WHO ARE WE?

Fahd Zulfiqar & Durre Nayab

IDENTITY, INCLUSION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN UPPER AND SOUTHERN PUNJAB

Acknowledgment

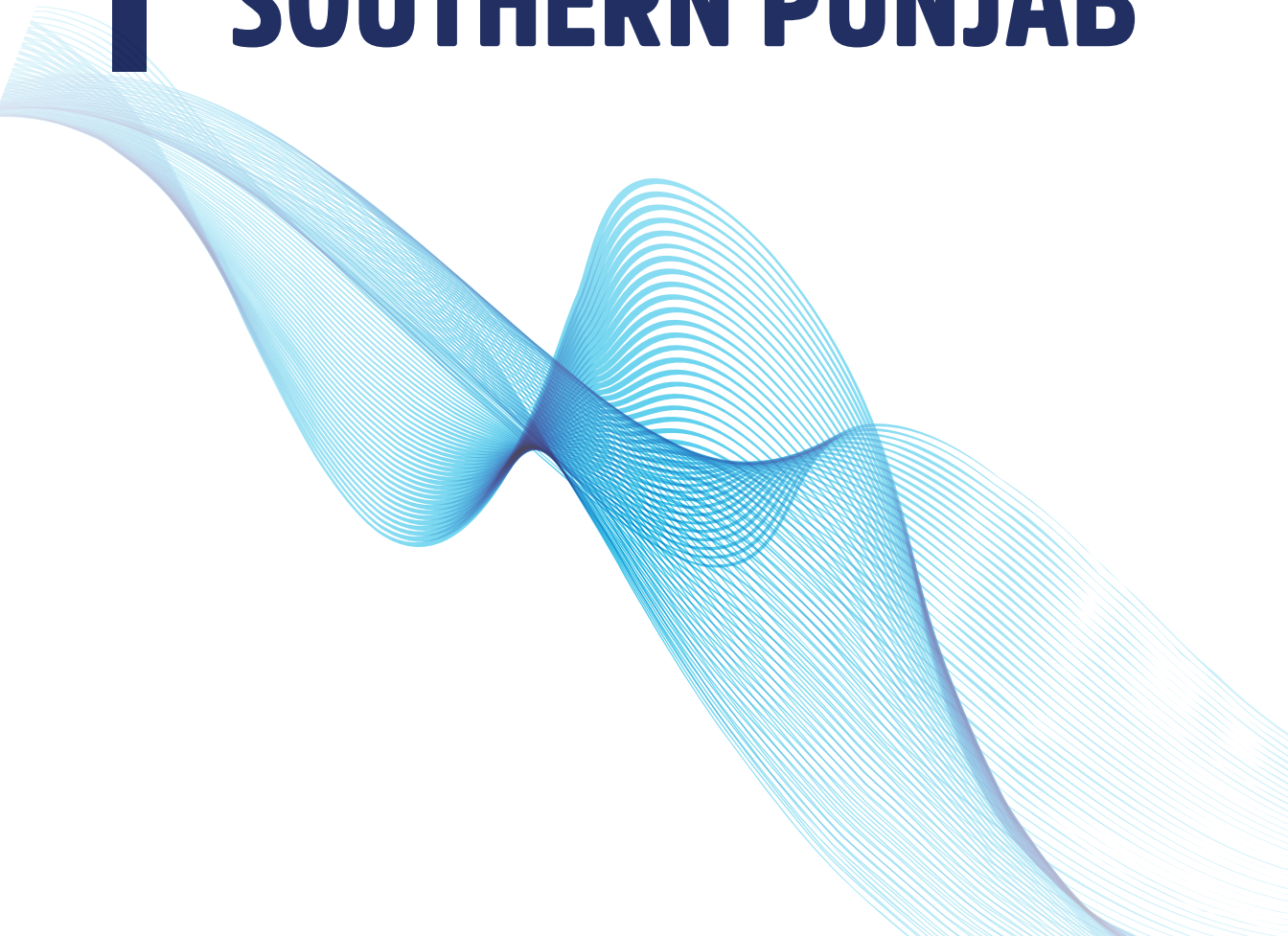# IDENTITY, INCLUSION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN UPPER AND SOUTHERN PUNJAB

TABLE OF CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION

To understand the historical, socio-cultural, and behavioral aspects and features of Pakistanis, PIDE conducted a country-wide survey which has been compiled into various thematic research notes. The PIDE BASICS Survey covers the Beliefs, Attitudes, Social Capital, Institutions, Community and Self. The PIDE-BASICS notes published, so far, have focused on different dimensions of constitutive elements which describe the people of Pakistan. The themes include theories of social capital, identity, desire to live in Pakistan, social and civic engagement, infrastructural facilities, spiritual beliefs, and language as harmony. The findings of the survey are quantified to provide a broader picture of the themes mentioned in the preceding text.[1]

The PIDE-BASICS Notes' findings illuminate trends and patterns in describing who we, Pakistanis, are. The findings, however, are quantified and need a more in-depth understanding for which primary data grounded in qualitative research methodology was needed. In-depth unstructured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Bahawalpur, and Multan to explain the survey's findings and thematically narrate the twelve key themes of the PIDE-BASICS survey. The type of unstructured interviews conducted were episodic in which we collected both forms of knowledge; semantic and episodic. The questions under elicitation of semantic knowledge focused on:

- What is identity? Is identity important to define a person? What are the markers of identity?
- Is society important? What roles does society function? Along what axis can society's role and its importance be spelt out?
- What is the importance of community organizations, social groups, social clubs, and civic engagement in creating a sense of community and belonging?
- Is Pakistan a socio-cultural space for tolerance, socio-civic engagement, and socialization?
- Do Pakistanis trust each other socially? What is the relationship of the trust of Pakistanis with the community? What is the relationship of trust of Pakistanis with the government, State, army, police and judiciary?
- What is the state of the provision of public spaces, community centers, libraries, and playgrounds to Pakistanis?
- What are the dreams of Pakistanis? What do they want to achieve? Does education help translate into securing jobs?
- How does social capital play role in meeting outcomes and outputs for Pakistanis?
- Why do Pakistanis want to leave the country and settle abroad?

---

[1]Some of the key takeaways of the BASICS research notes are detailed in the annexure.

The questions under elicitation of episodic knowledge focused on similar themes which were contextualized in a particular time, space, and experience of the respondents from Southern Punjab, Islamabad and Rawalpindi, as detailed below:

- In the articulation of your own self, is gender/caste/profession/religion/age/social group/sexual orientation an important marker? Is there any experience which signifies your response? (Probing questions based on a person's contextual experience located in time and space were asked)
- Are relationships important to you? Which relationships have shaped your social life? (Probing questions and prompting techniques were used to elicit data).
- In society vs. individual debate, where do you stand yourself? Any experiences from your life you want to focus on? (Related follow-up questions- probing- were asked)
- Are you part of any social club, organization, community center, etc.? (Details related to his/her engagement with the group/center/club, the role of these clubs in civic engagement, socialization and building community and sense of community were extracted from the respondents)
- Interviews conducted with minorities (sexual, religious, ethnic and sectarian) focused on the themes of fear, integration with the majoritarian groups, identity markers, experiences of marginality, and the role of community building were asked).
- The experiential data of the respondents based on their relationships and trust between them, their trust in the state, government, police and judiciary were extracted.
- What are your dreams? Where do you want to see in the next 5 years? How do you see your dreams will come true?
- If given an opportunity of settling abroad with stamped visas and secured employment, will you leave Pakistan?
- What adjective(s) comes to your mind when the word Pakistanis is spelt out to you?

During focus group discussions, the role of researchers was moderators who facilitated the conversations, breaking the ice, ensuring creating dynamic groups, conducting focus groups, and analyzing the data. Focus groups were systematically organized taking into consideration the practicalities such as timings. The diversity in focus group dynamics was also ensured so that respondents from different age groups, ethnicities, educational attainment, and socio-economic status were included. The details of the focus group discussions are tabulated below. The overarching themes questions were asked were personal, family, marriage, community, society, ambitions & aspirations, education & technology, sports & recreation, economics & employment, corruption, government and politics, religion & faith, & ethics & morality.

Table 1: Number of Focus Group Discussions

Unit of Data Collection	Number of FGDs	Timing	Number of Participants	Heterogeneity
Private University- Multan				
Male Students	FGD 1	90 minutes	6	Age, academic discipline (students & faculty), cadre/grade & professional experience (academic & non-academic staff), sex, ethnicity, & religious belief.
Female Students	FGD 2	90 minutes	9	
Male Faculty Members	FGD 3	100 minutes	7	
Female Faculty Members	FGD 4	100 minutes	8	
Male Administrative Staff	FGD 5	100 minutes	5	
Administrative Staff	FGD 6	90 minutes	4	
Public Sector University - Bahawalpur				
Male & Female Students	FGD 1	120 minutes	10	Age, academic discipline (students & faculty), cadre/grade & professional experience (academic & non-academic staff), sex, ethnicity, & religious belief.
Male & Female Faculty	FGD 2	120 minutes	10	
Female & Male Administrative Staff	FGD 3	50 minutes	5	
Public Sector University - Rawalpindi				
Male & Female Students	FGD 1	100 minutes	8	Age, academic discipline (students & faculty), cadre/grade & professional experience (academic & non-academic staff), sex, ethnicity, & religious belief.
Male & Female Faculty	FGD 2	90 minutes	8	
Private University - Islamabad				
Male & Female Students	FGD 1	90 minutes	10	Age, academic discipline (students & faculty), cadre/grade & professional experience (academic & non-academic staff), sex, ethnicity, & religious belief.
Male & Female Faculty	FGD 2	120 minutes	8	
Total	**13**	**1360 minutes (22.667 hours)**	**98**	10 factors along which heterogeneity in the respondents were ensured

The units of data collection for the current research were bachelor and post-graduation students, academic and non-academic staff members of universities of Southern, religious minorities and sexual minorities of ICT, and entrepreneurs from Islamabad Capital Territory and Southern Punjab. For the purpose of sample diversification, we have focused on students, entrepreneurs, teaching and administrative staff, and minorities (sexual and religious) as UDCs for the current study. Since the scope of BASICS survey was broad in the selection and sample diversification of UDCs, therefore in the forthcoming notes, data from different UDCs will be collected and analyzed. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis in which the following steps were taken:

- Audio recording of one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions: Interviews were audio-taped with a tape recorder after gaining the consent of the respondents.
- Verbatim transcription and translation of recorded data: All the data was transcribed verbatim first and then translated into English.
- Construction of coding framework: The coding framework was generated using both inductive (codes generated from field data) and deductive methods (codes generated from interview guides and focus group discussion guides which in turn were generated from theory).
- Coding and sub-coding of data: Data was coded with codes generated from elicited, transcribed and translated data.
- Construction of thematic charts: Thematic charts were constructed for each of the codes containing sub-codes.
- Devising summary points and keywords for each of the themes: Based on thematic charts, summary points and keywords were extracted for each of the sub-codes.
- Theming and sub-theming: Based on summary points and keywords, themes and related themes were generated.
- Accounts: Descriptive and explanatory accounts were placed under each theme.
- Articulation: Analyzed data was connected with the cited literature by the researcher.

Based on the data analysis the following themes have emerged which are tabulated below and detailed in the subsequent sections.

Table 2: Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Sub-theme

Identity	- Why is identity important?
	- How to articulate identity?
	- Markers of identity
	- Taxonomies of identity markers
	    o **Self**
	        ▪ Performative
	        ▪ Contrived
	        ▪ Sense of self
	    o **Social**
	        ▪ Gender
	        ▪ Ethnicity
	        ▪ Majoritarian and minoritarian
	    o **National**
	        ▪ Nationality
	        ▪ Transnational

Social Capital	- Relationships and networking
	- Ascribed and achieved relationships.
	- Gendered relationships
	- Professionalized relationships
	- Vertical and horizontal networking
	- Assimilation
	- Value system
	    o Honesty
	    o Trust
	    o Reciprocity

Inclusion	- Cities as inclusive spaces - Processes of exclusion and marginalization - Violence as an exclusionary practice - Contrived opportunities - Distributional inequalities

Trust	- Why trust?
	- Social trust
	- Institutional trust
	- Trust on:
	    o State
	    o Police
	    o Army
	    o Judiciary
	    o Government

2.   IDENTITY

The results highlight the markers of identity as respondents defined markers differently based on gender, nationality, religiosity, ethnicity, and caste. The following text details each one of the markers and what each marker means for the respondents while defining their identities. The domains along which identities have been described by the respondents are on three levels:

Table 3: Classification of Identity

Identity	Classifications
	- <u>Individual</u>
	o Self
	o Self vs. Collective Identities
	o Contrived identities
	o Performative
	- <u>Social</u>
	o Ethnicity
	o Gender
	o Religiosity
	o Minorities
	- <u>National</u>
	o Nationality
	o Homeland

2.1.   Religion, first

An all-male focus group discussion conducted with the administrative staff of a public sector university in Bahawalpur identified religion as the first and most important marker of identity, particularly Muslim identity, followed by a person's profession.

R1: The one identity marker is the Muslim identity. Religious, what I mean. Being a Muslim is our identity. So, first, is our religious identity. Then, the cadre a person is working on. Is he a labourer? a daily wager? an officer? or an auditor? In which profession he is part of - his profession is an important marker of his identity? Is he a doctor, or an engineer, what is he professionally?

(Male, 35)

A similar view was echoed by the female participants from a focus group discussion who not only identified religion as the marker but also as an ethos to differentiate one set of social behaviours and choices from another set of social behaviours and choices. Social behaviours of individuals are defined, aligned, and differentiated by the religious ethos and hence religion becomes the most important marker of identity for the people.

F: Our social lives, behaviours, morals, and ethics are defined by religion. All of it is guided by religion, even the physical attire amongst us and the words we are choosing to speak are governed by religion. But all human behaviours and choices are different in different religions. In Islam, the teachings are different from Christianity and other religions. Hence, religion is an important marker of identity.

(Female, 37)

2.2. Nationality

Another most quoted marker of identity in all-male focus group discussions is nationality which outlines the spatial markers of people's identity and differentiates them from one another based on where they are globally situated. Followed by spatial positioning of people and its importance in marking a person's identity, identity is also marked by religion, caste, language, and ethnicity (social factors). The following conversational excerpt explains this in detail.

M: On a country level, our identity card is the most prominent identity marker. First being Pakistani, after that our religion, our caste, our language, all these markers are also important. And language- Punjabi, Urdu, Saraiki, English, this is also our identity marker. Ethnicity is also an important identifier- being Punjabi and Baloch, etc.

(Male, 40)

While speaking on the nationality-religion nexus, a female respondent commented that it is not always religion from which Pakistanis are recognized on an international level. There are many Muslim countries in the world, but they are not treated the way Pakistanis are treated internationally, so there must be other correlates. The place where we are from, the Pakistani identity, not necessarily a religious identity, is one of the correlates.

2.3.   Gender

In all the focus group discussions conducted with the female participants, gender was quoted as the most significant marker of female identity. unlike men who quoted nationality, religiosity, and ethnicity as important markers. This difference in identifying one's identity sparked an interest to ask questions in the gender-mixed focus group discussions. One such extract from a focus group discussion is stated in the text below. Here a female student participant commented gender is an important identity marker for women of Pakistan, in matter-of-fact style. She did not exclaim women identifying with their gender as an identity marker as lacking agency.

F: I wasn't talking about a male-dominated society, but rather referring to the prevalent mindsets according to which men and women are differentiated based on sex. I am not particularly speaking of who is superior, who isn't, who is dominant, who isn't- that is different. Woman or man, girl or boy, this demarcation is gender-based and it plays a significant role in defining an identity.

(Female, 25)

Another female participant from another focus group discussion also highlights gender as an identity marker due to social conditioning for both men and women. Therefore, when women excel in matters such as in professional spaces, which have been designed for men to excel, then they are celebrated as empowered and emancipated. So, it is the society which propels women to define identity, based on their gender, rather than women self-identifying themselves as women.

F: If a man excels in the professional space, it is given that he is conditioned to perform well but when a woman does the same, she is typified as a symbol of empowerment which can be emancipating but also contriving because there is always an assumption that she was conditioned to perform well in domesticity. That is why gender is a propounded component when you ask women about identity.

(Female, 28)

2.4.   Ethnicity

Marking identities based on ethnicities as a way of differentiation and later to manufacturing divides was also visibly quoted by the respondents across the youth who were included in the focus group discussions conducted in southern Punjab. One such view was shared by one of the female participants from a focus group discussion.

F: Look at our university, here you will find more people from Punjab and Balochistan, The Baloch complain that the Punjabis are marginalizing us. They don't recognize our rights. In retaliation, in Quetta, people from other provinces are scrutinized for their ID cards and Punjabis are shot to death. The situation may have improved by a stretch and some conflict management may exist now, but still, caste and ethnicity are important markers in the universities of Pakistan. I am visibly Baloch, but still, I am publicly asked about my caste and ethnicity. Why is it so? This social behaviour isn't practiced against people who are from Punjab.

(Female, 22)

Ethnic profiling as a strategy to create divides among the youth was further reverberated by a male student from the same focus group discussion.

M: I will surely agree with her. I wasn't even allowed to secure admission at the start due to my ethnicity– I am a Pathan. Then I contacted the chairman of the Pashtun educational council, who guided me to write and submit the admission letter which he said would help in securing the letter. It took 27-28 days. After this, when I contacted the chairman, the letter was no more required, and I secured admission.

(Male, 23)

As a response to the above-quoted data, a Punjabi female student commented on the politics of setting quotas. To her setting quotas for representation is for political correctness. Deserving students, from different ethnicities, should be absorbed in all the universities located anywhere in Pakistan.

F: And, as citizens of Pakistan, all have equal rights to education. The same number of students must be specified for the students from provinces other than Punjab. Barriers imposed in the name of quotas are not doing any good.

(Female, 22)

2.4.1. Yes to ethnicity

When an employee from an administrative staff of a public sector university located in Islamabad who was very keen on identifying ethnicity as the marker of identity was probed, he replied:

R3: Religion doesn't play that big a role, but ethnicity does. Ethnicity is important. For instance, if I am a Punjabi, I will show support for Punjabis. I am from the Rana family, so I will always show my support to the Rana family. Such connections are not only important for our society but also for institutional survival.

(Male, 45)

His in-group well-connectedness is explained by his ethnic alliance which he finds not only instrumental in his social life but also in the organization he works at.

2.4.2. No to ethnicity?

When similar questions about ethnicity and its importance in articulating one's, identity were asked in a focus group discussion conducted with the administrative staff of a public sector university located in Rawalpindi, the respondents affirmed the idea of ethnicity as a significant marker for Pakistanis but creating divides and marginalizing people wasn't supported by the respondents. The following excerpt explains this.

R3 (Male, 37): See the thing should be of getting the work done by whosoever is good at the job. It shouldn't matter what his belief is, or his ethnicity is, this shouldn't matter at all. If he is good at what he does, if he performs his work well, that is enough. In this situation, it is redundant to enquire about his background, his family, or all such related trivialities. This is what I believe in.

I: What do you think?

R1(Male, 32): Yes, stereotyping a community based on the behaviour of one person is unfair. The prospects for growth shouldn't be obstructed for any person from any community, whether from Sindh, Balochistan or Punjab.

2.4.3. Economy and ethnicity

One important finding which emerged from a focus group discussion conducted with the faculty in Bahawalpur was that economic resources and opportunities are limited to those ethnic groups which dominate a particular region, rather than minority ethnic groups. A detailed account of this proposition is validated by the following example of Hindko-Pashtun ethnic groups.

M: For example, I am from Abbottabad and a Hindko speaker. So, when we talk against the Pakhtoon community, or when Pashtoons talk against us, it is primarily because of the availability of jobs, economic opportunities, and medical and engineering seats in colleges. Recently they have hired 1500 people in WAPDA, and out of those 1500, very few people were from the Hazara region. After this incident, they established Hazara Electric Supply Company. So, all of this happens commonly on ethnic grounds.

(Male, 31)

2.4.4. Ethnic divides

The following conversational excerpt from a focus group discussion conducted in Islamabad elicited competing views on the social repercussions linked with ethnic divides. The first respondent claims that speaking more about it in the public domain can create awareness, but it also deepens the enmity between majoritarian and minoritarian ethnic groups. The second participant commented that the discourse about marginalization cannot be comprehensively understood without bringing in divides created by the ethnic groups, therefore the impacts of such divides are far-reaching and shouldn't be trivialized. The third participant also agreed with the second one and the last participant spoke additionally of capitalizing on these divides to maintain social hierarchies.

F1(Female, 27): I think harping on ethnic divides further marginalizes ethnic minorities. On one hand, it is important for creating awareness but sometimes what happens is that identities become too fragmented because of such divides. With time and with the right conversations across the globe, ethnic discrimination is diminishing or may not have as strong a repercussion as it used to have for ethnic minorities.

F2 (Female, 52): On the contrary, I believe, marginalization and identity are very closely linked, and the impact is much more significant.

M4 (Male, 34): I also agree. In Pakistani society, women are not empowered because they are women. Even in the ethnicity debate, they are marginalized because of their ethnic identities.

F2 (Female, 52): I agree, also in the enframing of identities the debate of us vs. them plays out the definitive role. You vs. me, men vs. women, colonized vs. colonizer, all these divides are not merely structural categories but also discursive ones to enframe identities and create social hierarchies.

2.5. Minorities: Identities from the periphery

2.5.1. Question of socialization

While discussing in one-one in-depth interviews and focus group discussions about identity, conversations regarding minority identities were also debated. Most of the conversations, despite acknowledging the importance of inclusion, pluralistic identities, and representation, spelt out the deep-seated majoritarian view about religious minorities. Questions about representation and social inclusion of other minorities such as discursive, linguistic, and sexual, were also asked but detailed discussions could only be elicited from religious minorities. As a response to the question of socializing with the religious minorities, one male student from Bahawalpur narrated a story of a murzae student to whom Sunni Muslim students asked everyone to stay away, from the fear of being brainwashed. The respondent recognized the fact that the minority student did not retaliate with any subverted behavior but still, he was considered a threat.

M: There is one murzae in our university. He mingles with everyone. He has Muslim friends. He is nice to everyone. The people reciprocate with niceness. But there are people around who forbade us from socializing with them. They are the ones who brainwash us- "Don't eat with them, don't sit with them, don't study with them". However, minority communities retaliate because they are fewer in number. They may brainwash or preach about their beliefs once they are larger in number. Till then they are a minority in number and in social status. That is why we are asked not to socialize with them.

(Male, 22)

2.5.2. Us vs. Them

While discussing socialization with the minorities, one Islamabad-based male entre-preneur (Muslim) commented:

M: I socialize with the Christian community. We eat with them. We are on better terms with them as compared to other communities. It's not that they should be ostracized because of their religious beliefs. We don't discuss religion with them, nor do they.

(Male, 38)

The respondent who runs a social entrepreneurial venture, makes sure of inclusion and representation and the above date is alluding to that but the lexicographical use of the terms 'we' and 'them' clearly highlights the perpetuation of the 'us vs. them' narrative. A rather similar and seemingly evolved response was shared during a focus group discussion conducted with the administrative staff of a private university in Multan, bringing in normative factors such as the political representation of minorities and creating democratic spaces, but the problematic propagation of 'us vs. them' narrative is also rampant, as stated in the excerpt below:

M: First and foremost, ours is an Islamic state. Our religion recognizes minority rights. Our university is no different, largely. We recently visited the Punjab Assembly. Three seats are reserved for minorities in the Assembly. This way, their voices get heard, and their rights are safeguarded. Also, it helps in articulating their voices and for us to hear. This reciprocal exchange of ideas is critical.

(Male, 34)

2.5.3. Quotas: Mere political correctness

While debating the representational politics of minorities in the national identity, one female faculty member from a public sector university in Islamabad, spoke explicitly of the reason for specifying quotas for admissions for religious minorities. The reason, as she mentioned, is driven by political correctness, not the actual need for represen-tation, inclusion, and voice.

F: I believe it is always better to find commonalities among ourselves than identify differences. What's the point of convincing each other about religion when differenc-es are socially and historically grounded? As far as the university is concerned, there

is an allocated quota for religious minorities in student clubs, societies, and admissions. This representation is driven by political correctness. The specified percentage of religious minorities is not comparable to the percentage of the majority. It lags by a marked margin. A small representational quota won't bring about social change.

(Female, 36)

2.5.4. Minorities and national character

Speaking granularly of the importance of minority representation, a female student from a private university in Islamabad, intersected minoritarian identity with the nationalist agenda of the country. It's important to represent minorities and their socio-religious spaces as this is what is prescribed by the founders and hence the representation should not be curtailed to mere politics.

F: Minorities should be represented in all socio-political spheres because they are human beings, and they have rights which must be safeguarded. When our founder has cleared that their spaces of worship shouldn't be put in danger then why their representation is secondary? Securing and creating spaces for their rights should not just remain a mere idea.

(Female, 24)

2.5.5. Humanity first, religion second

To neutralize the heated debate on identity, minority representation and how inclusive Pakistanis are, one female faculty member in a gender-mixed focus group discussion, intervened and commented:

F: YES! We all are Muslims first. Hence, we are all equal. Even if we don't share similar religious beliefs, still the binding factor should be that we all are human beings. So, we are equals. Therefore, we all must be treated indiscriminately.

(Female, 37)

2.6.   Self, collective, or both?

The idea of personal and collective identities arose most during female focus group discussions and rarely in male focus group discussions conducted in Multan. Therefore, an excerpt from a female discussion is stated in the text below. The first participant is speaking about what and why a person self-perceives him/herself about his/her identity. By specifying his/her own identity, the respondent brings in elements of shared identity such as culture and religion. The second participant interjected by focusing on shared identity (communal) and the third participant talked specifically through features of individual (self) identity and differentiates from social (shared and collective) identity. Hence, in the corpus construction of identity, self, and collective both are equally important.

F1 (Female, 38): Knowing yourself is identity. Knowing yourself, I mean what is your background, what is your religion, your culture, your personality, your attitude, all of these constitute your identity. So, knowing your own self is what identity is. Also, the distinction of your own self from others is what identity is.

F2 (Female, 29): The way we behave in a community is what identity is.

F3 (Female 47): Anything that makes your own self is identity. And how you portray yourself to others is identity. One is self-identity. And the other is a social identity. Sex, gender, appearance, personality, and self-representation- all of which constitute your identity.

2.6.1. Levels to identity

While commenting on the identity construction, one male faculty member from Bahawalpur, shared that there are three components of identity: self, national and international.

- Self: self-identity denotes how a person identifies oneself.
- National: The idea of nationality and its association with identity is based on culture and religion.
- International: International identity can never be typified without articulating a national identity.

He further explained Pakistani identity:

M: Our dilemma is that we just don't focus on the self, due to which we don't have either a national or an international identity. Even our self-identity is contingent on other things such as culture, society, capital, resources, and politics. A person's brain, mind, indispositions, and leanings aren't given any importance. We are always intro

15

duced via others- people or things. If there is a Pakistani identity then there must be a well-roundedness to it- featuring all three factors- self, national and international.

(Male, 54)

2.7.   Contrived Identities

When in a focus group discussion conducted with the Christian community, a question pertaining to problems with self-identity was asked, two male and one female participants shared the following views.

M1 (Male, 29): Our biggest dilemma is that we don't let identities develop, nor do we let people discover their identities.

F3 (Female, 31): I believe identity is a social construct. It can be changed, transformed, manipulated, and shifted. But largely a social construct.

M1 (Male, 29): This, I believe, is the reason why we are confused about our identities. Geography, religion, status, character, and one's role in society...are all socially constructed.

One female entrepreneur from Islamabad while commenting on the work-life balance complained of the multiple gendered roles associated with her socially constructed identities. These identities, though multiple and layered, are contriving because each identity brings in an added pressure of not failing to perform.

F: I must be a good mother, a good wife, a good daughter-in-law, and a good entrepreneur, and it's always a pressure to perform well and never fail on any front.

(Female, 32)

2.8.   Personal vs. social

Women spoke of manifestations of their identity in gendered spaces of professionality and domesticity. For instance, one female respondent from Islamabad bifurcates her social conduct and displaying of characteristics of her identity between public and private spaces. In trusted private spaces, she is more at ease than in social spaces where her behaviours and hence her identity are under surveillance by social actors.

F: Trust me, it is not easy, at all. It is a struggle, especially for women. If I talk about switching my identity from my family house to my in-law's house, then I must keep some aspects of my identity private. I must act subtly in front of people I believe are more judgmental and critical. There are situations where our true selves come to the fore, we can be ourselves, we don't need to think too far ahead, we are not expected to make compromises, and we behave who we are. You can be this way in front of your friends and maybe family.

(Female, 40)

2.9.   Performative

Speaking of masculinized professional spaces, one female participant from Multan, commented how most of the time, she must act out strong and authoritative to get the professional work done. Later, she shared that this performativity is emotionally taxing and laborious.

F: Even in professional spaces, we are expected to, and we eventually act out like putting up a performance each time. You feel comfortable showing your true self in front of very few colleagues, and with the rest, you do not want to show, at all. At times, you need to introduce yourself with all the credentials so that no one takes you lightly. At times you must develop the authority to get things done in professional spaces.

(Female, 34)

2.10. Nationalistic and Patriotic?

As indicated in the first subheading under the theme of identity, people identify with their identity as Pakistani. A few follow-up questions regarding serving the country, leaving the country for good, and reasons for their choices were asked. The respondents came up with the following responses in both focus group discussions and one-one interviews.

The first extract from a focus group discussion shows that the respondent wasn't ready to leave the country due to patriotic, emotive, and ancestral reasons. As a response to this, another respondent provided a competing argument that most people wouldn't want to leave their homeland, but they would due to economic recession, lack of respect and weak institutions in Pakistan.

R3 (Male, 40): Because I was born here, my ancestors have sacrificed their lives. How can I be disrespectful to them? Why should we let go of our national identity and settle in a foreign land? Identity, belonging, and family all are in Pakistan. How can we leave everything?

R4 (Male, 25): I also don't want to leave but your question is very valid. People want to leave this country. The reason is the current situation. See, if people want to leave then they can because they want to earn and live a respectful life. They are correct in their decisions. But are they sure that they will be respected there? What makes them think this way? Rules, regulations, human rights? We aren't sensitive to these in our homeland. How can we be sure that we would respect the rules and regulations in a foreign land? Where is respect now?

The second extract is from the focus group discussion conducted with the young students. The first respondent speaks of not succumbing to the current economic crisis the country is in because he is hopeful that the future will be better to which, a female participant commented that she would leave because of better income opportunities as well as progression in foreign countries than Pakistan. The final response is from another female respondent who replied assertively that she would never come back to Pakistan because of disrespect and unsafe conditions prevalent in Pakistan.

M2 (Male, 23): No. Our parents have taught us not to be afraid of difficulties in life. The current turmoil in Pakistan can be reversed. That is why I don't want to leave my homeland.

F1 (Female, 22): Why not? When you want to grow in life, you know you will secure a higher salary, when you know that there are greater opportunities in the developed countries, then why would you not avail yourself of this opportunity?

F2 (Female, 22): I would never want to come back. Apart from inflation and unemployment, I don't feel respected and safe here.

3.   SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is considered a key asset for individuals and communities in the development process. Social capital entails the idea of social relations between individuals and groups- these relationships are based on trust, reciprocity, and socio-economic exchanges. The findings as stated below show different dimensions of social capital such as social capital among established social groups, social capital among unknown social groups, relationships (gendered, friendships, professional and families) and socialization.

Table 4: What does social capital entail?

Social Capital	What it entails?
	- <u>Classification of social capital</u>
	o Vertical
	o Horizontal
	- <u>Networking</u>
	o Normative networks
	o Instrumental networks
	o Socialization
	o Assimilation
	- <u>Relationships</u>
	o Gendered
	o Professionalized
	o Spatial

3.1.   Horizontal and vertical social capital

The following extract from an interview explains both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of social capital by explaining the importance of strengthening relationships in established social networks and building relationships in new social networks.

M: How can a person socially survive without knowing each other? Neighbours are an integral component of social reciprocity, which helps build our position in society. So and so are my neighbors, and so and so is my cousin… resides in a mohalla near mine. I reside closer to his mohalla. Mohalla is a critical social unit for survival. What is life without family relations, neighbors, and friends? What is happening among people around us, who is laddering up? What can be the plausible and alternative livelihoods, who is coming in and who is going out? Who has connections, and who hasn't? Without knowing each other and building relationships, we cannot build reciprocity.

(Male, 36)

3.2.   Normativity in Relationships

Finding genuine relationships of social reciprocity can be found in professional spaces as quoted by one female participant in a focus group discussion conducted in Multan. The element of normativity is specified as an integral reason for building relationships.

R2: We barely spend 5-6 hours at our homes. Here, we spend 8-9 hours a day. Sometimes 10 hours. We organically tend to develop genuine relationships here. Building transient relationships strictly for official work doesn't always hold true. We can have someone in need from an office beyond official work, as well.

(Female, 23)

3.3.   Instrumentality of Relationships

As opposed to the preceding heading which details normativity, the following extract from a focus group discussion narrates that people are inclined to build relationships with the rich and the powerful only irrespective of religious or sectarian differences.

M2 (Male, 29): Everyone wants to develop a relationship with a person who has power and money. No matter how good a poor person is, no one will pay any attention to him/her. This society always runs after either money or power.

F1 (Female, 26): Muslim or Hindu, religion really doesn't matter. All that matters is who has money.

3.4.   Assimilation in society

When asked about cultural assimilation, most respondents assimilated well into the cities' culture. One male respondent from a focus group discussion in Bahawalpur narrated his experience of difficulty in assimilation.

M: I am from FATA. I had never seen women without pardah before coming here. When I saw it for the first time, I thought that I wasn't in Pakistan, but rather in a foreign land. So, it took a while for me to understand.

(Male, 21)

3.5.   Socialization and building networks

In the individual vs. society debate, the respondents seem to have given importance to society for an individual to sustain and flourish. Both these views are shared by women from two different interviews conducted in Islamabad and Multan.

F: But how will we get to know that we are growing? We will get to know about it if we learn from each other and if we compare ourselves with others. I don't think that as an individual we can groom ourselves or we can adopt good behaviors. It is very tough to survive like this in society.

(Female, 27)

F: Yes, society is important for everything, what are we as an individual without society? Individuals collate into a society. So, basically, we are a society. We wouldn't have been shaped into the units of families and tribes if we weren't a society. We would have germinated in desertion and isolation. We adapt to the surroundings where we are born or where we live.

(Female, 24)

3.6.   Are relationships more important for women?

In a focus group discussion conducted with the women in Bahawalpur, when asked about the importance of relationships in society, a discussion of relationships being more important for women than men came up. The reasons elicited for this claim were economic survival, emotional needs, and social mobility.

F1 (Female, 25): Women need relationships.
I: Why?
F1: I think she depends on relationships. She needs relationships for survival.
I: Only women?
F1: Only women.
I: Why is it so?
F2 (Female, 32): Relations are important for everyone but more for women; for economic survival, professional survival, emotional reasons, social mobility, and whatnot. The list is long.

One male respondent from another focus group discussion also held the same opinion. He asserted that in the type of middle-class and white-collar social settings we live in, the focus is always on a collective identity rather than building an individual identity. Kids are dependent on relationships not on self-help and building an independent identity. Nor does society give them enough independence or confidence. Since childhood, they are conditioned this way, more the women. So much so that women cannot even make independent decisions, study independently or choose their life partner. She is made to be dependent on others for every possible domain of life. She is also cut off from the outside world where she lacks understanding and developing public dealings.

3.7. What to look out for in relationships?

When a transgender was asked about what she looks out for in a relationship, she responded with honesty and respect. Anything opposite to these characteristics is unacceptable.

N: Nowadays it's not easy to find true genuine relationships. We do communicate and build good social rapports but those cannot necessarily be relationships. What I value the most is respect and honesty. I abhor people who are instrumental, condescending, and lecherous in relationships. Such people should be shunned. But if the other person is respectful, courteous, and genuine then we can be in socially reciprocal relationships.

(Male to Female Transgender Person, 24)

3.8. Professionalized relationships

When men were asked about relationships in professional spaces, they used words such as progression, cordial, competition, and excel, among others. The women, on the other hand, detailed the masculinization of workplaces and related issues such as informational asymmetries, elitism, and impression management.

F: We are left with no option other than physically making rounds of the accounts section for a simple task. For the same task, a junior male colleague will just make one phone call and his work will be done in minutes. They have built their networks so strong that they get what they want. Even informational asymmetries are gendered in ways that men are more well-informed about official matters than women. Usually, we get to know about critical matters via our male colleagues, "Oh! Ma'am! You don't know about it? This matter has already been concluded." The ones who genuinely care for the organizations are occluded and the mainstreams are full of impression-managers.

(Female, 40)

3.9. Public and private spaces

Defining relationships and articulating the importance of the same in different spaces was also found in the data elicited in the focus group discussions. Women explained that the relevance of a relationship is contingent on different social settings. The relationships in private domains such as that of a mother or a wife bring an emotional core that is based on the feelings of care and love. Whereas (as detailed in the second excerpt), men develop feelings of jealousy and insecurities against talented and hardworking women in public spaces.

F1 (Female, 34): Yes, very important. And every kind of relationship is important. There isn't a relationship better than having a mother, and there is nothing more precious than being a mother. No relationship can teach you lifelong lessons more than that of a wife. Each relationship gives you something including various experiences.

F4 (Female, 37): Men judge in our classroom settings. The thing which irks them the most is that I am at the top of the class. And they are not young boys, they are working with multi-national companies. If I secure a 4/4 CGPA then it is confirmed that I knew the questions beforehand. They don't think that she may work hard, she may study, she may put in a lot of effort to secure good grades. I know how I manage my timings, 9-5, 5-10 and then 10-12. You don't know my journey but still, you are the first one to judge me. Not just judge but spread false information in the class.

4. ARE PAKISTANIS INCLUSIVE?

A set of questions were asked about how Pakistanis react to people who are different from them along the domains of age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, or socioeconomic class. A similar set of questions was asked of people of marginalized identities (religious, ethnic, and sexual minorities) and of the rest of the people. There is a difference in the responses. The majoritarian groups showed a sense of camaraderie and a need for inclusion whereas the minorities spoke of their lived-in experiences of exclusion and marginalization, hence asserting that Pakistanis are not inclusive. Responses from both groups are stated in the text below. Before that, an overview of themes is collated into a tabular representation below.

Table 5: What does inclusion entail?

Inclusion of Pakistanis	What does it entail?
	The themes that have emerged from data regarding the inclusion of Pakistanis: - Process of marginalization - Exclusionary practices - Normalization of violence - Pakistani cities as egalitarian spaces - Inequality in th e distribution of resources and opportunities

4.1.   Should Pakistanis be inclusive?

The first one is an extract from a focus group discussion with an administrative staff who spoke about socioeconomic inequality against ethnic minorities being discussed in social settings. The second extract is from an interview with a Rawalpindi-based entrepreneur who talked about the need for a diverse sociocultural landscape in Pakistan for diversity to flourish. Whereas another female academic from Bahawalpur emphasized how important any kind of diversity is which can lead to a space of reciprocal exchange of ideas.

R3: No. I strongly disagree. In my 16 years of working experience, I haven't witnessed any discrimination based on class, ethnicity, or religious belief. But yes, I have seen people from Balochistan or Pashtun communities complaining that as a community and a province, they have been neglected by society, state, and government. Matters like these are often debated but it has never been the case that someone is favoured on a linguistic, ethnic, or religious basis.

(Female, 40)

F: It is a good thing. This is what makes us all different and diverse. No diversity without differences. Where will counterarguments, anti-thesis and alternative thoughts come from? This is always a good thing.

(Female, 34)

F: It is a positive thing, of course. I have one idea; you also have one idea. The exchange of ideas may result in multiple ideas. Your idea can help me, can be a cause of my success and vice versa. This variety of opinions is always welcomed.

(Female, 24)

None of the respondents could claim that Pakistanis are inclusive, but all were staunch supporters of inclusion and diversity.

4.2. Are Pakistanis not inclusive?

4.2.1. Are Pakistanis marginalizing?

A religious minority details his experiences of being instigated, insulted, and targeted due to his religious belief. He also spoke about the fact that in Pakistan, a minority status, especially of a religious minority is all that defines societal behaviour which in most cases and situations is marginalizing. A similar view was shared by a transgender activist from Islamabad who talked about societal reticence towards transgender rights and ostracization against the transgender community. The perpetuation of marginalization against both religious and sexual minorities is reinforced not only by society but also institutionalized in the curriculum.

K: People try to put words in your mouth. They try to instigate you. Some even insulted my beliefs and targeted my name and identity. The problem is that in Pakistan when you are a minority; Hindu, Christian, Sikh, whatever, you are just that identity. Nothing more, nothing less. No matter how rich, influential, or successful you are, it doesn't matter. You will be marginalized. It has been the result of years of marginalization of their families, friends, and even curriculum that people like me and other groups are marginalized. Marginalization is further propagated by the idea that since these are minorities, they always need your help, and your support.

(Male, 26)

N: When I need support and there isn't anyone around then why care for society? Our lives are such that if I step out, one pickpocket will steal a hundred rupee, one will call names, one will show money for sex, and one will publicly mock us. This is your society. I gift you this society, keep it yourself. When they visit our deras, men speak of snatching stars from the skies for us, they don't even recognize us in public gatherings. They prefer not to have eye contact with us. This is your society.

(Male to Female Transgender Person, 24)

4.2.2. Are Pakistanis exclusivists?

The data as stated in the text below states that Pakistanis are exclusivists and are unwelcoming and resisting nonconformist societies and cultures.

F: No, we are not. We are exclusivist. We resist cultures and societies that do not conform to our ideas. We always resist.

(Female, 26)

4.2.3. Are Pakistanis violating?

The following respondent responded by saying that Pakistanis are genetically inclusive but socially exclusionary which has been largely caused by the normalization of violence and target killing in the country.

M: You will find Arab blood here, you will find Iranian blood here, you will find Pakhtoon blood here. So, we are very inclusive genetically. But the point is that for the last 40-50 years we have been living in a war zone. Violence has become a part of our daily routine. In metropolitan cities, abductions and target killings have become a culture now. So, we have a lot to unpack and rethink to become a nation first.

(Male, 32)

4.2.4. Are Pakistani cities egalitarian?

The following excerpt clearly highlights that if people are confined to their places of birth then they would not have accepted the relatively diverse and democratic urban spaces.

F: Cities are becoming more egalitarian spaces. People are opting for inter-caste and inter-racial marriages in cities. They mingle with one another. If I am a Sunni, I have a lot of Shia friends, I like to sit everywhere, and I am part of metropolitan culture. If I had stayed in the area where I was born, I would not have accepted anyone except my ethnicity and religion. Also, others might not have accepted me for who I am.

(Female, 23)

4.2.5. Are Pakistanis circumventing?

The following extract depicts the frustration and anger of the unfair distribution of resources among provinces of Pakistan.

R3: Not really, but sometimes we talk about cultural differences. As in, they often speak of resources which they owned on a provincial level but were never given access to, such as sui gas. They say they heard that there are roads, infrastructure, and gas in Pakistan. Sui gas comes from Balochistan but we don't have access to it, and we don't have cars. These are things they often discuss. They have been deprived of things. Discussions like these never spark heated arguments or fights but they profess that they have been stripped of opportunities and resources.

(Male, 51)

5.   TRUST

Trust has been studied in different academic disciplines, including sociology, economics, and psychology. Trust and social networks are inextricably linked to trust but not all definitions of trust are associated with the idea of trust. Trust is defined as a measure of confidence that signifies that an entity will act or behave in an expected manner. Developing a trust culture entails the development of trusting attitudes and behaviors which are ensured by social and political institutions. Trust is contingent on the social circumstances a person finds oneself in. Sociological literature asserts that trust strengthens in cultures where the degree and range of voluntary associations and organizations are high. Central to the idea of trust is social capital. Participation in regular and close contact with others on a voluntary basis builds trust, reciprocity, cooperation, empathy and social good. Trust builds by directly participating in the social networks of families and friends, and in networks of work. Loose networks defined along the axis of participation in reading groups, support groups, peer groups, local bars and pubs and spaces of community centres, residential areas and action groups also constitute an integral part of the trust. With respect to social and political institutions of control, literature spells out that countries with greater wealth and equality have higher levels of trust than poor countries with more inequality, democracies are trusted non-democracies, universal welfare systems are trusted more than selective welfare systems, and countries which have independent courts and institutional controls over political elites are more trusting than others. Social polarization measured by income inequalities and ethnic homogeneities also impact trust indicating an inverse relationship. Based on the various ideas of trust and its relationship with social networks, institutions, and voluntary socioeconomic organizations, the following text presents results on the theme of trust.

Trust	Classification
	- __Trust in Institutions__ o State o Government o Army o Police o Judiciary - __Social Trust__ o Professional spaces o Gender o Clans o Reciprocity o Social institutions o Minorities o Instrumental networks o Socialization o Assimilation

5.1. Trust in Government

The respondents across different units of data collection did not have trust in the government both on the ideational and pragmatic levels. The respondent's mistrust of the government is rooted in resource extraction, poor performance, lack of public service delivery, political economy, feudalistic mindset, ancestral politics, and economic inequality. The idea of mistrust of government was more resounding among religious and sexual minorities and within university setups, among the non-faculty/administrative staff members. The following conversational excerpts implicate thematic variations of the reasons for their mistrust with each excerpt explaining a different sub-theme.

The theme of 'personal is political' explicates that the situation of political parties in the government reflects relationships in the society, driven by interest, individuality, non-reciprocity, and inconsequentiality. In addition, the sub-theme also describes the culture of preferential politics in Pakistani governments. The theme of lack of representation details that the politicians occupying positions of control in the governments are completely divorced from the public discourse based on economic deprivations of poverty and unemployment. As a result, his lack of commitment and

conviction due to political lineages translates into a lack of interest in representing the needs of a common person. The next sub-theme which speaks of commitment and sincerity cements the previous assertion and reverberates the processual ease with which politicians are provided seats in assemblies. Wherein the last sub-themes provide reasons for cultist and elitist politics. The conversational excerpts which have been extracted from the interviews conducted with the administrative staff members of a public sector university in southern Punjab are detailed below.

5.1.1. Personal is political

R1: I have not seen them fulfilling their party agendas, I have not seen them live up to their political slogans, I haven't seen any one of the political parties improving the living conditions of a common citizen whenever they take charge of the government. There is no sense of collective responsibility. I don't even see it in my neighbourhood or in the social settings I move in. There is always a preference for an individual over a collective. Someone influential is given a job, and is unduly favored over the deserving one, this is the culture we and the governments promote.

(Male, 29)

5.1.2. Lack of representation

R2: Another reason for mistrust is that none of the governments has ever represented us. One MPA who doesn't even know the ground realities of unemployment, deprivation, and poverty reigns over us. Why? Because he is an ancestor, he has power, he is part of dynastic politics. Why would he care for our collective rights?

(Male, 32)

5.1.3. The Question of commitment & sincerity

R3: They are not sincere. Why all the comforts and luxuries are for the politicians? No one in the university is hired unless one clears the test, gets shortlisted for the interview, clears the interview, and qualifies for the post. And on another extreme, fake degree holders are in the assemblies.

(Female, 26)

5.1.4. Cultist & ancestral politics

R4: They also embody a feudal mindset. They are subservient to the West. Most of the political parties including the Khars and Khosas are the birth of feudalistic mindsets. They have command over millions and trillions. They dominate all resources even today.

(Male, 35)

The responses about trusting governments did not elicit responses any different in the focus group discussion conducted with the students. The most recurring and telling excerpt that summarizes the situation of trust in the government is detailed in the following excerpt. In addition to representational concerns, ulterior motives, and lip-servicing while running political campaigns, the trust of the public in the government is exhausted and compromised due to the political economy of the distribution of resources in the development projects run by the State.

I: Do you trust your government?
M: What can I say? Honestly, I don't.
I: Why is it so?
M: Because we don't know a thing about our governments. And it is on purpose as we will never be able to get to know anything. If I begin to think, I just cannot trust my government.
M: I am a political worker, myself. Our politicians do not represent the common people. They exist only for ulterior motives. That is why no one trusts them. Last time during our political campaigns my party promised such huge deals. We have not been able to fulfil most of them. I am only speaking of my party, not targeting anyone. If a government receives 100 rupees, we receive only 20 rupees, which we are expected to allocate to deliver our promises. This is the situation. Where is the trust in this situation?

(Male, 38)

5.1.5. Trust: Theory yes, practice no

The following extract shows trust in the government on the ideational and theoretical levels but mistrust in its operability because of mistrust in the politicians.

M: Government. I trust the government more. The only issue I have with the government is the politicians, who after their reigns leave Pakistan and settle abroad with their families.

(Male, 27)

The focus group conducted with the academic staff members elicited similar responses. The issue of economic vulnerabilities for the common man was the recurrent theme irrespective of which political party ruled the government and for what time.

F (Female, 30): I don't. Look at the economic vulnerabilities around. No one cares. Political discussions are merely concerned about where, when, how, and at what time elections will be held.

M (Male, 39): What our politicians have done so far? Roti, kapra, makan- is what they have promised and haven't delivered on any promise. I was travelling back from Multan around 6:30 PM, I saw a queue of 50-60 people who were waiting to purchase wheat flour 5-6 rupees cheaper. This is what we are and have fallen to.

5.1.6. No sincerity, no trust-based alliance

The following respondent details the importance of sincerity in building trustworthy relationships and alliances. The citizens will mistrust the governments if amenities aren't even indiscriminately distributed and available.

F: Don't you think that governments are functioning merely as dummies? Sincerity is the most important constituent of trust building. Our governments are not sincere with the citizens. Whoever you find, he/she is looking out for electricity, wheat, and sugar. You cannot find a reliable team even if you find one decent political leader. It is basically a disaster in Pakistan.

(Female, 28)

Going beyond the ideation of government, the trust in government is also critiqued because of the institutions functioning under it. The lack of trust in the government is quoted due to a lack of administrative and financial support extended to the people affected by the flood. The lack of trust in a similar conversation is also associated with the incapacitation of the government in the delivery of gas and electricity facilities to the public.

F: When has the government ever earned our trust in life? Speaking of medical facilities, can you trust doctors, medicines, and medical equipment? You cast a vote for one person, the results are the opposite, how can you trust the system? Where is the financial support for flood-affected spent? The government hasn't even constituted a single committee in this regard. I visited flood-affected areas myself and haven't seen a single rupee delivered to any affected. The people are in need and still waiting for help. They are self-helping to come out of this calamity.

(Female, 23)

F: We will do this, do that, finish load shedding, bring gas, where are they? Why can't we see any change happening? How can we trust our governments?

(Female, 20)

5.1.7. Mere political jingoism

The mistrust is also propounded by those respondents (such as the one mentioned in the text below) who could understand the discourse of political parties capitalizing on the jingoistic political slogans to gain communal trust. These theatrics used by the political parties are for various reasons including but not limited to ancestral connections, political loyalties, and penchant for the most liked political party.

F: We as Pakistanis are manipulated into casting votes because of patriotism manifested by political campaigns. Later, we realize what we have done to ourselves. Building trust-based reliance on the current political system is possible only for those who are either too emotionally bought into their favourite political parties or have some political or ancestral alliances with the families of such parties. Otherwise, who can trust them? Can you?

(Female, 21)

5.1.8. Government: More or less regulations?

The issue of mistrust is also signified by one female respondent who quoted the lack of regulatory power of the government. The lack of regulatory power of the government is reasoned because of delayed decisions taken by the judiciary.

F: The government lacks regulatory power.
I: Lacks?
F: Yes. People would have refrained from crime if the government had more regula-
tory power.
Regulations in terms of justice implementation should be more visible.

(Female, 27)

5.1.9. No security, no trust

The level of mistrust is also voiced by the minorities. The excerpt from the focus group discussion conducted with a transgender from Islamabad highlights that the government has not been able to create an inclusive space wherein their legal identities can be recognized. The level of mistrust is related to the increasing incidents of violence and marginalization against the community.

N: No, because the government hasn't taken any strong steps in our favour in a way that I feel secure and safe. If I go out, the police will pick me up and put me in the lockup. If I am out in the market for shopping, police will force me into their cars on the false accusation of cruising sites for sex work. We have been facing marginaliza-tion since our births and the government has not done anything in our favor. They cannot even convince society that we are also the citizens of this country who are worthy of respect, who have rights, who can socialize with the wider audience, can go out shopping… that society shouldn't look down upon us as deviants. But no. No change. Nothing.

(Male to Female Transgender Person, 30)

5.2. Trust in Army

The same respondents had more trust in the army than the government but while saying so, they were also articulative of the issues they had with the Pakistan army. The following extract is tantamount to the army's intrusion into politics with no accountability and check-and-balance of their political decisions. The excerpt also highlights the power of the institution.

R4 (Female, 27): See, the power lies with them. They are the decision-makers. They can do whatever they want to do. The rest are mere pawns. They are the ones who position these pawns, right, left, center, up and down. This is what their forte is. This is what I firmly believe in.

R1 (Male, 22): I don't have an issue with their intrusion in politics. They must also keep a strict eye on the politicians and their whereabouts if they intrude.

R4 (Female, 27): Okay! They keep an eye on politicians and who will keep an eye on the army?

[laughs]

Similar respondents when probed about trust details about the economic benefits of the higher-ups in the army. The excerpt reveals that their lack of trust is related to the perks army personnel receive during post and after retirement. Their privileges are also not audited or run under an administrative wringer.

R4 (Female, 27): I don't have any experience, but from what I hear, there is no audit on those who reach up to brigadier and beyond posts.

R3: Why isn't there an audit on them? It's a valid question.

R4 (Female, 27): Just imagine from major till brigadier, whenever one retires, he receives a house, land, and whatnot. And the generals? They no longer stay in Pakistan. I was reading somewhere a few days ago that in many countries a general cannot migrate to a foreign country after retirement. Ours is the opposite, ours leave the country right after retirement. One is in Dubai, another is in Australia, and the next one, God knows where.

The responses about the public trust in the institution of the army were varied, as detailed in the text below.

5.2.1. Familial connections

A few respondents trusted the army more than the government and as an independent institution, those respondents trusted more in the institution who were somehow associated with it. The following excerpt from a focus group discussion explains exactly that.

F: Yes. I do trust the army. I am from an army family and the facilities I see army personnel receiving aren't those that government employees are receiving or can ever be entitled to. Army families have free education, free medical fees, etc.

5.2.2. Security yes, politics no

The trust in the army is also based on the role an institution is designated to perform and the responsibility an institution is required to fulfil. The following excerpt shows the respondent's apprehension about the intrusion of the army into the country's politics, skepticism about the developmental projects initiated and sustained by the military dictators over 30-35 years of their rule, and emphasis on the confinement of the institution for the country's security.

F: I don't trust them when they intrude into politics. 30-35 years of Pakistan's 75 years of body polity has remained under martial laws and the dictatorship of the army. Even the East and West Pakistan partitions occurred during these years. My trust is 100 per cent when it comes to security and defence at borders. But I have zero trust when they direct the country's politics. What development can you high- light during the military rules? Which development initiative you can signify if you even try to politically analyze?

(Female, 38)

5.2.3. Apprehension of the budget

The following excerpt is from another focus group discussion which reinforces the mistrust in the institution based on the intrusion in the political and developmental agendas of the country. The point under which the respondent focuses is about building gated communities and unjustified budgetary allocations for defence expenditures.

M5 (Male, 34): The army's role as an institution must be limited to the borders, to ensure security. The political decision-making should be left to the politicians. And the army is creating DHA in every city? Is this their work? Building gated communities isn't the job of the army. In addition, 75-80 per cent of the budget is allocated to the army. Will never understand it.
F1 (Female, 32): But they also provide us with a secure border.
F2 (Female, 28): But does that mean that matters related to the country's economy be decided by the army chief of Pakistan? This is the job of an economist. Not the army.

The critique on the defence expenditure was also brought into discussion by another respondent who emphasized how the country's development would have been shaped differently had the budget been less skewed towards expenditure and more towards creating employment and economic opportunities.

M5: I really don't trust. Being a political worker, I also observe that people don't trust the army the way they used to say 10 years ago. Social media has also shown this. Instead of 75 per cent, allocate 35 per cent budget to the army, allocate 75 per cent to the country's development, open factories, generate employment, generate economic activities, it may spill over into creating more economic opportunities.

5.2.4. Mistrust: The commonality of the institutions

A few responses, one of which is stated in the text below, show a lack of trust in both the government and the army despite understanding the theoretical importance of both institutions.

M: The government and army both act as bureaucrats. Theoretically, the army is for defence and the government is for the economy, but practically I don't have trust in either of the two.

(Male, 36)

5.2.5. Ambivalence about trust

One focus group conducted with the faculty members of a university in southern Punjab has the most respondents trusting the army over the government. When probed about the reasons, the following conversational excerpt details why the army can be more trustworthy than the government- the view that elicited another response reasoning this trust.

M3 (Male, 50): Right now, neither of the two.
F8 (Female, 41): If I must, I will say army. They are born leaders if not for anything else.
M3 (Male, 50): Of course, those favouring the army are right in their own way. Even if my child gets the best education, I get the BMW, the best apartment for living, and five flats, and if my child has money to go to Dubai from Pakistan to play football, and then from Dubai to another foreign location... of course, he will be groomed, obviously he will have leadership qualities. And I will trust the army. But we should never forget that we lost East Pakistan after the first martial law, we lost our nationality after the second martial law and sectarian divides aggravated after the third martial law.

5.3.   Trust in Police

Many respondents opined about their lack of trust in the police. The lack of trust is grounded in multiple factors: institutional dependence, institutional culture driven by the value systems of bribery, corruption, VIP culture and political intervention in the institution of the police. The next response emphasizes the organizational culture and its intersectionality with the culture of the society. The response also signifies that police personnel are underpaid, and work hours are hectic. Eventually, the last resort is to either leave the job or bribe for money.

R3 (Male, 32): We don't trust the police because it gets pressurized because it's not functioning as an independent institution. Once in a place nearby, an FIR was launched against a politician. The police received a call from the higher-ups. The police were put under pressure and retracted from FIR. The politician was released but he was a culprit. That is why we don't trust the police. It's not just the police's fault, it's the failure of the system. It is our fault too; we vote for the MPA and MNA, the most corrupt person in the area. The one who is a staunch supporter of a thana culture, of a VIP culture, of the system where corruption entails.
R4 (Female, 27): I see it differently. It is not the system's fault. Not anywhere it is written in the institutional documents and nomenclature that you bribe an MPA or an MNA. My point is that the personnel in the police are very underpaid. Their duty hours are 12 hours straight sometimes, and they are severely underpaid. That is why they are left with no option other than leaving their job or bribing for money.

5.3.1. Police aligned with the government

The lack of trust in the police as an independent institution was quoted by many respondents during interviews but a few respondents also highlighted their trust issues with the police because of its political alignment with the government. The following excerpt states this.

F: Police and government are aligned with one another. If I don't support the government, I cannot trust the police.

(Female, 25)

5.3.2. Value systems in the police

One female student from Multan detailed the prevalent malpractices which have been culturalized in the police. She also states the reasons for multiple checkpoints, police-criminal alliances, and extortionary practices and how these practices create mistrust between the public and the police.

I: What role do the police play in this?
F: The role of police in Multan is that they fix police checkpoints and extort money. I know all of it personally, the police have information about the entire locality, who lives where, who does what, all of it. They know the whereabouts of thugs, rowdies, and thieves. Still, they do nothing.
I: What can be the reason for that?
F: Because they want to extract money from both- the thieves and those who have been theft. They want to extract from both parties, and this is a fact. I have experienced it myself. When you know that in institutions, the ones who are in the higher-ups and those below are all receiving bribes and extortion money, then for how long can you resist?

(Female, 32)

5.4. Trust in Judiciary

The results are not different when it comes to having trust in the judiciary. The following excerpt demarcates the difference between the idea of the judiciary as an institution and the practice of the judiciary as it exists in Pakistan. The idea should be based on the principle of justice. The practice in Pakistan alludes to the years of prolonged cases for the common man on the one hand and propounds political mileage given to the judicial actors, on the other hand.

R3: I don't trust anyone except myself. The purpose of the judiciary is to be fair and make decisions which are balanced and just. This legal system is an utter failure. In this system, justice is rare but intergenerational continuation of cases is common. And in the rarest of cases, petitions are signed in Islamabad, courts are opened on Sundays, and decisions are conveniently announced. After witnessing this, do you think I can trust the judiciary? I don't. We are a rotten nation with rotten systems, values, and even worse institutions. I wish that this institution would be destroyed. It is better to live in hell than in this country.

(Female, 43)

5.5.   Trust in State Institutions

The following conversational excerpt from a focus group discussion conducted with the students at a public sector university in Bahawalpur provides a dismayed picture of the current state of institutions in the country. The conversation starts with high-lighting the culture of bribery, delayed justice, the longitudinal nature of court cases, and mistrust in the Supreme Court judges. The mistrust is largely attributed to the fact that the institutions exist not to perform their designated roles as defined in the constitution and by the State. One female respondent commented by sharing that the situation may be bleak on an institutional level but there is trust among people on the communal level due to which the institutions have to deliver to the community.

M2 (Male, 23): I don't. If I visit court, the work I go for will be asked later but how much I can bribe will be expected first. There are 17 judges in the Supreme Court. What are they doing? If you are loaded, they will listen to you, otherwise, no one pays any attention to the underprivileged.
M3 (Male, 22): I agree. Besides corruption, I also attribute this mistrust to the existing hierarchical networks. Institutions exist because they are merely for optics. There's not much and more to it.
F1 (Female, 22): I don't think the situation is this bleak. This country would have collapsed long ago if it had this level of mistrust among us. I agree that corruption, authoritative control, and dishonesty are rampant, but there are a few positives too.

The following excerpt mentions the reciprocity in the trust-based alliance between the state and its citizens wherein a female respondent states that she feels commit-ted to the state due to her patriotic leanings but mistrusts it due to her mistrust of the institutions the state runs.

F4: I am a patriotic person, so I feel committed to my state, but I don't trust it because state institutions are not trustworthy.

(Female, 25)

The respondents equated the idea of the State with the concept of homeland. Within these nationalistic contours, the State is trusted as the idea of the state is considered by respondents as the only point of spatial reference with the world and as the only way of defining a shared identity.

6.   SOCIAL TRUST

6.1.   Social Trust Vs. Trust in Institutions

Results highlight that the level of trust among members of society is greater than trust in the country's institutions such as the police, judiciary, government, and army. The mistrust in these institutions reflects the mistrust between individuals and between individuals and social institutions. The unquestioned social adherence to these political institutions of control shows the mob mentality- the reason why economic issues are invariably increasing.

M: I believe we Pakistanis trust each other a lot. Sometimes more than what is required. Sometimes, we even know that trusting people lands us in trouble, but we don't mistrust them. What we don't have trust in is our system. We don't trust the police, we don't trust our hospitals, we don't trust our judiciary. We have had so many things going against us, political inconsistencies, marshal laws, unclear constitution for a long time. The concept of might is right, still holds true. We have a mob mentality and function exactly like that. We are not only a mafia but have become one. Everywhere, oil mafia, petrol mafia, education mafia, wheat mafia, and sugar mafia.

(Male, 27)

6.2.   Trust in professional spaces

The data elicited from female employees of an organization shows that building workplace trust is mandatory for setting and meeting targets as most female respondents worked in teams. But social trust defined as exchanging personal information, trusting each other for sharing or giving a piece of advice for a personal matter, or finding friendships in professional spaces, was discouraged by many female respondents.

F1 (Female, 25): Trust is a two-way process, and isn't for one person to develop. If it's broken once, you cannot rebuild it. It takes a lot to rebuild. I am a very conscious person about it. I don't trust workplace people in relationships, I only trust them in professional matters. But I'm also wary of people and their hidden motives, the ones who are essaying the most trustworthy are the ones sabotaging you the most at your back.
F2 (Female, 26): Why bring trust into the workplace? Is there a need to bring in trust to this? We rely on each other for professional work, we aren't necessarily trusting

each other.
F3 (Female, 24): We cannot function without trust. In teams, the amount of trust required for getting the work done is enough. Not more than that.

In a one-on-one in-depth interview conducted with a female entrepreneur, she quoted that men are more trustworthy than women in professional spaces as men are less emotional and hence more focused on meeting the targets. Women, on the other hand, search for friendships in professional spaces which once built lead to professional insecurities. This way, the issue of lack of trust surfaces compromising professional ethics and bittering the workplace environment.

F: Women come with a lot of emotional baggage in the workplace. Hence, their attempt is often to find friendships. This is what I think. Insecurities and jealousies are part of personal equations that are built on trust. The impact of such relationships is reflected in professional work. So, that's why I don't like it. It also goes against professional ethics. Yes, I am all in for professional ethics for which cultivating a culture of respect is mandatory. The issue is that we are also emotional beings, so in professional spaces, personal equations shouldn't be brought in.

(Female, 30)

Contrary to this view, the following except from a focus group discussion explains why women are more trustworthy than men in professional spaces and what it takes to become indifferent to the male gaze in the workplace. The discussion sparked into a debate when one participant (female) shared the experiences of men getting invasive into their private spaces by staring, ogling, and making them feel uncomfortable. The debate then led to the point that men behave in the workplace exactly the way they treat women in their households. The idea of domesticated female subservience, sexual availability and female care economy is entrenched in the minds of men in professional spaces that they cannot view women in the offices beyond this. The coping mechanism of absorbing oneself in work as sketched out by another female participant is stated in the results below.

F1 (Female, 29): Everyone is doing the same in society. I cannot always carry the baggage with me. If they are staring or not staring for that matter, it doesn't bother me anymore. I know I just cannot escape from this, in this society.
F2 (Female, 27): But sometimes you reach a point of saturation, and you just cannot cope with it anymore.
F1 (Female, 29): But one develops thick skin, eventually. My coping is the work I do. I have absorbed myself in work that all such voices at my back are mere noise. You don't and you don't want to register these noises.

6.3.   Is trust gendered?

When probed about trust in women or men, one participant favoured men over women despite claiming that it's the person who is trusted, not the person's gender, implying that trust is not gendered. To this assertion, another female participant commented that men and women both have behavioural issues, but female responses are more coveted, and men are more overt in their display of anger, aggression, and aversion. Hence, the socialization of women in domestic spaces defines their implicit ways of mistrusting others in the workplace and developing implicit and indirect ways of acting out anger against others. On the other hand, men are more explicit and their ways of acting out anger and displeasure are direct and explicit.

F1: I will prefer men. I have seen more jealousy, relationship manipulations, and passive aggression, in females. The question is more of how genuine a person is rather than his or her gender but in my experience men are better.

(Female, 27)

F2: I will disagree. I have work experience in different organizations. I have worked in male-dominated professional spaces in the past and the kind of negativity and jealousy they project is more harmful than what women do because female responses are coveted. They internalize jealousies and attempt to affect you indirectly. Men target directly and it can become very ugly. I have also witnessed men mudsling against each other in newspapers. We cannot dare do this, the most we can do is to backbite, gossip, call names and generate narratives at the back. Men are more jealous and retaliatory, if ever they are supportive, it's only towards women. Their professional tussles, amongst themselves, are toxic, unlike women.

(Female, 23)

6.4.   Clannish mentality: How to trust?

Speaking particularly of organizational culture, one female respondent from an organization was sceptical of the idea of trust building even in organizational matters. The reasons for this skepticism are manifold, specifically the clannish mentality due to which only a few people are preferred over the rest, information is skewed to only those few, and only those few are economically benefitted. The lack of employee trust in the organization is also reflected here due to ad-hoc and preferential organizational policies.

F: I am skeptical about trust in general but more so in professional relationships. Information is skewed to a few clannish groups; employees are discriminated against based on gender- whom to trust in this situation? One may rarely trust each other in workplaces strictly for professional work but not in institutions. I don't trust institutional policies.

(Female, 26)

6.5. Trust in expressing one's ideas

When asked about the freedom of discussing ideas and trusting each other while expressing ideas, one respondent shared that Pakistan may not necessarily be the socio-cultural space for discussing polarizing ideas such as religion and politics. The reason for this polarization is grounded in the lack of trust in people who may kill others for having a difference of opinion. Trust as stated in the following extract is also based on feelings of mutual respect the individuals have for each other in society. Hence, not overtly expressing one's political and religious opinions can be due to mutual respect which in turn builds social trust.

F: Religious and political extremism are common in Pakistan. One must share one's thoughts with caution and care. There may be a few circles where you can share thoughts and opinions without repercussions. Scholarly discussions are different wherein there is a rather tolerant and pluralistic audience. But in circles where points of difference can be blown out of proportion, then please avoid expressing yourself. Pakistan is that space where one must be careful about what, where, whom and how to share. Even within our family units, we don't have the leverage of having non-conformist opinions. I also think that sometimes giving in helps, maintain social equilibrium, respect for others or simply for fear of not being lynched to death.

(Female, 24)

The apprehension of sharing ideas on a societal level is limited due to social intolerance of non-conformist views. On the other hand, on the domesticated level, parental relationships are trusted more than others for sharing, and within parents, mothers are trusted more by women than fathers for issues related to puberty, romance, and mental health and fathers are rarely trusted more than mothers by women in matters of finance, saving and investments. Men trust mothers more than fathers in matters related to mental health, socialization, and daily routines, and fathers more than mothers in economic matters, but friends more than parents in matters of romance, puberty, and sexuality.

F1 (Female, 25): Yes. There are a few things which are a no-go zone when it comes to my father, but not only do I spell out such matters and situations to my mother but also trust in her advice on the same.
F2 (Female, 24): And, sometimes, being a woman, you trust more what your father has to say.
I: Is it trust or social conditioning?
F1 (Female, 25): Can be both. Partially trust and partially conditioning.

6.6.　Social Capital

When asked about institutional and organizational policies, a male entrepreneur from Rawalpindi commented that building your own networks, developing connections, and making the most out of those is more important than following the sanctioned and institutionalized rules and principles laid out by the organizations.

M: Yes, this happens, and it should be the case, as well. Why not? One is charged with achieving the target and informal ways do not necessarily have negative connotations. Thinking out of the box, doing something out of the ordinary...whatever that is not documented in rules and policies, and comes under an informal category, then why not?

(Male, 36)

6.7.　Peripheries and the lack of trust: Religious minority

When a religious minority was asked about social trust, he narrated one incident. The detailed account is in the text below.

K: For the last 14 years, I have limited myself to educational premises. After graduation, I planned to pursue and go for CSS in Lahore. There, I had to move to my friend's place at 1 am at night because Tehreek a Labaiq was holding processions on the streets, so I told my friend over the phone that I was coming over. He sent Kalma over a text msg and told me to repeat Kalma to the procession, just in case. He forbade me to reveal my identity and my real name. At that time, I felt scared for my life. Apart from this incident, I have not experienced something where I had to hide my identity. In my schools and boarding schools, I have been repeatedly told to repeat the first Kalma in the morning assembly and before Juma prayers, I think. I have been part of these activities and I had to follow what I was told to do so.

(Male, 25)

Sociological literature explains that trust between a majority group and an excluded group is critical for building social harmony and reciprocity. The extent to which the gap between the two groups is widened because of occlusion and marginalization of the excluded group by the majority group, the trust is broken and becomes compromised. The above data from an in-depth interview conducted with a member of the Hindu community explains this. Following up discussion along similar lines of trust between friends and members of the family, when the respondent was asked about social trust within the Hindu community residing in Pakistan, he replied:

K: The same holds true for the Hindu community. They are just there but they are not for you. Only family is there. They are just static relationships and not doing much for you in your life.

(Male, 25)

The respondent, despite being critical of social trust at the level of practice between friends, community, State, and government, did not find it problematic at the ideational level. He supported the idea of trust, the importance of trust, the trust-social expectations nexus, and the social trust-respect nexus but his experiential realities about social trust between social groups, communities and institutions were opposite.

6.8.   Peripheries and the lack of trust: Transgender Community

When respondents from the transgender community were asked about their views on trust, the importance of social trust, their experiences of trust and networks of trust, then one respondent explained why her trust with the outside community can never be built. She quotes by saying:

N: Change if it exists, is among the educated class, only. In the lower socioeconomic classes, we are considered no more than frivolous people. My current job is because of the lady I work for who is educated and runs a transgender organization. If I try getting hired in any other office, I will not even be allowed to enter the premises. Because there is zero acceptance and tolerance. I would be forced to change myself, my attire, my body language, and whatnot to even be considered for crossing the gate entrance. People fail to understand that even if we make our attire manly, we cannot change our hearts.

(Male to Female Transgender Person, 35)

She quotes multiple reasons for the lack of trust between the transgender community and the wider society. The social unacceptance towards the transgender community is highlighted along the axis of physical attire and lifestyle of the community, their socioeconomic organization, and societal occlusion of the society against the community members.

7. WHO ARE WE?: IN ONE WORD

At the end of each focus group discussion, respondents were questioned to choose one word to express Pakistanis. The results are stated in the following table.

Table 7: Pakistanis: Who Are We?

	Characteristic	No. of Occurrence
Who are Pakistanis? **In one word**	Confused	23
	Dishonest	19
	Patriotic	15
	Emotional	12
	Intelligent	7
	Foolish	7
	Corrupt	5
	Elite	4
	Extremists	3
	Hardworking	3
Total	**10**	**98**

8. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS: ARTICULATION WITH SURVEY

Theme	PIDE-BASICS Notes Survey Results	Qualitative Results
Setting the context	The survey covers 12 themes to understand the basics of Pakistanis. 20, 548 individuals aged 15 years and above, from 140 districts in provinces/territories, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Gilgit Baltistan, Islamabad Capital Territory, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir were included in the survey. Diversity: geography and regions, age, sex, educational status, employment status, language, and household income.	The focus groups (for the first part) were conducted in ICT and Southern Punjab. A total of 98 respondents participated in the focus group discussions and 8 in-depth unstructured interviews were also conducted with religious minorities, transgender persons, and entrepreneurs. Diversity across participants in FGDs was maintained along 10 factors including age, sex, academic discipline, seniority, experience, and ethnicity, among others.
Social Relationships and Social Capital	The multi-vocality of the concept was detailed by defining social capital as an instrument: - bonding and bridging capital - vertical and horizontal capital.	Results highlight elements of both bonding and bridging capital, and vertical and horizontal social capital. The need for building relationships is reasoned differently by men and women. Women need relationships for economic survival. Emotional needs and social mobility in professional, public, and domesticated spaces. Men need relationships primarily for instrumental reasons in the professional spaces whereas networking in *mohallah* is critical for laddering up for men.
Identity	The respondents define their identities differently based on a few markers outlined by religion, nationality, ethnicity, caste, biology, social relationships, and profession.	Similar layered identities are corroborated by the respondents in results on identity. Typological classification is based on self, societal identity and national as well as international identities.
Leaving Pakistan	40 per cent of people in urban Pakistan and 36 per cent of people in rural Pakistan want to leave Pakistan with the highest desire reported in Balochistan (42 per cent) followed by KP and Sindh.	Respondents from selected locales substantiated that they wanted to leave Pakistan for good for respect, economic progression, opportunities, peace, safety, and security. Religious and sexual minorities and women were more assertive in leaving Pakistan than men and majoritarian groups.

9. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS: ARTICULATION WITH LITERATURE

While explaining the importance of social capital and social relations in PIDE-BASICS Note no. 2, the following theorists and their theorizations of aforesaid concepts were explained. These concepts are theoretically abstract. Therefore, we have contextualized these concepts considering the research findings and articulating how and why results either conform to or differ from the cited literature.

a. Field, Habitus and Doxa

Bourdieu (1977)[2] explains the complexity of power existing among human interactions and relations. Bourdieu's understanding of social capital is based on Field, Habitus, and Capital concepts. To Bourdieu, the field is a place of action and struggle where agents (individuals) and institutions- Doxa (rules, codes, or principles defined along the axes of social, cultural, political, religious, and economic institutions) intersect. These points of intersection are termed interactions which can take the form of discussions, contestations, negotiations, and conflicts. These fields are essentially social fields where such interactions take place. Agents in these social fields fill different dominant and dominated positions, which also hints at what agents can and cannot do. Hence these fields tend to become spaces of power where the positioning of agents in the power relations are differentiated based on the amount and the type of capital they possess. According to Bourdieu (1977), an agent's position in power relations also depends on one's language, tastes, lifestyle, and indispositions, shaped by that person's Habitus. These manifestations of individuals' preferences, orientations, and indispositions are structured by their past experiences, feelings, perceptions, actions, and evaluations, which Bourdieu calls Habitus. The results show that professional spaces, workplaces, socializing places, educational places, social events, market spaces, and generally public places (parks, shops, and shrines) are all different types of field where agents (the UDCs for the current research) position themselves based on three factors: first, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, seniority in professional spaces, and religious beliefs; second, socialization in these different types of field where the UDCs are sometimes the dominating agents and sometimes are being dominated by dominating agents, and third, how well the agents have understanding of existing structures, principles, rules and regulations of different fields.

---

[2]Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Their socialization depends upon the habitus they possess. The results signify that for most of the respondents, the habitus is assured by family backgrounds (based on economic class, social networking, political affiliations, and educational attainment). For minorities, in addition to family background, experiences of social marginalization constitute their habitus. For most of the male respondents, informal networking with men, and for women, their subservience to conformist gender roles, is an important part of their habitus. Based on their habitus including family settings, current social experiences, political affiliations, understanding of social order, conformist behaviours and social networking, respondents enter aforesaid fields and position themselves based on their understanding of rules and institutions (doxa) of those fields. One critical feature according to which people specify their positions in these fields, is explained under the next bullet point.

b. Capital

The four forms of capital, as theorized by Bourdieu, include economic (revenue-driven), cultural (embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms), social (reciprocity, nobility, and exchanges), and symbolic (respect, rank, prestige, and status). According to Bourdieu, differential access to resources results from inequality in the distribution of cultural or economic capital, which results from how smoothly people mobilize a group (including but not limited to the family, kin, club, elite schools, etc.). The results highlight that the most crucial form of capital that can be possessed by agents is social, economic, and symbolic. Specifically, in the results on ethnicity and identity, symbolic capital was associated with a person or a social group who/which imbibes and manifests a position of respect and reverence by the society at large (being a nationalist, being part of a religiously majoritarian group, conforming to an idea of heteronormative structure, being a patriot, and being in powerful State institutions). Social capital, based on social exchanges and reciprocity, was specifically cited by most of the female respondents, whereas economic capital and the power associated with it was cited as a critical component of capital for agents to possess and inhabit (the results on trust in State institutions, highlight this factor, in detail). For a few respondents, cultural capital in the form of material possessions (objectified form), educational degrees (institutionalized form), and knowledge, beauty and persona (embodied form) is also an important constitutive feature of a person's habitus.

c. Social Capital and Social Trust

Coleman (1990)[3] explains that social capital is not just limited to the powerful but can be helpful in the financial and social security of the poor and the marginalized. Trust, shared values, and mutual reciprocity are not confined to a given individual, group, or community. These shared values connect socially heterogeneous individuals and groups to achieve variant goals, the most pertinent being a child's social and cognitive development. Social capital is not merely an instrument of privilege for the rich but rather an asset for the disadvantaged and the deprived. The results signify that for the UDCs of minoritarian statuses, social capital is an asset for socialization within the community and with the people outside their communities. But, given socio-cultural marginalization, the experiences of social trust, shared values, and reciprocity are marred. Hence for religious, ethnic, and sexual minorities, the social capital as conceptualized by Coleman doesn't hold true. However, for the remaining UDCs, the concept holds true, especially considering the results of FGDs conducted in universities. In addition, all the concepts of bonding, bridging and linking capital hold true in the light of results. Especially, the vertical and horizontal theorizations of capital were alluded to in many FGDs and individual interviews. The importance of the vertical component of social capital was emphasized by the entrepreneurial respondents. Whereas the other UDCs spoke of its importance but quoted social power, bureaucracy, elitism, and inequality as the hindering factors in laddering up social status and networking.

Putnam (1993)[4] illustrates social capital as an economic input used for producing an outcome that can be profitable, can be invested in, and earn a return on. Putnam (1993) grounds his argument about social capital on the performance of regional administrations in the North and South of Italy. Using an institutionalist lens to understand the performance of public policy actors, Putnam explained that the relatively successful institutional performance of the northern regions was due to mutual interrelationships between government and civil society. The autonomous functioning of medieval guilds, well-oiled functioning of state machinery, and self-regulating city-states are the reasons for the mutual trust, reciprocity, and interrelationships in the North of Italy. On the other hand, the lack of mutual trust and reciprocity fueled mistrust and unrest between the government and civil society. This is the reason for the inconsistent institutional performance of the southern regions of Italy. Based on this example, Putnam (1993) identifies the role of civic engagement, trust, norms, and networks in institutional performances. The results of the current research signify a high level of mistrust of people in Pakistani institutions (government, army, police, and judiciary), although a few institutions are mistrusted less than others. The section on trust in institutions clearly highlights the reasons for this mistrust.

---

[2]Coleman, J. S. (1990). The Foundations of Social Theory. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

[4]Putnam, R. D. (1993). Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Greenwood Publishing Group.

The aforesaid text details that networks, ties, relationships, reciprocities, and bonds are structured around social units. These social units can be detailed along family, friends, elitist groups, powerful factions, politicians, pressure groups, peer groups, community mobilizers, cultural actors, and civil society. These social units use ties and relationships to build trust, actualize a sense of belonging, concretize associations, and materialize shared goals and objectives.

ANNEXURE
SUMMARY OF BASICS RESEARCH NOTE

Note 1: The survey covers 12 themes to understand the basics of Pakistanis. These themes are personal, family, marriage, community and society, ambitions and aspirations, education and technology, sports and recreation, economics and employment, corruption, government and politics, religion and faith, and ethics and morality. A total of 20, 548 individuals aged 15 years and above, from 140 districts in provinces/territories, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, Gilgit Baltistan, Islamabad Capital Territory, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir were included in the survey. Diversity was not only ensured along the axis of geography and regions therein but also along the axis of age, sex, educational status, employment status, language, and household income. For details, please see the first BASICS research note.

Note 2: One of the key concepts of the research is capital and its various forms. The forms of capital focused in the survey include financial, physical, natural, human, cultural capital and social capital. One under-researched form of capital in macro-studies in Pakistan is social and capital cultural. For this reason, the multi-vocality of the concept was detailed by defining social capital as an instrument-bonding and bridging capital, and vertical and horizontal capital. This research also borrows from sociological literature to indigenize concepts from Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, and Fukuyama. One of the reasons for collecting primary data by using a qualitative research strategy was to articulate and highlight the research findings in the light of these cited pieces of literature and describe indigenous definitions.

Note 3: The respondents define their identities differently based on a few markers outlined by religion, nationality, ethnicity, caste, biology, social relationships, and profession. The variations in spelling out layered identity are also defined by the range (76 per cent in GB and 44.5 per cent in AJK). Across provinces and territories, religious identity is the most common one with Punjab (16.7 per cent) and AJK (28.3 per cent) being the strongest, respectively. National identity as the single identity marker was not a strong one across the sampled respondents, but among the four provinces, the largest proportion from Balochistan considered being a Pakistani as part of their identity followed by Sindh and KP. More respondents defined ethnicity

as a strong identity marker in Balochistan, GB and AJK whereas in Sindh and Punjab, caste is an important identity marker. Gender (being a male or a female) is the strongest identity marker in KP and ICT, whereas professional identity and social relationships were found to be the strongest identity markers in GB. The most layered identities were exhibited in ICT.

■   Note 4: 40 per cent of people in urban Pakistan and 36 per cent of people in rural Pakistan want to leave Pakistan with the highest desire reported in Balochistan (42 per cent) followed by KP and Sindh. The desire is lowest in Punjab. Among the respondents sampled from the territories, the highest reported proportion who want to leave Pakistan is from AJK (44 per cent) followed by GB. ICT has the lowest proportion. The desire to leave the country is higher among males than females and is the strongest among the youngest age group (15-24 years) with 62 per cent wanting to leave.

■   Note 5: Only 3 per cent of Pakistanis are a member of any socio-cultural club with 4 per cent from urban Pakistan and 2.5 per cent from rural Pakistan. Provincially, respondents from Balochistan reported the largest proportion (6.5 per cent) followed by KP (3.6 per cent) and Sindh (3 per cent). Punjab has the lowest proportion (2.4 per cent). Among territories, Gilgit Baltistan has the largest proportion (13.9 per cent) of clubs/organizations.

■   Note 6: 62 per cent of the urban population does not have access to any library and only 4.7 per cent of the population has access in the rural areas 4.7 per cent. Among provinces, Balochistan comes out better than other provinces, but lowest in KP. Among the territories, ICT is better than GB and AJK. With respect to belief, 50.8 per cent of the respondents in rural areas believe in magic as compared to 45 per cent in urban areas, with KP having the smallest proportion (18.5 per cent) and Punjab having the highest proportion (56.5 per cent). Among the territories, GB has the fewer proportion of people who believe in magic (29.7 per cent) followed by AJK and ICT.

■   Note 7: 1.5 per cent of the marriages in Pakistan are ethnically exogamous with 1.9 per cent ethnically exogamous in urban Pakistan than in rural Pakistan. Language exogamy is most prevalent in Balochistan (4.1 per cent) and lowest in Punjab (0.9 per cent). In territories, GB and AJK have more marital assimilation (4 per cent and 4.1 per cent) than ICT (0.8 per cent).

Pakistan Institute of Development Economics

www.pide.org.pk