

Victims of Social Exclusion-The Case of Gypsies in Potwar

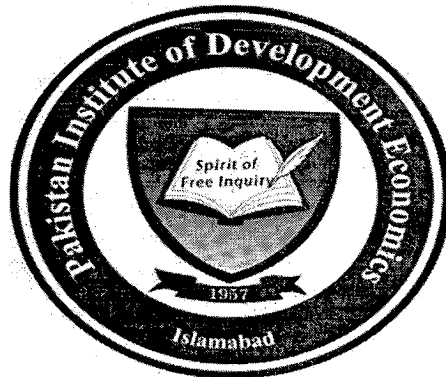
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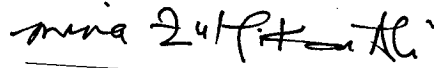


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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: "*Victims of Social Exclusion-The Case of Gypsies in Potwar*" submitted by Syed Jamshid Ahmad Bukhari is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my respondents,
other community members, my teachers,
family and the friends.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CMH	Combine Military Hospital
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
PIDE	Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
PIMS	Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences
PPAF	Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
SKEN	School of Knowledge on Exclusion Network
TMO	Town Municipal Office

GLOSSARY

<i>Azaan</i>	Call for prayer in Mosque
<i>Baddua</i>	Curse or ill will
<i>Bander Wala</i>	Person who trains and rears monkeys to show tricks and does this for a living.
<i>Banjaras</i>	Nomads who do not have a permanent residence
<i>Barat</i>	A collection of people who carry a bride to the groom's house
<i>Beradary</i>	Clan or a group of people who belong to same lineage
<i>Bhoot</i>	Ghost
<i>Booti</i>	Local herbs used for intoxication and enjoyment
<i>Charpai</i>	A locally made bed, made of wood and rope
<i>Churail</i>	Female invisible creature, superstitiously believed and considered
<i>Dafanana</i>	Burial
<i>Darbar</i>	Shrine
<i>Dhamal</i>	A Form of dance
<i>Eid</i>	A religious festival and a day of celebration of happiness in Islam
<i>Gazal</i>	A form of Urdu poetry normally contains 5 verses
<i>Ghorbati</i>	A caste of gypsies
<i>Ibadat</i>	Religious practice
<i>Imam Masjid</i>	The person who leads in collective prayer in Mosque
<i>Ishq-e-Haqiqi</i>	Real love and respect for God
<i>Jhuggiwasi</i>	Residents who live in thatched huts
<i>Juggies</i>	Thatched huts
<i>Kafan</i>	shroud
<i>Katchi Abadi</i>	Slum area

<i>Kundi</i>	Illegal electricity connection
<i>Mandi</i>	Market
<i>Munh Dikhae</i>	Gifts and cash presented to bride on the eve of marriage
<i>Nawari</i>	Another caste of gypsies
<i>Nikah</i>	Islamic marriage contract
<i>Nimaz</i>	Prayer
<i>Pakhi</i>	Slum houses made of dried branches and leaves
<i>Pakhiwas</i>	People who live in the houses made of dried branches and leaves
<i>Peer</i>	Spiritual Leader
<i>Qoum</i>	Caste
<i>Reech Wala</i>	Person who trains and rears a bear for showing tricks for earning
<i>Rukhsati</i>	Departure of bride from parent's house
<i>Sabzi Mandi</i>	Vegetable Market
<i>Sadaa</i>	Invitation to attend marriage or any other ceremony
<i>Shadi Hall</i>	Marriage hall
<i>Shamsher Zanni</i>	Hitting one's own back with small swords or sharp knives tied with chains
<i>Tarbeyat</i>	Socialisation and training of children
<i>Urs</i>	An annual festival held at a shrine
<i>Zat</i>	Sub caste

ABSTRACT

This research has been conducted on the social exclusion of gypsies in Districts, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Chakwal. It explored the social, economic, political, and cultural lives of the gypsies and analyse in context of social exclusion. Gypsies in Pakistan are institutionally the most unrecognised people in Pakistan. Although many researches reflected, their life through anthropological point of view but there was less focus on their exclusion and marginality. The Poverty, landlessness, citizenship issues and limited economic opportunities becomes a huge challenge for survival as it forces the gypsies to live in miserable conditions without recognition. In contrast to Pakistan and south Asia, the gypsies are present in books, literature and legislation as well and enjoying a relatively better lifestyle. This study has been completed mainly by using qualitative research methodology, however quantitative analysis i.e. frequencies of common themes, is also included. Data is collected through conducting in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and interviews of the key informants. Thematic analysis was applied to extract findings.

The research gives a brief ethnographic view of the lives of gypsies while its essence resides in the analysis based on the context of social exclusion. This research describes the position of gypsy communities in comparison with the mainstream communities by taking social, economic, political, and cultural aspects as broader parameters for analysis. Based on these parameters, the analysis showed that gypsy communities are at the extreme of exclusion and living like aliens within the rural and urban communities in Pakistan. They have issues of citizenship, fundamental rights, social acceptance, inclusion, and most of all the land entitlement. They lack basic needs provision and depend on local communities instead of state for their living and survival. Somehow, they have managed to maintain their ancestral culture as musicians, trick players as *bander wala* and *reech wala*, but this is rare and dying art of these communities. Although, ethnographic studies have been conducted on gypsies; but this research opens new avenues for research. With the application of social exclusion parameters looking at not just the lives and culture of gypsies but also to relate them to the surrounding world in 21st century and also suggesting options for their inclusion and equalising them to mainstream community without compromising the dignity of their culture and values.

Keywords: Gypsies, Mainstream, Migration, Participation, Social Exclusion, Socialisation

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Gipsies are defined as the travelling people whose skin colour is dark and brown, involved in works like fortune telling, artistic work, music, singing, dancing hence also known as the entertainers; they speak a specific language called "Romany" resembling to Hindi and there are believed to have originated from South Asia. An important characteristic of the gypsies is living in temporary make shift houses. The word gypsies originated in the mid-16th century in referring to the travellers who come from Egypt. As in English is a short word for Egyptians. Their history and origin is traced through genetic and linguistic analysis that declares them the Indian migrants some 1500 years ago. Germany, France, and Italy had the maximum number of gypsies in 1400s. They managed to get protection in kingdoms, presenting fake letters from Popes and Christian religious leaders. In European context, many improvements have made a shift in gypsy's lifestyle, living standards, and culture.

The context of South Asia especially and Pakistan and India differs largely from Europe due to the gypsies sustained culture of traveling, living in temporary houses, engagement in the work they have always been doing, and showing an unwillingness to mix with the urban dwellers. The state of gypsies in Pakistan has remained miserable as an outsider's views. Historically, no big changes seen in the status of legislation, policies, citizenship, development and living standards of the gypsies in Pakistan at the moment in all provinces.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The phenomenon of social exclusion has taken place with the existence of social inequalities in particular societies with a varying magnitude and classes. It ranges from individual to whole communities. The process of social exclusion is caused by poverty, social, political and economic unjust and diversity and class system in society. Looking at the broader picture, social exclusion is seen in developed societies mostly at individual level, the migrants' communities, and people

with specific abnormal psychological features, which restrict an individual to participate socially, economically and politically.

In developing countries the prevalence of social exclusion is more than the developed states because the state solidarity is more effectively managed in more democratic and economically better off states. Researches show that a number of writings focus on tracing the linkages of poverty and social exclusion; others focus on individually chosen exclusion and the existence of inequality in economic, political and social affairs. More studies keep their focus on individual while the socially excluded communities remain less in focus of the research. Among the categories of socially excluded individuals, groups and communities, it includes people with disabilities, long term unemployed individuals, women, refugees, minority communities, people who deliberately chose to avoid social participation, nomads and gypsies and the landless.

In Pakistan, the presence of gypsies is evident by their existence in different parts of the country. They live in makeshift house and keep on moving to different places where they can build their *juggies* (thatched huts) or pitch the tents and found their minimal livelihood sources. They are given different names as nomads, *banjaras* (homeless travellers), and gypsies as well. These communities are discriminated because of their specific culture and life style that becomes a hurdle in interaction and socialising between mainstream communities and gypsies. More specifically, in Pakistan the gypsy communities are landless and are not entitled basic rights due to the apparent reason of ever moving and living in makeshift tent camps. Research on such communities presents anthropological history, their living conditions, their social and economic status and a little about the culture in general and broader way but do not give much deeper understanding of the long lasting exclusion and maintaining the gypsy values, and their perspectives on such life style. In addition, the role of state institutions and authorities is missing in the literature regarding dealing with these communities. The current research has focused on filling up the above-mentioned missing information and aims to achieve the following objectives.

The existing literature provided knowledge of the history of gypsies, especially contemporary European history but the specific research on gypsies in Pakistan has to understand their perceived social exclusion, which is missing. The current research is helpful to address the aspect of social exclusion with particular focus on the exclusion of gypsy communities living in Potwar Area of the Punjab Province of Pakistan. Literature on social exclusion and gypsies especially in Pakistan's

context does not have established linkages. It reflects social exclusion in relation to poverty and deprivation while studies on gypsies are based on their ethnographic features.

Gypsies are poor, neglected, deprived, and excluded in Pakistan; either in research or in practices, which needs to be understood and highlighted through research.

1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Following are the objectives of this research;

1. To explore the interest and necessities of the gypsy communities to maintain their specific lifestyle for long by embracing an exclusion from mainstream societal values and social and political organisation.

The interest and necessities of gypsies means the motives inspiring them, enhancing their willingness to live in the conditions, which excluded them from the mainstream population. The intention was to investigate, whether they have normal willingness, or there concealed reasons that forced them to live quite differently and by maintaining their own gypsy culture generation after generation. It was more linked to the behaviours, attitudes, thoughts, and practices of the gypsy people. It also intended to look into the methods they adopted to maintain their uniform values and communal orders; and the ways they taught and passed on their values to their children.

2. To find the relationship between state authorities, institutions and gypsy communities in avoidance of adaptation of mainstream values and application of state laws of citizenship.

The state institutions included all those government department responsible maintaining demographic affairs, the security, the public welfare and law and order. The existence of gypsy communities was not a secret but how do these institutions generally interact, respond, react, and influence these communities while they lived on other's lands, use public facilities that they find around, also the citizenship or birth registration, matters related to acquisition of the national identity. Perceptions of the members of gypsy communities have been recorded in this regard.

3. To explore and understand the gypsies perspective on maintaining uniform culture despite living in and nearby strong urban cultures in Pakistan.

The opinions, methods, and practices that helped the gypsies to protect themselves from the influences of strong urban culture around them. How much difficult was it to avoid this import and export of culture, whether they were highly successful in maintaining the differential line or to some extent they had to adopt some of the mainstream cultural practices.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research has attempted to answer the following questions;

1. What are the interests and necessities of the gypsy communities to maintain their specific lifestyle for a long time by embracing an exclusion from mainstream societal values and social and political organisation?
2. What is the nature and extent of the relationship between state authorities and institutions and gypsy communities in avoidance of adaptation of mainstream values and application of state law and citizenship principles?
3. What do the gypsies perceive on maintaining and carrying forward uniform culture despite living in and nearby prominent urban cultures in Pakistan?

1.5. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The current research is important to understand the gypsy's culture, their values, and perspectives about the future and obviously, the social and economic problems they face. The gypsy communities in Pakistan are treated with biases i.e. they do not participate in the social and political events taking place in routine. Neither have they tended to adopt the local culture nor are they able to influence on the mainstream culture but maintain a distinction between mainstream culture in Pakistan and the gypsy community's culture. It was much interesting to find out the elements of bonding for gypsies as to why they stick to their culture, maintaining their own values even despite facing many problems.

Gypsies live around the cities of Pakistan, hence they are important to consider not only for knowing and understanding the gypsies' perspectives but also for the future impact of such settings on mainstream culture, social and political affairs. Even the risk of crimes can be predicted because the gypsies are completely excluded from the formal economic domain as they are excluded from

availing education and health facilities, as they are not eligible to apply for jobs. It does not matter for the gypsies whether the source of income or their job is respectable, legal, or illegal but their objective is to earn and sustain their livelihood. They as are excluded from education so they do not prepare their children to enter into formal economic system. The research has helped to understand their perspective to help making grounds for consideration and gradual inclusion of gypsies into the mainstream to enable their participation in education, economic activities, and other social and political domains.

This research was also important to add to the body of knowledge on gypsies in Pakistan and their intercommunal relationships as well as the relationship of public institutions with gypsy communities. It has looked into the structures to find whether the local and national legal, political, and economic institutions deliberately excluded such people or they have built in structural inability to include the marginalised people to reduce vulnerability, poverty, and inequality. The gypsies' response to the institutional behaviours and the way they are treated has been important to predict the future of these communities whether they will become productive member of the society or they would be alarming for the social solidarity, peace, stability, and democracy.

This research has a unique focus, which did not exist in any previously conducted research on gypsies. In fact, the gypsies of Potwar region i.e. districts Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Chakwal have never been focused specifically for such a research to understand their perspectives, and to foresee the future of such a cultural setting. Instead, the previous anthropological researches conducted in this region, looked into the community structures, the values, and the social and economic status of gypsies in general. A behavioural research was missing in the existing literature that strengthened the scope of this research; and attempted to fill the body of literature with a new information of behaviours of the gypsies.

1.6. EXPLANATION OF THE KEY CONCEPTS

1.6.1. SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Social exclusion as term was first used by Lenoir, Martin and Secretaire (2001) who referred to vast variety of people not only the poor but also the socially misfit individuals are also among the excluded. Its meaning developed gradually during the years after 1974 to encompass all

individuals, groups, and communities that are either, fully or partially excluded or prevented from taking part in social and cultural aspects of life of the communities they belong. The debate on social exclusion got momentum in Europe, Australia and even in Canada and the United States in policy documents and official reports that increased the interest on and political importance of the term and all the process built in the term. In 1997 in Amsterdam Treaty, European Union included the reduction of social exclusion in its objectives.

1.6.2. POLITICAL EXCLUSION

Political exclusion is the process and situation of an individual, group or community which is kept away from the political activities i.e. eligibility of participation in voting and elections, unable to file nominations for any political role and have no choice to avail of the political rights and representation.

1.6.3. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Th facilities provided by the government for convenience of citizens as their rights against the tax paid for example, free education and health facilities, water and sanitation facilities etc.

1.6.4. CHRONIC POVERTY

Chronic Poverty is long lasting poverty that exists generation after generation in particular communities. The defining feature of the chronic poverty is long duration and based on the indicators like income and basic needs etc.

1.6.5. INDIVIDUAL CHOICES OF EXCLUSION

The concept given by Grand (2003) which explains the deliberate social exclusion adopted by an individual by his/her own choice. For example, an individual from upper economic class, the elite likes to stay behind the guarded gates and do not participate in many of the social activities is referred to the individual choice based social exclusion.

1.6.6. SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

Social solidarity is the integration of all social segments into national mainstream by maintaining the bonding, cohesion, and attraction for homogeneity of all social groups. Furthermore,

maintaining equality and justice is also called social solidarity. Silver (1994), has predicted social exclusion due to the failure of state to maintain social cohesion.

1.6.7. GYPSIES CULTURE AND VALUES

Gypsies value system refers to their patterns of living and regulating individual and group relationships. The values and norms of dealing with each other, the language, the dress patterns, award, and punishment system, adaption of religion. Family structure, spiritual belief, hierarchy, and ways of earning are part of the gypsy's value system.

1.7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A number of definitions and explanations of social exclusion are given in this document, which developed an understanding of the overall concept of the term. From an individual to the communities the people are discussed in the literature undergoing one or the other form of social exclusion. Referring to the historical emergence of the term in literature it was seen in 1960s, and later in 1970 onwards. The focus in the literature remained much on the individual, social, political, and economic exclusion while the group and community level exclusion was also found in the literature. Amartya Sen a renowned economist has attempted to find existence of the phenomenon in era of the Aristotle. While in European, African, and Asian societies, the term and phenomenon co-exist in various forms.

Normative Theory of Social Exclusion has three important parts, the choice, welfare, and fairness. The theory also takes on capabilities of individual and groups, function and freedom of choices. Amartya Sen (2001) has given much emphasis on capabilities, and freedom of choices to lead to empowerment and to get rid of the vicious cycle of poverty. Barry (2000) has also made important contribution to literature on social exclusion in an essay "social exclusion, social isolation, and the distribution of income." Normative theory explains what is normatively bad about the social exclusion and debated on the importance of the term "choices" in research in social sciences. Social exclusion is normatively bad because it symbolises the social injustices, reduces social solidarity.

Poverty, inequality, and social exclusion have strong theoretical linkages as well. Kabeer (2000) has developed an analytical framework using three categories. The first one is a problematic group which includes beggars, rural landless or asset-poor, long term unemployed, retrenched women

workers and ethnic minorities. The second category is Problematic conditions that are poverty, unemployment, ghettoization, family breakdown, and isolation. The third category is problematic process i.e. political social and economic.

Although there were a number of theories and concepts explaining the phenomenon of social exclusion with reference to poverty, injustice, inequality, and low level of capabilities, but the essential and focused components necessary to incorporate in conducting this research were included to understand the prevalence of social exclusion of gypsies in Pakistan. To explore further, the perceptions of gypsies on situation of gypsies the above concepts and theories have been integrated into theoretical framework. The theoretical framework was based on the concepts derived from the normative theory of social exclusion, Kabeer (2000) concepts of poverty, injustice and social exclusion nexus and Sen (2000) capability approach.

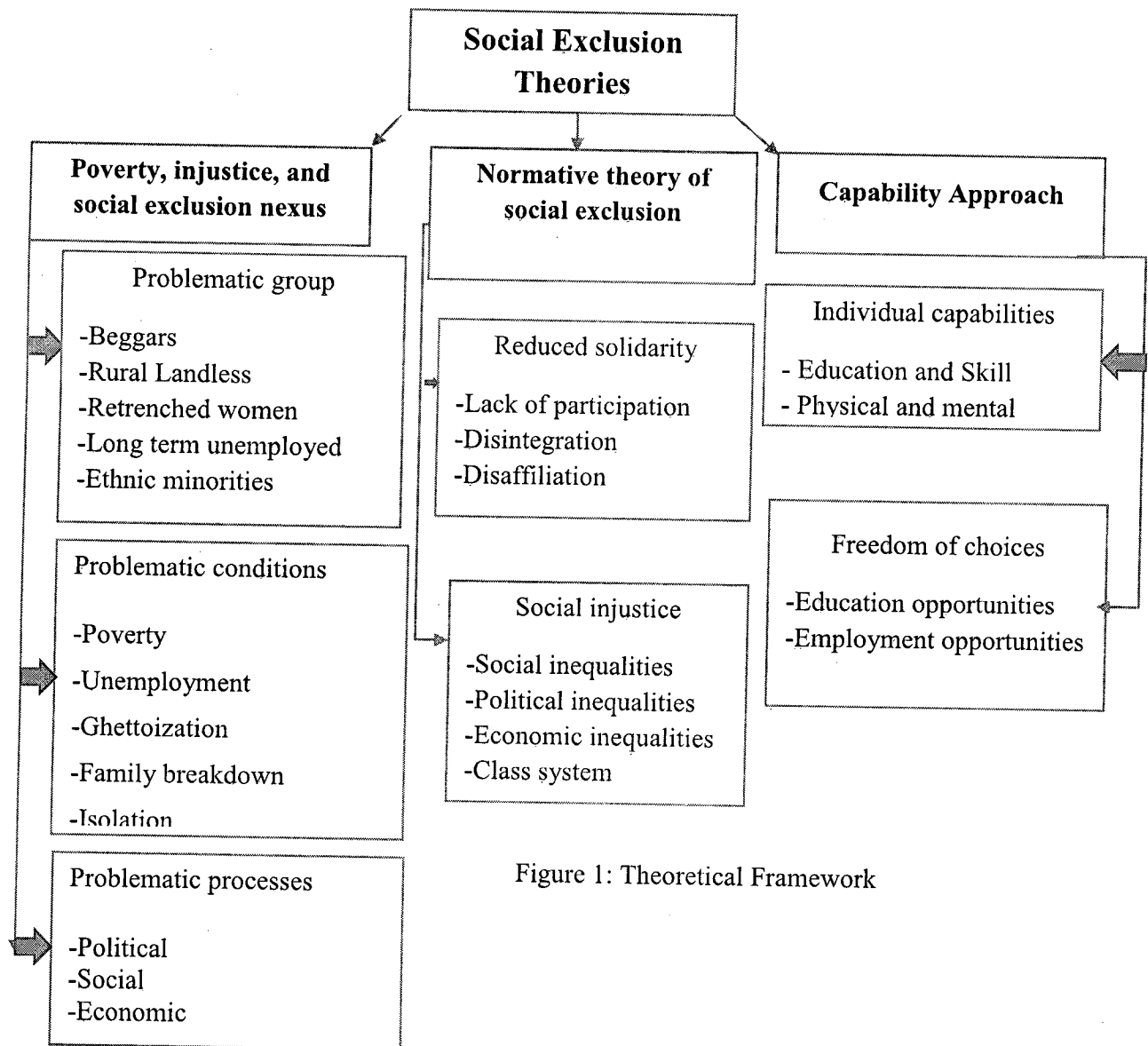


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

The given framework provides a general picture of the social exclusion as presented in the existing literature by different authors. This framework is developed by integrating the concepts derived from theories about social exclusion. The concept given by Kabeer (2000) about poverty, injustice, and social exclusion reflects the linkages between social exclusion and poverty as well as the social exclusion and injustice. It provides details about the problematic groups, problematic conditions, and problematic processes, which are linked with social exclusion. The normative theory of social exclusion refers to reduced social solidarity meaning that the socially excluded individual or groups have problems of disintegration and disaffiliation with mainstream society. Due to disintegration and disaffiliation, their participation is reduced and there emerges the condition of social exclusion. Social justice is important to consider for equal distribution of resources, opportunities to keep stable and equitable growth and development. Lack of social justice creates inequality in distribution of resources and opportunities and isolates people by denying their share of development. It creates a sense of deprivation and decreases social solidarity. Sen (2000) argued in capability approach that individual capabilities and freedom of choice affects the achievements of an individual. Education, skills, and health as individual capabilities enable individuals to penetrate into mainstream development through legitimate participation. The freedom of choice refers to the availability of equal opportunities to education, health employment, and social justice. The combination of capabilities and freedom choice enhances social solidarity and social inclusion, while absence of these conditions leads to social exclusion.

1.8. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A conceptual framework is a set of integrated interlinked concepts as defined by Jabareen (2009) Conceptual framework as a network, or "a plane," of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena. This conceptual framework is developed by deriving concepts from the theories as mentioned in theoretical framework. Although not all the concept is integrated here but a few of them are selected to make this conceptual framework is as follows;

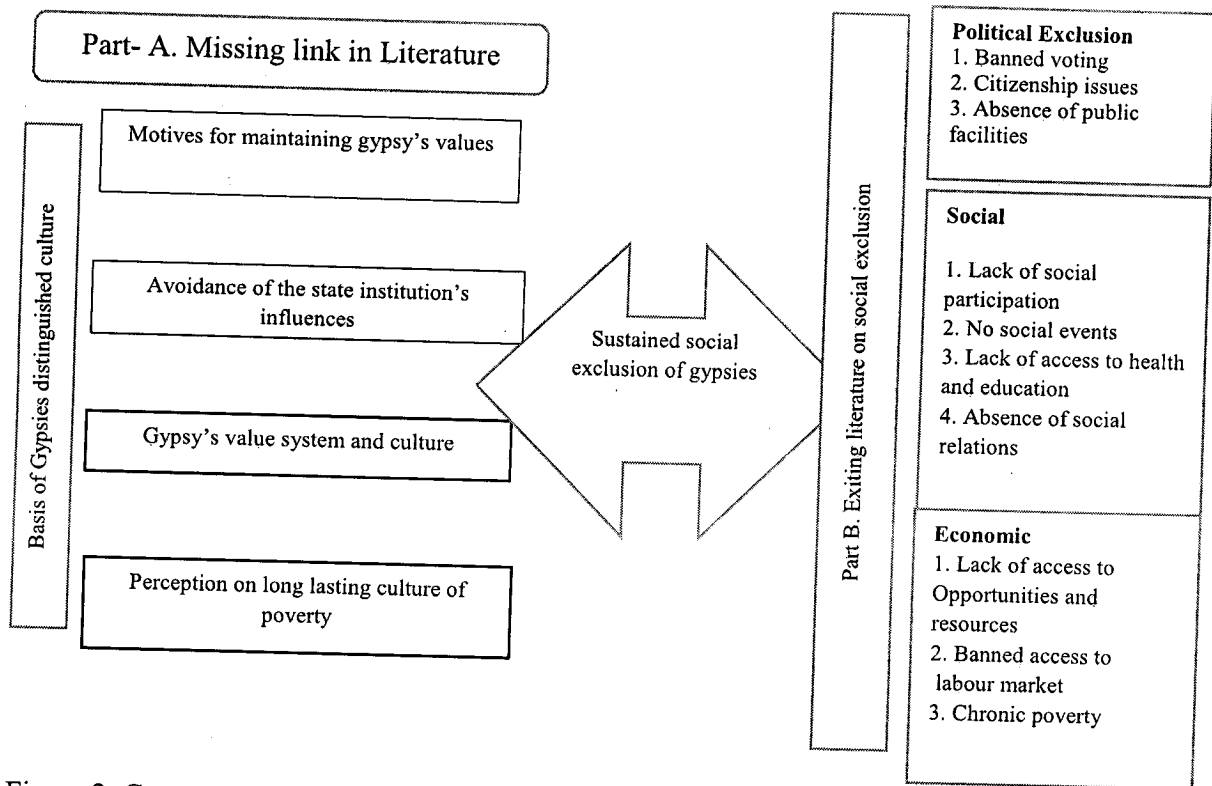


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

Narrowing the focus of literature to communities, and the selection of one of the excluded community i.e. the gypsies would give another new direction to the available framework. Although many of the causes and forms of social exclusion is presented with the similar influence but the influenced group has remained the gypsies only. Whatever is missing in the mentioned literature is more about the perceptions of excluded gypsy's communities and their struggle for maintaining not only their livelihoods but also the distinguished cultural value system and avoidance of mixing with the mainstream population. There is no clear evidence found in the research to understand and elaborate their motives to sustain their separate value system, economic patterns, and life style.

Part A of the framework reflects the missing link in the literature about the perceived exclusion of gypsies. The presentation of political, social, economic and cultural causes and effects of social exclusion; is present in the previous researches. However, in context of Pakistan with particular focus on the mentioned districts of study. It also attempted to explore the perceptions of gypsies to develop linkages between the explained indicators of social exclusion and their perceptions of

themselves and the neighbouring urban communities. While the state institutions are part of the process of exclusion and inclusion of the individuals and communities due to their involvement in designing and implementing policies which influence citizens, communities and social groups, set social, political and economic trends, brings in equality or inequality and can gradually shift the societal settings from one form to another.

1.9. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The research has a specific area of concern to maintain focus on the objectives to find in-depth data. However, it adopts the qualitative approach that helped to explore in detail, the life style, the wealth rankings, the economy, and the value system of the gypsy communities. However, the study has limitations of accessing the respondents, to extract right information and validate by probing and cross checking. The study has geographical limitations, it has been limited to the Potwar region in three districts including Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Chakwal. Due to the scattered camps of the the gypsies it was not easy to access them. Sometimes most of the camp members were out of the camps that forced me to follow them for many hours.

The presence of gypsy communities in these areas has been for a long time, but they are not bound to live at any place for any specific time, they chose to live or move on depending on the circumstances and availability of livelihood opportunity, the cooperation of local community and weather conditions. Migration of mobility of gypsies during the data collection phase created hurdles in the process to access the selected community that needed to select alternative respondents.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Social Exclusion is a broad term, encompasses a number of factors that may or may not be interlinked. It has a close relation with population diversity and dynamics. Historical roots of the concept lead to Aristotle as traced by Sen (2000). The recent debate on social exclusion started in 1960 in French literature and widespread in European states. Different forms of social exclusion prevail around the world almost every corner of the world but the literature produced is more in European context. In Africa and Asia, it is not much researched. The current study intends to focus on Pakistan's context of social exclusion. It intends to explore the literature produced on social exclusion in Pakistan and the current status of the excluded groups in general and specifically focusing communities roaming around in urban and semi urban areas but do not make permanent or long term settlements.

A number of readings found in literature, which define and explain social exclusion in different ways and contexts based on the categories of socially excluded groups, geographical points of references and severity of the phenomenon. Among all a general understanding of social exclusion refers to a shorthand term for what can happen, when people and areas suffer from a combination of interlinked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime environment, poor health, and family breakdown. Social exclusion thus seen as potential consequence of a number of risk factors, without that, consequence can be spelled out. Social exclusion became a prominent debate in literature in Europe in 1960 and was prominent in European Union Policy agendas in 1990s. Dahl, Fløtten, Lorentzen, (2008) has described social exclusion as absence of equal opportunities for all, equal access to labour market, to the judicial system, to rights and to decision-making and participation. European Commission (2010) attempted to set forth models for measurement of social exclusion through risk factor analysis. They declared, low incomes, unskilled labour, poor health, immigration, low education level, school dropout, gender discrimination and racism, old age, divorce, drug abuse, alcoholism and living in a problem accumulation area, as the outcomes of social exclusion. The relationship varies

among social groups across countries, depending on the differences in social security systems, family arrangements, and cultural settings (Gallie and Pugam, 2000; Saracena, 1997).

Other work done by the School of Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN), has underlined the limits of the global salience of social exclusion. While at the same time recognising useful aspects of the discourse, in particular the extended focus beyond financial poverty, its emphasis on processes driving inequalities and on relational interdependence as the driving force in social life (Popay et al., 2008). "In symbolic politics, the power to name a social problem has vast implications for the policies considered suitable to address it the discourse of exclusion may serve as a window through which to view political cultures" (Silver, 1994). Castel (1997) argued that French society, as most European societies, resolved the issue of the social question by passing from tutelage to contract between the middle Ages and the nineteenth century and from contract to statute in the twentieth century.

2.2. SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN GENERAL-EXPLORING THE EXISTING LITERATURE

Estivill (2003), in a document published by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) put forward a number of hypotheses as to how the shift from poverty to social exclusion in European discourse could serve a political purpose. According to Estivill (2003), a policy focus on poverty inevitably raises difficult political questions about the distribution of wealth in society. Additionally, he suggests, the visibility of a social problem labelled as poverty conflicts with the tenets of the mass media, certain constitutional principles, and optimistic assessments of the ineluctably positive effects of economic development.

Groups, communities and individuals fall in category of social exclusion include, marginalised poor communities, some groups of minorities, long term unemployed people, affectees of gender discrimination, old age people, neglected children who are not admitted to schools, physically challenged people and trans-genders. I intend to limit my focus on the group of people named different in different cultural settings of Pakistan. The communities living in settlements called *juggies* and in some areas are called *katchi abadi* (slum settlements) but they do not have a permanent residence status. Majority of these people do not have a registered citizenship hence they do not have the status to avail of the citizen social, political, economic, and cultural rights. Living in an area and having no political, social, economic, and cultural rights have enormous

implications and miseries in their lives. Geographically, the area for research is limited to Potwar region that includes mainly Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Chakwal cities and attached small towns and rural areas.

Nevile (2007) explains that concept of social exclusion as a recent phenomenon in the field of development studies. The academicians working in this field believe that an understanding of the term social exclusion may bring about a better understanding for policy makers. In turn, this brings about a greater consideration for the term and its linkages between deprivation and development.

The usefulness of the concept of social exclusion as believed by Sen (2000) is its emphasis on relational issues in deprivation. Further, he has argued that it is important to differentiate between the exclusion that is itself a deprivation and the exclusion that is not adverse but results in some kind of deprivation. Sen has also referred to the examples of landless and lack of access to credit market for second type of exclusion, which he names as instrumental importance. Sen (2000) also elaborate active and passive exclusion, as the active exclusion is the outcome of a cautious exclusion policy to exclude people from accessing and availing of certain opportunities. The passive exclusion emerges and exists without a deliberate policy to attempt exclusion of certain people. The distinctions drawn in the forms of social exclusion as active and passive are important to relate to the gypsy communities in Pakistan, which are landless and have restricted access to economic opportunities that the other people with access can avail.

Scholars define social exclusion in number of ways with difference of nature, extent, and elements of exclusion. Three major definitions include the French, Anglo-Saxon, and Monopoly Approach. The French definition, which emerges from Lenoir, is stated as social exclusion is taken as a dynamic process of social disqualification. Paugam (1991) refers to social disaffiliation and Castel (1995) mentions the failure of the relationship between individual and society in which they live. The existence of a normative reciprocal relationship between state and citizens, matters a lot because state is responsible for stabilising social links by connecting individuals and society and to encourage social integration. On the other hand, citizens / individuals are responsible to maintain respect to particular social norms and get involved in economic activities to get benefit from the state has provided social protection system. The core of the French definition of social exclusion encompasses social cohesion, solidarity, and responsibility. It also elaborates that social exclusion is not only caused by a single factor as individual or state but it depends on the behaviours of both

the state and individuals. Failure of state to create social cohesion and solidarity to promote social integration and the individual's behaviour to avoid social benefits and limited participation result in form of social exclusion.

The second definition and interpretation of social exclusion is given by the Anglo-Saxon tradition. State responsibility is not included in Anglo-Saxon tradition whereas it presents society as atomised set of individuals in the market place who are in competition with one another and have rights and duties. In this type of social setting, social relations are referred to as voluntary exchange of contracts among the individuals. Individuals are supposed to receive what they deserve for, in a democratic society that provides equal opportunities for all. As a result, there comes out two types of groups of people. The first group is composed of the people who are discriminated in the market place due to market failure and inappropriate enforcement of the rights or they do not have the required capabilities to avail off the opportunities in the market. Second group is based on the people who deliberately choose not to participate in societal affairs. In both the cases, people become victims of social exclusion.

The third type of description of the social exclusion is given in the monopoly paradigm, which mentions two types of market players or groups of people as the insiders and the outsiders. The groups are categorised because of access and control over resources. The insiders dominate and monopolise market to control resources while the outsiders do not have access and control over resources. In this case, the dominant group restricts the other groups to receive share in resources, the monopolists accumulate and utilise the resources to bring about their maximum welfare that produces hierarchy and social class in the society. Here comes the responsibility of state to equalise the resource distribution while state's failure results in loss social cohesion but the solidarity within each group increases.

Social exclusion as term was first used by Lenoir (1974) then Secrétaire D' Etat ai l' Action Sociale in Chirac Government who referred to vast variety of people not only the poor but also the socially misfit individuals are also among the excluded. Its meaning developed gradually during the years after 1974 to encompass all individuals, groups, and communities that are fully or partially, excluded and prevented from taking part in social and cultural aspects of life of the communities they belong. The debate on social exclusion got momentum in Europe, Australia and even in Canada and the United States in policy documents and official reports that increased the interest

on and political important of the term and all the process built in the term. In 1997 in Amsterdam Treaty, European Union included the reduction of social exclusion in its objectives. It is evident that social exclusion has not only gained importance academically but also declared as an issue to be addressed in development practices. Attempts have been made to measure social exclusion largely. Much attention and consideration paid to the concept of social exclusion by social science scholars who focused on discussing characteristics, differences, and uniqueness of it in comparison with the concepts such as Income poverty, multidimensional poverty, and inequality.

Bossert et al. (2007) argued that social exclusion is a relative concept. People or a member of society are stated excluded in relation to other members of the same community that makes it relative while there is no absolute social exclusion. The later concept or feature of the social exclusion as relative is more linked and close to the concept of deprivation. The idea of deprivation is mentioned by Runciman (1966) that the individual's feelings of deprivation appear by comparing itself with other members of society that have better social, economic, and cultural status. Cultural status here means participation in cultural events and having reasonable cultural characteristics incorporated in the personal lives of individuals. Dahl, Fløtten, and Lorentzen, (2008) have stated that the magnitude of the feelings of deprivation and social exclusion is dependent on the size and magnitude of the differences between socially excluded individual and better off members of the society.

Bellani and D'Ambrossio (2011) have attempted to measure the self-satisfaction of life by using social exclusion and deprivation as indices. They have presented that the people living in high-income countries are more satisfied with their lives. Income matters more than the other factor but is not the only important factor whereas other important factors include the well-being differences that is a multidimensional term. The study, also showed that the frequency of meeting with relatives, friends and other community members is also an indicator of the social exclusion and raises a sense of exclusion in case if it is lower than other individuals of the same community.

Bask (2010) has given the case of Sweden and discussed about increased inequality and social exclusion. An empirical study includes six important indicators of social welfare. The welfare problems include economic problem, chronic unemployment, and experience of threat or violence, health problem, lack of interpersonal relationships and crowded housing. An individual suffering from any two of the mentioned welfare problems; is considered socially excluded. In case of

Sweden, the findings showed that immigrants are not suitably incorporated in welfare framework that lead to deprivation and more than two welfare problems. Their men are worse than women are and are more prone to social exclusion, over time their situation has not improved. The study concluded that inequality has increased over time and resulted in social exclusion of individuals and families.

Smeeding and Rainwater (2003) conducted a study on income distribution and exclusion of children in Italy and Spain. The authors have compared and discussed the well-being perspective of the families living with children of the period of mid 1990s. Well-being is taken because of the nature of the countries as having provided welfare institutions by the state particularly. Monetary and non-monetary indicators of well-being are used in analysis that provided a methodological innovation in measuring well-being that is mentioned as an indicator of social exclusion being present or absent. Using monetary and non-monetary indicators of well-being, they found that in mid 1990s the people living with children were at higher risk of social exclusion than people living without children in both Italy and Spain.

Bradshaw and Finch (2003) has worked on understanding and tackling poverty and social exclusion. Their list of indicators for poverty and social exclusion includes the following parameters; household size, type and at risk of poverty; income inequality; persistent poverty; regional cohesion; long term unemployment; share of children and working age adults in the jobless household; early school leavers; life expectancy at birth and self-defined health status (EU, 2003). Though much of these indicators refer to measurement of poverty but at a certain stage of poverty, the process of social exclusion comes up to affect the poor. The issues of education, health affordability leads to a shift of poverty to next generation because of being less or uneducated they are restricted and have limited options to participate in the income generating activities and not capable of competing with other individuals with competent academic background and polished skills.

2.3. GYPSIES AS SOCIALLY EXCLUDED POPULATION

According to the definitions of social exclusion it includes individuals, groups as well as the communities excluded from mainstream by the dominant forces either of a particular society or in some case there occurs an exclusion by choice. The denied citizenship, restricted political and

economic participation, disability, chronic unemployment, limiting oneself behind big gates by elite all are forms of social exclusion prominently discussed in literature. Among the communities, there might be minority community, nomads, and women community are more in focus. Gypsy communities around the world have a distinct identity that originates from specific culture of nomads who consider themselves different, not adjustable to the mainstream cultural patterns. This research focused on the phenomenon of social exclusion of the communities of gypsy, which are living in and around the cities. However, they are quite different from other members of the community in their life style, economic trends, lack of political affiliations and participation, inability to participate in social and cultural events, makeshift habitats, and living with poor health, hygiene, and sanitation conditions.

While tracing the history of gypsies, we find traces in European literature of twentieth century about the Roma gypsy in different parts of the Europe. Trumpener (1992) wrote about the history and culture of the gypsies, named as the people without history. Several other books and narratives found on history and lifestyle of the gypsies that include the Lawrence (2004) "The Virgin and the gypsy"¹, Fletcher (1992) "What Cops Know"² are some of the important historical narratives about gypsies. The gypsies keep on moving as found in the literature about gypsy communities in Norway, Germany and other parts of the Europe, they stay for a short time at one place where they found themselves able to survive with their animals. Usually in the forest, in neighbourhoods' of the urban settings, riversides and grasslands are favourable to survive. Wherever they stay, live like parasites, and obtain their livelihood from the surrounding environment, community and the market. Their parasitic behaviour reasons to call them thieves. They have an uncanny ability to con their way into people's homes and then to find exactly where their valuables are. It is almost as they can smell it. They are uncanny.

Institute of the Study of Labour Germany launched a research in 2001 that detects a shift of academic as well policy focus from poverty to social exclusion. The research also includes a definition of social exclusion as "inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic, and social functioning of the society in which she/he lives." This also implies to the European gypsy communities and the gypsy communities living in Pakistan and other African and

¹ Lawrence, D. H. (2004). *The virgin, the gipsy, and other stories*. Wordsworth Editions.

² Fletcher, C. (1992). *What cops know?* Simon and Schuster.

Asian Countries. Kazi (2006) describes about the gypsy community in Sindh about the discriminations, taunts and the miseries they face. They told that they live in the *juggies* (Makeshift houses), rainwater drops in, and they with their children shiver with cold, maternal health issues are not properly addressed due to lack of affordability and neglect faced in the publicly provided health facilities. The documentary presents an overall miserable picture of the gypsy life.

Different investigation regarding presence of gypsies in Pakistan revealed that; there is varieties of sub-groups exist among the gypsies in Pakistan. Most of this information are in shape of short documentaries, case studies, video documentaries, blogs, news stories, and some reports by the organisations working on these communities. These studies reflect the culture, history, life style and the problems faced while comprehensive research with academically acceptable methodologies that could lead to policy recommendations are few to find.

The historical occurrences of the gypsies found in literature points to Europe, Middle East and South Asia, especially Southern areas of Pakistan and Rajasthan India. Gypsies in the Middle East are of two types, the one called Ghorbati (a caste of gypsies) and the other called Nawari (another caste of gypsies). Their language and dialects are composed of words and feature come from a variety of languages and cultures including the Arabians, Sindhi, Saraiki, and some of local languages spoken in India. Most gypsies are called "Rom" a word that is originated from Indian word "Dom" meaning the men of lower caste. Their professions or livelihood sources in the past had been the music, dancing and metaling. The word Ghorbati is derived from Arabic word Ghurbet that means stranger; while in the Arabic world gypsies are called Nauari that is modified to Nawari the second type of gypsies. They reside (resided) scattered in Iran, Iraq, Libya, Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries while the beginning of gypsies is traced in Pakistan and India who shifted gradually to Middle East and even European countries. They are Muslims in majority while have other religions are also adopted and practiced i.e. Christianity, Hinduism³. They have specific culture and norm for living together, moving around, marriages and dealing with each other.

Gypsies are often believed to migrate whether after short period like one year or even after 10 years or more. Peterson (in encyclopaedia of social sciences 1979) defines migration as a

³ <http://joshuaproject.net>

permanent movement of a person over a significant distance. It also consolidates with the United Nation's Definition of migration as permanent migration of a person for one or more years. Migration is also distinguished from visits, which is a stay for a shorter time. Kosinki (1974) defines migration as a change in spatial (geographic) and social context. Petersons (1979) explains that migration is a word derived from "migrave" meaning to change one's residence but in modern literature, it means to change one's community.

There is not much literature on the gypsies in context of social exclusion in Pakistan while some ethnographic studies are found. Ubedullah (2010) has conducted an ethnographic study of the nomads in Islamabad. He has focused much on the cultural values, rituals, norms and their social organisation. The study includes more about the marriages and kinship relationships, than other aspects of the culture, which are much similar to the traditions of local culture in Potwar region. The difference is observed in the economic and livelihood patterns, the land holding, and their formal interaction with the state institutions.

Raza (1986) has also conducted a research on *pakhiwas* (Residents of *pakhi*, while the word *pakhi* is used for a hut) worldview. It is a purely ethnographic study conducted in Sheikhpura Punjab. His study encompasses the exploration of social organisation of the *pakhiwas*, the kinship and marriages, economic system, architectural patterns, political organisation mobility and the role of ideology, poetry, and *bootis* (local herbs). This study is a deeper analysis of the lives of the *pakhiwas*. *Pakhiwas* is the word which is used as and local alternative to *juggie*. The name *pakhi* means the hut and *was* means resident.

2.4. SOUTH ASIAN CONTEXT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

In India and Pakistan, the gypsy communities exist in and around the big cities as well as rural Sindh and Punjab. Most of them are nomads and travel with their carts and horses. They do not settle due to their inability to adjust permanently to the local culture. However, they keep on moving in search of livelihood and free land. There are no exact estimates of the population of gypsies in Pakistan however, they are in millions (Avari, 2007).

While building links between the social exclusion as process and gypsies as communities, the idea of application of characteristics of social exclusion on gypsy communities sounds appropriate.

However, the process of social exclusion is not limited to such communities but the existing research bodies do not include this type of application. It is an innovative study due to its focus on the gypsy population in Pakistan. They live within the cities but cannot adopt the urban culture, cannot have the rights and face identity issues primarily. These issues lead to lack of political, cultural, social, and economic participation of these communities that declares them socially excluded.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methodology in detail and comprises the specific methodological design of this research along with all the details of processes and, tools and techniques used for selection of the respondents, data collection, data processing, and analysis and the organisation of findings into chapters. Moreover, it also includes the events and experiences of fieldwork and the factors that may try to influence the planned research, and the mitigations to maintain the essence of planned research. This chapter starts with a broader research approach and gradually leads to finish product going through all stepwise components of the research methodology.

3.1. RESEARCH APPROACHES

Selection of research approaches; methods and design of research were key important elements of the whole research process. Three research approaches are considered while planning and conducting a social science research; the Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed method research. Qualitative and quantitative approaches are not viewed as rigid, distinct categories or polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman and Benz, 1998). The selection of appropriate research approach depends on the nature of research question to answer. Whether that constructed to answer with empirical facts, data quantities, words, or statements. The current study utilised qualitative research approach as main research.

3.1.1. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative Research is the type of research involving qualitative phenomenon i.e. the phenomenon involving quality or kind. In qualitative research, the researchers search for patterns of inter-relations of previously unspecified thoughts by looking through a wider lens. Qualitative research is different from quantitative in using tools and activities for data collection (Crang, 2002). Qualitative research approach was used to complete this research. Data collection tools included in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions with target respondents. Respondents included the male and female members of such communities (gypsies) and representative officials of

relevant public and private departments. Published documents and reports were also used to extract empirical and documentary evidences. Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and accepting the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involved emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively built from particulars to general themes, and the researcher has made interpretations of the meaning of the data.

The research questions needed to be answered by statements, words, arguments, and evidence from primary as well as secondary data that was collected from in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and general observations. Those who engaged in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research has been conducted using descriptive research design. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that a descriptive research is quite conclusive in nature and can be used in both qualitative and quantitative studies but the result is to obtain data and describe the situation of individuals, groups, and communities. Ethridge (2004) mentions that descriptive research can be defined as the statement of affairs in natural setting as seen observed and found by the researcher in uncontrolled environment. The researcher does not manipulate the scenes and settings of locale, respondents, and their features. In descriptive research, observations, surveys, and case study methods are more in use to collect data. This research has also used observations, survey questionnaire (open-ended questions based in-depth interview) and focus group discussion to collect data and then to describe the situation of gypsies. Giorgi (1997) discussed three important purposes of descriptive research as to describe, explain, and validate the findings.

3.3. SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

To find accurate and most relevant and valid information, sampling is important to be carried out carefully. Researcher has used two data sources i.e. primary data collected through in-depth interviews and secondary data that was obtained from the existing documents, it matters a lot. Purposive sampling techniques were used to select the specific types of respondents for in-depth

interview. The researcher has conducted 44 in-depth interviews. Among all interviews, 40 relatively better interviews remained the focus to further process data and extraction of findings. The criteria for selection of these 40 interviews was based on the provision that answers could be extracted without influence, fear, and bias. However, the number of cases for in-depth interviews could be 20-30 for enough fresh information and above 30 would lead repetition and saturation point in data collection. Hence, the reason to select more than 40 respondents was due to the geographical diversity of the gypsies in three districts, which provided rich information with a variety of facts.

Two types of sampling techniques were used to reach and include the exact population group. The first one is purposive sampling techniques, as purposive sampling is used when the specific group, community, or research subject is predefined with a purpose and characteristics in mind. The purpose was to select the gypsies' adult male and female members of the community with an age of 20 years and above. Member of this age group are mature; can understand and answer the questions properly. The sampling is purposive because the whole population does not have the chance to be included.

The second technique used was the snowball sampling which was used to reach to appropriate respondents by gaining information from the members of one gypsy group living at a particular place and could help to link to the members of same group living at some other places within the mentioned Districts.

3.4. RESEARCH METHODS

3.4.1. MAPPING OF THE AREA

Due to the widespread locale, researcher had selected the places where *juggies* of gypsies were located in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Chakwal. Researcher has to visit these areas for precise information about the location of camps and to initiate the entry process into the camps. Although there are many camps of the gypsies which often change due to their migration. Researcher selected three locations in Rawalpindi, which include Pirwadai, Iqbal Town, and Sohaan. In Jhelum there were two locations selected after visiting the area. One was near the *Sabzi Mandi*

(Vegetable Market) along Grand Trunk road Jhelum and the other one was near the railway bridge Jhelum close to the river Jhelum. In Chakwal, it was near the bus stand in Chakwal city.

3.4.2. PRETESTING

Pretesting was conducted in two settlements at Iqbal Town Rawalpindi, to identify the potential challenges and limitations of the research. It is found during the discussions individually and in groups as well, that these kinds of respondents normally do not allow the researchers to ask many question due to their own reasons and problems. They do not easily trust anyone to share their problems and the life experiences. They hesitate and feel fear of misusing the information, while these challenges can be overcome by visiting them frequently and building trust of the target respondents. It is also found that they can better understand in Punjabi instead of Urdu, which will help to design the questionnaires and interview guide for further interviews.

3.4.3. ENTRY IN THE FIELD

Finalisation of the locations helped to plan field visits, while researcher has selected some local people who helped researcher to identify the areas and to provide information about the camps, the timings of the gypsies to stay in camps and going out for work, and introduced researcher to the camps as well.

3.4.4. FIRST INTERACTION

There is a clear difference between a gypsy community member and another local person and even it is more distinguishable when an outsider accompanies a local person in Jhelum and Chakwal. In Rawalpindi, it was different because researcher was living here and part of the local culture.

Despite all preparations, entering into the camp for first interaction is interesting to expect a variety of responses from the camp members. In Rawalpindi, a camp is located along the service road where researcher used to walk by as a short cut route connecting Shamsabad to Iqbal town. Researcher had started data collection process from this camp in Iqbal Town Rawalpindi. It was a different experience of viewing the camp from outside and meeting with camp members and

observing it from inside. It was surprising for them to see a researcher entering with notebooks into their premises. When the researcher entered in the camp for first time, there were 8-10 people present at a corner of the camp, some of them were standing, and some were sitting on a *charpai* (A four-legged bed made of wood and strings). The researcher kept attention focused on them quickly and in a subtle way tried to find one of the gypsies' member who could talk relatively better, with confidence, clarity and can provide authentic information. It all happened very quickly and simultaneously. When the researcher reached closer to them, he shook hands with the men standing there. After greetings and a little chat, the researcher informed them about the purpose of visiting their camp and it felt, as they were not interested in the beginning. They again started chatting among themselves and then tried to disperse. The researcher focused on one of them, started some informal discussion, and tried to draw his attention.

3.4.5. RESISTANCE

At the first direct interaction with gypsies in one of the camps in Rawalpindi, the researcher faced passive resistance. They tried to avoid the researcher and did not want to listen as well. Later on it became evident that their lack of interest and communication gap was due to the threatening behaviour of the government of officials like police and people from Rawalpindi development authority. A fear of the external world became a hurdle at the initial stages of data collection. Although, they did not show much interest in the beginning but they also did not offer any resistance like refusing to talk to the researcher, not answering the questions and that the researcher had stereotyped about them before entry into the field.

3.4.6. RAPPORT BUILDING

The person that was selected for discussion to make way into the camp was relatively better in communication and confidence. The researcher talked to him about gypsies' issues in order to build his interest and introduce the researcher as a local who would not be harmful for them. The researcher kept on talking and listening to him as well for about 10-15 minutes. All this discussion was to create rapport and enhance the trust of the person so that he could talk easily and provide necessary facilitation for interacting with other camp members for in-depth interviews. Although researcher had a number of alternative plans to conduct interviews but the researcher got access

with the first plan to choose one person and to access others through building his confidence and ensuring them being harmless for them and intend to make it a good opportunity to highlight their situation to improve. The same strategy was used in all three sites in Rawalpindi. While in Jhelum and Chakwal, researcher involved local friends for entry into the field and to be introduced to them. Researcher observed that the interaction was more frequent and easy in Jhelum and Chakwal than Rawalpindi.

3.5. DATA COLLECTION

3.5.1. OBSERVATIONS

Observations help to gather information about the situation, the physical environment in which the respondents live. It also helps to verify and validate information provided by respondents. Observations are very important to make in this type of research where the target population is so different from the larger groups of the society. It needs to focus on observations to distinguish the difference of social and cultural conditions that cannot be normally asked through the interviews or focus group discussions. Observations are generally recognised as less reliable sources of information due to the risk of inclusion of the researcher's bias and attachment with the people, area, or the value system. This research also included observation, both participant and non-participant. Participant as staying and talking with camp members inside the camp and non-participant as looking and observing camp without talking and accompanying camp members. It proved important to consolidate the information collected through interview, helped to build rapport and to make discussions open due to the inclusion of observed conditions around the *juggies* in the area.

3.5.2. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

An in-depth or unstructured interview is a main method of data collection in qualitative research. It is conversation with a purpose. Classic ethnographer Malinowski emphasised the importance of talking with the people to understand their point of view (Burgess, 1982) and the personal stories are viewed as having central importance in social research because of the power of language to illuminate and extract meanings. There are obvious differences between an ordinary conversation

and an in-depth interview, their objectives, the roles of participants, and the researcher are different (Kvale, (1996); Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Kvale gives two important perspectives on in-depth interviews. The first one is he calls miner metaphor; falls in broadly in modern social science model, which sees knowledge as given. The second one is traveller's metaphor, which falls within constructivist research model in which knowledge is not given but created and negotiated. A feminist research approach has raised particular issues regarding in-depth interview (Oakley, 1981). Feminist interviewing is different from conventional research approaches. They aim to adopt non-hierarchical approach to avoid objectification of the respondents/participants (Oakley, 1981). The in-depth interview has the characteristics of combining structure with flexibility. An interview guide prepared defining the sequences and theme of the interview that helps the researchers to proceed and keep the discussion in order.

In this research, 44 in-depth interviews conducted, out of which 40 have been selected for transcription and then data analysis due to their relevance and quality. Most the interviews were recorded with the prior permission of the respondents while the rest of IDIs were noted down. I had prepared a list of questions based on the research objective and 80% of these questions are open ended and flexible. Normally an in-depth interview takes 60-90 minutes but the time for my interview varied with the change of respondents due to their daily routines, the level of understanding between the researcher and the respondents and the rapport building process.

3.5.3. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a discussion of a specific group centred on selected topics and moderated by a person to keep the participants on track and discuss most relevant aspects of the topic. An FGD can also be guided by preparing a list of questions or guide that includes all the relevant questions, which were discussed to seek participant's point of view. As a moderator of discussion it was a responsibility to maintain a balance among the participation of all discussants because there may a risk of dominating over the other and lead discussion in unwanted directions by some of the group members.

In this research, three Focus Group Discussions were conducted and it was tough to moderate them due to the type of group members. First FGD was conducted in Iqbal Town Rawalpindi was a mix group of nine members, included three men and six women. Second FGD was conducted in Jhelum

with seven participants, two women, and five men. Third FGD was conducted in Sohaan in rural Islamabad with eleven participants included seven men and four women. In all FGDs no participants were educated. Most of the men used to work as unskilled labour and had difficulties in finding work. Women in first and third FGDs used to go out for begging, and a little house cleaning work as well. In second FGD in Jhelum, the group was better, men used to work as masons, belonging to *Oad* (a clan of gypsies) while women often stayed at home to take care of their household work, children and livestock. During FGDs it was difficult to keep the focus of discussion precisely on the topics mentioned in research objective and interview guide. They had habits of interruption, start in the middle of the discussion, shouting, and talking irrelevant. However, this happens when young female members are in the group while the pure male groups of majority older people remained calm and discussion proceeded with the normal pace. In some cases, the information is not shared correct which needs others opinions to make clearer. FGDs were also recorded because it was difficult to make notes of the discussion.

3.5.4. FIELD DATA RECORDING

Field data was recorded as field notes and audio recordings. It included the important events of the day. Observation of their movements, camp settings, language and similar things were noted during each visit while the in-depth interviews were recorded with their consent and promise to delete except 8-10 interviews, where the women were too limited while sharing information in case of recording but they were more open in absence of recorder.

3.6. DATA ANALYSIS THESIS WRITE UP

Recordings were transcribed in the local language as they were, then converted into Urdu. Themes were identified after converting into Urdu. After identification, themes were translated into the English, removed irrelevant information, and calculated the frequencies of identified themes as well.

Thematic analysis has been used to extract findings from the collected data. Partially the descriptive analysis i.e. frequencies and tabulations are also used to arrange in percentage the identified common themes. In-depth interviews and FGDs were noted down with the permission of respondents in notes form and were thus transcribed. Directly transcribed data is refined to

improve language and understanding of the discussion while in third stage the data was analysed based on identifying common themes, classification, and categorisation of the themes, finding frequencies of the common themes, unique aspects of the discussion were also enlisted and supported with the direct quotes of the respondents.

3.7. RESEARCH ETHICS

Maintaining research ethics is important to honour the researcher and the target respondents. This section of document tells about the ethical consideration with reference to current research on socially excluded communities in Rawalpindi and neighbouring areas of Potwar Region. It includes the responsibility of researcher, the role of target population, protection, and reasonable use of the data and information to be collected from respondents, protection of the personal information of respondents. Researcher ensures the respect for the values and culture, life style, religions and family settings is maintained. Consents of the respondents were obtained before conducting interview or any type of discussion for data collection purposes no enforcement or other unfair means were used to convince the target group members to provide information. Names and personal data of respondents were kept anonymous to ensure confidentiality of subjects and data. No attempt was made to exploit any of the respondents at any point; however, the researcher has the right to seek self-respect and protection.

CHAPTER 4

LOCALE

In this chapter, I have presented my field data regarding the profile of my locale, as this locale consisted of three districts of Rawalpindi Region and one site from rural Islamabad. It included Rawalpindi, Jhelum Chakwal, and rural areas of Islamabad. This chapter also included the data regarding the profile of these districts shortly. Further, it has been presented in relation to this research conducted on gypsies. As this research was based on study of gypsies and these people are available in rural Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, and Chakwal that is why I had selected this locale for ethnographic study. The other reason for the selection of this locale was previous knowledge and observations of the gypsy's population

4.1. DISTRICT RAWALPINDI

District Rawalpindi takes its name from its Headquarter town Rawalpindi that means abode of Rawals, a *Jogi* tribe. This district is situated in the Northwestern part of Pakistan. It is bounded on the north by Islamabad Capital territory, Abbottabad and Haripur Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK); on the south by Chakwal and Jhelum districts and on the west by Attock district. The total area of the district is 5286 square kilometres. Climate range from 2.6° C in month of January to above 38.6°C in June.

Administratively, district Rawalpindi is divided into 6 tehsils i.e. Rawalpindi, Gujar Khan, Murree, Kahuta, Taxila, Kotli Sattian, and Kallar Syedan (recently declared). It consists of 168 union councils including 114 rural and 54 urban ones whose elected representatives formulate *Zilla* (District) and *Tehsil* (Sub-division) councils. Political constituencies include 7 national seats and 14 provincial seats of legislative assemblies.

This district is well connected to other districts by the Grand Trunk (GT) Road, Silk Road, Motorway, and rail network. GT road runs parallel to the main line of Pakistan Railways across the district. Rawalpindi has two military airports as well as Islamabad International Airport. Majority of the population living in urban areas is engaged in trade, restaurant and hotel industries, and government services. In rural areas, the source of earning of most of people is through agriculture and dairy farming.

4.2. POPULATION

According to 1998 census, this district comprises of 3,363,911 individuals showing an increase of 58.6 in inter-census percentage since 1981 when it was counted 2,121,450 individuals. The district covers an area of 5,285 square Kilometres with a population density of 636 individuals / square kilometres as compared to 401 individuals/ square kilometres in 1981 indicating a rapid rise in the population of district

Table 1: Population district Rawalpindi

Description	1951	1961	1972	1981	1998
Population (in 000's)	872	1,086	1,745	2121	3,364
Inter-censual Increase(percent)	-	24.5	60.7	21.5	58.6
Average Annual Growth Rate	-	2.2	4.1	2.3	2.7

Source: District Census Report of Rawalpindi 1998

Population of District Rawalpindi categorized by gender and urban/ rural

4.3. DISTRICT CHAKWAL

Chakwal district had population until March 1998, 1,083,725 with the comparison 39.7 since March 1981. Yearly expansion ratio had 2.0% in this time. Entirely zone of district is consisted 6,524 rectangle kilometres, in the context of comparison 119 people had examined in 1981, signify for rapid expansion ration in the zone.

Table 2: Population District Chakwal

Annual populace Growth Rate in Chakwal Since 1951-1998.

Explanation	1951	61	72	81	98
Population (in thousands)	455	502	693	776	1,084
Inter-censual increase (Percent)	-	10.3	38.0	12.0	39.7
Average annual growth rate (Percent)	-	1.0	2.8	1.3	2.0

Source: District Census Report of Chakwal 1998, P23

The population of infants and children less than 15 years and population 65 and over were higher in rural areas when compared to population living in towns. Resulting high dependency ratio in the former areas than in the latter areas representing 83.0 and 73.8 per cent respectively.

The following table gives percentage of populace by Gender and urban and rural category

Table 3: Population of Chakwal based on Rural Urban Divide

Age Group	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	female	Both sexes	Male	Female
Under- 1	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.2
Under15	12.7	13.6	11.8	12.7	13.7	11.8	12.2	12.5	11.9
Under-10	26.2	28.0	24.5	26.3	28.4	24.5	25.1	25.7	24.4
Under-15	39.0	41.9	36.5	39.2	42.2	36.4	38.3	39.6	37.0
15 to 49	44.8	41.4	47.9	44.3	40.6	47.6	48.8	47.3	50.3
15 to 64	55.0	51.8	57.9	57.7	51.2	57.8	57.5	56.3	58.8
18 & above	54.4	51.1	57.7	54.4	50.8	57.6	54.4	53.0	55.9
21 & above	48.0	44.9	50.9	48.0	44.7	51.1	47.9	46.6	49.7
65 & over	6.0	6.3	5.6	6.2	6.7	5.8	4.2	4.2	4.2
Age dependency ratio	81.8	93.1	72.6	83.0	95.5	72.9	73.8	77.8	70.0

Source: District Health Profile by PIMAN 2005

4.4. JHELUM DISTRICT

Jhelum was known as Jalham. —Jall means pure water and —Hamll means iced water referring to the iced water of Jhelum River from the snowy peaks of the Himalayas. District Jhelum was constituted under the British regime on 23 March 1849. In 1850, the district headquarters were shifted from Pind Dadan Khan to Jhelum. This borough is positioned in the North-eastern fraction of Pakistan and was one of the four districts of former Rawalpindi division. The district consists of four major towns i.e. Jhelum, Dina, Pind Dadan Khan, and Sohawa. The district is bounded on the North by district of Rawalpindi, on the east by river Jhelum, districts of Gujrat and Mirpur of Azad Jammu Kashmir, on the South by the river Jhelum and districts of Mandi Bahauddin and Sargodha and on the west by the districts of Chakwal and Khushab.

Total area of the district is 3587 square kilometres. Organically, locality Jhelum is partition into three regions, called riverine, upland, and plateau. Riverine region possesses alluvial soil and is situated between river Jhelum and hills in the Southern part of the district. Upland region is a tract lying between hill ranges. Jhelum Tehsil primarily consists of plateau region.²⁰ There are four tehsils in District Jhelum and their headquarters are interlinked with metalled roads. Tehsil Sohawa is situated on G.T Road where as Pind Dadan Khan Sub-division is connected with Jhelum Pind Dadan Khan road. Most of the villages are interlinked with well-laid network of roads. The main railway line runs through the district connecting Jhelum with Lahore and Peshawar.

Jhelum has earned its name for providing military men since the days of British rule. Majority of the persons, living in urban areas are engaged in wholesale trade, retail trade, restaurant and hotel industries, fishing, and construction. In the rural areas, most of the people work in agriculture, forestry, and fishing industry. District consists of 4 Tehsils and 54 Union Councils including 43 rural and 11 urban ones whose elected representatives formulate district and Tehsil assemblies. Political constituencies include two national seats and four provincial seats of legislative assemblies.

The current population of Jhelum (based on projections of 1998 census) is 1,048,000 with 50% males and 50% females. It was found that district's growth rate is 1.61% yearly and their life expectancy ratio is 61 years. The adult literacy ratio of the district consists of 64% by which 78%

are male and 59% female. The people distribution rate also termed as population density, which comprises of 261 persons per square kilometres.

4.5. RURAL URBAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The breakup of population may also be seen in Table below Crude death rate is 9 per 1000. Crude birth rate in Jhelum is 30 per 1000 which is almost the same as that of the country 31 per 1000 Table below gives information on demographic indicators.

Table 4 Population Jhelum

Population Structure of District Jhelum Population Groups	Standard Demographic Percentages	Estimated Population
New born	2.9	31,415
0-11 months	2.7	29,249
12-23 months	6.2	67,163
Under 5 years	14	15,1660
Women in child bearing age (15-49 years)	22	23,832
Married Child bearing age	16	17,3326,
Pregnant Women	3.4	36,832

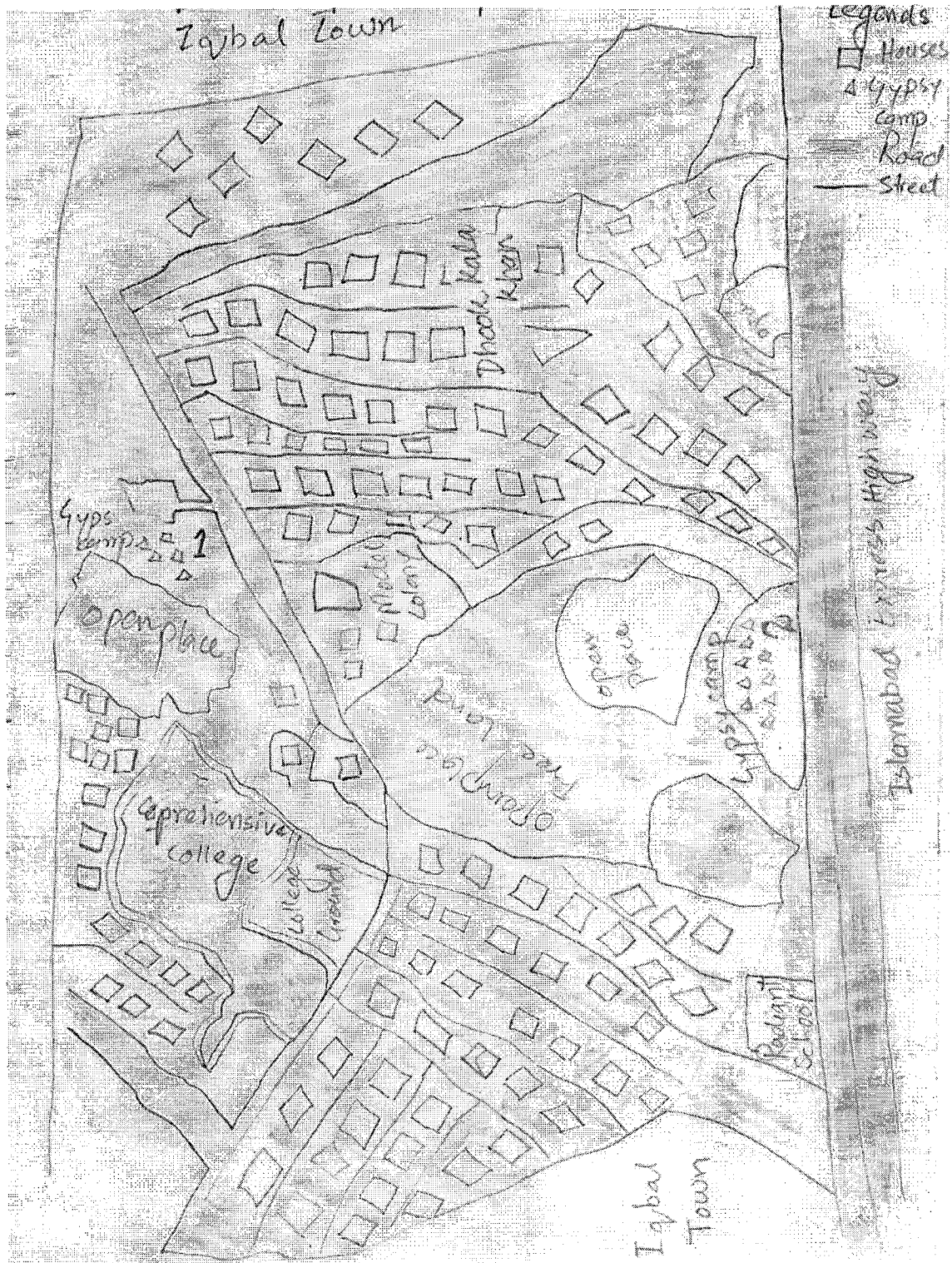
Source: District Health Profile-Jhelum, 2005, Pakistan Initiative for Mothers and Newborn (PIMAN), P, 25.

RURAL ISLAMABAD

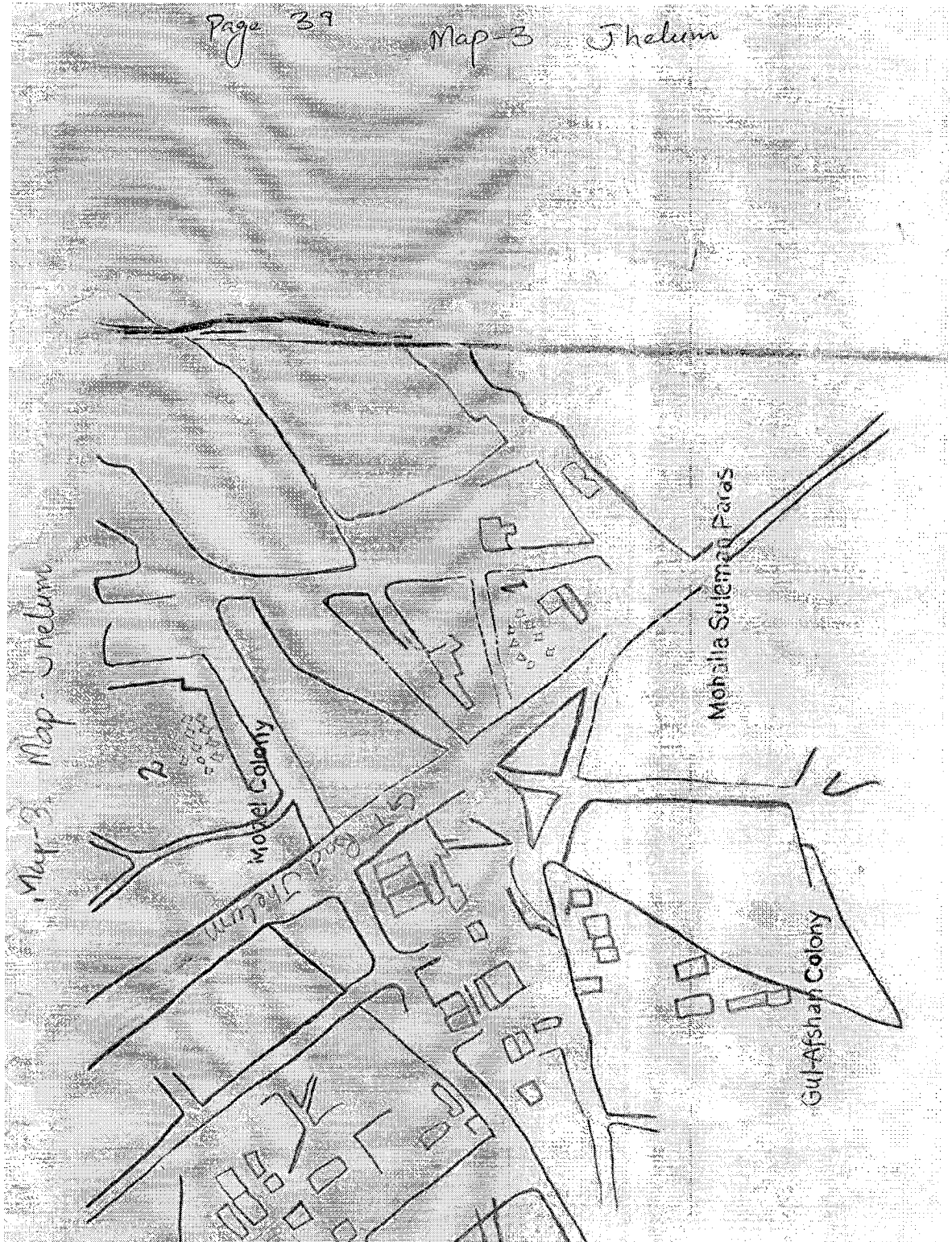
Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan and divided into two main categories. The urban and rural Islamabad. The urban Islamabad includes the developed sectors by Capital Development Authority while the rural Islamabad comprised on twenty-four rural Union Councils of the district. Important areas of the rural Islamabad includes the 29 Union while 21 Union Councils include the urban areas of Islamabad. Gypsies population is scattered in different parts of rural Islamabad. Sohan

Dehati is the one union Council near Faizabad alongside of the Islamabad express highway. Two gypsy's settlements were studied in Sohan Dehat near Dhok Kalakhan. Following are th maps of each data collection site in district Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Chakwal and rural Islamabad.

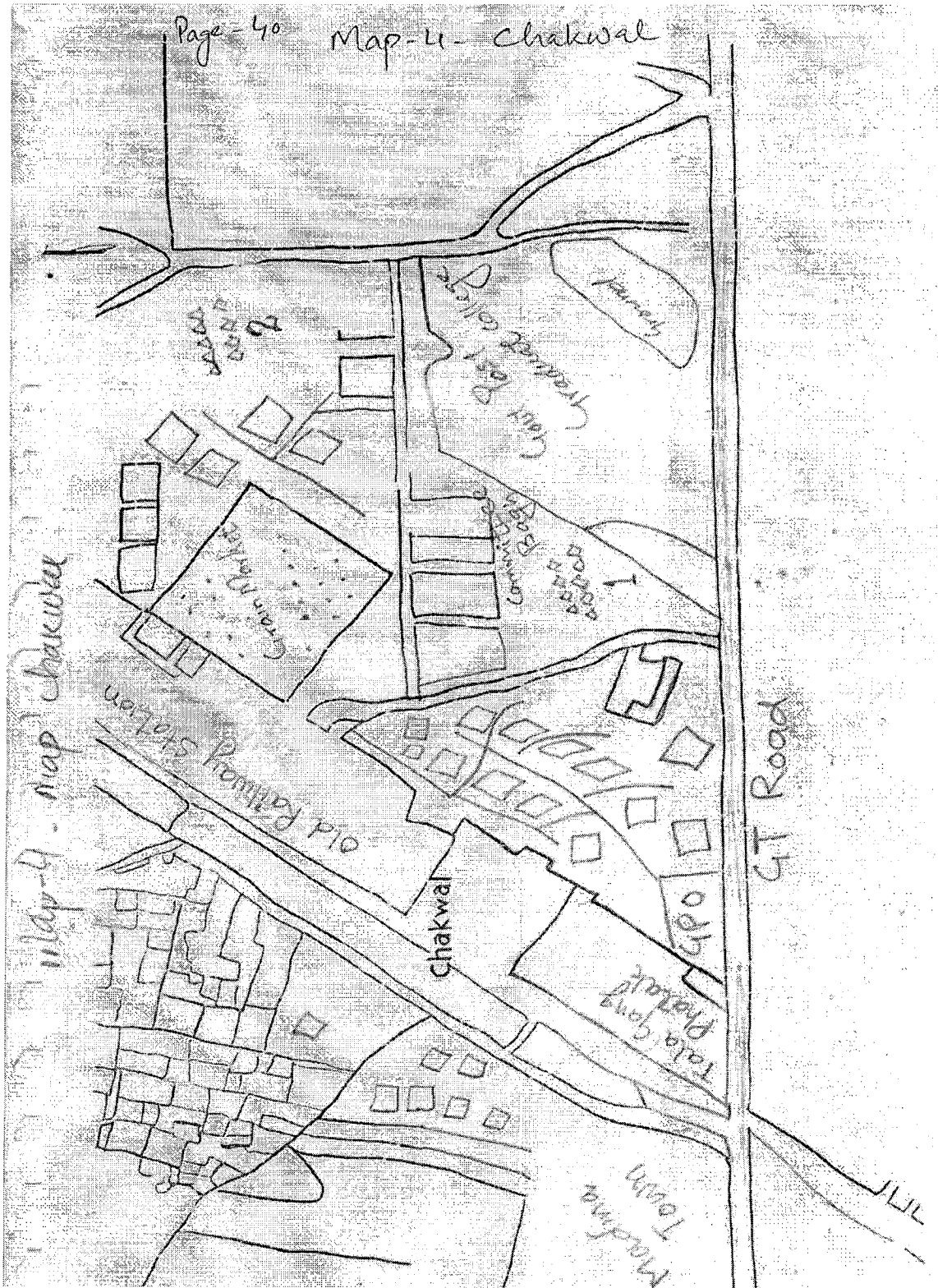
Map 1: Iqbal Town Rawalpindi



Map 3: Jhelum



Map 4: Chakwal



CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF GYPSIES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives the general account of the gypsy community, the basic social structure and of the community and pattern of living and interactions. It also gives a short description of culture and value system. It also includes their knowledge and behaviours that exist in their routine life. The purpose of describing these aspects of gypsy's life is to draw a sketch of their status, which will be analysed, in later sections in context of the social exclusion.

Table 5: Social and economic Participation

S. No	Parameter	Responses Frequency (%)	
		Yes	No
1	Family Knowledge	15	85
2	Economic reasons for migration	65	35
3	Participation in Marriages	7.5	92.5
4	Participation in Funerals	17.5	82.5
5	Celebration of <i>Eids</i>	67.5	32.5
6	Participation in <i>Urs</i>	85	15
7	Participation in <i>Ashura e Muharram</i> and <i>Melaad</i>	52.5	46.5
8	Social interaction with urban community	7.5	92.5
9	Landless among the gypsies	95	5

Source: Field data

The table-6 shows a general frequency of selected 9 parameters. These parameters are used to identify the events, places, in which gypsies participate and interact with other community members.

5.1.1. KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CASTE AND HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

The gypsies have knowledge of their castes; they call it *beradary*. However, they do not have much of the knowledge of their ancestors beyond 30-35 years. Only 6 of the 40 (15%) respondents said that the elders can recollect about their lineage up to their grandfather but they do not share it with others. Because they had a long history of migration and had been living on dozens of places that becomes difficult for them to remember and recall. Another reason for not sharing is their life experiences of the past places is because they do not bring happy memories so they do not want to refresh those things in discussion with a stranger who is newly known and has nothing to do with them in the future. Most of the historical documents available in literature refer to gypsy's migration, which indicates that Europeans have done much work on gypsies.

5.1.2. BIRTH PLACES AND THE PLACES THEY HAVE BEEN LIVING

All the respondents (100%) said they know about the places where they were born. Two important places every respondent shared, the place of birth, and the place of their last residence. Many of the women joined the family after marriage even intercity marriages take place to keep relations with the *beradary*. As I found a woman in *juggies* in Jhelum who was born in Faisalabad but was married to a person of her Oad *beradary* in Jhelum some 28 years before. Her parents were still in Faisalabad and they used to visit each other's families especially during marriages, funerals, childbirth, and any other special event like *Eids*.

5.1.3. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

It takes a pause at the start when they talk about the reasons for their continuous migration. The people living in *juggies* do not own the land and make their *juggies* or pitch tents on others land. In case of gypsies in Pakistan, everyone tells a different story that how they were forced to leave those places, they had been living; but one and the biggest reason is they are landless and the people who own land, can execute and throw them out whenever they want their lands to be free.

Except being the landless status, there are other social political and economic reasons, which cause migration. Cristian Dumitrescu (2008) has given an account on gypsies as people who are looking for a country. His account is written in European context but the history he traces dates back to South Asia as well. I met three families in Jhelum who were *Rind Baluch*, had come from Sahiwal and they told that they are in business of selling *Chourian* (Bangles) and go everywhere they find the business scope. They are based in Sahiwal but in most part of the years, they live in Jhelum and other cities where they go in groups to sell bangles. Many of the others said that the economic problems, lack of work opportunities for them are also important reasons for their migration. They do not affiliate and attach themselves to a specific area because of the fact that they do not inherit land and other properties from their ancestors. They earn as much as they need to live on. Therefore, it becomes a habit to move to new places and finding new earning opportunities through the specific work and businesses, they can do.

5.1.4. PARTICIPATION IN MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

There is no participation of the gypsies in marriage ceremonies of the urban dwellers. The respondents shared that people do not invite them, as they are not part of these communities. However, a system of begging prevails in majority of the *juggies*. The women and children of the *juggies* visit those houses before and after the ceremony and get benefits in shape of money and food. If they visit a few days before the marriages after fixing of the date, the family gives them some money and if they visit after marriage, they get food. Many of the women regularly visit *Shadi Halls* (Marriage Halls) and get food and some money from there. Many of the *Juggies* families enjoy this privilege when the marriages season is at its peak. This kind of participation is not called a social participation while these habits of the gypsies are unpleasant for mainstream population and they do not let them to enter into their streets easily. However, the marriages taking place in, invite, and allow the other *jhuggiwasi* even they are at a reasonable distance in other parts of the city but there should be a relation between the two *juggey* communities. Either they should be of the same *beradary* or they might had shared some place in the past. Although there is less research on this aspect of the gypsies, life however it is generally discussed as discrimination and often mixed with minorities.

5.1.5. PARTICIPATION IN FUNERALS

Funerals in the urban dwellers community are very traditional and family oriented. At a funeral, close family members and friends are the people referred to attend and manage funeral formalities but other people who had some kind of linkages with the deceased or its family may or may not attend the funeral. In this situation, there is no chance of a gypsy to attend such a funeral of the neighbouring urban community because they do not have exchange relations with each other. Neither the gypsies nor the general community members attend funeral in each other's community.

5.1.6. CELEBRATION OF THE *EID*

It is very ambiguous that what *Eid* means for them because they have no clear religious understanding and practices. Only a few families who belong to the *Oad beradary* (Clan) and earn through skilled labour have relatively visible religious practices as their elder women observe fast in Ramadan, but do not very regularly. The typical *Eid* celebrations are not prevailing in the *juggies* because of their situation of being homeless, poverty and religious affiliations and practices. However, it brings them opportunities to increase their income as the Muslims behave more philanthropic during Ramadan and *Eid*.

5.1.7. PARTICIPATION IN *URS*

Urs at different shrines in Rawalpindi, Chakwal, and Jhelum are like the most awaited events for the gypsies. They participate in *Urs*. In some of these events, their males Act and dance like "*Malang*" the most devoted follower. In Rawalpindi, Golra Sharif and Bari Imam in Islamabad are two very important Shrines where the gypsies attend *Urs*. Except the *Urs*, they also visit these places as a suitable place for begging. During interviews none of the gypsies directly said that they go for begging but it is observed and seen as they told sell prayer books and flowers on shrines, that means the selling is symbolic but actually they go for begging. All the family members go for it and operate separately.

5.1.8. PARTICIPATION IN ASHURA AND MELAAD

When the gypsies were asked about their religion, most of them said that they are Muslims and are affiliated with *Ahl-e-Tashi* sect but they do not even know the *Kalima* with exact pronunciations. However, the important reason was that they participate in *Ashura* like the other *Shea* community members. Some of the respondents indicated that young boys of the gypsy families are hired for *Ashura* processions to show of the "*Shamsheer Zanni*" (one strikes his back with an iron chain and a one or more sharp edged knives attached at the hitting node of chain) to show the strength of their sects nevertheless, the members interviewed.

5.2. THE GYPSY CULTURE AND VALUES

Table 6: The Gypsy Culture and Values

S. No	Parameters	Responses Frequency (%)	
		Yes	No
1	Planned and proper socialisation of the children	17.5	82.5
2	Gypsies knowledge about their specific values	57.5	42.5
3	Threats and fears of mixing with other people	72.5	27.5
4	Satisfaction in maintaining gypsy values	82.5	17.5
5	Negative response from children socialisation	50	50
6	Positive response from children socialisation	52.5	47.5
7	Willingness to participates	47.5	52.5
8	Resistance from urban community	92.5	7.5

Source: Field data

The Table 7 gives reflection on the socialisation of gypsy children, teaching the gypsy values by parents and community members to train their children to maintain gypsy culture. The process of socialisation is explained in the following headings 5.2.1 to 5.2.14.

5.2.1. SOCIALISATION OF THE CHILDREN

Children's socialisation takes place within the family initially while they start going to work along with their mothers at a very early age. Among the gypsies, there is no regular system of socialisation, that exists as an institution for children education and socialisation. Only 17.5 respondents said that they take care of the socialisation process while 82.5 % said that the families to socialise their children for the work and activities that the family is already doing for their livelihoods use informal methods. Women go out begging for money by sitting at crowded places, at the gates of mosques, shrines and wander about in the nearest streets carrying their children with. This is learning for their children, they learn the specific sentences, which their mother uses while begging. Likewise, they sell flower and small Islamic books, pencils and toys, and use specific sentences for attracting people's attention. Except this the family norms about daily life, how to behave with elders of the same community, how to interact and behave with the other people of the urban community are also taught by parents. The children are given such confidence so that they can independently go out at the age of 5-6 years and start selling items and begging. Very young children of the age gather money because people sometimes pay them without buying a book or a flower. Language is also learnt as it is used in the family. Children learn three important languages, the gypsy's specific language, the local language and a little bit of Urdu sentences and terms. It was very surprising for them asking about the *tarbeyat* (socialisation) of the children to transfer specific gypsy values into them.

As one key informants revealed:

Now a days, when children grow up and become boys, they do not go for begging. They have a bit changed pattern of livelihoods. They start working with the automobile technician at automobile workshops, electricians, cable network operators, unskilled daily labours, cleaners, carpenters, and masons. When they involve in such jobs there seems an influence of the mainstream society due to increased interaction with them.

5.2.2. THREAT AND FEARS OF MIXING WITH OTHER PEOPLE

Because the gypsies are already poor, marginalised and neglected part of the society so they have a continuous state of fear and threat to expel from their *juggies* settlements by landowners. About 72.5 % responded positively when asked about fear and 27.5 % said that there is no such fear. Their children go out for binging money, there are fears of children suffer from abuse, kidnapped, and killed. Generally, it seems that the gypsy children are confident and their parents do not care much about them but according to the parents, they are as much concerned about their children as a normal member of the mainstream society. They do not have those opportunities and facilities to bring up and educate their children while they have parentally feelings for their children.

5.2.3. SATISFACTION IN MAINTAINING GYPSY VALUES

While living in *Juggies* is not strange for gypsies and their children because they born and brought up there. Their satisfaction is more dependent on the situation of outer communities where they have to create work opportunities, the market, community, and the place where they live. About 82.5 said they have a satisfaction and 17.5 said that they are not much interested in value system. If these places enable them to feed their families, their satisfaction is higher regardless of the specific gypsy's values. There are no bindings seen in all the visited *juggies*, which restrict them to grow economically however, the restrictions are in terms of education, money and the land ownership. Two families that met in Jhelum, who had earned money, had bought land and have a two-storey house but they are still part of the gypsy's community. It is their satisfaction to live like gypsies because mixing with other social groups of urban dwellers, causes problems of communication and cultural learning, employment and livelihoods. They are more settled in a house with a satisfaction of ownership but the lifestyle ideal for them is what they were socialised as in gypsies communities. They believe that the satisfaction in mixing would take time for educating a generation and then to go side by side to the mainstream community.

5.2.4. CHILDREN'S SOCIALISATION AND RESPONSE BEHAVIOUR

Because the children open their eyes in a *juggy* environment, so they take it as normal to be dirty and poor. They learn from what happens around them in *juggies*. There are mixed responses on

the children's response to the planned socialisation that is counted as 50% said children respond positively and 52.5 % said they respond negatively. When they start going out and interacting with the surrounding population, they sometimes ask questions about the other children's life who go to school and have many things which gypsy children do not have. Although they do not interact with other children in neighbouring community but they do realise and accept the reality of difference between their community and other society exist around them. As they grow up, they feel and they are leaned to enter into the mainstream economic domain if they find the opportunities. Relatively better families of the gypsies who are living at a place for more than 20 years and have built *Katcha* (Mud) houses, they are now sending their children to school, are interacting more with the community through their work. Many of the *Ods* are masons, carpenters, and electricians and earned a reasonable income that affects the children positively. Therefore, the children's response to the socialisation is very much dependent on the economic conditions of the gypsy families.

5.2.5. WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE

They are not so clear about their willingness to participate and become normal citizens. Perhaps due to the fears, they have and their struggle they envision to change their state and equalise themselves with the ordinary part of the society. 47.5 % respondents agreed and were willing to participate and to be included while 52.5 % said that they do not want to participate and mix with the urban dwellers, as they are different and independent. They partially have the desire to be part of the society, own land, have houses, and be part of the social, economic, and cultural activities without huge efforts if the society allows them and institutions support them. Living in *juggies* and participating in the normal social events is difficult, they say they are not welcomed as guests they are treated as outsiders and inferior which is not comfortable for them. The second condition of participation has the least willingness while they want this to be done by the government. About 92.5 % of the respondents said that we face resistance form the community while interacting with them and only 7.5 % said that they could interact with community without much resistance. They think that it is a lifelong process for them and they could not see any opportunities and avenues to enter into the mainstream society.

5.2.6. RELIGION AND BELIEFS

They call themselves Muslims, majority of the *Shea* sect and others are undefined sects named just Muslims. They do not have the true knowledge and do not practice Religion. Among the tradition they refer to religions, are influenced by both Islam and Hindu religion. Their belief system is formed by mix of both these religions. They believe in Allah as one God, only a small number of families who have a better status and their children are getting education, are familiar with the Prophet Mohammad (SAW), and participate in *Eid* Prayers as well. They also use the name of Allah at different occasions like begging and seeking help from others. However, they have no religious learning and teaching system, no affiliation with a *Masjid*, *Mandir* or *Church* with reference to religion. These places are only the sites of business for them. An interesting phenomenon is, as part of their belief system, they pay much respect to *Darbaars* (Shrines). In Chakwal, Rawalpindi and Islamabad they visit shrines and show their faithfulness, even pray there. Alongside of the Islamabad express highway starting from Faizabad towards the airport chowk, a number of shrines and *juggies* are located near to them. Gypsies living here regularly visit these palaces and spend time there. They consider it as *ibadat* (religious Practice).

They believe in supernatural spiritual forces, which are invisible and can change their lives that depend on doing good or evil. Whenever they have fights they give, others *baddua* (curse) which they believe that will do justice to the good and bad, right and wrong. It is believed that these supernatural forces act like males and females and have good and bad characters. Good female spirits are called *Paryan* (fairies) and for evil female spirits, which tortures are called *Chrail* and *Bhootni*. Name for male is *Jin*, *Bhoot*, *Deo* and *Masaan*. A *Jin* can be either good or evil while a *Bhoot* and *Deo* are considered harmful for human. These evil supernatural forces create problem for human and the good ones help humankind.

5.2.7. MOST PRACTISED RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS

To know the level of understanding of the religion, they were asked to say “*Kalima Shahadat*”⁴ louder so that they could prove that they are Muslim. Only a few knew 2-3 words of the *Kalima*, which means that there is no system of religious teaching and learning in the gypsy communities. Having no knowledge of the religion hinders them to practice religion. They do not say *Nimaz* (prayer), do not observe Fast, and do not develop their understanding of the norms and values based on religion. However, they learn some Poetry of the poets who have written on “*Ishq e Haqiqi*” the spiritualism and Sufism like Waris Shah, Bulley Shah and some Punjabi Poets as well. The older members of the gypsy Families have this kind of understanding of the Verses while the children and young ones do not have this trend.

5.2.8. SPECIFIC VALUES

Some of the members with good quality of voices learn *Naats and Quali*, use it as a source of income, and believe it a good practice as well. They go to the neighbouring streets and sing loudly, the people who listen them, especially women give them money for such beautiful *Naats*⁵. Following a *Peer* (Sufi) is also a tradition by going to him, even serving and dancing for him is believed an honour. Only a few young and pretty women get this opportunity. It happens in Chakwal where on the special events at Peer’s house the young women of gypsies perform and get their soul satisfaction.

5.2.9. LANGUAGES OF THE GYPSIES

Gypsies generally use three languages, the local language of the area called Potwari a version of Hindko language; the gypsies own language which is named as Romani in literature but in the local context the gypsies do not tell its name; third one is Urdu which is partly used when needed. Language learning is not formal except Urdu, only the people who have to interact with urban

⁴ *Kalima e Shahadat* is the Arabic sentence that means to verbally witness the oneness of Allah and the Holy Prophet (SAW) it is a basic belief to be a Muslim.

⁵ *Naat* consists of Verses to admire the Prophet Mohammad (SAW)

community members, who have proceed with the Music and those who go for selling books and stationery items learn specific sentences of Urdu from their elders.

5.2.10. CASTE SYSTEM AND *BERADARY* LEADERSHIP

Caste system exists among the gypsies having different *Qoum* (Caste) and *Zats*⁶ (sub caste). In my research locale, I found casts like *Kingray*, *Ods*, *Deh*, *Barars* and *Rinds*. Their caste system is maintained by keeping the in caste marriages and live together in camps as a *beradary*. In most cases one-tent camp of the gypsies consist of the same *beradary*. Their marriages take place within the *beradary* but out of *Zat*, which is a narrow concept, which included the close kinship and lineages. Sons and daughters of two brother cannot inter marriage because they are considered brothers and sisters. This pattern is much similar to the Christian family and caste system prevailing in Pakistan. The eldest of the family is often the head of the family but in some cases, the strongest in the family who earns the most is the head of the family.

5.2.11. THE ELECTION AND SELECTION OF *BERADARY* LEADER

The leadership in a *beradary* is not so considerable but in specific situations of family conflicts, marriages, and mobility of the camp, they require leadership. They consider a person as leader who is economically better, has more children, shout louder, and can convince the other people by using his wisdom. The leader can be an older women or man. Although there is no process of choosing a leader but the member of gypsy's community who keeps on helping and influencing other members, automatically gains the leader's position. In a family, the earning male is head but women can also be head of the families in case of having children and earning more than family men can.

5.2.12. SPECIAL DAY'S CELEBRATIONS

Within the gypsy community, there are no considerable special days celebrated as the happy and exciting events but they participate in the *Urs* and cultural events. The festivals give them a limited opportunity of participation while they do not have the money to celebrate any special days. Some of the better off families consider *Eid* as a special day when Muslim Community provides them

⁶ Generally it is used as Caste and sub caste, some may refer to tribe but there is not too much information received about tribes in Gypsies, so the word *Qoum* and *Zat* is use for Caste and sub caste.

foods and clothing living around. On marriage, they have dance and music celebrations, which is also special day for them. In every week, Thursday and Friday are also special for those who go to shrines and mosques to sell flowers, twigs, small books, and scent.

5.2.13. COMMUNITY CONFLICT RESOLUTION METHODS

These communities are poor and landless so they have fewer conflicts. Types of conflicts in their communities are the fights between husband and wife, the male fights over women, fights in division of the share of earning or stolen material. These conflicts do not lead to physical fights but in rare cases, it happens in male fights. The husband wife fights consists of lots of verbal abuses and the one dominates who screams more than the other screams and uses more filthy words. The gypsies do not give details of such conflicts unless they are seen in such a conflict.

5.2.14. MARRIAGE PATTERNS AND PROCESS

At age of 15-16, their girls and boys are married. They chose their partners out of their fraternal family and the parents negotiate to decide the marriages. In few cases, they have betrothal system but in other cases, direct marriage takes place. There are special rituals of marriage, which take place in the couple's family and their community. The rituals related to marriage include the

Table 7: Marriage Patterns

<i>The Kudmai</i>	Engagement
<i>Tail and Mehndi</i>	The function of mehndi before Nikah
<i>Nikah</i>	Formal marriage contract
<i>Munh Dikhae</i>	Presenting bride to guests and relatives for first time after marriage and to give her gifts and cash
<i>Saada</i>	Marriage Invitations
<i>Barat</i>	Small or large group of people take groom to bride's house
<i>Rukhsati</i>	Departure of bride for groom's house ⁷

Source: Field data

⁷ Information in this table is compiled on the basis of the answers of Gypsy respondents and common social understanding of the researcher.

These rituals take place only in those gypsies who are settled better for at least 15 -20 years at one place and earn better than the frequent moving families.

5.2.15. CHILD BIRTH CELEBRATIONS AND RITUALS

On childbirth, they celebrate the happiness. Girls and boys are welcomed in the families equally. The first ritual just after birth is saying of *Azaan* (call for prayer) in the ears of newly born baby. Then removing the hair of child and the circumcision.

5.2.16. MARRIAGE DISSOLUTION METHOD

There is least trend among the gypsies, of the marriage dissolution but is rare cases if the husband or wife whoever wants to dissolve the marriages approaches the other family members and head of the clan and inform about the marriage dissolution. Among the Rinds, the head of clan decides whether marriages are to dissolve or to continue.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE OF GYPSIES

This chapter provides details of the lives of gypsies regarding social, economic, and political aspects. The patterns under normal conditions and the conditions they occasionally face and pass through. A general description of the themes identified supplemented with the frequencies of response on each theme is provided to draw a picture of the social economic and political lives of the gypsies. Following table gives frequencies of the themes in this chapter.

This research verifies the theoretical framework presented in chapter one Figure 1, includes normative theory of social exclusion, capability approach of Sen (2000) and Kabeer (2000). According to normative theory of social exclusion, social injustice and reduced social solidarity are important parts of the social exclusion. In case of gypsies, studied in this research the conditions of reduced social solidarity and social injustice are prevalent. Their participation in social, political, and economic affairs is limited. They are discriminated in public rights provision that indicates the social injustice.

The Sen's (2000) capability approach mentions individual capabilities like education and health; and freedom of choices. Both these indicators when applied to the gypsy communities in Pakistan, it is declared that the gypsies do not have the opportunities to participate in educational opportunities and have no access to health facilities as well. It reduces their capabilities and lowers their functionality and achievements.

Kabeer's (2000) poverty, injustice, and exclusion nexus mentions three important categories including problematic group, problematic conditions, and problematic processes. All of these prevail and verified in case of gypsies. Gypsies are landless; they are beggars and unemployed as well. Poverty prevails among gypsies, and they live in isolation from the mainstream communities. Social, political, and economic processes are problematic for gypsies because of unequal social political and economic opportunities and participation. They are not entitled to basic rights, do not participate socially, and have no opportunities for economic development.

Table 8: Basic Social and Political rights

S. No	Themes / Parameters	Frequency of responses (%)	
		Yes	No
1	Face severe health issues	82.5	17.5
2	Satisfaction on health Facilities	7.5	92.5
3	High Risk to Mother and Child health	87.5	12.5
4	Problems on death and burial	75	25
5	Knowledge of voting and elections	92.5	7.5
6	Holding ID cards	57.5	42.5
7	Access to Public Facilities	7.5	92.5
8	Access to respected sources of income	7.5	92.5
9	Perceived Poverty	95	5
10	Willingness to get rid of poverty	60	40

Source: Field data

6.1. HEALTH CONDITIONS

Gypsies have no access to basic health services provided by the government so they have more health issues than the mainstream population. About 82.5 % respondents said that they face severe health issues as well as the absence of treatment and medications. Only 17.5 % said that they do not face severe health issues and receive medicines from government hospitals and private clinics. Their living standard is a basis for a number of health issues. Infection and non-infectious diseases prevail in their communities. Health issues include the frequent disease occurrence due to dirty environment, absence of hygiene and sanitation arrangements, lack of knowledge to take

precautionary measures against disease, lack of access to basic health services, lack of resources to get treatment and medicines, biased treatment of the doctors and hospital administration are major issues and abstraction to good health of the gypsies. Regarding satisfaction on the health facilities, only 7.5 % said that they are satisfied with facilities provided by government while 92.5 % were not satisfied, in fact they could not easily access these facilities. However, the women are found healthier than male member of the gypsy's community is. they fortified this on the basis women have more access to food by visiting the neighbourhood and are physically active that makes them resistant against diseases.

6.2. COMMON DISEASES

Diarrhoea is the most commonly prevalent among the gypsy children. The gypsies have unhygienic health practices and openly defecate near the *juggies*, which cause spread of germs. If they have animals, they are kept very close to their tent. The exposure of human and animal excreta is the main cause of diarrhoea among gypsies. On the other hand, they do not maintain cleanliness because of shortage of water detergents that also make them prone to disease. Cough prevails among all members of the gypsy's community in winter they do not know the reason but link it to winter cold. Most of them are unable to buy medicine for cough and continue with it throughout the winter. They have Fever attacks off and on but they do not consider it as a health problem and have a strong resistance against fever. They believe that it becomes more severe when someone mentally shows weak resistance against the disease and it does nothing when someone is strong enough and does not feel fear of disease. Food poisoning is very common mostly among the children and men although women also suffer from food poisoning. Skin diseases include measles is called "*Kharish and Chaaley*" which is more prevalent in summer especially in the months when there are too much mosquitoes. It is not declared by any test that the disease is measles but the symptoms they told, indicate that it is measles and in some cases it resembles chicken pocks. Some symptoms of scabies and dry skin and tapeworm were also found in the discussion. Body pain, muscular pains, and stomach pains are common as well.

6.3. HEALTH FACILITIES

In case of illness, they try to resist to the disease but if the increase in time and severity. They manage to visit hospitals. They prefer to go to government hospitals. In Rawalpindi, they visit holy family hospital, general Hospital Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences (PIMS) Islamabad. In Jhelum and Chakwal they visit district headquarter hospital and Combined Military Hospital (CMH) Jhelum. In case of getting less treatment and satisfaction from the government hospitals, they look for money to visit small clinics where they have to pay fee and buy medicine, which is only done in extreme cases. Medication and home remedies are two important modes of treatment. Doctors do not check properly and respectfully. In case of emergencies when a gypsy requires admitting in the hospital, it becomes a big problem due to lack of money, documentation, and reference.

6.4. THE MOTHER AND CHILD HEALTH SENSITIVITY

In absence of the proper health facilities and hospitals it is high risk for mother and child health as said by 87.5 % respondents mother and child health is more sensitive is discussion as well as an issue. The problems faced by pregnant women are severe because they have to face hardship of making their livelihoods as well as to take care of the house and they are not as healthy as normal women are. Shortage of food medicines and caring family members make them more vulnerable to cope with the health issues. In case of delivery complications, they have no opportunities to visit any hospital frequently, as they cannot afford transportation, are not well treated in government hospitals while they do not have the money and affordability of the private health clinics and hospitals.

6.5. DEATHS AND FUNERALS

Death is a shocking event and the gypsies face extra problems in dealing with such events. Lack of land for burial, the expenses of death rituals are difficult to manage. Death ritual in gypsies is concerned with the burial and prayers for the deceased. All the gypsies that here surveyed have the same pattern of death ritual whether it is in Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Jhelum or Chakwal. After death, the relatives of the dead arrange for burial. Arrangements of bath are special, warm water

is to use to bath; dead body is cleaned and kept in the *centre for dua*. Bath follows the wrapping of body in 3 pieces of *kafan* (white cloth or Shroud) and the next step is *Dafnana* (burial). Collective prayers follow the burial for the deceased and for this purpose; they invite some nearest *Imam Masjid*. After burial, they observe *soog* for almost 40 days. About 75 % of the respondents shared that they face problems in finding space for burial and even during the funeral.

6.6. SOCIAL INTERACTION

6.6.1. INTERACTION WITH OTHER SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES

There are no formal interaction between as it is discussed earlier that the urban settlers do not allow them to enter into their houses, even they do not select the house cleaners that come from gypsy background. Generally, they do not trust the gypsy men and women and consider them thieves so they avoid to employing them. Therefore, the interaction between gypsies and urban community members are very limited.

6.6.2. TYPE OF INTERACTIONS

Gypsies involve in a number of informal professions, unskilled labour, automobile technicians, and daily wageworkers. Interaction with the urban community is dependent on the nature of work they do for their livelihoods. Except the work-based interaction, the gypsies are not part of the social events take place around their *juggies*. They are not eligible and equal to participate as normal participants of the events like marriages, funeral, *Eid*, and community events in schools, colleges, and political meetings. Relations with urban dwellers are so limited on equal basis, they only call in selected members of the gypsies who they trust relatively more than the ordinary members of the gypsy community.

6.7. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

6.7.1. KNOWLEDGE OF VOTING AND ELECTIONS

Majority of the gypsies 92.5 % know about the elections, the members of the local bodies around, the process of election campaign and the character of the community leaders. Even I found around

majority of the gypsies involved in voting in Chakwal and Jhelum while the gypsies in Rawalpindi do not engage in voting and most of them do not have voting rights due to their frequent migration. A young man of 27 met in Jhelum was so angry on the local politicians and was using so abusive words for him because the politician had promised to facilitate them with water, sanitation, electricity, and gas facility but once he was elected, he never saw them again.

6.7.2. STATUS OF IDENTITY CARDS

Around 57.5 % of the gypsies now have their identity cards despite being landless. Majority of the male members of the gypsies have identity cards but not all females have identity cards. Again, researcher found more identity card holders in Jhelum and Chakwal while the gypsies' living around the Islamabad Express way, Iqbal Town Rawalpindi and Sohaan, did not hold identity cards.

6.8. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Public facilities mean for the facilities which government provide to its citizen on subsidies or free. No existence of public facilities is seen with in the camps. gypsies are not entitled to use public facilities because they lack basic documentation and citizenship registration. A class one citizen should own land and live at a particular area for a reasonable time. Gypsies do not have this status and entitlement so they are unable to process the application and demand for public facilities while living on others land. Only 7.5 % can access to public facilities including water, electricity and fuel gas while other 92.5 % do not have access to education, water, electricity and gas.

6.8.1. WATER

Water is a necessity of life and used for drinking, cooking, cleaning, and many other uses of water make it vital for human. Gypsies do not have access to drinking water. They have to manage it by bringing water either from mosques or from other public taps. Gypsy women and children visit door to door around in the streets and beg for water. When availability of water is a big challenge for them, there is no question of safe or unsafe drinking water. The whole family of 6-8 people can live on 20 litres of water for 1-2 days including drinking, cleaning, and cooking.

6.8.2. ELECTRICITY

The government does not provide electricity to lack of entitlement of the gypsies for public rights. Majority of the gypsies (90%) do not have electricity in their *juggies*. a small number of *juggies* researcher has seen having television and cable network connection available. They either get it by using *kundies*,⁸(illegal connection) or through shared billing with the nearest house, which has an electricity connection.

6.8.3. GAS

No gas is available like water and electricity. Availability of gas connection is normally involves a tough procedure which become almost impossible for the *jhuggiwasi*.

6.8.4. EDUCATION

Children of the gypsies are not enrolled in schools due to poverty, their lifestyle, their trends of mobility and having an inferior low class status. Only a few cases are examples where the gypsy children are attending schools in Jhelum and Chakwal. The children attend government schools and are from those gypsies, belong to *Ods* who are involved in masonry work and have built mud hoes on government lands and earn relatively more than the other gypsies.

6.9. ECONOMIC STATUS

6.9.1. SOURCES OF INCOME

Gypsies are involved in informal income generating activities. A continuous struggle of survival in a situation where they are landless and not eligible to enter into the mainstream economy. They are involved in unskilled labour, which is the most reasonable work for them. Other sources of income include, music, selling of small books & stationery in buses, Flower selling, working as house cleaners, begging, cleaning of the cars at signal, and *bandar wala*, *reech wala* (training and using monkey and bear as source of income). Operating small rides for children in streets,

⁸ A round wire made to hook the electricity transmission line to get illegal connection of the electricity.

collection and selling of scrap, selling of bangles, collection of wastes/garbage from city streets, begging and livestock are some of the main activities, which they do for their livelihoods and survival. About 7.5 % respondent said that they could work as masons, carpenters, and electricians, which they perceive as respectable source of income while 92.5 % said that they earn with disgrace.

Members of the gypsies buy goods, go to crowded places, bus stations, schools, and shrines, and sell their goods. This is used as a means of earning through begging because it is apparently an effort to earn but it motivates and mobilises people's sympathies who give them money without buying their goods. Selling of books, stationery and flowers all are modifications and techniques of begging. The gypsies do not share it directly and while questioning about their income sources they avoided detailed discussion and shared only the legal means of earning while their face impressions and discussion among them in their own language indicates that they are using this business as to avoid resistance and insults. They are much tricky in managing these activities and their languages is an advantage to ensure its plan's privacy.

The music as source of income is very rare. Researcher met a group that is led by Liaqat Ali who live near Bangash colony Pirwadai. The group consisted of three members; they had two harmoniums. This group has inherited music from their ancestors and they still are maintaining it. They sing *Gazals*, folk songs and any of the songs, which is demanded. Their method of using music for earning is, they go to university campuses, crowded places, marriages and in community meetings and sing there. People put their chosen list of songs and give them money. This is a better source of earning if they keep on working regularly they can earn about 1000 rupees a day. The gypsies involved in this profession are not much educated but they imitate and learn the verses / lyrics by heart. They undergo special training from the *Ustad* (Master and Trainer)⁹ who is a senior member of the same community and he experience as musician and singer.

Collection of scrap, garbage, and plastic is done either by using big bags or with the help of donkey carts. The families who have a donkey cart, they move together, collect scraps from the dumps of wastes, and sell it to the scrap shops. Gypsies without the donkey carts use big bag and walk around in the streets, collect paper, plastic, and cards from houses, shops, and dumping yards. Children from the age of 7 years and above are more involved in this work while elder members of the

⁹ Ustad is the senior musician who leads the group and also trains the young ones for music

family also go for this job. This kind of work is tough and provides little income; a whole family moving with a donkey cart hardly earns 400-500 rupees a day.

Masonry work is more in demand and respectable as compared to others. More of the *Oads* are involved in this profession. A senior mason receives 1000 per day, which is a handsome amount for gypsies. This has enabled them to improve their living standard, food, education for children and better clothing.

6.9.2. ILLEGAL SOURCES OF INCOME

Gypsies do not share the illegal means of earning but the key informants shared that there were some activities, which the gypsies are involved in and earn reasonable money. Two main activities included the selling of drugs and prostitution. Although it very sensitive to discuss directly with the gypsies to investigate these activities but indirect discussions and noting of their reactions confirmed that they were involved in these activities for financial reasons.

6.9.3. POVERTY

Generally, there are different definitions of poverty given by scholars and institutions working on poverty related research and practices. While conducting research with gypsies' researcher wanted a new definition of poverty to be given by the gypsies. They all consider themselves poor. Probing for relative poverty in gypsy's families revealed that the family or person in gypsies, who has less income because of their laziness and resultantly have less to eat, is called poor. Among the poor males are the people who depend on their women to go out and earn, they are drug addicts in most cases, stay at the juggies and are thieves as well. Among the female poor are the women who are older, diseased/sick, disabled, and stay idle at *juggies*. According to the responses by people interviewed 95 % said that they are poor and their perceived poverty is having less than needs to eat live and wear. Only 5 % said that we eat enough food and also manage to cover up with relatively better cloths and can invest on children education in primary schools only.

6.9.4. ECONOMIC NEEDS

Gypsies economic needs are different due to the difference of their acquired capabilities. Nevertheless, the in-depth discussions indicate that gypsies want to acquire those qualifications and skill, which the other members of this society are provided. In current state, they are compromising their desires but they want to improve their overall situation, which they do not know the way out of this miserable condition. They are not optimistic as they know about the society around them, the situation of unemployment and other crisis, but they still want to improve through an invisible force that automatically help them to get rid of the degraded status which means they are not too willing to put efforts and hard work for changing their lives.

6.9.5. POVERTY AND APATHY

All the gypsies are even not equal, there are inequalities exist among the gypsies. Some of the gypsies have mud house, and others have tents. Some of them earn 1000 a days and other do not even earn. These inequalities are not wholly because of the social structure. A factor of apathy is also a reason behind their poor state of economic and social conditions. Apathy is the state of mental and physical lethargy that generates least efforts for something. The person stays idle, do not work, and passes time in the situation of poverty, illness and hunger.

6.9.6. WILLINGNESS TO GET RID OF POVERTY

Majority of the gypsies want to get rid of the poverty but they have no means and options to improve their status as much as to become equal to an ordinary citizen of Pakistan. About 60 % of the respondents said that they want to change their live, to improve their living conditions, health status, and live a happy and satisfied life.

6.9.7. STEPS TO COME OUT OF POVERTY

According to the suggestion they shared that the gypsies should be provide some land for permanent settlement and should be allowed to work like other people so they will change their situation by educating their children, working hard and developing skill.

6.10. AVOIDANCE OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

6.10.1. ROLE AND BEHAVIOURS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Gypsies are not clear about the role of local government and the department at tehsil, and Union Council level. The behaviour of government personnel is not fair with them whenever they need to go to Union Council office, police station or any other government office. They took me a government person on my first day in Jhelum and I could see the fear on their faces. The reason for this fear is the police, security agencies sometime pick up people from gypsies for investigation of the crimes, and in other case, and they enforce them to leave places on public complaints. The government official of the Town Municipal Officer's (TMO) office could provide considerable information about maintain the data and services of the *juggies*. The gypsies who live within the urban areas in small plots are enforced to leave those plots when the construction starts. There are no special legislations or provisions in government office while dealing with these gypsies. There is a limited legislation done by the government of Punjab regarding *katchi abadi* (slum settlements) but it normally works in Lahore and surrounding areas and they differently define *katchi abadi*, which does not include these gypsies.

6.10.2. SELECTION OF LAND /SITE FOR PITCHING OF THE TENTS

When gypsies move to a new area, they look for open land and a reasonable space for their tents. There should a population around the open place, which could serve as source of livelihood for them. Gypsies in Sohaan told that the property owner receives rent for each tent and we are here until the land is not sold or construction starts. Selection and pitching of the tents depends on what they carry with them. In case of livestock they need to place their tents near the grassy fields and small markets must be there. Proprietors receive money and other favours as rent of their land. Gypsies do not have the genuine tent houses; they make their tent with the cloth patches they gather and bring from the nearby community. Pena flex banners are used to make the waterproof roofs of tents and the walls are made of cloths. Being landless and homeless is the basic problem and can be said as the root cause of their other issues. Gypsies often do not have knowledge of nearest government office, the Union Council (UC) and the knowledge of clear role and benefits of UC office while most of them have the knowledge about local influential at village or ward

level because of their off and on interaction with them. Sometimes for getting permission for using lands of the influential and sometimes for getting works and other resources for living.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data presented in previous chapter is taken as base for analysing and testing the status of gypsies whether they are deliberately excluded by mainstream institutions, gypsies themselves do not want to change themselves and what other barriers are restricting cultural assimilation between the gypsies and urban communities. The factor of poverty as one of the indicators of social exclusion is seen as another base of exclusion of the gypsies. Apparent poverty is not simple but a complex of a number of other reasons. The reasons included missing basic rights of gypsies in laws and policies, the land ownership limitations, migration, and lack of political representation and negligence of the public sector institutions to undertake effective measures to inculcate gypsy communities and to encourage them to mix with mainstream population to get access to opportunities for development. This kind of analysis is not often carried out while studying groups of gypsies, though the anthropological studies are carried out to reflect the lives of gypsies, their culture, norms, rituals, and their artistic attributes.

The data collected and analysed has been arranged to establish linkages to the research objectives, research questions, and theoretical framework. The first objective was to explore the interest and necessities of gypsies to maintain their specific values. The data showed that the gypsies are not recognized as the citizens of Pakistan and are not entitled to basic rights. This leads to their exclusion from participation in mainstream social, political, and cultural affairs. They are unable to avail of the education and employment opportunities. Maintaining a living is difficult for them when economic opportunities are restricted and made inaccessible. In such a situation of deprivation gypsies involve in struggle for survival that forces them to maintain their specific values and culture.

The second objective was to explore the relationship and behaviour of the public authorities with the gypsies. According to the data collected from gypsies, showed that there is no relationship formally built between public authorities and the gypsies. Gypsies in Rawalpindi and Chakwal told that they do not have knowledge about Union Council office because they have nothing to do with it. They sometimes go to government hospital but other public offices are not in their knowledge. In Jhelum gypsies belonging to *oad* clan. Told that they are settled here for about 28

years. Although they still do not have land entitlement but they have managed to adopt skilled labour professions and are sending their children to school as well. Their men know about the Union Council office and assistant commissioner office in Jhelum. However, this has happened in 3 gypsies families only. The other gypsies in Jhelum do not have these opportunities to access education and employment opportunities.

7.1. GYPSIES SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The presented data showed that only 7.5 % of the respondents said that they interact with the urban communities around their *juggies* and this interaction is because they are involved in masonry and carpentry so these jobs are done in construction of the houses and plazas where wealthier people invest. A work-based interaction further reduces the possibility of personal and social relations between the gypsies and urban employers, contractors and investor. At one hand, the gypsies are already marginalised and on the other hand, they face high resistance whenever they intend to interact with surrounding community. As said by 92.5 % respondents that they face resistance in interaction. It means that unless the urban and rural mainstream community would not recognise these gypsies as human and of the similar natural features, adoptable like others, the gypsies would remain excluded and alienated. The context of Pakistan is more complex because Pakistan has around 40%¹⁰ of its population living in relative poverty and 22.3 %¹¹ living below the poverty line. This situation does not allow the country to distinguish gypsies as special case to treat with priority and to understand them as one of the most neglected segment of Pakistani society.

7.2. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL EVENTS

Gypsy communities are kept away from participating in social event, which take place in mainstream society. It includes marriages, funerals, *Eid*, and other festivals. It is obvious from the given data of interviews that only 7.5 % participate in marriages, 17.5 % participate in funerals, 52.5 % participate in *Ashura* and *Melaad*, 67.5 % participate in *Eid*, and 85 % participate in *Urs*. In marriages their participation is only limited to the distribution of extra food in marriage halls and rarely in a community. In funerals, their participation is not too visible and does not makes a

¹⁰ <http://www.geotauaisay.com/poverty-in-pakistan-40-people-living-below-poverty-line.html>

¹¹ <http://data.worldbank.org/country/pakistan>

difference. The higher participation as said by the respondents is seen in *Urs* and on the events of Eids. This higher participation is not similar to other pilgrims coming from mainstream society instead a difference of secondary status is maintained. On *Eid*, people are relatively more generous and they give money to the gypsy beggars. Khan (2015) has talked about Sufi dance in Pakistan that mentions *dhamal* as forms of the dance that gypsies perform on *Urs*, and other programmes on Shrines. However, it brings a kind of opportunity for them to participate but it does not legitimise them as part of the society. The musicians among the gypsies participate in social events through the art of their music but a limitation of participation is proved, as they cannot be the commercial singers as compared to the other music stars of Pakistan.

7.3. AVOIDANCE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND SUSTAINING GYPSY VALUES

Although research is often conducted on the nomads and gypsies in Pakistan mostly by the academic researchers but that doesn't lead to the creation of legislation and institutional arrangements to consider nomads for incorporating into the mainstream domains of social, political and economic policies. Western literature reflects a series of intervention to document the history of the gypsies, to consider them special and to respond to the time-to-time demand of legislation and policymaking (Brearley, 2001). This also evident from the book by Smith (1997) the development of Roma education resource book at Oxford University. The book reflects the social and cultural aspects of gypsies and recommends special efforts to policy makers to consider include and socialise gypsy children.

The gypsies in Pakistan are far behind even the poor people of Pakistan in education and other eligibilities for formal economic participation. European Roma gypsies have realised and have developed themselves to participate into mainstream professions and their respective public institutions have fully helped them. Smith (1997, P: 13) argues that;

“Many gypsy families didn't have the means to dress their children well. It is normal that if you have large families you will have bigger economic problems. So parents had to send their children to school poorly dressed, with hand-me-down clothes. During Ceausecu's time, the teachers viewed these children differently. The teachers, seeing the children poorly dressed; put them in the back of the class where they would not be seen. They also looked at their clothes and

thought poverty was the same as stupidity. The children felt this animosity, and, as a result, they often left school."

Looking at the case of education participation in Pakistan, this is more severe against the gypsies and no such system of inclusion and socialisation exists in Pakistan to educate and socialize children and enable them to participate with competent life skills.

Public sector development authorities, research institutions, and policy-making institutes do not include the gypsies in their target beneficiaries, demographic surveys and planning. The one strong argument to justify this exclusion is to refer to the non-permanent settlements of gypsies, transition, and frequent mobility and lack of representation of gypsies in local, provincial, and national level political leadership.

7.4. MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Migration is one of the reasons to exclude gypsies. Although internal migration of people from one city to another, from rural to urban and for economic reasons, but gypsies migration is of the unique patterns. They migrate in deprivation and at their own risk and struggles unlike other migrants which are hosted and settled by the government, are recorded migrants and are provided with basic food and shelter needs in case of emergency displacement. It raises the question of citizenship rights of the gypsies who are not counted in population, they are not reported, and the institutions consider it as a normal way of life of the gypsies. Gypsies are missing in legislation and their basic rights are not included in any type of legislation in Pakistan. Even the gypsies are not defined as a population group in Pakistan and often mixed with Christian and Hindu minorities, which are different. Only in Punjab a legislation has been done in 1992¹² on *katchi abadi* which is about settlements in and around different cities of Punjab especially Lahore and some of other big cities of Punjab. This legislation does not include the gypsies because the people of *Katchi abadi* are registered voters and citizens and have allocations of land for temporary settlements. Government of the Punjab department of Local Government and Community Development notification has defined 6 categories of the land for use including a) residential; (b) commercial

¹² The Punjab Katchi Abadis Act, 1992

(including institutional); (c) industrial; (d) peri-urban; (e) agricultural; and (f) notified area. None of these categories is entitled ever to the gypsies.

According to the Citizenship Act of Pakistan 1951¹³; "*A person who is not citizen of Pakistan is called an Alien.* According to this definition, gypsies in Pakistan are aliens instead of the respectable citizens of Pakistan. The Citizenship Act Pakistan (1951) also mentions that every person born in Pakistan after the commencement of this Act shall be a citizen of Pakistan by birth that means the gypsies are citizens of Pakistan. If gypsies are, citizens of Pakistan they need to prove it by registering with the local Union Council Office; and to provide a birth certificate to National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) for obtaining Form -B¹⁴ of the children and National Identity Card for adults. This declaration of citizenship makes gypsies eligible to avail of the fundamental citizenship rights provided in the constitutions of Pakistan 1973. Few articles of the constitutional rights of citizens of Pakistan are here referred to analyse the status of gypsies' rights and the unavailability of these rights for gypsies clearly indicates their social, political, and economic exclusion.

Article 23 of the constitution of Pakistan States that,

*Every citizen shall have the right to acquire, hold, and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan, subject to the Constitution and any reasonable restriction imposed by law in the public interest.*¹⁵

According to this article, gypsies being citizens of Pakistan has the right own property and there is no such legislation, which mentions any "restriction" for gypsies banning their land ownership and other property entitlements. The real time data and evidence from the collected data indicates that gypsies do not have land holding that makes another strong argument to prove them excluded.

Article 25 of the constitution of Pakistan states that

*'All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law'*¹⁶

¹³ The Quote is taken from the drafted text of the Citizenship Act of Pakistan 1951

¹⁴ Citizenship by descent:- (1) any parson claiming Citizenship by descent under section 05 of the Act shall apply in Form 'B' to the Provincial Government of the areas in which he has his Domicile of origin as defined in part II of the Succession Act, 1925 (XXXIX of 1925).

¹⁵ <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html>

¹⁶ <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html>

Amended Local Government ordinance 2010 adds to article 25 as 25-A the right to free Education

The state is responsible free and compulsory education of the children aged 5-16 years.

For the deliverance of these rights, state operates through certain policies and regulations and develops infrastructure for the end delivery of services. For education, the government establishes schools and colleges and appoints teachers to provided free education. However, the gypsies' children can get admission to such schools for education but the culture, and structural inequalities, restrict gypsies to go for education.

6.5. ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Economic participation of the gypsies is limited and indirectly restricted by depriving them by inequalities in education and skill development. Lack of provision in basic rights, landlessness, issues regarding citizenship make gypsies incapable of entering into job market. The quotas for minorities in Pakistan is 2.5% but the gypsies are not even included in minorities. Gypsies are the most vulnerable groups, which depend on informal work for making their livelihood. Unskilled labour, scrap trading, hawkers, neglected folk music, and some of the disgraced means of earning, gypsies adopt to make their living.

Table 9: Types of jobs

Name work	Unskilled labour	Masons	Carpenters	Musicians	Electricians	Scrap gatherers	Street Hawkers	Books selling	House maids	Unidentified workers
No. of respondents	4	3	1	2	1	7	4	4	5	9
Percentage	10	7.5	2.5	5	2.5	17.5	10	10	12.5	22.5

Source: Field data

Figures in this table indicate that gypsies are more involved in scrape collection and the biggest percentage is shown against the unidentified workers category. The respondents did not share what they do but the key informants shared that such gypsies are involved in begging, prostitution, and some illegal means of income generation. There are young people who are still involved in their traditions of training of monkeys and bears (*bander wala* and *reech wala*) they are also earning through this traditional profession. Much of these *bander walas* are found in Sohan in rural areas of Islamabad. Only the unskilled labour, masonry, electrician, and carpentry are the professions, which are relatively better and enable better income among the gypsies groups. There is no question of entering into government and private sector jobs due to the social, political, cultural, and structural inequalities and exclusion of the gypsies.

The gypsies in Pakistan are excluded from the social, political, and economic domains of the Pakistani society. Although these domains are too large to analyse but using selected parameters of the basic rights provision, labour force participation, restrictions of gypsies to their specific culture, limiting interaction with the gypsies and considering them aliens enabled to analyse their existence in relation to the mainstream Pakistan society.

The social and economic life of gypsies is much different from the lives of urban communities and even rural poor. It is easily distinguishable to recognise a member of gypsy's community by their outlook, dress, language, and gestures. The language is normally not identifiable without close interaction or observation because they use local language as well when they are out of their *juggies* on their work. They have traditional values, rituals and a composed gypsies culture, which they maintain over the years even migrating continuously to dozens of places. The factor that helps them to maintain their culture is their rejection and exclusion from mainstream society. Neither the communities nor the state institutions acknowledge the presence of gypsies around urban communities. This neglect is a big hurdle to include these people into legislation and development policies.

The deprivation and poverty indicators are fully consistent with situation of gypsies. The status of land holding, economic participation, citizenship status, voting, and participation in electoral process as voters and representations all declare that, gypsies are excluded socially, economically, and politically. Pakistani Laws of citizenships declare them citizens as being born in Pakistan, but they are deprived, discriminated and exclude from education and other public facilities. The

deprivation from rights make them illegible for entering into education, employment, and local bodies of political representation.

Definitions of poverty have diversity in terms of measurement, the individual 1.25 Dollar a day, the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) approach and basic needs approach all prove that the gypsies are poor and deprived. However, the perceived poverty of the gypsies is different because they do not compare themselves with the other mainstream society. The poor among gypsies according to their perception, is the one who works less, have less for eating, and have less children.

The social, political, economic, and cultural exclusion gypsies is proved because of their participation and interaction with mainstream community, their labour force participation, their voting rights, land holding, citizenship status, and long lasting culture that restricts them to mix with mainstream society. The case of Pakistan is not unique in South Asian context because it happens in similar countries like India and Bangladesh but its comparison with the European countries gives different results. In Europe, gypsies are present in research as well as in legislation and the development benefits.

6.6. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on findings, following recommendations are made

1. Researches on nomadic population and gypsies are often conducted with anthropological perspectives; I have attempted to look into the situation of gypsies with a different perspective applying social exclusion as a lens for analysis. Initiation of this kind of research opens new avenues for research and huge potential of research is present in this scenario.
2. Gypsies are the population groups in Pakistan, which are not targeted in policy formulation due to lack of entitlement to citizenship. It also deprives them to avail off the public facilities. Policies should include this population for their recognition and development.
3. Gypsies are landless, although landless are much in number in Pakistan but the gypsies among them are more vulnerable due to the absence of their affiliations with strong local groups of landlords and wealthy people. Land reforms is a key to entitle land and making them able to benefit from publicly provided facilities, and inclusion in education and employment systems.
4. Private sector organisations and charity organisations need to support these communities for basic living needs as well. They can be provided with shelter, technical trainings, and similar incentives to encourage for participation in education and economic activities for changing their lives.

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APPENDIX

1. Interview Guide

Questionnaire

Victims of Social Exclusion-The case of Gypsies in Potwar Region

Part one-Existing Indicators of Social Exclusion

Social

Family history?

Name of Respondent

Caste/ Beradary

Forefathers

1. Give a brief history of your mobility?

Place of Birth

Places you lived

Reasons for migration

2. Participation

Do you participate in social events in the community?

Marriages

Funerals

Eids

Urs

Any Other

If not,

Why?

3. What are common health issues you face?
4. What do you do in case of health problems?

Visit Hospitals

Local Healers

Visit Shine

Home Remedy

Any other

5. Have you ever visited a hospital?
6. If you have visited a hospital, how do doctors and other staff members behave?
7. These days childbirth is a complication that needs medical assistance, how does it take place in your community?
8. Describe the situation when someone dies in your community. The cause of death, the funerals, the burying and graveyard availability.
9. Do you interact with people other than your community?

Yes

No

If Yes, How?

If no, Why?

10. Do you know anyone of your community who has relations with outer community members/ urban dwellers? Describe in detail

Political

11. Do you know about voting and elections?
12. Do you have national identity cards?
13. What is your Qoam?

14. Do you use public facilities like water, sanitation, electricity, health, education and any other provided by the government to its citizens?

Economic

15. What is your source of income?
 16. What are the Sources of income generation for other community members?
 17. Do you know the legal and illegal nature of activities? (drugs)
 18. What do you do in case you do not find work?

Part Two -Maintaining of Social Exclusion by Gypsies

Motives for maintaining Gypsy values

19. What is the reason to socialise Gypsy's children with specific values that are different from mainstream children?
 20. Is there any fear or threat in mixing with the mainstream population?
 21. What is the satisfaction in maintaining Gypsy's value?
 22. How do children respond and react while teaching them Gypsy values?
 23. Are you willing to be part of the mainstream population and get citizenship like others?

Avoidance of state institutions

24. Have you ever been contacted by any government institution?
 25. How do you select the area and land to pitch your tents?
 26. What problems do you face while living on other's land?
 27. Have you encountered police anywhere in matters of occupying others land or any other issue?
 28. Do you know about the Union Council office?

If yes, how have you benefitted?

29. Who is the prominent personality that you know?

Local Politician/s

Councilor

MNA/MPA

Any other

30. Do you want to get citizenship?

Gypsies value system and culture

31. What is your religion? What belief system you follow?

32. What are your specific values that you teach t your children?

33. What language/s you prefer to use?

34. Do you have a caste system lead by a head of the clan?

35. Who becomes your leader within Gypsy community?

36. Do you have any events or celebration/ special days?

37. How do you resolve conflicts arise in your community?

38. How do marriages take place in your community?

39. Are there any celebrations and greetings on childbirth?

40. Who is preferred, girls or boys in your community?

If Girls, Why?

If Boys, Why?

41. What is your system of marriage dissolution?

Long lasting poverty culture

42. Who is a poor in your opinion?

43. How long have you been living in poverty?

44. Either it is a wilful condition or it is not in your control?

45. Do you want to get rid of this poverty?

46. What would be your basic needs to be provided, that would end your poverty?

