

## KINSHIP SYSTEM AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A VILLAGE IN BALOCHISTAN (WORLD SYSTEM ANALYSIS AT MICRO LEVEL IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE)

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper focuses on kinship, family structures and social organization of Village Zandra, District Ziarat in the province of Balochistan. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand the social organization of Pashtoons (Pashto speaking people), how it is organized and how it grows. Different social activities and important aspects of social organization which include group formation, gift exchange, property matters, conflicts, and customary ways of dealing with important events of life have also been taken into the account. The village Zandra is a segmentary society divided into different lineages. Historical background of these lineages, their social stratification and interaction between the lineages has been discussed. During the last 3 decades technology has brought some significant changes in their kinship systems and family structures. The impact of these changes has been analyzed in light of world system theory at micro level. The data presented in this paper has been collected by using qualitative anthropological research techniques.*

**Keywords:** Core, periphery, semi-periphery, capitalist economies, technological development, labour, exploitation, interaction, social stratification

### INTRODUCTION

An organization is born when a group of people share interests and act collectively to coordinate their activities to achieve well defined and specified objectives. People living in a society may have a number of requirements, and to fulfill these requirements they act together to satisfy their needs, taking into consideration behaviour patterns within the concerned society.

This definition may be common to all organizations since it has become the customary way to do things and may bring order, stability and predictable behaviour of its members. David-e-Hunter and Phillip Whitten define the social organizations thus,

*“Social organization refers to the systematic ordering of social relations through acts of choice and decision. These acts are guided by precedents that are provided in the social structure and limited by the range of possible alternatives. Thus observable behaviours, including change and variations in a social system are accounted for in its social organization.” (1976)*

Thus, we can see that social organization deals with interaction of individual within the groups in order to organize societies and bring together their interaction into some systematic order by acts of choice, and affiliation. Social interaction is a continuous and reciprocal series of contacts involving two or more human beings. It is a set of observable behaviour on the part of two or more individuals when there is a reason to assume that these persons are responding to each other, most of the time. People interact with each other, as members of a family, as neighbours, or as members of some social, economic or religious group. Social organization then attempts to study such interactions. According to Sanders,

*"The rural society consists of a wide variety of family groups, rural organization and institutional organizations, reflected in community life. Therefore, rural life is an analytical concept, a piecing together of many types of individual and group behaviour." (1977)*

Social organization may be found in many patterns during mutual interaction. It binds together a group or an individual to the group. The main thing to observe here is the extent of interaction among the villagers, as well as how people live and how they reach out to each other, when help is needed.

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines social structure as,

*"In its most general sense, social structure consists of all those relatively stable features of a social system, which an acting unit would be prudent to take into account if it wishes to make rational decisions in interacting with others. 'Units' of any social system, include a society. Relevant social structure varies according to units' interests, goals and 'location' relative to other units. For certain purposes one might want to take into account the ethnic composition of a population; for others, the age composition; for still others, the composition according to generational experience." (1972)*

Most sociologists tend to regard the normative aspects of social structure as central point in study of a society. Marx's conception of class structure, for instance, certainly involves several important and stable normative patterns, such as property, contract, the institutions of family and kinship, as well as other factors. Further, the normative 'order' involves many aspects of culture. The extreme importance of the normative aspect of social structure is connected with the problem of order. Inherent in all social interaction are two sets of possibilities. (1) The possibility of conflict, mutual interference, deceit, and one-sided gain through coercion. (2) Other set of possibilities include direct and indirect co-operation or at least mutual non-interference of units.

The problem of order is part of the larger inherent problem of integration. Normative consensus is one aspect. Another aspect is the degree of consistency in a varied complex of norms, covering family life, economic, political and religious, as well as other activities, not to mention differentiated structural content and applications which have varied functional significance. Nevertheless, all social structure is connected with the problem of achieving integration."

### **Locale of Study**

The present research was conducted in Village Zandra, District Ziarat, in Baluchistan, Pakistan. Zandra Village is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta just 12 km short of Ziarat town. The village is 8,000 ft. above sea level and is surrounded by grey hills, apple orchards and Juniper forest, which is considered to be the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest in the world. Thus, the area is greener than other areas of the province. Area wise Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan. It shares its northern border with Afghanistan with major cities of Chagai, Quetta and Zhob. The western border is shared with Iran via districts Makran and Kharan. The eastern end is bounded by the Sind province, whereas the Arabian Sea lies on its south.

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Qualitative anthropological research methods which include socio-economic survey, participant observation, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews were used to collect empirical data. Stratified random sampling based upon social classes was used for selecting 100 households. This research was a longitudinal study. First of all a 4 months visit was conducted in 1987, then a couple of month long visits in 1990s and finally in 2007.

### **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

This research has been embedded in the theoretical discourse of world system theory. World Systems Theory is a multidisciplinary approach, which studies the world history and social change at macro-level. This theory is also known as the world systems analysis. This theory treats the world systems as the basic unit of social analysis and by world system it means

the division of labour at international level. The world system approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1970s and 1980s. His three volume work “The modern world system” (1974, 1980, 1989), Historical Capitalism (1996), “The end of the world as we know it (1999) and number of essays (i.e. 1974, 1979, 1983, 1991, 1991(b), 1995, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2004 and 2004(b)) were the major contribution in developing the theory. The other contributors of world system theory are Samir Amin (1970, 1973), Cardoso and Falleto (1969), Santos (1970a, 1970b), Rodney (1974), and Andre Gunder Frank (1969).

According to Wallerstein the capitalist world economy is a dynamic system which keeps on changing with the passage of time. However, some of the basic features remain constant. When we look into these changes the core countries are clearly the most benefited from this arrangement. They earn very high profits from international trade. They exchange manufactured products for raw materials mainly from peripheral countries and to some extent from the semi-peripheral countries. The core countries are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies. It does not mean that every citizen of the periphery is becoming poorer and everybody in the core countries is becoming richer as a result. The landlords in the periphery often become richer at the expense of their underpaid labour, as they can exploit them and can use their surplus manpower in their interest. On the other hand in the core countries, most of the landless rural population is forced to work as wage labour, which results in a relative decline in their income and living standard. In general this theory says that the world’s capitalist economies determine the rout for development of the large part of the world’s population in their own favour.

In world system theory, Wallerstein explains the wide-ranging and different effects of development on the world’s population. He examines how economic and political conditions in northwestern Europe transformed into the superior commercial and political power after the breakdown of feudalism. The capitalist world economy has been growing since its birth. Its geographic expansion has changed political systems as well as the labour conditions wherever it could penetrate. Functions of the world economy have created big differences and inequalities among the economies of different countries. The relationship between the core, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are also relative inconstant. Technological development brings positive changes all over the world. Some impulsive changes are brought in peripheral or semi-peripheral countries, but the core countries get the most advantage. Wallerstein, however, after the analysis of history of the capitalist world system firmly concluded that this development has created inequality and disparities in economic and social sectors of different countries rather than bringing prosperity all over the world.

Most of the world systems theorists have analyze its implementation at macro level. The exploitative relation between core and periphery has been studied at state level. In this research this model will be put on test at micro level to confirm, revise or drastically change the reasoning built into this. Its impact would be observed on village economy. The researcher would try to examine how this development of underdevelopment influences the masses at grass root level. Husain (1976) in the field of technological development and Di Bona (1977) and Keith (1978) in the field of education have studied the implementation of world system analysis at micro level. Arnove (1980) has emphasized the need of further research at micro level.

### **Historical Background of the Natives**

As narrated by the natives, *Pashtoons* have descended through Hazrat Khalid Bin Walid, a great warrior in the days of the Holy Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad (may peace be upon him), who was called *Fathayhan* (victorious), one who achieved great successes in wars. Since

centuries, the word *Fathayhan* has degenerated to the word *Pathan*, another term used for *Pashtoons*.

*Pashtoons* have been living in Zandra since the time they occupied the village centuries ago. They are divided into three tribes i.e. *Kakar Panezai*, *Dotani* and *Turan*. All of them are the descended from one father, Kais Abdul Rashid, who had three sons; (1) Saraan, (2) Ghurghusht and (3) Baitan.

### ***Dautani and Turan Tribes***

*Dautani* and *Turan* are genealogically classed as *Baitani Pashtoons*, sons of Kais, of Turk stock combined with Persian blood; both merged together under traditional descent from a Persian father and an Afghan mother. They are the remnants of old *Matti* tribe, and descendants from Shah Hussain, a Persian Prince.

Bibi Matto, a daughter of *Baitan* chief of *Dautani* and *Turan* lineages, was married in the *Matti* tribe. She had two sons Ghilzai and Lodhi. After these two brothers the tribe was divided into two sub-tribes named after them. Later *Ghilzai* (sub-tribe) was further divided into two lineages called as *Ibrahimzai* and *Turan*, whereas *Lodhi* sub-tribe was divided into six lineages. *Dautanis* are at the top, followed by *Niazi*, *Lohani*, *Ismail*, *Siani* and *Khasor*. *Dautanis* of Zandra migrated from Toi, Gomak, and Wana, three villages of Waziristan. *Turans* are now the principal *Ghilzai* tribe. They were populated between Jalalabad and Khelat-i-Ghilzai. *Ghilzai* families spent the summer there and winter in Dera Ismail Khan. About 300 years ago they migrated to Zandra from Dera Ismail Khan.

About 400 years ago *Syeds*\* were living in the village when *Dautanis* came to here. Ata Muhammad, from Wana was the first *Dautani* to come to Zandra. He had three sons, Khaley, Nazar and Mohammad. All the *Dautanis* living in this area trace their descent from these (three) brothers. Their lineages are *Khaleyzai*, *Nazarzai* and *Mohammadzai* named after these three ancestors. *Khaleyzai Dautanis* were found in the village till late 1990s. The *Turans* have 6 houses, though they are not divided into different lineages.

### ***Kakar (Panezai)***

The *Kakars* are genealogically classed as *Ghurghusht Pashtoons*, and descendants from Kak or Kakar. *Ghurghusht Pashtoons* are of ancient Indian stock, including the *Aparytae (Afridi)*, *Satragyidae (Khattak)* and *Dadicae (Dadi)*, with a very large admixture of *Karlanri* (Turk) and *Seythio (Kakar)* blood probably introduced, the later by *Jats* and *Scythions* in the 1st to 6th centuries, the former by Sabuktigin and Chenghiz Khan in the end of 10th and beginning of 13th centuries. They are probably remnants of the old *Scyfhian* stock that overran the country in the 5th and 8th centuries. They later affiliated with the Indian *Ghakkari* tribes.

The *Kakars* have four sub-divisions i.e. *Sanzar Khel*, *Sanatia*, *Targhara* and *Sargara*. There is also a fifth small sub-division, called *Sianr*, residing at Pishin. The people belonging to *Kakar Panezai* tribe living in Zandra trace their descent *Sanatia*, who live in Quetta – Pashin district. The remnant occupies the Hindubagh tehsil in Zhob and parts of Ziarat district. *Sanatias* have eight main sub-divisions of which *Panezai* is the first and others are *Sarangzai*, *Mallazai*, *Mehtarzai*, *Isa Kheil*, *Brahimzai*, *Shamozai* and *Baezai* respectively.

Approximately 150 years after Atta Mohammad, Khojay, a *Panezai* also came to this area, from Khanzai a village in Pashin, near Quetta. He first came with his family and animals to Mangi but could not find enough food, so he went away to Zandra to work as labourer. He built huts (*jhugies*) at different places in the valley and on mountains, where he would revert

\* UDG tracing their descent through Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him)

in summer.

The population of *Panizais* in Zandra started increasing after the arrival of Khojay; and, curiously, the population of *Dautanis* went down. Within 100 years all *Dautanis* shifted to village Kawas, situated near Zandra, and *Panizais* gained control here. *Dautanis* sold their land and water to them. They only kept 72 hours of *karez* water for them. Now 15 *Dautani* families living in Kawas share the water.

Now, *Panizais* of Zandra are divided into following *Khels* (lineages):

- i. *Gull Mohammad Khel*
- ii. *Janak Khel*
- iii. *Parakh Khel*
- iv. *Anna Khel*
- v. *Hassan Khel*
- vi. *Akhtairzai*
- vii. *Notaizai*

All these lineages trace their descent from Khojay, who had six sons, namely Imam, Umar, Akhtiar, Notai, Hassan and Khalo. Their descendants are called *Imamzai*, *Umarzai*, *Akhtiarzai*, *Notaizai*, *Hassan Khel* and *Khalozai*. The last three *khels* in this list are the descendents of three brothers i.e. Hassan, Akhtiar, and Notai. *Gull Mohammad Khel*, *Janak Khel*, *Parakh Khel* and *Anna Khel* call themselves *Imamzai*. Gull Mohammad, Janak, and Parakh were grandsons of Imam Khan Panizai and sons of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. The first three call themselves *Yasinzai* after *Imamzai* whereas *Anna khel* call them *Juma Khel* after *Imamzai*. Mr. Juma Khan Panizai was brother of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. All people belonging to *Anna Khel* trace their descent to a common ancestor, the great grandson of Juma Khan Panizai.

The occupation of *Panizais* after capturing this area was herding as well as agriculture. These people were very poor. Majority of the people also worked as tenants. In 1915 Haji Payo Khan gave them the idea to grow apples in their fields because he was of this opinion that in this type of atmosphere apples would be very successful but no one gave any attention to him and called him a mad man. That mad man was very much determined in his plan. He grew apple in his fields and showed a big profit to the people. Then the other people also started growing apple in their fields. Now everybody has apple orchards except the six landless families. Now all the people are rich enough.

One thing is very clearly shown from this history and that is a shift from one occupation to another which has changed the pattern of their lives. First their occupation was herding and now they are horticulturist. Because of herding they were leading a nomadic life. They had to migrate from place to place in different seasons with their animals in search of enough fodder and suitable temperature. Now they don't migrate. They live all the year in the same village.

### Social Stratification

Social stratification indicates an arrangement of status within a society into a pattern of social superior and inferior ranks. The most important element in any system of stratification is inequality in differential access to the valued goods and goals such as property/wealth/means of production/power/privilege and symbols of prestige as defined by the society.

There are 8 lineages (*khels*) living in the village. Among these 8 lineages 7 belongs to *Kakar Panizai* tribe and are in the majority, due to which this village is known to be the village of this particular tribe. The other group is *Taran* who considers themselves *Sayyed*. There is a complete social hierarchy among these lineages. *Gull Mohammad Khel*, *Janak Khel*, and

*Parakh Khel* are jointly on top of the social hierarchy and constitute the majority of the village population. When the question about the hierarchy among these three lineages was asked majority of the respondents said that they are equal but it was observed that the people belonging to *Gull Muhammad Khel* always take pride in telling about their lineage. They have the political leadership of the village. They have the bigger population and a better control over the economic resources. *Janak Khel* comes next to them. *Taran* has the religious leadership of the village.

The stratification of the individuals into different social classes does not depend upon the size of the land holdings. It is the annual income from the land which determines the status. The biggest land holder in the village belongs to *Gull Muhammad Khail*. He has 35 acres of land but his annual income does not match the richest person in the village who belongs to *Janak Khail*. He has 16 acres of land but earns 3.5 million rupees per annum. His high income out of comparatively a smaller piece of land is because of the quality of the orchard from where he gets maximum production of high quality apple.

### **Kinship**

Kinship plays an important role in regulating behaviour and the formation of social recognition and cultural relationship born out of descent and marriage. In Zandra the entire society distinguishes itself in a number of relationships, either by descent or consanguinity, as well as differentiating relationships by marriage or affinity, as illustrated below, among *Pashtoons* of Zandra:

### **Family**

The family is the basic unit, and it plays an imperative part in providing proper training and socialization to the individuals to groom them as responsible members of the society. It also performs a number of functions. The most elemental function is that of reproduction, protection, economic support and formal and informal education of the family.

People of Zandra live in a male dominated society, and males are the natural heads in each household. Descent is traced through agnatic line. Here the males are considered to be superior and enjoy profound respect and always get preference over women. The male is considered important because he keeps his patriarchal name moving to the next generation. Customarily the property is inherited by the male. The females are normally forced to leave their right of property in favour of brothers, and receive inheritance only if they have no brother. Land is treated as gift from father to son transferred from one generation to the next. Widows are given one eighth share in the property, though they are forbidden to take it away. Widows, if they are not very old, are normally remarried within the family; so village elders see no harm in giving a piece of property, as inheritance including orchards, land, houses and share of *karez* water.

Water keeps the family together and all the members of a family constitute a common social unit of mutual interaction. All members belonging to the same family owe loyalty to each other.

Residence pattern of the village is also patrilocal. After marriage a woman moves from the house of her parent to the husband's house. Sons mostly keep on living with their parents even after their marriage.

Nuclear family is the basic unit of social structure, and it may comprise a husband, a wife and their children who eat together and share a common place. According to Saghir Ahmed,

*"In some cases the families of married sons with or without their fathers, live in the same compound, cultivate land in common, own cattle jointly, but nevertheless divide their incomes and cook and eat separately. Such households are considered as separate households."* (1977)

Married couples live in a separate portion of the house with the permission of their parents, thus forming the nucleus of a family. In addition to the husband, wife and their children the nuclear family

may, sometimes, includes a single parent after the death of the other. Eric Wolf describes nuclear family as,

*“The nuclear family is seen to comprise really several sets of dyadic or two person relationships. There is, first, the relationship based on coitus between a man and a woman. We may call this the sexual dyad. The dyadic relation between mother and children the maternal dyad. Third, there are dyadic relations among siblings, among brother and sister. Finally, there ‘is the dyadic relation among father and children, the paternal dyad” (1966)*

Eric Wolf’s observation may be considered in the context of nuclear families of Zandra, with a majority of nuclear families, initially, having a large presence of joint or extended families, though they may have become nuclear just within the last couple of decades. Mainly, there is an economic reason for this change, and it may also include the phenomenon of women’s economic empowerment as a factor. As the population of nuclear families increased people were left with small pieces of land, after a period of continued distribution among the heirs, posing threat to their survival as joint/extended families on land resources. So they have to raise money from other sources, normally through individual efforts. Some people may want to keep the land but others may want to sell it and invest the money in business. This provokes in them the desire of independence as well as formation of nuclear families. The second reason could be family disputes either among wives, or with in-laws. During off-seasons, they work individually at different places to earn, which is handed over to the eldest male member of the family who maintains a joint account. Thus for all practical purpose he is the head of the family and consequently responsible for all external family matters. His wife also enjoys a higher status among the ladies of the house, looking after all internal affairs, and so requiring the wives of younger brothers to seek advice from her. Joint families break into nuclear families when a brother refuses to contribute his earning to the family elder and thus the land is distributed. Following are the types of families and their percentages, according to researcher’s survey:

**Table 1. Types of Families**

Sr. No.	FAMILY TYPE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1.	Nuclear Family	64	64%
2.	Joint family	16	16%
3.	Extended family	20	20%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Households**

A household, as defined in the population census, comprises persons living together and eating from the same kitchen and using the same budget, but not necessarily related to each other.

In 1981 there were 120 households, with populations of 2374 in Zandra. Accordingly, the average member in each household would be 22.7. In 2007 the number of households in the village was 295, and the population was 3234, reducing the average household to 10.96. Only 860 persons have been added to the population during the last 26 years whereas there is more than 150% increase in the number of households.

Reason for the low population growth rate in Ziarat could be that the outsiders, especially those, who do not belong to *Panazai* tribe, are discouraged from settling in the village. Only 20 families settled in the village during last three decades. All of them were *Kaker Panizai*. In 1981 only 7 *non-Panizai* families were living in the village, six were *Tarans* and one was *Dautanies*, who left the village after conflict with *Panazais*. Now there are five *Tarans*. The second reason is outward migration. About 81 families have moved from the village to Quetta for business purpose and in search of better education of their children. In 1981 there was no outward migration. Some people were working outside, but their families lived inside the village.

However number of the households in the village has increased much rapidly as compared to increase in population, almost more than double. In 1981 it was 120; it was 208 in 1998; and it is 295 in 2007. This shows a break up of joint families into nuclear families. In 1981 there were seven different *khels*

(lineages) living in the village but now they are 8. Each lineage has different number of households in the village and migrated from the village.

**Table 2. Number of households in the village**

Sr.	Khels (lineage)	In 1981	In 2007	Migrated
1	Gull Mohammad Khel	34	78	22
2	Janak Khel	32	69	18
3	Parakh Khel	25	73	15
4	Hussan Khel	14	30	12
5	Anna Khel	8	19	8
6	Tarans	6	5	6
7	Dautanies	1	0	0
8	Akhtairzai	0	17	0
9	Notaizai	0	4	0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>81</b>

In 1980s and before, this village had extended family system. Brothers would live with their parents even after marriage in the same house. They shared the property, and kept the income together. Each family, (married couple and their children) had a room in the house. All the family, shared the same kitchen, and cooked together. All male members of the household used to eat together. Sometimes they would eat from the same dish. Ladies ate separately (from the males), due to *pardah* (gender segregation). The tradition of *pardah* within the family is still prevailing, though not strictly.

In 2007 this trend has changed. Now they prefer nuclear families and give following reasons for becoming separate.

- When the number of family members increase, then it becomes difficult to live together and cook in the same kitchen. Then they separate and distribute the property.
- If someone wants his share in the property to do business, then the separation takes place, and the property is divided.
- The people don't obey their wives. They give preference to other relatives. There could be separation for odd reason that someone has begun to listen to the counsels of his wife.
- When somebody marries outside the family and establish better affiliation with in-laws. This might lead to separation and distribution of property. The reason for marrying outside the family is education. Now more people are looking for educated wives.
- Sometimes the extended conflicts could lead to separation. The women in houses have small conflicts but men take care that these conflicts do not exceed beyond the limit.

### Head of Household

The male head of the family is accustomed to take all decisions about the house and orchards.

**Table 3. Head of the Household**

Gender	In 1986	Percentage	In 2007	Percentage
Male	116	96.66	263	89.15
Female	4	3.38	32	10.85
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>100%</b>

In 1986 the percentage of male head of household was 96.6% and women percentage 3.38%. There were only four houses where women became heads of the household due to death of their husband. The children were too young and there was no other male to look after. In 2007 the number increased to 32 when women became heads of households. In six cases husbands died and in 26 cases, husbands



had moved to cities for work and would come to the village on weekly or fortnightly basis. Majority of them had confidence in their wives because many of them were educated. In response to the question, "Are you worried about your families?" they answered "No my wife can manage; she is educated." Five of 26 ladies are graduates, 8 have received high secondary college education and nine are matriculates; four had read up to primary or matric classes.

In case of death of the husband, husband's father, (if alive) takes the responsibility to look after his daughter-in-law and grand-children. If the father-in-law is not living with her, he starts visiting her house regularly to help her and procure the necessities of life even from Quetta. The daughter-in-law on the other hand has a moral obligation to seek his formal permission before making any important decision. If father-in-law is not alive then brother-in-law takes the responsibility. However the relatives like father-in-law and brothers-in-law are not final authorities. If no responsible male is available in the deceased husband's family then the real father and brothers of the widow take care of her and all the responsibilities are carried out by them.

### **Tarboor**

*Tarboor* means father's brother's son. In practice it is a patrilineal group in which the consanguinal of the father side are lumped. Normally the group (*tarboor*) consists of up to seven generations. Within this group all members can trace their relations with each other. *Tarboor* is considered as a unit in which the members have common prestige. If the prestige of one member of *tarboor* is damaged the whole *tarboor* feels ashamed. These *tarboor* also make an endogamous unit i.e. they inter-marry. Thus structurally *tarboor* consist of many families in which the relationship of one member with the other is known to each other and the relationship of each person can be traced with the other by a common patrilineal descent.

### **Kheil (lineage)**

The next larger unit of concentric circle is *kheil* (lineage), which may be called an extension of *tarboor*, *kheil* is a patrilineal group which includes members having common ancestry, and it is believed that every person in the group is related to each other although he cannot trace his actual consanguinity with that person. This may be recognized as the basic difference between *tarboor* and *kheil*. *Kheil* is actually the unit in which people participate in the primary and secondary group relationships, meaning that whenever there is happiness or sorrow they will participate in the event. They also have a common term used after the person's name; for example, there are total of seven *kheils* among *Kakar* (name of a tribe) *Panezai* (name of a sub-tribe) living in this village.

### **Kaum/kabila (sub-tribe)**

Majority of people in the village belongs to the same *kaum/kabila* (sub-tribe). Many *kheils* combine in a larger circle known as *kaum or kabila*, or tribe. The basic difference between *kheil* and *kaum* is that *kheil* is the unit of participation, while *kaum* is the unit of identification. People identify themselves with each other by a common surname which provides a sense of identification.

### **Interaction down the Lineage Line**

People living in a society have different relationship with one another and interact with them accordingly. They have dealing with each other though the nature of dealing might be different with different people. For example, members of a family may have different relation with each other; dealing with father would be different from that of a young brother. This would tell us that one cannot have the same sort of dealing with other members in the same society; or even with one's relations. In rural Punjab different castes have different relationship with each other. So in tribal areas, each tribe, or sub-tribes or lineages may behave in a different manner with each other.

Zandra is a typical segmentary society and their social organization is based on lineages. All residents are divided into tribes; and each tribe into sub-tribes and further down the lineages called as *khels*. So we see that all sub-tribes and lineages in Zandra have different relations

with each other. For example among seven lineages of *Panizais* three i.e. *Gull Mohammad Khel*, *Janak Khel*, and *Parakh Khel* trace their descent from three brothers who were the fourth generation of Khojay. These three lineages are closer to each other since they are descendents of real brothers. Presently fourth and fifth generations of these lineages live in the village. The remainder three lineages i.e. *Hassan Khel*, *Akhtairzai*, and *Notaizai*, tracing their descent from three sons of Khojay, are closer to each other because of the same reason. *Anna khel* is closer to the first three because they trace their descent through Juma Khan who was father's brother of Gull Muhammad, Janak and Parakh.

The percentage of endogamy in the village is about 84%. Since all people belonging to one lineage are considered a family, so the first preference in marriage is to marry daughters with father's brother's son. If there is room for an alternative proposition the daughter will be married to someone from the same lineage, all lineage members being equal. However, if there is no suitable match in the family, the choice falls on a boy from the next lineage, of the same sub-tribe. The three lineages *Gull Mohammad khel*, *Janak khel* and *Parakh khel* are close to each other so the choice falls on either of these. The next preference would fall on *Anna Khel*, then *Hassan Khel*, *Akhtairzai*, or *Notaizai* with whom they may have alliance created through marriages. As for the later three lineages are considered as a little bit apart from the former three but they are close to each other any way so they may also be included in the preference. After the *Panizai* the choice falls on *Dautanis* and *Tarans*.

Same system of preferences works for conflict resolution, elections, sharing *karez* water and sale/purchase of water/land. This system has been at work in this society since ages and has been strictly followed. Now, since the last couple of decade as the roots of market economy are getting deeper in the society the people at times is reluctant to adhere to the tradition. As the greed for getting rich takes hold on them. People have started to prefer the financially strong and well educated families for marriage.

Similar is the case in exchange and sale/purchase of water and land. Better healthy offers are now preferred irrespective of where it came from. The person who gives more money is the winner, no matter his lineage. During last 2 decades, *Panizais* and *Dautanis* have married among each other; though they belong to different tribes. Nevertheless, some people do exploit lineage, and offer lesser amount for land and water to people of their own lineage because they know that they are bound to sell their property to them.

### **Analytical Discourse**

In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century people of the village were nomads and the apple economy changed their nomadic lifestyle to the permanent settlements. Subsistence economy has changed into market economy which has created and enhanced the lust for money among the people as their reliance on machine made consumer products has increased which are available in the market and properly backed up with advertising.

Since the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the village economy was only based on horticulture with apple as the main source of income, but now they are involved in different businesses and employment in public and private sector to earn additional income. In order to further supplement domestic income, the women have started working. Some of them have started producing home based handicrafts.

In the field of horticulture use of technology, modern techniques, transportation, pesticides and chemical fertilizers is clearly visible and it has grown during the last three decades. The low profit farm products have been replaced by the expensive ones. Improved irrigation system has also been introduced in the village in public-private partnership and some further refinements have been brought with the help of NGOs. The traditional *karez* system has been replaced by tube-wells which has weakened their social integration.

The traditional occupations and economic systems are replaced by the modern. Women are more empowered than in the past. With the introduction of new technology their labour and work style also changed. Initially the women were involved in the form as well as the livestock activities, but now it is very rare. With the introduction of electrical home appliances the ladies have a lot of leisure time.

Besides horticulture/agriculture some other occupations are also becoming popular in the village which includes business, professional driving, government jobs, migration and labour. The business includes shop keeping, sale and purchase of automobiles, rental property and the industrial middlemen for farm products. The traditional occupations are barbers, blacksmith, cobbler, tailor and a folk musical instrumental player. *Barter system* and *sepi system* which are locally called as *had system* no more existing in the village. About 30 years ago, there was no market in the village, but now there is a proper market having 68 shops in the middle of the village, where all the modern products of daily use are available. Many such products were available in the shops, which were even newly introduced in Islamabad. A major change from homemade products to consumer products mostly from the core countries was observed in the village.

Due to the introduction of new technology, availability of consumer products, electronics, services and luxuries like better health facilities, higher education, better housing facilities, entertainment sources like television, cinema etc. has increased the lust and love for money. The natives have become more materialistic in nature. Now they are in pursuit of jobs, businesses, wages and some other activities to generate additional income. This love for money and material has weakened their social organization and family structures. Lineage based interaction has been changing very rapidly. Now the preferences are not given to the lineages, rather it is the wealth which matters. The extended and joint families have also started breaking into nuclear families. This breaking up of families has changed the bigger land holding patterns to the small pieces of land which increased their reliance on alternative sources of income. This situation has resulted into urban migration where the majority of the adults work for the industry and their dependence upon the consumer products has also been increased.

Natives have started migrating towards the cities in pursuit of jobs, businesses, wages, services and luxuries like better health facilities, higher education, better housing facilities, entertainment sources like television, cinema etc. As mentioned earlier there are 81 families that have migrated from the village to Quetta and some other cities, which resulted into breakup of joint families into nuclear families and in some cases distribution of property also. Eight families of these 81 are living in Quetta to enjoy better lifestyle, having better educational and health facilities, but the heads of the households are still working in the village. They, however, visit their families once a week. Some of the families in the village have constructed their houses in Quetta but have not moved there. They have sent any male member of the family to Quetta, who works there and takes care of the house. The other family members could go and live there whenever needed. The children live there for their education and females for better healthcare and treatment facilities especially during their pregnancies and childbirth. About 32 men have been living out of the village for their work and their families are living in the village. So urban migration from the village could be categorized into three types i.e. all members of the family migrated, male migrated and in some cases female and children migrated leaving the male in the village. Youth migrated to cities has started wearing Western dresses. They have started using musical devices like walk-mans etc. Overseas immigration is not common in the village. Only two boys have gone abroad for getting higher education.

This lust for money stimulates the people to migrate to cities, which obviously increases population in cities and decreases farm related activities. It also casts negative impact on the families. Children have to live without their fathers, wives without their husbands and the old parents without their sons. Socialization of children without father often leads to some bad results because only money cannot fulfill all requirements. Without husband, wife often becomes victim of emotional disturbance, depression and other such problems. The elderly persons become more vulnerable to thefts and robberies because taking care of money or the expensive products sent by their sons becomes difficult at such an old age. At an old age, a man probably needs sons rather than money.

The migration from villages to cities proves beneficial for the industry because the industrialist can have cheap labour. By having extra workforce available in the market, they can easily exploit the poor

villagers offering them low remuneration. They enjoy this situation as the workforce belonging to rural areas does not have awareness of its rights. According to the world system theorists this situation does not prevail for a long time as the workforce becomes aware of their rights with the passage of time. Until then core countries are benefited as many of them have their industry in the periphery.

A person living in cities uses more consumer products which benefits the industry. The customer normally pays whatever the marketers demand because their products are backed up with advertising which helps to create a link between high prices and better quality in consumer's mind. Edible products do not match the nutritional level of the homemade items and thus cause malnutrition leading to health problems. The people striving for more money often work more than normal and takes less care for their diet. While working they eat whatever is available, so their health starts deteriorating because of the malnutrition and overworked. This malnutrition and health problems increase medical bill of the consumer which again goes to the industry.

Poor health automatically creates a vicious circle which starts from poor health leads to more expenditure, which becomes a cause of poverty and poverty causes malnutrition, and this malnutrition reflects as poor health. This vicious circle creates a dependency on core countries.

As a result of male migration, man living away from his wife may go to sex workers for satisfaction of his sexual desire from where he may carry different types of diseases, which further transfer to his wife also. This again increases the medical bill, which becomes a source of profit for the pharmaceutical industry owned by the core countries.

Evidence of overseas migration for educational purpose is also there in the village which according to the world system theorists may support the brain-drain programme of the core countries.

In the end the researcher is in full agreement with the views of world system theorists who have been working in the field of capitalist world economy. The argument developed by Wallerstein (1974, 1980, and 1989), Samir Amin (1970, 1973), Cardoso and Falleto (1969), Santos (1970a, 1970b), Rodney (1974), and Andre Gunder Frank (1969) seems valid. So in the light of empirical data world system theory is found valid and accepted.

## CONCLUSION

Man is change oriented in nature. He has always been striving for the richness of human life. Agricultural Revolution in 8000 to 5000 BC and Industrial Revolution in 18<sup>th</sup> century has brought some significant change in man's life. The concept of development changed from enhancement of the richness of human life to the richness of the economy in which a man lives. This change has also affected the natives' life and traditions. The natives are happy as far as cash flow increases which resulted in the growth of per-capita income and increase in the volume of consumer goods and thus improved the material quality of life of the people. On the other hand it has also resulted into the disintegration of social bonds in the village. This situation supports the world's capitalist economies in different ways. Technology, pesticides, chemical fertilizers pharmaceutical and consumer products are imported from core countries which in turn promotes growth for capitalist industry on one side and increases lust for money among the natives on the other who start selling their services and raw materials to the industry to fulfill their economic needs. So interdependence exists, for periphery it is for finished products and for core it is for raw materials and human resource. This interdependence supports the core countries as the consumer products used in peripheral countries become a source of profit and inexpensive raw material and cheap labour provide them savings. So they are becoming richer and richer at the cost of the peripheral economies.

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