	Hide and seek
Chulh	A traditional stove
Daamaan	Fields; plain fields of South Punjab
Daatri/*dantri/dranti*	Sickle
Dai	Traditional midwife
Dakhanrr	South. See also *Janoob*
Dasvaan	A ritual celebrated on the tenth day of birth. See also *Beesvaan* and *Satthi*
Dari	A large mat
Dars	Lesson; lecture
Daur	Term used mostly for describing the time over very long period that may be thirty to fifty years or even spread over centuries having no demarcation in a measurable period or duration. See also *Zamana*
Deen	Religion, refers to Islam only
Deen daar	The term is used to describe a religious person. Its literally meaning is the person who has the religion
Deehnh	Day. See also *Din*

Deehnhvaar	Day of the week. See also *Din*
Deeghir	Afternoon daily prayer. See also *Asar*
Deg	Cauldron
Deloon	West. See also *Maghrib*
Dera	Men's place for socialising
Desi	Traditional; local; indigenous
Desi maheenay	Indigenous months; the local calendar. See also Bikrami calendar
Devanrr ghinanrr	Giving [and] taking. See also *Lena dena*, *Sulook* and *Vat-varta*
Dhammi da vela	The perfect morning after sunrise; a stage of the day in local cultural astronomy
Dhi da baal	Child [girl]
Dhol	A traditional drum
Dhoti	An unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist and legs
Din	Day of the week; Day. See also *Deehnh* and *Deehnhvaar*
Doopah'r	Noon; the Noon Prayer. See also Dopeh'r, *Paysheen* and *Zoh'r*
Dopeh'r	Noon; the Noon Prayer. See also *Doopah'r*, *Paysheen* and *Zoh'r*
Dozakh	Hell. See also *Jahannam*
Dua	Pray
Dukaan	Shop
Dunya	The world
Dunyavi	Worldly
Dunya wala	The term is used to describe a wealthy person. Its literally meaning is the person who has the world.
Dupatta	A headscarf worn across both shoulders like a cape around the entire torso. See also *Bochhanrr*
Ehsaan	Grateful to Allah
Eid	Annual festival for Muslims and there are two *Eids* in a year
Eidgah	The ground or place where *Eid* congregation is held
Eid-ul-Fitr	*Eid* that is celebrated on the first date of the Islamic month of *Shiwaal*
Eid-ul-Azha	The second *Eid* that is celebrated in the Islamic month of *Zilhajj* and Muslims offer sacrifice of animals at this *Eid* in the commemoration of Abrahamic sacrifice. See also *Qurbaani vaali Eid*

E'tkaaf	Stay in the mosque, usually during the last three, seven or ten days of *Ramazan*
Farz	Essential; obligatory
Farz kifaya	Obligatory but only some people can offer it on behalf of all
Fajar	Morning
Faateha	Prayer and condolence for the deceased
Fik'r	To care for something or somebody
Foot	A unit of measuring land, which is actually one square foot but is pronounced simply as foot
Fotgi	Death. See *Inteqaal* and *Vafaat*
Gali	Street
Gandheen	The ceremony of fixing the date for marriage. See also *Tareekh*
Garmi	Summer
Ghami-khushi	Happiness and sadness; sorrow and joy; funeral and wedding. See also *Gham-khadi*
Gham-khadi	Happiness and sadness; sorrow and joy; funeral and wedding. See also *Ghami-khushi*
Ghar	Home
Ghardaari	Home caring; household activities
Ghareeb	Poor
Gharri	A moment; a shorter unit of time; watch. See also *Lahza* and *Lamha*
Gharriyaal	Clock
Ghee	Clarified butter that is normally used for cooking
Ghussal Khaana	Bathroom
Ghutti	A birth ritual in which the elderly relatives like grandfather and uncles make the baby lick their fingers wet with milk. See also *Beesvaan* and *Dasvaan*
Gillia danda	A traditional game similar to tip-cat. See also *Giti danna*
Giti danna	A traditional game similar to tip-cat. See also *Gillia danda*
Gorkkan	Gravedigger
Gunah	Sin
Haal	Present
Haamla	Pregnant woman
Haarr/Ahrr	Fourth month of the Bikrami calendar
Haft	Seven

Hafta	Week; Saturday
Haisiyat	Economic status
Hajani	A woman who had performed the *hajj* pilgrimage. See also *Haji* and *Hajj*
Haji	A man who had performed the *hajj* pilgrimage. See also *Hajani* and *Hajj*
Hajj	Annual event of Muslims performed in Mecca. See also *Hajani* and *Haji*
Halal	Any act or food accorded by Islamic teachings
Halva	A traditional pudding
Hamara Zamana	Our age. See also *Sada daur*
Hamsaya	(pl. *hamsaye*) Neighbour. See also *Mohallah* and *Mohallay-daar*
Haq-e-mahar	An Islamic obligation for the groom to pay a fixed amount to the bride at the time of marriage
Hijaab	Veil. See also *Purdah*
Hijri Calendar	The Islamic calendar for regulating the religious activities
Hisaab	Mathematics; calculation
Hunala	Summer. See also *Garmi*
Huqqa	A traditional pipe used for smoking tobacco
Imam	Prayer leader in congregation
Imaan	Faith
Inaam	Reward
Insha Allah	Allah willing
Inteqaal	Transfer; death; journey to the afterlife. See *Vafaat*
Isha	Night-time daily prayer
Itvaar	Sunday. See also *Aadit*
Izzat	Respect; honour; prestige
Ja	Place. See also *Jaga*
Jaaga	A marriage ceremony that continues the whole night
Jaga	Place. See also *Ja*
Jahannam	Hell. See also *Dozakh*

Jajmani	A mutual exchange system that has been prevalent, and still exists, in some parts of South Asia in which people from one caste or group serve the other one, such as *nais*, and are given reward in the form of wheat or rice at the end of the agrarian season for their services throughout the year. The term *jajmani* is used in Hindus whereas Muslims in Punjab, except for South Punjab where it is called *oluk* in the Saraiki language, use the term *seypi*.
Jamaat	Congregation
Jamadi-ul-Awwal	Sixth month of the Islamic calendar
Jamadi-us-Sani	Seventh month of the Islamic calendar
Janj	Marriage procession. See also *Baaraat*
Jannat	Heaven; paradise
Janj	Wedding procession. See also *Baaraat*
Janoob	South. See also *Dakhanrr*
Janoobi Punjab	South Punjab
Javaan	Adult [male/female]
Javaani	Youth
Jeth	Third month of the Bikrami calendar
Jhand	The ritual of the first haircut of the newborn
Jhummar	A traditional dance
Jinss	Specie
Juma	Friday
Jumairaat	Thursday. See also *Khamees*
Kaasht-kaar	Farmer. See also *Kisaan*
Ka'ba	The sacred cuboid building in Mecca, Saudi Arabia and Muslims throughout the world face towards this building while offering prayers. See also *Qibla*
Kacha	Muddy
Kaffara	Compensation for a sin
Kam	Work
Kailoola	Daytime nap
Kal	Yesterday or tomorrow
Klasra	A *biraderi* of Saraikis
Kanaal	A unit of measuring land equal to 5,445 square feet.
Kanrrk	Wheat
Katiyen	Eighth month of the Bikrami calendar

Khaalis	Pure. See also *Sacha*
Khair	Good deed(s)
Khairat	Charity
Khatam shareef	The sacred end; One complete recitation of the whole Qura'n
Khatt	A traditional bed. See also *Chaarpai* and *Manjha*
Khatna	Circumcision. See also *Chhoti Shaadi*, *Nikki Shaadi*, *Sunnat*, and *Tahor*
Khamees	Thursday. See also *Jumairaat*
Kherri	A traditional shoe
Khussa	A traditional shoe
Khutba	Sermon
Kiraar	Hindu
Khet	Fields
Khoo	Well; the land associated with well; fields
Khussa	Traditional shoes
Khwaja Ghulam Farid	A Sufi poet from early twentieth century who belonged to South Punjab
Killa	A unit of measuring land equal to 43,560 square feet, which is also known as acre
Kisaan	Farmer. See also *Kaasht-kaar*
Lahza	A moment; a shorter unit of time. See also *Gharri* and *Lamha*
Lailat-al-Qadar	The Night of Value; the night when Qur'an started to reveal that comes in one of the last ten days of *Ramazan*. See also *Shab-e-Qadar*
Lamha	A moment; a shorter unit of time. See also *Lahza* and *Gharri*
Lena dena	Taking [and] giving. See also *Devanrr ghinanrr*, *Sulook* and *Vat-varta*
Local	The term is used in Pakistan as an antonym to *muhajir* (migrant) in the context of Partition of 1947, in the *local-muhajir* discourse. It is used as a local term in the thesis and must be confused with the English word 'local'.
Ludo	A traditional board game
Maamu	Mother's brother
Maayoon baithna	The tradition in which the bride does not go outside home until her marriage after the date of marriage is fixed
Maazi	Past
Madrassa	The school attached with a mosque for religious education

Maheenay	(s. *maheena*) Months; calendar
Mah	Eleventh month of the Bikrami calendar
Maghrib	West; evening; Evening prayer. See also *Deloon* and *Namashen da vela*
Maida	Mine. See also *Mera*
Makaan	The house; Space
Malood	Saraiki poems in the praise of the Prophet. See *Naat*
Marla	A unit of measuring land equal to 272 square feet
Manjha	A traditional bed. See also *Khatt* and *Chaarpai*
Mangal	Tuesday
Manghir/Mangsar	Ninth month of the Bikrami calendar
Mangrran/Mangrri	Engagement
Marabba	A Unit of measuring land, equal to 100,000 square meters
Maseet	Mosque. See also *Masjid*
Masha Allah	All accomplishments are so achieved by the will of Allah; the expression of appreciating some act or thing
Mashriq	East. See also *Charrhdein*
Mausam	Season; weather
Mauza	Revenue Village
Maykay	Parent's home. See also *Paykain*
Mayyat	Dead body
Mehnat	Hardwork
Mehndi	A marriage ritual of applying henna on the hands of the bride and groom. See also *Rasm-e-hina*
Mehraab	Semi-circular niche in a mosque indicating the *qibla* direction and where Imam offers his prayer.
Mela	Fair
Mendhi	A marriage ritual of un-fastening the hair of the bride. See also *Zulf kushai*
Mera	Mine. See also *Maida*
Me'raj	Night Ascension of the Prophet
Milad	Gathering to mention the birth of the Islamic Prophet
Mirasi	Traditional musician
Mithai	Sweets
Moazan	The person who recites *azan* (call for prayer)
Mohallah	Neighbourhood. See also *Mohallay-daar* and *Hamsaya*

Mohallay-daar	With whom one shares *mohallah*; Neighbours. See also See also *Hamsaya* and *Mohallah*
Mohn dikhaee	A marriage ritual of meeting bride for the first time when she arrives in groom's home
Mochi	Cobbler; a *biraderi* as well as an occupation (the term is used only as an occupation when italicised)
Molvi	Religious Person; Imam
Mubarakbaad	Congratulations
Muhajir	Migrant (the term particularly refers to those who migrated from India to Pakistan after Partition in 1947)
Muharram	First month of the Islamic calendar
Munni	A group of two specific stars in local cultural astronomy
Muqaam	The status given to someone because of one's good role, character or one's relationship with someone in a positive sense
Muqaddas	Sacred
Musafir	Traveller
Musalla	A small place dedicated on temporary basis for the purpose of offering prayer
Mustaqbil	Future
Naarr	Umbilical cord
Naat	Poems in the praise of the Prophet. See *Malood*
Naata	Connection; bond; marriage proposal. See also *Rishta*
Na-mahram	Stranger or marriageable non-kin in Islamic terminology
Nai	Barber, a *biraderi* as well as an occupation (the term is used only as an occupation when italicised)
Naind'r	The cash given as a gift on wedding. See also *Salaami*
Nalka	Hand pump
Namashen da vela	Evening. See also *Maghrib*
Namaaz	Prayer
Namaaz-e-Janaaza	Funeral prayer
Naqaab	A headscarf covering head and the whole face except eyes
Naseeb	Fate; luck. See also *Qismat*
Navaan	New. See also *Naya*
Naya	New. See also *Navaan*
Nikah	Marriage sermon
Nikahkhwan	One who recites the sermon of *nikah.* See also *Nikah*

Nikahnama	Marriage contract or certificate. See also *Nikah*
Nikka baal	Baby boy
Nikki baal	Baby girl
Nikki Shaadi	Small marriage, the word used for circumcision. See also *Chhoti Shaadi*, *Khatna, Sunnat*, and *Tahor*
Nisf	Half
Noori Mosque	A large mosque located on the northern bank of the road in Jhokwala
Norozi	A traditional shoe
Numberdaar	The person who was responsible for coordination between the government and agricultural landlords during the British Raj for collecting the agricultural revenue
Oluk	A mutual exchange system that has been prevalent, and still exists, in some parts of South Asia in which people from one caste or group serve the other one, such as *nais*, and are given reward in the form of wheat or rice at the end of the agrarian season for their services throughout the year. It is called *seypi* (Muslims in Punjab elsewhere) and *jajmani* (in Hindus).
Pak	Pure
Pah'r	Stage of a day, there are eight *pah'rs* in a day roughly equal to three hours each in the indigenous cultural astronomy
Pakka	Concrete
Pakka sann	Middle age. See also *Adherr umer*
Panjiri	A traditional desert
Paoli	Weaver, a *biraderi* as well as an occupation (the term is used only as an occupation when italicised)
Patwari	An accountant who has all the landholding and revenue records
Paykain	Parent's home. See also *Maykay*
Paysheen	Noon; the Noon Prayer. See also *Doopah'r, Dopeh'r* and *Zoh'r*
Peerain da vaar	The day of saints; a connotation of saints with Monday
Pehla zamana	Earlier times
Phagunrr/Phaganrr	Twelfth month of the Bikrami calendar
Phuphi	Father's sister
Phutti da mausam	Cotton-picking season
Pichheti	Late [cultivation or harvesting]
Pichhla	Last; previous

Piraheen	One who performs circumcision; a *biraderi* (the term is used only as an occupation when italicised)
Pitho garam	A traditional game similar to seven stones
Porhiya	Saving for household through additional labour done by women
Poh	Tenth month of the Bikrami calendar
Pulao	A traditional rice dish
Purana	Old
Purdah	Veil; isolation; segregation; curtain. See also *Hijaab*
Putr da baal	Child [boy]
Qabristan	Cemetery
Qaum	Nation; tribe; group
Qaumi Taraana	National Anthem
Qaza	Carrying out or fulfilling a prayer or fast if it could not be performed at the prescribed time
Qibla	The direction of Ka'ba, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. See also *Ka'ba*
Qismat	Fate; luck. See also *Naseeb*
Qiyamat	The day of Judgment
Qul	The recitation of Qur'an after few days of death for the deceased
Qurbaani vaali Eid	*Eid* of Sacrifice. See also *Eid-ul-Azha*
Qutub	North. See also *Shumaal*
Raat	Night; Dusk
Rabi-ul-Awwal	Third month of the Islamic calendar
Rabi-us-Sani	Fourth month of the Islamic calendar
Rajab	Seventh month of the Islamic calendar
Rajput	A *biraderi*; In the context of this thesis they are a social group living in the northern settlement of Jhokwala. They are also called *muhajirs*. See *Muhajir*
Raka'at	Prescribed movements and words during prayers
Ramazan	Ninth month of the Islamic calendar; fasting month
Rangrri	Rajputs, the language of Rajputs, it is in fact Haryanvi dialect of Urdu. Therefore, I refer the language as Urdu throughout the thesis.
Rao	Title used by Rajputs
Rasm-e-hina	A marriage ritual of applying henna on the hands of the bride and groom. See also *Mehndi*

Rishta	Connection; Bond; relation; marriage proposal. See also *Naata*
Roh	Mountain; Sulaiman Mountains
Rohi	Cholistan Desert
Rut	Season
Saas	Mother-in-law
Saawanrr	Fifth month of the Bikrami calendar
Sacha	Pure; truthful. See also *Khaalis*
Sada daur	Our age. See also *Hamara zamana*
Sadqa	Charity
Safar	Second month of the Islamic calendar
Safeel	A long shelf on the wall in the room running across the entire length of the wall
Sajdah	Prostration to Allah
Salaam	Greetings; the last step during prayer by looking at the right shoulder and then at the left one, and saying *Aslam-o-Alaikum Wa-Rahmatullah* (May peace be upon you)
Salaami	The cash given as a gift. See also *Naind'r*
Saraa'n	Motel, see *Sarai*
Sarai	Motel, see *Saraa'n*
Saraiki	A language spoken in central areas of Pakistan; In the context of this thesis they are a social group living in the southern settlement of Jhokwala
Sardi	Winter. See also *Siala*
Sarrak	Road
Sarzameen	Land; homeland; land of Pakistan in the national context
Sat bismillah	Welcome
Sat'r	Religious prescription of concealing the body, fully or partially, for moral reasons or, in other words, to inhibit the sexual appeal that the body may have otherwise.
Satthi	A ritual celebrated on the seventh day of birth
Sawaab	Merit or reward from Allah [in the afterlife] in return to good deeds performed in life
Shaadi	Marriage
Sha'ban	Eighth month of the Islamic calendar
Shab-e-Qadar	The Night of Value; the night when Qur'an started to reveal that comes in one of the last ten days of *Ramazan*. See also *Lailat-al-Qadar*

Shakkar	Unprocessed sugar
Shalwar qameez	Traditional long shirt with loose trouser; national dress of Pakistan
Shia	A sect in Islam
Shumaal	North. See also *Qutub*
Seh'n	Yard
Siala	Winter
Sijh ubhar da vela	Beginning of twilight before sunrise
Sehra	Wedding song; garland
Sehri	Morning meal before fasting, especially in the month of *Ramazan*. See also *Suhoor*
Seypi	A mutual exchange system that has been prevalent, and still exists, in some parts of South Asia in which people from one caste or group serve the other one, such as *nais*, and are given reward in the form of wheat or rice at the end of the agrarian season for their services throughout the year. The term *seypi* is used in Muslims in Punjab, except for South Punjab where it is called *oluk* in the Saraiki language, and is called *jajmani* (in Hindus).
Sohrain	In-laws. See also *Susraal*
Somvaar	Monday. See also *Soon'waar*
Soon'waar	Monday. See also *Somvaar*
Stapu	Hopscotch
Subha Kaazib	A phase of the day; it literally means pseudo morning. See also *Vadda vela*
Subha Saadiq	True morning
Suhoor	Morning meal before fasting, especially in the month of Ramazan. See also *Sehri*
Suk	Dried
Sulook	Reciprocity and sharing. See also *Devanrr ghinanrr*, *Lena dena* and *Vat-varta*
Sunnat	The way of the Prophet that Muslims are supposed to follow; the word is sometimes referred only to the ritual of circumcision. See also *Chhoti Shaadi*, *Khatna*, *Nikki Shaadi*, and *Tahor*
Sunni	A sect in Islam
Susral	In-laws. See also *Sohrain*
Taara	(pl. *taaray*) Star

Taareekh	Date; history; the ceremony of fixing the date for marriage. See also *Gandheen*
Tahor	Circumcision. See also *Khatna* and *Sunnat*
Tahajjud	Early-morning Prayer
Tam	Time
Taqdeer	Fate; destiny
Tarangarr	A group of stars in local cultural astronomy
Taraqee	Progress; development
Tasbih	Repeated utterance of the names of Allah
Tauba	Repentance; Asking Allah for forgiveness and promising not to commit the sin again
Taviz	Qur'anic verses written on a piece of paper or cloth; amulet
Tehsil	The sub-division of a district, each district may have more than two tehsils
Thal	Thal Desert
Timaardaari	Taking care of the patient
Tarawih	Prayers of long duration offered in *Ramazan* after *Isha* prayers
Ubhar	East. See also *Mashriq*
Urdu	National language of Pakistan
Urs	Annual festival at shrine
Ustra	A particular knife used by barbers and Piraheen
Vadda vela	Very early morning; a stage of the day in local cultural astronomy and literally means big time. See also *Subha Kaazib*
Vadday	Elders; ancestors
Vafaat	Death; Journey to the afterlife. See *Inteqaal*
Vangaar	At the time of cultivation or harvesting, farmers need additional labour. Since there was no cash based labour some fifty years ago, people used to help each other by participating as labourers in each other's agricultural activity. This work is called *vangaar*.
Vat-varta	Reciprocity and sharing. See also *Devanrr ghinanrr*, *Lena dena* and *Sulook*
Vela	Time; few minutes; a part of the day
Waqt	Time. See also *Zamaan*
Wasaib	Society; culture; culture and society of Saraiki speaking areas; the Saraiki region

Wazu	Ablution
Wigah	A unit of measuring land equal to 10,890 square feet. See also *Bigha*
Wisaakh/Bisaakh	Second month of the Bikrami calendar
Zakaat	Alms
Zamana	Term used mostly for describing the time over very long period that may be thirty to fifty years or even spread over centuries having no demarcation in a measurable period or duration. See also *Daur*
Zamaan	Time. See also *Waqt*
Zamaan-o-makaan	Time and space
Zameen	Earth; land
Zan	Woman. See also *Aurat*
Zar	Wealth
Zeeqa'd	Eleventh month of the Islamic calendar
Zik'r	A devotional act of repeating Allah's names
Zilhajj	Twelfth month of the Islamic calendar
Zoh'r	Noon; the Noon Prayer. See also *Doopah'r, Dopeh'r* and *Paysheen*
Zulf kushai	A marriage custom in which the bride's hair are un-fastened that have been fastened in a particular hairstyle a couple of week ago. See also *Mendhi*