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STEREOTYPES AND BOUNDARIES: PAṬHĀN IN GILGIT, NORTHERN PAKISTAN

"Paṭhān are dealing in heroin, weapons and everything. Because of them it happened that every boy is carrying his own pistol. They think about nothing except about how to make money. They totally control the trade in Gilgit. They gave us all the trouble!" (Nusrat Wali, a young man from Gilgit)

Introduction: Groups and boundaries

Identity groups need boundaries. Boundaries of identity circumscribe them and distinguish different groups from one another. They have to tell whether a person belongs to one group or to another. They are, in short, the foundation of difference. Boundaries have to be clear-cut in order to accomplish their purpose. There can be no border zones of indifference or ambivalence. Ambivalence would challenge difference and thus would threaten identity.

If we take situational understandings of ethnicity seriously, a category of identity can be delimited only in relation to other categories. There is no identity of a group of people "in itself" but only in relation to others. The concept of identity combines the view from within with perspectives from outside. This means, the identity of a group reflects both what its members think about themselves and what others think about this group, and/or how they interact with the group's members. Social-psychologically this dependence of self-identity on the other is obvious, for the identity of the self becomes a problem only because the other exists.

Paṭhān living as migrants in Gilgit, Northern Pakistan, are the topic of this paper. If the introductory remarks are correct, the category "Paṭhān" cannot be described just in itself. It has to be put into relation to other categories, with other identities and the boundaries in between. I want to describe and analyse the boundary setting off Paṭhān from the people of Gilgit. Both groups, or better, categories of people, are very much opposed to one another in the town.

The boundary in between is indeed clearcut. But still, ambivalence remains because people can pass across the boundary.

After giving an overview about Paṭhān in Gilgit and about relations between Paṭhān and people of Gilgit, I will mainly focus on stereotypes setting the two groups apart from each other.

Gilgit

Gilgit is the largest town of the high mountain area of Himalaya and Karakorum called the "Northern Areas of Pakistan". Since 1947, the region has been governed by Pakistan. Gilgit is situated at a strategical position where valleys and routes from different directions meet. Mostly due to this position it has been both center of power and target for conquest. For aproximately one and a half centuries, Gilgit has been ruled by "foreign" powers, be they rulers from neighbouring petty kingdoms like Yasin, a regional power like Kashmir, a world-wide empire like Great Britain or a post-colonial state like Pakistan.

Gilgit's population is extremely diversified along various dimensions of difference. The people living in Gilgit group themselves into innumerable categories delimited for example by religion, language, descent, regional belonging and/or quasi-kinship. To take only one dimension of difference: fifteen different mother tongues are spoken among roughly 40000 inhabitants.[1]

Especially in the present century Gilgit attracted many migrants both from other parts of the Northern Areas and from down country Pakistan. Apart from people from the Hunza valley, Paṭhān are the most prominent group of immigrants.

Paṭhān and people from Gilgit

The category "Paṭhān" is mainly externally delimited. Normally, the people put together in that category do not label themselves "Paṭhān". For them, the word "Paṭhān" sounds quite derogatory.[2] Moreover, people that are grouped together under that label in Gilgit would not put themselves into one and the same category. "Paṭhān" in Gilgit generally means "people coming from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP)". Both Hindko-speakers from the Hazara district of NWFP who call themselves "Hazārawālē" and Pashtu-speakers from the rest of the Province who call themselves "Pashtūn" form together the category "Paṭhān" in the town. But whereas Hazārawālē admit that they too have been Pashtūn in some not so distant past, and that they are still very much simliar to Pashtūn today, Pashtūn themselves very much dislike to be associated with Hazārawālē.[3]

"People of Gilgit" (Gilgitwālē) is also a category relevant only in con-

trast with others. If there were no Paṭhān, no Panjābī, no Hunzawālē etc. in Gilgit, there would be no Gilgitwālē but only Yeśkun, Ṣīn, Kaśmīrī, Kamin and the like. Place and locality become valid and relevant sources of identity only because there are people coming from other places, people that are different according to that criterion. Further, there are varying degrees of "Gilgitness" among those people who are grouped together as opposed to Paṭhān. Not everybody who regards himself as belonging to the category "Gilgitwālē" is accepted as such by all the others claiming the same identity. There are those who say that they are the offspring of the first settlers in the valley. They call themselves *muṭhulfau*, that is "those who prepared the soil". There are others like Kashmīrī who came originally from another place (Kashmir) and who are still regarded as people from outside by the *muṭhulfau*. But compared with Paṭhān they are accepted as people of Gilgit.

Few people in Gilgit who are not themselves Paṭhān think in friendly terms about that group. If there is any group of people in the town about which negative stereotypes are told unanimously, it is the Paṭhān. They are characterized by others with prejudices and accusations like the one quoted as intro of the paper. These prejudices are by no means concealed from the Paṭhān. Several times I witnessed how Paṭhān were publicly called names by Gilgitwālē. This behaviour clearly singles Paṭhān out in Gilgit. Not even the lowest groups included in the category "Gilgitwālē" are treated that way.

The negative stereotypes and prejudices are the "subjective" aspects of the boundary stone setting off Paṭhān from people of Gilgit. Language, patrilineal descent and regional origin are its "objective" characteristics. From the outside it seems to be clear both *how* Paṭhān are and *who* they are.

It is unknown when the first Paṭhān arrived at Gilgit, but members of this group came in increasing numbers after the town became controlled by Pakistan. The growing influx of Paṭhān and others into Gilgit has resulted in an accentuation of the antagonism of "people from Gilgit" versus "people from outside". For Gilgitwālē, Paṭhān are the typical people from outside.

People from Gilgit and people from outside

The opinion people from Gilgit hold about people from outside was formed by their historical experience of outsiders in Gilgit. This experience, as it is remembered and represented today was generally negative. Mainly it was an experience of foreign domination, deprivation and even forced migration and slavery. For example, USMAN ALI, one of the local historians of the town, calls his book about Gilgit "Gilgit kī rōg kahānī", that is, "The painful story of Gilgit" (USMAN ALI 1990).

When Gilgit was attacked by the rulers of Yasin in the first part of the

19th century, thousands of its inhabitants were carried off by the conquerors and sold into slavery (VANS AGNEW 1847: 288). But the climax of these deportations seems to have been reached only with Gohar Amman, the next attacker from Yasin (cf. MÜLLER-STELLRECHT 1981: 405f). Also due to the depletion of its population Gilgit ceased to be a political force and became simply an object of rivalry among other powers. The cruel rule of Gohar Aman was replaced by Kashmiri domination in about 1860.[4] In the last decades of the 19th century the British began to demand their share of power in the region, taking over the administration of Gilgit completely between 1935 and 1947. Only during two weeks of November 1947, after a revolt against the renewed control of Kashmir in Gilgit, did the people from Gilgit succeed in establishing their own "provisional government" in the town. After that, a political agent from Pakistan took charge and stripped the provisional government of all competencies. Until today, the population of Gilgit and the Northern Areas are discriminated against in the political arena of Pakistan. Due to the Kashmir dispute, the Northern Areas are not regarded as a part of the constitutional territory of Pakistan. The population of the region is deprived of any right to participate in the formation of the political bodies of the country. They have no right to vote for the National Assembly. Further, they have no access to the highest judiciary of the country. The very first Pakistani political agent, who took charge in Gilgit on November 16, 1947, was a Paṭhān (Hazārawāla), just as the greater part of his successors were. Since 1947, nearly all important positions in the administration were held by people from outside and especially by Paṭhān.

This historical experience of foreign domination forms an important part of the negative image of people from outside in Gilgit. Beside politics, other factors are involved. In the realm of economics, foreign domination was accompanied, in the perspective of the people from Gilgit, by foreign appropriation of local resources. This holds true especially to landownership. Originally, land was unalianable.[5] But the British-Kashmiri administration introduced a regulation that legalized sales of land.[6] This regulation was acclaimed to in the beginning by the people of Gilgit, because it allowed them to exchange landed property for money and gave them the chance to participate in an increasingly monetarizing economy. Later they understood that by selling land they deprived themselves of economic opportunities in the long run. Land could be sold only to subjects of Jammu and Kashmir State. It was sold mainly to people from the nearer surroundings, especially to people from Hunza. But when Pakistan took charge of the administration in Gilgit in 1947, this *State Subjects Rule* was no longer enforced and also other people got the opportunity to hold property in the town.[7] Today, these mutations of land are very much resented and the introduction of the regulations mentioned above are sometimes represented as a kind of legal dispossession. Bureaucrates from outside are held resposible for

not safeguarding the interests of the people of Gilgit.

Paṭhān themselves bought little land in Gilgit. But they dominate another sector of the town's economy: trade. Gilgit is essentially a marketplace that serves the entire region. Paṭhān are very successful traders. They dominate trade in Gilgit in a considerable measure, and they have monopolized the trade with certain goods, among them technical goods, shoes, cosmetics and, to some extent, cloth.[8] The shops of Paṭhān are mainly situated in the central parts of Gilgit's bazar. Further, Paṭhān have monopolized certain areas of the services trade. Nearly all barbershops are operated by Hazārawālē and every cobbler who sits at a corner of a street with some pieces of leather and a collection of shoe-shine to make up worn out pairs of foot-gear is a Pashtūn.

Beside politics and economy, a third factor contributes to the negativity of people from outside in Gilgit: religion. The people of Gilgit belong to different Islamic sects. Originally, they were mainly Shia but under the domination of Sunni rulers in the 19th century Shiites began to convert to Sunni Islam. In the 20th century Ismailis, particularly from Hunza, also began to settle in Gilgit. Until the 1970s, people belonging to these different sects maintained generally amicable relations with one another. Intermarriage was not rare. But some twenty years ago a militant conflict between Sunnis and Shiis arose. Religious leaders of both groups started to criticise the beliefs and practices of the other. Today relations are strained to the extent that Shiis and Sunnis sometimes call one another "*kufr*" (non-believers) and that periodically armed conflicts erupt between members of both sects. These periods of tensions are regretted and feared very much by the general public. They have already caused a great number of deaths and a deterioration of the economic situation of Gilgit. During tensions curfew is imposed, the shops close down, traffic stops and tourism suffers heavily. To prevent further violence, paramilitary bodies from the North Western Frontier Province, i. e. Paṭhān, are stationed in Gilgit and patrol the town. Locals regard this patrolling as an occupation by Paṭhān.

Nearly everyone in Gilgit attributes the conflict between Shia and Sunni to the Pakistani administration in the town that wants to secure its own control by a kind of divide-and-rule policy.[9] It is probably impossible to prove such a responsibility, but nevertheless it is regarded as obvious by the greater part of the population, both Shia and Sunni.[10]

These historical circumstances, or better: these representations of circumstances, result in the general disapproaval of people from outside in Gilgit. "From outside" carries the connotation of evil, fraud, dispossesion, appropriation of authority. All these aspects of negativity of people from outside in Gilgit contribute to the bad image of Paṭhān. Resentment against the government is to a great extent diverted into resentment against "the" Paṭhān in Gilgit although, of course, the Paṭhān shopkeepers in the town do not at all belong to the Paṭhān

power-elite but have come from poor and backward areas of the NWFP.

Internal diversity: Who are Paṭhān?

The discourse of Gilgitwālē and their stereotypes represent Paṭhān as a uniform category of people. This uniformity is fictitious (as is, conversely, the uniformity of the people of Gilgit). We have already seen that not all Paṭhān are Pashtu-speakers, but also among the speakers of Pashtu many internal divisions and differences exist.

It is well-known that Pashtūn are differentiated into a segmentary system of "tribes".[11] But in Gilgit, difference of regional origin is more relevant than difference of putative descent. When I asked a Pashtūn about his place of origin, I mostly got the answer "Peshawar". Actually, there are very few Pashtūn from Peshawar in Gilgit. Most of them are from the rural areas of the NWFP. A number of reasons account for giving Peshawar as one's place of origin. First, Peshawar, being the capital and the largest city of the province, is something like a symbol for the whole province. Most Pashtūn in Gilgit also do not expect that a foreigner knows other places than Peshawar in that province. Second, Pashtūn prefer to be associated with the prestigious city and refined urban ways of Pashtūn-life rather than with villages and rural backwardness. Quite often Pashtūn responded only reluctantly to my insisting questions for their real place of origin. But actually the majority of Pashtūn traders in Gilgit originate from just three villages of the NWFP. These are the adjoining villages Mayar and Miankali in Jandul, formerly belonging to Bajor and today part of the district Dir, and the village Sagi in the Mohmand Agency.[12] Their origin from these villages forms an important basis of their social organisation in Gilgit.

Mayar and Miankali have been old trading centers.[13] Merchants from these villages operated caravans between Peshawar and Central Asia via Chitral and Badakhshan. Already in the beginning of the century, a few traders from these villages came to Gilgit via Chitral and the Shandur-Pass. In 1935 the most important trade-route for caravans from Dir was cut off when the Amir of Afghanistan closed the border between Badakhshan and Chitral. To find an alternative, more traders from Mayar and Miankali went eastward to Gilgit. They carried salt and tea to Gilgit and brought back dried fruit and rugs made from goat-hair. During nearly half of the year the Shandur-Pass was impassable because of snow. The journey was long and tiresome even in the summer. Some men from Mayar and Miankali settled in Gilgit and started to operate permanent shops in the town, buying their merchandise from others who kept moving between Dir and Gilgit. A few of these settlers from Dir married local women, mostly Kashmīrī. Some traders also settled on the way in Gupis or in Yasin and sometimes later on their sons went on to settle in Gilgit. The number of men

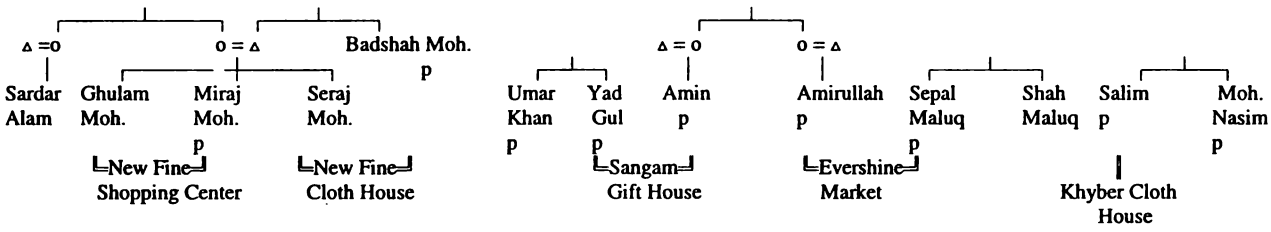
from Mayar and Miankali in Gilgit increased slowly.

This increase accelerated considerably after the Indus valley road was completed in 1971 (Ispahani 1989: 189). Now traders from the two villages no longer took the route via Chitral and Shandur to Gilgit but via Swat and the Indus valley. The new road greatly reduced the time of the journey and, equally important, made it possible the whole year round. A new pattern of migration emerged: many more traders from Mayar and Miankali came to Gilgit, making use of their relations to those already living there. But these new migrants did not settle in the town. Their families, wives, and children stayed behind in their villages. They kept coming and going, establishing shops together with companions (mostly relatives) and living in houses together with others from the same villages sharing the same way of life. Indeed, most *dērē*, as these communal households are called, are shared either by men from Miankali or from Mayar who are also often related with one another.

The term *dērē* (singular: *dēra*) for these households of men is significant. "*Dēra*" means a temporary dwelling-place, for example a tent (c. f. RAVERTY 1982). In the conceptualization of Pashtūn, a *dēra* is not a house (Pashtu: *kor*). The term "*kor*" is reserved for houses "where a woman lives", as I was told, i. e. for houses, where the family lives together and is at home. The term "*dēra*" indicates clearly that these Paṭhān regard themselves as not being at home in Gilgit but as people from outside. They remain (and want to remain) so much apart that they do not learn Shina, the local language, contrary to those Pashtūn that have come earlier and that have subsequently settled in Gilgit.

My example (fig. 1) shows the men sharing a *dēra* in the bazar area of Gilgit. All persons that are named in the figure share the household, but only those that are marked were present in Gilgit when I recorded its composition. Thus, in total thirteen men make use of the same house. All of them are from Miankali and they are all related closely to at least one other person in the *dēra*.

Badshah Mohammad was the first of these *dērēwālē* (persons sharing a *dēra*) who came to Gilgit. Originally, he was trading between Pakistan and Afghanistan. When the war in Afghanistan broke out, he preferred not to go there any longer because the situation there was quite dangerous. He looked for other opportunities and opened a cloth-shop in Gilgit in 1982. Badshah Mohammad is also the tenant of the *dēra*. The other *dērēwālē* followed him, four of whom were his nephews. Five shops are operated by the *dērēwālē*, mostly by two people. Those that are not engaged in a shop are *tijāratwālē*, i. e. merchants that bring goods from China or from down-country Pakistan. They sell their goods to shopkeepers in Gilgit. Their *dērēwālē* have the first choice of these goods. They can also get these goods on commission whereas other shopkeepers have to pay for them directly or within a few days. Thus, the *dērēwālē* not only share a house but also form a nucleus for business.



legend:

- △ woman
- o man
- = marriage
- p person present in Gilgit at time of recording
- [ ] indicating shop held together by the persons above

Fig. 1: Relations between persons from Miankali (Dir) sharing a *dēra*

Most traders from the two villages in Dir are specialized in the same fields. They are either dealing in shoes or in modern consumer goods ranging from china and sunglasses to tape-recorders and radios. A few traders are also dealing in cloth. Those migrants from Dir who cannot afford the capital required for starting a shop are cobblers. Their service needs no more investment than a few brushes, shoe-shine, a little leather and some nails.

Traders from the village Sagi in Mohmand came only after the completion of the KKH. They too share *dērē* and specializations in trade: they are mostly dealing in cosmetics and cheap plastic items like buttons, clothing-pins and ornaments. These specializations are not deliberate decisions but rather outcomes of Pashtūn's networks and ways of learning and sharing experience. Trade in different kinds of goods requires different bodies of knowledge. If for example a young man from Sagi wants to go to Gilgit for business, he normally becomes an apprentice in an already existing shop of a relative or fellow-villager before he starts his own business. Thus he learns the kind of trade the business-men of his village are already practicing in Gilgit.

Mohmand and Dir are dry regions where agriculture is difficult. Both areas are "backward" regarding the development of infrastructure, education, etc. Mohmand still today is a tribal area where the Government of Pakistan takes little initiative. Dir was an internally autonomous state since the turn of the century. Its rulers were quite inimical to modern development and education and resisted all moves of Government in these fields. In 1969, the state was abolished and Dir became a district, but still the region is underdeveloped compared, for instance, to the neighbouring valley of Swat.[14] Because of lacking means of subsistence and opportunities of employment at home, many people of these areas have to leave their places, looking elsewhere for work. This pressure to leave was increased by the establishment of Afghan refugee-camps close to Mayar and Miankali. Refugees offered their services at the lowest rates and destroyed the local labour market.

The majority of Hazārawālē in Gilgit come from the village Dodial which is situated close to Mansehra. With very few exceptions all barbers in Gilgit are from Dodial. Men from this village also operate cloth-shops (mostly in Gilgit's Kashmiri-Bazar) and petrol pumps. When Gilgit was cut off from Kashmir after 1947, the way via Babusar-Pass and Kaghan to Mansehra became the crucial route to supply the town with all kinds of goods that were not produced locally. This route was quickly improved and made jeepable after the first Kashmir war. Dodial is situated just at the southern end of this route. Because of this many people of the village became engaged in trade with Gilgit operating caravans and jeeps first and looking for permanent opportunities later. Many men settled with their families in Gilgit. Today, there is no new influx from Dodial or Mansehra to the town. After the completion of the KKH the road via

Babusar was abandoned by traffic. It is only a tourist attraction now.

The various groups of people forming the category "Paṭhān" intermingle little in Gilgit. This holds true not only for Pashtūn and Hazārawālē but also for the Pashtūn originating from different places. People from Mayar and Miankali stay in seperate *dērē*. Pashtū from different districts or tribal areas hardly know one another. They tell: "We say *salām* to one another but we keep apart." Paṭhān become a unified category (both from the outside and from the inside) only in relation to others, that is, to the people of Gilgit.

Stereotypes: How are Paṭhān?

The negative image Gilgitwālē draw about Paṭhān can be attributed in a large extent to the experience of foreign domination and of political incapacitation. But there are stereotypes too.[15] Paṭhān are especially accused of three "evils": of trafficking in drugs and arms and of homosexuality.

Parts of the NWFP are until today what they have been during British times: nearly completely uncontrolled "tribal agencies". The British resorted to this political construct because they were unable to subdue all parts of the province. To make the best of this situation they gave nearly complete internal autonomy to them and reprimanded their inhabitants only when they trespassed certain limits or attacked other areas.[16] Until today these tribal areas, nearly all of them situated on the border to Afghanistan, are favourite places for the production of hashish, opium and heroin and for the manufacturing of weapons. Although this is no secret in Pakistan, the government does not try to interfere.

In Gilgit, Paṭhān have been connected with drug-trafficking since a long time. The Gilgit Diary mentioned already in 1904 that Paṭhān have been caught selling hashish in the Bazar.[17] Today, a considerable drug-problem exists especially among young men in the town and Paṭhān are held responsible for that. For example, a Kashmīrī told me: "In former times, nearly no drugs were used in Gilgit. The people from Gilgit went nowhere from where they could have brought drugs. But Paṭhān spread drugs in whole Pakistan. They get the stuff from Dir and Swat. But not only the Paṭhān from Dir and Swat are drug-traffickers, but all of them, also those from Peshawar and Hazara. They are all evil and depraved."

The accusation of arms trade is similar to that of drug-trafficking. Paṭhān are reproached for both supplying all kinds of weapons and for instigating the conflict (i. e. the conflict between Shiis and Sunnis) in which these weapons are used. Both stereotypes together, the image of the Paṭhān drug-trafficker and the image of the Paṭhān arms-trader, make up the stereotype of the Paṭhān who is only interested in material profit, no matter what damage his profit means to others. In Gilgit, sentences can be heard frequently like "Paṭhān come here, take

our money, and then they disappear again". This means, there is no relationship of social responsibility between Paṭhān and people from Gilgit. Paṭhān are not embedded in the local web of mutual obligations and commitments. Gilgitwālē are very fond of telling stories about poor cobblers that have carried out their trade for years and that then suddenly, over night, open large shops with expensive merchandise. How, if not by illegal trade of drugs or arms, they conclude suggestingly, could these Paṭhān have been able to collect the capital for such an investment?

Further, Paṭhān are connected with a number of trades that are considered defiling and dirty. They collect all kinds of scraps, iron, glass and paper, and transport them to the down-country for recycling. It is also Paṭhān who collect hides from the butcher shops for tanning. And, of course, also haircutting and cobbling are regarded as quite defiling. No Gilgitwālā, even if suffering from considerable poverty, would take up these businesses. There is another special trade of Paṭhān: The preparation and sale of *naswar*, a kind of powdered mouth-tobacco.[18] Many Gilgitwālē are using it, but its consumption is still regarded as dirty and a bad habit. Very often, speaking in a general way about Paṭhān, Gilgitwālē say: "Paṭhān do all dirty kinds of business" or "Paṭhān are working with dirt".

Finally, the reproach of homosexuality contributes another aspect to that image. Not only Gilgitwālē are of the opinion that homosexuality is especially widespread among Paṭhān. A large body of equivocal and also of quite unequivocal love songs and poetry exists in Pashtu.[19] But in Gilgit this wide-spread stereotype is reinforced, or, as many Gilgitwālē say, "proved", by the special residence pattern of the seasonal Paṭhān migrants in Gilgit. As mentioned previously, they share their houses (*dērē*) only with other men, leaving their wives behind in their villages. This peculiar way of dwelling with men only nurtures the prejudice of homosexuality of Paṭhān.

To call somebody a homosexual is one of the worst abuses imaginable at Gilgit.[20] The honour of a man in Gilgit depends on his relation to women. Honour requires that a man has legitimate sexual relations to a woman, i. e. that he is married, and at the same time that he completely controls the social relations of his wife, daughters and other female kin with other men (which of course means that such relations are totally precluded with the exception of contact to some close male relatives). Most homicide in Gilgit unrelated to the Shia-Sunni antagonism, is motivated by violations (or by suspicions of violation) of honour. Honour must be defended mercilessly because it is the foundation of the male social personality. A man without honour is no man at all. And a man who has sexual relations with other men is emphatically no man at all.

The prejudice of homosexuality gives the Paṭhān the reputation of complete moral corruption. Together with the stereotypes of the drug-trafficker

and the arms-trader, it represents the Paṭhān as those who are threatening to destroy the very foundations of the moral order of Gilgit. Paṭhān are often referred to as "*Paṭhān-śeytān*", i. e. Paṭhān-devils. Discourse of Gilgitwālē about Paṭhān is very derogatory. They hardly express any differentiations. They talk about Paṭhān as if every person belonging to that category was a drug-trafficker hiding his business by selling *naswar*. The reflection of these stereotypes is a self-image of the Gilgitwālē as morally intact people, among whom corruption could get a foothold only after foreigners invaded their country.

Paṭhān's stereotypes about people of Gilgit

There are not only stereotypes of the people of Gilgit about Paṭhān; Paṭhān too have their respective images about Gilgitwālē. They, in turn, are reflections of the Paṭhān's self-image and their most important values that are collected in their famous *pashtun-wali*.

Paṭhān's stereotypes hinge on quite the same notion of honour which Gilgitwālē use to distinguish themselves from the Paṭhān. However in this instance it is the Paṭhān who deny honour to the people of Gilgit. They maintain that only Paṭhān are able to keep their women under complete control. This is the very reason why they leave their familes in their home villages. The people of Gilgit are "loose", they have no concept of honour. Because of this, the honour of Paṭhān women (that is, the honour of Paṭhān men) would be threatened in Gilgit. When they speak about their women, Paṭhān emphasize that they have to live in strict *parda*, i. e. in complete seclusion and separation from the outside world and especially from all non-related males. This concept of a honour which has to be guarded strictly leads to many blood-feuds and, in the perception of Paṭhān, to another difference of the people from Gilgit. Because the people of Gilgit have no real idea of honour they do not take revenge (*badal*) when their honour is threatened. This amounts to the prejudice: Gilgitwālē are weak, they are cowards.

Honour also depends on hospitality: a man has the duty to honour his guest. This does not only include the obligation to feed him according to standards but also to guard and defend his own honour and the honour of his women. A Pashtūn from Dir told me: "When I have invited a man to my home and when I have shared a meal with him, then he becomes my brother. His honour is my honour. I will guard his wife and sister in the same manner as I am guarding my own wife and sister." The related stereotype about people from Gilgit is: they are not hospitable, they do not care for their guests. This is, of course, an every day-experience of a Paṭhān in Gilgit: Gilgitwālē do not honour people from outside in the town, especially not Paṭhān.

Another stereotype about people from Gilgit is related to religion. Paṭhān

call themselves in contrast to people form Gilgit "pakkē musulmān" (true, strict muslims). Islam is for them equivalent with Sunni Islam. Although they know that there are Sunnis in Gilgit too, they identify Gilgit at first instance always with Shiism, that is in their definition, with apostasy and non-Islam.

Of course, people from Gilgit would reject these stereotypes about themselves as strictly as Paṭhān reject the respective prejudices about themselves. The perceived cultural (and value-) incompatability between Paṭhān and people of Gilgit stands in marked contrast to an "objective" similarity of their values in many respects. For instance, women in Gilgit also have to live in strict *parda*. When they leave their houses and pass through the bazar in order to go to hospital (there are hardly any other approved reasons for women to enter the bazar), they have to cover their body completely under a *burqa*. As I have told, men from Gilgit are very jealous about their women and do not hesitate to kill somebody in order to defend their control over females. Further, hospitality is a forepmost important value in Gilgit too. To say that people in Gilgit are not hospitable is just as true as to say that all Paṭhān are homosexuals.

Both Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē do not recognize the similarities in their norms and value-orientations because of a great social distance between them. They simply do not know each other, apart from the knowledge of stereotypes. Social contact is restricted to the shopkeeper-customer relationship in the bazar. This social distance, in turn, is supported by mutual stereotypes. It is mirrored in the spatial distribution of Paṭhān and the people from Gilgit: Paṭhān mostly live in the bazar close to their shops or in new colonies on the other side of the Gilgit-river. There is never a *dēra* of Paṭhān in the old residential areas of the people of Gilgit that is, in the old villages that are situated around the bazar and that have become parts of the town in this century. Strangers are not allowed to reside in these villages and even visitors are viewed with high suspicion. Paṭhān are strangers. They are people from outside. The space for strangers in Gilgit is the bazar. This is the reason why the women of Gilgit never visit the bazar except in very urgent situations. Because Paṭhān are "established strangers" in Gilgit, they are never invited into the house of a man from Gilgit. They do not have the chance to experience the hospitality of people of Gilgit.

Ambiguities and the maintenance of stereotypes

People of Gilgit think and talk in very strict terms about Paṭhān as do Paṭhān the other way round. Mutual stereotypes are so strict and unambiguous that they hardly leave any space in between the categories. Concerning the opposition Gilgitwālē – Paṭhān, it seems that a person has to belong either to the first or to the second category. Apparently, these stereotypes would preclude any social relations running contrary to the constructed mutual images. But this,

of course, is fictious and a simplification. Formerly there have been, for instance, marriages between Paṭhān and women of Gilgit, there are Pashtụn that have settled in Gilgit since two or three generations and that have kept only very feeble relations to "their" villages in the NWFP, if at all. These closer relations between Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē are mostly relics from former times when migration patterns of Paṭhān differed radically from present day patterns.

Here, I do not want to discuss contradictions between discourse and practice, between sterotypes and action, because I have discussed that problem elsewhere (SÖKEFELD, in press). But I want to discuss how people "in between" try to reconcile general ways of stereotyping with their own position or how others interpret such positions in order to save the unambiguity of their stereotypes and their way of categorization.

Azim Khan is the son of a Pashtūn who had migrated from Afghanistan to Gilgit and settled there around the turn of the century. In Gilgit, his father married a widowed women that belonged to the Pāyar-*qōm*, a clan that is counted as Kashmīrī today. He lives in the Pāyar-neighborhood of Kashrot, the Kashmīrī-quarter of the town. Azim Khan maintains that his father belonged to the Durrānī-Pashtūn. The Durrānī are the most prestigious Pashtūn-clan of Afghanistan, the clan of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the founder of the Afghan kingdom. Azim Khan also calls himself "Kābulī-Paṭhān", i. e., Paṭhān from Afghanistan.[21] With that, Azim Khan distinguishes himself from Paṭhān of the NWFP and simultaneously draws a connection to the Pāyar. The Pāyar have an oral tradition that states they have come originally from Afghanistan via Kashmir to Gilgit and thus are "really" Pashtūn. Azim Khan married four times and two of his wives were Pāyar. Asked about the other Paṭhān in Gilgit, he told: "These Paṭhān who come to Gilgit today are no real Paṭhān. They are *parāca*,[22] their *qōm* is not Paṭhān. They are merchants and muleteers. All people from Dir, Mohmand, Swat and Hazara are *parāca*. They are mixed up, they are bastards."[23]

In his explanations, Azim Khan does not try to overcome the negative stereotypes about Paṭhān in order to save his personal image by denying that he himself is Paṭhān (and maintaining, maybe, that he is a Gilgitwālā) or by challenging the content of the stereotypes. Instead, he denies that those other Paṭhān (especially the seasonal migrants) are *real* Paṭhān. Thus, contemporary Paṭhān migrants in Gilgit are corrupt precisely because they are not real Paṭhān. Because of this they are also different from Gilgitwālē. Azim Khan insists that the customs and traditions of (real) Paṭhān and Pāyar, for example, are quite the same.

Azim Khan constructs a common identity with Gilgitwālē (at least with Pāyar) by equating Pāyar with Kābulī-Paṭhān. Further, he shares another identity based on land. His mother already had a son born out of her first marriage.

Azim Khan's stepbrother had inherited some land from his father (a Kashmīrī too). Part of this land he gave to Azim Khan. Such donations of land were a popular way to integrate people from outside in Gilgit, to turn them into Gilgitwālē.[24] These donations are evaluated totally differently from purchases of land.

Azim Khans argument is, in short: the stereotypes Gilgitwālē hold about Paṭhān are correct; only that these people who are as the stereotypes tell, are not really Paṭhān but something else. Real Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē are quite the same.

In the same way do seasonal migrating Pashtūn that are living in a *dērē* and leaving their family in the NWFP distinguish themselves from those earlier migrants, married in Gilgit and speaking Shina. But their argument aims, of course, in the opposite direction. Khan Sardar from Mayar told me: "They [the earlier migrants] are no longer what they have been before. They aren't even able to speak correct Pashtu. We have nothing to do with them." He extends his reservation even to the people from his own village that have settled in Gilgit. Emphatically, he precludes the possibility of a marriage between a daughter of such a family and a man migrating seasonally from Mayar just in the same way as he generally precludes the possibility of marriages between Pashtūn and Gilgitwālē. Those people stemming from Mayar that are now settled in Gilgit have somehow lost their Pashtūnhood. They are not really Pashtūn but have rather become Gilgitwālē.

Of course, not everybody occupying a position in between the categories is in every context able to redefine his own or the other's identity in order to solve the contradiction of identities in a generally accepted way. Azim Khan can make his claim that real Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē are quite the same only in relation to Pāyar because he has an established relationship with them. His claim would not be accepted by people like Shīn and Yeshkun who maintain that they are the real people of Gilgit, challenging in most contexts that Pāyar, being Kashmīrī, are people of Gilgit at all. Pāyar themselves, at least the closer relatives of Azim Khan, readily accept his interpretation, for otherwise they had to realize that the feared and despised group that Azim Khan calls "*parāca*" and that is generally just called "Paṭhān" has become their close kin.

Stereotypes are interpretations of reality. They are means of generalization and simplification. Stereotypes are the result of a cognitive process of categorization that minimizes variation *within* a group and maximizes differences *between* groups (or categories), as social psychology has shown (TAJFEL 1969). As interpretations, they are both the outcome of discourse and experience, as they in turn shape further discourse and experience. They are themselves means of interpreting a bewildering social world.

Precisely because this world is infinitely complex and changing, stereotypes have to be *interpretable* themselves. Like a map of a landscape is useful only for a limited range of purposes because different purposes require different

grades of precision, information and scale, the application of stereotypes has to be redefined according to the context in question. Stereotypes are about groups and categories, not about individuals. But they are applied to individuals. They characterize individual persons just on the basis that they are taken to belong to a certain category. The individual becomes a specimen only. Very often, stereotypes preclude the experience of another individual *as an individual* because he is only perceived in terms of the stereotype about his group (Southall 1965: 29). But sometimes it happens the other way round: An individual that is somehow counted as belonging to a category in question is experienced in quite another way than was suggested by the stereotype about that category. Individual perception then supersedes categorical attribution. Azim Khan is neither a drug trafficker nor a homosexual. He is not even a businessman but just a farmer of a little patch of land. This obvious contradiction of experience and stereotype does not result in questioning and modifying the stereotype. Instead, the categorization of the individual is questioned. Contrary to the first appearance, he somehow does not belong to the same category as those about which the stereotype is voiced. Azim Khan and the other Paṭhān do not fit into the same group. In fact, as he maintains, Azim Khan is a real Paṭhān and the stereotypes do not apply to these real Paṭhān but only to *parāca*.

The function of a stereotype is to subsume the individual under a category. But if the cognitive act of subsummation is made impossible by experience, individual and category are separated again. Because contradictions between experience and stereotypes can be resolved in this fashion, stereotypes are remarkably immune against individual experience. The contradiction can be interpreted in a way to save the coherence of the stereotype.

A similar contradiction exists for the Pashtūn migrating seasonally between the NWFP and Gilgit concerning Paṭhān that have settled in Gilgit. For the seasonal migrants the maintenance of their identity (that is their keeping aloof from the influence of the negatively stereotyped Gilgitwālē) depends on their way of life, i. e. on doing business in Gilgit only temporarily and keeping ones focus and center of life and identity in the NWFP. Those Pashtūn that have settled permanently in Gilgit gave up that focus. Their identity of Pashtūn is not "renewed" again and again by living in their "home"-villages. They are subject to the influence of Gilgitwālē. They learned the language of Gilgit and started to forget Pashtu. Although they still meet the general condition for belonging to the category Pashtūn (patrilineal descent), they somehow cease to be Pashtūn and become people of Gilgit in the view of other Pashtūn. Again, imminent ambivalence of the stereotype (here: the self-stereotype) is resolved by sorting out those people that threaten the image of the category. The coherence and simplicity of the stereotype can be maintained.

Conclusion

The boundary between Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē is composed of different aspects. There are objective differences like language, descent and regional origin. There are also more subjective differences like mutual stereotypes. Further, we find social-structural differences like patterns of migration and specializations in occupations that reinforce the other differences because they result in keeping Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē apart. The relation between Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē corresponds very much to what FURNIVALL once proposed as a general characteristic of plural societies:

> "Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit" (FURNIVALL 1956: 304).

Certainly, this separation of different groups in most realms of society is not a general feature in plural societies. Not all groups of immigrants stay apart to the same extent as do Paṭhān – neither are they kept off each other by means of stereotypes in equal fashion. The rigidity of the boundary between Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē can be understood with reference to the historical context. The antagonism between Gilgitwālē and people from outside was reinforced by experiences of foreign domination. Paṭhān appear to be the people from outside par exellence – and today they are not at all interested in countering this appearance.

It is certainly no accident that Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē do meet in the "market place". The bazar offers an arena of relative anonymity where people can enter into social relations that are limited to just the acts of buying and selling – without running the risk of becoming engaged in a way that would draw them closer together, and that possibly could dissolve stereotypes and identities. Probably, the Paṭhān's success in trade depends to a considerable extent on their staying apart. They are not engaged in mutual commitments (of kinship, fellow-villageship and the like) with their customers that would oblige them to grant certain concessions as giving on tick. I know of several local shopkeepers that went bankrupt because their trading relationships and other social relationships got mixed up. They had large outstanding debts which they were unable to recover because their debtors were relatives that could count on considerable forbearance.[25]

Stereotypes and forms of interaction (including, to an important degree, deliberate non-interaction) between Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē are mutually reinforcing. Paṭhān justify their seasonal migration and their unwillingness to settle in Gilgit with reference to stereotypes about Gilgitwālē – a migration that

further reinforces stereotypes because it prevents closer social contact and coming to know each other. Similarily, the social distance based on these stereotypes promotes the success of Paṭhān in their trade, and their success in turn reinforces prejudices of Gilgitwālē. Stereotypes are neither just a result of interaction nor are they simply its premise. Stereotypes and interaction are interdependet – they are connected by relations of mutual structuration.

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Notes

1. These languages are Shina, Burushaski, Khowar, Wakhi, Balti, Kashmiri, Urdu, Gujri, Punjabi, Pashtu, Hindko, Turki, Farsi, Khilli (Kohistani) and Domaki.
2. "Paṭhān" is the term used by non-Paṭhān north-Indians to designate Pashtu-speakers.
3. Concerning the identity of Hazarawale see AHMED 1984.
4. Cf. DREW 1980: pp 443f; HASHMATULLAH KHAN 1991: pp. 700f; LEITNER 1985: p. 73.
5. Land could not be sold but, of course, there was alienation by force and conquest.
6. In 1933 the Maharaja of Kashmir transferred the right of landed property from the State to the cultivators of the land. Before, the cultivators held the land only as tenants of the State. In 1936 this regulation was extended by the British administration to the settled districts of the Gilgit Agency. By the same act, the owner-cultivators got the right to sell a certain percentage of their property (cf. Gilgit Subdivision Alienation of Land Regulation, IOR R/2(1068/112); Census of India 1941, Vol. 22; 1943: 16).
7. Regarding the State Subjects Rule in Kashmir and Gilgit see SÖKEFELD, forthcoming.
8. In spring 1993 I counted that 44% of the shops in the main bazar-road of Gilgit were operated by Paṭhān. The number of Paṭhān (and mainly Pashtūn) in the bazar of Gilgit increased after the construction of the Karakorum Highway that links Pakistan with China. In 1964, only 18.8% of the traders in the town's main bazar were Paṭhān (STALEY 1966, quoted in KREUTZMANN 1989: 187).
9. For an accusation of that kind see ABDUL HAMID KHAN 1992.
10. When people are asked to give evidence for the responsibility of the government, they mostly tell the story of the "revolution of Gilgit" that occured in 1970/71. At that time, a general strike was declared in Gilgit and the public demanded unanimously the introduction of democratic rights for the population (for a detailed account of that uprising see SÖKEFELD, forthcoming). Until today, these rights are withheld from the people of Gilgit with the justification that the Northern Areas are a "disputed territory" due to the pending Kashmir-conflict between India and Pakistan. As a disputed territory, the Northern Areas are not a part of the constitutional territory of Pakistan and their population has no right to participate in the election of Pakistan's constitutional bodies. Nevertheless, Pakistan takes all rights in governing the area according to the State's interests. This situation is not accepted by the greater part of the Northern Areas' population. Thus, the Shia-Sunni conflict, which started precisely a short time after the "revolution" of Gilgit, is understood as a governmental instrument to divide the people in order to prevent a unified political movement in the area and thus to secure its own control.
11. For a general overview see CAROE 1990.

12. There are Pashtūn from other places too in Gilgit (for example from Swat and Mardan). But those from the three villages mentioned form the largest group of traders in Gilgit.

13. Vgl. "Military Report and Gazetteer on Dir, Swat and Bajaur, Part II, Calcutta 1928: 380, 401 (IOR L/P&S/20/B222/2). This gazetteer calls Miankali "the largest market between Peshawar and Badakhshan".

14. For a comparison of Dir and Swat in terms of circumstances that resulted in this difference see LINDHOLM 1986.

15. The social-psychological literature conventionally distinguishes between *stereotypes*, being opinions held about groups of people in general, and *prejudices* as negatively valued attitudes about others (cf. STROEBE/INSKO 1989: 8). Because in the case of Paṭhān and Gilgitwālē *all* stereotypes inevitably involve negative evaluations and attitudes, I do not differentiate between the two terms but use both words interchangeably.

16. The British records characterized for instance Dir quite appropriately: "Dominating feature is traditional tribal resentment of interference in internal affairs of Dir" (Telegram No. 344 from NWF, Nathiagali, to Foreign, Simla, 15th August 1935, in: IOR R/12/105). Concerning the political rationale for the maintanance of tribal areas see AHMED 1980.

17. Gilgit Diary, June 11, 1904, in: IOR L/P&S/7/166.

18. For *naswar* see FREMBGEN 1989.

19. Concerning homosexuality among Pashtūn for example in Swat see LINDHOLM 1982: 224f.

20. Homosexuality is considered a much greater evil than having illicit sexual relations including even incest with women. The most widespread curse among men in Gilgit is to call somebody a "*behencōṭ*", i. e. "sister-fucker". This abuse is so common that it hardly provokes reaction. But I know about blood-feuds that began because a man had been called "*gāṇḍū*", a term that refers to all kinds of sexual acts considered perverse, precisely because they are sexual intercourse with beings *other* than women.

21. "Kabul" stands in the same way for Afghanistan as "Peshawar" stands for the NWFP.

22. "*Parāca*" is a quite derogatory term used originally for caravan traders.

23. Here, Azim Khan used the term "*kacar*", i. e. "mule".

24. See SÖKEFELD, forthcoming.

25. For another example of a similar relation between strangeness and trade see FOSTER 1974.

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