

Role of Kinship and Social Capital in Expansion of Business Networks

A Case Study of Sikh Community in Peshawar

Research Thesis



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Submitted By

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CERTIFICATE

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Gregory (1997) in his book titled 'Savage Money' talks about the economic changes because of Vietnam War and how it affected the global economics. The shutting down of gold window by President Nixon of US ended the organized capitalism worldwide and gave path to market anarchist. The power of state was weakened, and the market was then controlled by market anarchist. After 15th August 1971 the hold of us on market was lost and the invisible hand took over the market. This shift completely changed the system and values like equality and liberty was no more associated with state. This showed state as a bad actor. The trend of market now shifted from Keynesian to Friedman's. Due to the global financial crisis, worse security issues and development problems a solution appeared and is still evolving. It's called social capital. Social capital is the cooperation and trust reciprocated from other members of society.

There is a strong debate on adding the word capital with social. Although social capital can provide access to job opportunities and other information of market which could help in investment. Social capital can be seen very clearly in the context of business networks. Kristiansen in Egbert (2009) states that entrepreneurs are more successful when they pull more resources through their social capital or network. Entrepreneur, through their social network can gain important resources by contacting with religious community members, friend and family, co-ethnic or former classmate (Egbert, 2009).

In this study the importance of social network and business expansion through it were studied. For this purpose, the idea of social capital and kinship was our lens. Three main concepts of social capital from Pierre Bourdieu, James S. Coleman and Robert Putnam were taken and were studied and connected with the field data. Field for this study was Peshawar, Pakistan. Sikh community residing in Pakistan was selected due to their presence in markets. This prominent presence is due to their physical appearance and their business names which goes by their native and religious name.

Pakistan secured its independence on 14th of August 1947. The country was formed on the idea of Islam where majority of the Muslims could practice their religion and live by its rule. Pakistan has

four provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa formerly known as North West Frontier Province has a long history of conquer and defeat. Peshawar is its capital. Peshawar is the main trade route towards Afghanistan and central Asia. During the partition of India many of the people migrated from both sides. Some stayed and some left. In this whole process followers of different religion stayed including Hindu, Sikhs, Parsi etc. Peshawar is home to different religious minorities. The focus of this research will be the community of Sikh residing in Peshawar and doing other business or social activities. In this study Sikhs from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are studied who are doing businesses. These Sikhs are living there and did not migrate during the partition.

In the recent years the concept of social capital is in the spotlight. There is a significant amount of literature about social capital and its implications. For example, the work done by Bourdieu, Coleman, and Robert Putnam cannot be denied. All these social scientists provide new lenses from which the social capital can be seen. Their theories and concepts paved a new way and gave new direction to the concept of social capital. This research aims to find the kinship system in Sikh community, their social network and business networks they are having in different spaces of Peshawar. This will help us see how religious minorities like Sikh shape their identity and deal with different religious, social and political factors and how they access the capital and land to progress.

1.1. Statement of the Problem:

There have been many studies conducted and literature available on kinship, social capital and business networks. This study looked at the roles which both kinship and social capital play in the business expansion of the Sikh community. Moreover, the study also examined how the business of the minority community expands despite the negative image of the country portrayed by the international media outlets. However, this study will provide an alternative narrative and explore the truth and ground realities in such global claims.

In the light of the argument stated above, I have narrowed my topic to 'Role of Kinship and social capital in expansion of business networks, A case study of Sikh community in Peshawar' and operationalized my research problem into the following research questions:

1.1.2. Research Questions:

1. How kinship is playing role in building social capital among Sikh community in the sub-locals of the locus i.e. Peshawar?
2. How the theoretical relationship of social capital, kinship exist and how they help to expand the business networks of Sikh community in the selected sub-locals?
3. To find the ground reality against the negative media portrayal and test the media claims in the field.

1.1.3. Research Objectives:

1. To indigenize the concept of social capital as theorized by Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu in the context of Sikh community in the selected sub-locals of main locus i.e. Peshawar
2. To specify the significance of kinship and social capital of the Sikh community in the selected sub-locals.
3. To articulate the theoretical relationship of social capital, kinship with the expansion of business networks of Sikh community in the selected sub-locals.

1.2. Explanation of Key Terms:

1.2.1. Social Capital:

Social capital is the network or trust you have in people and in return how much trust you have on them is. It helps you to connect you with people and could provide you economic resources (Fukuyama, 2001). For example, if you are looking for a job and you asked your friends and family about it, then they will look if someone in the family could help you with that and put a recommendation for you.

The concept of social capital is accepted and applied by World Bank for different community and global problems. Social capital gives the sense of ownership to community and helps them solve their own problems.

1.2.2. Business Networks:

In the literature business network is interchangeably used with social networks. We will use the term business network to specify and be clear about its purpose. Business networks are the networks of individuals who have strong social capital or have kinship involved. It has informal market system and generally occupies a specific space, or the community shares some common characteristics. These networks are governed by strong and clearly

understood norms (Kali, 1999). These networks do not rely on formal transactions and that's why have lower cost. For example, they do not need everything in black and white and normally functions through trust or social capital.

1.2.3. Kinship:

Kinship is binary. Either you are kin or not. Kinship involves family relationships from short to long distance relation. By long distance I mean cousins and other distant relatives. To understand the formation of business networks kinship is mostly there. Sahlins (2011) calls it's the 'mutuality of beings'. The studies by different researchers on business networks showed a strong presence of kinship.

Chapter 2: Research Methods and Methodology

2.1 Research Strategy:

For this study qualitative research strategy was used. Interpretivism was used to know about the reality of Sikh community and their perspective on their environment. Moreover, inductive and deductive method both were used where theory and practical field forced to deduct researcher's assumptions. Qualitative method was not only limited to generate theory but also to test the data (Bryman, 2012). This data helped to determine whether the Sikh community is living under oppressed political and social environment or are living their lives just like any other citizens.

2.2 Research Design:

Stake in Bryman (2012) states that case study is concerned with the complex nature of the case in question. But what is case? It is mainly concerned with a community, location and organization. There is also a trend to connect case study with qualitative research but it's not hard and fast rule (Bryman, 2012). Descriptive case study was used for this study.

2.3. Units of data collection:

Units of data collection for this study will be:

UDC 1: Sikh community members

UDC 2: Sikh civil society members.

UDC 3: Sikh businessmen and traders.

The reason I am selecting these units is that I wanted to see how Sikh social activist perceive their identity and role in the Muslim majority and among the conservative Pashtun. Secondly, I wanted to see how they see state and its role in protecting them. The civil society members helped me understand, how they achieve and practice their freedom, while businessmen and traders helped to understand how they access capital and other resources.

2.4. Research Methods

The tools of data collection which were used for the current research were:

2.4.1. Unstructured Interviewing:

Interviews are now daily part of our lives. There are job interviews, police interviews, exit interviews and there are research interviews. The aim of the interview is to collect as much information, beliefs, norms and values so that a good sound judgement, decision and understanding could be achieved.

In qualitative research the interview is probably the most employed procedure use nowadays. The two main types of interview in qualitative research are Unstructured and semi structured interviews. Both are sometimes referred as qualitative interview which gives space to confusion (Bryman, 2012).

In qualitative interviewing the researcher wants to use detail answers because qualitative interviews tend to be flexible. The interviewer can steer it where he wants and can emphasis the interview on his research topic or the topics which emerges during the interview (Bryman, 2012).

As there is limited data available on social life of my target audience. The respondent is given freedom to start from anywhere they want. This helps to make them comfortable and provide as much as they can to the researcher.

2.4.2. Semi-Structure Interview:

In semi-structure interview the researcher has a list of topics to be covered and is mostly referred as Interview guide. This help interviewer to stay on line of topic and keeps the question of certain topics open so that any new concept can easily pop up during the interview of same concept. It is mainly done when you have a clear focus instead of general notion (Bryman, 2012).

Interview guide was used for the UDC's mentioned. This guide helps researcher to stay on track. Interview guide is used for conducting in-dept qualitative interviews and semi-structured interviews.

Some of the topics were structured so that they are not missed out by the researcher. This helped to keep the researcher focus.

2.4.3. Sampling:

Sampling in quantitative research revolves around the probability sampling while I qualitative it is purposive sampling). But these sampling methods hops around in each other laps.

When a segment of a population is selected for investigation it is called sampling. In more general terms it is a subset of a population. The selection method is sometimes based on probability or non-probability approach. To start with sampling units of data collection needs to be identified and it is determined by the research questions (Bryman, 2012).

2.4.4. Stratified Random Sampling:

Stratified random sampling is a type of probability sampling. Stratified random sampling involves dividing the population in small strata or groups and then collecting your data from them. In our research where there are more than one or two units of data collection, the population will be divided into strata. This will help us get the right balance of responses.

Stratified random sampling is applicable when the information relevant to research is available or members from the population are easily identified and can be stratified on any criteria (Bryman, 2012).

2.4.5. Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling has a close relationship with research questions. It is a form of non-probability sampling. The purpose of purposive sampling is to reach out to the participants or respondents directly who are relevant to research questions. A clear idea about one's own research is needed to employ purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012). Purposing sampling was used for this research study.

2.4.6. Significance of the research:

This research provided new dimension to the study of minorities and to social capital, business networks and kinship. This will help policy makers and security organization to look at the minorities from different perspective. The unexplored area of Sikh Community and their status will help to create public policies and other national policies to cover regional and international issues more efficiently. Social capital alone can provide efficiency and improve not only local govt but also national institution's efficiency. Social capital is positively contributing to the economic

stability and growth. Moreover, this will help the Pakistani govt to make more inclusive policies which could benefit all citizens. This research provided an insight on how social capital can influence governance networks in the context of Sikh community.

2.4.7. Locale:

The locale for this study was Peshawar and in Peshawar following areas were selected

- Namak Mandi (Bhai Joga Shah Mohallah)
- Firdous
- Faqirabad
- Saddar
- Town

2.4.8 Ethical Considerations:

The consent from all the respondents was taken. The identity of respondents who wanted was kept secret along with data protection. Rapport building was a difficult task but was achieved through community leaders and other minority leaders. As the respondents of this research were minorities, special care regarding accessing them was taken to not compromise their trust.

Chapter 3: Review of Literature

3.1. Social Capital

Social networks, norms, trust, reciprocity and civic engagement are the elements of social capital. In past the economic theories and its models ignored the socio-cultural contributions in economy and still are reluctant. This led to the inequality and more complexities in development process. Social factors are determinants of economic activity. Social value system is important and without it, development is not complete. After the classical concept's economics and capital, the human capital concept was introduced in 1960. Human capital paid attention to the quality and knowledge of laborers. Later it was realized that social values also play a very crucial role in development. The rising realizations of interconnected links between social values and development created the development economics and institutional economics. The concept of social capital is still in its infancy and faces many problems like measurement and unanimous definition, lack of indicators to development and lack of practicality (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

For Fukuyama social capital is the interaction between two or more individuals with the existence of reciprocity. Trust, networks and civil society are secondary and are result of interaction between two or more individuals (Fukuyama, 2001).

Bourdieu define social capital in a different way. He described the society with the help of his theory. Habitus, Field and Capital. Fields are the places, spaces or markets where people or agents and institution compete to attain certain capital. Habitus are the past experiences, priorities and tasted of different people or agents. Doxa is the rule which keeps people in the field. This process is called 'Cultural Capital' (Ray, 2007).

According to him:

Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

(Bourdieu, in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119)

According to Coleman social capital is closure or interactions happening between individuals. Where human and financial capital help builds social capital (Coleman, 1988).

Like Bourdieu, social capital is defined by Coleman as a collective resource which is utilizable by actors who are goal oriented (Tzanakis, 2013). Alejandro Portes in Ravanera and Rajulton (2010) describes social capital as the capacity to secure benefits in network through membership and other social structure.

3.1.1. Debate on Capital:

Let's go to the historical and theoretical foundation of the capital. Resources are converted into investment and then are processed for market to be sold. Bourdieu refers to such processes as "Transubstantiation". As the word capital and investment comes into play then not visiting the Marx's world will be not a justice. Marx talks about social classes and describes the exploitative nature of capitalists and the control of capital in one elite class of capitalist. The capital is circulated among the capitalist and is not transferred to laborers.

The figure 1 illustrated the Marx view of how gain or surplus value is received.

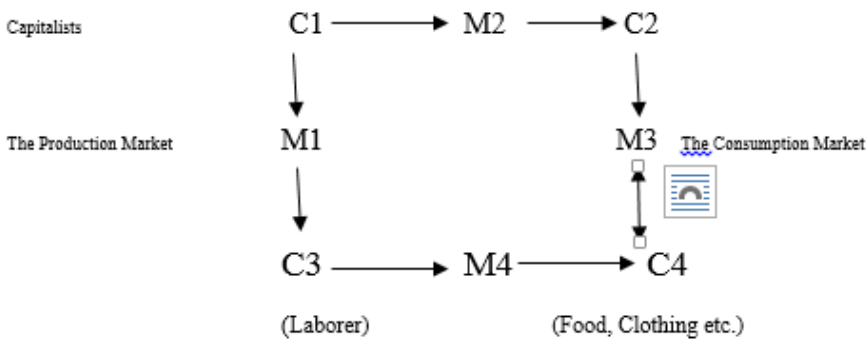


Figure 1.0

Commodity 1 or C1 is the outcome of production process. M1 is the wages or price of labor produced by laborer represented by C3. The product is then moved to the trade market represented by M2. The other capitalist working as middlemen takes the product and introduces it to the

consumption market represented by M3. After it reaches the shelf of shops then it turns into C4 with new price. The C3 or laborer then pays the amount he earned and his M1 is equal to M4. The amount paid to the laborer in the production of the product is equal to the market price of the product thus leaving the worker with no gain or loss. This is how the capital is used to gain surplus value and circulated in certain hands.

According to Marx workers or laborers cannot hold capital. This is macro view of capital and shows the structural effects on individual life. How one's life can be affected through structural constraints in taking decisions or choices.

This view changes after Shultz and Johnsons strike their theory and shift focus from macro to micro. This represents the inspiration from Adam Smith. Johnson, Becker and Shultz term this shift as Human Capital. The capital has shifted to labor because he/she has certain skills and knowledge which gives the labor edge over other laborers. He then bargains with the capitalist for a higher price and this certainly doesn't leave him with a tie. He can now get to spend money not only on survival products but also on luxury and can have savings. The capital can now be obtained by the normal worker thus Marx view is rejected. The laborer can now move into other classes and removes the class distinction.

Another form of capital called cultural capital also requires attention here. The recent scholarship and specially Bourdieu cannot be ignored in this regard. Bourdieu refers to culture as symbols and meanings enforce by dominant class through education. This then is internalized by the next generation and reproduced. He calls this internalized value as "misrecognized" culture. This whole process is done through Symbolic violence. This whole process collectively is called Habitus. Bourdieu also calls this misrecognized culture Legitimize knowledge.

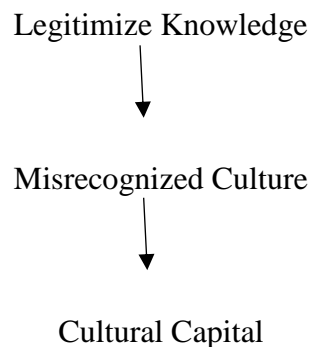


Fig. 2.0

This remind us of the “Invisible Hand”. The Hand is structurally affecting our habitus and with this polluted habitus we then struggle for resources and gain capital in the Field. Although Bourdieu rejected that his writings are inspired from Marx, but his writing does indicate the controversy of elite class or capitalists. The author calls this shift from macro to micro as Neo Capital theories (Lin, 2001).

Social capital draws its argument from the neo capitalist theories. Neo capitalist theories recognizes the intangible elements like Human Capital (knowledge, skills) and uses the same basis for its inclusion of capital metaphor.

Some argue that it has more broad range and should be termed “Social Resource”. Many base their arguments on the fact that social capital is not what people owns and it’s what people do. Another argument is that social capital is the byproduct of altruism and therefore cannot be measured. Some of the key points are

- Social capital cannot be sold
- Cannot be owned by individuals
- Cannot be traded in the market

But its role in the economic growth is recognized. On the defensive side of social capital according to other authors it qualifies as capital if it makes individual more productive and its outcomes are by nature capitalist. The structural and cognitive forms of social capital hold the qualities of capital as they require time and effort as an investment not money. In production function capital is used and for the sake of efficiency social capital reduces the cost of transaction. Social capital is highly important for modern economy as it reduces transaction costs and other formal procedures in conducting business. The existence of trust among member of society or group prevents from signing long and costly insurances and other agreements (Fukuyama, 2001). Proper investment in social capital can grant competitive edge to its members, thus creating positive externalities.

Some argues that social capital lacks opportunity cost. To respond to this argument, one can say that people do take extra care and calculations in joining clubs, doing favors and maintaining relationships with people who will be beneficial for them in future. The author also points to the properties of social capital namely storability and transformability and these two properties are the

commonalities between social capital and other capital. It can be accessed by both rich and poor and accumulated. It transforms individual's wealth into material and is accessible to rich and poor.

Social capital can provide us right information and help us get a better job thus changing our lifestyle and status. An enormous amount of research is done on the relationship between economy and social networks. As Putnam states that economic performance is better in well-connected societies than societies with weaker ties. This section compares the labor market and company's performance.

Gary Becker put the social capital in more individualistic model which was later adopted by World Bank. In 70's, employability was related to schooling and qualification but with strong family ties and social network it proved to be a resource for recruitment. A study by Thomas Korpi on unemployed Swedes found that social ties or networks had considerable effect on one's likelihood in getting employed. Zhao (2002) found a positive relation between social networks and employability among laid off Chinese employees. In Spain people with weak social ties turned to public agency for employment (Field, 2003). Although it is different from other forms of capital at some points, but it can still be included in production function.

3.1.2. Types of Social Capital:

a) Structural and Cognitive Social Capital:

Structural social capital deals with the institutions, clubs, and associations while cognitive is shared beliefs, norms and values. The interactions between them benefits both and establish cooperation.

b) Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital:

Bonding takes place between close family group with identical background or positions. Like close friendship groups, family, race, gender etc. Bonding creates self-help or voluntary community organizations. Bonding is inward looking group. While bridging is interaction with people outside bonding. It is heterogeneous and includes members from diverse backgrounds. It helps community to get organized and work for collective goal. Linking social capital is outside bonding and bridging. It helps groups to connect with individuals or institutions with completely different characteristics or positions like state etc.

c) Strong and Weak ties:

Strong ties exist with families and close groups. Weak ties are loosely held relationships with people from different backgrounds. Strong ties establish strong affection for other members and promote cooperation. Weak ties help us to get information and connect with people of different backgrounds with a broad range of resources.

d) *Horizontal and Vertical Ties:*

Horizontal networks are the networks among people with same power and backgrounds. It operates on norms, values and beliefs. While vertical ties are from top to bottom approach connecting people with unequal power distribution like leaders and administrators (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Three names come to surface when we talk about social capital. Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam and James S. Coleman. We will visit these scholars one by one.

Bourdieu: Ray (2007) takes us to the journey of Bourdieu's world and tries to explain his theory of practice in his book "Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy".

Bourdieu was brought up in a socialist environment surrounded by anarchists. This led to his discomfort with religion and interest in philosophy. He was born on 1st August 1930 in Denguin, a tiny and remote village in Southwest France. His mother was a religious person and her imposition of religious duties on Bourdieu annoyed him of religious obligations and religion. The bloody history of religious wars in France and its long-lasting effects on France also played an influential role on his hatred towards religion.

Bourdieu started off as a philosopher. The shift from Philosophy to sociology came after he participated in the Algerian War. Here he witnessed the drastic effects of war and colonialism. He stayed there until the end of war, started teaching and published a paper along with his Algerian student. In 1980 he engaged himself in political activities. Authoritarian in nature he also established research institute. He was mostly inspired by Levi Strauss, Max Weber, Sartre and Emile Durkheim.

Bourdieu used religious terminologies to describe the society. The practice in his 'Theory of Practice' carries the meaning of actions which collectively describes people or society. He described the society with the help of his theory. Habitus, Field and Capital. Fields are the places, spaces or markets where people or agents and institutions compete to attain certain capital. Habitus

are the past experiences, priorities and tastes of different people or agents. Doxa is the rule which keeps people in the field.

Bourdieu talks about the 'Generative Structuralism'. Bourdieu was interested to know how these power structures are reproduced and are then internalized by the units of society. According to him the structures of society are accepted by the members, internalized and then are regenerated.

Bothered by the inequality and witnessing the tragedies of war Bourdieu shaped his social capital theory on the social hierarchy and its control in the hands of elite class. According to him economic capital was at the root along with other capital produced inequality (Field, 2003).

Field: Fields are the spaces or markets where people and institutions compete to attain certain positions or capital. The capital could be social, cultural or symbolic. In competition different strategies are formed, these strategies are not rational but are historical. They are relative to the habitus. Within fields the transformation of capital also occurs which is called 'Transubstantiation'. This transformation is one step closer to gaining power and influence in the group or society.

Habitus: Habitus and Field are relational. Field structures the Habitus and in return the people or agents make field meaningful. This leads to the accepting and internalizing the meaningfulness of fields. To make the struggle in the field meaningful. But why does one need purpose of meaning out of field? To answer this question let's shift our attention to class or group. Class with some conditions of existence will give same habitus to its members. Bourdieu calls it 'homogenizing of groups or class habitus. These classes have same socio-economic values and share same habitus. This leads to the formation of class identity which is key to forming the habitus. But how the class differences take place then? Let's explore this in Capital.

Capital: Resources distributed in social body which have an exchange value in one or more markets in fields. Economy of Salvation influenced Bourdieu in understanding and explaining the Capital. Where Church wants to control the supply and production leading to the formation of symbolic capital. According to Field (2003) Bourdieu viewed capital as the product of accumulated labor. According to him connections require work and strengthening. These strengthening needs investment for future profits. This can be done by gift exchange and this thus

becomes solid investment. The author claims that Bourdieu theory seems to be ill suited for today's modern world. He did not mention the embezzlement in social capital

Symbolic capital is the tool or instrument to domination and reproduction of this domination. Material and symbolic capital are relational and have a symbiotic relationship. In groups when agents or institutions gains material capital they then also get social capital which helps them to get to the powerful positions. There they play with Doxa and let the other people believe or change the habitus.

There are three stages of theory

- Analyze the position of field and its power
- Objective structure of agents and institutions competing for power.
- Habitus of agents

Bourdieu looks at the power or use of violence indirectly and calls it symbolic violence. This violence is about the distinctions which is created after the control of capital, not only material but also non-material (Social and cultural). According to him all the social values are the tools of domination.

James S. Coleman: Coleman introduced social theory by linking it with social structures and individuals. He based his theory with two theoretical arguments. One is from Rational and other is from sociological point of view. He combines these two intellectual thoughts and presents his own version of social capital. Coleman divides his capital theory into three forms

- Obligations and Expectations
- Information channels
- Social Norms.

Throughout this discussion Coleman is interested in the interaction or relation of economic institutions with social structures. He explores these ideas with the help of observing the effects of these institutions on individuals. Coleman used methodological individualism to explain and clarify his concepts. Along with it simplex and multiplex theories are also used.

Coleman claims that social capital is social structure and its effects on the action of individuals. Structure does not allow anyone to use resources and in that sense not everyone owns them. It is

gained from relationships (Lin, 2001). According to Coleman social capital is closure or interactions happening between individuals. Where human and financial capital help builds social capital. He also coins social capital as a resource just like other capitals. The term “credit slip” is used when people perform favor for other people and in return expect favors. So if one person had issued more credit slips then he own more social capital. Information channels are those actors who have information and provide them easily to you. The access to such informants is easy and is mostly free.

Coleman used two figures to illustrate his concept of social norms, structure and networks. Where he talked about intergenerational and within generation relations. He drew his findings from the 4000 samples he collected from different schools. The dropout rate among single parents, working parents (both) and nuclear family was high. The religious schools had low dropout rate as it was backed by a community. So, the parents had more time to spend with their children to groom and train them. Families that move frequently also showed high dropout rate (Coleman, 1988).

Robert Putnam: Author of the famous book ‘Bowling Alone’ was inspired from De Tocqueville who said that democratic nature of American society give rise to social capital. To him associational life was the foundation of social order.

According to Putnam the same society is crumbling. At first, he talked about the institutional rifts and mutual trust. He also talked about the resources built on loose ties like rotating credit. But he solely blamed television for the decline of social capital in American society.

For Putnam voluntary organizations and associations help to reproduce collective norms and values. As a result, it benefits the collective well-being of society (Lin, 2001). To him main component of social capital are networks and norms. For Fukuyama social capital comes from the interactions among individuals and is a byproduct of religion, shared values, historical experiences and traditions. Education can play an important role in expanding and increasing the social capital of people. Safer environments, rights, religion and globalization can contribute positively in generation of social capital (Fukuyama, 2001). He then introduced a distinction between two forms of social capital: Bonding and Bridging.

- Bonding takes place in homogeneous groups. They are based on groups with homogeny traits.

- Bridging bring people with diverse background.

Putnam based his opinion on data which was used entirely for different purpose. The data he examined and based his finding from were used for the behavioral and attitudinal changes. So, for Putnam families with two career individuals and urbanization are also cause of the problem in social capital.

Critics claims that he has weak foundations for his theory and used loose definitions of social capital. His concepts are termed vague and labelled for romanticizing communitarianism. He focused too much on individuals and ignored the institutional and political activities involved in social capital.

This whole debate on social capital helps us to draw the conclusion on that social capital lies in networks and relationships. But the absence of gender sensitivity is there. Feminists argue that Bourdieu in his theory did not paid attention to gender and stereotyped it. According to him male makes thing happens and have strong ties while women have weak ties with indirect or passive involvement (Field, 2003). These theories were tested in the field and are explained further.

3.2 Business Networks

Social networks are present and could be found easily in every developing country almost. The very first prominent role of a business community is to support business activity, and small number of communities dominating manufacturing and trade (Munshi, 2014).

The business communities in India have different approach to their organizational structure. To study them they have three main characteristics which make them Business community. Kinship, credit and territory. Without these elements a business community cannot be fully understood. Every community works differently in these three spheres and have different values. For example, the status of woman in the Waghri, Marwari and Bania is prominent contrary to other societies.

The credit system is not merely for return on money or to be more accumulative but it's more about control. The credit system is a shareholding tactic. For example, some lends money for inexpensive supply of grain and sell it dear in the market. This creates interdependency and some sort of control over market. If one individual set a shop or stall and later if it is successful then he

would invite his relatives, kins and support them in establishing shops. This slowly and gradually in long term creates a market and is own by a certain lineage or caste (Cadene & Vidal, 1997).

To understand business networks, we must shed some light on the indigenous model of business. Lachaier in Cadene and Vidal (1997) criticizes the alienation of worker in the factory and neglecting the social relations. The western model failed long time ago and now the westerners are seeking knowledge and tactics from Japanese. Japanese have imbedded cultural and social relations in their organizations. By linking the Japanese and Indian indigenous business models, Lachaier used the term Merchant Lineage Firm instead of using the typical word of firm and company.

The Invisible, visible and non-invisible hands are discussed, and the theory of invisible hand surely brings Adam Smith to the spotlight. Lachaier is contrasting the two models and arguing that there is more cooperation than competition which is negating this theory. The market is regulated by the lineage or family codes. In these business communities there are no or rarely any salaried mangers and people have more chance of becoming entrepreneurs. The reason is every individual is supported by the community or family to establish their own business. The invisible hand theories are combined when the kinship comes to play in the market.

The essay written by Tarlo in Cadene and Vidal (1997) is criticizing the economic models of modern times while terming them formalist who think western economic models are universal. While the substantivist believes that these economic models are not universal. Keeping the latter theory in mind the author describes the growth and birth of business community of Vaghri in Gujrat. The western economic models which stands on the pillars of individuality, selfishness and profit oriented approaches have also created a reality which is governed by scarcity, law of demand and supply and personal satisfaction.

Moreover, the social influence and literature on Vaghri in the official gazette has created stereotype about the Vaghri community. The gazette is also confused in terming them as tribe or caste. They are called thieves and cheaters and this lead to the image which is still attach to them. The Vaghri community has been involved in many professions.

The Vaghri Community has set up their stalls in Law Garden. This community sets up their business after sundown and sit there till 11 pm. The stalls are of embroidery and this business has

given them a new identity. The pioneer of this small market and economy is the Dharamsingbhai. Most of the stalls there are related to him. Dharamsingbhai has his own inspirational story and holds a very high status in Vaghri community. Born in 1943 in a village near Ahmedabad called Dholera Bhandar left his village after the drought of 1957-8. At that time, he was already married. In the city Dharambhai ended up being driver. His new employer was exporter and he just developed his interest in embroidery so with the help of Dharambhai both started this new line. This gave Dharambhai the new knowledge and insights of market and how it functions. He then left his job and started this new embroidery business and upon discovering the importance of these items to urban elites and tourists he chose the spot of Law Garden. Slowly and gradually his other family members started to join. This helped them to create a new identity and business community. The product and location both gave them new identities and they emerged as a new business community. They now consider themselves well off from other Vaghri and considered themselves to be respectful. Women are equal shareholders in the business and transfer of business is to both men and women.

To talk about business networks run by specific communities with established strong networks the credit system is worth mentioning. Vidal in Cadene and Vidal (1997) talks about credit system of Sirohi district. The start of 19th century shows a high number of lending. Normally this shows that many people are in debt and creates a negative image in the mind of reader, but in India it is a sign of progress. Because the relationship between the borrower and lender is seen differently and not as a failure. It is a relation of cooperation and respect. The lender lend money to borrower and in return he claims a certain amount of yield. This is called the system of debt and yield. Although recovering the debt or ensuring that the borrower will provide the yield and the production of land also matters. For this purpose, the borrower also invests in the land to make it more productive. Jain community represent the 10 percent of the population and controls major economy. They have great knowledge of society, customs and consumptions. Socially they represent a mediocre approach in Indian society with respect to other two like Thakurs and lower castes. The author emphasis that western economic ideologies and methods cannot be applied to Indian society and thus needs a different approach. For example, every transaction of Jains involves different social factors. As most of the spending are on the religious festival and family events thus making the spending very irregular and not equitable to income.

Gregory (1997) talks about joint family businesses in Bastar District of India. He describes the meet up of mercantile and kinship and provides us with a base by first establishing the argument by considering “Territoriality as value”. He further describes characteristics of territoriality like Home, Endogamy and Specialization.

The biggest market share is held by Jains. They have simple diets but show their wealth by building temples and mansions. Their families mostly control the business and is transferred from one generation to another. There are three main businesses like clothing, grocery and ornaments.

The clothing business is mostly controlled by Jains or Marwari. They only give credit to other Jains and restrict it to their own community. The lower caste has no access to credit as they are not provided by Jains or big merchants. Credits sales holds a big proportion and if not taken carefully may result in bankruptcy. In big merchant families of Jains, the supply side is also maintained by them. For example, transport, tailoring and shops etc. They prefer sons over employees. The status of women in these elite families is in the kitchen and observe purdah. It is different from Muslim concept of Hijab. The Jains women also help the business men by raising their kids and providing meals to them or cooking them. This concentrated wealth provides less access to credit and creates barrier to entry in the market. The mercantile capital combine with kinship creates a perfect duo to concentrate capital in one family.

The comparative study reveals that this joint family stock companies or communities are also mostly target of politics. Like Chinese in Southeast Asia and Jews in Europe. So, far the Bastar District is safe from such waves of hatred.

Babb (2004) talks about traders and their shifting castes and religion in his book Alchemies of Violence. Where traders identify themselves as non-violent, but they were not from the start or all trader did not have the non-violent view. The trader’s non-violence also helped to co-exist with Rajputs and making both parties to have mutual benefits. Rajput shows generosity and valor. Traders are non-violent and depend on calculations. They were cowards and this stereotype still exists, but some lineages were exceptions.

After independence the old rules of Rajput was amalgamated with modern state and thus the Rajput old order fell apart. The social and cultural system faced new challenges. The land reforms further intensified the division. Rajput now are in military and police departments. They failed to find

proper economic base. They do not perform farming nor like their women to be in the fields. The Rajput performs badly in business and the general stereotype is their temper and loose hand on money or savings. But despite these stereotypes Rajput have successfully entered tourism business. Their non-vegetarian diet helped them to be comfortable with tourists.

The identity of culture is politically used. Rajasthan is termed a true home for Rajput values. Bhartiya Janta Party used this image.

The post-independence atmosphere proved favorable for traders. The basic role is still same, but the characters are changed. Traders provide financial support to candidates and receive protection and draws power from them. As we have seen in the previous chapters the way they dealt with Rajput.

Things started to change when ‘The Rajasthan Animals and Birds sacrifice (Prohibition) bill 1995 passed. The sacrifice was now banned in public spaces like temple. The anti-sacrifice is not just anti Muslim. It was a bill promoted by Jains, traders and vegetarian population. The vegetarian politics goes for protection. This gave the trader community a new shift in identity and power. The identities are changing and so are the social fabrics of society.

3.3 Kinship

The word kinship normally implies a binary and biological relation. You are either kin or not. But the evolutionary aspect of human biology with culture made the concept complicated. Kinship has a relationship with sexual behaviors and their social implications. There is biological father and then there is social father. This interaction among the community about kinship makes it more complex. There are many sides to kinship in anthropology involving psychological, cultural and cognitive. Henry Morgan was the first to classify kinship groups and published an extensive research work in the form of book titled “System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family”. This book provided basic for the study of kinship and its complex applications in different societies. Morgan categorized the progress and evolution of human civilization into nine parts with 3 steps with in.

Sahlins (2011) calls kinship ‘mutuality of being’. Where everyone is connected to each other intrinsically. There are three main approaches to kinship including the evolutionary, culture or symbolism and cognitive. Cognitive approach is new and is stemmed from cognitive science.

Evolutionist say that humans have emotional machinery which creates relatedness or closeness to kin while culturalist say that due to cultural values these relationships are different across the globe. Evolutionist could be right in close kins and culturalist for distant relatives (Jones, 2018).

For our study we would use the culturist or symbolism approach. This would help us to study the Sikh minority's culture, values and their kinship system. As the Sikh religion is open to every culture and with time have evolved and accepted many foreign ideas into its cultural context (Caste system), this approach will help us see clearly the Sikh realm in Peshawar. The question here arises that how a religion can, known for its equality and rejection of caste can have caste system. Let's have a look at Sikh religion.

3.4 Sikhism:

Sikhism believes in the oneness of God, who is formless and has no gender. This differentiates them from other religions like Hinduism and other idol worshipping religions. God in Sikhism is present in the holy scriptures (Guru Granth Sahib). God is present in all of Sikhs (Panth, Khalsa, Khalsa Panth) (Pettigrew, 1987).

The founder of Sikhism was *Guru Nanak* and there are 10 gurus in Sikhism who are followed. Sikhism has a different view on peace and oppression. Sikh believes that peace can be attained if the community is left in peace and there is no oppression from state. However, if the state oppresses and intervene in the affairs of Sikhs it is the duty of Sikhs to defend and fight for their rights. That's a strong connection with martyrdom from Shi'te Islamic school of thought can be witnessed.

The constant repetition of God's name through repetition of his name makes it resemble to the Sufism element of *dhikr*.

3.4.1. Caste system in Sikh or Not:

Sikhism does not believe in caste system and rejects the notion of caste system and instructs to treat to all human equally. Guru Nanak the first Guru of Sikhism categorically rejected the caste system. One of his famously quoted 'sabad' is: *Fakar jati phakar nau, Sabhana jia ika chau* (Caste is worthless and worthless an exalted name; For whole mankind there is one single refuge).

The rejection of caste from Guru Nanak represents the conception of equality. This impact can be witnessed through the institutions and practice of *Sangat* and *Langar* meaning equality in religious

gatherings and eating food together. There are ten gurus in Sikhism and interestingly all are from Khatri families. The influence of Khatri family can be seen in the early stages of Sikhism. All of the guru's sons and daughters were married in Khatri families. But it was not expected of followers to follow the same path. They were considered equal in all matters and no one was to require change or leave his caste belonging. There is till now no evidence suggesting that outcastes remained outcaste after joining the panth (Puri, 2003).

According to Puri (2003) the equation of caste was altered during the time of sixth Guru when jats entered the panth. Jats were the rural elite who dominated the rural Punjab. According to 1881 British census out of 1,706,909 who returned themselves as Sikhs, 63 percent were jats. A study by Sing (1958) in Indian village Daleke revealed that jats were higher in status than any other villagers as they had land and worked in Army.

The caste system of Sikhism is somehow identical to Hindu caste system and comparing the Brahmin who have high status in Indian caste hierarchy, Jats holds the same status as Brahmin in Sikh and Dalit or untouchable caste is still common in Sikhism (Puri, 2003).

According to Singh (1958) the Sikh in the village of Daleke had following caste system.

Jats: Mainly owns land and have high status parallel to Brahmins.

Kambohs: They are agriculturist but are lower in status from Jats. They are experts in tilling lands and getting maximum output from the land.

Tarkhans: Tarkhans are carpenters and they repair or make ploughs, sickles and wooden parts required for agriculture. Tarkhan is paid in kind of grain and in some areas, they have certain shares in crop. They are also paid in wages for any extra work.

Kumhar: They are mostly earthen pot makers. Later, they engaged themselves with trade where they would put the grain on their donkey and bring it to market and sell it. They had good selling and buying skills and farmers would rely on them.

Mehras: The Mehras were water carriers and were called Mashqee in Pakistan. Their job was to carry water and management of water in fields.

Cimbas: Traditionally washer men but later they learned the skill of embroidery.

Nais: Barbers by profession but they had other professions too like cooking food in ceremonies.

Mazhbis: They were considered the lower caste and were sweepers. They were employed by British in army and turned out to be good soldiers. Normally they worked as laborers or wage workers.

Most of these castes were not just limited to Sikhs. They were found in Muslims and Hindus. The influence of Hinduism and its caste system is still prevalent in Sikhism. Although Sikhism rejects such notions, but the cultural bonds are still very tight.

To better understand the social organizations and their business networks we will apply Alliance theory to understand their social fabrics and processes. Before we move to the alliance theory we have established that we will conduct our study on Sikh minorities living in Pakistan. Since Pakistan is Muslim majority country and Sikh are being declared minority officially this leads to the question of their safety and how they survive in such a state in this modern era. For this to understand, the notion of freedom and rights comes to our mind. In this case let's shed some light on social contract.

3.5 Alliance Theory:

The origin of this theory could be traced back to Levi Strauss book titled “Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949)”. It is also known as general theory of exchanges and is based on structuralist school of thought opposed to functionalist theory. It sees society as a structure and interaction of individuals in a society or group.

Social structures in this theory look for not only conscious structure but unconscious and linguistic structures too. As a structuralist Levi Strauss came up with an idea of creating a model which could fit the social structures. Which could address the triadism in dualism. To represent society as a structure and put the pieces of puzzle together Strauss came up with three models to represent marriage, religion and social relations in it. The problem is not every village layout, religious representation or marriage relations are same (Buchler & Selby, 1968).

Marriages in the alliance theory are form of communication and alliances. Alliance theory helps us to understand the interaction between individuals or what makes a society.

3.6 Conceptual Framework:

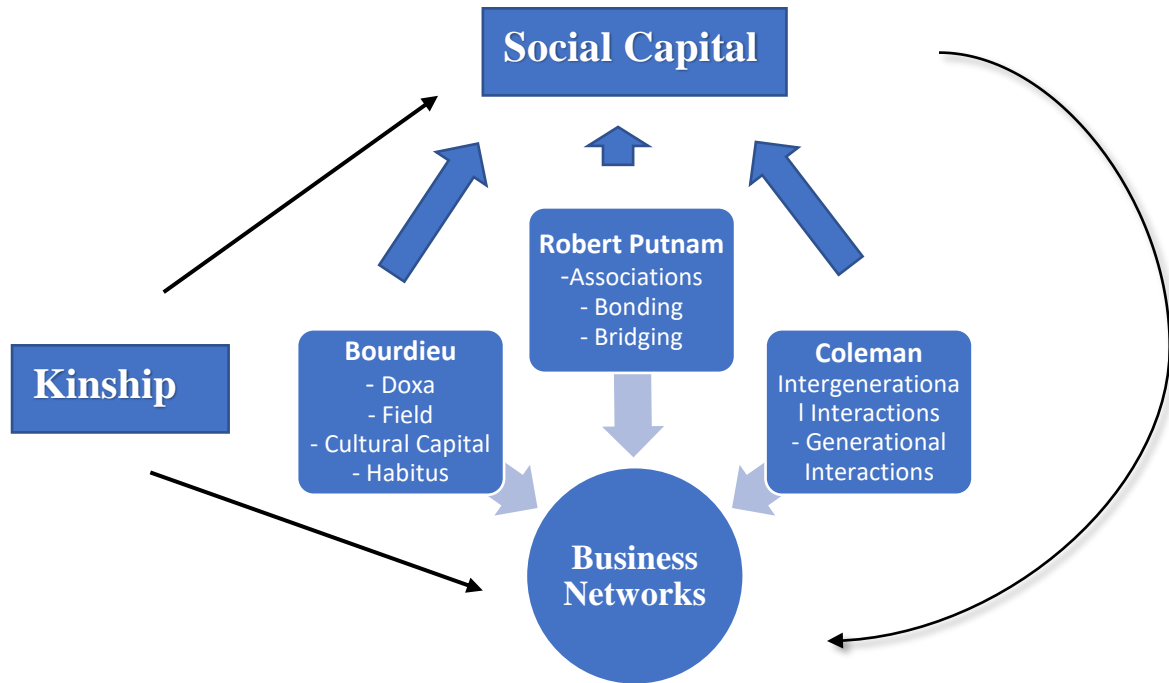


Fig 3.0

To find out the role of Kinship in Social capital and in expansion of business networks it seems that the cycle never ends. There is no end and every theme have relation with one another.

Kinship generates social capital as there is trust and reciprocity involved and are bind by the relation of kinship. Kinship also helps to establish and support business networks of family. There is evidence which supports such claims. Referrals are best examples where mostly close kins are referred on jobs.

Business Networks along with kin are then accompanied by ethnicity. Ethnic values, tradition and affiliations plays a vital role in establishing business networks. Ethnicity is directly affected by social capital as ethnic values reproduce trust and creates associations and organization and most importantly identity politics is then involved in nation states.

Social capital is a contested theory and terminology. There are many view and critics on the topic on its definition and even application and use. Three names cannot be ignored when it comes to social capital. Bourdieu, Coleman and Robert Putnam are the one who established and created waves which floated the idea of social capital.

Bourdieu introduced social capital in the context of education. He introduced and used religious terminologies to explain his idea. His writings draw influence from Karl Marx and he introduced and saw social capital through the lens of class. Where social capital is reinforced and legitimized through education. He explained social capital through some terminologies like Doxa, field, Habitus, symbolic and cultural capital. Let's discuss them one by one.

Field is the battleground or market where people compete and deploy different strategies. This is where capital is transformed and then used for different individual and institutional purposes. In field not only, individuals compete but also institutions and organizations compete.

Habitus is the experience or skills a person or any organization brings with them in the field. The habitus and field have two-way relation with each other. The field shapes the habitus and is thus internalized by people or actors.

The capital gives power to agents and can then be utilized to regenerate the process or use it for personal gains and to exercise power.

James S. Coleman came up with theory for social capital and saw it as an interaction of individual and different institutions. These institutions were government organization or financial institutions which shaped the social capital. For him the interaction between these two nodes is social capital. Coleman terms social capital another form of capital. Where people invest and expect favors in return. There are also information channels and information is mostly free and accessible.

One of the famous author and sociologist of modern era on social capital is Robert Putnam. Robert Putnam got his fame from his remarkable book called "Bowling Alone". Putnam used the example of bowling alone to show the isolation of American society. According to him social capital lies in association. For him voluntary organization and associations are sign of healthy society which have high social capital. He introduced the concept of bonding where people with same background interact and bridging where people with diverse backgrounds interact.

All these three theories connect and contribute in expansion and establishment of business networks. As our study is on Sikh community which is a minority in Pakistan and our location will be Peshawar where different security and social situations prevail. These three theories will help us to look at these minorities from class struggle and oppression to capital access and associations.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.1 Business Networks in Peshawar:

Throughout Asia network of informal relationship occupy business activities. These networks have exchange of favors within their network which ease up business for them in the network. There is no written formality for these favors or exchanges but the relationship among individuals is highly formalized and could be called Norms (Kali, 1999). Recent literature on organizational behavior from empirical studies suggests that these networks are formed due to the lack of institutional support (Boisot, Child, Xin and Pearce, 1996 in Kali 1999).

As we have talked about extensively in literature review about business network which could give you an idea about it. Now, what and how these networks work in the political, cultural and economical context of Peshawar? To answer these questions Sikh community in Peshawar who are in business and representatives were interviewed. This business community have different geographical, cultural and religious aspects. Peshawar is capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Peshawar have its own historical significance. This city has been ruled by many including Sikh King called Ranjeet Singh. As Sikhs have Punjabi origin and their religious text is Punjabi, the question arises that how can they be living in a Pashtun dominated areas? How can they speak and look so tribal and Pashtun in their culture and language? There are many questions, these questions have been categorized and addressed in the form of different themes and sub themes. The word Business Network and Business community will be used interchangeably in the research. The reason is most of the Sikhs who belong to Tribal belt are Businessman and that's how they are being perceived. Three major topics will be discussed here, Kinship, Social Capital and Business Networks. There are sub themes which would help us understand it more clearly. Before that, a glimpse into the history of Sikhs and their socio-economic and cultural side is discussed.

The interviews were taken from Sikh of Tribal Areas and from those who were living in Peshawar. It should be mention here that recently some of the Sikh community members were targeted and killed. This led to waves of fear among the Sikh community in KP. Interestingly this fear was different for different Sikhs. I have addressed this in a sub theme. Sikhs who were interviewed are mostly from Mobile businesses. The security situation made it difficult for me to interview them as most of them were not ready to let me interview them due to high security risks. Sikhs initially were famous for their medical expertise and were addressed as *Hakeem*, a local name for doctor who cure through herbal medicines. Now they are mostly found in Clothing, Cosmetics, Hikmah and cell phone businesses. The clothing business is now suffering because of the ban on border trade. Now they are mostly in cosmetic business and Mobile Phones.

Before we move to the main themes, lets have a look at the Sikhs and their history in Peshawar.

4.1.2. Sikh History:

Sikh history can be divided into two parts. First would be the history of Sikhs and Mughal. Second would be the history of Sikhs in Peshawar about the Biba Singh and Bhai Jogan Shah.

During the field work respondents repeatedly narrated the conflict with Mughal Empires and the Sikh resistance. Sikh religion is not more than 500 years old. The founder Guru Nanak and then later many other Guru's played a vital part in keeping the Sikh legacy.

Guru Nanak was the founder of Sikh religion. Born in the year 1469 in Lahore combined the Islam and Hinduism to form Sikhism (Singh, 1977). The legacy of Sikh was descended in the form of Guru's. There have been ten Gurus. The last Guru was Guru Gobind Singh.

The word Sikh have two meanings. Two respondents answer differently. One said it means a Learner as Sikh in Punjabi or Urdu means and other said it means Lion. The word Sikh is derived Sanskrit word 'Shishya' which means 'Disciple'.



Fig. 4

A portrait of Guru Nanak, sometimes known as Sri Guru Nanak Dev and Baba Nanak

<https://www.bbc.com/timelines/zw2q7ty>.

The reason we are jumping to the Mughal era is during the field work most of my respondents initiated this topic and it seemed this memory of Sikh and Mughal wars have a great place in Sikh history. This gave the impression of their martial nature which is still there.

Mr. Balbeer Singh is vice principle of Sikh Religious school. This is a community school located in Bhai Jogan Shah, Peshawar. Bhai Jogan is famous for Sikh community presence and Bhai Joga Shah Gurdwara. This school is financed by community, here children learn musical instruments and music as their religious obligation. There are 200 kids in this school, and Rs. 300 is the fee. Total expense of the school is around 80-90 thousand and income is 30,000. Rest of the money is contributed by the funding members of our community who contribute around 60-70k. This is

mainly paid through Daswanth. This school was founded in 1990, and from that time it is running since 2018. They termed these schools as “Mazhabi School” Mazhabi in Urdu means religious. Mr. Balbeer is also a social activist and he shed some light on the current and historical fight of Sikhs. He says that Sikhs got their identity and martial nature from Guru Gobind Singh (The Last Guru). The following dialogue between me and the respondent took place:

“Yes, our 9 prophets always gave lesson of love and humanity. But why Guru Gobind Singh took the sword? In sub-continent Mughals started their brutality. In Kashmir there was Hindu population. I think it was Aurangzeb who was doing his brutal acts with them. He thought Kashmir is just like a paradise and he thought how Hindus can live there. Then he put a choice in front of them either accept Islam or get killed. Hindus in Kashmir were Brahmin and just like in Muslims there are Syeds. They are very strict about their religion and they would not convert. Aurangzeb then said that he should be brought 100 Kg of Jneo to him. Jneo is a thread wore by Hindus.

“What are the spellings of Jneo?”

Should I write it in Punjabi too for you?

Yes, please.

He ordered that you must kill this much Hindus. He killed thousand in one day. Fed up of this barbarism, the Pandits went to our 9th Prophet to give them a solution. Our 9th Prophet said to them, is this cruelty and barbarism needs a sacrifice. If you notice it was Hindus who came to our 9th Prophet for help. If this would happen with a Muslim, they would have done the same. If you want to convert someone or make him Muslim, you can do it by Love. So, our prophet told them that it needs a big sacrifice. At that time our tenth Prophet Guru Gobind Singh was just seven years old. His son stood and said that his father that no one can give a bigger sacrifice than you.

This is what Guru Gobind Singh said to his father. When our 9th Prophet heard this, he was very impressed by his son's words. He then said to Pandits that send a message to Aurangzeb that if he succeeded in converting me into Hindu then all the Hindus will agree to convert.

When Aurangzeb heard this, he was dancing as he thought he is just a one guy and I will give the state of Kashmir and he will be its King. All this bloodshed and expenses would stop. As you know killing someone also requires expense (laughs).

When he was summoned and presented before king the Aurangzeb offered him many things including state of Kashmir, Guru rejected all of them and told him that he is wrong on doing such brutalities. You should preach them with love and do not go on path on barbarism. I will not support you. Aurangzeb did not agree and captured and tortured him. Then in Chandni Chowk which is in Delhi he was decapitated. This is how he gave his life to stop the bloodshed. Then our last Prophet Guru Gobind Singh stood and took his sword and said that fighting against injustice is bravery. Mughals were weakening by Sikhs you can read that in history. Mughals had a very strong empire and they rule 700 years but when Guru Gobind Singh stood against him. Sikhs were low in numbers, Sikh were just 50,000 while Mughals army was 20 lacs. Our Sikhs would use to live in jungle. After Sikh when Afghan would come and kidnap beautiful girls and jewelry. You must have heard the name Abdali he would call India a Goldmine. Mughal came, then Afghan came to India and British because they saw something in India. Sikhs would raid them at midnight and as they were low in numbers and would release the girls who were kidnap and jewels would be then used to make the army strong of Sikhs for further attacks. The term 12 o clock was so famous that people would say 12 o clock of Sikhs. The term he struck the 12-o clock is expression which states that there should be resistance against injustice. Now people started to make fun of this expression and against Sikhs. If you notice Pathans are also brave nation. But why is he in

this condition now? In Afghanistan there are around 42 percent of Pathans, but it is ruled by Persians. In Pakistan population of Pathan is around 3 crores, in Baluchistan Pathan outnumber Baloch. Pathan use to rule the sub-continent but now he is victim of joke and even in Sikh. They both were undefeatable”.

Both Pathans and Sikhs innocence and reactiveness are being perceived as less intelligence. Both nations are now considered to be dumb because of their simplicity and are mostly target of jokes. The Syed's are from lineage from Muslim's last Prophet Muhammad. The reference of 50,000 Sikhs is about the Battle of Chamkaur. There are variations of Sikh defense forces ranging from 40 to 40,000 where enemy forces consist of Hill Rajas and Mughal are said to be around 1 million to 2 million. The Guru Gobind even openly challenged Aurangzeb the Mughal Emperor which he never accepted (Singh, 2008). The reason Sikhs defeated or incurred high losses to Mughal armies was Sikhs have their own martial arts. They are taught music, martial arts and swordsmanship from childhood as religious obligation. The religious language of Sikh is Punjabi. They learn and write Punjabi in Gurmukhi Style rather than with Arabic font style use in Pakistan.

In Peshawar there are two famous Gurdwaras of Sikhs, although one of my respondents claimed there are more than three hundred in Pakistan. The famous two are Bhai Jogan Shah and Biba Singh. Bhai Jogan Shah is the main and center of their most social and religious activities. Biba Singh was closed due to some conflicts and was recently opened for public. Right now, there is some renovation going on. The following is the discussion took place between me and respondent:

“Tell me what was the history of Bhai Jogan Shah Gurdwara?”

I am not well versed in its history, you can research on it further, but it is being said that five Sikhs came there. I just remember names of 3 Sikhs. One is Joga Singh, Biba Singh and one is Baba

Guru Bakhsh Singh. There is Gurdwara of Baba Joga Singh and Biba Singh but Guru Bakhsh Singh whereabouts are not known but was burnt.



Fig. 5

Bhai Joga Singh Gurdwara

Picture Courtesy: @savehistoricalplacesofPakistan

So, Baba Guru Bakhsh was martyred?

According to history that Biba Singh came here for preaching to Sikhs. Bhai Joga Singh with other made a place in Anandpur. Anandpur is a city. Bhai Joga visited his parents there. Historically in Anandpur a great battle took place². Write this down, there were 1 million Mughals against 40 Sikhs. And how did the battle take place? There was a Wazir Khan. He was minister of Sarhando. Nowadays it is known as Fateh Garh. In Fateh Garh two sons of our Guru were Bricked up alive. One was 7 years old other was 8 years old. One was suffocated to death and other died slowly around 12 min. This happened during Aurangzeb era. It happened in Anandpur during Aurangzeb era. Now, who is Bhai Jogan Singh. Bhai Joga Singh went to Anandpur for Guru Darshan (To see

or sight him). He stayed there by dedicating himself to Guru. His parents sent him a chitti (Letter), back then it was called by this name and it said that come back to us we want to get you married. He then asked for permission to leave from his Guru. The Guru said you can go but when I need you, you must leave everything and come to me. He said Sat Bachan (means OK or understood) and left.

The last day of wedding ceremony in our wedding is a tradition called Lava. Anand Karaj Lavaan. We call wedding Anand Karaj. Lava is a custom. Four circles are done around Guru Granth. When Jogan was taking the third round he received a letter. Guru of Jogan sent a guy and said to him that when Jogan is taking the third round give him this letter. So, at the time of third circle the person gave him the letter and said Guru is calling you. He left the lavaan and wedding and went to Guru. There is a history saying ‘apny siwa kia phera’. Jogan was distracted once and was about to commit a sin and at that moment his Guru appeared to him. And appeared as a guard on that door. Jogan Singh would go and find this guard⁴. Jogan upon seeing him every time got scared that there is a Sikh guard standing there and he will tell the Guru saib. In the morning Jogan went to Guru. Guru Saib is sitting there and is dozing due to sleepless night. People ask the Guru how this can be you are sleepless. He says ask Joga as Joga is back. Joga understood and realized the guy who was acting as a guard was Guru and fell on his feet to ask for forgiveness. This is the history of Bhai Jogan Shah on third Lavaa⁵. He went to Anandpur to meet Guru Gobind Singh, write this down.

The respondent here is summarizing the story again:

The guru when set out to see his Guru on horse. He took a stop in Hoshiyar Pur. Hoshiyar Pur is a place for Mujras (A classical dance presented to dignitaries or elites) and prostitute. So, when he tried to enter the house he would see this guard standing there in Sikh attire. So, he was scared

as this guard will tell the Guru sahib about my visit to the whorehouse. And when he visited Guru in the morning he was dozing again and again due to sleepless night. The people asked Guru, when there are 5 people sitting together we call it Sangat (Sangat mean intersection and means unity/togetherness).

Is it Sangat and Langar?

Langar is when people eat together in gurdwara and our Guru started it on Rs. 20. So they asked from Guru why are you sleepless. Its first time you are dozing because of sleep. He told them to ask from Jogan Singh. Jogan Singh realized it and there is a Panthi (Sentence) called “apny sewa ke ap py rakhe”.

Is it in Granth?

Yes, it's all there in Granth. Then Guru told him to go back to Peshawar and build a Gurdwara there and live there.

A question arises how come Sikhs who are of Punjabi origin speak fluently Pashto and can hardly be distinct from them. The next section deals with the origin and identities of Sikhs in Peshawar.

4.1.3. Tribal and City Sikhs:

I have classified Sikhs of Peshawar into two parts. As the heading suggests one are those who are living in Peshawar from long time and consider themselves residents of Peshawar or the local term is *Peshori*. The other are Sikhs from Tribal areas. These Sikhs lives in Tribal areas and came down to city of Peshawar after the terrorism hit the area. They not only brought Tribal culture with them but also the rigidness of it with them. They can be easily distinguished from Sikhs living in Peshawar. The line of Urban and Rural can be clearly seen once you interact with them.

There are many theories about Sikhs moving up to the Tribal areas. During the field work every respondent had a different theory about it. One is that after the demise of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh a progressive Sikh emperor of Punjab, the Sikhs went into the mountains for asylum and some say that they were converted.

Mr. Ashoni thinks that these tribal Sikhs may even had no idea about the unrest and chaos rose during the partition because they were living in Tribal belt and were protected by the Pashtun community. They are very rigid and keep things with themselves. The mentality and culture of rural makes it difficult to communicate and make them understand different matters. Mr. Ashoni even went on saying that they are being called Taliban because of their radical beliefs. Mr. Singh recalled an event about his Hakim friend to whom he referred some acquaintances for treatment and when they introduced themselves to the Hakim and told him who sent them the Hakim replied “Oh, that Hindu Ashoni”, the patients said how can he be Hindu, he is a Sikh, to this the Hakim said I call him Hindu because he does not wear turban and keeps beard.

Every Sikh wears Amrat Pan. It means purity. It is not obligatory but once initiated and completed then there are certain restrictions. There are five items which makes a person complete pious Sikh, *Kais* (Beard), *Kangha* (Comb), *Karha* (Bangle), *Kachera* (Underwear). Collectively they are mostly referred as five K's. Different Sikhs take different K's. Some keep beard and bangle, it varies.

One of the respondents even went on saying that city Sikhs are converted. He also shed some light on a recent Shamsan Ghat issue. Where the Hindu and Sikhs living in cantt area of Peshawar demanded the Shamsan Ghat to be made near a river. All the minority and religious affairs are foreseen by Auqaf and Ministry of Religious Affair. We will talk about them in coming sections. My respondent who was from Tribal Agency and their representative told them that their demands

are unjust and dramatic. Creating issues out of this will make problems for the country and project a bad image.

The Sikhs of Tribal areas have also adopted the culture of Pashtun. They talk like them and have many resemblances like talking, socializing and worldview. It was near to impossible to convince a Tribal Sikh for interview. While with Sikhs of city it was easy, and they would be surprised to know that I was having difficulty, or someone denied me interview. During my interview with one of the Tribal Sikhs, his colleagues in the shop jokingly said to me that I am extracting information from them, if I use intel instead of information then it may give reader a clear view of their fears. They mostly fear tax collectors or consider to be threat to their life as there have been some target killing. Tribal Sikhs are in business sector while city Sikhs are doing different government and private jobs. Most of the Tribal Sikhs are not well educated in western education but now things are changing. They have started their own school and are promoting education, but financial situation of most Tribal Sikhs is still not good as the shock of terrorism hit them hard economically.

Following is what said by representative of Tribal Sikh:

“We are not migrated, we lived in FATA before the partition. People of FATA who wanted a separate state with two nation theory. The difference between Sikh and people of FATA was that when British went there in 1921 and killed them Sikh were the only one who provided Wheat and maize to them. When in 1945 and 47 the Muslim Hindu riots took place the people of FATA told them if they want to leave you can and if you want to stay then we will protect you with our life. Then our elders decided to stay in Pakistan and the main reason was that Pakistan is seen by Muslims on their Kalma (initiation sentence for Muslims) and for us the religious language is Punjab and Pak means pure and Istan means land and this is the religious and pure land for us where our Guru Nanak was born and passed. And seventy percent of Sikhs heritage are in

Pakistan. and from that time, we are doing business like there was no money systems and barter system was used. Then Sikh community does the Hikmat work and works in herbal medicine. They used to give it for free in start. People would consult them regarding health issues. This was social work by our elders. Now they are in business and, they follow government rules and passed exams from Takht Bai, Shabqadar and Nothia college they complete four years degree and then from health care commission they register. Apart from that they are in tea business, clothing business and mobile business, cosmetic and medicine. The young generation now who are educated are going to police and media side and laboratory hospitals.

I provide legal services to them for free. To this day there are around 35-38,000 families who were there before 1901 in Khyber or Kurram Agency and have not any face problem”.

The life of city exposed them to new horizons, opportunities and challenges, where they must keep their community, religion and economics intact. While projecting their presence and identity as productive members of society.

4.1.4 Fear:

It was observed that many of the respondents faced bullying and discrimination especially in their childhood. This bullying was based on their religious affiliation and mostly attire. The Muslims students would bully them and sometimes disrespect their religion too. Even school teacher would sometimes say something disrespectful. Their parents advised them to stay silent and not confront bullies.

There is no awareness regarding interfaith harmony among kids. Our kids when go to government schools they are severely bullied. This leads child being out of school. Most of the Sikh community is not well off that's why they send their kids to public schools. The teachers in public schools

constantly makes effort and preach them to convert to Islam. They say this by telling them that they will get *Hoors* (A fairy figure awarded to Muslim men especially martyrs in Heaven). This preaching is for the bright kids of Sikh. Upon asking why Sikh kids are good in studies Mr. Singh replied that due to the community and environment Sikh kids are good in studies. They are hardworking and focused.

Here is response from a respondent about bullying:

“Did you face bullying?”

I have faced it but not that much. But my nephew who lived in Buner. People/Children would call him Hindu. This had him very confused as he thought that I have a name and I am not a Hindu. This was major issue for that child. Then we admitted him in ICMS Peshawar. In city there is low chance of bullying while on country side it is very common. Even they are asked to recite the Kalma (an Initiative sentence which declares one Muslim)”.

One of the young Sikh social activist said that he was very active and was raising voice for his community. After their elders were targeted, it divided the community. He was then being targeted for every step he would take for his community by many institutions and other state apparatuses. One time he raised an issue on Auqaf corruption and he suddenly started calls from their chairman and other threatening calls to back off. He is now not being allowed by his family and even the community does not let him take on the power elites. Following discussion took place between us:

“What do you think about recent killings?”

I could not raise voice for Charanjeet Singh. I knew there were big hands involved.

Do you think they were personal?

No, they were not. Like in Soran Singh case you can say that it was personal, because the culprits were released after two years. If he was not killed by them then who killed him? Then one can say he killed himself. The police department even got certificates and praise for capturing those culprits. If I raise my voice not my family but community also does not support. There is lack of democracy and freedom for us. We will simply lie then, on TV channels and everywhere that we are happy and we have no problems.

What was the impact of these recent killings on Sikh Community?

It suppressed our voices. Our expression is limited. I limited my activities. I cannot every time go against my family. Many people then migrate, they go abroad or migrate within Pakistan.

Did they migrate to India after these killings?

They leave. Many people go there. They leave Peshawar. They go to Nankana or Lahore or to India.

Why is that they are not safe in KP?

People who migrated there they don't go against. They will be against India and will openly express it. If there are even killings, they will blame it on India. Secondly the environment is very relatable. As Punjab is holy land for us and we can easily express over there openly. Interfaith harmony is there. Punjab is safe for us and it is biggest province, so we cannot be identified easily. Peshawar is very small, and we are small in numbers. Nankana Sab is a big district and there are many Sikhs.

Religions problems are in villages as there is no awareness. Interfaith harmony and diversity tours had helped a lot of youth to be acceptable of other religious ideas.

So, you think Punjab is good in terms of awareness regarding religious diversity?

Yes, and you can say that they are happy there or at least less bothered.

And security too?

Yes.

Other finding was that Sikhs in Peshawar change their appearances so that they are more acceptable in the society. This is not with the Tribal Sikh because they are very rigid and are not that much in the govt or private sector. here is what Mr. Singh has to say:

“Sikh kids when go to school wear the traditional attire?”

Let me clear you that when they go to school the teachers for example 5 years before were not good. Because no one took any action against them. Even I was bullied and teased even from teachers because no one acted. But now it's a different era because of awareness now we are free. We can roam freely. We go to school no one says anything to us and treat us like brothers. Because the teachers now understand that Sikhs have their own power. We had power before but did not knew how to use it. For example, today guys like Gurpal and Balbeer have come out and people now realized that Sikhs do have power. We do have value and Pakistan gives us importance. We did not understand the power before”.

Here the respondent is talking about the activism and legal battles Sikhs are having with the state. Some of the recent examples are the increase in their job quota, ban lift on use of helmet and Kartarpur Corridor. Sikhs are using the legal structure to get their just demands meet. The acceptance of Sikh community now has improved due to the work of NGO's and their interfaith harmony programs. Still there is much work needed for school children awareness. A respondent

told me that Sikh cannot open or operate any eatery business as people don't like to eat food from a Non-Muslim.

4.1.5. Auqaf:

Auqaf is an administrative department overseeing and maintain the properties of which are declared for charity. They oversee those properties which are Waqf (declared for charity) to government. Before the 18th amendment it was a federal institution and after that it is now with provinces, but Hajj chapter remains with federal govt. The Auqaf departments of all provinces filed a case for the control of Haj to their respective provinces.



Fig 6

A snapshot from Auqaf KP website, notice the only picture of Muslim worship place Khana Kaba with other Symbols of religion.

Welcome to Auqaf, Hajj, Religious & Minority Affairs Department Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Auqaf Department, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is an administrative Department under Schedule of the Government Rules of Business, 1985 headed by an administrative Secretary who also acts as Chief Administrator Auqaf, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It has the office of Administrator Auqaf as an autonomous body, normally headed by an officer from Provincial Service. Auqaf Administrator's office is a self-generating body (autonomous body) and meets its daily expenditure from its own revenue sources which include rents/lease amount received from Waqf Properties (both agricultural as well as commercial). The income received from these sources is utilized on repair/maintenance, construction of mosques, shrines under the management of Auqaf Department, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, salaries of the staff of Administrator Auqaf and other religious welfare and charitable purpose.

Fig 6.1

Auqaf has two components, one is hard and other is soft. The hard component includes acquisition of land, maintenance, renovation of colonies or residential places and religious places, graveyard or Shamshan Ghat and on soft side there is vocational trainings, scholarships and other moral support. The land acquisition for graveyard for minorities is responsibility of Auqaf. An Auqaf employee was interviewed and he in this first few minutes of interview points out following about minorities:

“The main problems are they further have different school of thoughts like if you see in Christianity they have protestants and Catholics and evangelic. They don’t have understanding among each other. As a Muslim people target us that we have a lot of sects. Hindus has Valmiki those Hindus which don’t burn and bury their dead bodies”.

I later discuss this situation with Sikh social activist and he said its not true as this was the Shamshan Ghat issue over river which have been already discussed. It was just one-time occasion and there is nothing like that.

The Evacuee Trust Board referred commonly as ETPB is a federal institution looking after the Religious sites and properties left by refugees during partition. An interesting point during our interview came, here we are talking about Sikhs as they are treated on priority basis because their demands are genuine. I will put the exact dialogue took between me and respondent:

“I will tell you about EVTb, as it’s a federal subject. All the provinces and their Auqaf department have filed a case as it should be given to provinces.

Who filed the case?

All the provincial states.

Oh, so its Provinces vs State?

Yes. The case is still going. We call it Hindu Auqaf.

Why do you call it Hindu Auqaf?

The properties of minorities are with this board. One is Muslim Auqaf and other is called Hindu Auqaf. Muslim Auqaf is one which is related with

Sorry to cut you, are these the properties which are during 1947?

Yes. Those which are donated. Let me tell you the land which is of government, there is a revenue department for it. These are those lands which were donated during partition. A Hindu was going for example and he had one thousand canal lands, so he thought it should be used for the Hindus who are living there. That's how the one is donated by British and Sikhs. It always happens during partition just like the Land which was left by Muslims during partition are with Waqf department In India. The EVTB is not in our control. Although we have framed rules for it and legislation for it and just autonomy is left. Basically, we call it Hindu Auqaf. The hindu properties will be under their supervision.

The word "Hindu Auqaf" is official language?

Yes

And other minorities also come under this?

I have not studied it as far as I have heard it's called Hindu Auqaf. Because when I receive a call and they say do you have Hindu Auqaf? So, they are calling all the minorities then.

So, they are put all in this one word?

Yes.

The word Hindu they use, do you saw it written?

Yes, it exists. In federal chapter you will see this very clearly. And conduct an interview with them.

Notice the word Hindu. In Pakistan if you are non-Muslim then you are considered Hindu, no matter what other religion you follow. It is used interchangeably with the word infidel and holds the same harsh meaning. This is due to the two-nation (Muslim and Hindu) theory, which was basis of Pakistan's creation and pillar of independence politics. It implies that there is no diversity within the institutions and awareness regarding the different cultural, social and religious settings these minorities holds. They are all put in one category and then dealt with which often creates problems and issues.

The Gurdwaras and all other religious sites comes under Auqaf and their officials are employed to take care of them. Due to lack of training and awareness the officials sometimes disrespect the religious space i.e smoking and wearing shoes. The Sikh community want that member from their community should be employed as he/she better know about the place and can run more effectively and respectfully. The Auqaf respondent said that they should come through merit and apply for jobs. Respondent said that since the creation of Pakistan 17,000 jobs have been carried forward since there were no minority candidates to apply. On the contrary in Auqaf on sweepers vacancy Christians are employed. Most of the sanitary jobs Christian community is employed. Even in govt ads it is explicitly written that Christians are preferred. These jobs are considered inferior contrary to other western countries. A question arises that then where is the youth? Where do they go? Do

they even graduate or go to school and college or pursue higher studies? Future research on this topic can reveal the answers. There is no minority member currently working in Auqaf KP chapter.

In year 2018 national census took place. Sikh community had strong opposition to it. The name of Sikh community was omitted and were put in the “Other” section. This was a major setback for them and they contested it hardly. Filed a case in court and then won it. When asked from Auqaf their response was it was mistake. A normal Pakistani citizen with enough political awareness would not agree to it keeping the Sikh political affiliation with the state of Pakistan in foreign affairs and policies kept in mind. I was discussing this topic with my co supervisor when one of top and most respected teacher and researcher sat with us. we were discussing the same topic and the teacher said that I raised the issue with them when they were designing the paper. To which they ignore it and went anyway.

Auqaf is providing scholarships to students and providing goods and assistance to educational institutes of minorities. The Auqaf once noticed the isolation of minority students in universities and notified the universities to organize interfaith harmony and make university spaces more diversified and acceptable. Due to isolated nature of these communities they are mostly not aware how they system works, that was the point of Auqaf. As per my observation the Sikh community is very active now and have been fighting legal battles with govt.

4.1.6. Kinship:

In the literature we have discussed this topic and extended it through Alliance theory. For the research Kinship and Alliance theory was kept in mind. Alliance theory implications could be easily witnessed in the political elite of Pakistan. But to quote from a personal experience one of our mutual friend sister was married off to a Thug. The reason was that the girl’s father was real

state dealer and he needed someone who could fend off people from different properties and occupy them illegally. Hiring such people was costly so he ended up giving his daughter to him and have a lifetime service. Political families make alliance through marriage and this have been done historically. For business networks whose basic ingredient is Kinship and Kinship is incomplete without marriage, this theory was complemented with it to find out any role of it. Before we go to Alliance theory and marriage let us explore Kinship and its role in business expansion.

Mr. Ashoni Singh started his business with the help of his father's pension. He was given the amount by his mother. He runs a computer shop in Gul Haji. He deals with computer and other related accessories. He started with a teaching job and later started his own college with a friend. His cousin was also partner with him in the first business he established. After his cousin left for Dubai he started his own college again. Later, as the Universities and colleges started to offer such Diplomas and for free the business went down, and he shifted to sale and services. Its been fourteen to fifteen years he is in the business since then.

As further I have categorized Sikhs in two parts, one is Tribal and other is City Sikhs, Ashoni falls in the City Sikh category. This will be discussed further in the research separately. The names of some respondents will be clearly mentioned, and some will be changed due to privacy and security issues.

For Ashoni he would support kin, relative or anyone from his community to support or assist them economically. When asked if he would hire people from his family or community he replied in the following manner:

“I will try if I could find someone from my family. But the technical person is not always from my community. There are Sikhs from Bara Agency or Educated people like us or are from lower, there is no saturation”

This means there is lack of technical skills in the community which could indicate the lack of education.

In his market there is another Sikh who is also doing business in the plaza. He is also in good relationship with him and they deal but Mr. Ashoni said that he would go the person who pay him a good price, he would prefer profit over kinship. If he is getting a lower price from a dealer who is non-Sikh, then he would go to him/her. This indicates the classical example of economic theory.

Mr. Ravi Singh who works in a shop where he has his own business of mobile software. He is the only Sikh member of Asia who have such expertise and his name can be seen in the GSM forum database. When asked what he thinks about the kinship and business his response was;

“The priority is that a businessman never keeps relative in his business”.

Mr. Ravi has a same opinion as Ashoni that he would hire or partner with person who has some experience in business and knows how it works. It can be anyone. His prefers friends over kins.

Mr. Ashoni and Ravi are related and Ashoni complained about bad business where Ravi offered him help and told him to join him in the business too. The reason was Ashoni is doing business and knows how it works.

One of the respondents who have a shop in Faqirabad and have been in cell phone business from seven years. He holds a shop in the market where one section is completely occupied by Sikhs. All of them owns a mobile business. He was reluctant and doubts about me interviewing him.

He started his business with the help of his sister's husband. He, and some kins and friends helped him in establishing it. His sister's husband also works in the same market. The investment for his business was provided by his kins. He prefers taking loan for business from both kins and friends. He is sure that they will support him if the need arises.

To understand more clearly the Sikhs cultural and geographical context should be kept in mind. Mr. Govender Singh who owns a Shop in Firdous City Center Plaza. Mr. Singh migrated from Bara Agency during the Talibanization era.

Bara Agency comes under the Tribal belt which is spread on Pak Afghan border. There are other areas which comes under Frontier Crimes Regulation law formulated by former British government and was still implemented until 2018. They were collectively called Federally Administrated Tribal Areas. After the British left its control was given to the Pakistani government and the government kept the law intact for strategic purposes. According to this law most of the constitution like basic Human Rights laws don't apply here. Due to no civil government structure and proper security structure the area was flooded with terrorist. It was also used as a base for Jihad back in 80's when America sponsored the Jihad movement to counter the Russian influence in Afghanistan. This drastically effected and altered the cultural and social life there. Terrorists from around the world were invited and trained. After the war they were left there unchecked and after 9/11 things started to get worse. The terrorists in those areas started to fight against the Pakistani government and it resulted in more than 70,000 deaths of Pakistani citizens.



Fig 7.0

A view of City Center plaza located on Ashraf Road, Firdous, Peshawar

As the area was swarming with terrorists the business went down and when they came to Peshawar they had nothing. His father then sold all the lands and divided the equally among his sons to start business. Govender worked in mobile field around two or three years with his brothers as apprentice and then started his own shop. His brothers have a shop in the same plaza and one of his nephews also works in the same plaza. He helped his nephew establish the business too.

The terrorism affected roughly 70 to 80 percent of people in Bara Agency according to Govender Singh. Earlier reports suggested that around 600,000 people were registered as Internally Displaced Persons from Bara (Dawn, 2015). Most of the families who came to Peshawar sold all

their properties. Some started their businesses, and some went into poverty. They were then being helped by the Daswanth Fund. Govender puts high dependency on his kins from getting a loan or seeking help to expand his business.

Apart from the terrorism factor economic factor cannot ignored. This economic factor involves kinship as Arinder Singh puts it like this when I asked the role of kinship in migration:

“Yes, it was, but another was the situation was not right. And as I told you how they migrate through kinship. One brother migrates then another and another. Now we have become poor as there are expenses and out of 100 seventy-five live in rented house while remaining lives in their own houses”.

One brother would migrate and when he is economically stable he will invite remaining family members. This pattern has been seen in expats and immigrants too.

Only one Sikh was member of the association. Although majority of the shops are owned by them. In the same market Govender’s cousin shop is located. It is in front of his shop. His name is Harcharan Singh. He used to work with Govender’s brother and then started his own business. His cousin who is Govender’s brother helped him financially to establish business. He has helped his friends to establish business and helped his relatives financially.



Fig 7.1

On Second last row one can clearly see the Samandar name, on right side in Urdu language the complete name is written which translates “Sardar Samandar Singh”

Mr. Jatinder Singh owns a Medicine shop in Ramdas located in inner city. Jatinder’s friends and father helped him establish business after he was bankrupt due to his political passion. Sikh community and its structure were described by him like this;

“Sikhs have upper hand when it comes to business or any other dealings. People trust them and are known for their commitment. Sikhs are taught by their religion and their community practices and preaches honesty and being good and fair in dealings. Guru’s saying that suffer a hunger but never have a loan on your head if you can pay it. Another reason is the Singh Sahiban or Pyary Panch. Any member who goes against the norms of the society puts a bad name to himself. Another reason is they provide discount to their customers. These are the five elder members who are selected all over the Pakistan. This council of five men is responsible for overseeing the community’s or minority’s affairs. Every conflict comes to their council where they solve it. Most of the cases are solved by this community and are stopped from going to police or any other legal

entity. These five men are selected based on their knowledge of religion and experience through a voting which does not require ballot paper. On religious occasions a candidate is selected, and announcement is made. If anyone who wishes to contest raised his willingness otherwise the person who have most hands raised in his favor is selected”.

Their community structure is very strong. This community structure helps them sustain their life socially, politically and economically. Its so strong that entry from outside is difficult. After recent events of target killing they limited their interaction with other communities. This led to lack of communication between government officials who are responsible for them like Auqaf Department and Ministry of Religious and Minority affairs. As they don't communicate with the other community and approach the govt officials directly, their request is denied mostly. The reason is most of these issues can be solved on basis of community interaction. They help and watch out for each other. But there is also an element of difference within the community which can be seen in the sub themes of Tribal Sikhs and City Sikhs.

4.1.7 Marriage:

Kinship is incomplete without marriage. Our Alliance Theory cannot be explained without the concept of marriage. Marriage in Pakistan where Islam is the major influence on political and social life have two different elements to it. One is the Islamic base of marriage and other is the cultural periphery. The question arises now that how marriage takes place for minority in Pakistan and specially in KP where Pashtun culture is dominant. On the legal side there is still lack of legislation on the minority marriage bill.

When a Muslim couple is married their marriage is officially legalized when they sign the Nikah papers. This paper includes some terms and conditions for the couple. After that, they then apply

for marriage certificate which is awarded from NADRA (National Database and Registration Authority) with the help of city council after verification. That certificate makes the marriage legal and Islamic. Court marriage is another option through which couple can marry with their own will. In constitution the Muslim Family law exists but the problem arises when there is no law for minorities according to their religious beliefs. Lack of family law creates legal problems for them. They cannot legalize their wedding or have a proof. This also creates problem for them to make ID cards specially woman whose ID card cannot be made without any male guardian. This led to different problems of will and property issues.

Mr. Gurpal Singh is a social activist and he described the situation like this:

“There is no such bill. In 2005, when you get married they would ask for your Nikkah Nama when you want to make id card of your wife. So as a Sikh and minority we don’t have Nikkah Nama as it is for Muslims. And we don’t have it, so we cannot legalize our marriage and our woman does not have id cards. So, in 2005 I told them that I am Pakistani and until no bill is passed the Gurdwara will issue marriage certificate and I have met the NADRA Chairman to accept it. I suggested five but now only certificate from Jogan Shah is accepted. This is temporary.

For example, if me and my wife fight on an issue and she goes to police station and after that the case is referred to court. Now, how will be this case handled? Will it be handled on Islamic clauses? Christian clauses or any other, as there is no bill, so the court cannot decide the punishment. We don’t have family law or marriage bill. The other issue is that if there is a government employee in Sikh and he wants to open an account in bank and next to kin who will maintain his account will be his wife but when he dies and the widow will be asked to bring death certificate and after that Nikkah Nama will be asked from her, but she won’t have it as there is no marriage bill and cannot manage the account or have any Will. Then we hire a lawyer who transfer this money to other accounts and it’s a mess.

The passage above can describe the problem at hand. Gurdwara is a place where they worship and do all their religious and social obligations and services. The Christian law is mentioned because the family laws that were made by Colonial British still exist. This loophole in the constitution have created many problems across Pakistan for minorities. Sindh is a province of Pakistan where Hindu minority is in high numbers. The Muslims would kidnap girls and even wives and forcefully marry them. when the case would go the court and court would ask for the victim to represent the marriage certificate as there is no family law and they cannot have one, now he cannot prove if she is his wife. The court cannot rely on just *Mangal Sootar or Sindoor*¹ The Sindh government did pass the marriage bill but still there has been no proper implementation. Punjab government also passed the bill, but lack of serious implementation exists.

A question arises how does marriage takes place in Sikh community? And how it is being done? The marriage ceremony starts and ends with *Akhand Path*. This is normally a three-day ceremony where the holy book *Granth* is recited. This recitation of holy book can be done on any religious or social gathering. With the recitation comes *Sangat* which literal meanings mean “to meet”, as the name tells it means that people gather and when they gather *Pangat* occurs where people are offered food.

Here is how the conversation took place between me and my respondent about marriage:

“How wedding takes place?”

Oh, it's a long story (Smiles)

Let me tell you in simple words. In Pashtun culture there is Valima and mehndi and other stuff. we also do it. if the wedding starts today then the holy book will also start. Akhand Panth.

It has 30 pages. If we start it in morning it ends in 48 hours. We give them Kirpan, a sword. And a give them cloth. It means that one side is of yours and other is of your wife. It symbolizes that you two will help each other. Sword is for protecting your wife. Then everything is just like Pashtun. Then early in the morning the bride and groom come, and the elders come and start teaching them. should I tell you what they tell them?

Yes.

*They instruct the groom that he will protect his wife. The parents of wife are just like your own parents. His sister will be your sister. Then to Bride that she will serve her husband and their parents and respect elders, and everyone will be her brother and sister. Then Guru Granth is placed in center and are supposed to take four circles. One every circle there is music and when the music stops the circle is complete and on second it starts again. And is done again until fourth. In last they all say **bholy kaliya sasria kal** and its done.*

I want to ask that do you marry among your family members or cousins?

No, direct cousins from father side are not allowed to be married to one another. Because it is considered taboo and are just like brother and sister. But with aunt it can be done. But people still avoid i. for example I like a girl I talk to my family. Then they will ask and consult my uncles. They cannot go directly to girl house. Then we consult our close family friends and the lead the discussion to the girl house. They are our reference then. After they asked the girl and if their family have no issue it is done.

So, uncles have an importance?

Uncles are like guardians or reference. If anything happens between couple or abuse, then he is being consulted or are accountable. But the uncles take things in written from you that you won't do anything harmful.

The uncles are only important in wedding or other family matters?

Yes.

Does it matter if they are younger or older?

No, it doesn't. if we bring it to outside people then it will bring chaos as it is said if a something is overheard by third ear it creates problems.

For example, if there isn't any uncle?

Then brother of his mother or any close relative.

Can they marry only Sikh?

No, it's not an issue. They can marry other communities.

Did it happen?

Yes. But not in Peshawar due to culture.

So, it did not happen in Peshawar?

No. with Hindus it has been done. But with Muslims and Christians

Why?

No, it can be done but it didn't happen yet.

In my last interview a Sikh told me that they allowed a Christian male to wed a Sikh girl. Where the boy agreed to perform the wedding rituals according to Sikh religion.

The wedding is same everywhere. As I have studied, in foreign countries what they do is they go to Gurdwara and do the wedding ritual accordingly then for the satisfaction of Girl they also go to Church and initiate wedding ceremony. But the girl is then not forced to be a Sikh she is free of it. but if there are children born then they will be Sikhs.

Is it for boy only?

It's for girl too.

So other than cousins do you marry with some other relatives?

Yes, your cousin from mother side is possible. And with other Sikhs too.



Fig. 8

A couple completing the wedding circles while Groom holding the sword and Bride holding the cloth.

Baraat is when the girl goes to the groom house and Valima is when the guest comes to groom house to see the bride and welcomes her. Although they don't marry their paternal cousins which also effects the idea of kinship among them but still the family ties are very strong in the community.

Although I did not find enough evidence where a wedding's intention was to make alliances with families to have political or economic benefits, but one story is worth mentioning where the purpose of wedding was to lift the economic situation and provide security to the family. The story was narrated by Mr. Gurpal Singh and here it is how it went:

"In my family there was a guy. His name was Jawant Singh and when his father died while his father was friend of my brother and father and we don't have any relationship. His elder sister

was then married off to my cousin and this whole process was initiated by my dad as his daughter was considered as his own. When she was married then the whole expense was sponsored by my dad and even the education of Jaswant Singh. So, one of my cousins was married off to Jaswanth Family so that they don't think we have done this out of empathy. The main reason was he was friend of my dad. He was then employed by my brother on Rupees 20,000 and he was being taught Hikmah. After that his father in law wanted to start a new business and leave the current one so he again asked his son in law to spend six months with him in his shop as he completed his course. He wanted to start wholesale business and did not wanted to leave this shop as it was earning around 15-20k per day. And after six month he can have the money he earned during this time and can have the shop too. Still he is in the shop and is running the business. this is how it all started".

4.2 Business Networks of Sikhs in Peshawar:

Mostly Sikhs were in Hikmah. Now they are shifting their businesses or moving to other cities with same business. No matter what business Sikhs of Tribal have occupied spaces and kept a strong relation with their community and each other. City Sikhs are in different professions and are scattered throughout the city. Tribal Sikhs once open a shop will slowly occupy the market. If any shop in the specific market is on rent, they will inform their kins or friends about it so that they can get it. This could be witnessed in City Plaza, town and Faqirabad market. They are also in medicine but are scattered. The networks and space occupations were observed in mobile phone businesses. Their religious and community associations keep them intact and update about activities. The main point of information and update is Gurdwara. Just like Mr. Singh said that whenever something is going on he informs the Gurdwara committee who then send text messages to all the Sikh community. The Gurdwara committee have list of families to whom every month through Daswanth items are distributed for their monthly expenses. The Daswanth also cover those who went bankrupt. This gives them courage and backup to take risk as they know they will be brought

back from financial shocks. Those who are getting married are provided financial assistance but Gurdwara committee.

Sikh business expansion has a great deal of kinship and social capital involved. One of the Sikh Shopkeeper started his business and went bankrupt. After that his family and friends helped him establish business. Almost every respondent revealed that they have helped establish business for their friends and family by providing financial assistance. The city Sikhs avoids participating in associations as one of my respondents told me he was not interested in participation of market union. But after few days he was elected as a President of left-wing political party. During an interview my respondent was operating his medical store and in notice that he was also giving his Hikmah advices too along with western medicine. He even introduced me to a supplier who trusts him and provide goods in credit. He is the only one to avail goods in credit as the supplier trusts him. This trust is another element which is helping in Sikh business expansion. They do not face any problem on buying or renting any shop as they are being trusted. In Yaka toot there is no business association. There is a society called Peshawar Singh Civil Society which helps everyone regardless of their caste and religion. In this society everyone contributes according to their capacity. For student the donation is between R.s 100-500. The PSCS is non-registered and Charanjeet Singh was President until he was murdered in 2016. His murdered spread a fear among not only the Sikh community but in Pakistan too. Nowadays the Presidency is with Baba Jee Harmeet Singh. There are twenty core members who look after the activities of society. The society organize different religious activities. Although he never asks for any specific helps regarding business, but he is confident that they will help if he asks for. There are around 13 shops of Sikh community in Yaka Toot. Any of the medical shop in the Yaka Toot is not certified to conduct the business.

In Tribal Sikh decisions like starting a business always involved consultation from family. Friends were on second priority. Here is what a respondent had to say about business:

“If you want to start a business from where you will get money?”

I will sit with my brothers as consulting is a good habit. I will sit with them and tell them I am starting my business as I cannot study and can't afford it. everyone will give me their opinion. I will tell them I need money. One brother will tell me that he will contribute 2000 dollars. And when I start my business then I will give 100 dollars to one brother and 100 to other and that's how I will reduce the debt. Although they will won't ask for money, but I cannot take this burden on my heart so in future they don't taunt me. Specially we don't do business activity or financial transactions with our uncles”.

In every market they are active participants are in market unions. The recent terror wave had pushed them back and from that point forward they say, “We won't intervene in your affairs, and so do you”.

4.3 Social Capital:

If we talk about social capital in the context of business, then social capital in Tribal and City Sikhs is different. The city Sikhs prefer friends for any business favor and expansion while Tribal Sikhs normally prefer kins or someone from within their community preferably with low financial status. As Coleman in his research found children who attend religious schools have lower dropout rate instead of those who have no religious schools and less community interaction. Same could be said for Tribal Sikh, because they have been sponsoring their community financially through their own system called Daswanth. Moreover, through Daswanth they are not only helping the religious school children but also people who are economically vulnerable. If any businessman is bankrupt,

the community tries their best to lower his debt by contributing Daswanth. This gives the business men feeling that they have a backup and are agile in expanding business with such low risk of losing investment.

Coleman put another argument that social capital takes place between individuals and structures or organizations. In this research the community associations and different social platforms like *Panj Pyary*, *Gurdwara committees* and *Peshawar Singh Society*. These institutions help them financially and even in every aspect of life. These are economic and social structures which interact within the community and show high level of social capital. Another govt institution which is Auqaf and ministry of religious affairs tend to also interact with this community but there is a level of uncertainty and lack of satisfaction. This interaction brings different social capital as it deals not only specifically with Sikhs but all the minorities. Mostly it ends up being creating differences among the minorities and in Sikhs too. The conflict of Shamshan Ghat I mentioned earlier is one example which shows lack of social capital among Tribal and City Sikhs. Taking loan from banks is sometimes a difficult option for them. For Tribal Sikh or even for City Sikh if they ever want to take a loan they are required to attest their documents from a seventeen grade govt official. Which is hardly to find for them as in their community no one is on such a high post. They then revert to Muslims and which makes it difficult for them to attest as the interaction with Muslims is mostly limited and lack trust with them. Another reason is their legal status and family laws. If any of the spouse passed away the amount in bank is difficult to transfer as they don't have legal status. They don't have marriage certificates which makes it difficult to transfer the pension or any other will amount to kin. This severely affect their social and economic life.

During the research a respondent came up with some very interesting points about shifting from rural to urban life. The respondent described it in very original and native dialect and slangs. This

conversation with respondent perfectly matched with Robert Putnam idea of television and effect of individuality on social capital. The respondent described and related the individuality with city life and its expenses. How the life of city is putting them in economic competition with one another. To understand better I am sharing the exact discussion took place with respondent. My questions will be in bold format to understand the dialogue better:

“What issues Sikh community is facing in day to day business?”

The main issue is price hike, and size of their family and population. And other is expenses.

Why expenses? Why they have increased now?

This era is a smart era (Modern era). The glasses you are wearing (referring to mine) bought on Rs. 100 (around 1 dollar) but I will say I will buy the one who cost Rs. 120. This is the reason our expenses have raised.

There is a very interesting point in my mind. Recently I visited London, I visited Southall.

Yes, I know about it.

Me: Every Sikh knows about Southall in London. There is a Gurdwara there. But unfortunately, I couldn't visit as I had 2-3 hour. I went to a walk with my friend there. We saw some Range Rovers there. I asked him how are Sikhs there? As it was about my research. He replied they are good. They are Pashtuns and Punjabis. But there is one more thing, as you see these range rovers, they all belong to Sikhs. If one brother buys one, the other will also buy a range rover. The competition begins.

Yes, yes (agreeing to me)

I am referring to the 100 and 120 thing here. I am not judging or stereotyping but for my knowledge does this behavior exist? Do you think there is economic competition among them?

The difference is that there are around twenty percent people among us who have this behavior. I have bought these shoes (he had one at that time newly bought). And if I go to college as we are around 4 Sikhs in that college. If he sees this, he will buy good stuff than us. So yes, a competition like this exist. If there are a religious festival or birthday people will do this competition”.

The De Tocqueville visit to America where he thought that individualism in American society could lead to its destruction but later found that association life was keeping everything intact. Here we could observe the same pattern of individualism coming after the economic competition stages evolves but the same Sikhs have a strong social and economical associations which are keeping the community intact. As Putnam states that collective norms and values are reproduced with the help of voluntary organizations and associations (Lin, 2001), in case of Sikhs who have Gurdwara committee and associations on national provincial level does the same.

Robert Putnam also talks about Bonding and Bridging. In research it was observed that Tribal Sikh had high bonding while city Sikh had high bridging regarding business expansion or any other business-related dealings. Tribal Sikh bonding was so strong that it was nearly impossible for me to interview them. I have a very strong social network due to my social activities and certain achievements. I exhausted all of them to convince them especially Tribal Sikh for interview. Even a Hindu friend took guarantee for me that I am a genuine person and I have no ill intentions. This shows how these Tribal Sikhs keep the community intact and make entry from outside impossible. This is the same concern for city Sikh from Tribal ones. City Sikhs would tell me that they keep everything to themselves and does not include us. They have taken our political and social spaces in Peshawar. One of my respondents who had a shop in market was introduced to business by his

two brothers who had a shop in the market too and then he introduced his cousin to open the shop in same plaza.

Bridging with City Sikh was high. They preferred friends and were more rational in their approach. Their community ties were strong and were also affiliated with associations to help community members but in business they were not visible. Most of them were employees and few were in business.

Bourdieu on other hand had a different definition for social capital. His point of view has been discussed in this document earlier. In the context of Sikh community his concept of social capital makes a perfect match. We will start with Habitus as a starting point for both City and Tribal Sikh.

Tribal Sikh had a different and low Habitus as compared to City ones. Tribal Sikhs were Internally displaced and faced the brutalities of war and terrorism in the Tribal belt. They had nothing when they came to Peshawar. This put them in a vulnerable position economically, politically and socially. On the other hand, Sikhs of city had a good Habitus as they were already in city life and did not face displacement like Sikhs. Some of the features in Muslim and Pashtun society puts them at on a disadvantage and it could be said for all the minorities. As Tribal Sikhs had same socio-economic habitus, this led to creation of their class identity. Generally, every Sikh have low habitus because during the field it was observed that every Sikh faced bullying and discrimination due to their religious identity in schools and in childhoods. This had a very strong impact on their personalities where they realized their appearances and religious affiliations can make them target and visible. This makes them less confident and also could reduce the chances of getting control of capital.

Field for them in Peshawar favored them. Due to their trust and as a minority they are trusted. They follow doxa and have created a norm of trust among other communities. They jumped into the markets of Peshawar and started to capture spaces. These spaces could easily be found in City Center Plaza Firdous, Faqirabad Mobile Market and Town. They are into clothing business, cosmetic, medicinal or Hikmah and mobile phones. Their existence and expansion indicate that they are playing by the rule of Field and working their way to access capital.

Their resources as capital are limited as they don't access the institutions like banks for investment and capital. Their main source of material capital is from Kinship or social capital. But somehow, they are running in a circle of field, doxa and capital cannot attain symbolic capital or attain power. The power and symbolic violence is being controlled by higher classes with state apparatus. Even till now their biological reproduction in the form of marriage bill and consensus issue is controlled.

In Tribal Sikh a very radical approach towards patriotism towards state was noticed. This could indicate the legitimized knowledge and cultural capital we have talked about in the literature. The same knowledge is enforced again and again. It could be ruled out the existence of Invisible hand where elite class is controlling the social structure. As it refers to education, many elements one of the respondents said the following words:

“On education level I met Dr. Qibla Ayaz and allocated one hundred seats in Peshawar University. They wanted to include my name in Interfaith Harmony committee, but I excused as I told them that you make me look like a terrorist in national textbooks from childhood and this makes my mind burst. And when we are older we make political speeches and do nothing else. I told them to make the textbook right”.

Chapter 5

5.0 Discussion:

The existence of Pakistan is on religious basis. This creates a very little space for other religious minorities. In view of Bourdieu the state is controlling and inflicting symbolic violence through different political, legal and economical instruments. The minorities are still living in fear and it has increased drastically. Sikh minority is used on different political military front for the interest of state. They are not only target in National but also Internationally. Pakistani government in the context of its foreign policy and interest tries to make Sikh feel heard and cared like Kartarpur Corridor and Guru Nanak Pilgrim festival. There is still gap and huge difference in walk and talk.

Economically their businesses are prospering but at the same time they are being targeted. The degree of Kinship and Social Capital varies in different circumstances. The business network is still strong despite their ethnicities but religiously they still support each other. Their businesses revolve around Trust, which is the defining characteristic of social capital. They conduct businesses on informal procedures but with customers they are by the book and even would do informal transaction if required.

Pakistan has still a long way to declare its citizens equally on human grounds rather than on ideological grounds. In current legal and ideological framework Pakistan needs to assure the safety of minorities. The NGO's have played a vital role in awareness regarding tolerance and pluralism but on government level necessary steps should be taken. Pakistan is losing its minority population and safe spaces for them are decreasing.

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