

# **LIFE PATTERN IN THE KARAKORAM HINDU KUSH:**

**A Case Study of Darel and Tangir Valleys**

**Zahid Javed  
Area Study Centre (Central Asia)  
University of Peshawar  
Peshawar, Pakistan**

**SUPERVISOR:**  
Prof. Javed Iqbal Syed  
Former Vice Chancellor  
Allama Iqbal Open University,  
Islamabad.

**CO-SUPERVISOR:**  
Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan  
Former Vice Chancellor  
University of Peshawar

**MEMBER:**  
Dr. Azmat Hayat Khan  
Director Area Study Centre (Central Asia)  
University of Peshawar

223/1

# LIFE PATTERN IN THE KARAKORAM HINDUKUSH:

## A case study of Darel and Tangir valleys

### Abstract

By Zahid Javed

The study presents life pattern in the valleys of Darel and Tangir as reflected in their social institutions. The main objective of the study was to document the traditional social institutions of the area. Besides recording and analysing the impact of development schemes since the construction of the Karakoram Highway (1978) on already established socio-economic practices prevailing the area. The valleys are located in the south of Gilgit, the administrative centre of the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

The area had remained a concern of colonial India during the Great Game. However, the British administration left the area to survive as a part of *Yaghistan* – The land of the wild and the independent people. The area was merged with Pakistan in 1951.

The methodology involved collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data was gathered through the review of literature, case study of the social institutions and

Participant Observation. The quantitative data was obtained through extensive fieldwork in the area during 1993-96 and a sample household survey.

The social institutions of the area were found to reflect traits of an acephalous society. They are underdeveloped and undifferentiated. The *wesh* being mother of all institutions is a set of social institutions. It is basically a system of land ownership and periodic reallocation of land. *Wesh* manifest through *heti*, a social facet of *wesh*. *Sigas*

(village council, *jirga*) is its political aspect and a transhumant economy is its economic dimension.

A *heti* is a group of households of owners (*holsa*) of resources, whereas non-owners (*opra*)-*Pathan*, *Gujar* (pastoralist), *Sonival* (gold sifter) and *Kashiro* (Kashmiri) can not enter it. They are heavily taxed for using resources of the area. The owners are organized in segmentary lineages of endogamous and patrilineal groups of *Shin*, *Yeshkun*, *Kamin* and *Dom*. A *heti* determines their social, political and economic interests. *Sigas* is a traditional political institution. The transhumant economy is a combination of grazing of livestock and mountain agriculture. It is a familial mode of production and was mainly used for local consumption and exchange.

The impact of development schemes shows disruption of traditional social institutions, which are passing through a transitional phase.

The disruption has decreased community participation in the traditional forms of labour mobilisation. Machines are replacing manual labour and fabric of close relationships has weakened. As a result of development, the state law has come into conflict with the traditional law. The transhumant economy is also facing a similar fate and giving way to the cash economy through integration with the state structure.

The study has been divided into eight chapters. A chapter stating the problem, its significance, objectives and scope of the study has been placed in the start as another chapter reviewing the literature comes to form the beginning of the study. Then chapters on methodology, community profile, traditional social institutions, infrastructural growth, changing patterns and a chapter concluding the study follows.

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Former Vice Chancellor  
University of Peshawar

**MEMBER:**  
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Director Area Study Centre (Central Asia)  
University of Peshawar

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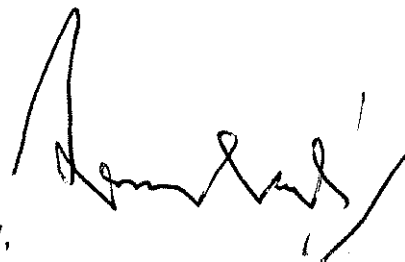
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DISSERTATION "LIFE PATTERN IN THE KARAKORAM  
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SUPERVISOR:

Prof. Javed Iqbal Syed  
Former Vice Chancellor  
Allama Iqbal Open University,  
Islamabad.

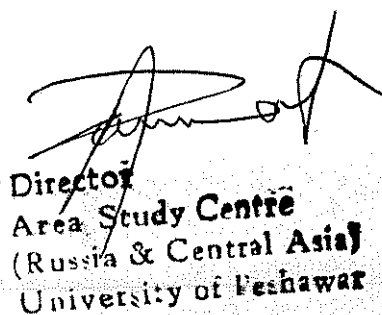


CO-SUPERVISOR:

Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan  
Former Vice Chancellor  
University of Peshawar

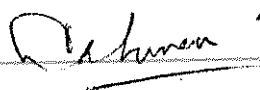
MEMBER:

Dr. Azmat Hayat Khan  
Director Area Study Centre  
(Central Asia) University of  
Peshawar



Director  
Area Study Centre  
(Russia & Central Asia)  
University of Peshawar

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## Abbreviations

|                                |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Above Sea Level                | ASL   |
| Assistant Commissioner         | AC    |
| Darel Tangir                   | DT    |
| Deputy Commissioner            | DC    |
| Deputy Superintendent Police   | DSP   |
| District Forest Officer        | DFO   |
| Forest Department              | FD    |
| Forest Development Corporation | DFC   |
| Frontier Crimes Regulation     | FCR   |
| House Hold                     | HH    |
| Hectare Area                   | ha    |
| Karakoram Highway              | KKH   |
| Local Measure                  | LM    |
| Master of Science              | M.Sc. |
| North West Frontier Province   | NWFP  |
| Non-Governmental Organization  | NGO   |
| South West                     | SW    |
| Sub Divisional Officer         | SDO   |
| Resident Engineer              | RE    |
| Yearly                         | yl    |

## Glossary

|                |                                                                                                |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| akhar          | blacksmith                                                                                     |
| alim           | local cleric                                                                                   |
| banni          | holm-pak species for goat fodder and fuel wood                                                 |
| bazono         | spring                                                                                         |
| bote           | "original owner"                                                                               |
| byak           | place of assembly of village council                                                           |
| chato          | simpleton                                                                                      |
| chibo, chubo   | fish                                                                                           |
| choko          | weight for ghee equal to 1200 gm.                                                              |
| chumogyo       | third-share tenancy                                                                            |
| dab, dap       | bridewealth paid to bride's father                                                             |
| darustgar      | carpenter, wood carver                                                                         |
| das            | cultivable waste                                                                               |
| dekan          | landless tenant; bonded labour                                                                 |
| dom            | the fourth group in local hierarchy; caste of former musician, now working as weaver           |
| fakir          | see "miskin"                                                                                   |
| gan            | fine imposed by village council                                                                |
| ghari          | fortified watchtower                                                                           |
| gharib         | see "miskin"                                                                                   |
| gi             | clarified butter                                                                               |
| gujur          | ethnic group of herders and tenants                                                            |
| hal            | plough                                                                                         |
| har, haro      | smaller grain measure (20 har = 1 sin)                                                         |
| het            | village or settlement cluster                                                                  |
| heti           | local unit of social organization and distribution, sending representatives to village council |
| holocho        | "original inhabitant" owner                                                                    |
| hori           | half share tenancy                                                                             |
| jalo           | skin raft for crossing Indus                                                                   |
| jashtero       | headman, key figure of village council                                                         |
| jola           | weaver (former musician)                                                                       |
| jush           | brick bark used for roofing                                                                    |
| kalak          | traditional revenue collector                                                                  |
| kalang         | annual tax collected by village council                                                        |
| kamin, karamin | the third group in local hierarchy, some landowners                                            |
| karo           | segment of heti on the left bank valley                                                        |
| kashiro        | person of Kashmiri descent                                                                     |
| kolocho        | Kohistani-speaking immigrant from Indus Kohistan                                               |
| kometi         | village council                                                                                |
| kot            | fortified compact settlement                                                                   |
| kothi          | sub-unit of heti comprising of about 20 persons in the right bank valley                       |

|                |                                                                               |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| kul            | lower part of valley; irrigation channel                                      |
| latch          | goats                                                                         |
| majaro         | trusted male relative or friend for marriage negotiations                     |
| miskin         | poor or vulnerable person                                                     |
| moi            | local gnat drawing blood on biting and causing subsequent irritation          |
| neyak          | landowner (also see holocho and bote)                                         |
| niril          | alpine pasture and conifer zone of valley                                     |
| palocho        | Shina-speaking immigrant from Indus Kohistan                                  |
| palolo, paloyo | person of Balti descent                                                       |
| pare           | outsiders; applied to all non "original" owners                               |
| payalo         | herdsman                                                                      |
| peri           | fairy in the shapes of beautiful women found in the "niril" region            |
| rom            | general term for large settlement;<br>geographical term for male mobilization |
| rui            | witch; woman practising witchcraft                                            |
| sharyo         | winter                                                                        |
| shin           | the top group in loca; hierarchy; mostly landowners                           |
| sigas          | village council (see also kometi)                                             |
| sin            | grain measure varying from 20 to 30 kilogrammes of maize or wheat             |
| sonival        | ethnic group of goldwashers and tenants                                       |
| thogur         | male goat for breeding                                                        |
| tolo           | 1 tolo = 11 gram of gold dust; see also 'dab'                                 |
| tumak          | rifle                                                                         |
| walo           | summer                                                                        |
| yeshkun        | the second group in local hierarchy, mostly landowners                        |
| yono           | autumn                                                                        |
| yosh           | watermill                                                                     |
| yuiti          | yoke; the amount of land a pair of oxen can plough in a day                   |
| zapul          | juniper bark used for roofing                                                 |
| zargar         | silver or goldsmith                                                           |
| zetu           | "local police" nominated by village council for imposing fines                |

# Chapter I

## Introduction

## Chapter 1 Introduction

### Introduction

The study presents life patterns in Karakoram Hindukush, a pioneering effort on Darel and Tangir valleys. The valleys are situated in the South of Gilgit, the administrative centre of Northern Areas of Pakistan. The valleys lie between 35° 35' - 36°N, 73° 30' - 73° 49'E respectively, between the sources of the Oxus in the North and the Indus in the South. Since literature on the subject was scarce data was collected during 1993-96 through extensive field work and applied historical as well as survey methods. The work illuminates the culture and social institutions of the area.

Along the Karakoram Highway, the Darel and Tangir valleys are historically as well as geographically linked and culturally charged with Central Asian spirit. The valleys were two mountain republics that were not colonised and survived independently in the close vicinity of Gilgit Agency during the entire colonial period. During that period the Northern Areas of Pakistan were identified with Gilgit Agency and it remained a concern of British administration of India as well as explorers. Key summarizes the efforts of the British explorers and records that: "The point of Gilgit, now as always, is strategic. High above the snowline, somewhere midst the peaks and glaciers that wall in the Gilgit valley, the long

and jealously guarded frontiers of India, China, Russia, Afghanistan and Pakistan meet. It is the hub, the crow's-nest, the fulcrum of Asia."<sup>1</sup>

The British India was apprehensive of Russian presence over Pamir. The British Administration established Gilgit Agency in response to Russia's territorial expansion in Central Asia, leaving behind certain areas of neutral zones between the British and the Russian spheres of Influence or interference. In the close vicinity of the Gilgit agency *Yaghestan* -- the land of wild and independent country remained an undeclared neutral zone throughout the British era.

Yaghestan comprised southern valleys of District Diamer namely Darel and Tangir besides the entire Kohistan district of NWFP, and surrounded the Gilgit Agency of which "The two valleys of Darel and Tangir, lands of blood feuds and vendettas remained a source of constant nuisance to the officials of the Agency."<sup>2</sup>

During the whole era the area remained an inaccessible territory to the Western explorers. Staley records that: "It was not until 1913 that any scholarly investigator was able to visit Darel without disguise."<sup>3</sup> Leitner remains the first among the Western explorers, crossing the area in 1866 in the guise of "Bukhara Maulvi".<sup>4</sup> Biddulph explains that Leitner was the first to bring in to prominent notice the existence of an Aryan race of great ethnological interest in

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<sup>1</sup> Key, J. The Gilgit Game - The explorers of the Western Himalayas 1865-1895, John Murrey, London, 1979. p.1

<sup>2</sup> Schomberge, R.C.F (1935) Al-Biruni, Lahore, 1976, p.3

<sup>3</sup> Staley, J.F. Economy and Society in the High Mountains of Northern Areas of Pakistan, in: Modern Asian Studies, 3, 225-243.

<sup>4</sup> Leitner, G.W. Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893, Woking, Oriental University Institute, 1894, (Appendix I) p. 17

these remote valleys."<sup>5</sup> Leitner for the first time talked of "Dards" and coined the term "Dardistan. Nevertheless, Chohan gives his opinion that "there was actually no region known as Dardistan to its inhabitants."<sup>6</sup> According to him Dardistan appears to be simply a misleading name employed by the British Geographers to express a large tract inhabited by different Aryan races of somewhat similar type."<sup>7</sup> During the 19th century the Gilgit Agency got prominence because of the Great Game. Key claims that: "It was called a game in recognition of the process being a crucial episode in the Great Game, the century long rivalry between Russian and British India for control over Central Asia."<sup>8</sup>

Contemporary experts recognize the area as an "acephalous society"<sup>9</sup> comprising socially and politically fragmented tribes. No work is available on their life and society in the British accounts or later when they were merged with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1951 [Exhibit Appendix II]. The community still remains an un-explored part of Northern Areas of Pakistan in sociological terms.

The social sciences divide all cultures in three parts - technology, social organization and ideology.<sup>10</sup> Of these, technology is often considered most fundamental. The use of technology reflects economic institutions of a certain society and its social relations and patterns of life in general. The explorers of

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<sup>5</sup> Biddulph, J. 1880 Tribes of Hindookoosh, Calcutta, The Superintendent of Government Printing [Reprint: Indus Publications, 1977; Karachi] ,1880, p.8

<sup>6</sup> Chohan, A. Singh, The Gilgit Agency 1877-1935, New Delhi. p.2

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p.2.

<sup>8</sup> Key Op. cit., p. 1

<sup>9</sup> Barth, F. Indus and Swat Kohistan, Oslo, 1956, p.79

<sup>10</sup> Sahlins, Marshal D. Tribesmen, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, n.d. p. 14

rural society stress that economic institutions ultimately determine social and political institutions.<sup>11</sup> However, in the present study the relevance of economic, social and political institutions has been recorded and analysed in a setting where institutions are not well-defined, are underdeveloped and undiversified. They reflect much overlapping in their structure as well as functioning. In fact they are not different institutions, rather they are different functions of the same institution. Instead of recording and analysing the culture into distinct social, economic and ideological spheres the researcher has focused on the functioning of organizations for determining the realm of an institution.

The various development schemes initiated by the Government of Pakistan during the last one and a half decade have presumably created a stir in the existing more or less stable and culturally, historically established life patterns of the people of the area. Among these schemes the construction of Karakoram Highway (1978), rural electrification and setting up of education, health and agriculture departments are worth mentioning. Obviously it becomes an area of great interest to study the extent to which these externally engineered inputs have made their impact on the people's life patterns.

### 1.1 The Problem

The life patterns reflected in the traditional institutions of the area are undergoing change with the introduction of infrastructural growth in the Karakoram-Hindukush region. It becomes, therefore, an area of concern on the

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<sup>11</sup>. Ibid. p. 14

one hand to preserve centuries old life practices of an undocumented part of the region and on the other to examine how the people of the area have adapted to the changing environment.

The forthcoming pages present the findings of the study which have been organised in eight chapters. The first chapter begins with an account of the introduction of culture and institutions of the area and explains the scope as well as the significance of the study. The second chapter gives an overview of the literature on the Darel and Tangir valleys. The third chapter is a description of the methods used during the course of inquiry, analysis and interpretation of data. In the fourth chapter a profile of the community has been developed from the field work as well as secondary literature. It establishes the historical linkage of the valleys with Central Asia and throws light on ethnic groups, their origin, languages, settlement pattern besides recording their material culture - dress patterns, consumer durables and architecture. The fifth chapter describes the specific and unique institutions of *wesh* - a set of social institutions, an economic organization embodying the traits of social as well as political institutions. The discussion brings out the fact that original inhabitants (*hol**sa*) of the area are socially organized in a specific *heti* - a cluster of households, independent of kinship and caste. The outsiders (*opra*) are excluded from the social organization of the area and they are heavily taxed for using the resources - land, forests, pastures and water of the area. The cooperation of *hol**sa* and *opra* generates transhumant economy and social and economic

institutions are regulated through *sigas* (village council, *jirga*) . The sixth chapter is an inventory of infrastructural growth in the area since its linkage with the KKH. In the seventh chapter the impact of infrastructure growth is analysed . The eighth chapter draws conclusions based on the findings of the study. The research is supplemented with a glossary, appendices and bibliography.

## 1.2 Significance

The study is a pioneering effort towards documenting the fast dying social institutions, processes and traditions of the area before they disappear altogether in the past. The discourse will thrash out the social institutions of a sociologically unexplored and virgin soil in the Northern valleys. The study provides a comprehensive analysis of the traditional, social, political and economic institutions of the area and explains the phenomenon of development and change in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. It will, hopefully, enhance our understanding of the contemporary Karakoram-Hindukush culture and provide an insight into the changes in the culture of Northern Areas of Pakistan.

## 1.3 Objectives

The major objective of the study is to document the traditional institutions - the wesh, the transhumant economy and *sigas* in Darel and Tangir valleys. The specific objectives of the study are:

- to record the impact of various extraneous variables particularly different development schemes that have been executed in the area since the

construction of Karakoram Highway (1978) on already established socio-economic practices of the area;

- to analyse the impact of development schemes in terms of new mode of adaptation particularly in the fields of agriculture.

#### 1.4 Scope of Study

The study is restricted to the social, political and economic institutions of the Darel and Tangir valleys, Northern Areas of Pakistan. It explores the nature and extent of change in these institutions and presents an account of the felt needs of the people. The study will hopefully contribute towards suggesting, planning and implementing development programmes and strategies in the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

## Chapter II

### Review of Literature

## Chapter 2

### Review of Literatur

For the present study no direct, relevant and empirical literature was available on life pattern in Darel and Tangir valleys -- Karakoram Hindukush region. After overviewing the secondary literature it became evident that no attempt was made on the subject prior to the present work. However, the forthcoming pages throw some indirect light on some parts of the study.

#### 2.1 Earliest references

Pre-historic rock carvings in the Karakoram Hindukush and Pamir region suggest presence of early man in the area. The carvings have preserved his life and culture. However, Dani gives his opinion that "Archeological evidence at present is not sufficient to give a complete account of pre-historic culture of man in this region. Whatever little has been found relates to a later period and shows a stage of hunting and food collecting in a manner that smacks of primitive life but not necessarily of great antiquity. The entire material for the time, is limited to rock art"<sup>1</sup>. Dani portrays them as "people of the rock art".<sup>2</sup> In fact pre-history provides foundation on which man builds his history. Pre-history does not preserve any names of persons or groups of people. Whereas it is the sum total of human beings' achievements and failure, who lived in the early period. As far as Northern Areas of Pakistan are concerned, they were the pioneers for

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<sup>1</sup> Dani, A.H. History of Northern Areas of Pakistan, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1989. p.89.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.110

exploiting the natural resources of the region and leaving behind historical tradition that had implications on man's early history. The people of the region had left behind tradition of cooperation, collectivism and joint action for hunting and food gathering and the same spirit is reflected in their social life. In the later stage they had surely developed notion of family life -- specification of roles of males, females and children. It is difficult to draw any conclusion regarding their political organization. However, they had close relationship with one another based on mutual interest - trade or otherwise. It is presumed that these people had been exchanging their commodities through barter and they had produced or discovered some objects of convenience -- minerals, honey and feathers. During the early history "several of Chinese pilgrims of the 3rd and 6th century must, from description of their route, have passed through this way."<sup>3</sup> A Buddhist monastery and a golden statue of Mitreya at Phuch -- in the close vicinity of Karakoram Highway must have been satisfying spiritual needs of Buddhist pilgrims and providing opportunities of wider interaction among the people of neighbouring territories as well as far off lands. "For more than a thousand years there has been some sort of a path down the Indus: but a terrifying one. Fa-Hien, a Chinese Buddhist made the long dangerous pilgrimage to the sacred Buddhist places of Kashmir and Peshawar valley about the fourth century."<sup>4</sup> Fa-Hein descended in to the little country of Toli which is identified with Darel. He has left behind an account on Darel valley and his account provides information

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<sup>3</sup> Stein, Sir Aurel, From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus, The Geographical Journal, vol. e, No.2, 1942, p. 49

<sup>4</sup> Jean, Fairley, The Lion River, Penguin Books Ltd., 1975, p.92.

about a tall wooden image of Maitreya. He describes that, "Having crossed (T'sung)-ling, we arrive at North India. On entering the borders there is a little country called To-li, where there is again a society of priests all belonging to the Little Vehicle. There was formerly an "Arhat" in this country who by magic power took up to the Tushita heaven a skillful carver of wood to observe the length and breadth (size), the colour and look of Maitreya Boddhisattra, that returning below he might carve wood and mark this image (that is, carve a wooden image of Boddhisattra). First and last he made three ascents for observation, and at last finished the figure. Its length is 80 feet, and its upturned foot 8 feet; on fast days it ever shines brightly. The kings of the countries around vie with each other in their religious offerings to it. Now, as of yore, it is in this country."<sup>5</sup>

Fa-Hien narrates difficulties faced during the way to the Indus River. He records that: "Keeping along (T'sung)-ling, they journeyed south-west for fifteen days.

The road was difficult and broken with steep crags and precipices in the way. the mountain side is simply a stone wall standing up 10,000 feet. Looking down, the sight is confused and on going forward there is no sure foothold. Below is a river called Sint-u-ho. In old days men bored through the rocks to make a way and spread out side-ladders, of which there are seven hundred (steps) in all to pass. Having passed the ladders, we proceeded by a hanging rope bridge and cross the river."<sup>6</sup> However, Fa-Hien does not enlighten his readers about his contemporary living conditions in Darel valley.

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<sup>5</sup> Samuel, Beal, Si-tu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Reprint, 1969 pp. xxix-xxx.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. xxix-xxx.

Chinese sources provide evidence that Buddhist pilgrims continued their visits of Darel in the later centuries. Hiuen T'sang visited the area in the beginning of 5th century and he significantly discussed about the people of the area besides recording that the Darel valley remained capital of Swat (Udyana) during his time. He describes that:

"The country of Po-lu-lo is about 4000 li in circuit; it stands in the midst of the great Snowy Mountains. It is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It produces wheat and pulse, gold and silver. Thanks to the quantity of gold the country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character; there is little humanity or justice with them, and as for politeness, such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance and wear clothes made of wool. their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different. There are about a hundred Sangharamas in the country, with something like a thousand priests, who show no zeal for learning, and are careless in their moral conduct."<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2 Medieval and Colonial Accounts

Middle era began with the introduction of Arab advance to Central Asia in the 8th century. This advance had far-reaching impact on the life patterns of the people of the area, whereas medieval history is not very well documented and original sources are limited. The Northern Areas of Pakistan are historically linked with Central Asia. However, the local situation changed with a Russian advance

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. xxix-xxx

across Central Asia and later on establishment of British power in the sub-continent and ultimately settlement of Northern frontiers in the 20th Century.

With the demarcation of Northern borders the centre of gravity changed altogether and centuries old linkage of the area with the Central Asia was cut off and the area was linked up with South Asia.

The Northern Areas of Pakistan are located in a region where three empires met in the past.<sup>8</sup> Leitner (1894) presented his account of Dardistan. The book throws some light on the life pattern of Dard besides highlighting the importance of Dardistan in Karakoram Hindukush and Pamir region. His writings are briefly reproduced and analysed in the forthcoming pages.

His book is an effort of a European scholar, eminent in varied and diversified fields. However, it basically relates to the ethnological interest. The author discusses for the first time the existence of an Aryan race in the remote valleys of Pamir, Hindu Kush and Kara Koram region. He presents some valuable data, supplemented by seven appendices describing the prevalence of a caste system among Dard tribes, division of Dard race and languages of the area. Besides giving the anthropological observation on Dard and Kafirs who remained in his service. He has documented legends, songs, customs, rites of passage. His contribution in various fields are still most reliable whereas society and culture of Darel and Tangir remain a missing link of his account of the region. Nevertheless, he describes relations of the ruling dynasties of the region and

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<sup>8</sup> Knight, E.F., Where Three Empires meet, Indus Publications, Karachi, 1978. (reprint)

records that the ruling dynasties of Pamir, Afghanistan, Badakhshan, Chitral, Yasin, Punyal, Gilgit, Nagur, Hunza and Sinkyang were thickly knit with each other by blood relations. We come across the facts that internal conflicts, intrigues, rivalries, mistrust and short-sightedness of the rulers of the area paved the way for the fall of the area into the hands of Sikhs and later transfer to the British Raj. He mentions about the inhabitants of Chilas and other valleys of Yaghistan including Darel and Tangir which were governed by a council of elders, to which even women were admitted and its nature was republican. He provides some data in understanding the geography and anthropology of the area by exploring routes followed by the people of the area for Trans-Asian interaction. Leitner's account helps in understanding the contemporary geopolitical complexity, rooted in the history and traditions of the region.

During the colonial period the area remained a point of major concern of the British administration of India which was continually apprehensive of the Russian presence over Pamir. The account informs that the British Government was arming the mountain states at their own expense against a common foe - Russia. Leitner suggested to the British Administration to regard the Yaghestan area as "neutral zone between the British and Russian sphere of influence or interference".<sup>9</sup>

In fact his account made the British policy makers of India apprehensive enough to send more expeditions in Karakorum Hindukush and Pamir, a region where

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 78

the river Oxus lies in the North and Indus in the South. The British administration successfully extended the Indian territory closer to oxus -- rising in snows of Pamir in the remote region where Afghanistan joins China and two rivers keep apart the territories of India and Asiatic Russia.<sup>10</sup> Leitner's account is contrary to his claim that he was deputed on a linguistic mission by the Punjab government to Kashmir and Chilas. He disguised himself as a Bukhara Maulvi and widely travelled across the borders and coined the terms Dard and Dardistan, for the land and the inhabitants of the land whereas he himself admits that "the name Dardistan was not claimed by any one of the races that I met."<sup>11</sup> It may be interesting to note that these terms are still alien to the people of that area.

Biddulph (1880) presented a pioneering work on the people of the area. The author had special assignments as Member of the Mission to Yarkand, Kashgar, Pamir and Wakhan in 1873-74 and again he remained on special duty at Gilgit from 1877-1881. He was one of those British colonial officers who made great contribution in the fields of geography and anthropology of Dardistan during the last decades of the 19th century. In addition the book provides valuable linguistic material. The author was invited by the Siyah-push (black-clad) Kafir, a community inhabiting Kafirstan -- Badakshan. However, the offer could not be materialised. "This loss was especially significant since Kafirstan was at that

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.

<sup>11</sup> Biddulph J. *Tribes of Hindukoosh*, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Government Printing, [Reprint Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977] 1880.

time, the prime geographical problem of Central Asia."<sup>12</sup> The author had best acquaintance with Gilgit and its neighbourhood -- Chilas, Punyal, Yasin, Ishkomen, Hunza, Nagir and Baltistan. Although he was not a trained scholar in the modern sense, however, he significantly contributed towards understanding castes, habits, customs and religious ceremonies of the people of the area. Nevertheless, he himself realises that his information was limited to Gilgit and its neighbouring territories. But the valleys of Yaghistan -- the land of rebels and independent people, in general and the Darel and Tangir Valleys in particular remained inaccessible territories to the author. He had no first-hand data in this regard.

Schomberg (1935)<sup>13</sup> provides a detailed account of the area that remained a part of former Gilgit Agency and that of Yaghestan, comprising the present day Northern Areas of Pakistan. The author describes the geography and history of the Agency and documents the peoples habits, customs, marriage ceremonies and folk lore - whereas, his account on Darel and Tangir Valleys is a limited record of their turbulent past and reflects the author's concern about their system of governance as well as the economic potential of the area.

The author highlights the strategic location and spells out the geopolitical and economic importance of the former Gilgit Agency, lying between the source of the Oxus in the North and the Indus in the South. Oxus rising from the snows of Pamir flows westward till it reaches the Aral Sea, whereas the Indus stemming

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Schomberg, R.C.F., Between the Oxus and Indus, London, 1935.

from Tibet, during the course of long and tortuous journey towards the Arabian Sea touches the boundaries of Darel and Tangir valleys.

The author records that the Tangir valley remained suzerain to the rulers of Yasin since the Gauhar Amans era. However, the Valleys remained famous for their repute of unruled territory. The author substantiates his claim by documenting briefly the account of series of changes leading to the establishment of a centralized state for the first time in the history of Darel and Tangir valleys. We come to know that during a political turmoil in Chitral in 1895 a prince of Khushwaqhte dynastic family, Pakhtun Wali fled from Yasin and got refuge in Tangir valley. Through intrigue and political wisdom he managed the control of the valley and proclaimed himself ruler (Raja) of the valley -- inhabiting 5000 persons and within a short span of time extended his rule to Darel and neighbouring valleys of Kohistan. Raja Pakhtun Wali ruled them with iron hand. However, his rule was short lived and the area reverted to an acephalous political organization in 1917 after the assassination of Raja in Tangir valley. The author critically reviews their political system and declares that "these non-Pathan republics have failed to evolve system of government. They have continued for generations wholly unable to govern themselves heedless of their chosen assemblies and depending solely on the knife or the rifle to settle their difficulties"<sup>14</sup>. He regards the area "where law and order are unknown".<sup>15</sup> The author explains that "these Kohistan states are governed by a Jirga or Assembly

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p.13

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.

but it is generally so large as to be unwieldy, no one obeys it, and there are no chiefs or leaders to enforce obedience".<sup>16</sup> He portrays them as "lands of Blood feuds and vendetta and a constant nuisance to the officials".<sup>17</sup>

The author claims that chiefly the inaccessibility of the area but partly the indifference of government provided the opportunity of surviving a republican Alsatia in the close vicinity of the British administered area.

He is critical of the British administration for adopting inadequate measures and suggests annexation and taking over of their territory. The author considers them responsible for robbery, theft of livestock and murders. He records that these two countries cause much trouble to the district of the Gilgit Agency".<sup>18</sup>

He endorses occupation of both the valleys by Yasin rulers. He records that the local chiefs of the surrounding valleys were continually allured by the income of the magnificent forests of these two valleys He claims that anyone who might control the forest revenue could earn substantial profit. In this regard, he says, "

the revenue from the forests would, far from involving extra expenditure, bring in a handsome profit to Government."<sup>19</sup> The author has never been in the valleys

and his information on the people of the area is based on hearsay. The author's criticism of local jirga system lacks objectivity and its relevance is judged in chapter 5 of the study.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p 13.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 248.

Sir Aural Stein, (1929)<sup>20</sup> a European scholar who is eminent in various fields of study, however, made his major contributions in identifying, exploring and preserving the archeological treasures of Indian Sub-continent as well as those of Central Asia. He records that in 1913 at the start of his third Central Asian journey he passed through those alpine valleys to the north of Indus. He mentions that nephew of the ruler guarded him while crossing Darel and Tangir valleys. It is astonishing that such an astute scholar has not recorded the society as well as the culture of the people of that area.

### 2.3 Post-Independence Literature

Fredrick Barth (1956)<sup>21</sup> provides valuable information on the geographical features as well as the accephalous political, social and economic organization of the people of the area. The report is an outcome of three weeks field work in July-August 1954. The data was collected by exploratory interviews with a few Kohistani travellers and some material was gathered from informed Pathans in Swat. The author feels proud being the first European to visit some valleys of the area. However, he had no access to the valleys of Darel and Tangir. The author enlightens us with the fact that the population of the area speaks a series of Dardic languages, i.e., old Indo-Aryan speaking people and Pashto speaking people besides Gujari (spoken by nomadic summer visitors and the dialect akin to Punjabi).

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<sup>20</sup> Stein, Sir Aurel, *On Alexander's track to Indus*, [Reprint, Karachi, 1978] p. 237

<sup>21</sup> Barth, Fredrik, *Indus and Swat Kohistan*, Oslo, 1956 p. 248

The population of the area is composed of independent elementary families of agriculturists, organized in segmentary lineages -- patrilineal and that of territorial contiguity. A patrilineal descent is abstractly recognized as a type of grouping -- khel = lineage and different lineages, and their segments having proper names, often that of their distinguishing apical ancestor. Whereas territorial contiguity is utilized in social organization through the constitution of administrative councils of all landowners. "Both of these principles are applied in segmentary fashion to produce hierarchy of groups, organizing maximum population of 2-10000 individuals. The people of the area are grouped together, constituting a village council -- jirga and through discussion reach agreements and plan action. Their village council functions as legislative forum, administrative body and a judicial institution.

Barth records that the people of the area have adopted a form of mixed economy -- an extreme developed vertical transhumance and little individual specialization in agriculture. Because according to him in the area, land potentially suitable for agriculture is limited. The agriculture depends on artificially terraced fields and combines with transhumant herding. The people of the area abandon their winter settlements - kot during the summer season to participate in cyclic vertical transhumance. They cultivate maize in the fields and continue their vertical movement utilizing at least different ecological belts, by camping on various altitudes from 3000 - 14000 ft. They harvest maize on their way back to their homes during the month of October-November.

Undoubtedly, the author had never been in the Darel and Tangir valleys and had little to comment on the area and the people. Whereas he has recorded acephalous political, social and economic organization of Indus Kohistan - directly attached with the valleys and Swat Kohistan having centuries old cultural links and significantly remained a part of acephalous society. His information has significant relevance with regard to the social institutions of Darel and Tangir valleys. However, its nature and extent has been judged and discussed in chapter 5 of the study.

Fredrik Barth, (1959)<sup>22</sup> presents a scholarly treatise about Pathans of Swat - North Western Frontier Province (NWFP), Pakistan. He prepared a descriptive analysis of the political system of Swat and based the analysis on his data collected during Feb. - Nov 1954 and presented the material in his thesis entitled "The political Organization of Swat". He tried to explore the base, nature and extent of political authority in centralized organization of Yaghestan - the land of independent and rebellious, leaving an acephalous organization.

Barth points out that chiefs and saints of holy descents were the symbols of political authority among Swat Pathans and expresses the opinion that Pakhtoon chiefs authority is based on wealth and conquest whereas the authority in case of saints stems from their mediatory role and law. According to him both are clearly political in that they organise and command their followings and in the final instance both maintain their authority by resorting to force. However, he

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<sup>22</sup> Barth, Fredrik, Political Leadership among Swat Pathans, London, Athlone Press, 1959.

comes up with a thesis that though to an outsider chiefs and saints may appear similar in many respects but each one has his own sphere of influence and well defined limits. He elaborates that Pakhtoon villagers expect, encourage and admire in their chiefs the qualities of animus, virility and hospitality, whereas moderation reasonableness and meekness in behaviour is expected from their saints. He explains that chiefs authority limits to certain localized Pakhtoon descent groups and they build their followings and become their leaders of homologous localized men groups in a segmentary acephalous system. They compete with their rival chiefs for power and their efforts create and increase tensions and the opponent chiefs generate violence and anarchy whereas the groups led by saints tend to cut across those of chiefs and their following is much more widely dispersed than that of chiefs. Barth views that moderate reasonable and pious saints intervene in most of the conflicting situations and their prime political role is that of mediator and they continually arrange compromises and reduce tension which the chiefs are unable to resolve themselves.

The book is a serious effort of the author for scholarly presenting the political system of Swat. However, he has overlooked the extent and significance of social change in the society after the establishment of central authority in 1925 and also the facts that existed before, the establishment of central authority are confused with facts available at the time, when the author collected the material for his thesis.

Barth carried out his work in Swat with the spirit of an anthropological exploration in a unique area -- Yaghestan. The valleys of Swat as well as Darel and Tangir remained part of a similar political entity - Yaghestan, though the later i.e., Darel and Tangir present political organisation framed in an acephalous society. This study will presumably help us in understanding the nature of political system as well as the role of the traditional leadership in the Darel and Tangir valleys.

Qamar (1973)<sup>23</sup>, a widely travelled journalist highlights the indescribable grandeur of the mighty Karakoram. The book gives graphic description of tourist spots in the region. However, he had never been in the valleys of Darel and Tangir. He had no knowledge of the land, the people and their life patterns. Nevertheless, the author has documented chronologically important explorations carried out in the region since 390 AD to 1947 besides providing information about important expeditions or missions sent to the region in general since 1950 to 1969. The book also provides the information about glaciers and passes in the Karakoram range. The book partially fulfills the needs of tourists. It provides information about the Northern Areas of Pakistan prior to the construction of Karakoram Highway. Later however, topography, political and social set up in the Northern Pakistan has undergone a process of change after the construction of KKH.

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<sup>23</sup> Qamar, A. Syed Khan, The Lure of Karakoram, Rawalpindi, Ferozesons, 1973.

Jettmar (1980)<sup>24</sup> presented his work in German language and the present work comprises his articles translated from German. The articles - "Bolor - A contribution to the Political and Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958. The work shows that the people of Darel Valley had made contributions toward Trans-Asian interaction during early as well as medieval period. The author presents the origin of the people and describes some salient features of their life pattern and records their social institutions.

The author describes that the Darel valley was connected with other Buddhist centers -- Udyana (Swat), Taxila as well as with the rest of the world through branch of the old silk road passing from the present day Northern Areas of Pakistan. The Darel valley contributed toward exchange of material and spiritual goods throughout the Central Asia in higher than anyone else in the centuries immediately preceding the conquest and exploration of Europeans.

The author records that the inhabitants of the area are organized in lineages of endogamous groups of *Shin*, *yeshkun*, *kamin* and *Dom*. The area is inhabited by outsiders *Gujar*, *Syed* and *Pathan*. The village council (*sigas*, *jirga*) is comprised by leading lineages -- Shin and yeshkun and the representation in sigas comes from senior lines of autocracy. The author throws some light on their economic institutions and explains that the inhabitants of the area earn their livelihood from mountain agriculture and transhumance. He claims that they are Turks and explains that "in one of his many works not used by Sir Aurel Stien has

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<sup>24</sup> Jettmar, K., Bolor and Dardistan, Lok Virsa, Islamabad, 1980.

quoted Biruni saying that the Dardas were called Bhattaravarayan, they are the Turks living nearest to Kashmir.<sup>25</sup> Jettmar's work is an authentic document on the subject matter.

Chohan<sup>26</sup> has made an attempt to analyse the Anglo-Russian relation in Central Asia since the Great Game. The author has used historical method and mainly banked on British sources. The author predominantly projects British view point for an advance and establishment of the Gilgit Agency for safeguarding the Northern borders of British India from imperialist Russia. The book provides an insight in to the politics of the frontiers and helps the scholars of Central Asian Studies. Nevertheless, the subject matter shows that oriental version of colonialism finds little room in his analysis. The author reconstructs from official documents that the Darel valley was not annexed by the British administration of India. However, it had suzerian link with the Gilgit Agency. The Governor of Punjab received on the behalf of Maharaja Jammu and Kashmir, an annual tribute of 4 tola gold dust paid by the Darel and deposited in the treasury at Gilgit. The Governor of Punjab also received a nominal tribute of salt from Darel for pasturage in his territory. The book provides no information on the life pattern -- social institutions of the area and an important aspect of the culture remains an unexplored domain for the readers.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, Jettmar p. 76

<sup>26</sup> Chohan, A.S. The Gilgit Agency 1877-1935, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors. n.d.

Dani<sup>27</sup> has constructed history and culture of the people inhabiting a vast area -- Karakoram, Hindukush and Himalayan belt and the book covers a period from the earliest time to December 1985. The book highlights distinctive ecological features of the region besides providing its political history. However, the author ignores the cultural aspect and gives a few glimpses of culture and the people who had evolved unique social institutions and culture that flourished accross the borders. Dani claims that people of the area have never been separated from rest of the world despite the fact that they had been surviving in mountainous terrain and lofty snow covered mountains. The author maintains that the area was connected with rest of the world through the old silk road.

According to him the people moved from north to south and the largest movement of the people was of Turks who called themselves Trakhas in the medieval period. Dani claims that they formed the royal houses of Gilgit, Nagar and Hunza and even Chitral. He places the tribal people of Gor, Goharabada , Chilas and down to Kohistan including Jalkot, Pattan and Kolai (NWFP).

The author has used primary sources as well as secondary sources. But he has basically relied on written material and given small room to oral history of the area. Since history and culture of Darel and Tangir Valleys has not been documented with first-hand findings, it appears that the author has not addressed the problem properly in case of these two valleys. The book leaves behind much scope of exploring the area in anthropological and sociological context.

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<sup>27</sup> Dani. Op. Cit.

# Chapter III

## Research Methodology

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## Chapter 3

### Research Methodology

In this chapter an attempt has been made to record the research procedure adopted for conducting the study. The undertaking of this study has involved the use of a combination of different methods and procedures, such as:

- Review of literature
  - General Survey
  - Case Study
  - In-depth interviews of key informants
  - Participant Observation
  - Focussed group discussion e.g., discussion with Government Officials and groups of community members for discussing the impact of development schemes
- 
- Household survey

#### 3.1 Review of Literature

The initial stage comprised getting acquainted both with the subject matter and the area which involved use of the existing literature and interviews with people who had knowledge about the area. Contact with the latter also provided an opportunity to identify individuals who in the subsequent phases of the study could provide more detailed and in-depth knowledge about the various aspects covered by the study. The background knowledge about the area helped the researcher to get an insight into the history and culture of Darel and Tangir

Valleys and preparing the research design. The review of literature also helped the researcher in identifying and tracing some organizational patterns of the area.

### 3.2 General Survey

The general survey covered the collection of information about the:

- location and access to the area
- ethnic composition and languages spoken in the area
- ecological zones of the area
- subsistence and economy
- professions
- settlement patterns
- dresses
- architecture
- development schemes
- exploring the community leadership and key informants

During the first week of the field work the researcher started taking informal open-ended interviews. The responses were not recorded in the presence of the interviewees. Sometimes more than one and even four to six respondents were interviewed together in prolonged sessions. The respondents narrated information about their past and present conditions and they corrected one another. This practice helped the researcher to check the reliability of the data. The data is presented in the 4th chapter of the study.

The data regarding the presence of government departments and their contribution to the area was collected with the help of government officials and by consulting official records and files. The cross examination was made by interviewing community leadership as well as common people of the area. The number development schemes has been enlisted since merger of the area with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in general terms. Whereas it focusses on linkage of the area with Karakoram Highway (KKH). The data is presented in chapter 6 of the study.

### 3.3 Case Study

In the present work a case study of the social institutions was undertaken. The case study of the social institutions of the valleys comprised their identification, tracing their origin in history and documenting their structural as well as functional aspects and impact of development on the social institutions -- wesh, transhumant economy and sigas (village council) as well as on the life patterns of the people of the area. For this matter in addition to library work a general survey of the area was undertaken during the initial phase of the study.

### 3.4 In-depth Interviews with Key Informants

The researcher selected some key informants of different age groups (Exhibit ) such as jeshtero, numberdar, councillor as well as common persons who had the knowledge of the traditional social institutions and patterns of life. They were informally interviewed. By using unstructured in-depth interviewing technique data was gathered about the traditional social institutions -- wesh, sigas and

transhumant economy, besides collection of data on resource management practices of the area. The data is presented in Chapter 5.

During second phase of the study most of the time key informants were interviewed at their residences during day time. Sometimes interview sessions prolonged for a couple of hours and researcher had an opportunity of staying with them and closely observing their social life. The information was recorded in notebooks and later presented in respective chapters.

In-depth interviewing provided valuable qualitative data about languages, ethnic groups and their roles in the society as well as their settlement patterns besides providing data about history of the area. The data is presented in chapters 4 and 5.

### 3.5 Participant Observation

In order to corroborate some of the information obtained as well as to further deepen the understanding about the roles of different ethnic groups participant observation method was used.

It remained a reliable tool of data collection during the entire course of the inquiry. In the present work data about dresses, consumer durables, architecture, agricultural technology and its use as well as role of different ethnic groups was documented by the application of this method. It paved a way for understanding the nature of economic relationship of holsa (original inhabitants) and opra (settler) in the area. The data has been supplemented with photographs and some slides have also been prepared for presentation.

### 3.6 Household Survey

A household survey was conducted to generate data about the:

- landholdings, its use and cropping pattern in the area
- agricultural technology
- relationship of landowners and tenants
- mode of payment and shares of tenants in agricultural produce
- community participation in transhumance during pre and post periods of linkage of the area with KKH
- Labour mobilization -- ashar and sajakum
- impact of development schemes on the lives of the people of the area.

The household survey was based on the interviews of heads of 120 households selected on the basis of multistaged stratified random sampling. The procedure is described as under.

#### 3.6.1 Sampling

In the first stage three clusters comprising administrative units were selected on the basis of the following factors:

- Survival of traditional institutions
- Proximity/remoteness
- Presence of administrative set up (judicial as well as civil institutions) and other line services

Jaglot, Samigal and Manikal including Junishal and Yashot were selected out of seven clusters (villages). Khamkot, Jaglot, Lurk falling in the territorial

jurisdiction of Tangir valley whereas Gayal, Phuch, Samigal and Manikal lie in Darel Valley.

Khamekot and Manikal including Yashot and Junishal are far off from the administrative set up. They therefore represent areas where the state influence can be said to be the minimal and survival of the traditional institutions more pronounced. But Khamekot was not included in sampling scheme because it is geographically linked with Kohistan and people of the village are more exposed to different cultures of NWFP, Kohistan and Swat than those of Manikal. One cluster from each valley -- Jaglot and Samigal including Darel Gumari were selected because both villages are at equal distance from Karakoram Highway (KKH) and they are administrative centers of Tangir and Darel valleys respectively. Presumably these variables have their impact on the social institutions as well as life patterns of the people of the area.

During the second phase of sampling, a sample was drawn from these clusters.

The following table illustrates the area and size of the sample.

Table 3.1

| No. | Place<br>(Cluster) | No. of Household | Size of sample |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1.  | Jaglot             | 365              | 50             |
| 2.  | Samigal            | 289              | 30             |
| 3   | Manikal            | 323              | 40             |

The 10% sample following the rule of proportionate representation yielded 125 whereas actually 120 respondents could be interviewed for the following reasons:

- One respondent left the interview incomplete due to extremely cold season
- Two of them had some pre-occupation
- One respondent started coughing and he had fever and cold
- One respondent was not free because he was busy to arrange fodder for his livestock

### 3.6.2 Construction of Interview Schedule

The qualitative data gathered from general survey, government officials, consultation of official records and in-depth interviews with key informants helped in construction of an interview schedule. The interview schedule was applied on three villages -- Jaglot, Samigal and Manikal and undertook the pre-test.

### 3.6.3 Pre-Test

In order to assess the effectiveness of the interview schedule, a pre-test was carried out with the prospective respondents. It enabled to remove discrepancies and eliminate irrelevancy, vague and overlapping questions. 15 respondents i.e., 5 respondents from each cluster were recorded for the pre-test of the interview schedule. The interview schedule was finalized in the light of the results of pre-testing. Some of the questions were made close-ended.

### 3.6.4 Data Collection

The actual data collection was made during Dec. 1995 - Jan 1996.

Initially it was planned to visit every household for personally administering the interview schedule but after applying it on a sizeable number of respondents at their residences the procedure for data collection was re-scheduled. Because extreme winter season during Dec. 1995 and Jan. 1996 made it difficult to visit each household. The data was collected from those heads of the household of the sample area -- Jaglot, Samigal and Manikal, who visited administrative and other government offices as well as bazaars of Darel and Tangir valleys. The data is presented in tabular form in chapters 4,5 and 7. later on presented in chapter 6.

### 3.6.5 Data Analysis

No statistical formula has been applied for analysing the data. Because in the present work no theoretical framework has been used for testing any hypothesis derived from a theory. However, the data has been illustrated in tables giving the statistical information about the area besides providing interpretation and analysis of the data. The data has been analysed in the light of knowledge background of review of literature, in-depth interviews with key informants and participant observation. The data is supplemented with diagrams.

### 3.7 Limitation of Study

Although an impact of various development schemes on social institutions as well as lives of the people has been documented and analysed but the researcher has not used any theoretical framework to test any theory based hypothesis. This may

be considered a limitation from the scientific point of view. However, the present effort is aimed more at exploring the lives of the people in the remote valleys than arriving at theory based conclusion and generalisations. This premise is justifiable because todate there has not been any scientific effort to study the societies existing in these valleys. As such the present study may be viewed as an exploratory effort which may lead to more elaborate and scientific studies contributing to body of knowledge comprising generalisations with in scientific theoretical framework.

# Chapter IV

## Community Profile

## Chapter 4

### Community Profile

#### 4. The Community

The Darel and Tangir Valleys, a "republican community" or "rebellious country"<sup>1</sup> during the colonial era formed a part of "Yaghestan"<sup>2</sup> -- the land of independent and wild people. During the colonial era with a few exceptions the area was never visited by the Government Officials as well as Western explorers. After independence the area was merged with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1951 and Jettmar<sup>3</sup> and Dani<sup>4</sup> presented some glimpses of the geography, sociology and history of the area whereas no serious attempt has been made to explore Darel and Tangir Valleys in sociological terms.

#### 4.1 Location and Access

The Darel and Tangir valleys are situated in the South-West of Gilgit, the administrative centre of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The valleys lie between 35° 35' - 36° N, 73° 30' - 73° 49' E respectively. The Indus flows in the South of the valleys and their Western border joins *Khandia* Valley of *Kohistan* district. In the North *Gupis* and *Punial* areas of *Ghizar* district are located. Both the valleys are situated in *Diامر* district -- Northern Areas of Pakistan lying between the sources of the Oxus in the North and the Indus in the South. The Northern areas of Pakistan are located in a strategically important mountainous

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<sup>1</sup> Biddulph, Op.cit. p. 4

<sup>2</sup> Leitner, Op. Cit. p. 78

<sup>3</sup> Jettmar, Op. Cit. p.

<sup>4</sup> Dani, Op.Cit. p.

region -- Karakorum, Hindukush and Pamirs unite and form an intricate network of glaciers, peaks and valleys surrounded by mountains and gorges, narrow at the bottom. "Here the three mountain ranges of Central Asia namely the North Western Himalaya, the Karakorum and the Hindukush rendezvous with each other. Out of these three, major part of Karakorum range lies within Pakistan and forms a link between the North Western Himalaya in the east and the Hindukush and Pamir in the west and north-west respectively.<sup>5</sup>

"The valleys cover an area of about 2019 sq. kms."<sup>6</sup> Two jeepable roads and two suspension bridges constructed for Darel and Tangir during 1965 and 1982 respectively linked the area to the Karakorum Highway. The administrative centres of Darel valley at Gumari and Tangir at Jaglot are approximately 18 km from the Karakorum Highway.

## 4.2 History

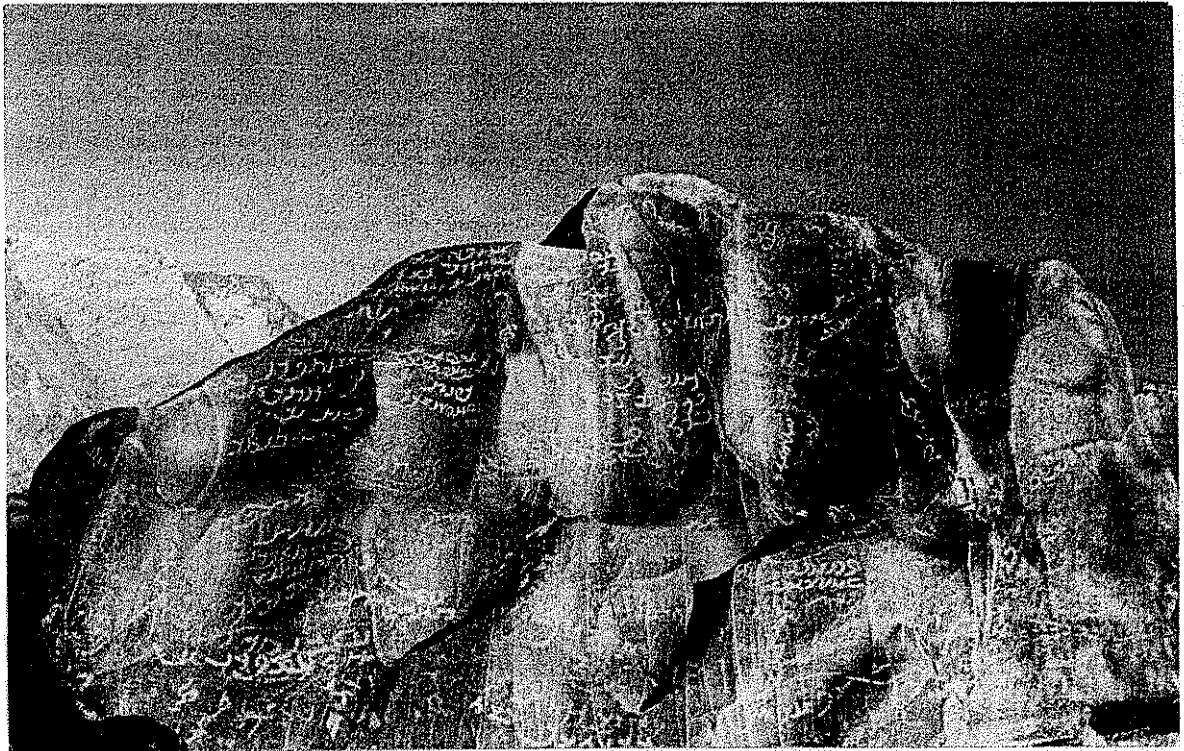
The history of the area is a rich source of information on tracing historical as well as cultural roots of the people of Northern Areas of Pakistan and in a larger perspective those of Central Asia. The history of the area is a chronological record of the socio-economic developments in the region.

The area was connected with some branches of old silk route through passes, interrupted by ecological hazards. Most of the passes were seasonally operational. But certain passes e.g., Baroghil Pass (3807 m) remained functional

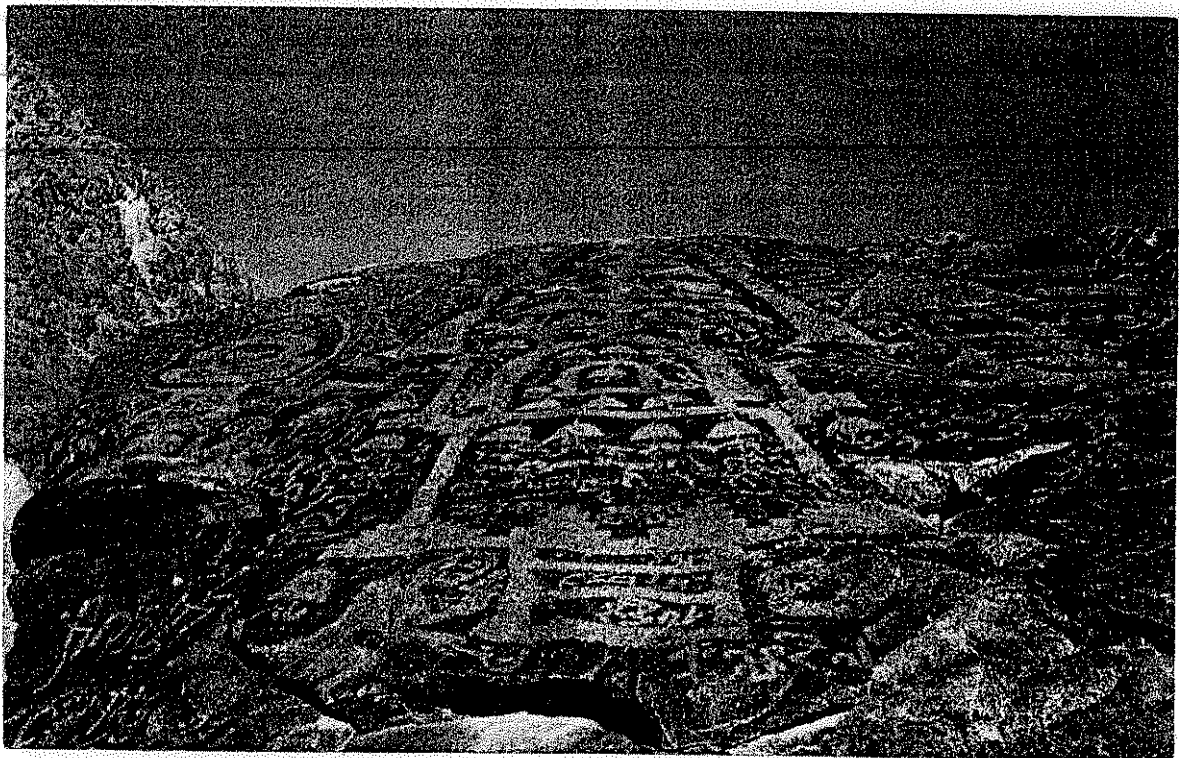
<sup>5</sup> Tahirkheli, R.A. Geology of Himalaya, Karakoram and Hindukush, University of Peshawar, 1982, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Khan Sirtaj, Ayena Diyamir (Mirror of Diyamir), Chilas, 1992, p. 131.

4.1 Sogdian rock inscriptions at Shatial bridge, located near the Karakoram Highway and in the close vicinity of Darel.



The inscription suggests developed relations of the people of Darel valley with Sogd (Samarkand). Sash (Tashkent) and Kash (Kasger).



4.2 A highly complex set of stupas and other figure are observed on the rock. The big stupa in the middle is characterised as a Central Asian type

throughout the year, despite its higher altitude.<sup>7</sup> The Darel valley was connected with Baroghil Pass, a route leading to Ishkishm (Tajikistan). At the same time deflecting towards a route to Darel Valley. The route from Darel valley to Kandia leads to Udayana (modern Swat) and Taxila".<sup>8</sup> Anyone coming from Samarkand across the Pamir or Chitral will certainly use the Darel Valley route." The area presumably remained an important route for Transasian interaction since the recorded history in the form of early man's rock carvings.

These rock carvings are scattered on both banks of Indus river and also found in Darel valley and other parts of Karakoram and Hindukush region. The rock carvings suggest a developed linkage of the area with Sogd (Samarkand), Sash (Tashkent) and Kash (Kashgar) modern Central Asia." Haruko goes further in this context "this route could have been the popularly used route connecting India and China and one through which Buddhism and Buddhist art could have been transmitted to the Far East."<sup>9</sup>

These carvings are visible on several boulders. The carvings of horsemen and other hunting scenes (Fig. 4.1) as well as the drawings of a highly complex set of stupas and other figures are observed on a flat rock (Fig. 4.2). Dani gives his opinion that the big stupa in the middle is characterized as a Central Asian type".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Stellrecht, I, Economic and Political Relations Between Northern Areas of Pakistan and Central Asia in 19th and 20th Centuries, Institute of Social Anthropology, Tubingen, Germany (in press) 1995.

<sup>8</sup> Dani, Op. Cit. p. 132

<sup>9</sup> Tsuchiya, H. Field Research along the Ancient Routes in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (1991-1995), Department of History, Sophia University, Tokyo, (In press) 1995.

<sup>10</sup> Discussions with Prof. Dani during the CAK symposium organized by the Culture Area Karakoram from 29 Sep-02 Oct. 1995.

Jettmar and Dani record that Chinese sources mention a valley of considerable importance i.e., Darel -- Ta-Li-Lo (Hiuen) and Toli or To-Leih (Fahein), 3rd to 6th century A.D. They were among those Buddhist pilgrims who passed through Darel on their way to Udyana (Swat). They mention a golden statue of Mahytria 100 feet high in Darel. Jettmar identifies the place at Phuch in the close vicinity of Karakoram Highway (KKH)<sup>11</sup>. However, inhabitants of the area have become Muslims. Biddulph claims that "Muhammadanism is of comparatively recent introduction, the people of Tangir are more fanatical than any of their neighbours, except those of Chilas, owing probably to their more intimate relations with Swat. They say of themselves that they have been Musalmans for six generations."<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Oral History

The people of the area claim presence of a university at Phuch. Whereas, history of settlement at Tangir, an offshoot of Darel valley, hardly goes back as far as 700 years.

During the field work the people of both the valleys had a common view that their ancestors originated from Darel and settled in Tangir. They claim the cause of over population in the area as well as abundance of thick forest compelled their ancestors to settle throughout the Tangir Valley. They worked hard to cultivate the lands and established their socioeconomic institutions in the virgin land of Tangir valley.

<sup>11</sup> Jettmar, Op. cit. p. 9

<sup>12</sup> Biddulph, Op.Cit., p.3

Two contrasting theories of settlement are prevailing in the area and are documented through recording of their oral traditions.

The people here claim that history is replete with the mention of rapid waves of invasions. The area was originally settled by *Kamin*, who were later conquered by *Yeshkun* and later on subjugated by another ethnic group *Shin*.

The other theory informs us that a mythical forefather had three sons and his descendants are *Shin*, *Yeshkun* and *Kamin* (tribes). Theoretically speaking three groups are equal in rank, whereas they recall tales of *Yeshkun* domination in the area. The local oral traditions of the area also tell how later they were subjugated by *Shin* and both these dominant people humiliated *Kamin*. They allowed *Dom* to settle in their territory and declared them the service sector (manual labour force) of the community. Later on these four tribes became the owners of the resources (land, water, forest and pastures) of the area.

~~Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin and Dom inhabited the area some centuries ago and they are organised as the original inhabitants of the area in ranks and are socially stratified in groups or lineages. Jettmar claims that these lineages are often called "khel" a term taken from the Pathans. Whereas the researcher found that the inhabitants of the Darel Valley were alien to this term. They identify themselves with "kaum". However, the term Khel is widely applied for the lineages of the Tangir Valley.~~

According to tradition, the population remained pagan till fairly recently (7-12) generations ago, when they were introduced to Islam by seven Shaheeds. All of

them were assassinated by the local population and were buried at Phuch and greatly respected by the people of the area. Local traditions provide contrasting information about the origin of the Muslim missionaries. Some informants claimed that they hailed from Swat whereas others believed that they belonged to Pakhali - Hazara, North West Frontier Province. The Muslim missionaries introduced Fiqh Hanfi (Islamic jurisprudence interpreted by Imam Abu Hanifa and followed by Sunni Muslims) in the area. The researcher observed that the people of the area are Sunni Muslims and strictly follow Islam. They take part in efforts of Tablighi Jama'at (An Islamic movement of missionaries, their centre is in Raiwind, Pakistan) and in recent years they are associating themselves with Sufi Mohammad's Shariat Movement (a militant movement in Islam organised by Sufi Mohammad in Swat, NWFP).

Social status, occupations and roles are attached with different classes/groups of the valleys as described comparatively in the following pattern.

Table 4.3

Social Stratification in Darel and Tangir valleys

| Name of Group | Land Ownership | Status  | Occupation           | Function/Role                                             |
|---------------|----------------|---------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Shin          | Most land      | highest | landlord/<br>farming | political guidance;<br>settlement of economic<br>disputes |
| Yeshkun       | Less than      | high    | farming              | assistance to shin                                        |

|       |                      |        |                          |                                                               |
|-------|----------------------|--------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|       | shin                 |        |                          |                                                               |
| Kamin | Less than<br>yeshkun | medium | farmer,<br>tenant        | messengers, collection of<br>kinds to arrange<br>celebrations |
| Dom   | least land           | low    | musician/<br>menial jobs | messengers, performing<br>circumcision etc.                   |

### 4.3 Ethnic Groups

The area is inhabited by the original ethnic groups -- *Shin*, *Yeshkun*, *Kamin* and *Dom*. They are regarded as *holsa*, where as composite group of *Sonival* (gold sifters), *Gujar* ( Pastoralists), *Pathan*, *Palochos*, *Kolocho* and *Kashiro* are the settlers. They have been migrating over centuries in to the area from neighbouring territories of Kohistan and Swat - North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan and Kashmir. The owners refer contemptuously to them as *opra*, meaning "outsider". They form a composite group of landless tenants and herders. The features of this composite group are highlighted in the forthcoming paragraphs.

#### 4.3.1 Shin

"The Shins call themselves "Shina Lok" and their proper home seems to be the north of Yaghestan, namely, the valleys on both sides of River Indus below Chilas.<sup>13</sup> This area also bears the name of Shinaki "land of

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 3

the Shins".<sup>14</sup> They bank on mountain agriculture and livestock for their livelihood.

#### 4.3.2 Yeshkun

Yeshkun are next to the Shin in the social structure and they earn their livelihood by participating in mountain agriculture and raising livestock.

#### 4.3.3 Kamin

"Kamin is a term widely used for a low caste of tenants and craftsmen in Punjab and the area lying between the River Kabul and River Swat".<sup>15</sup> They form the service sector of the community and apart from performing a number of menial jobs they are also responsible for organizing marriage parties, cooking and serving food at marriage ceremonies.

#### 4.3.4 Dom

Dom used to carry the message of Rites of Passage from place to place and collected grain, cooked and served the people. Dom were the former musicians of the area. The growth of Islamic movements in the area over the past decades resulted in the total ban on music by the *mullah* - religious scholars thus putting the Dom out of job. Their traditional instruments handed down from generation to generation were destroyed in religious fervour. Not permitted to play and deprived of their instruments the Dom took to the profession of weaving coarse woolen cloth. As a result most of the weavers (jola) in the area are Dom.

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<sup>14</sup> Jettmar, Op. Cit., p. 40

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 41

Traditionally they are responsible for circumcising of children. In view of their specialised skill, their population is not very high (possibly no more than 15-20 households) about 150-200 people in all.

#### 4.3.5 Owners

The "original inhabitants" (*holsa*), constituting about over three fourth of the total population own, control and manage all the natural resources collectively having specified shares according to the strength of their respective *heti*. A *heti* is a cluster of households, representing a large section of population, independent of kinship and caste, dividing the village population into certain sections and ensuring the economic interests of its members whereas the economic resources involve cultivation on a household basis of farmland the communal ownership of forest rangelands and alpine pastures.

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#### 4.3.6 Non-owners

They are a very composite group, comprising *Gujars*, *Sonivals*, *Kolochs*, *Pathans* and others. They are excluded from the village organization and are deprived of the right to claim ownership of basic economic resources.

However, they can earn their livelihood after paying certain taxes such as *kalang*, *mari*, *gharibnama*, *chahtilo* and *oprasin* to the owners of the resources. The deviants are sanctioned by imposing fines such as *gan*, *phutani* and *harjana*. A detailed description of these taxes and sanctions is given in 5th chapter.

#### 4.4 Occupations/Professions

The people of the area participate in various professions and generate an economy - transhumant in nature, by exchanging their services with commodities and the people in the area have evolved a traditional division of labour to run the transhumant economy - mountain agriculture combined with cattle raising. The traditional professionals -- *jola* (weavers), *akhar* (blacksmith), *daruzgar* (mason), *maruts* (gold sifters) and *kolal* (potters) assisted the land owners and most of them are landless tenants. They rely for their living on original inhabitants of the area. The following table throws some light on original status as well as the present professions of the landless tenants.

Table 4.4

#### Occupations, Professions of Landless Tenants

| Group          | Origin                                                                                                                                | Present Occupation                                                                                                |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Gujar</i>   | Present in the area since living memory and speaking a dialect of Punjabi (gujuri), they are equally fluent in Shina (local dialect). | Employed by the owners as livestock herders in the alpine pastures and as tenants and bonded labour.              |
| <i>Sonival</i> | Present in the area since living memory, exclusively Shina speakers                                                                   | Gold-washers on the banks of Indus and tributaries; employed as tenants and bonded labour; work as day labourers. |

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                   |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Palocho</i> | migrating over centuries<br>into the area from the left<br>bank of Indus Kohistan;<br>either originally Shina-<br>speaker or former Hindko-<br>speakers now fluent in<br>Shina | Tenants and herders, most of them<br>are living in the Tangir valley and<br>work as day labourers.                                |
| <i>Kolocho</i> | Migrating over centuries<br>into the area from the right<br>bank of Indus Kohistan;<br>originally Kohistani-<br>speakers now fluent in<br>Shina                                | Tenants and herders , most of them<br>are living in the Tangir valley; work<br>as day labourers.                                  |
| <i>Pathan</i>  | Migrating over decades<br>from Pashto-speaking areas<br>of NWFP; now fluent or<br>functional in Shina                                                                          | Shopkeepers, traders, day<br>labourers, agricultural workers                                                                      |
| <i>Kashiro</i> | Settled in 19th century from<br>Kashmir; originally<br>Kashmiri-speakers; now<br>fluent in Shina                                                                               | Tenants and bonded labourers on<br>the right bank valleys of Indus in<br>the area (especially Khanbri nala<br>and Tangir valley). |

#### 4.4.1 Gold sifters (sonival)

Their main settlement is neemae (in the vicinity of Khanbri nala) and Dudishal but they are also living in most of the villages of Tangir valley. They are divided into three Khels: *Phatanjibeh*, *Mirmoneh* and *Sherneh*. Sonival do not own the land on which their houses are built. They only possess the material structure of their houses. In the past they joined hands with Gujars and prepared land for cultivation and dug channels in Khanbri Nala. Other than this they traditionally extract alluvial gold from the Indus and its tributary streams by panning and washing.

In addition, they plied skin rafts across the Indus, which before the construction of bridges was the sole means of transport. The tribes of the valleys paid them regularly in grain. However, they also taxed Sonival for using the river bed to extract gold. Even today, the farmers of the village of Samigal extract taxes from Sonival in the form of kalang. For a sonival family working full-time the yield of gold is about one tola (about 11 grams) during about 2-3 months. The price-value of this is around 4, 000 rupees, which is not enough for subsistence.

Sonival work for gold in two seasons: Sept-November and Feb-March, leaving off work at the end of November when it becomes too cold for them to carry on. The turbulent waters of the Indus rise in June and recede in September by as much as 5 to 15 metres, and washing gold is not possible during this time. All men, women and children work together. The typical household has 8 to 10 members which include the father, mother, children (single and married) and

even brothers sisters and parents of the male head. Work starts at the farthest point from the village in flimsy Sonival tents that can be seen along the banks of the Indus. As the season progresses, they move closer to their village, ending up in the village at the height of winter. Very often, newly married couples get a separate tent. Normally, however, young men sleep outside the tent, the male head of household sleeps at the entrance to the tent; his wife sleeps next to him, then the smallest children and finally the young women at the extreme end of the tent. In other tents, young men sleep outside and young women sleep inside.

Pathan males who sought refuge after a feud in their own area migrated to the area and became integrated with the Sonival. Since the sonival are poor, there are no problems attached to marrying their women, as little or no bridewealth is demanded. These integrated Pathans later attracted a new wave of people who are traders, shopkeepers and forest contractors. Some of the "new wave" Pathans have also married into Sonival families.

As gold dust alone cannot sustain such a large family, very few Sonival today practice their traditional trade (less than one tenth). Most of the Sonivals are employed during the off-farm season as hired labour (kuli), with a daily wage of 60-70 rupees. This employment is not reliable and is available for about ten days a month. They then borrow money from the owners of agricultural land. The indebtedness grows and they eventually end up as bonded labourers working on the agricultural fields as third-share tenants. The vicious cycle of indebtedness grows with each season, because the terms of tenancy do not permit any saving.

Furthermore, the owners do not charge any cash interest on the loan telling the tenants that their work input is interest on the principal amount, which remains unaltered.

One idiosyncrasy of Sonival is their desire to be dressed well, even if there is not enough to eat. Thus it is not unusual to see Sonival below the poverty level dressed like a fairly well-to-do farmers, while living on with one meal a day.

#### 4.4.2 Gujar

They inhabited the area a few centuries ago. They prepared land for cultivation in Khanbri nala area and Yashut (Darel valley) and in most part of the Tangir valley. Gujar present a semi-nomadic life style. They graze their livestock in the pastures of Darel and Tangir valleys and pay Kalang for availing this facility. They are compensated with grain for preparing pottery for the owners. Other than this they work as potter (kolal) also.

Very few Gujar could be interviewed because of their introvert behaviour, shunning an outsider. Furthermore, articulate Gujar were very hard to find. This lack of articulation or awareness about the world prevented them from getting any decent work, unlike the enterprising Sonival or the Dom/Jola craftsmen.

Most Gujar herdsmen live at the higher reaches of main valleys. Living in an exceedingly cold environment, it is said that the upper level Gujar complain bitterly about the heat even at a height of 2,500m. They generally tend to be timid and apprehensive of outsiders, and are rarely seen along the banks of the Indus. Cretinism and goitre is more widespread among them than the other

population of the area. There was a general consensus among the persons interviewed that the Gujar were the poorest of the poor.

The Gujar are barely familiar with money and survive primarily as bonded labourers of the owners, as herdsmen or at the highest zones of cultivation.

The amount of kalang for Gujar was fixed as Rs. 2,5,10 and 2,5, 10 *chukho ghee*. The sonival were taxed for the payment of 1-5 tolo (11 grams -55 grams) gold dust. These rates are unchangeable in normal circumstances and the land prepared by them cannot be vacated normally.

#### 4.4.3 Blacksmith -- akhar

Mostly the akhar in these valleys were non-locals. Most of them speak *Khilcha* and *Pushto*. They used to make/repair and sharpen 'tural' an implement like axe, sickle and plough. They are still engaged in this activity. They are paid in the form of grain at the time of harvest. They are paid in the field. Every family gives them one *Haar* of wheat/maize for each person in the family. In case the family had sheep, one *sair* (kilo) of ghee is also given to them because in that case the akhar has to render more services. The compensation for sharpening the implements is nothing more than food in the morning and evening. Now-a-days, sometimes they are paid in cash. During summer the akhar engages a labourer for assistance in the pastures and gets '*modi*' as compensation.

#### 4.4.4 Weaver -- jola

Commonly Dom were weavers. They had no share in the crops at the time of harvesting but while weaving, for every yard of cloth were given 23 haars of

grain and food twice a day. Now-a-days the weavers are sometimes paid in cash.

#### 4.4.5 Carpenter -- druzgar

They were responsible for building and repairing the houses. the carpenter had no fixed share in the crops but the labour for job was fixed and grain was given in compensation. They are also among the underprivileged groups of the community.

There were no barbers in the community because mullah - religious leader are of the view that their presence in the area arouses temptation for fashion and promotes areligious and unethical activities among the youth.

#### 4.5 Languages

The people of the area speak series of languages and the forthcoming paragraph provides information regarding diversity of languages in the area.

Overwhelming majority of the area speak Shina, an Indo-Dardic language belonging to the Indo European family of languages. Other languages spoken in the area are *Gujuri*. A dialect of *Punjabi* spoken by high altitude herdsmen as variety of Dardic tongues grouped together as Kohistani. Finally, the proximity of the North West Frontier Province and the presence of Pathans ensures the existence of Pashto. *Urdu* is widely spoken and commonly understood at the administrative centres of the Darel and Tangir Valleys - Gumari and Jaglot.

## Ecological Zones of the Area

The population of the area inhabits a vertical domain that may be divided into three major zones:

Table 4.6

| zone | location                                                                                      | characteristics                                    |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| I    | At the base of the valley near the Indus River bed; usually with snow compact winter villages | 2 crops/year on terraces; virtually none in winter |
| II   | At the middle or higher reaches of valley; usually with dispersed settlements                 | 1 crop/year on terraces; snowfall in winter        |
| III  | High pastures, forest land; scattered summer shelters                                         | alpine pastures, no cultivation;                   |

## 4.6 Subsistence and Economy

### 4.6.1 Agriculture

Staple crops are maize and wheat; maize is by far the most important. Maize and wheat (2 crops/yr) fields are found in zone I of the very lowest part of the valleys not higher than about 1,000 meter asl, continuing upto 2,000 m asl. This zone is also used to plant small fields of fodder crops such as alfalfa and clover, for winter fodder. Leafy vegetables are also grown in this zone for human consumption.

At this height, double cropping recedes into Zone II, as the increasing cold limits cropping to 1 crop/year of mostly maize (of a short-statured local variety) and some wheat upto a height of about 3,000m asl. Fields are left fallow after one harvest and no attempt is made by the farmers to extract any short duration crops for fodder or human consumption. Very little fodder and some leafy vegetables are also grown in zone II.

Above this level (i.e., zone III) no crops are possible and only transhumance - periodic migration of the population of the area to their high mountain pastures as well as grazing of livestock is possible.

#### 4.6.2 Pasturage

Pasturage is a process, an economic activity carried out by community participation in mountain agriculture and the people of the area participate in vertical transhumance to generate an economy fulfilling their needs at subsistence level. Pasturage strengthens mountain agriculture and the people of the area annually utilize different pastures and graze their livestock during summer season. Their participation in vertical transhumance supplements their subsistence economy. A detailed discussion is given in the next chapter. Pasturage facilitates the people of the area in gathering mushrooms, herbs and honey from different altitudes.

#### 4.6.3 Gathering

The inhabitants of the area gather mushrooms (*shitilli*) from the mountains. Some varieties are edible and locally consumed by the people whereas other varieties are sold to the barahi (Pukhtoon traders in Darel) and occasionally some traders from Kohistan, Swat and down country even from Karachi come and buy these mushrooms.

In addition, the people of the area extract *salajit* (a local tar ascribed medicinal and aphrodisiac properties) from different altitudes and sell them in the bazars of Chilas, Gilgit and Swat. The people of the area collect some herbs during their stay at *nirel* (high pasture) and sell them in Chilas bazar or occasionally traders from down country come and buy valuable herbs. They collect honey from forest for local consumption and sale. Mountain agriculture is materialized by proper and planned use of livestock. The following discussion helps in understanding the local agriculture.

#### 4.6.4 Grazing of Livestock

The domesticated animals are buffalo, cow, goat, sheep, chicken and donkeys. Of these, the buffalo is the largest milk producer, but its presence is restricted to the lowest level of Zone I. The main milk producer is the cow, of which 1-6 are kept by most of the families. Cows are small and agile climbers, ecologically suited to their environment and yielding less milk than in plains (1-2 liters per day). Goats (and few sheep) are mainly kept for meat and wool, each household keeping from 24 up to a maximum herd of 100-200. Oxen, cows and occasionally other animals are used for ploughing and threshing. Chickens are less commonly kept and are the domain of women and children. The chickens are a tough and stringy local breed. Donkeys are used for transport where terrain permits.

During winter, feeding the livestock is compactly accommodated in stalls, which are simply roofed stone enclosures without mergers or feeding trays. They are

fed with all available fodder (e.g. maize stalks, wheat straw, collected fodder, grass and shrubs), which is simply dumped near the animals without cutting. Animal waste mixing in the stalls with fodder results in significant losses. At zone II, the goats are fed with the leaves of evergreen holm-oak (*banni*, a kind of *ilex* species).

Particularly during overcrowding in winter, the animals are vulnerable to a variety of diseases (foot-and-mouth among the large stock, pneumonia among small stocks). An outbreak of rinderpest in the early spring of 1994 resulted in massive deaths among cattle. Although the outbreak was controlled by an emergency vaccination campaign by the Livestock Department, efforts in the area were hampered by a proclamation (fatwa) made by the religious leaders of Darel valley that vaccination was "unnatural" because "death is natural".

In addition to community participation in mountain agriculture, pasturage, gathering and grazing livestock, people have legal rights of exploiting the forest of the area. Forestry generates revenue for satisfying their economic needs.

#### 4.6.5 Forestry

The autonomy of the local population in the valleys makes control of logging very difficult. Most of the logging in private forests of the Northern Areas occurs in the Darel and Tangir valleys. The population has retained their rights to forest at the creation of Pakistan in an agreement made in 1951. The lack of truckable roads had slowed down the process of deforestation and there was apprehension by the forest department that expansion of the road network would



4.7.1 (a) The boys are wearing coats and jackets from the Lunda Bazaar Chilas and Gilgit.



4.7.1 (b) A girl is demonstrating the dress style of a woman in the area.

require increased vigilance because of increased harvesting intensity. The forest money is the main substantial source of income of the people of the area and their living conditions have adversely suffered due to ban on logging by the government of Pakistan.

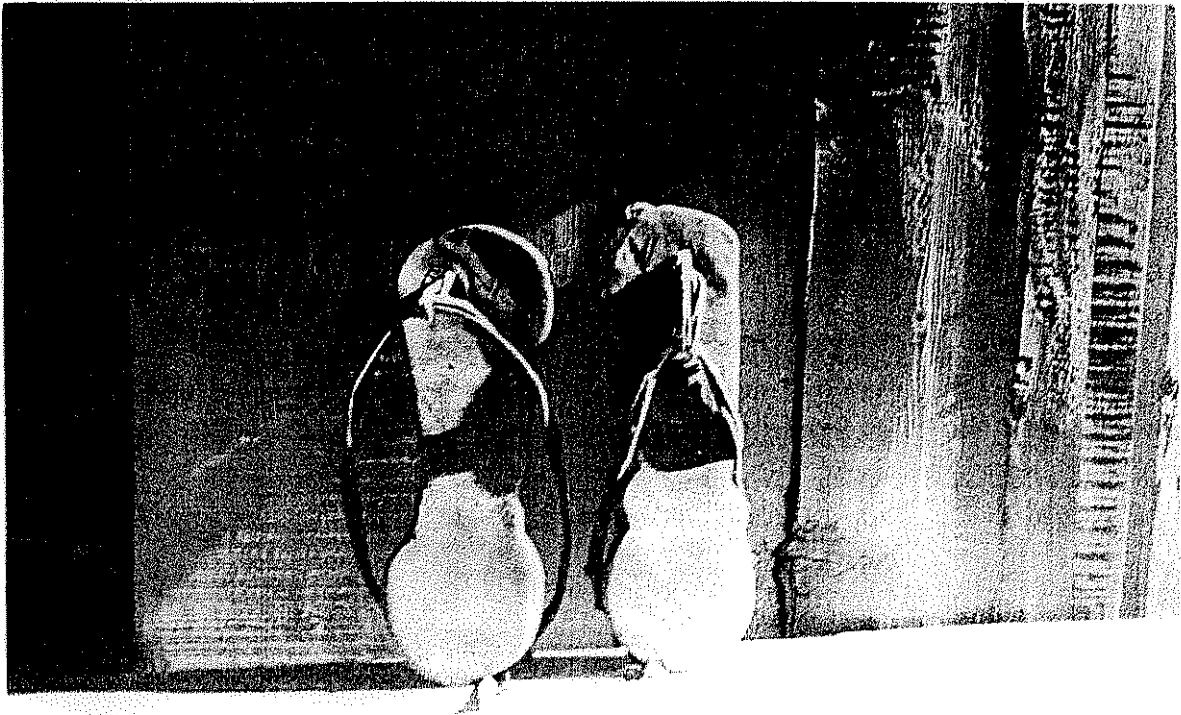
These people have shared their experiences and their centuries old experiences are reflected through their material culture.

## 4.7 Traditional Material Culture

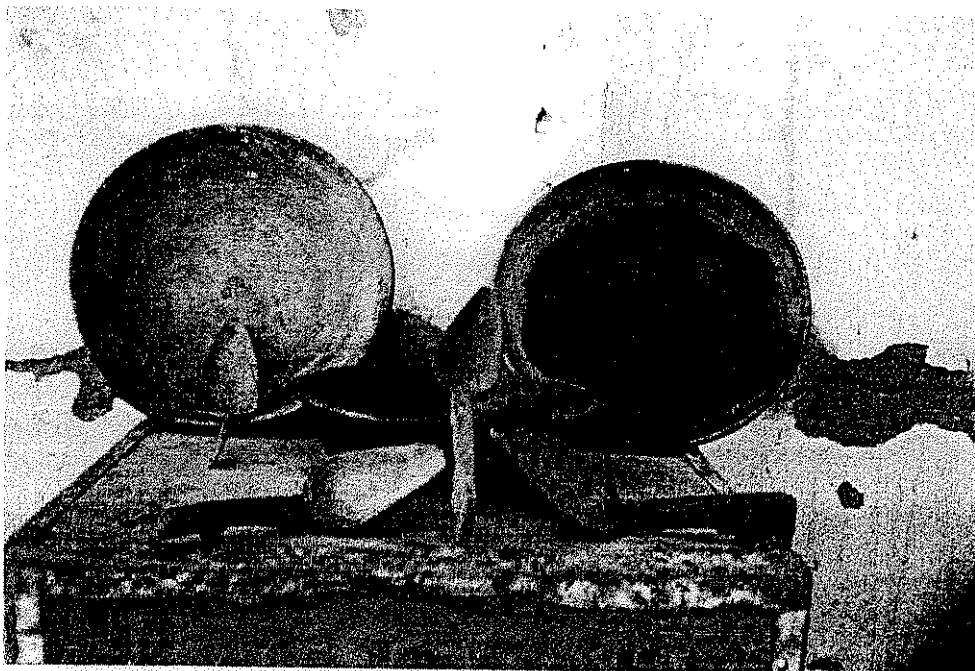
Dress, consumer-durables and architecture of the area people are brought under discussion for introducing the material culture of Darel and Tangir Valleys.

### 4.7.1 Dress

Males of the community wear kameez (shirt) and shalwar (baggy pants of heavy material) and clothes are usually dull coloured. They usually use brown coloured locally woven overcoat. Whereas well-to-do youth are fond of using white overcoat and white blanket purchased from Chilas bazar. The area people carry the blanket over their shoulders and sometimes wrap it around their body and arms to protect themselves from cold. An overwhelming majority of the area people use woolen cap and usually decorate their caps with leaves, flowers and sometimes beautiful feathers. Aged and Taliban (religious students) use turban and they frequently shave their heads and keep beard. Traditionally the inhabitants of the area used to carry locally made rifles as well as other weapons smuggled from Swat. After the Afghan War the area is flooded with sophisticated weapons, Klashnikovs etc.



4.7.2 (a) A traditional wooden shoe (Kathepa)



4.7.2 (b) Traditional wooden plates (pholi) and teaspoon (khapae)

Womenfolk of the area are dressed up in baggy pants and tunic, reaching to the knees. Sometimes breast and sleeves of the tunic are decorated with silver and shell sequins. They cover their head and shoulders with a large piece of cloth. Above puberty they cover themselves completely on approaching a man. Most of the area women are fond of using printed tunic whereas some of the women use black tunic.

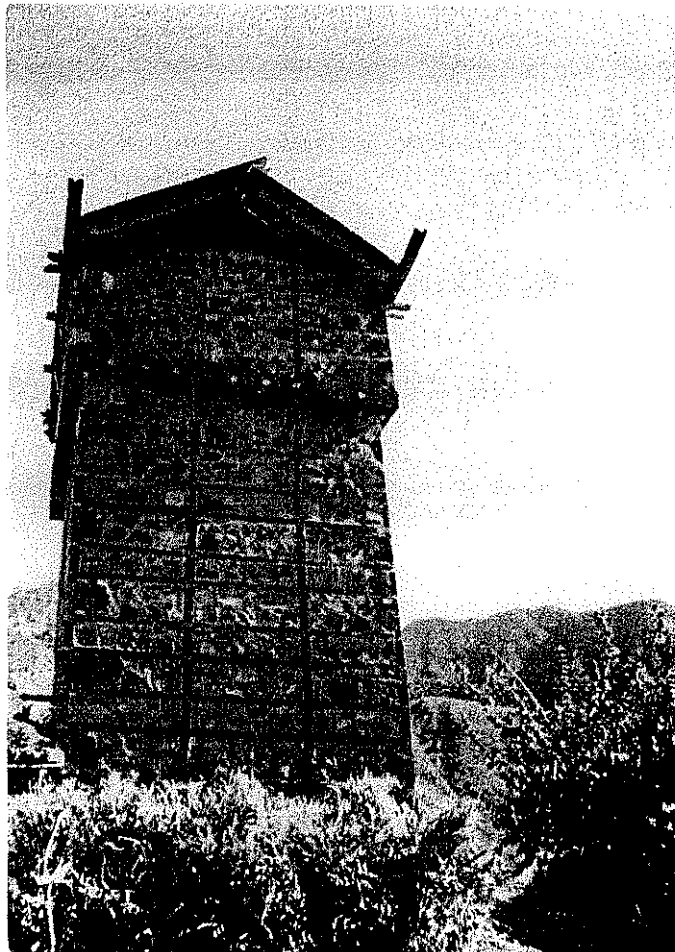
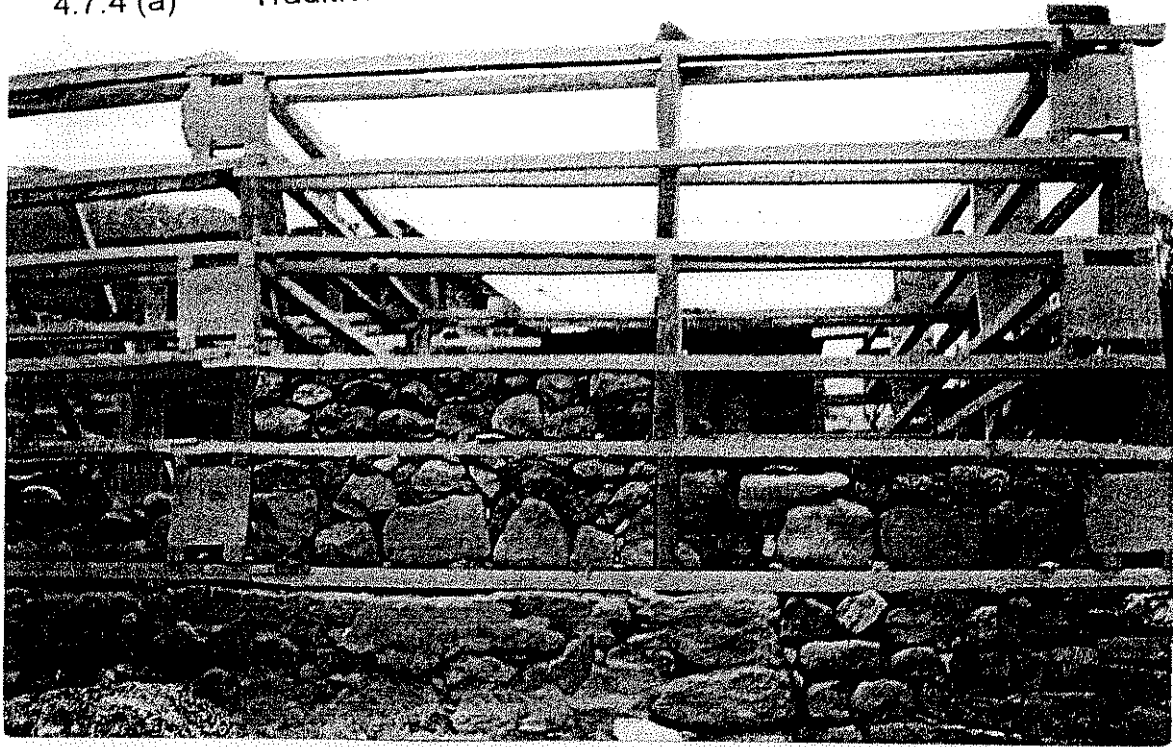
#### 4.7.2 Consumer-durables

The people of the area use wood abundantly for preparing consumer-durables. They use wood to make bowls, teaspoons (khapae), plates (pholi), tray (kothi) and hotpot (chari). They make wooden boxes (dees) to protect pest attacks on food grain. They use wood even for preparing their shoes - katepa and kathepa. Traditionally, they still use wooden shoes (katepa and kathae pa) and footwear made of badly cured goat skin, wrapped around the leg and foot held in place with leather thongs or rope. However, quite recently these traditional shoes are no more in vogue and have been replaced by leather and cheaper plastic material shoes.

#### 4.7.3 Settlement Pattern

Traditionally, the population lived together in a compact village (kot) built on mounds and hillocks surrounded by ravines and canyons which served as natural defense in case of invasion. "There are village fortresses which are so narrowly built that the roof practically forms one single platform with several huge crude towers. A strong place is always chosen. the walls of the houses

4.7.4 (a) Traditional Architecture in the Darel and Tangir valleys



4.7.4 (b) A traditional fortified house (ghari, shikari), A symbol of wealth, honour and an indicator that the owner of the house has developed an enmity with somebody.

form a continuous line of defense. Inside of all this anthill there are corridors and stairs between the houses."<sup>16</sup> With the decrease in traditional enmities, the villages are opening up into scattered settlements.

Each household is built around a family headed by an apical male decision maker, who may have two or more wives. There is evidence that polygamous households have been more violent because mutual killing between rival families have resulted in the reduction of men of marriageable age. Conversely monogamous households tend to be more peaceful.

#### 4.7.4 Architecture

The inhabitants of the area developed an architectural style compatible to a specific ecological zone. Jettmar refers traditional architecture to "Phuch pattern"<sup>17</sup>. In the traditional style architecture plenty of wood was used, which is a proven resistant construction material for earthquakes. In a major earthquake in 1981 all new style buildings collapsed, while the traditional style buildings remained in tact. However, after the earthquake in 1981 the people are reverting to the traditional architecture and the recent houses are a mix of traditional and new architecture. A specific feature of traditional style architecture was a separate residential area for the young bachelors of the village.

The following table highlights the salient features of the architectural and living style of Darel and Tangir Valleys.

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<sup>16</sup> Jettmar, Op. Cit., p. 51

<sup>17</sup> jettmar, Op. Cit., p. 50

Table 4.7.4 (1)

1. The houses are double-storeyed. The ground floor is used for living during winter season while in summer they used to live on the first floor.
2. The use of wood in all the floors is abundant.
3. Stones are used as a filler in the wooden frame
4. The top floor is made entirely of wood.
5. A 4x6 wooden plank (Bittoo) is used for sleeping
6. 'Dees' and 'Taoon' (wooden boxes or under ground structures for storing dry fruit and food grain) are kept for storing dry fruit.
7. Apart from Bittoo a bed made of leather pieces is also used.
8. "Chaghal" (stove) is kept in the middle of the room.
9. Onions, chillies and amloke are stored on the top floor. Sometimes meat of rashi (during December animals are slaughtered and meat is preserved for consumption till April next year) is also stored here.
10. Separate wooden structures - batili is installed for storing meat.
11. Animals are kept in common areas, strictly away from the residential area. Even dogs are not allowed in the residential area.
12. There are no guest rooms, guests are made to stay in the mosque.
13. Separate kitchen and bathrooms are not built.

Household survey in Samigal bala/payeen, Manikal bala/payeen and Jaglot showed the following results. (Their characteristics are discussed in the forthcoming pages.)

Table 4.7.4 (2)

Distribution of households according to their house type

| House                         | No of respondents | percentage |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| New type                      | 20                | 16.66      |
| Old type                      | 68                | 56.66      |
| Ghari type                    | 15                | 12.50      |
| combination of new<br>and old | 17                | 14.16      |
| total                         | 120               | 100.00     |

The data shows that a majority i.e. 56.16 % of the respondents were residing in the old type houses whereas 30.82 % of the respondents were residing either in new style houses or they had modified their traditional architecture and 12.50% of respondents had constructed a "ghari" in their residence. The construction of ghari is a symbol of "izzat" (honour), "daulat" (wealth) as well as indicates that the owner of the house has "dushmani" (enmity) with someone.

Table 4.7.4 (3)

Distribution of households according to the number of rooms

| Number of rooms | Number of respondents | percentage |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1-2             | 40                    | 43.33      |

|       |     |        |
|-------|-----|--------|
| 3-4   | 60  | 50.00  |
| 5-6   | 20  | 16.66  |
| Total | 120 | 100.00 |

The table shows that half of the respondents were residing in the houses consisting of 3-4 rooms. Whereas only 16.66% respondents houses had 5-6 rooms.

Table 4.7.4 (4)

#### Respondents ownership of their houses

| Owenreship   | f   | %      |
|--------------|-----|--------|
| Owned        | 112 | 93.34  |
| Governmental | -   |        |
| Rented       | -   |        |
| Other        | 8   | 6.66   |
| Total        | 120 | 100.00 |

The above data shows that an overwhelming majority i.e. 93.34% of respondents were residing in their own houses whereas 6.66% of respondents were in the catagory of other residential arrangement. It was observed that well-off people of the area provide residential facility to their tenants and seasonal labourers.

## Chapter V

# Social Institutions

## Chapter 5

### The Social Institutions

In this chapter the traditional institutions of the area have been recorded focussing on functional nature of the institutions.

The social institutions of the area present characteristics of "an acephalous society comprising socially and politically fragmented tribes, organized in segmentary lineages".<sup>1</sup> They exhibit an evolutionary development of the society constituting an advance over hunters at the underdeveloped end of the spectrum, undiversified and not well-defined. The social institutions are generalised, in this lies their primitiveness, lack an independent economic sector, also lack a separate social as well as political institution. "They are not so much different institutions as they are different functions of the same institution: different things a lineage for instance, may do. Holding an estate in land the lineage appears an economic entity; feuding, it is a political group; sacrificing to the ancestors, a ritual congregation."<sup>2</sup> The community evolved the specific institutions of Wesh sytem and transhumant economy.

#### 5. 1 The Political System -The Wesh

The wesh is a system of landownership and its salient feature is the periodic realloftment of land. As for the origin of the system among other Indo-European speaking people i.e., Baluchi, ancient Celtic and German tribes. The system is based on quite a simple principle. Barth explains that "a person does not own

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<sup>1</sup> . Barth, Op. Cit. p.79

<sup>2</sup> . Sahlins, Marshall M. Tribesmen, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc. 1984. p.15

particular fields, but a specific fraction of the common land of his lineage segment and at the end of each standard period he moves with his segment to a new locality allotted to it, where he again is allotted fields corresponding to his share of the total, to be utilized in fraction of the common land of his lineage segment in the next period. In the same way, not land but a specified share of the common land is passed on as inheritance from father to son."<sup>3</sup> However, in the area "wesh in its original form is seldom practised now, but it survived in Darel until the 1930s, and there are remnants of it."<sup>4</sup>

Jettmar, during his expeditions in 1955-1956 and 1958 succeeded in collecting some data regarding the rotational and periodic allotment of fields and pastures in some places twenty years ago, nevertheless, he documented that "The whole area belonging to a village was classed as fertile land, poor land and meadows and divided into subterritories."<sup>5</sup> According to Jettmar this practice ensured allotment of specific shares in all categories of land to a specific unit of the population (quarter). He further maintains that "after five to thirty years the distribution was renewed."<sup>6</sup> The quarter distributed the land to each family. As for the size of a share in some cases it depended upon the number of all members, in others upon the number of the males only. In the last analysis Jettmar gave his opinion that "At present the role of this rigid system is not too important."<sup>7</sup> The wesh manifested through heti, simultaneously represents

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<sup>3</sup>. Barth, Op. Cit. p. 31

<sup>4</sup>. Staley, Op. Cit. p. 236

<sup>5</sup>. Jettmar, Op. Cit. p.50

<sup>6</sup>. Ibid. pp. 50-51.

<sup>7</sup>. Ibid. p. 51.

characteristics of a social, economic and political institution. The membership in a certain heti is inherited by the original inhabitants (holsa) and no outsiders (opra) can enter it even if they have been living in the territory for times immemorable.

Though he slightly mistook the theme and did not lead us properly in following the Darel Pattern and did not give a holistic view of the system, ignoring its dynamic nature and unique characteristics.

After exploring the communal life in the valleys of Darel and Tangir in the opinion of the investigator one form of wesh still survives and its remnants are preserved in the traditions of the area. Analysis of the traditions of the area reveals that, in the area, presence and survival of the wesh in the area in the form of heti as a scheme of social institutions beyond caste and kinship structures.

The membership of a certain heti ensures the social, economic and political interests of the original inhabitants, collectively called holsa. In the area certain roles are assigned to every heti.

As we have already discussed a salient feature of the heti is that the membership of heti is restricted to the original inhabitants. A heti comprises patrilineal groups which are by all means endogamous and are grouped together into varied numbers e.g., 4-6 (Samigal Payeen and Samigal Bala respectively) and in some cases the number of the sectoral units goes upto 14 (Phuch--Darel), forming a village (kot).

The Darel pattern of Wesh enlightens us that it is well structured and every heti is sub-divided to large number of sub-sectors, tao -- a three-fold sub division of heti. The sub-division of heti into tao creates 18 tao in Samigal bala and 12 tao in Samigal Payeen. The Darel pattern further explains that there exists another unit of population, kothi, the smallest one. Every tao comprises 10 and 20 members in Samigal bala and Manikal bala respectively. The number of kothi in each village is proportional to the village population and varies from time to time. The original inhabitants are permanently placed in certain heti as well as tao and there is no scope of moving from heti as well as tao for some better option because the mebership is inherited. However, the membership of a kothi is temporary placement of a holsa and sometimes spouses as well as siblings are placed in different kothi. However, the specified number 10-20 in both the villages is ensured. The phenomenon can be explained by an example, suppose two families of Samigal bala have 14 and 6 members then 6 members from the former are transferred to the latter ensuring the specific number and ech kothi will be having 10 members.

Traditionally, the population of the area is distributed among seven villages - kot, out of which four - Gayal, Phuch, Samigal and Manikal are situated in Darel, whereas, the inhabitants of Tangir valley are settled in three villages - Lurk, Jaglot and Khami kot. The centuries old traditional system is still prevalent in both the valleys. The system clearly demonstrates that socially as well as politically fragmented tribes of an acephelous society are organized into the

sectors of population - heti. The following table illustrates the organization of the community on sectoral basis.

Table 5.1(1)  
Distribution of Heti in Darel and Tangir Valleys

| Valley | Settlement    | No. of heti | Name of heti                |
|--------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Tangir | Jaglot        | 04          | Misar Khamni + Jur rai      |
|        |               |             | Gijar Khanai + Guishai,     |
|        |               |             | Justur Nay + Mohammad Marai |
| Darel  | Gayal         | 14          | Shabtorai + Dodai           |
|        |               |             |                             |
|        | Phuch         | 10          | Lugshera, Tolai             |
|        |               |             | Haiberkai, Raeisai.         |
|        |               |             | Thoerai, Kotochkai          |
|        |               |             | Hunrai Chuani, Hunrai bori. |
|        |               |             | Jaborai, Thehkotai          |
|        | Samigal bala  | 06          | Padari, Kanai.              |
|        |               |             | Shganai, Najali.            |
|        |               |             | Bud Marai, Ladai.           |
|        | Samigal Payin | 04          | Shalai, Baikai              |
|        |               |             | Nalai, Shahwalai            |
|        | Manikal Payin | 04          | Jaci, Dubli.                |
|        |               |             | Gui, Dali.                  |
|        | Manikal bala  | 06          | Gaibi, Trajulai.            |

Tretochi, Nai.

Sukrai, Dai.

The Darel pattern of organizing the community introduces us to its structural aspect -- heti, tao and kothi. The functional nature of the design can be understood through a discussion of the roles and functions assigned to heti, tao and as kothi. A deep exploration of heti discloses that in a sectoral design of the community. A heti assures the community to fulfill the roles assigned to its members.

The different sectors of population are grouped together forming certain alliances, territorial as well as common ownership. They work and cooperate with each other.

Table 5.1(2)

Role specification in Samigal to different Heti

| Name of heti | membership       | roles               | significance                                                                |
|--------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pdari        | Shin             | Initiator of sowing | It is believed that start of sowing by Padari will increase yield           |
|              | Dom= 1 household | wheat               |                                                                             |
| Knay         | yeshkun          | Initiator of sowing | This satisfied the belief that start of sowing by Kanay will increase yield |
|              |                  | wheat               |                                                                             |
| Najali       | Shin             | Initiator of sowing | It is believed that start of                                                |

|          |           |                    |                             |
|----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
|          | Dom       | maize              | sowing by Najalai will      |
|          | Kamin     |                    | increase yield              |
| Budmarai | Shin      | Announcers of      | The tradition provides an   |
|          | Kamin= 2  | date for hunting   | opportunity for training in |
|          | household | deer, markhor      | use of weapons and          |
|          |           |                    | organizing militant groups. |
| Ladai    | Kamin     | Guidance in tribal | This tradition provides     |
|          |           | warfare.           | opportunity to train for    |
|          |           |                    | fighting warfare in the     |
|          |           |                    | traditional manner.         |
| Shaganai | Yeshkun   | To lead cutting    | This tradition ensures the  |
|          |           | evergreen holm-    | planned use of resources,   |
|          |           | oak (bani).        | avoiding the ecological     |
|          |           |                    | imbalance.                  |

The discourse informs us that the people of the area had some beliefs and rituals related with work. The community assigned some specific roles to the headman for initiation of work - sowing/harvesting, sports/games and warfare. The account also gives some glimpses of traditional authority figures - jeshtero (headman).

The functional aspect of the sectoral design discloses that uniformity in the dynamics of heti was not accidental. It had some specific roles in the larger



5.2 A traditional assembly - village council (jirga, sigas)



5.2 (b) The members of sigas are discussing the matters of forests

social system of the area. Heti ensures the economic interests of its members in the resources (forest, pasture, land and water) besides promoting goodwill among its members. Virtually, heti members equally share the benefits of resources. In case of a claim for a better share as well as any disadvantage, the aggrieved parties approach their village council -- sigas.

## 5.2 Village Council -- sigas

Sigas is a traditional administrative body, an executive agency, and a legislative forum of the area. A sigas is a political dimension of wesh in the area. The political context and a prominent feature of the wesh system is the principle of parity which they follow instead of the proportional representation.

In the past the members of sigas were chosen from a senior line of autocracy senior members of shin or yeshkun lineage. Kamin and Dom are deprived of leadership and sigas is represented by three members jeshtero hetibaro, headman, one from each heti e.g. sigas in Samigal bala comprises 18 members, whereas the members (hetibaro) represent their respective heti in a sigas.

The sigas used to meet at 'biyak' (central place of a village). Each heti member sat on a specified wooden plank, whereas Dom were made to sit on the ground till recent past they were not allowed to wear a white cap (a symbol of honour) while karamin got some respect and recognition because of their large number. Dom used to beat damama (drum signalling the meeting). The community members gathered and Jeshtero initiated the proceedings, followed by free and open discussion, decision and plan of action. In case of dispute jeshtero

obtained waak (commitment that the disputing parties would abide by the decision). The decision was implemented by social pressure, permanent criticism and ridiculing.

### 5.2.1 Traditional Authority

The people of the area evolved a traditional authority pattern to lead them in their communal life. The authority was delegated to a jeshtero -baro (headman) a chosen representative of a certain heti. The members of each heti selected three jeshtero-baro, representing their respective tao, and a baro in a certain tao, appointed kalik (traditional revenue collector) and zaitu (traditional police), accountable to him. A jeshtero transferred some power to them for receiving taxes from opra, imposing sanctions - gen, phutani and harjana - for violating traditions of the area, irrespective of holsa and opra and constantly guarding the territory as well as the resources - land, forest, pastures and water.

Traditionally, the inhabitants of the area are apprehensive of outsiders -- opra, they do not allow intervention in their territorial affairs as well as in the spheres of their communal life. For a constant vigilance of their territory every holsa with a good health and fighting skill during the prime of his youth, works as zaitu for one year and assists kalik, an experienced, sharp, quick and argumentative person having knowledge of counting, with good memory performing the duties of traditional revenue collector. The traditional policemen and revenue collectors constantly patrol their territory dividing it into certain sectors and

generate revenue for themselves by imposing certain sanctions irrespective of holsa as well as opra for violating the traditions of the area.

Some parts of the fine goes to jeshtero serving as a trustee of deposits and spending on communal tasks e.g. repairing of some path, mosque or bearing the expenses of entertaining community guests. The traditional revenue collectors are empowered to collect a series of taxes - *mari*, *gharibnama*, *chahtilo* and *opraisin* from an opra for using the territory as well as the resources of the community.

Table 5.2.1

### Functional Nature of Sigas

| Official | Roles                                                                                                                | Reward                                                                                                                | Powers                                                                                                                                                         | Previous status                                                                                                   |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jeshtero | -Represent-<br>tation in sigas.<br>-safeguarding<br>interests of het-<br>Ensuring<br>implementation<br>of decisions. | -No reward in<br>cash or kind<br>but enjoys the<br>honour and<br>pride of<br>representin g<br>the het-<br>politically | - appoint kalik<br>reward and<br>punish the<br>sanctionar ies.<br>Arrest and beat<br>the apprehen<br>ded persons.<br>impose gen<br>and confiscate<br>property. | honour<br>exercised the<br>powers in<br>political and<br>economic<br>disputes.<br>enjoyed power<br>and authority. |
| Kalik    | -information                                                                                                         | -No fixed                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                   |

|       |                  |                |                 |           |
|-------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|
|       | -reporting       | salary.        |                 |           |
|       | -vigilance       | compensat ed   |                 |           |
|       | -protection of   | from revenue   |                 |           |
|       | resources        | collection and |                 |           |
|       | -watching        | penalties      |                 |           |
|       | common           |                |                 |           |
|       | interest         |                |                 |           |
| Zaitu | - Information    | No fixed       | -Decision of    | -Enjoyed  |
|       | reporting        | salary.        | ownership of    | power and |
|       | vigilance of the | Compensated    | share in forest | authority |
|       | area.            | from the       | pastures        | control   |
|       | - watching the   | revenue        |                 |           |
|       | common           | collection and |                 |           |
|       | interests        | collection of  |                 |           |
|       | Revenue          | penalties      |                 |           |
|       | collection       |                |                 |           |
|       | record keeping   |                |                 |           |
|       | (birth-death)    |                |                 |           |
|       | 'gaj'            |                |                 |           |
|       | kaloni'(populati |                |                 |           |
|       | on census)       |                |                 |           |
|       | distribution of  |                |                 |           |

members in

heti

The Sectoral design provides assurance to fulfill the economic needs of all the segments of the society and the people of the area have evolved a specific economic institution.

### 5.3 The Economy

The economy of the area is transhumant in its nature. The transhumant economy is a successful combination of transhumance -- an annual cycle of community migration from winter settlements (valley floor - kot) to high pastures - nirell and grazing of livestock as well as mountain agriculture - cultivation on terraced walls. The community consumes different ecological riches of the area and fulfills the needs of all segments -- holsa (owners) and opra (non-owners).

Traditionally, the economy of the area operated in the familial mode of production -- production for provisioning. It satisfied the needs of households at subsistence level. Their mode of production was not capable of generating monetary wealth, economic relations among the people of the area developed without cash transactions and different segments of the society exchanged their services with commodities relying primarily on the exploitation of local resources by using an indigenous technology charged with collective human labour force. The economic process relied

on collectivism and checked the individualistic trends of the society by imposing sanctions *gen*, *phutani* and *harjana*. A detailed description of the sanctions is made in the forthcoming pages. A general lack of money made accumulation of monetary wealth nearly impossible and therefore, class differentiation was much less pronounced. However, a marked difference in the status and roles in the society was determined by position as a *holisa* and *opra*. The series of taxes were imposed on *opra*. Nevertheless, the economic activities were carried out by evolving a specific division of labour mobilized through *boorotai* and *sajakum*. A detailed discussion on the labour mobilization phenomenon is made in the forthcoming pages.

### 5.3.1 Transhumance

As pointed out earlier that transhumance is a process, an annual cycle of migration practiced through community participation in mountain agriculture combined with grazing livestock. The transhumant cycle generates the economy functioning in familial mode of production -- more precisely called production for provisioning, fulfilling the needs of the community at subsistence level. In this regard it resembles the Indus Kohistan having a longstanding of transhumant economy.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> . Schmidt, L.L & Zarin, L.M. Discussion with Hariq and Transhumance in Indus Kohistan, Islamabad, National Institute of Folk heritage (Lok Virsa). p.51

Table 5.3.1  
Participation of Women & Children in  
Transhumance Before the Construction of KKH

| Participation | f   | %     |
|---------------|-----|-------|
| Often         | 50  | 41.66 |
| Never         | 52  | 45.00 |
| Occasionally  | 16  | 13.34 |
| Total         | 120 | 100.0 |

The table shows that 45% of respondent spouses and children never went to nirel before the construction of KKH whereas 41% often took part in the process and 13.34% used to visit nirel occasionally.

### 5.3.2 The Process

In the past the transhumant cycle took five months from May-June to October-November, to cover the five different upward settlements, known as *nilgul*, *morailey*, *barigah*, *kothegah* and *shaheed dath*. The settlements are regarded as nirel (high pastures). In nirel, temporary wooden huts known as *dukari* were constructed and they were packed in winter season because of the heavy snowfall. In nirel the farmers were assisted by payalo (herdmen). They looked after the grazing livestock. They were hired for summer season and their wages were determined by tradition instead of negotiations.

The cycle started by cultivating *makari* (maize) in *mekalin* (double cropping area) and afterwards cultivation in the fields of *gumend* (single crop area).

Transhumant cycle completed by harvesting *makari* on their way back to winter settlements.

The community developed a non-cash economy rooted in exchange of labour mobilized through *boorotai* and *sajakum*. The system ensured the collective needs to be fulfilled through cooperation, interdependence and collective utilization of local resources. In a comparative description of *boorotai* and *sajakum*, the following table gives salient feature of transhumant economy.

Table 5.3.2

### Forms of Labour Mobilization

| Form of labour mobilization | Area of operation          | Beneficiary | Method                                                                                                            | Functional Utility                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| boorotai (ashar)            | -sowing<br>harves-<br>ting | individuals | -voluntary<br>participation of<br>community<br>members in<br>sowing and<br>harvesting of<br>crops.<br>-Reciprocal | -cooperation<br>-interdependenc<br>-Utilization of local<br>resources (manpower,<br>technology)<br>-Community organization<br>and development.<br>-Replaces the present |

|         |            |           |                  |                            |
|---------|------------|-----------|------------------|----------------------------|
|         |            |           | contribution by  | day methods of harvest,    |
|         |            |           | each             | loans and need for         |
|         |            |           | individual.      | saving in the form of      |
|         |            |           | -food is         | cash.                      |
|         |            |           | provided by      |                            |
|         |            |           | the beneficiary  |                            |
|         |            |           | individual       |                            |
|         |            |           | twice a day to   |                            |
|         |            |           | the              |                            |
|         |            |           | participants.    |                            |
| sajakum | -constru-  | community | -voluntary       | -cooperation               |
|         | ction      |           | participation of | -interdependence           |
|         | -repair of |           | community        | -community organization    |
|         | channels,  |           | members          | and development            |
|         | roads and  |           |                  | -fulfillment of felt needs |
|         | bridges    |           |                  | -An alternate method of    |
|         |            |           |                  | social investment for      |
|         |            |           |                  | economic development       |
|         |            |           |                  | instead of taxation and    |
|         |            |           |                  | enlargement of the role    |
|         |            |           |                  | of state.                  |

Varied categories of skilled labour force, artisans and craftsmen, in addition to the unskilled labourers, used to assist the community for disposal of the resources. The following table illustrates the social groups, their status and role in traditional economy.

Table 5.3.3

Labour Force

| Social group          | Status    | Role                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| akhar<br>(blacksmith) | skilled   | To prepare, repair and sharpen agricultural implements - phal, poro, nole, gutoo, shatal, agi and kashi |
| kolal (potter)        | skilled   | To prepare pottery for daily use and storage of grain and dairy products - chatti and hoor.             |
| daruzgar carpenter)   | skilled   | To prepare and repair houses.                                                                           |
| payalo<br>(herdsman)  | unskilled | To look after the grazing livestock in nirel (pasture).                                                 |
| sonival (goldsifter)  | skilled   | To sieve gold from the Indus River and its tributaries.                                                 |
| jola (weaver)         | skilled   | To prepare woolen coat (shooka) and khori(cap)                                                          |
| Gujar (pastoralist)   | unskilled | To assist in grazing livestock.                                                                         |
| vaikalo               | unskilled | To maintain the water channel and time keeping for water distribution.                                  |

### 5.3.3 Division of Labour

As it has already been discussed that the inhabitants of the area developed a non-cash labour mobilisation phenomenon for disposal of the resources. A familial mode of production for provisioning – functioning in the sphere of household-economy, prevailed in the society. The transhumant economy was managed by defining the factors of owners, nonowners and special craft skills. The economic relations among the individuals and groups were determined by tradition and not were subject to negotiation.

The services of labour force were utilized in a traditional land tenure practices and resources of the community were consumed, fulfilling the needs of owners as well as tenants.

### 5.3.4 Land ownership

One of the major challenges faced during the study was the quantification of landholdings in the area. The uneven nature of the terraced cultivation in most of the area, resulting in very small uneven terraces, which are not measured locally in terms of area. The nearest approach to an area quantification is for the exchange of land between farmers: the perimeter of a field is measured by yuiti, a length of rope, which then taken to the field to be exchanged and laid out to the satisfaction of both parties. Another measurement of land was given by informant as the area ploughed by a pair of oxen from sunrise to sunset. The measurement proved impractical, because the length of day varied over the year

and the fields were so small that the oxen had to be constantly shifted from terrace to terrace.

For the sale of agricultural land, not the area but the production of maize is the criterion. The maize is measured out in a small wooden measure called a *haro*. 20 *haro* make a *sin*, which is the standard measurement and unit for quantifying the production of a field. However, there is a pronounced variation in the actual size of the *sin*, which tends to vary from valley to valley:

Table 5.3.4

Local Grain Measures in the Area

| Valley | No of sins in 40 kilos of maize |
|--------|---------------------------------|
| Darel  | 2.5                             |
| Tangir | 3                               |

There were some indications of correlation between average valley terrace size and volume of the *sin* measure in that valley, but field investigations in this regard proved inconclusive. 40 kilogrammes of grain is the standard measure for transaction used throughout Pakistan.

It was therefore decided to use the indigenous system of classification for groups of different landholding, going by number of *sin* instead of square land measure, as is prevalent in Pakistan.

Table 5.3.5

Distribution of Maize Production Per Household in the Area

| Land holding |           | Respondents | %      |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| L.M          |           | f = 120     |        |
| Sin          | 1 - 100   | 60          | 50.00  |
|              | 101 - 200 | 44          | 37.00  |
|              | 201 - 300 | 11          | 09.16  |
|              | 301 and   | 5           | 04.16  |
|              | above     |             |        |
| Total        |           | 120         | 100.00 |

Intensive field investigation of landholdings revealed that the very few biggest landholders of the areas have holdings exceeding 10 ha. Collating data from various farmers and officials, the study arrived at an average reference holding figure of 0.4 ha per household.

In the absence of land measurement, the calculation of yield proved to be a challenge. Most farmers gave 100 sin maize and wheat as a subsistence annual holding, though this proved difficult as a yield basis keeping in view the variance of grain type and of measure in each valley. Nevertheless, a consensus yield of 1.5 Vha for wheat and 1.8 Vha for maize was arrived at. These figures were a result of interaction with the local Agriculture Department officials and those farmers with an understanding of land measurement.

### 5.3.4.1 Weights and Measures

The traditional weights and measures used in these valleys are losing their currency. Old weights are being replaced by the weighing system prevalent in Pakistan.

Table 5.3.4.1

| Old weight standards              | New weight standards       |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| chacku                            | 1250 grams milk/ghee etc.  |
| haro                              | 750 grams wheta/maize etc. |
| sin                               | 16 kilograms               |
| tharegi (a bag made of goat skin) | 1.5 kg ghee                |
| bagalo                            | half tola                  |
| tolo                              | grams                      |
| man                               | 6 kg                       |

Table 5.3.4.2

Distribution of the household regarding the land cultivation in the Area

| Household        | f N = 120 | percentage |
|------------------|-----------|------------|
| Landless         | 10        | 08.34      |
| Self cultivation | 70        | 58.34      |
| Tenant           | 8         | 06.66      |
| both             | 32        | 26.66      |
| Total            | 120       | 100.00     |

The inhabitants of the area earn their livelihood from the planned use of land and they rely on small holdings. The present study shows that a majority i.e. 58.34% of the respondents are self cultivators only 6.66% of respondents employ tenants whereas more than one fourth i.e. 26.66% of respondents cultivate themselves as well as employ tenants during sowing and harvesting seasons. The key informants viewed that prior to the linkage of the area with KKH poor peasants of Swat and Kohistan remained confined to tilling the fields of Darel and Tangir valleys, and after linkage of the valleys with KKH now they go to lowlands. The researcher observed that with the introduction of agricultural technology - tractor, thresher and maize sheller human labour-force is becoming surplus in the area and increasing unemployed labourers are on increase.

### Patterns of Land Tenure

Land tenure follows two basic patterns, the half-share and the third-share. The terms of these patterns can be seen from the table below:

Table 5.3.4.1 (1)

#### Patterns of Land Tenure in the Area

| Local term | Owner's input | exclusively<br>tenant's input             | input sharing                | output sharing                                     |
|------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| hori phali | seed          | all labour,<br>plough & oxen<br>threshing | equal share of<br>fertilizer | agreed fixed,<br>amount of grain<br>(50% to owner, |

|             |                                             |                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                         |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|             |                                             | winnowing                           |                                                                                       | grass to tenant                                                         |
| hori dekani | seed                                        | all labour,<br>plough & oxen        | equal share of<br>fertilizer,<br>threshing,<br>winnowing                              | 1:1(owner:tena<br>nt) grain<br>sharing, grass<br>to owner               |
| chumogyo    | all seed,<br>fertilizer, oxen<br>and plough | watering,<br>weeding,<br>harvesting | 2:1(owner-<br>.tenant) labour<br>sharing for<br>winnowing,<br>threshing,<br>ploughing | 2:1(owner:tena<br>nt) grain<br>sharing, grass<br>to owner               |
| malia       | nil                                         | nil                                 | nil                                                                                   | Agreed fixed<br>amount of<br>cash/grain<br>annually, grass<br>to tenant |

Table 5.3.4.1 (2)

Distribution of household according to the share of tenants in  
agricultural produce

| Share     | Number of Household | percentage |
|-----------|---------------------|------------|
| Nil       | 80                  | 66.68      |
| Half      | 05                  | 04.17      |
| One-third | 20                  | 16.66      |

|                   |     |        |
|-------------------|-----|--------|
| No specific share | 12  | 9.99   |
| Cash payment      | 2   | 1.66   |
| Both              | 1   | 0.84   |
| Total             | 120 | 100.00 |

Traditionally, the inhabitants of the area evolved a non cash labour mobilization process and instead of cash transactions commodities and services were exchanged. The study shows that their traditional mode of payment still survives in the area. Only 1.66% of respondents make cash payments to the tenants whereas more than one fourth of the respondents i.e. 30.83% pay in kind to their tenants and a majority of respondents earn their livelihood by self cultivation.

Table 5.3.4.1 (3)

Distribution of Household regarding their mode of payment to tenants

| Mode  | Number of household | percentage |
|-------|---------------------|------------|
| Nil   | 80                  | 66.68      |
| Kind  | 37                  | 30.83      |
| Cash  | 2                   | 1.66       |
| Both  | 1                   | 0.83       |
| total | 120                 |            |

All land-labour contracts and agreements are made verbally in the presence of witnesses and there is normally no written tenancy agreement. Whenever an agreement is entered into with a tenant it is automatically assumed that the tenant will return the land and the retaining walls of the terraces in the same condition as he has received them. If a flood or other calamity destroys the terraces and the crop, the land is abandoned by the tenant and no share is due to the owner. If only the terrace wall is damaged by such a calamity, the village council makes a fair decision that both owner and tenant follow.

#### 5.3.4.2 Traditional Technology

The tools for agriculture like plough, weeding knife etc. were locally made by the artisans, exchanging their labour with farmers and rewarded by provision of *Kharin* and *modi* (reward at fixed rates and paid in form of food grain and cloth). The traditional technology was used in relatively small fields and labour for the agricultural tasks was mobilized through *boorotai* (ashar). The farmyard manure was transported collectively to the fields whereas recently mechanized farming has been introduced in the area because of the agricultural innovations -- tractor, thresher, maize sheller and fertilizers are easily available.

#### 5.3.4.3 Traditional sowing & harvesting techniques

The fields are ploughed exclusively by men using a pair of bullocks. The traditional ploughshare is now imported from the neighbouring Kohistan District of NWFP, but was formerly made locally by blacksmith (akhar). The plough is made of wood and the point is in the shape of a flat forged triangle. On small

terraces, women prepare the ground with a small narrow mattock for vegetable gardening.

Farmyard manure is used invariably. It is used whenever it is available even to the extent of applying it after the sprouts have come up. Seed used is grain saved from the Previous harvest. Local varieties have mixed with those rarely brought in from outside, resulting in a composite stand, both in wheat and maize. There is no clear concept of seed rate and hand broadcasting is the usual method.

For wheat, attempts are made to plant wheat as densely as possible on the small terraces. For maize, the same method is used, but the maize seeds are mixed with brown beans while broadcasting. When the maize plants have come up, thinning of the crop is carried out to use the extracted plants as fodder. The thinning for fodder is usually done when the crop is knee-high, some farmers even extract plants after they have eared, This has the detrimental effect of significantly reducing the grain yield. At the same time, it indicates the mixed nature of livestock and agriculture that sustains the area. Some incidental, hoeing of the standing crop in the maize fields is done by women.

The low humidity of the area makes the crops less vulnerable to pest attacks. Some attacks of codling moths on fruit were reported, Pesticides are neither available nor used by farmers, who manage locally by sprinkling water in which tobacco has been steeped to vulnerable crops.

The harvesting techniques use the serrated sickle (datri) and threshing either by hand or trampling by oxen over the pile of grain. Maize is extracted by men beating the sun-dried cobs with round, heavy sticks.. The agricultural economy is marked by subsistence, there being no crop surplus for marketing. Infact, people often buy subsidised wheat flour from the KKH bazars, using cash earned from timber sales.

Walnut and mulberry trees form valuable diet supplement for the farmers. Any surplus walnuts are given in exchange to shopkeepers against purchase of salt, condiments, spices, soap and edible oil, etc. Walnuts are also exported from each valley to the roadside bazars of the kKH and kharkar, barachi -- pushtoon traders supply hundreds of sacks to the markets in Rawalpindi. The flow of cash from timber sales has detrimentally affected agriculture.

Farmers in all the main valleys were observed to be increasingly less interested in agricultural activity, which has been relegated to women, increasing their participation beyond the traditional level.

The transhumant economy generated different catagories of wealth as illustrated in the following table.

Table 5.3.4.3 (1)

#### Categories of Wealth

| Catagories | Measurement | Description                           |
|------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| Food grain | hori        | Bulky                                 |
|            | sin         | Accumulated food grain is regarded as |

|           |        |                                                                                     |
|-----------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |        | wealth but cumbersome to store. vulnerable to pest/rode attack, theft/robbery.      |
| ghee      | choko  | Easy to store, value increases over time, vulnerable to direct consumption compact. |
| gold dust | tolo   | Monetary equivalent                                                                 |
|           | bagolo |                                                                                     |
| Money     | Rupees | Money                                                                               |
|           | Paisa  |                                                                                     |

The people of the area evolved an exchange pattern -- services and commodities were exchanged to ensure the fulfillment of needs of different segments of the society at subsistence level.

The traditional exchange pattern is illustrated in the following table.

Table 5.3.4.3 (2)

### Exchange Pattern

| Artisan/<br>labourer | Role                                                                                          | Reward/payment<br>(previous)                     |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| payalo<br>(herdsman) | Grazing livestock in 'nirel',<br>employed for six months                                      | 6 goats, shooka, khori, thoti (shoe)             |
| kolal<br>(potter)    | to prepare chaati and hoor<br>for preserving ghee and<br>other pots for the<br>household use. | maize/wheat equal to the size of the pot<br>made |

|                                    |                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| daruzgar<br>(carpenter)            | To build/repair the houses.                                                                  | No fixed annual compensation. reward is bargained for the service to be paid in kind and cash.                                                                                                      |
| akhar<br>(blacksmith)              | To make/repair and sharpen agricultural instruments                                          | Food twice a day during the work. compensated with one har grain, for every member of household annually. akhar receives modi (payment in the form of 1-1.5 kg ghee) in addition to kharin (reward) |
| maruts/<br>sonival<br>(goldwasher) | To operate jala and assist the community in crossing river                                   | one har maize/wheat for male members. onion, vegetables, cereals are provided                                                                                                                       |
| jola<br>(weaver)                   | To prepare pattu (woolen cloth), shooka (woolen coat) khori (woolen cap) and shari (blanket) | Food twice a day and 2-3 har maize/wheat for every meter of cloth.                                                                                                                                  |

The people of the area generate revenue by imposing a series of taxes on opra and imposing sanctions for violating the area traditions irrespective of holsa and opra.

### 5.3.5 Revenue Collection -- Taxation and sanctions

A traditional revenue system operating in the area for centuries includes a series of taxes on the non-owners and some sanctions imposed on the people of the

area for violating the traditions. The following table gives the detailed description of the taxation system besides giving the details of sanctions.

Table 5.3.5  
Revenue Collection

| Taxes & sanctions | Social Group  | Rates                                                                          | Tax Collector reward                                                              | Description                                   | Previous practice                                  |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Kalang</i>     | <i>Maruts</i> | One <i>tolo</i> (11 gm) to 10 <i>tolo</i> gold,                                | - <i>kaliks</i> are not paid fixed salary                                         | -for utilizing the resources of the community | -The tradition was strictly observed.              |
| <i>mari</i>       | <i>Gujar</i>  | One <i>choko</i> ghee (1250 gm) to 10 <i>choko</i> ghee or as much as land was | -one male goat ( <i>mari</i> ) from each household during the revenue collection. |                                               | -The <i>kalangi</i> was hired for unlimited period |

|                |                |                |                |             |                           |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------|
|                |                |                | cultivated     |             |                           |
| <i>Gharib-</i> | <i>Kalangi</i> |                |                | - A special |                           |
| <i>nama</i>    | <i>(kalang</i> |                |                | diet, twice |                           |
|                | <i>payer)</i>  |                |                | a day was   |                           |
|                |                |                |                | provided    |                           |
|                |                |                |                | for two     |                           |
|                |                |                |                | weeks.      |                           |
| <i>oprai</i>   | Outside        | One <i>sin</i> | <i>kalik</i>   | -For stay   | -The tax was imposed on   |
| <i>sin</i>     | r              | (16kg)         |                | ing in the  | humans and livestock.     |
|                |                | wheat/         |                | territory.  | -Heavy taxation forced to |
|                |                | maize          |                | -utilizing  | leave the territory.      |
|                |                |                |                | the         |                           |
|                |                |                |                | resources.  |                           |
|                |                |                |                | -enjoying   |                           |
|                |                |                |                | the         |                           |
|                |                |                |                | protection  |                           |
|                |                |                |                | of the      |                           |
|                |                |                |                | community.  |                           |
| <i>gan</i>     | original       | not fixed      | <i>zaitu (</i> | fine        |                           |
|                | inhabi-        |                |                | imposed     |                           |
|                | tants          |                |                | for minor   |                           |
|                | as well        |                |                | mistakes    |                           |
|                | as             |                |                | e.g.,       |                           |
|                | outsi-         |                |                | trespassing |                           |
|                | ders           |                |                | of ones     |                           |

*phutani* original not fixed *kalik*  
 inhabit  
 ants as  
 well as  
 outside  
 rs

goat in  
 another's  
 fields.  
 for  
 violating  
 the  
 tradition of  
 the  
 community  
 e.g., non-  
 participa-  
 tion in  
 community  
 develop-  
 ment  
 activities,  
 digging/rep  
 airing  
 water  
 channels

*harjana* original An *sigas*  
 inhabit amount  
 ants as equal to  
 well as the

Fine  
 imposed to  
 the  
 landlord, if

|           |                                                                                |                                        |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| outsiders | expenditure incurred by kalangi for preparing fields and digging water channel | he ejects the kalangi (Gujjar/Soniwal) |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|

## 5.3.6 Resource Management

### 5.3.6.1 Land

All the land under agriculture is terraced in order to facilitate irrigating. The terrace wall is frequently higher than the width of the plot of land is wide. The wall is almost always vertical, built of unworked but very well-fitted rock.

According to local informants, these walls were built long before living memory. There is a high premium on springs of water used for irrigation: irrigation time is carefully divided amongst various holdings and water theft also sometimes occurs in the night. However, this constraint is more of an exception, water application being generally free where available.

#### 5.3.6. 2 Water

Rainfall is sparse and all crops consequently require artificial irrigation. There is a plentiful supply of water by streams carrying meltwater from the snow fields of the high mountains. It is deflected in irrigation channels to the fields, sometimes over considerable distances of one kilometre or more. In the Darel valley, even artificial pasture areas are produced by damming and deflecting the course of small meltwater streams. The irrigation channels are usually simply dug into the hillside and embanked with rock and turf; where cliff faces prove difficult for channels, the water is carried in wooden ducts, suspended from the cliffs or supported from below by long poles of poplar or conifer. Blasting by dynamite is also in vogue for the construction of channels through hard rock terrain. Annual repair and maintenance of water channels is a community task accomplished by indiginously mobilizing for development work -- sajakum. The segments of water channels are assigned to different heti members. In case of such catastrophes as mud slide, avalanches and earthquakes, the communities co-operate to make the channels functional again.

#### 5.3.6.3 Forest

The most effective traditional forest management system is in Samigyal village of Darel Valley, whose residents own the entire Khanbari Range. There is practically no illicit cutting because of intact elements of the traditional system. This system is different from the traditions of neighbouring Tangir Valley, in which there is no group ownership and forest land adjacent to agricultural land

belongs to the individual landowner, resulting in indiscriminate cutting and even sale of timber rights. The effectiveness of the Darel forest control system lies in its complex system of checks, balances and a network of informants firmly rooted in tradition.

During the Period of the study, the forest had reached paramount importance in the local economy because of the rapid cash obtained from timber cutting and sale. Forest rights are vested with the "original inhabitants" and non-locals have no ownership rights, except for wood for their own consumption and for grazing livestock. The sale of forests and the price of timber is negotiated with contractors by the elders of the area after consulting their respective *heti*. An agreement is drafted and attested by the Assistant Commissioner of the area. The Forest Department prepares a scheme for logging, which includes demarcation of trees and cubic feet of timber to be cut by the contractor. The contractor cuts and extracts according to this scheme.

The table below summarises the procedure for timber extraction currently in vogue:

Table 5.3.6.3

#### Procedure for Timber Extraction in the Area

| sequence | Activity                                                                        |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1        | Contractor approaches local owners/communities and negotiates                   |
| 2        | Agreement is reached on plot of forest to be logged and a Sale Deed is drawn up |

|   |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3 | Contractor approaches Assistant Commissioner (AC) of subdivision for permission to log the agreed section and pledges to pay state revenues. AC attests the Sale Deed |
| 4 | Contractor asks Forest Department (FD) to prepare a working Scheme; FD sends it for approval to the conservator in Gilgit                                             |
| 5 | Conservator approves and directs District Forest Officer (DFO) to mark the trees to be cut                                                                            |
| 6 | DFO marks the trees, prepares an inventory with volume in cubic feet of the total amount, and sends it to the conservator for approval                                |
| 7 | On approval, the contractor signs a Final Agreement with the FDC and receives the coveted Work Order. He then starts cutting                                          |
| 8 | FD issues a transit pass to contractor for transporting timber out to Dargai Market in NWFP                                                                           |

The community receives the price of timber, which is decided with the contractor on the basis of the quantity of cubic feet extracted and marketed; the local rate was about 50 rupees/cubic foot during the study. The community also receives 50% of the royalty, which is worked out on the basis of rates fixed by the Forest Development Corporation (FDC) at Dargai (presently Rs 35 per cubic foot). A contractor can market his timber from Chilas onwards, subject to the payment of the price of timber plus royalty, which is controlled and managed by the Forest

Department. The contractor deposits the price of the timber and 50% of the royalty in the account of the Deputy Commissioner and 50% of the royalty in a government account. The Deputy Commissioner in turn pays the money to the community elders twice a year in June and December. The community has its own system of distribution according to their traditional organization units. Under this system of distribution, males get one full share and females half a share (with the exception of the Darel Valley, where each individual irrespective of age or gender gets a full share). The average income per family ranges from 7,000 to 16,000 rupees annually, depending on household size.

As a result of this recent cash windfall, artificial wealth in the area among the original inhabitants is on the increase, temporarily distorting the economy.

Men have thus begun to take less and less interest in farming, a great deal of which has been relegated to the women. This extra cash is also used to buy wheat flour from the plains. Now, as the forest wealth begins to be depleted and government controls become more stringent, there is a palpable concern among the population of the area that the future is bleak. They have begun to think on the development of more vocational skills and education as a means of income to stave off the imminent economic depression that loss of wood revenues will cause.

## Chapter VI

# Infrastructure Growth

## Chapter 6

### Infrastructure Growth

This chapter provides an update inventory of infrastructure growth in the area, particularly since its linkage with the Karakoram Highway.

#### 6. Communications

The people of the area experienced practically no change for a long time since merging their territory with Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1951, in the sphere of communications - road network, bridges, electricity, telephone and telegraph facilities. They relied on their traditional modes of communication - horseback, donkeys or travelled on foot. They used to cross Indus river by applying goat skin raft and wooden rafts. The people of the area enjoyed the fruits of communication facilities after the construction of Karakorum Highway (KKH) and the rate of change was not so rapid initially, however, it has geared up now and the forthcoming tables throw some light on the nature and extent of this change.

##### 6.1 Bridges

| S.No | Name of Scheme            | Site                                                      | Year of completion |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1.   | Shatial Suspension Bridge | Approximately 207 kms away from Gilgit at Shatial         | 1967               |
| 2.   | Tangir suspension bridge  | In the S/W of Gilgit on the Indus River approximately 208 | 1992               |

| kms away from Gilgit |                               |      |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|------|
| 3.                   | Dudishal Suspension<br>bridge | 1995 |
| 4.                   | Khanbri Bridge                | 1982 |

Source: Official record -- Resident Engineer (RE)

Northern Areas Public Works Department NAPWD, Chilas

File: RE/NA PWD/Chilas

#### 6.1(1) Truss bridge

| S.No | Name of Scheme      | Site | Year of completion |
|------|---------------------|------|--------------------|
| 1.   | Darel river, Gumari |      | 1970               |
| 2.   | Raji Bridge         |      | 1975               |
| 3.   | Gabar bridge        |      | 1984               |

Source: File: RE/NA PWD/Chilas

#### 6.1 (2) Roads

| S.No | Name of Scheme      | Site | Year of completion |
|------|---------------------|------|--------------------|
| 1.   | Shatial to Gumari   |      | 1972               |
| 2.   | Gumari to Yashut    |      | 1976               |
| 3.   | KKH to Dudishal Jut |      | 1994               |
| 4    | KKH to Seir Khanbri |      | 1993               |

Source: File: RE/NA PWD/Chilas

## 6.1(3)

## Buildings

| Scheme       | category | year of completion | on-going |
|--------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| police post  |          | 1994               |          |
| Station      |          |                    |          |
| Gumari       |          |                    |          |
| Khanbri      |          |                    |          |
| Narare       |          |                    |          |
| Vetnarey     |          |                    |          |
| Gumari       | E. Type  | 1994               |          |
| Khoosh       | G. Type  | 1994               |          |
| Phuch        |          |                    |          |
| Lati         | G. Type  | 1980               |          |
| Manikal bala | G. Type  | 1975               |          |

Source: File: RE/NA PWD/Chilas

| Scheme     | site           | category | year of completion | on-going |
|------------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| Forest     | Gumari         | D Type   | 1991               |          |
| Fish       | Chahlai        |          | 1986               |          |
|            | Neimi Khanbri  |          | 1993               |          |
| Leprosey   |                | D Type   | 1996               |          |
| Center     |                |          |                    |          |
| Irrigation | Raje bridge to |          |                    | on-going |
| Channel    | Gosheli        |          |                    |          |

|                |          |        |          |
|----------------|----------|--------|----------|
|                | to Gayal |        | on-going |
| Tehsil office  |          | D Type | 1987     |
| Residence      |          | D Type | 1987     |
| Dhudishal      |          |        | 1985     |
| Khanbri        |          |        |          |
| Civil Hospital | Gumari   | E Type | 1986     |
| B.H.U.         | Khanbri  |        |          |
|                | Naime    |        |          |
|                | Dudishal |        | -        |
|                | Gayal    |        | 1987     |
|                | Gayot    |        | 1993     |
|                | Shiegi   |        | 1993     |
|                | Yashot   |        | 1992     |
|                | Yashot   |        |          |
| M.O            |          | D Type | 1994     |
| residence      |          |        |          |
| Rest House     | Gumari   |        | 1983     |
| Staff          | Gumari   |        | 1987     |
| residence      |          |        |          |

Source: File: RE/NA PWD/Chilas

## 6.2 Rural Electrification

Hydel Power Project Phase-1, Darel Gumari was installed on 1st June, 1984 and two generators started producing 250 KVA electricity and a water channel was constructed for irrigation purpose. The Phase - 1 could supply power to a very limited number - 200 households of Gumari (Town Area), Samigal Bala and Payeen, whereas an overwhelming majority of the villages of Gayal, Phuch, Manikal Payeen and Manikal Bala were deprived of the facility, the project was abandoned in Jan, 1995. The Northern Area Public Works Department (NAPWD), in collaboration with China, installed Hydel Power Project Phase II at Phuch and the project has been functioning since 8th January, 1995 and supplying power to 1551 households of the valley.

Primarily, the project was designed for generating 1500 KVA. However, due to the financial constraints the scheme was revised and presently 1000 KVA electricity is being produced and a water channel supplies water to the fields. The following table illustrates the picture of electricity consumers in the Darel Valley.

6.2 (1) List of Electricity Consumers

| Name of Village | No. of Consumers |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Gayal           | 160              |
| Phuch           | 178              |
| Kabosh          | 03               |
| Samigal Payeen  | 165              |

|                        |      |
|------------------------|------|
| Samigal Bala           | 40   |
| Mohallah Pathergeh     | 24   |
| Mohallah Majeeni       | 30   |
| Gumari (Town Area)     | 101  |
| Mohalla Game           | 03   |
| Mohalla Yabkare        | 14   |
| Mohallah Budhan        | 45   |
| Mohallah Moos          | 20   |
| Kutookush              | 50   |
| Tabore                 | 40   |
| Chichlay               | 23   |
| Bashae                 | 40   |
| Shahi Mahal            | 163  |
| Naokot Markaze Tabligh | 68   |
| Manikal Payeen         | 270  |
| Manikal Bala           | 114  |
| Total                  | 1551 |

Source: Notebook No.1 - 5/SDO (E)/ DT/Sub Eng/1996

### 6.3 Education

In the area secondary schooling facilities are not so adequate, however, two high schools at administrative centers Gumari and Jaglot are providing formal education to the students, whereas facilities of imparting skills to the students through

commercial as well as polytechnic institutes and the education at college level are non-existent in the area. A consolidated data enlightens us about the number of schools and response of the children towards formal education.

### 6.3 (1) Federal Government Middle School Phuch

| Class | Age Group   | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years   | 08         | 02        | 1996                  |
|       | 5+          | 20         | 05        |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years   | 08         | 01        |                       |
|       | 6+          | 18         | 02        |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years   | 10         | 03        |                       |
|       | 7+          | 17         | 03        |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years   | 09         | 01        |                       |
|       | 8+          | 10         | 02        |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years   | 08         | 01        |                       |
|       | 9+          | 08         | 01        |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years  | 09         | 01        |                       |
|       | 10+         | 18         | 02        |                       |
| 6     | 10-11 Years | 02         | 01        |                       |
|       | 11+         | 08         | 01        |                       |
| Total |             | 153        | +         | 26 = 179              |

Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (2)

## Federal Government Middle School Gayal

| Class     | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi     | 4-5 years  | 01         | 02        | 1974                  |
|           | 5+         | 02         | -         |                       |
| Pakki     | 5-6 years  | 04         | 01        |                       |
|           | 6+         | 08         | 02        |                       |
| 2         | 6-7 years  | 01         | -         |                       |
|           | 7+         | 01         | nil       |                       |
| 3         | 7-8 years  | 01         | nil       |                       |
|           | 8+         | 03         | nil       |                       |
| 4         | 8-9 years  | 01         | 01        |                       |
|           | 9+         | 03         | 01        |                       |
| 5         | 9-10 years | 01         | nil       |                       |
|           | 10+        | 06         | 02        |                       |
| Total     |            | 32         | +         | 08                    |
| G. Total= |            |            | 40        |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (3)

## Federal Government School Samigal Payeen

| Class | Age Group | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years | 05         | 02        | 1992                  |
|       | 5+        | 09         | -         |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years | 01         | 01        |                       |
|       | 6+        | 03         | 02        |                       |
| 2     | 7+        | 02         | nil       |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years | 03         | nil       |                       |
|       | 8+        | 02         | nil       |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years | 03         | 01        |                       |
|       | 9+        | 05         | 01        |                       |
| Total |           | 30         | +         | 10 = 40               |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (4)

## Federal Government School Samigal Bala

| Class | Age Group   | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years   | 04         | 01        | 1974                  |
|       | 5+          | 05         | 01        |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years   | 07         | 01        |                       |
|       | 6+          | 09         | 01        |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years   | 05         | 01        |                       |
|       | 7+          | 18         | 02        |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years   | 03         | 01        |                       |
|       | 8+          | 09         | 01        |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years   | 05         | 01        |                       |
|       | 9+          | 04         | 01        |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years  | 16         | 01        |                       |
|       | 10+         |            |           |                       |
| 6     | 10-11 Years | 04         | 01        |                       |
|       | 11+         | 09         | 02        |                       |
| Total |             | 99         | +         | 15 = 114              |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (5)

## Federal Government Primary School Tabor

| Class | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years  | 05         | 01        | 1992                  |
|       | 5+         | 07         | 01        |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years  | 03         | 01        |                       |
|       | 6+         | 04         | 01        |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years  | 04         | 01        |                       |
|       | 7+         | 05         | 02        |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years  | 02         | 01        |                       |
|       | 8+         | 08         | 02        |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years  | 02         | nil       |                       |
|       | 9+         | 05         | 02        |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years | 01         | nil       |                       |
|       | 10+        | 02         | 02        |                       |
| Total |            | 48         | +         | 14 = 62               |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (6)

## Federal Government High School Darel Gumari

| Class | Age Group          | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|--------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years          | 30         |           | p. 1957               |
|       | 5+                 | 01         |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years          | 10         |           | sec. 1977             |
|       | 6+                 | 43         |           |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years          | 35         |           | H/sec. 1981           |
|       | 7+                 | 04         |           |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years          | 22         |           |                       |
|       | 8+                 | 02         |           |                       |
| 4     | less than 8 years  | 03         |           |                       |
|       | 8-9 years          | 29         |           |                       |
|       | 9+                 | 01         | 01        |                       |
| 5     | Less than 9 years  | 10         |           |                       |
|       | 9-10               | 20         | 05        |                       |
| 6     | Less than 10 years | 02         |           |                       |
|       | 10-11              | 39         |           |                       |
|       | more than 11       | 03         | 02        |                       |
| 7     | Less than 11       |            |           |                       |

|       |              |     |     |          |
|-------|--------------|-----|-----|----------|
|       | years        | 05  |     |          |
|       | 11-12        | 40  | 03  |          |
| 8     | Less than 12 |     |     |          |
|       | years        | 04  |     |          |
|       | 12-13        | 39  |     |          |
| 9     | less than 13 | 04  | Nil |          |
|       | years        | 30  |     |          |
|       | 13-14        |     |     |          |
| 10    | less than 14 | 02  | Nil |          |
|       | years        |     |     |          |
|       | 14-15        | 30  |     |          |
|       | more than 15 | 09  | 02  |          |
|       | years        |     |     |          |
| Total |              | 417 | +   | 13 = 430 |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (7)

## Federal Government Primary School Shahi Mahal

| Class | Age Group         | Enrollment | Repeaters | Date of Establishment |
|-------|-------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years         | 03         |           | 1974                  |
|       | 5+                | 10         |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years         | 03         | 01        |                       |
|       | 6+                | 02         | 01        |                       |
| 2     | less than 6       | 02         | -         |                       |
|       | 6-7 years         | 02         | -         |                       |
|       | 7+                | 05         |           |                       |
| 3     | less than 7       | 02         | -         |                       |
|       | 7-8 years         | 05         | -         |                       |
|       | 8+                | 10         |           |                       |
| 4     | less than 8 years | 08         | 01        |                       |
|       | 8-9               |            | 01        |                       |
|       |                   | 06         |           |                       |
| 5     | less than 9 years | -          | 01        |                       |
|       | 8-10              | 05         | 01        |                       |
|       | more than 10      |            |           |                       |
|       |                   | 09         |           |                       |
| 6     | 10-11 Years       | 08         | 02        |                       |
|       | 11+               | 09         | 01        |                       |
| Total |                   | 90         | +         | 11 = 101              |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.3 (8)

## Federal Government Middle School Padyal Manikal

| Class | Age Group   | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of<br>Establishment |
|-------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years   | 08         | 02        | 1963                     |
|       | 5+          | 07         | 02        |                          |
| Pakki | 5-6 years   | 03         | 01        |                          |
|       | 6+          | 04         | 01        |                          |
| 2     | 6-7 years   | 05         | 01        |                          |
|       | 7+          | 07         | 01        |                          |
| 3     | 7-8 years   | 09         | 02        |                          |
|       | 8+          | 20         | 02        |                          |
| 4     | 8-9 years   | 05         | 03        |                          |
|       | 9+          | 09         | 05        |                          |
| 5     | 9-10 years  | 03         | 01        |                          |
|       | 10+         | 17         | 01        |                          |
| 6     | 10-11 years | 04         | 01        |                          |
|       | 11+         | 16         | 02        |                          |
| 7     | 11-12 years | 05         | 01        |                          |
|       | 12+         | 12         | 01        |                          |
| 8     | 12-13 years | 01         | nil       |                          |
|       | 13+         | 08         |           |                          |

|           |     |    |
|-----------|-----|----|
| Total     | 143 | 28 |
| G. Total= | 171 |    |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

### 6.3 (9) Federal Government Primary School Gabar

| Class     | Age Group   | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi     | 4-5 years   | 03         | 01        | 1973                  |
|           | 5+          | 05         | 02        |                       |
| Pakki     | 5-6 years   | 04         | 01        |                       |
|           | 6+          | 05         | 02        |                       |
| 2         | 6-7 years   | 01         | nil       |                       |
|           | 7+          | 03         | nil       |                       |
| 3         | 7-8 years   | 03         | nil       |                       |
|           | 8+          | 05         | 01        |                       |
| 4         | 8-9 years   | 01         | nil       |                       |
|           | 9+          | 02         | 01        |                       |
| 5         | 9-10 years  | 01         | nil       |                       |
|           | 10+         | 05         | 01        |                       |
| 6         | 10-11 years | 01         | 01        |                       |
|           | 11+         | 02         | 01        |                       |
| Total     |             | 41         | 11        |                       |
| G. Total= |             | 52         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

### 6.3 (10) Federal Government Primary School Yashot

| Class     | Age Group | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of<br>Establishment |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Kachi     | 4-5 years | 08         | 01        |                          |
|           | 5+        | 07         | 02        |                          |
| Pakki     | 6+        | 04         | 01        |                          |
| 2         | 6-7 years | 05         | 01        |                          |
|           | 7+        | 07         | nil       |                          |
| 3         | 7-8 years | 09         | nil       |                          |
|           | 8+        | 20         | nil       |                          |
| 4         | 8-9 years | 05         | nil       |                          |
|           | 9+        | 09         | 01        |                          |
|           | 10+       | 03         | nil       |                          |
| Total     |           | 19         | 05        |                          |
| G. Total= |           | 24         |           |                          |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

6.3 (11) Federal Government Girls' Primary School Shahi Mahal

| Class     | Age Group | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi     | 4-5 years | 08         | 02        | 1977                  |
|           | 5+        | 07         | 02        |                       |
| Pakki     | 6+        | 04         | 01        |                       |
| 2         | 7+        | 07         | 01        |                       |
| 3         | 8+        | 20         | 02        |                       |
| 4         | 9+        | 09         | 05        |                       |
| Total     |           | 20         | 02        |                       |
| G. Total= |           |            | 22        |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

### 6.3 (12) Federal Government Primary School Manin

| Class | Age Group | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years | NIL        | NIL       | 1976                  |
|       | 5+        | NIL        | NIL       |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years | NIL        | NIL       |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years | NIL        | NIL       |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years | NIL        | NIL       |                       |
|       | 8+        | 04         | NIL       |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years | NIL        | NIL       |                       |
|       | 9+        | 04         | NIL       |                       |
| Total |           | 08         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

6.3 (13) Federal Government Primary School Hadokal

| Class | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years  | NIL        |           | 1972                  |
|       | 5+         | 02         |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years  | NIL        |           |                       |
|       | 6+         | 02         |           |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years  | NIL        |           |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years  | 03         |           |                       |
| 4     | 9+         | 04         |           |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years | NIL        |           |                       |
|       | 10+        | 01         |           |                       |
| Total |            | 15         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

6.3 (14) Federal Government Primary School Khanbri

| Class | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years  | 01         | Nil       | 1973                  |
|       | 5+         |            |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years  | 05         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 6+         | 05         |           |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years  | 01         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 7+         | 04         |           |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years  | 01         | Nil       |                       |
|       |            |            |           |                       |
| 4     | 9+         | 01         | Nil       |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years | NIL        | Nil       |                       |
|       | 10+        | 03         |           |                       |
| Total |            | 21         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

6.3 (15) Federal Government Primary School Namie

| Class | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years  | 04         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 5+         | 05         |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years  | 02         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 6+         | 03         |           |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years  | Nil        | Nil       |                       |
|       | 7+         | 03         |           |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years  | Nil        | Nil       |                       |
|       | 8+         | 01         |           |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 years  | Nil        | Nil       |                       |
|       | 9+         | 01         |           |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years | NIL        | Nil       |                       |
|       | 10+        |            |           |                       |
| Total |            | 19         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

### 6.3 (16) Federal Government Primary School Dudishal

| Class | Age Group  | Enrollment | Repeaters | Year of Establishment |
|-------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Kachi | 4-5 years  | 02         | Nil       | 1973                  |
|       | 5+         | 02         |           |                       |
| Pakki | 5-6 years  | 05         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 6+         | 06         |           |                       |
| 2     | 6-7 years  | 05         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 7+         | 04         |           |                       |
| 3     | 7-8 years  | 02         | Nil       |                       |
|       |            | 03         |           |                       |
| 4     | 8-9 year   | 04         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 9+         | 03         |           |                       |
| 5     | 9-10 years | 01         | Nil       |                       |
|       | 10+        | 06         |           |                       |
| Total |            | 43         |           |                       |

Source: Source: File: /survey/F.G.H.S/D/1996

## 6.4 Social Welfare

Provision of social services to the community with the help of NGOs is a recent phenomenon in the area and voluntary social welfare organizations have started functioning since 1990. The area of their interest and their membership strength is highlighted in the table under discussion.

|   | Name of NGO                                                                   | Jurisdiction | Regd. No. & Date | Member-ship | Services                                 |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Anjuman Falahe-Amo Behbud, Manikal Payeen, Tehsil Darel/Tangir, Distt. Diamer | Darel        | 9/Chilas/1990    | 48          | Welfare of widows, disabled and poor     |
| 2 | Welfare Jama ul Ulema, Talimul Quran, Shahi Mahal, Darel Distt. Diamer        | Darel        | 15/Chilas/1992   | 15          | Education of Islam and welfare of people |
| 3 | Haqooqul Ibad Welfare                                                         | Tangir       | 19/Chilas/1992   | 99          | Welfare of widows, disabled              |

|   |                      |        |                |    |                    |
|---|----------------------|--------|----------------|----|--------------------|
|   | Association, Tehsil  |        |                |    | and poor.          |
|   | Darel/Tangir, Distt. |        |                |    |                    |
|   | Diamer               |        |                |    |                    |
| 4 | Welfare Madarsa      | Tangir | 32/Chilas/1994 | 05 | Education of Islam |
|   | Talemul Quran,       |        |                |    | and welfare of     |
|   | Tahirabad, Darkali   |        |                |    | people             |
|   | Bala, Tangir, Distt. |        |                |    |                    |
|   | Diamer               |        |                |    |                    |

Source: Office record Social Welfare Officer, Chilas

## 6.5 Health and Family Planning

Federal government of Pakistan has been providing health facilities to the people of the area since its merger with Pakistan. A dispensary was established at darel Gumari in 1952. It was upgraded after abolition of Frontier Crimes Regulation (F.C.R.) in the area and a Basic Health Unit (BHU) was established at Darel Gumari in 1986. The health department has appointed a qualified doctor in the hospital and technical staff - dispensers, lab attendants and ministerial staff for official tasks has been appointed in the hospital. The health department provides medicines to the patients after receiving the demand from the doctor. However no X-ray and clinical tests facilities have been provided in the hospital. The patients with acute diseases are referred to Chilas and Gilgit and it was observed during the field work tht most of the patients purchased medicines from medical stores of the valley and patients

with acute diseases or serious injuries preferred to get treatment from Swat.

Most of the patients showed their dissatisfaction about the medical facilities in the area.

#### 6.5.1 Common diseases

In summers cholera, dysentery, diarrhea and epidemics of gastrointestinal disease break out. In 1993 while the researcher observed during the field work that four to five people died every day due to these diseases. Children are more severely affected by these. Malaria also breaks out like an epidemic. Skin rashes are also common.

In winters cold, cough are very common. Quite a large number of patients suffering from TB were also seen.

For eradication of polio in 1996, polio vaccine drops were given to 4105 children under the age of five.

#### 6.5.2 Family Planning

The people of the area showed a poor response towards the Family Planning programme. Most of the respondents were not aware of the programme and only a few of them knew about the contraceptive methods. The doctor of the area expressed that he could convince only 3 persons and provided them injections.

## Chapter VII

# Changing Patterns

## Chapter 7

### Changing Patterns

The traditional institutions of the area were generalised, without much differentiation lacking an economic sector and separate social as well as political institutions. The institutions overlapped and their individual features as such were not so much pronounced. However, the researcher has recorded some recent changing patterns in social, economic as well as political institutions.

#### 7.1 The Wesh

It has already been identified in chapter 5 that a specific and unique institution, the wesh, manifested through heti, simultaneously presents social, economic and political institutions. The discussion therein revealed that a heti is a cluster of households representing a large section of population, independent of kinship and caste. The original inhabitants (holsa) of the area inherit membership of a certain heti and no outsiders can enter it even if they were living in the area for time immemorable. The membership of certain heti ensures the social, economic and political interests of the original inhabitants and also assigns certain roles to every member collectively called heti.

With the infrastructural growth (roads, electricity, education) the traditional institutions embodied in wesh -- heti, transhumant economy and sigas are undergoing a dissolution process.

Jettmar reported that some twenty years before 1950, fields and pastures were allotted rotationally and periodically. Whereas the researcher has found that the previous practice as reported by Jettmar now by and large does not prevail in the area. Though it is surviving but in a different manner. When barren land is prepared for agricultural fields it is distributed among different *heti* and then *jeshtero* of the *heti* sub-divides the piece of land in to *kothi* -- comprising 10-20 members. In Samigal bala a *kothi* comprises 10 members whereas in Manikal it consists of 20 members. In the traditional system different *heti* get their share adopting the principle of parity instead of proportionate representation. For instance in Samigal bala a newly prepared agricultural field is distributed among six *heti*. each one of them gets equal share irrespective of its membership strength. The members of a *heti* with larger number remain disadvantaged as compared to a *heti* with smaller membership.

The researcher has noted that weaknesses of the traditional system are becoming visible and leading to fragmentation. Conflicts are emerging in the area and different *heti* are in a state of unresolved disputes. For instance in Phuch the village population is divided into 10 *heti*. *Thi-kotiae* *heti* with the strength of 560 members was in almost a warring state with another *heti* having strength of 80 members over the ownership and distribution of resources -- land and forests. The members of *thi-kotiae* *heti* challenges the traditional land distribution practice. The dispute was repeatedly brought before village council, *sigas* and the village council

remained unsuccessful to satisfy the antagonising members of *heti*. The matter was referred to Mufti Rafi Usmani -- member of Federal Shariat Court. He issued a *fatwa* -- a religious decree in favour of traditional principle whereas *thikotiae heti* refused to follow the decree. During the last field work in the area (1996) the researcher was informed that a larger *sigas* had been constituted having some prominent *jeshtero* of Darel, Tangir and Harbon to reach a consensus.

In the recent years the role of the traditional rigid system is losing its importance. The agricultural land is being steadily transferred to private ownership.

It was found that most of *heti* were not performing the roles traditionally ascribed to them. The forthcoming discussion will explain the nature and extent of the dissolution process.

#### 7.1.1 Padari

The *jeshtero* of the *heti* used to initiate sowing wheat. This satisfied their traditional belief that the practice would ensure an increased yield.

However, this omenous tradition is no longer in practice because the *ulema* have declared it "*bidat*" not allowed in Islam.

#### 7.1.2 Kanay

The *jeshtero* of the *heti* used to initiate sowing of wheat and the tradition reflected their belief that productivity in agricultural fields would enhance.

However, the tradition is no longer in practice and is considered a "bidat" in the area.

#### 7.1.3 Najalay

The jeshtero of the heti used to initiate sowing maize and the tradition was a part of their belief system regarding agricultural production. However, the tradition is no longer in practice.

#### 7.1.4 Bud meray

The jeshtero of the heti used to announce a date for hunting deer and 'markhor'. The tradition provided an occasion of recreation to the community as well as provided opportunity of organizing militant groups and training the youth about the use of weapons. However, the tradition is diminishing and hunting has become the job of peer groups as well as carried out individually.

#### 7.1.5 Laday

The jeshtero of the heti used to guide the community during external threats and the heti was the flag bearer of the community. The tradition has vanished because security against internal as well as external threats has become the responsibility of the state.

#### 7.1.6 Shaganai

The jeshtero of the community used to lead the community at the time of cutting evergreen holm oak tree (baani). The tradition ensured the planned use of resources and forests were consumed avoiding the ecological imbalance. However, the tradition is diminishing and there has evolved a

great threat of deforestation in the area. The members of community survived for centuries by relying on mountain agriculture and vertical transhumance. However, recent changing patterns suggest that peoples of the area have evolved as well as adapted some new processes in their economic as well as social and political institutions. The forthcoming discussion throws some light on changing patterns in the field of agriculture.

## 7.2 Transhumance -- The Present Situation

The inhabitants of the area had a strong tradition of participation in the transhumant cycle before the linkage of the area with the KKH. For instance, in the past the whole population of Phuch village used to participate in transhumant cycle. The following table shows present situation in the area.

Table 7.2

### Respondents participation in transhumance

| Visits        | f   | %      |
|---------------|-----|--------|
| Frequently    | 22  | 18.33  |
| Not at all    | 74  | 61.67  |
| Occassionally | 24  | 20.00  |
| Total         | 120 | 100.00 |

The table shows that a majority i.e. 61.67% of the respondents do not visit nirel (high pastures) at all. Whereas only 18.33% of the respondents frequently participate in the process of visiting high pastures and 20.00 % of the respondents Occassionally visit high pastures of the area.

The researcher has found that an overwhelming majority of the respondents families either do not participate in the cycle at all or they are participating in trashumance occasionally. The data shows departure from their traditional life pattern.

Table 7.2.1

Distribution of Respondents' wives and children visiting nirel

| Respondent | f   | %      |
|------------|-----|--------|
| Often      | 23  | 19.2   |
| Not at all | 86  | 71.6   |
| Sometimes  | 11  | 9.2    |
| Total      | 120 | 100.00 |

The data clearly indicates that during the course of study i.e. in present time the participation of women and children in transhumance has dropped considerably.

The table shows that an over-whelming majority i.e. 71.6% of respondents wives and children not at all accompany them to nirell - high pastures,

whereas wives and children of 19.2 % of respondents participate in the activity and 9.2% of respondents sometimes take part in the activity.

Table 7.2.2

Distribution of Respondents' participation for grazing livestock

| Participation | f   | %      |
|---------------|-----|--------|
| Self          | 21  | 17.50  |
| Payalo        | 11  | 9.17   |
| Both          | 10  | 8.33   |
| None          | 78  | 65     |
| Total         | 120 | 100.00 |

The inhabitants of the area had been grazing their livestock during the summer season. They used to employ payalo (herdsmen) whereas the researcher came to know through participant observation as well as discussion with key informants that a majority of the people of the area were not relying on large herds for their subsistence. A household survey substantiated the observation and it was found that only 9.17 % of respondents employed payalo for grazing their livestock. The findings of the survey show that majority i.e. 65% of the respondents of the area had no herds for grazing in the pastures.

Nevertheless, a majority i.e., 65% of them were not falling in none of the above mentioned categories. It was explored and found that some of them were having

no livestock and some of them hand over their livestock to their relatives, neighbours or they hire services of any member of the community. The key informants explained that owners of livestock and herders divide the offspring of the livestock in an equal ratio. However, some owner families employ Gujar for looking after the herds as well as their agricultural farms. Normally one Gujar family is entrusted the task of tending 100-200 goats, the number being high in summer and low in winter when the advancing snow and frost makes foraging for grazing grass an arduous task. Gujar have often borrowed money for their day-to-day needs etc. from their owners over generations and a large number remain indebted to their owners.

### 7.2.1 Agriculture

The inhabitants of the area are adapting new modes of agriculture and mechanized agriculture is being adopted.

#### 7.2.1.1 Mechanization

##### Tractor-Thresher-Fertilizers-Maize Sheller

In the area, recently agricultural innovations e.g. tractors, hauled Polish, threshers have been introduced. The people are keenly constructing short gravel link roads to the fields at their own. The social structure of the area favours the introduction and spread of innovations.

They get together on celebrations and often visit each other and exchange information. Merits and demerits of the innovations come under

discussion and observations. Informal exchange of information contributes in mechanizing the agriculture.

Table 7.2.3

Distribution of Household according to their use of agricultural technology - Tractor, Thrasher, Fertilizer

| Technology    | f   | %      |
|---------------|-----|--------|
| Tractor       | 5   | 4.16   |
| Thresher      | 33  | 31.66  |
| Fertilizer    | 110 | 91.66  |
| Maize-Sheller | 40  | 33.66  |
| Total         | 120 | 100.00 |

The table shows that an overwhelming majority i.e. 91.66% of the respondents had been using fertilizers whereas only 4.16 % of the respondents have started using tractors. More than one fourth of respondents i.e. 31.66 use thrashers and 33.33% of the respondents use maize sheller. The key informants viewed that they had been using fertilizers even before the construction of KKH while tractor, thresher and shellor is a newly introduced agricultural technology in their area. The use of new technology has far reaching consequences. The respondents disclosed that the agricultural implements like plough, weeding knife etc. were

locally made by the artisans, exchanging their labour with farmers and were rewarded with the provision of 'kharin' and 'modi' (reward at fixed rates and paid in form of food grain and cloth). Unskilled labourers payalo, Gujar, kalangi (tax-payers) had also their reward in the production. The influx of seasonal labourers from Swat and Kohistan was exploited by the farmers by employing them at meagre wages. The traditional technology could operate by mobilizing community through ashar and sajakum compatible with its specific ecological zone. The farmyard manure was gathered collectively by the community and transported on donkeys to the fields. By adopting new technology, traditional processes -- ashar and sajakum have been affected and the following data throws some light on the nature of changing patterns in this respect.

Table 7.2.1.2

Respondents participation in labour mobilization process - ashar

| Participation in<br>labour<br>mobilization | No of<br>respondents | %     | extent             | f<br>N=120 | %     |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------|--------------------|------------|-------|
| Yes                                        | 34                   | 28.36 | to great<br>extent | 26         | 21.64 |
| No                                         | 18                   | 15.00 | to some<br>extent  | 42         | 35.0  |
| Little                                     | 68                   | 56.63 | none               | 18         | 43.36 |

|       |     |        |       |     |        |
|-------|-----|--------|-------|-----|--------|
| Total | 120 | 100.00 | total | 120 | 100.00 |
|-------|-----|--------|-------|-----|--------|

The household survey substantiated the observation and it was found that just one fourth i.e. 28-36 % of the respondents were taking part in sajakum and a majority i.e. 56-63% of respondents showed their less participation in the process. They were found taking less part in ashara as well. As regards extent of their participation in the process the survey showed that more than half i.e. 56.64% of the respondents were taking part in the process to a greater extent. Whereas less than half i.e. 43.63 % of respondents showed their non-participation in the process.

Table 7.2.1.3

Respondents participation in labour mobilization process - sajakum

| Participation in labour mobilization | No of respondents | %      | extent          | f     | %      |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------|-------|--------|
|                                      |                   |        |                 | N=120 |        |
| Yes                                  | 35                | 29.16  | to great extent | 11    | 9.16   |
| No                                   | 31                | 25.83  | to some extent  | 66    | 35.84  |
| Nominal                              | 54                | 45.84  | none            | 43    | 55.00  |
| Total                                | 120               | 100.00 | total           | 120   | 100.00 |

The household survey showed that approximately half i.e. 45% of the respondents were taking little or nominal part in the process -- *ashar*. Whereas only one fourth i.e. 29.16 % of the respondents were taking active part in the process and one fourth i.e. 25.83% showed no participation in the process. As regards extent of their participation the survey showed that approximately half i.e. 55% of them were taking part in the process to some extent whereas only 9.16% had been participating in the process to a great extent and more than one fourth i.e. 35.55% of the respondents declared their non-participation in the process.

Mechanization has brought some new trends in agriculture. Most salient feature of which is land consolidation and emergence of land labour contracts.

#### 7.2.1.4 Land Consolidation

The innovations are introducing new trends in farming practices. The traditional farming practices were evolved in the specific environment and the agricultural strategies were compatible to the norms of the transhumant economy. The land consolidation was not required in the traditional farming practices and tools operated in the smaller fields. Now the modern technology operates economically in larger fields. The farmers are consolidating the land by exchanging and purchasing new fields and the demand for land consolidation is on the rise in the area. However, like many other parts of the mountainous regions the cultivation is done over the terraces, surrounded by walls. The fields are rarely of the same size as well as worthwhile for mechanized cultivation.

Some fields are away from the water channels, consequently bringing complications during bargains for exchange. It was observed during the course of study that cash is flowing in the area due to sales of timber and is detrimentally affecting the agriculture.

Farmers in all the main valleys were observed to be increasingly less interested in agricultural activity, which was relegated to women, increasing their participation beyond the traditional level.

#### 7.2.1.5 Land Labour Contracts

The agricultural mechanization is contributing in evolving new labour contracts in the area. Traditionally payalo and kalangi assisted the farmers in their tasks and were rewarded annually. The labour mobilization phenomenon shaped production for provisioning. The innovations are generating new economic ties for instance, higher cash payments to the seasonal labourers of Swat and Kohistan. Negotiations of the tractor, threshor owners and fertilizer dealers at their terms and conditions are the salient features of the growing economic relations of the area. It is evident from the community's response towards the agricultural innovations that a complex division of labour is emerging in the area, diminishing the role of the Familial Mode of Production -- production for provisioning.

### 7.3 Penetration of state departments in the Area

The revenue department as well as police and judiciary acceded in Darel and Tangir valleys with the abolition of Mirdom in Northern Areas of Pakistan. The

Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) was replaced with reforms in 1972. The post of Assistant Political Agent was abolished and his powers were transferred to Assistant Commissioner (AC), Deputy Superintendent Police (DSP) and a civil judge at subdivisional level.

The discussions with government officials as well as the community leaders revealed that traditional jirga system -- sigas has officially lost its legal cover and judicial, civil and revenue cases are registered and tried in the courts of judicial and civil magistrates. A data since 1991 shows to what extent police and revenue departments have penetrated in the area so far.

### 7.3.1 Penetration of Police in the Area

The role of police was extended in 1972 to the area with the abolition of Mirdom in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and a police station was established at Darel Gumari. The police intervenes in matters of law and order as well as in judicial cases in the area. The cases are registered for trial in judicial and civil courts. The following data shows penetration of police in the area.

Table 7.3

Table illustrating the penetration of Police in the area<sup>1</sup>

| year | Nature of crime   | Section | No. of Cases | Year-wise<br>G.Total |
|------|-------------------|---------|--------------|----------------------|
| 1991 | Murder            | 302     | 20           |                      |
|      | Attempt of murder | 307     | 11           |                      |

<sup>1</sup> Source: FIR Register for the period 1992-96, Police station Darel

|      |                    |                |    |    |
|------|--------------------|----------------|----|----|
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 5  |    |
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 4  | 40 |
| 1992 | Murder             | 302            | 12 |    |
|      | Attempt of murder  | 307            | 8  |    |
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 4  |    |
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 12 | 36 |
| 1993 | Murder             | 302            | 11 |    |
|      | Attempt of murder  | 307            | 6  |    |
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 7  |    |
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 14 | 38 |
| 1994 | Murder             | 302            | 10 |    |
|      | Attempt of murder  | 307            | 9  |    |
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 7  |    |
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 17 | 43 |
| 1995 | Murder             | 302            | 12 |    |
|      | Attempt of murder  | 307            | 8  |    |
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 4  |    |

|      |                    |                |    |    |
|------|--------------------|----------------|----|----|
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 12 | 36 |
| 1996 | Murder             | 302            | 11 |    |
|      | Attempt of murder  | 307            | 6  |    |
|      | Illegal possession |                |    |    |
|      | of Arms            | 13 20/65       | 7  |    |
|      | Misc. viz.         | 107/151,16 MPO | 14 | 38 |

Table 7.3.1

Penetration of Revenue Department in the Area<sup>2</sup>

| Year  | No. of cases<br>registered | Decided | Under process |
|-------|----------------------------|---------|---------------|
| 1992  | 25                         | 15      | 10            |
| 1993  | 7                          | 3       | 4             |
| 1994  | 8                          | 4       | 4             |
| 1995  | 8                          | 2       | 6             |
| Total | 48                         | 24      | 24            |

The table shows that during the period of 4 years 48 cases were registered with revenue department out of which 24 cases were decided whereas an equal number remained undisposed of. The data indicates that an overwhelming majority of population in the area has not opted for the plausibility of revenue

<sup>2</sup> Source: Diary Register for Court Cases in Tehsil Office Darel, District Damer

department for resolution of their conflicts. During focussed group discussions the participants pointed out that decision making through court procedure involves too much time and is very expensive. They also believed that unsettled disputes provide fuel to the conflicting situations and enhance fighting among the warring groups. Some of the aged participants while comparing the judicial system, nostalgically recalled that the older system worked in transparent manner and involvement of conflicting groups in decision making process was ensured whereas the members of jirga often used to reach a decision after a couple of sessions and implementation of the decision used to be binding on all concerned parties to the conflict i.e., both the conflicting groups as well as the members of the jirga.

The importance and role of sigas has been greatly reduced because the community has introduced an elected committee which functions for three years. Moreover, the people have a choice to accept or reject the decision of the community due to establishment of civil and judicial departments in the area and increased influence of the state in the area. The presence of state functionaries is substituting the traditional authority figures jeshtero, kalik and zaitu.

## Chapter VIII

## Conclusion

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

It emerges from the study that in Darel and Tangir valleys an acephalous society has been surviving, comprising socially and politically segmentary lineages of Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin and Dom. It seems that Shin and Yeshkun have their Turkik origin whereas Kamin and Dom have migrated from Punjab. The people of the area recognize their territory as Shinaki or Shinaka -- the land of Shin, below Chilas and comprises the neighbouring valleys of Darel, Tangir and down to Kohistan including Khandia, Jalkot, Pattan and Kolai (NWFP). The people of leading castes - Shin and Yeshkun called themselves Trakhas in the medieval period and they established ruling dynasties in Gilgit, Nagar and even Chitral and had blood relations with the other tribal people of Yaghestan -- the land of the independent, wild and the rebels. The people of Darel Valley had never been separated from rest of the world despite the fact that they had been surviving in V shaped valley surrounded by snow clad lofty mountains. Darel valley was connected through Baroghil all season pass with some branches of Silk route which remained a popularly used route for TransAsian interaction. The people coming from Tashkent across the Pamir and from Chitral used to follow the route through Darel. The route led to the other Buddhist centers Udyana (Swat) and finally to Taxila as well.

The Darel valley remained a sacred place for Buddhists. Whereas people of the area claim the existence a Buddhist university at Phuch. The Buddhists had been visiting the area regularly since 4th Century and even earlier. A 100 feet high statue of Maitraya at Phuch had been regularly visited by the followers from China, Tibet and

the present day Central Asia. The Darel valley has played a vital role in transmitting Buddhist ideology to the neighbouring territories of South as well as Central Asia and China during early and medieval periods. The Darel and Tangir valleys once again became prominent during the Great Game over Palmyra between British India and imperial Russia. The Darel and Tangir valleys were never colonised. However, they developed a suzerain link with the Gilgit Agency. The Governor of Punjab received on behalf of Maharaja Jammu and Kashmir, an annual tribute of 4 tola (50 grams) gold dust paid by the inhabitants of Darel valley and in return their supplies from the Chilas and Gilgit bazars were not hampered. The tribute was deposited in the treasury at Gilgit.

The governor received a nominal tribute of salt from Darel for allowing pasturage in his territory. This state of affairs continued till merger of the territory in Islamic Republic of Pakistan in December 1951.

The people of the area developed a unique and specific institution -- the Wesh, a set of social institutions. A familial mode of production -- production for provisioning has been prevailing and was mainly used for local consumption and exchange. Barter was the principal mode of economic exchange and revolved around staple cereals. The resources of the area have been occupied by holas -- original inhabitants, Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin and Dom. The non-owners (opras) constituted the principal service sector of the society. They assisted the owners in agricultural production and exchange. However, the wages of the non-owners were determined by tradition and were not subject to negotiation. Casual observers, especially Western explorers had

been criticizing the society of Darel and Tangir Valleys. They had identified the area with Yaghestan -- the land of rebels and wild people. According to them the people of the area had been surviving in a situation of anarchy and lawlessness having the characteristics of an acephalous society -- lacking a single authority over the land of the area. Whereas it has appeared to the researcher that the society had attained an equilibrium and balance in the specific ecological zone of Karakoram Hindukush region. In fact the system was self regulating.

In the area a system for revenue collection and its utilization, resources management, justice and discipline remained always in force. Different functions were selected on the basis of suitability or merit in open and transparent manner through consultation in Sigas. The members of sigas were chosen from a senior line of autocracy, a senior member of Shin or Yeshkun lineage. Whereas Kamin and Dom were deprived of leadership and sigas was represented by three headmen called -- jeshtero or hetibaro. Whereas a heti is a cluster of households independent of kinship and caste. However, membership of a certain heti was restricted to the original inhabitants and no outsiders could enter it even if they were living in the area from time immemorial.

The state law as well as sigas have not reached a consensus agreement. Conflicting situation is aggravating. For instance non-owners particularly the Gujar and Sonival were found aggrieved during the data collection for their right in royalty and compensation for land acquired by the state.

In the past, lack of machines made the society heavily dependent upon manual labour. For the bigger tasks whether related to individual or community, be it sowing, harvesting, construction of a house, path or water channel, a system of labour mobilization at minimum cost existed in the form of boorotai and sajakum. Whereas the recent opening up of the area has brought in advanced machines - tractors, maize shellers and threshers. It has at the same time disrupted the traditional institutions, closer human relationship and have decreased community participation in transhumance. However, the tradition is surviving and is directed towards the motorized transhumance. The potential of commercial exploitation of dairy farming and livestock is growing and the demand for land consolidation has just started. The transhumant economy is passing through a dissolution process giving way to cash economy through integration with the state structure. The government's writ is gradually extending to judicial as well as civil cases of the area. The penetration of judicial, civil and revenue departments is weakening the traditional authority -- jeshtero, kalik and zaitu. Now the people of the area have option of accepting the decisions of the traditional sigas. Anarchy and crimes in their present context are as much a product of modernization. The infrastructure growth -- faster means of transport and more advanced system of information, education, medicine and newly created opportunities of social as well as geographical mobility. However, the society has just started to open up. The present is only a transition towards a new equilibrium which may still be quite far away.

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## Future Research Areas

Inhabitants of both the valleys of Darel and Tangir remained in a partial isolation for centuries and their indigenous social institutions could flourish in these valleys, which still remain available to a large extent for research studies. It emerges from the research work that social institutions here carry features, which are also common in the contemporary rural Pakistan. A present day cross-cultural study can identify these characteristics and traits. Important social functionaries with common nomenclature as *Dom* and *Kamin* who are also reported to be present in various parts of present day Pakistan particularly in Punjab and some parts of southern India. This would help establishing traditional linkages not only between different areas but also the way their indigenous roles made an important contribution towards maintaining the societal fabric of all these differently located social groups.

A study of *wesh* and other institutions (*Sigas* and transhumant economy stemming from it), shows that *Sigas* is a deep-rooted Central Asian institution. Whereas the transhumant economy found in these valleys is a common characteristic of traditional mountain agriculture, which asks for a deep exploration to identify common cultural traits in the region.

# Appendices

## Appendix I

### Interview schedule

Respondent No. \_\_\_\_\_

Village \_\_\_\_\_

Land Ownership:

1. Do you own some land? yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If Yes:

2. How much land do you own?

in terms of Sin \_\_\_\_

Agriculture

3. Do you cultivate yourself or employ tenants?

(1) Self \_\_\_\_ (2) Tenants \_\_\_\_ (3) Both \_\_\_\_

4. Mode of payment

(1) Kind \_\_\_\_ (2) Cash \_\_\_\_ (3) Both \_\_\_\_

If kind

5. How much do you pay to the tenants?

(1) Half \_\_\_\_ (2) One third \_\_\_\_ (3) No Specific share \_\_\_\_

6. If cash

How much do you pay? Rs \_\_\_\_\_

Kalangi

7. Do kalangi utilize your land?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

8. How much Kalang did you get during this year?

(1) Ghee \_\_\_\_ choko (2) gold \_\_\_\_ tolo

(3) Grass \_\_\_\_ bato (4) Rs \_\_\_\_

9. Do you use tractor, thrasher, fertilizer and maize-shellor in the fields?

If yes (1) \_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_

10. Since how long have you been using these modern facilities?

(1) \_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_ (3) \_\_\_\_ (4) \_\_\_\_ years

11. Do you easily get fertilizers during the season?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

12. Do you employ some 'payalo' or graze the livestock by yourself?

(1) Self \_\_\_\_ (2) payalo \_\_\_\_

If payalo

13. How much do you pay him?

(1) 6 goats \_\_\_\_ (2) 5 goats \_\_\_\_ (3) cash \_\_\_\_

If cash

14. How much do you pay him? Rs. \_\_\_\_

15. Do you deposit your money in bank?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

Process of Development

Transhumance

16. Do you go to Nirell every year?

(1) Often \_\_\_\_ (2) Occassionally \_\_\_\_ (3) Never \_\_\_\_

17. Do your wife and children also go there?

(1) Often \_\_\_\_ (2) \_\_\_\_ (3) Not at all \_\_\_\_

18. Did your wife and children use to go there prior to the construction of KKH?

(1) Often (2) Occassionally (3) Never

19. During which month do you go into Nirell?

(1) May-June \_\_\_\_ (2) July-August \_\_\_\_

(3) Sept-Oct \_\_\_\_ (4) Nov-Dec \_\_\_\_

20. During which month do you come back?

(1) May-June \_\_\_\_ (2) July-August \_\_\_\_

(3) Sept-Oct \_\_\_\_ (4) Nov-Dec \_\_\_\_

Labour mobilization

21. Do you participate in ashar?

(1) yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_ (3) little participation \_\_\_\_

If (1)

22. To what extent do you participate

(1) To great extent \_\_\_\_ (2) To some extent \_\_\_\_

23. Do you participate in sajakum

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) NO. \_\_\_\_ (3) Little participation \_\_\_\_

24. If (1)

To what extent do you participate

To a great extent \_\_\_\_ (2) To some extent \_\_\_\_

Product of development

Road/Bridge

A. Mobility

25. Has any one of your family members been out of the valley?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

26. How many of your family members have been out of the valley?

\_\_\_\_\_

27. Since how long are they out of the vally?

\_\_\_\_\_years

28. For what purpose have they gone?

(1) Education \_\_\_\_ (2) Business \_\_\_\_ (3) Job \_\_\_\_

(4) Preaching \_\_\_\_ (5) Any other \_\_\_\_

29. To which city have they gone?

(1 ) Chilas \_\_\_\_ (2) Gilgit \_\_\_\_ (3) Swat \_\_\_\_ (4) Peshawar \_\_\_\_

(5) Rawalpindi \_\_\_\_ (6) Lahore \_\_\_\_ (7) Raiwind \_\_\_\_ (8) Karachi \_\_\_\_

(9)Abroad \_\_\_\_ (10) Anyother \_\_\_\_

B. Education

30. What type of education your children are receiving?

(1) School \_\_ (2) Religious Madrisa \_\_\_\_ (3) None \_\_\_\_

31. Are you satisfied with the education facilities in the area?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

32. Have your children been vaccinated?

(1) Full Course \_\_\_\_ (2) Incomplete Course \_\_\_\_ (3) Not at all \_\_\_\_

33. Have you given polio vaccine to your children?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

34. Are you satisfied with this facility in the area?

(1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

## Appendix II

(IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE BENEFICIENT AND THE MERCIFUL)

### ACCORD

We, all the Jeshtero and representative of the independent territory of Darel, on behalf of our people solemnly and completely willingly pledge that our region is a part of Pakistan and we annex ourselves to Pakistan. Moreover, we pledge and promise that we shall remain loyal to the Government of Pakistan.

Thus, we make the following submission before the Government of Pakistan with the wishes of their acceptance:

I

1. The government of Pakistan will make proper arrangements for maintenance of law and order in our territory and shall protect us from all kinds of threats from outside.
2. There shall be no retribution for the crimes committed before our annexation to Pakistan.
3. We shall not enter into any agreement or pact with any other state or tribal area without approval and permission from the Government of Pakistan. We will consider enemies of Pakistan our enemies and friends of Pakistan our friends.
4. We fully undertake the responsibility of cooperating with the Government's administration in protecting the lives and property of the Government

employees, all Government buildings Goods and Luggage, roads, telegraph and postal arrangements. Moreover, we will fully help the official levys, scouts, militia or army which may be sent to our area to maintain law and order.

5. We fully accept and endorse the directives of the Government of Pakistan as well as appointment of levies for maintaining law and order and we will not provide protection in our area to enemies of Pakistan, absconders and criminal.
6. The Government will be authorised to recruit and appoint people from this area area for the purpose of employment in levies, scouts and other government Departments.
7. We will provide a national army (Qaumi Lashkar) to the Government of Pakistan when needed.
8. Our internal disputes and affairs will be settled under shariat laws, according to our national and local customs.

## II

9. To Improve our social conditions and standard of living, the Government shall construct shcools, Hospitals and Roads at suitable sites and to implement these schemes we will fully cooperate with the Government. The Government of Pakista n will be responsible for improvment in our educational and Socio-Economic life and it will take suitable steps in this regard at the earliest.

10. We will have the right to employment and wage working in Pakistan.

11. We shall continue to pay the national tribute and toll to the Government of Pakistan as per the custom and the Government will be authorised to collect the tribut in the form of commodities.

12. Our rights to own land and forests shall remain preserved and we will continue to be owners of the same.

13. The Government of Pakistan will be authorised to search for and excavate minerals to enhance our income and improve our economic conditions.

14. The Government of Pakistan will make arrangements for protection, supervision, cutting and growth of forests in our best interest in consultation with us. The expenses of looking after and growth of the forest will be sustained by the Government which will be authorised to spend an amount no more than the equivalent of one third of the income of our forests, from the income of forests on projects for national welfar and to serve our interest in consultation with us.

Specification of pastures land and the restrictions about cutting of fuel wood and timber as well as grass etc., by the government shall be binding on us and we shall faithfully observe these conditions.

V

15. All the orders or laws deemed necessary by the Government of Pakistan to enforce the above settlement, are acceptable to us.

COUNTER SIGNATURE

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SIGNED

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۲) ہم مندرجہ ذیل جملہ چیزیں دیکھنے والے کا اقرار کرتے ہیں کہ ان کے لئے  
میں نے خود بخود رضا و رغبت خود اقرار کرتے ہیں۔ کہ ہمارا عہد نامہ پاکستان کا ایک  
حصہ ہے۔ اور ہم اسے آپ کو پاکستان میں شامل کرتے ہیں۔ نیز ہم اقرار اور وعدہ کرتے  
ہیں۔ کہ ہم حکومت پاکستان کو وفادار رہیں گے۔

بنا بریں ہم حکومت پاکستان کی خدمت میں مندرجہ ذیل باتیں براہ منظوریا پیش  
کرتے ہیں۔

### I

۱۔ حکومت پاکستان ہمارے علاقے میں حفظ امن کا مناسب انتظام کرے گی۔ اور ہمیں  
پرستش کے بغیر ان فطرت سے متعلقہ رکھنے والے۔  
۲۔ جو ہمارے شعوبہ پاکستان کے لیے ہمارے علاقے میں مرتکب ہو چکے ہیں۔ ان  
کا مؤاخذہ نہیں کیا جائیگا۔

۳۔ ہم بلوچان ذات و مشطوری حکومت پاکستان کسی دوسری ریاست یا قبائلی علاقہ  
سے کوئی معاہدہ یا سمجھوتہ نہیں کریں گے۔ دشمنان پاکستان کو اپنا دشمن اور  
پاکستان کو دوستوں کو اپنا دوست نہ سمجھیں گے۔

۴۔ ہم ان امر کی پوری ذمہ داری لیتے ہیں۔ کہ ہم نظام حکومت سے تعاون کرتے  
ہوئے ملکہ زمان سرکار کے جان و مال کی تحریک کاری عمارتوں۔ مال و سامان کی تحریک  
تیار اور ڈاک خانہ جات کی تحریک کی حفاظت کریں گے۔ اور سرکاری بیوی۔ سیکرٹری۔ پیشیا  
یا فوج جو حفظ امن کے لئے ہمارے علاقے میں بھیجے جائیں۔ ان کی پوری  
پوری امداد کریں گے۔

۵۔ حکومت پاکستان کی طرف سے جو مواجب ہمیں ملنے لگے۔ اور ہمارے

حفظ امن کے لئے جو بیوی ضرور ہونے لگے۔ اس سلسلہ میں جو قبائلی یا ملکی  
ذمہ داری ہم پر عائد ہوگی۔ اس کو ہم قبول تسلیم کرتے ہیں۔ ہم

دشمنان پاکستان۔ جو فرد ان کے لئے ہمیشہ دشمنان کو رہنے  
کا ارادہ رکھتے ہیں۔ دیکھیں گے۔

- 177
- ۱۔ حکومت اس علاقے سے ملے وقت کی طرف سے لیبر کی یہ کارکردگی اور دیگر محکمہ بابت سرکاری سہولتیں ملنے والی تھوڑی اور تعلیمات کی توجہ نہ ہوتی
- ۲۔ بوقت فراغت حکومت پاکستان کی امداد کے لئے ہم قومی لشکر زراعت
- ۳۔ ہمارے اندرون میں تنازعہ اور مصالحت کا مفیدہ ہمارے قومی و ملکی موانع ہیں
- ۴۔ مبالغہ ہو گا

- II
- ۵۔ ہماری معاشرت اور معیار زندگی کو بلند کرنے کے لئے حکومت ہمارے علاقے میں مناسب مقامات پر مدارس - ہسپتال اور سرکاری تعمیراتی - اور ان مقامات کی تکمیل کے لئے ہم حکومت کے ساتھ مل کر اپنا تعاون کر رہے ہیں۔ حکومت پاکستان ہماری تعلیمی - اقتصادی اور معاشرتی زندگی کے بہتر بنانے کی ذمہ دار ہوگی۔ اور اس مسئلہ میں جلد از جلد مناسب اقدامات لیگیں۔
- ۶۔ بعض پاکستان میں ملے وقت اور زندگی کا حق حاصل ہونا۔
- ۷۔ ہم سب بہتر ملحق قومی باجگزاری و فراہم حکومت پاکستان کو ادا کر رہے اور حکومت مجاز ہوگی کہ وہ یہ فراہم بصورت جتنی وصول کر رہے

- III
- ۸۔ ہمارے حقوق ملکیت متعلقہ اراضی و ممتلكات محفوظ رہیں گے اور ہم بہتر ملحق
- ۹۔ ملحق ان کے مالک تھوڑے سے ہوں گے۔
- ۱۰۔ حکومت پاکستان اس امر کی جواز ہوگی کہ ہمارے علاقے میں معدنیات اور اس قسم کے دیگر ذخائر کی تلاش اور برآمدگی کا انتظام کرے۔ جس سے ہماری آمدنی بڑھے۔ اور ہماری اقتصادی حالت درست ہو۔

- IV
- ۱۱۔ ممتلكات کے تحفظ اور نگہداشت - ان کی ترقی و بہتر دیکھ بھال کا انتظام حکومت پاکستان

بہترین معارف پر مشتمل ایک جامع کتاب ہے۔ (۱) اس کتاب میں  
 مذکورہ بالا تمام امور پر تفصیل سے لکھا گیا ہے۔ (۲) اور یہ کتاب  
 حکومت بجا نہیں دے سکتی۔ (۳) یہ کتاب حکومت کی  
 آمدن کے ایک اہم ذریعہ ہے۔ (۴) یہ قومی مفاد و بہبود کے کاموں  
 پر بجا ہے۔ (۵)

۱۵۔ حکومت کے تحفظ کے لئے چار اہلیوں کا مجموعہ کیا جانا اور بدلے  
 اور دھان بنانے کے لئے درختان دکھاس دیئے گئے۔ (۱) یہ کتاب  
 حکومت کی طرف سے عائد کی جائے گی۔ (۲) یہ ہمیں مندرجہ ذیل  
 باتیں یاد دلاتی ہے۔ (۳)

## V

۱۶۔ مندرجہ بالا انتظام کے تحت میں حکومت پاکستان میں احکام یا قوانین  
 کا نفاذ ضروری سمجھتی ہے۔ (۱) یہ ہمیں مندرجہ ذیل

دیکھنا اور کوئی بات چیت نہیں کرنا۔ (۱)

I (۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے

II (۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے

(۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے  
 (۶) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۷) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۸) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۹) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۰) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے  
 (۱۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے

(۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے  
 (۶) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۷) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۸) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۹) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۰) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے  
 (۱۱) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۲) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۳) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۴) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے (۱۵) کسی ایک شخص پر ان کے لئے

از کتب و دست نوشته های این بزرگواران کوشش می شود

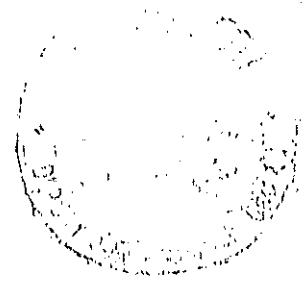
(۴)

(۵)

- (۱) حمید خان (۲) دایم خان (۳) کاشانی (۴) محی (۵) ملک شاه
- (۶) شمس داری (۷) سرتیپ (۸) پاشا خان (۹) چهار (۱۰) حکیم
- (۱۱) سرزنشگر بزم داری و الوار خود - (۱۲) زمره خان بزم داری و فرزند خان بزرگوار
- (۱۳) کاشانی سیم (۱۴) بدرخان بزم داری مستشار بزرگوار
- (۱۵) ملک بزم داری و شاه چهاراد بزرگوار (۱۶) عسکری العبد (۱۷) بنوار
- (۱۸) بی (۱۹) دایم خان (۲۰) میرزاخان (۲۱) زنگنه (۲۲) بزم
- (۲۳) شمس خان (۲۴) رؤف (۲۵) سید کاتب (۲۶) نورالدین
- (۲۷) کاشانی دار -

Camp Chiles  
Oct. 16, 12. 51

attested .  
Notar Nam .  
Subscribed Agent, G. G. G.



Handwritten notes and signatures:  
 Gov. of  
 A. S. B. S. S. S.  
 Camp Chiles  
 Oct. 16, 12. 51

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## VII. Oral History

### i. Personal Interviews

#### a) Government Official

1. Mr. Khan Bahdur- Deputy Commissioner Skardu originally belongs to Phuch and he is the first student after merger of the area with Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

2. Mr. Habib Ullah - Election Commissioner of Northern Areas of Pakistan.

He has served in Darel Sub-Division as an Assistant Commissioner for a long time.

3. Mr. Shahzada Khan- Assistant Commnssionor. He has been serving in the Darel as Tehsildar for a long tune.

4. Mohammad Ghayas Khan, Inspector of Police, Darel.

5. Wasul Khan, Inspector of Police, Tangir

6. Hamid Ullah, Headmaster, F.G. Higher School, Darel.

7. Ehsanullah - Sub Engineer, NA, PWD.

8. Mr. Muhammad Hussain, Eub-Engineer, NA,PWD.

9. Mr. Air Khan - Retired Hawaldar, Levi. He is the First person of Darel enrolled in Levi.

10. Mr. Saeed Ahmed. He is the first school teacher of Darel.

11. Sher Ahmed. M.S.C. Agriculture Officer Chilas. He belongs to Darel

12. Mr. Fazal-Ur-Rehman, M.S.C .

13. Mr. Mushtaq - Project Manager, Local Government & Rural Development.

14. Mr. Abdul Qadeem, MBBS, He is the qualified Doctor.

#### **b) Politicians**

1. Malik Maskeen, Jeshteru and Ex M.N.A, Tangir.

2. Haider Khan, M.N.A and Advisor Northern Council.

3. Sher Ahmed. A Political workeydad organizer of PPP in the area.

#### 4. Hazrat Bilal - Ameer Sahib Tablighi Jamaat and Councillor of Samigal

#### **C. Jeshtero**

1 Mr Haider Wali Khan, He is the eldest jeshtero of the area and he participated in negotiations with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1951. He remained an eminent jeshtero during the F.C.R era.

2. Sher Ahmed, Samigal
3. Faqir Rahim, Soniwal, Darel

#### **Ulema**

1. Maulana Abdul Haleem, Gayal.
2. Maulvi Essa Khan, Phuch.
3. Maulvi Gul Mast Khan, Samigal.

#### **d) Lumberdar**

1. Malik Saddi, Lumberdar, Tangir.
2. Haji Naeel Khan. He is the eldest among Dom in Darel.

#### **e) Women Folk:**

Strict observation of Pardah made it difficult to have interviews of women.

However, Bibi Hajra, Darel an aged lady provided some data regarding

women folk in the area. She facilitates doctor and medical practioners for providing medical facilities to women.

### VIII. Government Documents

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1. DT/APO/1952
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#### **B. Registers**

FIR Register/Police Station/ Darel 1992-1996

MAPS

# NORTHERN AREAS, PAKISTAN (Karakorum, Himalaya, Hindukush)

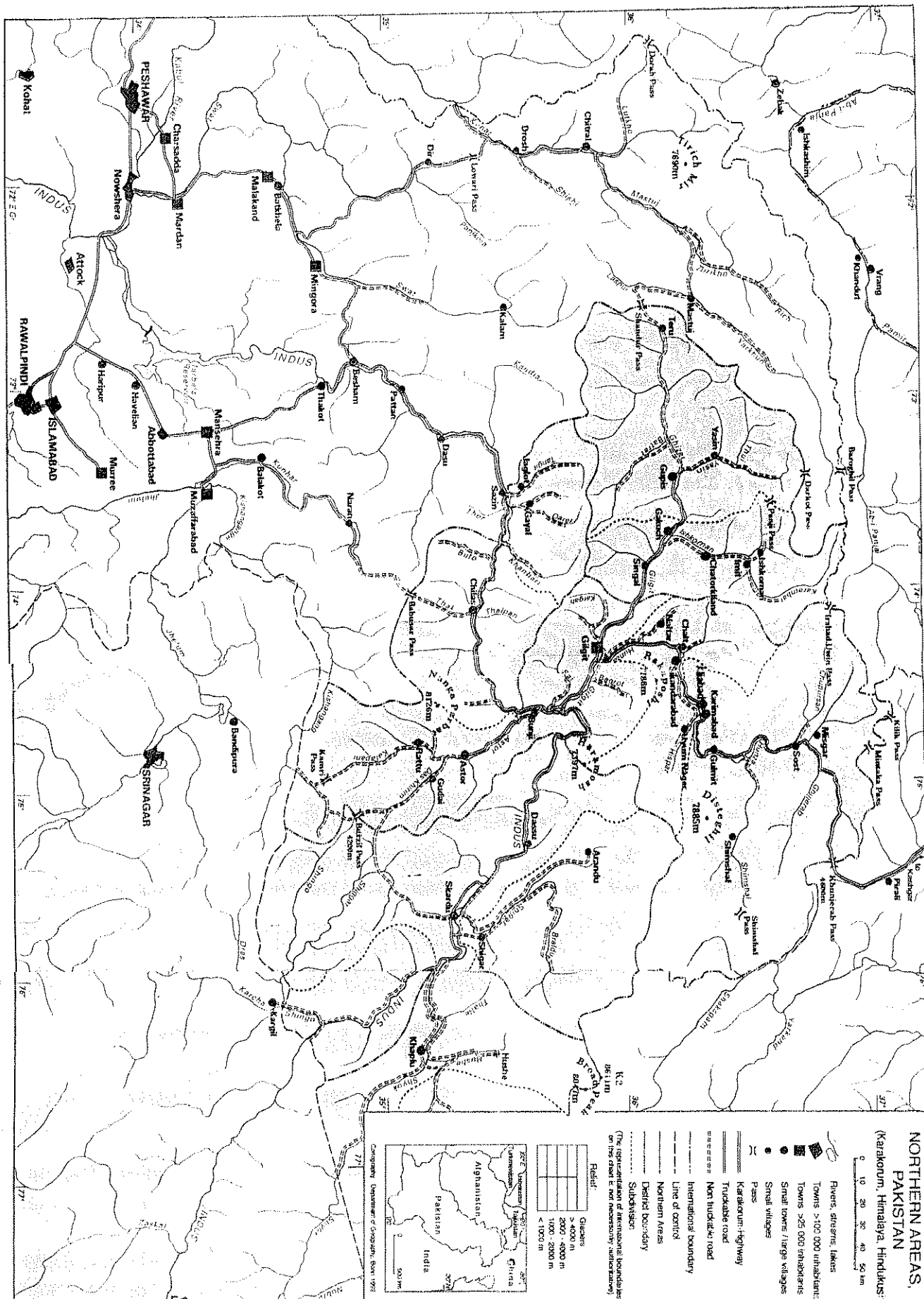
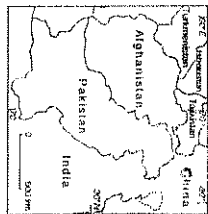
0 10 20 30 40 50 km

- Rivers, streams, lakes
- Towns > 100 000 inhabitants
- Towns > 25 000 inhabitants
- Small towns / large villages
- Small villages
- Pass
- Karakorum: Highway
- Karakorum: Truckable road
- Non truckable road
- International boundary
- Line of control
- Northern Areas
- District boundary
- Subdivision

(The representation of international boundaries on this map is not necessarily authoritative)

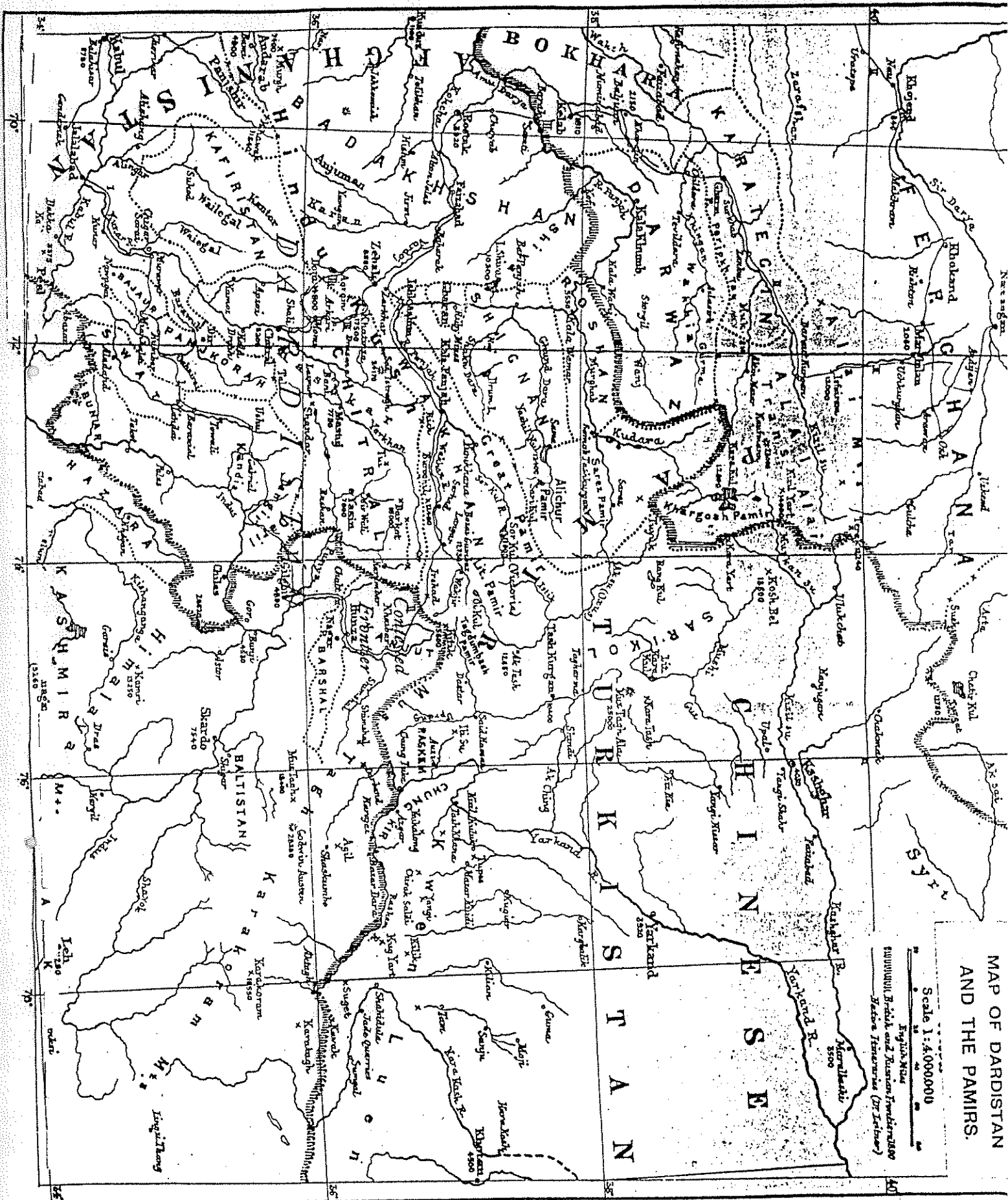
Relief:

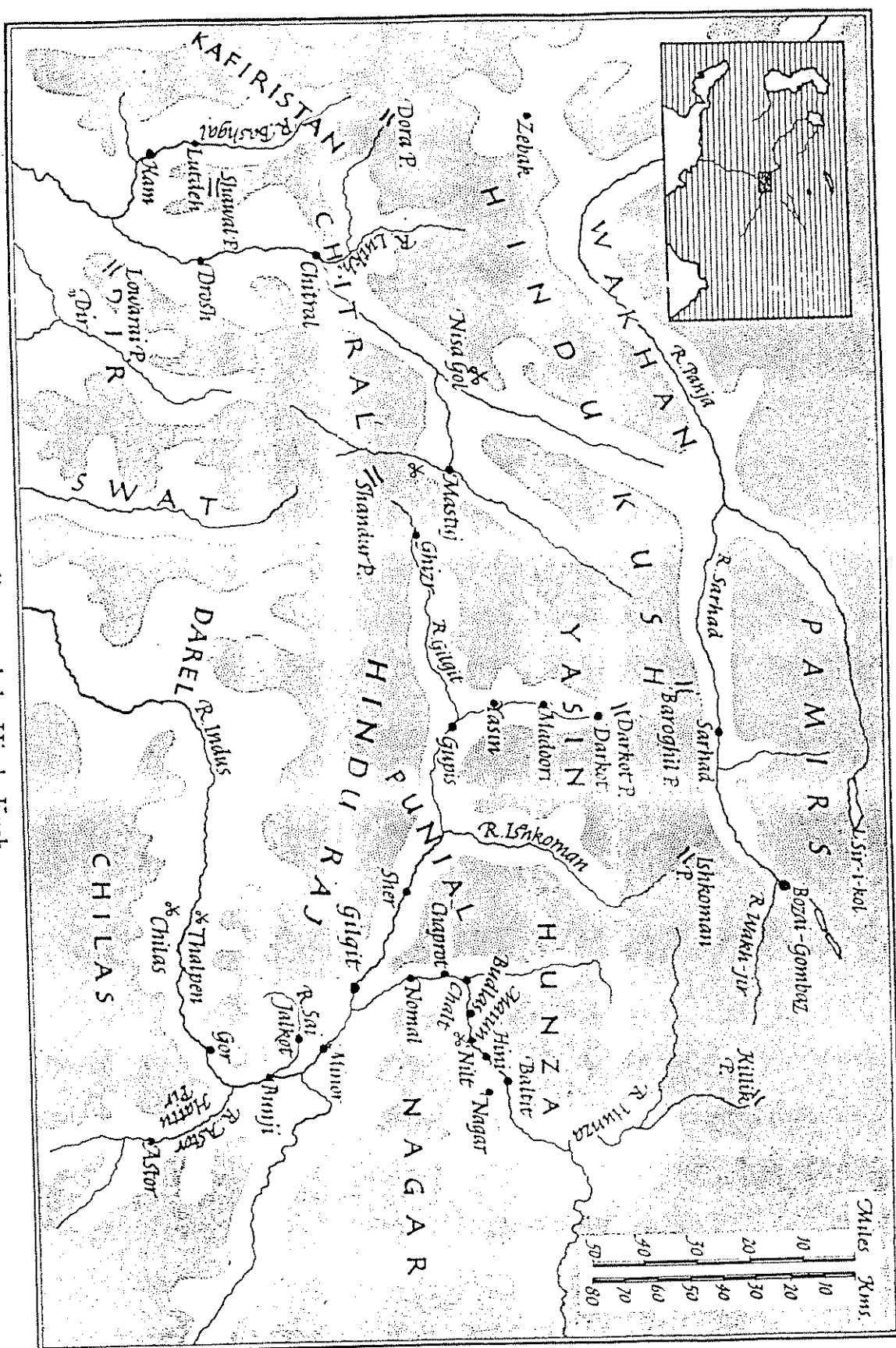
|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| Glaciers | > 4000 m      |
|          | 2000 - 4000 m |
|          | 1000 - 2000 m |
|          | < 1000 m      |



# MAP OF DARDISTAN AND THE PAMIRS.

Scale 1:4,000,000  
English Miles  
Russian Miles  
Russian Fathoms  
Russian Saizens (or Fathoms)





# The Western Himalayas

