

THE ROLE OF MIGRATION IN CHANGING IDENTITY OF DOM COMMUNITY IN HUNZA



Submitted by

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: “**The Role of Migration in Changing Identity of Dom Community in Hunza.**” submitted by **Irfan Ud Din** is accepted in its present form by the PIDE School of Social Sciences, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

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Author's Declaration

I **Irfan Ud Din** hereby state that my M.Phil. thesis titled **The Role of Migration in Changing Identity of Dom Community in Hunza** is my own work and has not been submitted previously by me for taking any degree from Pakistan Institute of Development Economics or anywhere else in the country/world.

At any time, if my statement is found to be incorrect even after my Graduation, the university has the right to withdraw my M.Phil. degree.

Date: March 30, 2022

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Dedication

To the inalienable dignity of human lives. The dignity that is above all hymns and sighs. Beyond worldly laws and not below the revealed rhymes.

مولا كه بنده بنم اسرارہ ارشتم

(“*Moula ke bandá han báme asráare árśayam*”) (Nasir Hunzai, 2001)

The second line of couplet closely translates into, “*I am imbibed by the secrets of singularity amongst Master and devotee*”. Hence, the human dignity shall be appeased to avoid unjust.

Lastly, I am obliged to all family members who invested in me.

Acknowledgement

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Abstract

Undue renunciation in a society triggers anomalies and one of such kinds is marginalization. Hence, marginality compels individuals to move from one place to another. Whereas, these physical movements influence identities to melt, as well as help to construct and alter identity. Historically, the alien *Bérićo*/Dom community endured unpleasantness for centuries and their socio-cultural and structural role remained under influence of traditional hierarchy. Hence, such influences sketched marginal lines in a society of Hunza. Scattered *Bérićo* people in Hunza are facing social injustice in socio-cultural and structural boundaries. Particularly, the *Bérićo* community has always remained marginalized in Hunza and various regions of Gilgit-Baltistan. Hence, past and contemporary cultural, social and structural marginal statuses are discussed under purview of *Bérićo* and rest. Moreover, the role of migration patterns and change in traditional identity are purposefully analyzed and elaborated. For the persistence of this research, qualitative research strategy is adopted and further studied. Research Methodology involves various forms of data collection, analysis and interpretation according to the proposed field of study. The data from 23 interviewees with the help of in-depth semi-structured interviews and group discussions are conducted to get diverse perception regarding *Bérićo*. Purposive sampling is used to get primary data. Whereas, data is analyzed through lens of thematic approach and multiple themes are further generated. The study shows that marginalization has a greater impact on migration. Whereas, migration acts as a catalyst to alter the identity of individuals. Once close-in *Bérićo* are now scattered inside and out of Hunza with changed identity. At large, the absolute necessity of time is to preserve cultural aspects such as *Bérisiki* language and traditional music. Whereas, further acceptance of tribal diversity can enrich social bonds in society that may result in strengthening various identities. Lastly, studies on changing identities can be broadened through consistent and confluent efforts of both indigenous and foreign scholarship.

Keywords:

Bérićo, *Bérisal*, Dom, Identity, Marginalization, Migration.

Table of Contents

Author's Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Maps.....	viii
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter 1.....	1
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	2
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Research Problem.....	4
1.4 Research Objectives.....	4
1.5 Research Questions.....	4
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	4
1.7 Key Terms.....	5
1.7.1 <i>Bériço/Dom</i>	5
1.7.2 <i>Berísál</i>	5
1.7.3 Identity.....	5
1.7.4 Marginalization.....	5
1.7.5 Migration.....	5
Chapter 2.....	6
2 Research Methodology.....	6
2.1 Research Locale.....	6

2.1.1	Maps.....	8
2.2	Research Strategy.....	11
2.3	Research Design.....	11
2.4	Units of Data Collection.....	11
2.5	Research Methods.....	12
2.5.1	Rapport Buildings.....	12
2.5.2	Interviews.....	13
2.6	Sampling.....	14
2.6.1	Purposive Sampling.....	15
2.7	Data Analysis.....	15
2.7.1	Thematic Analysis.....	15
2.7.2	Transcription.....	16
Chapter 3.....		17
3	Review of Literature.....	17
3.1	Marginalization.....	17
3.1.1	Cultural Marginality.....	19
3.1.2	Social role Marginality.....	21
3.1.3	Structural Marginality.....	21
3.2	Migration.....	22
3.3	Identity.....	26
3.3.1	Ethnic Identity.....	28
3.3.2	Cultural Identity.....	29
3.3.3	Structural Identity.....	30
3.4	Conclusion.....	31
3.5	Conceptual Framework.....	33

Chapter 4.....	35
4 Findings and Results.....	35
4.1 <i>Bérićo</i> /Dom	35
4.2 Culture.....	40
4.2.1 Language.....	40
4.2.2 Stigma	43
4.2.3 Marriages	47
4.3 Social Role	49
4.3.1 Music and Blacksmithing	50
4.4 Geographical Location	53
4.5 Structure	53
4.5.1 Economy	53
4.5.2 Political	55
4.6 Identity	57
4.6.1 Identity of Dom/ <i>Bérićo</i>	57
4.6.2 Identity Threat.....	61
4.6.3 Role of Religion in Changing Identity	62
4.7 Migration.....	63
4.8 Results	67
Chapter 5.....	71
5 Conclusion and Recommendations	71
5.1 Recommendations	72
5.2 Limitations	72
6 Glossary	73
7 Bibliography	74

8	Appendix	79
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List of Maps

Map 1:	Mominabad, Hunza.	8
Map 2:	Aliabad, Hunza.	8
Map 3:	Nasirabad, Hunza.....	9
Map 4:	Hussainabad, Hunza.	9
Map 5:	Danyor, Gilgit.....	10
Map 6:	Oshikhendass, Gilgit.....	10

List of Tables

Table 1:	Demographic profiling of respondents.	14
-----------------	--	----

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Pictorial representation of conceptual framework.	33
------------------	--	----

Chapter 1

Introduction

1 Introduction

The human greed for dominance prevails only by dishonoring others' participation as members of a society. Such superiorities include depriving individuals from opportunities offered by nature. Some forms consist of marginalization and subaltern identities of mankind under various social, cultural, economic, and political set-ups around the globe. The race for dominance is doubtlessly started just after a human-thought for acquiring needs and luxuries beyond substantial limits by violating social relationships, such as equality and equity. Relegation of human lives and undue influences on living standards, on the basis of personality biasness have always encouraged social stratification. Hence, these undue influences further led individuals to migrate from one place to another. However, an act of migration can also occur according to personal preferences of migrants. The miscellaneous patterns of marginalization on the basis of caste and color are well-known ill-practices around the globe. Riphagen (2008)) substantiates that racial minorities in the United States (US) stand socially unequal compared to white inhabitants. Despite a wealthy and prosperous nation, the US suffers from income inequality. On the other hand, caste-based categorization in the sub-continent (now India) has deep roots in society. In India, along with some neighboring countries, there is a legacy of social exclusion based on individual characteristics. Thorat and Attewell (2007) in their correspondence study in India, they say “ancient systems of caste inequality endure; their modern manifestations severely constrict the lives and opportunities of lower citizens”. Hence, such prejudiced stances amplify societal divergences and defamation of a person, group or community as whole. In a nutshell, people influence identity and its alterations.

The stigmatized Dom¹ artisans and music maestros of Hunza once remained polymaths of the region and facilitated the whole population with diverse and inherited skills. The most convincing narrative of Hussainpur (2014) on arrival of these skilled people seems relevant. He says that migration occurred in several waves, particularly from Kashmir to Hunza and also to different regions of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) such as Gilgit, Nager, Chilas, Baltistan, Ghizer and Astore. Hence, people of Mominabad (then *Bérisal*) do not share a common ancestor. Whereas, in context of

¹ Various variants include: *Dom*, *Doom*, *Doma*, *Domi* (Shina), *Bérićo* (*Burúsaski*), *Mond*, *Mondpa* (Balti).

marginal identities of Gilgit-Baltistan and particularly in case of Hunza, *Bérićo* community has been considered as low-caste in caste-like socio-cultural categories. These considerations still weakly persist in various pockets of Gilgit-Baltistan. Likewise, *Bérićo* of Hunza are facing identity challenges from centuries despite having a role in socio-cultural development of the region.

Majority of researchers have mainly focused *Domaaki/Bériski*² as a disappearing language and considered it as a severely endangered language. On the other hand, less academic attention has been given to their everyday anomalies such as stigmatization of their historic professions, cultural and social affiliations, migration, and most importantly their identity. Unfortunately, there is no record of up-to-date data regarding *Bérićo* population in Hunza as well as in the whole region of Gilgit-Baltistan is available. Hence, this creates further hurdles in conducting credible research.

My observations led me to think of factors of marginalization that have been enforced upon *Bérićo* community from centuries in Hunza, irrespective of their vibrant technical and musical skills. Currently, this stigmatized community is facing implied social resistance. Hence, focus of this research includes: cultural, social role, and structural marginalization. Under the umbrella of marginalization, this research further focused on social stigmas, language barriers, marriage patterns, access to common spaces, economic statuses and activities, and political inclusivity. Beyond the relationship of voluntarily intermingling of cultures by diverse cultured people, various individuals around the world have experienced invitational migrations (pull factor). Likewise, Dom people have been invited by *Mirs*³ of Hunza to serve indigenous population with their music⁴ and technical⁵ skills. Despite the fact of musical and technical skills, *Bérićo* community were pushed to the margins. Hence, impact of migration on identity is broadly discussed.

1.1 Background of the Study

According to the study of Sidky (1995), *Bérićo* comprised a caste-like group, which was held in lowest position on social scale in Hunza. Beyond blacksmithing and music, they remained in compulsory services to the king, like fetching firewood or taking care of livestock. Interestingly,

² Also, *Bériciski (Buriśaski)* and *Dumaki, Domaki, Domaaki* (Shina).

³ The word “*Mir*” (Plural: *Mirs*) was used to refer to the entitlement of kingship in both princely states of Hunza and Nager until dissolution.

⁴ Historically, *Dom (Bérićo)* of Hunza and Nager have been widely known for playing local musical instruments (that includes *Dadang, Damal/Dadamal, Surunai, Tutek*, and *Gabi*) and various compositions of local musical genres.

⁵ Blacksmithing.

these people were not allowed to wield weapons in wartime but bound to perform “dangerous job of military reconnaissance”.

Burushaski Research Academy (BRA, 2002) identified eight class divisions in the princely state era, which were categorized according to needs of the monarchy. Unfortunately, *Bérićo* were placed in the lowest class. Despite the fact, this segmented tribe has no homogenous geographical and tribal roots. However, a culmination of diverse groups residing in a single town were named *Bérićo*. Moreover, there are claims that these people were named “*Momin*” for being murids of His Highness The Aga Khan IV⁶ and the valley is named “*Mominabad*” (ibid).

Whereas, this research is concerned, it is a holistic approach to understand various settings that have occurred and further resulted in identity change. The major research work includes different patterns of marginalization in a particular social setting, various reasons for migration, and an identity change. So far, no major work has been dedicated to explore broader areas except *Bérisiki* language. In order to learn wider aspects of marginalization, additionally subcategorization is used to discover unrevealed aspects. Hence, subcategorization includes cultural marginalization, social role marginalization and structural marginalization. Moreover, migration of *Bérićo* is an undiscovered research area. Hence, this study focused on migration that exerts changes in an identity. In nutshell, impact of migration on identity of *Bérićo* is broadly studied.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

From both contemporary and historical perspectives, underprivileged human colors and races have widely faced a state of marginalization through the hands of powerful privileged elites and their accomplices. Similarly, the scattered *Bérićo* people in Hunza are facing same issues from centuries and still there are traces of social injustice in socio-cultural and structural boundaries. Particularly, the *Bérićo* community has always remained marginalized in Hunza and various regions of Gilgit-Baltistan. Due to uncertain caste-like relationships, people of Hunza have widely considered *Bérićo*⁷ as lower-class residents. Moreover, this statement can be generalized in the whole region of Gilgit-Baltistan. In brief, this research aims to bring out hidden or unexplored realities of this community, which have been concealed with alternatives in various regions. Their contemporary

⁶ The 49th hereditary Imam of the Shia Ismaili Nizari Muslims.

⁷ A variant for Dom in *Burúšaski* language.

struggle to overcome historical miscounts is an essential part of this study. For instance, the perceived identity of *Bérićo* and patterns of migration have been extensively discussed.

The major aspects of this research include: short history of Dom/*Bérićo* tribe, language, geography, stigmatization, marriages, social role, economic activities, political role, role of religion, emancipation, marginalization, migration, and identity.

1.3 Research Problem

I am narrowing my research problem into “The Role of Migration in Changing Identity of Dom Community in Hunza” and have operationalized my topic into following research objectives and questions.

1.4 Research Objectives

The followings are objectives of my research:

- i. To study historical and contemporary cultural, social, and structural statuses of Dom/*Bérićo* community of Hunza.
- ii. To investigate causes of marginalization of Dom/*Bérićo* community.
- iii. To examine how migration has reshaped the identity of Dom/*Bérićo* Community.

1.5 Research Questions

This research has responded to following research questions:

- i. What are historical and contemporary cultural, social, and structural statuses of Dom/*Bérićo* community in Hunza?
- ii. How culture, socially ascribed roles and structural statuses have led to the marginalization of Dom/*Bérićo* community?
- iii. What role has the migration played in reshaping the traditional identity of Dom/*Bérićo* community in the last five decades?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research signifies migration patterns of *Bérićo*/Dom inhabitants, who remained on margins in Hunza valley. Additionally, this study includes the identity of this community with regard to pre- and post- migration, which broadly elaborates reasons for migration and its impact on identity change. The domain of this research will give assistance to sociologists, anthropologists, and

experts related to migration, marginalization, and identity to conduct further researches and projects.

1.7 Key Terms

1.7.1 *Bérićo/Dom*

Bérićo is a *Buríšaski* variant for the people who live and migrated from the town of *Bérišal*⁸ in central Hunza. Whereas in Shina, they are called *Dom, Doma, Doom*. In Balti language, they are recognized through word *Mond/Mondpa*. Now, the majority immigrants and nonimmigrants *Bérićo* from Hunza prefer *Mughal* and *Dawoodi* over previous name.

1.7.2 *Bérišal*

*Bérišal*⁹ is the old name of *Bérićo*'s settlement in central Hunza that has been renamed to "Mominabad".

1.7.3 Identity

Identity means "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (Abrams & Hogg, 2006).

1.7.4 Marginalization

Denial, intention to deny, exerting undue influences, or limiting access of an individual or group to an idea or a quantifiable (of any kind that is mutually available) that result in psycho-social restriction and consequently forms an identity is called marginality.

1.7.5 Migration

Migration is "permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". However, no restrictions are placed in terms of distance, internal, and external migration in acts of voluntary or involuntary move. Despite lack of formal restrictions, migration includes: origin, destination, and various obstacles or intervening factors (Lee, 1966)

⁸ *Bérišal* is a monarchically specified area in-between Altit and Baltit, adjacent to Ganish in Hunza, where *Bérićo* were allowed to live and work. Currently, they own this place.

⁹ *Bérišal* is the hometown of *Bérićo* (a *Buríšaski* variant word for Dom) in Hunza and Nager.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology

2 Research Methodology

Methodology is a detailed procedure that is necessary for a researcher to undertake with regard to basic knowledge about the particular research subject, employed research framework, and data collection techniques. In a broader context, a systematic and organized way of conducting research and further analyzing data is known as research methodology.

The subsequent text will explain research locale, research strategy, research design and research methods used in this qualitative research.

2.1 Research Locale

My research locale includes different valleys of Gilgit and Hunza, where the scattered *Bérićo* population resides in small numbers. In Hunza, the major town of *Bérićo* (now prefer *Dawoodi* or *Mughal*) is Mominabad (then *Bériśal*), which is adjacent to Altit, Baltit and Ganish villages. From oldest settlement of *Bériśal*, they migrated to different valleys within and outside Hunza. Particularly in Hunza: Shishkat, Aliabad, Mominabad, Nasirabad, and Hussainabad are major valleys, where scattered *Bérićo* population resides. Meanwhile in Gilgit, the migrant *Bérićo* of Hunza can be traced in Oshikhendass and Danyor.

Interestingly, Mominabad lacks diversity and only *Bérićo* dwells. Additionally, Aliabad is home of diverse individuals with *Burúšo* in majority, minor *Bérićo*, few Wakhi¹⁰, and fewer Shinaki residents. Moreover, both Nasirabad and Hussainabad that are valleys in lower Hunza, comprised majority Shina speakers, few *Burúšo* and minor *Bérićo*. Whereas, population of Shishkat consists of the majority *Burúšo*, minor *Bérićo* and a few Wakhi people. All individuals in mentioned areas share a common sect called Ismailia. On the other side, both Oshikhendass and Danyor are home to various ethnic groups. There are diverse people with different lingual identities. In majority, four Shina and three *Burúśaski* dialects can be traced who belong to Shia¹¹ faith and migrated from

¹⁰ These people are an Iranian ethnic group and speak Indo-European language of the Iranian branch called *Wakhi* (“Wakhi People,” 2021). In the north of Pakistan, they mostly reside in upper Hunza.

¹¹ Here Shia faith represents both Ithna'ashari (Twelvers) and Ismailia.

different areas of Gilgit-Baltistan. Whereas, fewer *Bérićo* from Hunza and Nagar also reside in these areas.

According to the study by Kreutzmann (1993), in 1935 and 1985, there were 33 and 47 households in *Bériśal* respectively. Moreover, one more study of Kreutzmann (1996) on linguistic diversity shows 1.4% of the population speaks *Domaaki* in Hunza. Likewise, the findings of Csáji (2018) roughly estimates 100 *Bérićo* households with approximately 700 individuals. Researcher claims that around 50 percent of households live in *Bériśal* and rest in other areas.

Previously, Hunza remained a princely state. However, *Mirs* of Hunza sent tribute to Manchu, later Han, and officials at Kashgar. The last recorded submission of tribute occurred in 1935 (Jacobs, 2016). Later, Hunza as princely state was abolished on 25th of September 1974 by Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and included under jurisdiction of the federal government (Emadi, 2018). Currently, it survives as a single district and a constituency¹² within disputed territory of Gilgit-Baltistan controlled by Pakistan.

Historically, Pakistan established an illegal administration in Northern Areas on 16th of November 1947, which is a post-colonial act (Lambah, 2016). Sōkefeld (2005) writes that Gilgit and surrounding mountain areas remained subject to Kashmir, British and Pakistan in the last one and half centuries. This region endures domination of subalternity and transition from colonialism to postcolonialism, which still dominates. Whereas district Gilgit is concerned, currently, it holds ill fate with minimal authoritative buildings in Gilgit city.

In a nutshell, whole Gilgit-Baltistan is in political limbo. (Lambah, 2016) elaborates ambiguous status that resulted due to “strategic planners in Islamabad”. Hence, lack of social contract and mutilated identity of the region are state driven atrocities led by the government of Pakistan since 16th of November 1947.

¹² 6th constituency of Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly.

2.1.1 Maps

Following maps represent valleys under research locale where Dom/*Bériço* people reside. Except Mominabad, each valley represents dwelling of immigrant *Bériço*.

1 Mominabad, Hunza



Map 1: Mominabad, Hunza (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

2 Aliabad, Hunza



Map 2: Aliabad, Hunza (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

3 Nasirabad, Hunza



Map 3: Nasirabad, Hunza (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

4 Hussainabad, Hunza



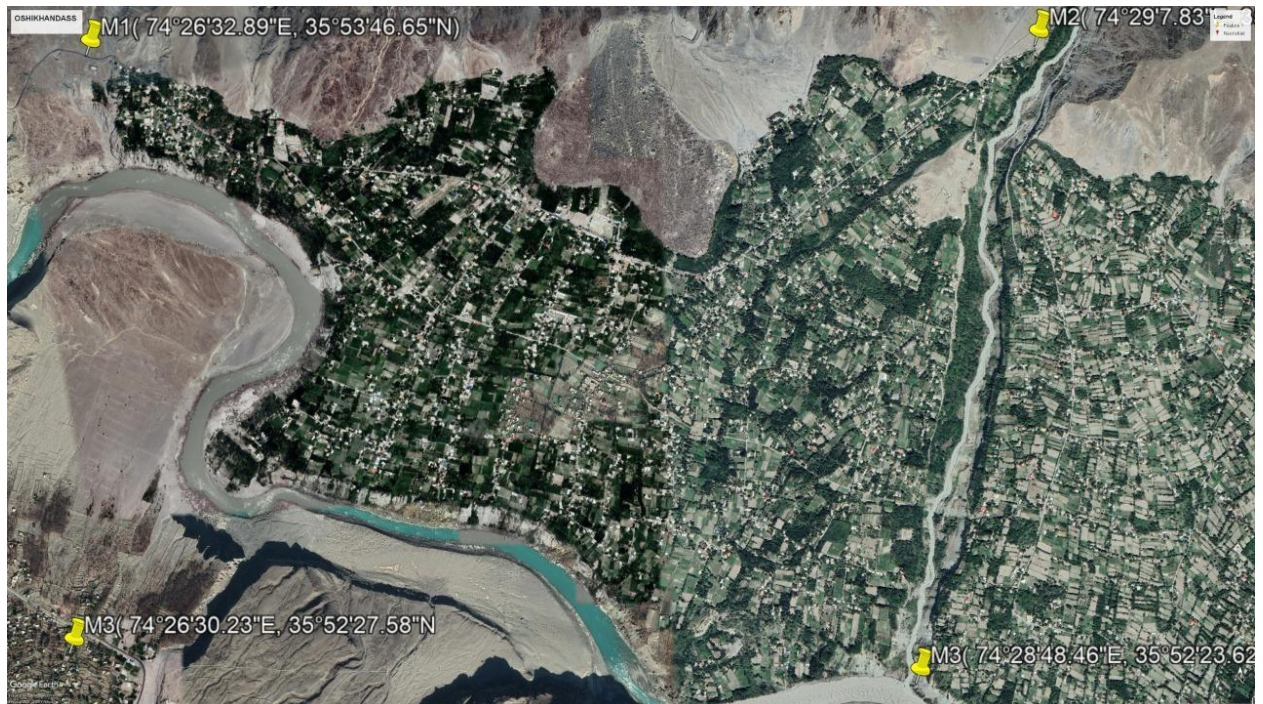
Map 4: Hussainabad, Hunza (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

5 Danyor, Gilgit



Map 5: Danyor, Gilgit (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

6 Oshikhendass, Gilgit



Map 6: Oshikhendass, Gilgit (Google Maps, *n.d.*).

2.2 Research Strategy

The theme of qualitative research is to explore in-depth social phenomena under diverse settings exhibited by inhabitants mentioned in the locale section. According to Smith (1987), qualitative research is an empirical study based on data collection about a phenomenon in order to organize ideas, hypotheses, as well as it is a way of testing categorical definitions.

This research concerns and focuses on marginalization, identity and migration. Hence, qualitative research strategy has been adopted to explore comprehensive understanding of this study.

2.3 Research Design

Creswell (2009) explains research design as plans and procedures to conduct research that comprises broader assumptions and methods of data collection as well as analysis in a detailed way. Whereas, selection of a research design is concerned with the nature of research problem or addressable of an issue, personal experiences of researcher(s), and the audience(s) for the study.

According to Creswell (2014), the origin of qualitative research lies in social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, humanities and evaluation. Whereas, narrative research deals with inquiries based on humanities that includes questioning individual(s) about stories related to lives. For my research, I have framed narrative style qualitative research with help of open-ended questions. Here, descriptive research design and narrative strategy assisted me to equip my study with exploration of ascribed meanings related to individual(s) and group(s) with reference to human and social problems. Creswell (2009) believes that “the process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant’s setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data.”.

2.4 Units of Data Collection

Below mentioned Units of Data Collection assisted my research to extract data related to *Bérićo*, who reside in different areas of Hunza and Gilgit. The inclusion of *Bérićo/Dom*, *Bérićo* immigrants, local historians, religious scholars, researchers, non-*Bérićo* residents, and professional *Bérićo/Dom* have helped me to fetch historical and contemporary data. The data include: culture components, social role, and structural components under domain of identity, migration, and marginalization. The development of an interview guide/protocol is based on open-ended questions that catered semi-structured interviews.

Following are Units of Data Collection that are used as tool to collect data from locale;

1. UDC1: *Bérićo*/Dom community members of Mominabad.
2. UDC2: *Bérićo*/Dom immigrants.
3. UDC3: local historians, researchers, and religious scholars.
4. UDC4: Non- *Bérićo*/Dom residents of Hunza and Gilgit.
5. UDC5: *Bérićo*/Dom professionals.

2.5 Research Methods

Research methods in qualitative research helps to advance the understanding of the meanings of co-constructions, cultural rituals, experiences and oppressive practices. Additionally, methods consist of processes and tools, whereas methodology steers the use of method. Moreover, qualitative methods consist of participants observation, focus groups, and one-on-one interviews. Whereas, these components potentially contribute in formulation of questions, operational definitions and designing of research instruments (Atkinson, 2017). Additionally, one of tables in the book of Creswell (2009) explains components of research methods that includes questions, data collection, data analysis, interpretation, write-up and validation. Hence, this sketch firmly elaborates a wider view of research methods as a guide for action. In nutshell, research methods involve various forms of data collection, analysis and interpretation according to the proposed field of study (Creswell, 2014).

In this qualitative research, primary data has been collected from UDCs under descriptive research for further analyzing data.

2.5.1 Rapport Buildings

According to Berg and Lune (2017), rapport building is a positive feeling developed between interviewer and respondent within understood boundaries. Hence, it is negotiable access to the field for research processes.

This technique assists researchers to get access to field settings such as community members, individuals, and social events for the purpose of observance without exerting undue influence. Hence, my field work is thoroughly based on this research method. Additionally, being indigenous to Hunza helped me to identify resource persons through personal references.

2.5.2 Interviews

According to WU (1967), research interview is a “pattern of verbal interaction” between two or more subjects initiated for a specific content by an interviewer. Hence, the theme of the interview is to gather data and further testing hypotheses. Considering this, the most commonly used method of surveying in qualitative research is the interview. This method facilitates interviewer(s) and interviewee(s) for a social interaction in order to fetch qualitative data. Interviews help to get in-depth understanding of perspectives and/or experiences of participants that may include information on beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors Dushku (2000).

2.5.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The theme of semi-structured interviews is to remove restrictions from respondent(s) through a list of open-ended questions. According to Bryman (2016)), semi-structured interviewing as a research method is used to keep an open mind about required data that researchers want to know. Interestingly, semi-structured interviews do not require sequenced questioning. Rather, a researcher can avail opportunities of prompt questions and extemporary probes with a subject.

Under the pattern of semi-structured interviews, I have widely focused on conducting one-on-one interviews for all five UDCs. Seventeen individual interviews are conducted that consist of 9 hours 07 minutes and 57 seconds. Importantly, these interviews are recorded with prior consent of respondents, which are further transcribed accordingly. However, one respondent refused to record individual interview and I followed his instructions of writing field notes in a research diary. Another respondent was also interviewed and not recorded his response on any electronic device, yet remained part of semi-structured interview.

2.5.2.2 Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews have no sequential questions and no unrestricted frame of questions with a concerned subject. Hence, I have applied unstructured interviews as a method to know general perceptions regarding Dom Community. Few unstructured interviews enabled me to analyze common attitudes of people towards the then marginalized community and subsequent perceptions in society.

2.5.2.3 Focus Group Interviews

Morgan (1996) defines focus groups as a research technique to collect data, which applies to a group interaction according to a predetermined topic by the researcher. Hence, this type of interview helps to explore diverse opinions, attitudes, behaviors, consensus and disagreements.

This particular type has been used for only two interviews under UDC-1 and UDC-3. With prior consent, I have recorded 3 hours 37 minutes and 45 seconds, which are further transcribed as per need in chapter of findings. However, two respondents from a focus group interview demanded deletion of the audio record and I agreed. Ultimately, the aim was to fetch more detailed data on the topic as per diverse opinions of participants. In order to obtain diverse views, participants were included from various backgrounds. These interviewees include researchers, professionals, and various members from the *Bérićo* community and outside.

2.6 Sampling

Sampling is “the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample”. The selected sample is a purposeful representation of different yet collective characteristics and parameters of a population (“Merriam-Webster,” 2021). In broader terms, the theme of sampling is to produce accuracy without collecting data from every member in a desired population (Denscombe, 2010).

Following table represents demographic profiling of respondents.

Units of Data Collection	Demography	Respondents
UDC1: <i>Bérićo</i> /Dom community members of Mominabad	Mominabad/ <i>Bérićal</i> , Hunza	11
UDC2: <i>Bérićo</i> /Dom immigrants	Five villages in two districts ¹³	
UDC5: <i>Bérićo</i> /Dom professionals	Six valleys in two districts	
UDC3: local historians, researchers, and religious scholars	Two districts	12
UDC4: Non- <i>Bérićo</i> /Dom residents of Hunza and Gilgit	Two districts	
Total	23	

Table 1: Demographic profiling of respondents.

In purview of this, I have chosen purposive sampling to collect relevant data from research locale.

¹³ Gilgit and Hunza.

2.6.1 Purposive Sampling

According to Suri (2011), the theme of purposeful sampling is to select key informants, who can identify and address particular cases on the basis of rich information. Later on, synthesists/researchers can request references against their claims and opinions. Bryman (2012) defines purposive sampling as non-probability sampling, as researcher does not seek random samples of research participants. The goal of a purposive sample includes a strategic way to deal research questions from sample participants. Denscombe (2010) says that purposive sampling works under principle of access to best information. Therefore, it is focused on a small number of respondents based on their attributes, i.e., relevance and knowledge about the topic. Moreover, this kind of sampling needs prior knowledge about specific events and people. Hence, such relevance produces most valuable data from hand-picked samples.

For all five UDCs, I have applied purposive sampling in order to fetch relevant data in accordance with research questions. The aim behind selecting purposive sampling is to selected particular participants due to social setting within *Bériço* community. Whereas, approaching random members from community is not productive and efforts can go in vain. Similarly, non-*Bériço* respondents are concerned, they were also selected based on their academic and professional experiences.

2.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis include procedures of analyzing data, as well as it contains techniques for interpreting results in precise and accurate way (Tukey, 1962). Glass (1976) emphasizes that “primary data is the original analysis of data in a research study”. Whereas, my research includes analysis of primary data.

2.7.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis comprises methods to identify, analyze, and report themes and patterns within data. Moreover, this method organizes and describes data in a detailed way. Additionally, it “goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic” (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I have framed a thematic approach in order to analyze collected data. Whereas, the data was collected through semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews and focus group interviews from the locale of the research. Additionally, framework analysis as a tool is used for ordering and synthesizing data from research-based field transcriptions. Broadly, analysis of qualitative data

includes two stages. First stage involves managing collected data and later is concerned with establishing interconnectivity, relationship and collective articulation of data. Hence, both stages are vital in managing qualitative data analysis. The thematic framework also allows us to revisit data for multiple times in order to get deeper understanding and analysis accordingly. Whereas, diverse studies in thematic framework have different levels that may consist of themes, sub-themes, and further sub-themes. I have included these thematic levels in my research, which are part of the finding chapter.

2.7.2 Transcription

Transcription is a system under set of rules to transformed spoken language in to written text. More importantly, it is a constant need to employ transcription system as this stand crucial in data analysis (Mayring, n.d.). In this research study, I have focused on selective protocol to preserve data. Moreover, this type of transcription system defines relevant parts of research questions.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3 Review of Literature

I have adopted a thematic style for review of literature. This research and its research questions need to be started with methodological style and furthermore it can be easily categorized into thematic style.

I have approached and organized literature in a thematic way, which is further subcategorized into narrative style.

3.1 Marginalization

Systematically, the origins of marginalization are quite ambiguous to elucidate and to figure out categorical happenings due to lack of historical academic accounts. Johnson (1960) asserts with reference to Erich Kahler's writing "the history of man could very well be written as a history of the alienation of man"¹⁴ that this concept has universal tenability in broader and diverse usages. Psychologically, the human race is in constant urge to stand dominant over powerless individuals or groups through various ideal campaigns and one of such kinds is Marginalization. Park (1928) in "Human Migration and Marginal Man" studied marginalization in purview of migration, where he discusses migration and its consequences as a situation where an individual strives to find his identity in two culturally diverse groups. Subsequently, such mixes create "unstable character-a personality type characteristic forms of behavior", which he called "marginal man". Elaborately, distinct people with diverse traditions will be reluctant to shatter cultural life and even conformity from one to do so will result in racial prejudice in a new society, where an individual seeks shelter. In reality, conflicting cultures meet and fuse in the mind of the marginal man where civilization processes are occurring. He declared the mind of a marginal man as an ideal place to study the process of civilization (ibid). Once after coining marginality in his essay, it portrayed male-oriented concept due to usage of the word "Man". Hence, Billson¹⁵ has universally molded the term "Marginal Man" to "Marginal person" with exception to classical writings. The Latter term

¹⁴ Extraction from "Tower and the abyss: an inquiry into the transformation of the individual" by Erich Kahler. Published by New York: G. Braziller in 1957, page 43.

¹⁵ Forthcoming, 1996, in Rutledge Dennis, ed., *Marginality: Theoretical Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. An earlier version of this chapter appeared as "No Owner of Soil: The Concept of Marginality on Its Sixtieth Birthday," *International Review of Modern Sociology*, Autumn 1988, 18: 183-204.

broadly includes women in marginality theory as well as men. With the development of research horizons, third gender's victimization and its academic accounts surfaced in various researches. For instance, enforcing transgender to socially constructed inappropriate practices like prostitution has made lives more challenging and also stigmatized their social standing (Shah et al., 2018). Hence, Marginality theory shall be exercised over all enforced and biased experiences related to human beings. This theory must include all-kind social phenomena regardless of any particular gender type.

Stonequist (1935) explains marginality of a man in bi-cultural or multicultural situation, where an individual strives for the occupancy of higher status. This may lead towards lower group or vice versa. In other words, dual cultural situation works as catalyst for marginality in personal traits and this type of an individual ultimately reflects marginal man. Furthermore, middle class category may prevail once mixed-blood¹⁶ gets acceptance over conflict(s). For instance, intermarriages can lead one nearer to dominant race and higher status group. In between these struggles, a marginal person faces two variant images of culture and the same individual bears a life cycle that includes "introduction to two cultures, crisis and adjustment". Stonequist's debate is more focused on cultural marginalization, which is further categorized into material and non-material culture. Taking step further to elaborate his stance on "personality type" in dual cultural situation, he argues about individual who faces dual personality that results in division of cultural identity (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Critically, the Park and Stonequist's attempt on Marginal Man is prematurely tilted towards combining "social situation and personality traits" components in initial phases of debate. However, new researchers have found grounds to deal marginality theory in psychological and sociological way (ibid).

On the other hand, Johnson (1960) sees marginality as a reciprocal relationship between marginal men and marginal cultures as prior contributes to later and vice versa. Fruitful study towards marginality has been directed by Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) and defined marginality as "The marginal man, as here defined, is one who used a non-membership group as a reference

¹⁶ Progeny of diverse races.

group¹⁷”. Here a marginal individual is one who internalized norms of a particular group (reference group) and not prepared for socialization within the assigned social sphere.

For being a legitimate member, forces prevent and restrain the same from complete recognition of reference group as a membership group. With the development of social relationships, the role of marginal man will be “ill-defined” and results will be uncertain. Comparatively, marginalized individuals will occupy abnormal positions regardless of situations, problems or future encounters. Antonovsky (1956) claims limited (scant) research on marginality and defines it as a social situation where “two cultures (or subcultures) are in lasting contact”. Here non-marginal culture is dominant over others in terms of “power and reward potential” as a factor of attraction to the marginal group and its members do not get influence from non-dominant culture. Moreover, dominant culture has potential to permeate into boundaries of opposite. Still, patterns of cultural internalization cannot be easily harmonized and exertion of force can be used over marginal groups to gain cultural goals. Whereas, discrimination can harden barriers amongst them and betrayal as pressure from one side can act as a reciprocal tendency. Lastly, he states that marginality will intensify, if clash persists in long terms such as for more than one generation.

Marginality theory is more constructive hence Billson’s study focuses on sociological literature since 1928 and reveals at-least three distinct ways to use marginality for ease of academic debate. This term has remained a broader idea and distinctive classifications will help academia to move out of imprecisions and to conduct in-depth study of theory. In light of marginal status, Billson (2004) categorized marginality into: a) Cultural Marginality, b) Social Role Marginality, and c) Structural Marginality. Respectively, these designations will portray marginal status of an individual or a group.

3.1.1 Cultural Marginality

This first type deals with cultural differences and refers to “the dilemmas of cross-culture contact and assimilation”. Here variables that define cultural differences include ethnicity, race, religion and others. Whereas, roots of these elements reside in hierarchical valuation of two cultures such as in-group and out-group in which an individual participates (ibid). Gist (1967) refers to cultural

¹⁷ According to Kelley, reference group can be used in two ways. First one refers to “a group in which an individual is motivated to gain or maintain acceptance” and second indicates “a group which the person uses as a reference point in making evaluations of himself or others”.

marginality as distinguishment amongst groups or communities on basis of “beliefs, traditions, social organization, patterned behavior, and systems of values” and these same differences will reflect marginal or peripheral position of a group or may be an individual’s standing with accord to mentioned terms. However, occurrence in relationship amongst in- and out-group will fluctuate around “lines of acceptance or rejection, belonging or isolation”¹⁸ (Billson, 2004). Goldberg (n.d.) defines the culture in a society as a portrayal of integrated rituals and traditions, which construct moral order. Whereas, folkways and other influences are the factors that regulate such moral orders.

Particularly, in the case of *Bérićo* of Hunza and generally in Gilgit-Baltistan, the term “other cultural difference” can be derived from street abuses and proverbs which have verbal traces in other indigenous languages. Interestingly, these derogatory terms indicate humiliation of this specific community and members. Such acts may result in psycho-social impacts on personality and further marginalization. One of such examples is severely endangered *Domaaki* language¹⁹ in Hunza valley (Torwali, n.d.), which is on the brink of linguicide. If, necessary measures are not taken, this language will die. Moreover, the impacts include “anxiety, depression, identity confusion anger, and even suicide”. Issa (2017), writes that “everyone loves their music and loves to perform to it but the ones who produce the music are stigmatized and discriminated”. Being children of musicians, youngsters from Bujayote²⁰ face harassment in educational institutes. This stigmatization has inflicted hate for music in younger generation. On the other hand, struggle of marginalized community against stigmas and discriminatory attitude resulted in threat to musical heritage.

Society includes intermingled cultures, races as well as ethnic groups. For instance, birth of new nations and political boundaries, immigrations and internal migrations, and intermarriages collectively contribute to omnipresence of cultural marginality. Hence, cultural marginality exists in every modern cross-cultural society (Billson, 2004).

According to (Gist, 1967), “The cultural and social elements in marginality are presumably reciprocal, each exerting an influence on the other, each reinforcing the other”.

¹⁸ Cited Glass 1962 by Billson in “No Owner of Soil: Redefining the concept of Marginality”.

¹⁹ Domaki is an Indo-Aryan language and now renamed to Dawoodi (Torwali, n.d.).

²⁰ Locality in Yasin valley.

3.1.2 Social role Marginality

Secondly, this kind of marginality occurs due to ascribed²¹ or defined conditions over an individual or group with regards to “age, timing, situational constraints, or when an occupational role is defined marginal”. In other terms, “lack of fit experienced by the individual into the group” restricts from acquiring institutionalized roles and results in prevention from whole association with the group (Billson, 2004). On the other hand, Gist (1967) defines social marginality as a positional relationship between interpersonal or intergroup with different individuals or groups. Moreover, attitudes and images are the factors which determine roles in these interrelationships. According to Bernt and Colini (n.d.), it is a tension that occurs due to restricting one from a positive reference group. Decisively, professions and situational constraints act as determining factors in such a kind of marginal status.

3.1.3 Structural Marginality

Lastly, structural marginality refers to a lack of power and disadvantages that marginal faces in socio-political and economic conditions (ibid). This kind of marginalization springs from socio-economic and political dilemmas in a society. However, social role and cultural marginalization are not relevant in occurrence of this kind. As this part only deals with certain social, political, and economic subjugations of underprivileged sections in a society. Due to the monopoly of capitalistic economies around the globe, structural marginality surfaces as an inevitable consequence and its close aftermaths are like “crime, violence, ghettoization, and unyielding poverty” (Billson, 2004).

Marginality under umbrella of “‘Culturalist’ ideas of ‘Outsideness’” is fused with “power and oppression” and reason why it refers to experience of group or a territory in terms of powerlessness, lack of participation and integrational issues. However, multiplicity of marginalization revolves around three diverse meanings that comprises of: “a) underdevelopment, lack of resources, distance, b) relation, oppression, closure, and c) lack of cultural integration, lack of adoption” (Bernt & Colini, n.d.).

In conclusion, denial, intention to deny, exerting undue influences, or limiting access of an individual or group to an idea or a quantifiable (of any kind that is mutually available) that result in psycho-social restriction and consequently forms an identity is called marginality.

²¹ “Assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences and abilities” (Foladare, 1969).

3.2 Migration

Survival for the sake of physical survival and expansion of human species in the form of progenies developed curiosity to move from one place to another. McNeill (1984) says that initial stages of migration include search for food and shelter against weather conditions convinced earlier forms of humans to move. Hence, the rapidity of hunting helped to occupy continents except Antarctica. In comparison to other species, non-have expanded with such propensity. With historic geo-climatic challenges, the human race approached all necessities within a sustainable way for livelihood and one of its kind is migration for survival (ibid). Ravenstein (1885) in his work “The Laws of Migration” discussed multiple dimensional flows and affirms that economic activity is prime cause for labor migration²². He says that labor deficiency triggers migration from the redundant population towards necessary towns. His laws are as follows;

- i. Large numbers of migrants move in short distances and result in “universal shifting or displacements”. Hence this activity is responsible for producing “currents of migration”. Whereas firms of commerce and industry remain responsible for absorption of such migrants in a town.
- ii. Inhabitants immediately surround opportunities and remaining gaps are filled by remote populations through migrating to well-opportune areas. Along with this chain, it is further followed by more remote populations until the attractive force (pull factor) diminishes and this would be a natural outcome of movements.
- iii. The dispersion process is inverse to absorption.
- iv. “Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current”
- v. Migrants generally proceed towards long distances to avail greater opportunities, such as commerce and industrial centers.
- vi. Comparatively, town natives are less migratory than rural ones.
- vii. According to his research, females have more tendency towards migration than men.

However, critics like Mr. Stephen Bourne logically speaks about formulation and lack of categorical order in Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration (Lee, 1966).

Migration is “permanent or semi-permanent change of residence”. However, no restrictions are placed in terms of distance, internal, and external migration in acts of voluntary or involuntary

²² Ravenstein used term “call for Labour”.

move. Despite lack of formal restrictions, migration involves: origin, destination, and various obstacles or intervening factors (ibid). Accordingly, there are four factors that influence the decision and process of migration. That includes:

- i. “Factors associated with the area of origin”,
- ii. “Factors associated with the area of destination”,
- iii. “Intervening obstacles”, and
- iv. “Personal factors”.

Firstly, every area holds diverse opportunities and misfortunes for a livelihood but intensity may differ from place to place. Hence, multiple factors attract people and inversely some may repel. Possibly, some factors can hold individuals in a specific place due to sudden attractions. In between origin and destination, “intervening obstacles” will surely influence pattern(s) of migration and these obstacles remain omnipresent in all migration circumstances with different forms. Finally, personal factors revolve around individual initiative(s), motivation(s) and these factors determine the stance that one owns in order to move, retract or to stay at a certain position. It is important to remember that every decision on migration cannot result in success but at times one can face failure. Henceforth, migration is neither complete rationality nor irrational act but a situational reaction to a specific scenario as an individual or group comes across. Lee's schema has been derived from the central hypothesis, which is in connection with “volume of migration, establishment of stream and counter -stream, and characteristics of migrants” (ibid). Inevitably, in any society, migration plays a vital role as a symptom of social change. Hence, motivation for movement is broadly linked to socio-cultural, demographic, economic, political and miscellaneous factors (Kumar & Sidhu, 2005).

To my understanding, desired or undesired foreign influence(s) and or force(s) that lead an individual or group to move from one place to another with a hope is called migration. Here “foreign influence(s) and or force(s)” are nearer to pull and push factors. Interestingly, various people have different tendencies towards migration depending on numerous determining factors. However, the economy is the one of such factors that acts as a prime force despite the importance of non-economic reasons. The elementary forces for migration include pull and push factors and are responsible for compelling individuals to move from one place to another. Push factor(s) are compelling force(s), which revolve around various reasons and ultimately influences individual(s) to move from a place to another. The factors may include, unemployment, lack of advancement

and opportunities, economic conditions, calamities both natural and man-made, seeking mental approaches, and more. Contrastingly, pull factors attract migrants to well opportune-areas by offering employment prospects, substantial wages and perks, comparatively lavish standard of living and health, and many more (ibid). However, in the context of marginalization, pull factors may also offer better social standing to get rid of ascribed social status and tensions, and to build more stable social institutions such as marriages and working spaces.

Remarkably, impacts on cultures and individuals are challenging in migration scenarios. Here, nationalities and races lose originality and to an extent every place becomes a “melting-pot” for earlier identities. In the process of upbringing of non-dominant individuals, they face multilayered problems, conflicts, and decisions. Outcomes from such peculiarities affect minority groups or the ones who are in status of inferiority. Whereas, a dominant or powerful group never bothers for adjustments with regards to others. However: conformity, adjustments, assimilations, and rest belong to subordinate classes/groups to find favorable conditions for living standards. On contrary, some from minority group or subordinates strive to live by their own culture or least living sufficiently but not to greater extend of influences from dominant group with symbiotic²³ relationship (Stonequist, 1935). However, Rossman (2002) believes that contact of ethnicities does not necessarily result in conflicts.

Park (1928) conforms with Bucher’s thesis “the great founders of religion, the earliest poets and philosophers, the musicians and actors of past epochs, are all great wanderers. Even today, do not the inventor, the preacher of a new doctrine, and the virtuoso travel from place to place in search of adherents and admirers-notwithstanding the immense recent development in the means of communicating information.” In other way, knowledge bearers and or seekers wander around to exert influences and vice versa. The immigration case of Dom people is nearer to Bucher statement as these people were more skilled than native inhabitants before educational surge in the region. Vague oral histories tell us about arrival of Dom to different regions of Gilgit-Baltistan and particularly to Hunza and Nager in order to serve dominant and non-dominant indigenous individuals with their mastery skills (foremostly music and blacksmithing). According to Lorimer (1937), some traditions represent recent immigration of Dom from Kashmir via Baltistan. Due to fewer individuals, he calls Dom the small alien colonies amidst *Burúski*-speaking inhabitants in

²³ Park (1939) cites “An Ecological Glossary (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 268.”, where he elaborates symbiosis as mutually beneficial relationship, in which distinct and dissimilar species live together.

both Hunza and Nager. Interestingly, they possess mastery skills in blacksmithing and music. Their mother-tongue is Indo-Aryan language called Dom and closely related to Doms of Gilgit both professionally and lingually (ibid).

Traces of migration in Gilgit-Baltistan (former Northern Areas) can widely be authenticated through the historical petroglyphic traces along the Indus River bank and its tributaries, which expands from district Diamer to the valley of Hunza. Sökefeld (1997) affirms that petroglyphs are evidence of migration and travelling activities in the region. But these rock inscriptions are centuries old and need vast research followed by archeological studies to explore petroglyphic adventures. However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, both states of Hunza and Nager seized their power to British Invaders in 1891's Anglo-*Burúšo* War and became semi-independent princely states on assurance of submission to British Raj. During rule of Kashmir-British Era, people from north especially from Hunza received land acquisition favors from Britishers for both cultivation and residential uses²⁴ despite the ban from Kashmir. Two reasons for such considerations include reliability and industrious nature of *Hunzukutz*²⁵. Additionally, in between 1930s and 1940s, people from Hunza started buying lands in Gilgit despite earlier official offers. These migrations were mostly based on construction of irrigation channels and likewise treaties (ibid). Importantly, such emigrations were effects of scarcity of land, both residential and agricultural. It is a fact that central Hunza, which has remained PowerCenter, has scarce land compared to upper Hunza (Gojal). Similarly, Lower Hunza faced more or less the same situation. The factual understanding about both internal and external migrations from Hunza is not yet available in numbers but dynamics of current population narrates that large number of *Burúšo*, few Shin and fewer Dom people migrated to different areas of Gilgit at large and few to other district of Gilgit-Baltistan²⁶. Latterly, *Wakhi* people also followed the trend of buying lands in Gilgit city and its peripheries. Particularly in context of Dom, they have widely dispersed from *Bérisal* and settled especially in Gilgit²⁷ to earn a livelihood. Likewise, there is evidence of settlements within various sub-regions of Hunza.

²⁴ Majority of emigrants from Hunza resided in Danyor, Sultanabad, and Oshikhendass from the early 20th century.

²⁵ Dwellers of Hunza: includes: *Béričo* (*Dom*), *Burúšo*, *Shin* (*Shinaki*), and *Wakhi* (*Guvicho*).

²⁶ *Burúšo* people have settlements in district Ghizer (in areas of Ishkoman) and Skardu. Reason for such migrations is to earn livelihood through businesses and/or agriculture activities.

²⁷ Here Gilgit refers to current district Gilgit and its peripheral valleys i.e., Danyor, Oshikhendass etc.

3.3 Identity

Currently known identity is Erik Erikson's work derived from his 1950s research (Fearon, n.d.). Contemporarily, identity is omnipresent in social sciences. Even restricting it to sociology and social psychology refers to three considerable variants that exist in usages. Firstly, for some researchers, identity refers to "culture of a people". Second consideration belongs to "common identification with a collectivity or social category". Whereas, the last usage deals with symbolic interactionism as intellectual heritage and recognition of complex contemporary social life as situated identity (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Moreover, in research by Stets and Burke (2000) on social identity theory and identity theory, they talk about formation of identity. Here it forms in results of a reflexive self that objectifies, categorizes, classifies, or names itself in a particular way according to social classification and categories. Whereas, social identity theory deals with an individual's knowledge about belongingness to a social category or group. Here, intergroup relations determine membership of particular members as in-group or out-group (Stets & Burke, 2000). On the other hand, identity theory deals with roles as an external component of identity and identity as an intrinsic component of identity (Burke & Tully, 1977). In other words, identity categorizes "self" and "role". Here self is an occupant of role, whereas role is a portrayal of incorporated associations, meanings, and performance (Stets & Burke, 2000). Interestingly, the "self" is the largest research obstacle due to the dearth of measurability (Burke & Tully, 1977).

Furthermore, self-identification is a description of social and personal identity, as both are subcategories of self-concept. The prior focuses on social rather than personal identity and contains social identification through identity-contingents and self-descriptions driven from social categories like nationality, occupation, sex, race, and more (Abrams & Hogg, 2006)). Moreover, social identity also denotes emotions, evaluations, and other psychological correlations of in-group classification (Stets & Burke, 2000). Besides this, personal identity is a construct of personal identifications such as self-descriptions that denote specific attributes of a person and remains more personal in nature (Abrams & Hogg, 2006)

Leve (2011) says that identity is a "reflexive construct or experiential modality through which one knows oneself and claims recognition". In other words, identity is a concept where an individual's idea(s) is/are dependent on the past and need(s) historical perspective for contemporary answers. These certain thoughts operate under consistent erasure within intervals of reversal and emergence of an idea (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Briefly, the term identity means "people's concepts of who they

are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others” (Abrams & Hogg, 2006). Meanwhile, it can also be determined through social components and portrayal. Hence, Deng (1995) describes identity as a way of describing own-self and each other on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture. Arguably, the commonly used word “identity” is linked to “Social²⁸” and “Personal” senses. Here former identity is related to “social category” and later refers to “personal identity” (Fearon, n.d.). Here, personal identity is a sense of identity that distinguishes characteristic(s) of an individual and remains the source of an individual’s self-respect or dignity (ibid). Herrigel (1993) elaborates social identity as “the desire for group distinction, dignity and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure and boundaries of the polity and the economy”. To an extent, social identity influences distinguishment of personal characteristics, as society is considerably a construct of diverse ideas. Dependently, personal identity is relative to social identity and each of them plays a vital role in ambivalence and decisiveness of identity as a whole.

Relatively, identity stratification in a given time and place is a combination of both subjective and objective phenomena (an existing or past fact and/or a situation) and exists in all kinds of marginalized societies. Whereas, each and every segment in a society is marginalized to their own desires or borrowed ones. However, in society notions evolve and incentives can also manipulate society (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000). Objectively, identity is more tilted towards economic situations influenced by the wealthy-class. Here, the middle and lower class get greed from upper hierarchies respectively. For instance, life events are linked to economic challenges and recessions can cause shifts in identity to earlier modes (Fadjukoff et al., 2010). But subjective facts are more complicated to measure and each of the population segments in a society is responsible for creation of a class or class-like identities. The deep-rooted situation in such identity challenges is more related to masses in a society, who consider a subsection as lower class in order to develop superior position. They renounce the so-called lower section of population to their own desirable extents based on traits and social roles. More possibly, these social roles can be ascribed ones. Here the middle section who do not enjoy upper-class incentives have more of a role in endangering the identity of the lower section. Reasons for such acts rest in their own vague identity as they want a social status not lowest but comparatively higher than a subsection. Though, they cannot achieve

²⁸ Social sense is an identity that refers to people with labels, and is distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes (Fearon, n.d.).

upper-class identity but degradation of a section and labelling them with traits will surely develop a class called lower-class. Hence, this categorization will build a sense of superiority over lower sections throughout status oriented social hierarchies. Doubtlessly, positioning of individuals in social categories is part of structured society which is based on contrasting factors. Depending on categories each of them belongs to different magnitudes of power, prestige, status and more. Being a member and belonging to a society, individuals derive “identity or sense of self from social categories” (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Emadi (2018) writes in the context of Hunza that upper class people own approximately 20% of land. Due to so-called lower-caste considerations for Dom people in various aspects, they might migrate to other regions to own land. Other demographic shift or migration of Dom to various valleys from *Bérisal* Hunza (both internal and external migration) is likely in order to earn new livelihood patterns. Such as developing social relations with other castes of Gilgit-Baltistan and to diffuse ascriptions particularly through marriages, trade, land acquisitions, agriculture activities, overcoming stigmas, shifting to other local languages. This kind of movement is more likely an ethnic identity diffusion.

To understand identity in this particular research, it is important to elaborate its meanings according to three types, which are deliberately considered. Following contributes in understanding deeper meanings of identity as a challenge for Dom community.

3.3.1 Ethnic Identity

According to Nagel (1994), ethnicity is basically a construct of culture and identity, which evolves consistently and dynamically as property of individual identity and group organization. By means of these basic blocks, individuals and groups address problems of ethnic boundaries²⁹ and meanings. Interestingly, ethnicity is an outcome of ethnic groups’ action(s) in accordance to cycle of shaping self and culture, followed by external constructs such as “social, economic and political processes and actors”. However, both structure³⁰ and agency³¹ are liable for construction of ethnic identity and culture. Boundaries are closely related in determining ethnic identities as it limits members to designated ethnic categories for individual identification in accordance to a particular

²⁹ “Ethnic boundaries are patterns of social interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, in-group members’ self-identification and outsiders’ confirmation of group distinction.” (Sanders, 2002).

³⁰ By structure means socially constructed behavioral patterns such as values, norms, religion, and morality.

³¹ Here agency refers to individual(s) in a society.

time and place. While in the United States, ethnic boundaries are majorly based on biological traits of individuals such as color. Ethnic identity surfaces due to involvement of dialectical processes such as internal and external opinions and processes as well as self-identification of individual and ethnic designation of outsiders³². Hence, ethnic identity is situational and varies with conception of ethnic lines and audiences. Moreover, ethnicity is not rigid but changes with accordance to variational situations and encounters with audiences (ibid). As mentioned earlier, time and place are important in categorizing ethnic identities. So, ethnic boundaries are the social mediums to transpire association. Here, ethnic boundaries designate diverse social interaction patterns and its subsequent influence both in identifying in-group members and outsiders (Sanders, 2002).

3.3.2 Cultural Identity

Same way as ethnic boundaries, cultures too built by actions and interactions of individuals and groups (Nagel, 1994). Hence, culture identity is a “shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common” (Hall, 1994).

In terms of formation of a new ethnic group’s culture, shared historical meanings are involved in both construction and reconstruction of culture. Such a surge may occur as a result of glorious historical associations of an ethnic group that needs uncovering of an earlier ethnic age (Nagel, 1994). However, sole memory cannot preserve past but construction or reconstruction of cultural memory³³ with relation to contemporary situations and knowledge make a point of reference (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995).

Historically, people around the world have lived in diversity i.e., different languages and cultures. Even now, indigenous communities in northern Pakistan³⁴ speak over thirty languages. However, most of them are considered as endangered languages due to suppressed identities, lack of written traditions, lack of political organization, marginalization, poverty, migration and dominance of other languages³⁵ over northern languages³⁶. Unfortunately, *Domaaki* is also among the list and

³² One thinks about his/her own ethnicity versus someone who thinks about your ethnicity.

³³ Cultural memory is a historical understanding, which passed from an older generation to the next in the form of writings, oral traditions, monuments, rites, and symbols (Society, 2020).

³⁴ Valleys of Gilgit and Baltistan, and upper regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Torwali, n.d.).

³⁵ In contemporary era, both Urdu and English have dominance over indigenous languages in terms of writings and mode of communication.

³⁶ Northern languages refer to endangered languages mentioned by Torwali, n.d. that include “*Balti, Bateri, Burúšaski, Chilloso, Dameli, Dumaki, Gawarbari, Gawri, Indus Kohistani, Kalasha, Khovar, Palula, Shina, Torwali, Ushojo, Wakhi, and Yidgha*”.

falls in the category of “severely endangered” languages (Torwali, n.d.). Although most *Domaaki* speakers living in Gilgit-Baltistan have shifted to relatively dominant languages such as *Burúsaski*, Khowar, Balti, and Shina. Interestingly, prominent historical professions (i.e., blacksmithing and music) are under severe threat in Gilgit-Baltistan with few exceptions. Similarly, Shepherd and Sigg (n.d.) argue that “music preference is a way of signaling social identity” and such preferences broaden the approach of one towards an individual identity. However, this may vary, if profession(s) is/are stigmatized and ascribed to a particular person or group. Issa (2017) found that musicians from Bujayote have discontinued traditional delegation of skills due to association of stigmas with identity of community and profession. Due to discriminatory attitude, younger generation is forbidden to choose music as career. Unfortunately, this small community is now left with only few older musicians.

3.3.3 Structural Identity

Here structural identity consists of economic and political status that may influence or act as a catalyst for identity change of Dom. Politically, ethnic group recognition plays a vital role in reshaping self-awareness, organization, identification and mobilization. However, lack of official recognition promotes new ethnic formation with the pros and cons of official designations. For instance, formation of political party “the Republican Party” by scheduled class/Untouchables of India (Nagel, 1994) is manifestation of their particular political identity.

In respect to shape an identity through economic activities, one has to strive beyond normal approach. For instance, exploring new business ventures can create room for adjustability with outgroup members. But, overestimation of economic role and material resources in self-identity construction is not important, and problems vary around both quality and quantity with respect to time and space (May & Cooper, 1995). However, economic activity is one of elements that can trigger identity shift or diffusion of an identity. According to Akerlof and Kranton (2000), “identity is fundamental to behavior, choice of identity may be the most important ‘economic’ decision people make”. On the other hand, (Huntington, 1993) affirms that economic modernization and social change processes around the world are untying individuals from “long standing local identities”.

Culture, knowledge, and communication are becoming more globalized and interdependent due to impact of relationships between individuals and social structures³⁷ (May & Cooper, 1995). Likewise, Dom members are economically striving for larger gains followed by migration to various regions in and outside of Hunza in order to diffuse social stigmas. Doubtlessly, individuals consciously choose future prospects with different degrees (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000). Predominantly, in the case of Dom community, relying on traditional structure will expose them to a consistent exploitation in a society (Ali Dad, 2011).

3.4 Conclusion

Initially, immigrants do not belong to host society and their respective identity remains vague due to non or fewer commonalities and diverse differences amongst them. Here, migrants construct their own identity with contrast to the existing dominant identity as dominancy decides binary oppositions³⁸ (Sulyman, n.d.). Undoubtedly, immigration plays a vital role in the production of new ethnic groups. In consequence to both urban and rural migrations, immigrants act as a catalyst for future's ethnic groups (Nagel, 1994). Such movements of individual(s) take place in order to provide labor needs in deficient societies, to get out of a conflict, natural or manufactured disasters, marginalization and many others.

In recent times, the role of government in regulating migrations is an inevitable intervention. According to Nagel (1994), it is routine of governments through immigration policies to reshape internal ethnical maps. Doubtlessly, congregations of immigrants in rural and urban communities “form ethnic enclaves and neighborhoods”(ibid). For instance, 2016 statistics show that 14 percent of the USA population represents immigrants and figures grow to 25 percent after including U.S.-born immigrants' progenies. Hence, there is profound demographic transformation in the United State of America due to mass immigrational influx (Nancy Foner et al., 2018)

Due to variation in multiple socio-economic spaces, class identities of migrants become subtle (Kearney & Beserra, 2004). It is an obvious fact that an individual(s) cannot live with vague identity. In order to evade such concerns, migrants seek repositioning in complex social structures for improved life conditions. In between such struggles, they enter and exit different socio-political spaces for acquisition and creation of formal/informal identities and/or modification of previous

³⁷ State, civil society, markets and other institutions (May & Cooper, 1995).

³⁸ Such as good or bad, and civilized or primitive (Sulyman, n.d.).

ones (Kearney & Beserra, 2004). Fundamentally, ethnic and racial identities are social constructs. Hence, such identities vary, and remain flexible and dynamic in nature (Nancy Foner et al., 2018). At large, individual(s) as different beings depend(s) on adoption of criteria formed by group and belongingness. Hence, this belongingness becomes collective identity for outsiders (La Barbera, 2015).

3.5 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is a visual representation of expected findings in research, which is represented through relevant variables and interrelationship amongst them. According to (Leshem and Trafford (2007) the conceptual framework provides a theoretical overview of research that has been intended to conduct.

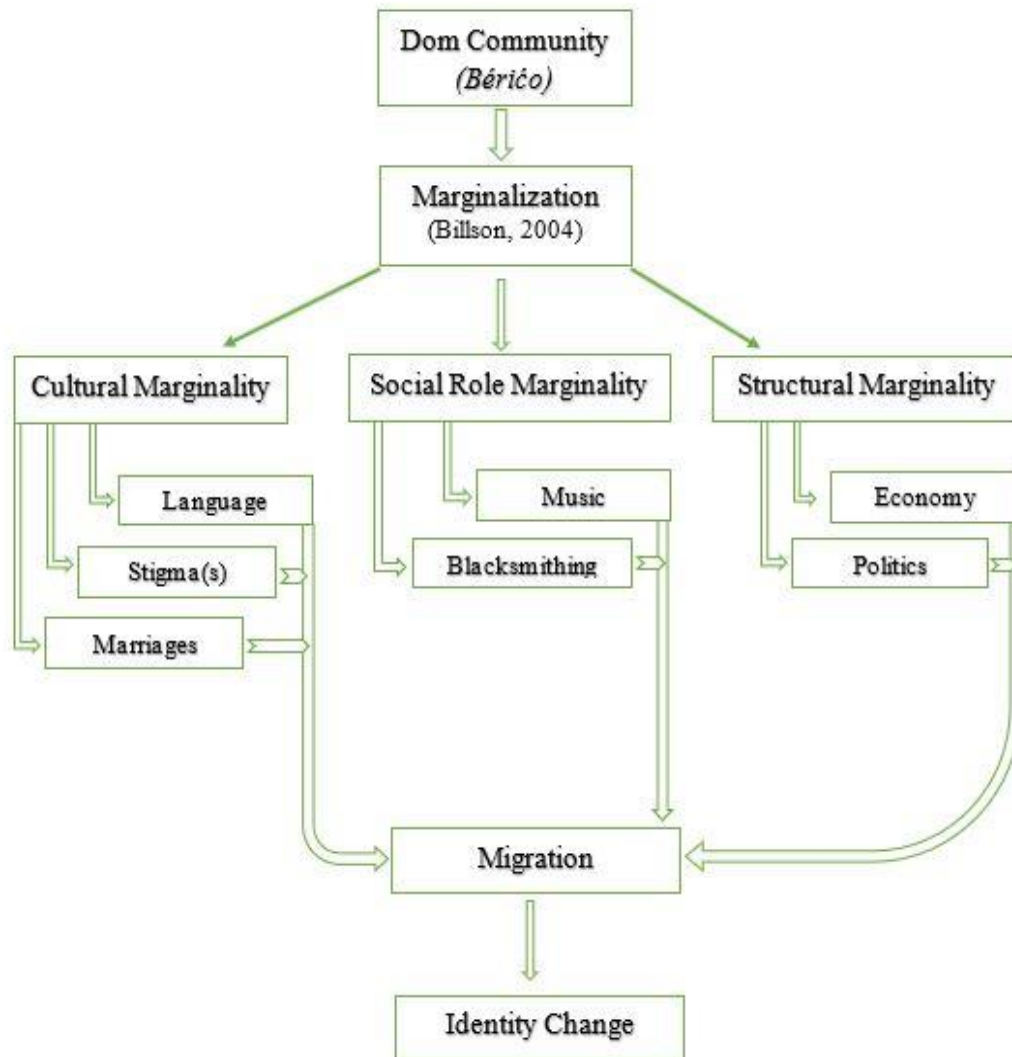


Figure 1: Pictorial representation of conceptual framework.

It is essential to include pictorial representation of both borrowed theories and constructs from research topic. Initially, I have added the theory of marginalization elucidated by Billson (2004) with three sub categories. These categories include: cultural marginalization, social marginalization, and structural marginalization. Furthermore, sub-categories are added to each prior category.

Firstly, cultural marginality includes language, stigmatization, and marriages. Language acts as the prime facie image of any particular tribe. Whereas, every language possesses indigenous knowledge and it shall be preserved accordingly. At this point, language as culture component is studied to know the degree of linguistic marginalization. Moreover, the study of stigmatization is remained an essential component of cultural marginality. Whereas, marriage patterns were studied to evaluate intratribal social settings.

Secondly, social role marginality comprises music and blacksmithing. Besides disregarding these two professions, they played vital in the social development of Hunza for centuries until the influence of modernity. The affiliation of *Bérićo* with these alienated traditional professions assisted to discover various patterns of marginalization. This includes key historic social roles of *Bérićo* tribe, which kept individuals on exclusive margins.

Lastly, structural marginality consists of economy and politics. In the princely state era, the economy was majorly linked with mixed farming. Whereas professions like music and blacksmithing were additional sources of income for *Bérićo*. On the other hand, the political role under structural marginality shows participation of this tribe in everyday political matters in traditional hierarchies and contemporary political spheres.

In nutshell, components of cultural marginality, social role marginality and structural marginality remained consequential to each other as well as interconnected. Hence, all these three components played a role in convincing *Bérićo* to migrate from one place to another. Briefly, migration has an impact on identity change.

Chapter 4

Findings and Results

4 Findings and Results

The chapter of findings and results signifies themes that have been generated through the thematic analysis of data under the thematic approach. Using the thematic framework, 23 semi-structured and focus group interviews with open-ended questions are conducted under five Units of Data Collection. Further down, UDC-1 includes three detailed non-group interviews and one group interview. In UDC-2, five immigrants were included as interviewees. UDC-3 catered to five individual and one focus group interview for broader understanding of the topic. Furthermore, UDC-4 includes three interviews, and lastly, UDC-5 comprises three interviews.

In order to organize collected data, the below themes along with necessary sub-themes are generated for a clear depiction of respondents' interviews.

4.1 *Bérićo/Dom*

Data revealed that the people of Mominabad were associated with Dom of Gilgit-Baltistan. However, inhabitants of Mominabad do not claim to be a part of Dom nor do they consider themselves Dom. Furthermore, there is no reliable academic work, which can provide any lead in elucidating muddled history. However, claims of writers succeeded in associating them with the rest of the Dom. Moreover, both local and non-local writers have created ambiguities in academic work, hence it is hard to find any reliable and yielding source. According to research, Intellectual and better cause compelled them to change the historic name to *Dawoodi*. Although, there is no claim of lineage to Hazrat Dawood, but historic affiliation of two professions compelled them to name themselves *Dawoodi*. Specifically, the history of Mominabad is different from the rest as the residents came from Kashmir, Baltistan, Wakhan, and Punyal. Hence, it is impossible that all belonged to the same family lineage. Additionally, disaffiliation exhibits due to the unfamiliarity of other Dom with language spoken at Mominabad, who include Dom of Chilas, Punyal, Gilgit and others.

Data revealed that identifying Dom and *Bérićo* as a single tribe is an ambiguous attempt. Actually, people of Mominabad have different historical origins, such as Chitral, Kashmir, Wakhan, and Baltistan.

In old settlements like Karimabad and others, there are many different tribes and so is the case with Mominabad. Hence, the only commonalities they share include historic professions not bloodline. According to one claim, they have come to Hunza from higher civilization as compared to other people of Hunza who lived barbarically along the ancient Silk Route. Historically, the ruling class was afraid that these individuals might rise in parallel. Due to this reason, powerful elites kept people of Mominabad in a very concentrated area and oppressed them just like Hitler kept Jews for persecution.

Data revealed that Dom is a tribe of Gilgit-Baltistan that has roots in Ghizer, Darel, Tangir, and Baltistan. Whereas, people of Mominabad have been merged into this Dom tribe despite the fact that they have no lingual similarities. Hence, claims that people of Mominabad are not Dom. Furthermore, he said that there are eleven different tribes in Mominabad, who hold diverse skills. Additionally, a respondent claims that the word Dom represents a community resides in Shina speaking regions, whereas *Bérićo* in *Burúsaski* speaking areas such as Hunza. Whereas, historic names such as *Bérić*, *Bérićo*, and *Bériśal* are given names. He said;

“Kam sis omanuman, kamzor omanumar ky eek ky kamzooran maebila”

“Even, individuals in a minority and vulnerability weaken name³⁹”

Further, he added that it would have been vice versa in case *Bérićo* were in majority. Hence, majority versus minority played negative role in creating social stratification.

Respondent said that they are least concerned about old names such as Dom and *Bérićo* as for now they are registered as *Mughal*⁴⁰. Whereas, language has been named *Dawoodi*. While narrating oral history, he said that some of *Mughals* arrived in Hunza from Baltistan, Kashmir, Punyal, and few from Nagar. Hence, there is no common lineage but skills have gathered them in a specific region.

³⁹ Respondent refers to *Bérić/Bérićo*.

⁴⁰ The *Bérićo* or Dom.

While discussing biased approach towards people of Mominabad, a respondent shared a witnessed story.

He said, *“it was the month of March or April and we were students at Primary School Ganish. One day master Sikander, who was also a polo player, ordered us to bring fodder for hungry horse and we acted as per his command. After that, the master said,*

Ye jimaley muxum ma schoolar axueen shua

Tomorrow onwards, do not come to school

We inquired, bes ustad, mimer bes manah bila? chutti manimiya

Teacher, why we are not allowed, is it off

In negation master stated, for now rulers have stopped you. Just after hearing that I led seven or eight students and marched towards home from Ganish. In that era, my father was serving as Tranfa and we told him the whole story with tearful eyes. After hearing that, he put on his attire and went straight to Mir Jamal Khan’s office and queried about the ban.

He said, mi mek-miyuu schoolar oram, beshki uney takhtar khatar goganuma bey uney bakhtar khatar goganuma. Le musulmaan bam, theek tariqatay kalima kuli haeman nusey schoolar oram.

Khot be chakan ehtuma?

Does attending school by our children have caused a threat to your reign and fate? At least being Muslims, they might learn a correct way to narrate Kalima. Why such an act of cruelty?

Upon hearing this, Mir asked him to get close and said ‘mirasho bani-adam baan Abdullah Jan gutey yaad oss, beshal ehri ky ja gutey thamkus ja khiney jot ahxo eh ehrchi. Wallah jar tyl api, gutey schoolar niyas ban otas. Khiney Ayasho eh gutey fail bila. Neen, namaan schoolar ohrin.

As mortal beings, Abdullah Jan, keep this in mind that my younger brother will be responsible for ruining my reign. By God, I am not aware of banning them from school. This is the act of Ayasho⁴¹. Go and send kids back to school.”

According to research of the respondent, the Dom community has no proper record of history but some oral and traditional narrations tell us that they arrived from different vicinities namely

⁴¹ Name of Mir’s younger brother.

Baltistan, Kashmir, Punyal, and Wakhan. Interestingly, they relate themselves to Hazrat Dawood⁴² due to similarity of historic professions i.e., music and blacksmithing. With the passage of their arrival, the state designated a central area called *Bérisal*. Here, the term *Bérisal* means “a locality of skillful people”. Due to satirical usage of such terms, it became generally unpleasant. This dishonoring attitude can be found not only in Hunza but in the jurisdiction of Dardistan/Balawaristan. People built and held a negative perception regarding Dom, such as weak people. The data further showed that after abrogation of Hunza state, different marginalized segments of population from many regions aligned themselves to development in diverse sectors. However, in the past, people were hierarchized into working classes to manage state affairs.

Data revealed that ancestors of people of Mominabad have diverse geographical backgrounds and some of them arrived in Hunza from Wakhan, Badakhshan, Tashkurgan, and Sarikul. Few also accompanied royals on occasions of marriages as attendants. Intermittently, royals brought artisans from other places as a gift on their return.

Research revealed that racial hierarchies and caste systems in our society have made them fall to the bottom. Hence, they are considered as marginalized due to deprivation from social, economic and political privileges. Whereas, under cultural capital, they lacked social status due to affiliation with specific profession and race. Historically, they were identified from their traditional skills like music and blacksmithing. On the other hand, no *Burúso* and *Sheen*⁴³ have adopted these professions as they considered these as lowest and disrespected working categories. On another occasion, the respondent revealed that people call *Béricó* deceitful beings and he agreed with the reason that weak people with no political and economic power can do no more than cleverness. Further data revealed that early immigrants who travelled to Hunza were allowed to settle in various towns and merged them to existing tribes. Additionally, internal migrants were also allowed such merges and land allotments. However, these people were not merged to any existing tribes and remained at margins.

Another respondent added that in the past people were segmented into seven smaller groups and one of them is *Béricó*. Those were categorized at lowest in social hierarchy such as *Baldasaro*⁴⁴ and others. Moreover, except some privileged ones, *Béricó* and many other people also remained on

⁴² Also, Daud or David.

⁴³ Also, *Shin*.

⁴⁴ Load carriers.

margins. Furthermore, in the historic context of Hunza, kings have classified the public to run and manage state affairs. So, with the nature of work each group was called to accomplish relevant tasks.

Whereas, the context of historic name is concerned, a respondent said:

“Shayn ’ishkivlo Dom saebaan, Hunzovlo Béričo saebaan”.

“In the Shina language, they are called Dom and in Hunza they are called Béričo.”

On marginalization, he added that after summing up several atrocities faced by this community, one can declare them as a group which remained under pressure. On the other hand, some other ethnic groups who were comparatively sustained as powerful, acted as dominion or superior over smaller groups such as *Béričo*. Because of such reasons, they faced ethical, economic, and social pressures. With the passage of declining writ of monarchy, the degree of marginalization decreased.

In elaboration of the term *Bérić*, respondent said that it is a meaningful word in *Burúsaski* that represents a technical person. However, after consistent marginal approaches towards this segment of society, the word *Bérić*⁴⁵ became disgraced and later on abandoned.

A senior respondent told meanings of both words *Bérić* and *Bériśal*, which are now uncommon in representation of this specific community. He said that *Bérić* is derived from *Burúsaski* word “*Ber*”, which means “skillful”. Whereas, “*Bérić*” means “skillful person”. Likewise, “*Bériśal*” is a combination of two *Burúsaski* words “*Bér*” and “*Śal*”. Here the earlier word means “skillful” and later represents “place”. Hence, “*Bériśal*” means “place of skillful people”. On contrary to this, data explain that

“Bériśal, birgah samaan dumanas dish ’r saebaan”

“Place of weaponry production is called Bériśal.”

However, he suggests that this narration is not a confirmation but it remained a part of oral narrations.

⁴⁵ *Bérić* is the singular of *Béričo* and *Burúsaski* variant for Dom.

4.2 Culture

Indeed, culture is a portrayal of integrated traditions and rituals in a society which broadly constructs a moral order (Goldberg, n.d.). Unfortunate influences as well as occurrences halted such integrations, and created a vacuum amongst a larger chunk of *Burúšo* population and the aliens *Béričo*/Dom of Hunza. As a result of excessive marginal approaches towards *Béričo* from other residents, language, marriages, skills, ideas, gatherings and other sub-cultural elements of *Béričo* became stigmatized. A respondent seconds this reality by adding “*they are victims of cultural shame*”.

The following sub-themes will elaborate more findings on cultural components mentioned in the research framework.

4.2.1 Language

According to data, this community developed in isolation and gradual settlements of diverse people in specific areas catalyzed different languages into a pidgin language. Now, people of Mominabad named it “*Dawoodi*”, and others call it *Bériski* and *Domaaki*. However, they are not concerned with later names. He further claimed that it is easy to prove from modified and non-modified words, that multiple languages merged together and formed a particular dialect. Considering that, *Dawoodi* language includes words from Persian, Balti, Shina, Kashmiri, *Burúśaski*, and Hindi. Another native respondent claims that this language holds many loan words from Shina and few from Urdu too. However, they have not found any written document in this language. While discussing language shift, he said that according to need, they can converse with elder parents in mother tongue. Though, youngsters do not prefer to speak but learn from elders. Overall, people do not prefer to speak *Dawoodi* language due to uselessness.

A music maestro⁴⁶, an elder amongst the community said that *Dawoodi* language comprises Shina, Urdu, Pashto, Wakhi, and Balti. Furthermore, he substantiated that the younger generation does not prefer to speak *Dawoodi* language. Whereas, few elders can communicate.

While answering language preference, respondent said that elders are fluent but social pressures forced the new generation to shift language. The reason for such a shift includes association of social pressures with language that might portray them differently from majority. Now people have realized that language is not a factor that marginalized this community. But, a mindset of people

⁴⁶ *Dadang* player.

and socio-political factors have compelled them to this stage. Once after realizing the fact that altering social and political factors can bring change, people again started conversing. Ultimately, such realization has brought revival. Whereas, fewer families speak this language at home. While sharing his adolescence experience, he said that they were regularly bullied due to nasal-like speech style. Imitation was a general practice of schoolmates to insult us at school and this act caused demoralization in attaining education. According to one of his surveys, he found that the majority of middle-age community members left education after primary (5th grade). After an enquiry, he found that Mominabad had only a primary school and eighty percent of all enrollments in other valleys from Mominabad left at 6th grade due to such insults. Even in a few cases, teachers have also played discriminative roles in schools. Consequently, the majority avoided speaking their language in public spaces and shifted to other languages like *Burúsaski*.

Respondent said that aged people can speak this language. Whereas, children are neither aware of alphabets nor they are inclined to language. Whereas, *Burúsaski* is a dominant language at schools, hospitals, markets, and other public spaces. Hence, it is naturally not possible to communicate in *Dawoodi*. In early age, both Wakhi and Shinaki people tried to learn *Burúsaski* as it remained a mode of communication in Hunza. Despite the fact that people of Mominabad were skilled in multiple professions, none of them have tried to learn their language. Hence, people were deliberately kept away from this language.

Data revealed that the new generation lacks interest in language as well as the community is also least concerned. Unfortunately, neither modern education system has room for such languages. One of the barriers that created the gap between people and language is isolation from my hometown (Mominabad). Another immigrant confirms that *Bériski* language has been extinct in his close family and no near relative is fluent in it. Disastrously, children are entirely unaware of their ancestors' mother tongue. However, he wants revival and said:

*“Thoki awaji, lakin kam boki wajgi ehsae ehmiyat kam bini”*⁴⁷

“It shall be spoken, but due to the low population its importance minimized.”

While Inquiring language shift, respondent said that language is a prominent part of a nation's identity. According to him, the formation of *Bériski* language is not too old and it developed with

⁴⁷ This Shina accent belongs to the *Shinaki* region of lower Hunza.

the passage of time when different skilled people arrived and settled in a specified place. Upon studying it deeply, one can find words from Urdu, Shina, *Burúsaski*, and Persian. Whereas extinction of language is concerned, it is due to shifting from mother tongue to other languages. For instance, in Gilgit one has to learn Shina for communication purposes as *Bériski/Dawoodi* is an alien to rest. Such dominations even catalyze extinction of small languages. While talking on language preference, he said that he prefers to speak his mother tongue with all family members and also teaches his kids on a daily basis.

Interviewee claims that most of the children from *Dawoodi* community are not aware of language due to disengagement shown by the elder generation. Whereas, intra community marriages also caused threat to language as non-*Dawoodi* wives influence kids with their own mother tongue. In a nutshell, understanding of language is limited to the older generation and younger ones shifted to foreign languages like *Burúsaski*.

The rapidly vanishing voice spoken by less than five hundred Dom in Gilgit-Baltistan⁴⁸ is on brink of extinction. Doubtlessly, these people remained under influence of power elites, hence several aspects have been ascribed or enforced upon them. For instance, giving Dom/*Bériço* as a name to a group of foreign people and to their alien language as *Domaaki*⁴⁹ or *Bériski* is an example of enforcement. However, this language has historically affiliation to the Dardic group which is a category of “Old Indic language” Hussainpur (2014).

According to respondent, the *Domaaki* or *Bériski* is a composite of different languages and this blend comes from Sanskrit, Hindi and different Indo-Aryan languages. In sum, it is a pidgin language and not related to any specific geographical location.

Likewise, another respondent narrated that *Bériski* is a farraginous language and remained under influence of local languages as well as *Domaaki* borrowed words from Shina, Gojri⁵⁰, Kashmiri, and Balti. The respondent believes that Dom have psychological belief related to *Domaaki* language and they consider it as a cause of differentiation. Hence, they prefer its abundance.

⁴⁸ Piar Karim – *Domaaki: Disappearing Voice in Gilgit-Baltistan* (Unpublished term paper).

⁴⁹ *Dumaki* or *Doma*.

⁵⁰ Gojri is a language of nomadic Gujjars, who are scattered around different areas of Gilgit-Baltistan, Chitral, Dir and Swat (The Languages of Northern Pakistan | Political Economy | Thenews.Com.Pk, n.d.).

Whereas, mother tongue is a gift from God and due to this reason, they should not shift to other languages.

The data suggest that due to dissimilarity of language from majority *Burúšo*⁵¹, Dom remained in isolation. Resultantly, the new generation adopted *Burúšaski* language. Hence, they are not lingually proficient in their own language and are on brink of extinction. Currently, some of them are working on cultural and language revival.

A respondent clearly stated that the dominant language always suppresses small language(s) and this is a universal phenomenon. More or less, *Burúšaski* dominated this language⁵² as well. In his view, people of Mominabad have earned several fascinating office positions, achieved educational development, and economic progression but they consider *Bériski* language as a hurdle in improving identity. Hence, they are shifting to *Burúšaski* language. Considerably, such a shift would be an enormous loss for history and society of Hunza. Interestingly, researched revealed that Dom were not even allowed to speak their language in public places.

4.2.2 Stigma

According to data, association of stigmas forced an elder generation to believe that they were lesser beings. In contrast and with passage of time, the new generation is not prone to inferiority complexes; rather few consider themselves superior which is again not good. However, there are fewer elders who still feel inferior to others. In general, low population and alienation from the majority played a key role in development of stigmas.

Research shows that professions related to Dom were considered satanic and thus ridiculed. Additionally, he stated:

“Basc da Bérić senas wajatey mi kamtar mixhae baan.”

“Due to language and name Bérić, we are considered inferior.”

⁵¹ People who speak *Burúšaski*.

⁵² *Bériski* or *Dawoodi*.

While discussing professions, he claimed that others are eagerly engaged in all such professions once done by people of Mominabad. On the other hand, there is a decreasing trend in biasness previously faced by the *Dawoodi* community.

While discussing stigmas, data disclosed that envy was a major factor in associating stigmas with this particular community. Historical accounts confirm the professional contribution of *Bérićo* to the whole population of Hunza. Hence, non-professionals who were a larger chunk of population envied and propagated different stigmas against small populations. Whereas, migration has put a positive influence in reducing stigmas.

Research shows that without any substantiations, stigmas were used as tools to divide people in order to rule. Earlier, the closest families to *Mirs* were considered more venerable and prominent. While, distant people from *Mirs* and his close circle were classified according to wills and wishes of the ruling class.

A respondent explained a modern narrative of *Burúšo* musicians, who associate music as cultural heritage and feel pride for choosing music as a profession. He said that the same profession has been carried out for centuries but it was not duly acknowledged rather considered inferior.

Stigmatization is a socially constructed tool to dishonor someone's originality. Lopes (2006) argues that stigmatized social identity of an individual is a power to discredit him/her by attributions such as visual impairment or drug usage. The major ascriptions of negative annotation towards *Dom* includes: *Dom* are musicians, *Dom* are blacksmiths, being a *Dom* means characterless⁵³ individuals or marrying *Dom* is shameful.

According to views of respondent, kingship of Hunza had not officially declared or forced *Dom* people to indulge in promiscuous activities. But being a minority both in case of population and social dominance, they remained prone to marginality and particularly promiscuity. Due to the dominance of *Burúšo* people and being protectors of Hunza, they tend to be more dominant over non-*Burúšo* residents. More or less, the same is happening in the case of *Dom*. Here respondent totally rejected a general stance of *Dom* being promiscuous. However, there is a possibility of fewer incidents, as the working class always remained prone to unjust matters. Furthermore, he

⁵³ A claim without any furnished evidence.

added that with passage of time, stigmatization is in decline phase but not totally vanished from society. In some cases, being a member of this community overshadows their bravery. In general, people often use term “*Bérić*” to humiliate someone.

Data suggested that people collectively label a society with stigmas in order to keep them lower in social hierarchies and particular form includes promiscuity as a stigma to degrade a particular community. Consistently, such derogatory remarks exist in our society against each other from Hunza to Gilgit and up to Chilas. These infinitive allegations are part of bias to degrade someone in order to uphold economic exploitations, to maintain exclusivity in power structure, and demoralization in social hierarchy. As a result of such prejudices, there is a probability that someone will fall prey to exploitation. In order to dignify themselves, people associate immoralities with weaker beings. So, the same happened with Dom, due to the fragile segment under dominant society. On the other hand, perpetuation of stigmas helps to keep marginal people subordinates. Stigma is a kind of social tool to subjugate certain people in order to keep humans demeaned, slaved, or defeated through dehumanization. Whereas, this dehumanization tool helps to make them feel that they are lesser beings. Hence, this way people consider legit to kill or to exploit someone sexually. On another occasion, he said that it is unknown to justify and not factual to call a whole community promiscuous. Generally, idle persons visited them to pass leisure time as they were good in talks and music as well as they were also learnt ones who can narrate poetry. Hence, their background in music also remained as a repository of poetry and music.

Respondent said that in the society of Hunza, we should accept a reality that the fair dealings have not been commenced and skills were not appropriately regarded. Whereas, they⁵⁴ have been kept on margins at several fronts and remained victims of injustice. Both state⁵⁵ and residents are involved in biased practices, hence underdevelopment persisted.

Research revealed that after arrival of Islam people suddenly not abandoned previously inherited practices like idolatry and others. Hence, carrying old practices further resulted in continuation of social hierarchies. Beyond lingual difference, Dom were forbidden to share common residential

⁵⁴ *Bérićo*.

⁵⁵ Former State of Hunza.

areas and even not allowed to touch cutlery. However, after educational advancements, general prejudiced perception regarding Dom is changing. Yet, shaming culture still exists.

A respondent said that general public were in need of their⁵⁶ skills for construction of water channels and metallic tools. He further added:

“Hunzo ’vlo damanasany, daa apixaro xum dayalumny, achiney yexum’eh ny. Khuvey egracham dimaychanas yachivlo. Mirum eh gunz zum elawa amit gunz’an apim hunzovlo egaras eh thaam ky deychaebam, khat yarum en k deychaebam. Tou dochanas khot k bilum, Eti dak eh duro bilum, dochanas elay k bilum, gukey tamaam cheez’inar barenuma ka shyd hunzovlo shaoor etay level eh apima ni ke gutey duro guneqis exaebaam.”

“Being Hunza-born, audience of forefathers’ traditional talks and with accordance to self-comprehension, they (Bérićo/Dom) played music on every necessary occasion. With exception to death, every individual from king to down below was in need of their music as well as other required skill that includes blacksmithing. In purview of this, people in early ages might lack behind sense of respect to such skills.”

He further added:

“Walto sis eh ultumal lo chagan phaata neytan, khuvey da yarney oshumen nusey, gutey amit culture bila k Hunzovlo qadeem duwasila. Khot sirf Mominabad eh jamat ka api balki yatey kholey mi haring k hihin ehxiyas ya hihiner hahan senas amit culture bila k gutey qadeem zamana xum khole deem bila. Mi kholey xhundo ehxkoon han gunxe ouyatis daal otan, gatenxty, hin sisan thaam ly neen, gashuu onginay sivsiv ehchumey zuxam nusey. Akhiljuko ekalek manixen.”

“In Hunza, culture of propagating a gossip to a few people with intention of further escalation has old roots. However, such gossip-based propagations were not only limited to community of Mominabad but remained in our wider society. On one such occasion, a man lied and misinformed king about misconduct of a man towards princesses. In a result of this falsehood, five brothers were beheaded in a single day. Hence, such things were happened.”

⁵⁶ Bérićo.

Data suggests that people of Mominabad have remained skilled, wit, adroit, and wise. Hence, power elites tried hard to crush them on social fronts, such as through language shame and restricting them to a specific locality.

4.2.3 Marriages

Research revealed that many intercommunal marriages took place in history and those marriages can be traced back to the early period of 20th century. During reign of *Mir Nazim Khan*, people of Mominabad (then *Bérisál*) were offered intercommunal marriages but locals⁵⁷ negated with comment that this might cause further suppression. As a result of this decision, an inconsistency in intercommunal marriages was experienced. Respondent claimed that the population ratio of women to men in Mominabad always remained low. Hence, it was not practically possible to accept every marriage proposal from outer communities rather many proposals have been rejected. On the other hand, many men from Mominabad have wedded from different tribes and also some proposals got rejected.

Interviewee stated that education has played a vital role in changing old perceptions and it has also eased traditional patterns, which helped them to engage in out-of-caste marriages. However, he claimed that intracommunity marriages are not consistent, rather people favor personal achievements of an individual over the *Dawoodi* community. Research further revealed that the era of biasness has come to an end. Moreover, education has changed old perceptions on both sides and more people are accepting intracommunity marriage proposals.

Data shows that the common traditional mentality regarding marriage restrictions is evolving and people are shattering previous concepts. However, few such traces have weak roots in society. He said that there are multiple examples of intra-community marriages, and one of such examples can be found in his own family. He substantiated that a female member from his family is married to a *Burúšo*. Additionally, this respondent considered education and influence of religious institutes as transformative elements in society.

Research revealed an interesting insight on marriages and said that people from Mominabad avoided marriages with *Burúšo* ladies due to post divorces claims. Whereas, marriages within

⁵⁷ Residents of *Bérisál* (Now *Mominabad*).

Bérićo community and divorces had no such claims, which was called “*Bériski oraas*”⁵⁸. Hence, people avoided intracommunity marriages with *Burúšo*. At present, marriage patterns are more like personal choice of a person based on interests.

Data claim that in princely state era, there was a levy⁵⁹ on marriages. Whereas, arranging marriages within *Bérićo* community were exempted. Hence, *Bérićo* people favored to marry each other due to destitution and later marriages became limited to community. While discussing contemporary challenges, he said that still people are reluctant to accept marriage proposals from male members of the *Dawoodi* community. Hence, there are still traces of biasness.

In a similar way a respondent added that, to marry a Dom is not a general practice but with exception some historical intermarriages can be traced. However, new marriage patterns are more related to social statuses, education, and they are also getting into mainstream fields. Hence, people should marry Dom.

On marriages with Dom individuals, a respondent talked about a historic fact that Dom were unjustly isolated from marrying *Burúšo* both in accepting and offering marriage proposals. However, there are few exceptions which can be traced in Hunza. Another interviewee revealed that a fewer number of Dom and *Burúšo* have accepted such marriages. Data revealed that there were fewer marriages but then again non-Dom tribes used to disregard such marriages through social boycott. Even the offspring of such marriages suffered biasness due to cyclical tradition. However, tradition has subjugated them and modernity has changed preferences. Now, they are educated and hold authority to accept or reject marriage proposals. Modernity has emancipated them.

According to a respondent:

“Beruman eh khayal etay bila ky, bey, khuway adating yaski bixum, yatey kholey orutas eh qabil apam, adab tameez apim, thuming sharum haya taqazang amik bixum kye ekay maintain ehtis ayomaebam, teylatey khuvey ka hunzo eh Burúšo eh garing k ayechem senas chagan mehpixaro xum dimi.”

⁵⁸ A type of divorce, unlike others.

⁵⁹ Such levies were of different kinds i.e., domestic animals.

“To some perspectives narrated by forefathers, they were not compatible with others as well as they lack respect, modesty and manners. Hence, Burúšo avoided marriages”. In addition to marriage patterns.”

Respondent further added:

“Da sarikus niwashin tagae tap ky apim ky menan eh bilkul owas, khulto ky bermen sheleyziyo Burúšo eh omisho baan, garing manixa.”

“They were not completely disassociated and many Burúšo females were married to them. However, at large, people remained biased with Béričo in accepting and offering marriage proposals. Whereas, very few Burúšo approached this community with marriage proposals.”

According to an oral narrative told by a respondent, the equitable Mir Nazim Khan offered Béričo people to marry Hunzukutz. He said:

“Ayamanam xum eliji but chatt maxaemen, Hunzukutz ka gareng macham.”

“After my demise, people will consider you inferior. Hence, I will order marriages with people of Hunza.”

In response, the people of Bériśal refused this proposal.

4.3 Social Role

Data suggested that the social role was enforced and occupations were further divided into subtribes. Whereas, each of them was entitled to carry designated social roles without any prior consent.

In the typical princely state era, people of Hunza were socially categorized into ethnicities and further assigned socio-cultural roles as well as enforced obligatory work. Typically, in the state era, Béričo people were burdened more than other residents. A respondent revealed:

“Baskochi bapichen bixum, khuuvey mixkoon ty. Bapichen besn senuma ka? Thaam eh thomal etas eh ganey supandur ky khuwaty bim. Shiqa qar ehtas k khuwatey bixum. Thaamovey odigartakum basivlo achas yaras k khuwatey bilum. Balda suwas k khuwatey bilum. Malchis k khuwatey bilum.”

“They were overburdened with additional chores like collecting espond⁶⁰ for incensing, lawn mowing, cattle grazing, grass foddering, and even facing insult. Respondent added that in such a way they were being exploited.”

Furthermore, he said that after abrogation of Hunza state, this particular segment⁶¹ remained partially alienated yet thrived socially and on economic fronts.

A non-Dom musician from Altit revealed that in different princely state eras many *Burúšo* have also played music and few have also chosen blacksmithing as a profession. Hence, such professions did not remain wholly associated with a single community. At large, music and blacksmithing were major professions carried by people of Mominabad. He further revealed that *Béričo* were comparatively overburdened and narrated:

“Rajakichin, duwakichin, bapichan, chapichan.”

“Communal work, obligations, and different levies.”

Respondent claims that the role of this community has always remained positive towards the development of Hunza. Before induction of iron in the valley, they designed several wooden tools to dig water canals later replaced by iron tools. Additional contributions include manufacturing weaponry and composition of music for different events. Their existence was a pivotal contribution in disseminating happiness around the valley. Indeed, they were the sole pivot of happiness. Unfortunately, it is a bitter reality that these people have not been paid due respect in the past despite their contribution to society.

4.3.1 Music and Blacksmithing

A member of *Dawoodi* Community claimed that he has witnessed checks on musicians from the ruling class. For instance, playing music⁶² was imposed on specific families and extended to their children. Hence, these musicians were forced to continue profession in their lineage. While sharing his childhood memories, he called an incident that substantiates his claim.

⁶⁰ Also, Peganum Harmala or Wild Rue.

⁶¹ *Béričo* of Hunza.

⁶² Instruments such as *Surunai*, *Damal* and *Dadang*

According to him:

“In the afternoon, I was on way to the orchard with a book under my arm and met the strolling family of Mir. Suddenly, Ayash Khan⁶³ a brother of Mir Jamal Khan saw the book and inquired with me. At that time, I was an adolescent and replied:

Abdullah Jan eh ee ba

I am the son of Abdullah Jan

Just after hearing my reply, he snatched that book and said:

Uney nuqatan da damal⁶⁴ menay ogarchumen

If you will read then who will play Damal and ripped that book. However, Mir Jamal Khan was a good man and intercepted his brother, and said:

Ya ly bes, jimley thamkus phas ahcha shua, uney gukey harkating neytan. Sis but tang ayoti

Your such behaviors will ruin my reign, do not trouble people.”

According to research, within the periphery of Mominabad, people were not only musicians and blacksmiths but also worked as cutlers and goldsmiths too. On contrary to this, data revealed that the new generation is not inclined to these professions. However, out of curiosity, few youngsters are pursuing music. Considering this, traditional music is not endangered due to affiliation of diverse communities in order to gain financial benefits. On the basis of historic enforcements, blacksmithing is not highly regarded despite the fact that it is a lucrative profession. As a result, blacksmithing is an endangered profession due to fewer engagements and lack of interest from the new generation. Interviewee revealed that despite the association of benefits with blacksmithing, people are not inclined due to historic grievances such as checks and enforcement. Particularly, older generations in lineage were forced to opt for the same profession.

As per acquired data from a professional, he narrates that traditional music has remained an essential constituent of all proceedings and events occurred in royal office(s), homes and valleys

⁶³ According to respondent, he was secretary and younger brother of *Mir Jamal Khan*.

⁶⁴ Type of Kettle Drum.

at large. Despite the fact that other people have opted and performed historic professions of the *Dawoodi* community, their skills are not matched to experts. He further claims that they know these trades better than others due to centuries old attachment. Currently, many pursue careers in traditional music but low numbers from the new generation prefer blacksmithing due to the laborious nature of work.

There is a claim and further confirmed by a respondent that until his father, blacksmithing as a profession has been carried out by his ancestors. Whereas, he has not opted blacksmithing rather switched to music as *Surunai*⁶⁵ player. Furthermore, data revealed that many people in Mominabad were forced by *Mirs* to switch historical professions. For instance, he said that goldsmithing was their ancestral profession but family members from later lineage opted music.

Data claims that the oldest profession of Mominabad is blacksmithing. Whereas, music as a profession has been forced upon them. Initially, skilled people were gathered in order to develop weaponry and agricultural tools.

A respondent denies that music, blacksmithing and other skills were not ascribed nor forced upon *Bérićo*. Even powerful kings have not enforced them. However, they inherited these skills from their ancestors and served accordingly. Historically, in Mongol's era skilled people were exempted from obligatory fatigue. But due to localization of skilled Dom, they were kept on the lowest stage of social hierarchy. Currently, they have joined various state organs and also serve several private offices. Particularly, migration has helped them to avail socio-economic opportunities.

Respondent said:

“*Ehgaras kha ban ehcher dunam*”

“Even, they stopped playing music.”

However, in a reaction to this stance, non-Dom started to learn musical⁶⁶ skills. As a result of this trend, Dom realized its importance and felt professionally threatened. But in the state era, they were bound to their skills and profession according to the social hierarchy set by the ruling class.

⁶⁵ *Surunai* or *Surnai* is a type of musical instrument (wind instrument).

⁶⁶ Traditional musical instruments i.e., *Dandang*, *Damal*, *Surunai*, *Tutek*, *Gabi*.

Contemporary situation is much different and they are free to choose their profession according to their will.

According to data, livelihood requires a job and individuals from Mominabad remained skillful from generations. Due to this reason, they continued historic professions for earnings despite the fact that those professions were not well-regarded. Though, they were offered with *Bérićoman* for musical services but remunerated with fine meals. As per instructions of elders, children considered those professions as inheritance. Whereas, changing profession could have resulted in joblessness. Due to attachment of livelihood with profession, they continued and carried further. In concluding remarks, respondent said that in regard to their art contributions, he has entitled them as “*Asuuse Sukuyoo*”, which he translated it into “Entertaining Brothers or Brothers’ community”.

Research revealed that people enjoyed music but never appreciated musicians. On the other hand, people were dependent on their skills due to awareness of indigenous knowledge on engineering.

4.4 Geographical Location

Mominabad (then *Bériśal*) is comparatively a small settlement located in the center of oldest settlements i.e., Altit, Balti, and Ganish of Hunza. Research exhibited that the central location was chosen due to accessibility of the general public for tools related to agriculture, cutlery, musical services, and weaponry. Secondly, they were not warriors but remained technical people. Hence, vulnerability to outside attacks compelled authorities to make them settle in the central area.

4.5 Structure

In this particular research, the structure elucidates the economic and political status of *Bérićo* both in historical and contemporary conditions.

4.5.1 Economy

According to data, oral history tells that there was no set rule for remuneration against services such as currency. However, craftsmen were allowed to collect *Jaṭi*⁶⁷ from door to door. In a broader view, the existence of people was deliberately made limited to hand-to-mouth. Besides this, the new generation has struggled and secured both private and public offices. Whereas business is

⁶⁷ *Jaṭi* is a wooden bowl used for drawing out flour from a wooden box called *Čhágur*.

concerned, many families have constructed hotels and shops, which are a source of gainful economic activity. Further inquiry revealed that lack of access to education has caused economic deprivation. In comparison to the past, there is an economic boost in Mominabad yet not parallel to rest.

While discussing historical economic conditions of *Dawoodi* community, a respondent said that people were dependent on agricultural land and its yield. By all means, they remained self-sufficient but not lived lavishly nor under extreme poverty.

An interviewee responded that Dom's agricultural landholding was less and hence remained economically unstable. However, locals were taxed with various kinds of levies against their services. Surprisingly, during and after Jamal Khan's reign, both Dom and non-Dom availed various economic opportunities both inside and outside of Hunza. Another respondent affirmed this narrative and said that Dom were paid against their services and one of such kinds was *Jaṭi*. However, major modes of payment were eatables and vulnerable servicemen collect *Jaṭi* from door to door. He said:

“E-ee halar nenin nukuxer divsham”

“Himself was responsible to collect Jaṭi from each home”

While discussing economic issues, interviewee informed that Hunza remained a harsh area, so availability of food remained scarce. Historic narrations revealed that the whole area of Hunza was harsh for living and agriculture activities, hence all residents were faced with food shortages including Dom residents. Amazingly, even kings have not enjoyed abundance and mostly relied on edible levies in the form of different food items. So, it is hard to say that Dom were in good economic conditions. However, after abrogation of state in 1974, they have achieved and bagged various positions as well as their contemporary economic condition has improved. Moreover, there is no biased economic relations with these people.

Interviewee believes that rigidity in traditional values and structure made individuals limited to the same profession(s) from one generation to next. Whereas, intertwined traditional skills and economy were central components, which compelled them to a limited social circle.

Here respondent clarifies that both immigrants and non-immigrants have thrived economically. Now people are least concerned about ethnic affiliations for carrying out business with them.

Data revealed that economic conditions of Hunza before construction of Karakoram Highway were not good, and people were solely dependent on agricultural land and domestic animals. Likewise, some people of Mominabad were self-sufficient and few have struggled to earn livelihood.

4.5.2 Political

While discussing political engagement of *Dawoodi* people with power structure, data claimed that it was not an easy task to put a plea in the king's court. Although, *Tranfa* was entitled to put different issues to the royal court and with passage of time every entitled *Tranfa* acted accordingly. However, the courageous *Wazir Qadeero*⁶⁸ has engaged himself with royals in resolving major issues of this community.

While substantiating one of *Wazir Qadeero*'s works, respondent said that in the state era if a childless brother dies then his brother(s) was/were not entitled to hold his portion of land. Instead, the king retrieves all his landholdings and allots land according to his own preferences. Whereas, this was not the rule for the rest of *Hunzikutz*. Hence, this was a big problem for the community as land was one of major sources of economic activity. On the death of his own brother *Chitho*, *Wazir Qadeero* went to the king and asked him to arrange a funeral procession.

Respondent narrated:

“Nazer! khabar gor suwa ba ghoxo eerae. Nukoon enay qabur desmanas bi. Aur en yarey ehtas bila da eskikux ky thalykux eh rasam ada ehtas bila. Amin ahxo? Ly goxo erae yarey, Chitho. Da uney goxo ja ahxo ehcha? Bushae uney shay da ja ahxo emaebaeya? Ghoxo eerae, ehtas gumaeba. Agr guemo izzat xey dukogen ayecha ky walto khananx lo elaan ehcham, thum eh ehxo dafan ayetae, yarey gutas sharae ehtae nussey”.

This narration closely translates in to:

“Wazir Qadeero: *I have news of your brother's demise. Go and dig grave for him and also need to follow third- and seventh-day processions.*

Mir: *Which brother?*

Wazir Qadeero: *Your brother, Chitho.*

Mir: *Why do you relate your brother with me?*

⁶⁸ He was also known as *Bata Qadeero*, who was a local intellectual from the *Bérico* community of Hunza.

Wazir Qadeero: You own his land. Then how is it possible that he is my brother? Your brother is dead, you should hold a funeral procession. If you feel insulted by doing this, I will announce in four towns that the king has not held funeral of his brother and disrespected dead body.”

This conversation impelled the king and he passed order to inherit land in such cases.

Data further revealed that in later periods, *Wazir Qadeero* and *Barak* have worked with *Mir*. However, in early periods, the community has faced isolation in power structure and remained limited to specific tasks. On the other hand, now public offices are not biased to the community. Rather, office bearers show more sympathy and offer cooperation once they know about us. However, there are also few exceptions where employees have acted biasedly. Overall, the biased factor is declining.

In the state era, there was a formal cabinet of selected members called *Maraka*. In this royal cabinet, the king favors local voices who were wise enough to hold positions such as *Wazir*, *Tranfa*, and *Yarpa*. Whereas, some other local wisemen were also attributed as members of said cabinet. A respondent elaborates that choosing a cabinet member was sole discretion of king based on family ties and level of intellect one possesses. He further added:

“Tamaamtar danishversho ty mabni hunzo eh marka bim, markavlo ulo khuiverh dish apim, khuvey zhanguen ehmaebam. Hunzukux eh nazer lo khuwaley besn aqalan, besn shaooran eh imkaan ayosham. Jeeyatum maney esslo balasen, dado Qadeero juven gunexhuwan, khuvey tareekh lo yarne menaan eh zikir ahxuxila. Maemen, osslo balsho zarur maemen, elay k insan bam, elay k osslo balsho bam lekin, Hunzo eh tareekh lo dado Qadeero verbal ya oral history amit bila ky etavlo dado Qadeero minashing but maring minashing bixen or enay ehtum duraeng bixen”

“Establishment of cabinet includes wise men but no room for them (Bérićo). They had no formal representation of authority. In general, people of Hunza did not expect wisdom and consciousness from them. Albeit, intelligentsia like Qadeero was an exceptional intellect. However, other people like him cannot be found in history. Being humans, there is a possibility of many local visionaries but in verbal and oral history of Hunza Qadeero was foremost amongst others for his stories of wisdom and services.”

Moreover, on public authority, respondent claims that until era of *Dado Wazir Qadeero* they were overburden with obligations. But after his intellectual approach and wittiness several duties were dismissed.

The respondent added that Dom were allowed to file their petition in royal court. However, there were fewer exceptions like vizier *Qadeero* who has wisely and bravely conveyed matters of community to royals. Contemporarily, government offices are dealing with their issues without any prejudices.

More elaborately, a respondent stated that in the princely state era, Dom of Hunza were not fortunate enough to migrate on their own will. Rather, they migrated in order to facilitate non-Dom tribes with their skills i.e., music and blacksmithing. In the past, they suffered from different atrocities. Despite the fact that the king was aware of Dom sufferings their plea was comparatively not taken seriously in state court or nominally served. However, after the end of state rule there is equity and fairness in dealings with Dom.

4.6 Identity

4.6.1 Identity of Dom/*Bérićo*

Data shows that in the past people of Mominabad have accepted Dom/*Domaaki* as identity due to lack of education, unavailability of historic accounts, and usage of brute force against them. Inferiority complex was one of dominant pressures from society that caused submissiveness. Still, such traces can be found in the elder generation of Mominabad. Despite the fact that they were highly skilled, oppression as a tool was used to make them feel inferior. However, a new generation from the community feels pride after realizing historic facts about skilled ancestors and their crafts which helped Hunza achieve glory. Whereas, they also remained the sole source of entertainment (music) as there was no alternate.

Respondent claimed that he is proud of being a *Bérić* and feels no shame in using this name. As his ancestors have devoted their whole lives in such professions. Until and unless, one does not earn through ill means, there is no shame in established identity. Another respondent affirms that calling *Bérić* is not a matter of shame for him. Rather, he feels pride in it as it shows his identity. Whereas, people also show respect to them due to music-based identity.

In contrast, research revealed that old names such as *Bérić* and *Bériśal* are not a threat to identity. However, he claimed that changing names is an innovative idea as this is required in government related processes. Therefore, he claimed that it is a good idea to change name(s) as many villages in Hunza have already changed historic names to new ones. While commenting on the threat to language, he desperately said:

“Ye baluus eht, damen ayesir, bechabaan?”

“It is of no significance and shall extinct.”

A government employee said that with passage of time, different people with diverse professional backgrounds were kept by *Mirs* in a specific area called *Bériśal*, which became the identity of *Bérićo*. Later, this identity was replaced by *Dawoodi* and he stood confused about its positive and negative aspects. On the other hand, claimant said that ancient professions i.e., music, blacksmithing and others make them unique, and these are core factors of identity. Furthermore, he believes that changing the historic name *Bériśal* to Mominabad has its own consequences as such alterations do not empower a community. He believes that loyalty with professions makes differences.

While commenting on historic names, a respondent said that he does not feel shame in calling himself *Bérić*. He accepts this identity as his ancestor served homeland under the same name and profession. Furthermore, he claimed that negative denotations with historic names create trouble. Otherwise, *Bérić*, *Bérićo*, and *Bériśal* are normal names like others. Moreover, he said that Allama Nasir Hunzai played a role in changing the name from *Bériśal* to Mominabad. Also, he named traditional musicians as *Dawoodi* Band due to commonality amongst professions of Hazrat Dawood and people of Mominabad.

According to data, contemporary peer suggestion from school explains that children from Mominabad are humbler than rest and considerably it is a prominent identity that is shaped due to inclination towards religion.

On historic identity of *Bérićo/Dom*, a respondent said that very foremost elements involved in shaping identity includes language⁶⁹, dissimilarity with other social groups or tribes, unique skills,

⁶⁹ *Berichiski*.

and specified lower residential area. Whenever, *Bérićo* speak *Burúsaski* language, they often stretch the last alphabet of words, which also indicates that the person is from Mominabad.

According to data, in different areas of Gilgit-Baltistan they are called Dom. Whereas, *Burúšo* called them *Bérićo*. Remarkably, respondent being a close associate of Allama Nasir Uddin Nasir Hunzai, said:

“Allama Buzurguwar eh mehsus ny, ki gutey zamanavlo masawaat eh dour di bila, wahdat-e-insani eh dour dibila, aur yek-haqiqat eh dour dibila. Tou mi gutey Hunzovlo akhurmen khidmat ny mimer khushi michiwaan. Gaar eh gunz lo ky khushi michiwaan, mazhabi tehwareng lo ky khushi michiwaan, da thamo ka bsn sargarmi bilum ky etavlo ky khushi michiwaan, da gutey tezheek manas lafz bes seyen, Bérićo lafz?”

*“The honorable Allama⁷⁰ realized that the era of equality, unity of humanity, and Monoreality surfaced. Hence, even after serving Hunza and pleasing people with happiness in marriages, religious events and historical services on royal occasions, why is this ridiculing word *Bérićo* is used?”*

Interviewee further said:

“Agarchi bilum yarum tehzeeb lo, lakin gutey omans nusey Dawoodi Band lafz istimal ehtimi.”

“Earlier civilization used this word but he (Allama) dissuaded and used Dawoodi Band. This name has been derived from prophet Dawood due to similarity of professions.”

Respondent further claimed that people of Mominabad felt honor and accepted this change as a gift. Interestingly, there is a version claiming that Allama suggested a change of name from *Bériśal* to Mominabad in appreciation of historical contributions rendered by this community. Whereas, this suggestion was accepted by Ismaili Imamate and *Bériśal* was replaced by Mominabad. However, this claim has not been substantiated by official documents.

Data revealed that within specific nomenclature, the name of area or person should be studied under existing contextual relation. It is reality that there was discrimination with words *Bérić* and *Bériśal*, rather these were considered derogatory despite being artisans. One of such discriminatory

⁷⁰ Allama Nasir Uddin Nasir Hunzai.

acts can be traced in old homes, where people build *Béricoman*⁷¹ near to *Yórci*⁷² specifically for these skilled people. Doubtlessly, they were more skilled than any other tribe, yet negatively discriminated against and remained marginalized. Whereas, changing names are concerned, respondent believes that “cause of changing name from *Bérisal* to Mominabad was to remove the discriminatory perceptions of common *Burúso* and the people who were suffering because of their name, which caused isolation and marginalization”.

Respondent clearly narrated that Dom have no prominent physical differences by which they can be identified from the rest of the population. In general, they have been catered with contempt and paid less heed to their stance. Unfortunately, people have attempted to disrespect them and they endured such attempts due to the sparse population.

Respondent informed us on marginalization that our society has differentiated these people from the rest of society. Naturally, they are not different from other local people. Doubtlessly, Dom remained as a marginalized group and the state acted as facilitator to keep them on margins despite the fact that they were highly skilled. Their skills were not duly regarded nor properly utilized. The prominence of their identity includes blacksmithing and music. They remained victims of ethnic profiling. For example, *Béricoman* is an especially designated place inside a traditional home for *Béricó* musician. The next example includes departing two *Béricó* towards the war zone in order to get information regardless of their safe return. However, in case of death in such circumstances, their lives and sacrifices were not valued. Another respondent agrees that they were under restrictions before entering homes of non-Dom. The *Béricoman* was an elevated small step far from the main sitting area, which was originally allocated for *Béricó* people and were not allowed to sit elsewhere inside home on their visit.

Data revealed that Dom have no prominent physical traits by which they can be separately identified. Socially constructed classes and its outcomes have created hierarchies, which further triggered a general attitude in a society that resulted in the construction of a special identity of *Béricó* people.

⁷¹ A heavily biased and peripheral place designated inside a traditional home.

⁷² *Yórci* is a place nearer to the entrance in traditional homes, where old *Burúso*/others used to place their footwears and firewood.

The respondent shared a historical event and said that Ismaili Council has changed name from *Bérisal* to Mominabad, while he was serving in the capacity of secretary. Aforementioned change was a step to value them, as this segment previously remained ignored. He further accepted that people have not paid attention to their originality and only focused on their professional services. Yet, they remained only skilled people in the region.

Although, a respondent emphasized that changing names cannot empower them as the term Dom is a part of historical Dardistan. It is only possible in a specific case, only and if alteration of this name (Dom) is limited to a single region⁷³. Widely, this term Dom is known throughout Gilgit, Nagar, Chilas, Kohistan, Punyal, and Yasin for this specific community.

Data regarding different aspects of identity suggest that Dom were blacksmiths, musicians, and singers. According to traditional narratives and general understanding, they were intelligent, sharp, and witty. Like *Bata Qadeero*, *Ustad Dewana* from Hussainabad was an example of intelligence. Doubtlessly, only a creative person can compose music and can excel in engineering. So, Dom were only people who used brains and others focused on physical power.

4.6.2 Identity Threat

Data shows that endangered language is a threat to identity. However, some people are rigorously working on revival of *Bériski* language. Whereas, few people are not inclined as well as not willing to revive their mother tongue. Interestingly, an alternative approach exists in this community. Astonishingly, this includes submerging themselves into surroundings irrespective of threats to language and other components of identity. Such reasons are due to association of stigmas that resulted in forcing people to change previous identity. Respondent claims that the community is not changing their identity due to inferiority complex rather such changes are due unsubstantiated associations. Additional data claims that the ancestral profession of blacksmithing is not under threat but language is on brink of extinction.

While responding to contemporary challenges, a respondent said that Dom are in a better socio-economic condition. Yet, they willingly avoid communication in their mother tongue, rather they prefer the extinction of *Domaaki* language. Now only philologists are interested in *Bériski* language.

⁷³ Hunza.

Respondent agreed that lingual identity of Dom people is on brink of extinction as language is in severe danger. In the context of Hunza, they are availing educational opportunities without any gender difference. Yet, a smaller number of *Béričo* speakers is a major hurdle in communicating with the majority. Hence, new opportunities are a potential danger for their language and it is up to them to cope with language threat.

While answering potential threats to identity of Dom community, data revealed that extinction of language is a prominent threat. Here language extinction is not limited to speaking as it also holds extensive indigenous knowledge. Being knowledgeable sources, their social structure and worldview have not been studied yet, which makes them further vulnerable. Besides this, adoption of alternate languages and offerings of modernity will cause threat to their associated skills.

Data suggests that musicians of Hunza are no more subject to biases regardless of association with any specific tribe. Unfortunately, the identity of the oldest musical settlement (Mominabad) is on the brink of danger due to inattentiveness of the younger generation towards music. After the demise of older musicians, it will lose its specific identity.

4.6.3 Role of Religion in Changing Identity

Data revealed that religion has played a major role in decreasing the inferiority complex as different Jamati Institutes offered diverse opportunities. Hence, such opportunities helped to change common perception regarding inferiority complexity.

According respondent, previously religion has not played a vital role in changing the identity of Dom. However, after 1970, religious organizations were introduced and Dom were formerly included in organizational structures.

On role of religion in changing identity of Dom, Alwaiz Fida Ali Aisar said that after arrival of Ismaili *Dawat* and its acceptance in state era, they⁷⁴ were not suddenly accepted as equal beings but remained underprivileged. With passage of time, religion has played its role and interviewee stated that it has uplifted all people irrespective of class and social categories. For instance, a religious office bearer from Mominabad is no different from rest and involvement in religious affairs has changed historic perceptions.

⁷⁴ *Béričo/Dom*.

Respondent said that in 1972 Ismaili constitution for central Asia was implemented and king⁷⁵ of Hunza was appointed as president. In the second term, in capacity as a secretary from Karimabad council, we added Qabool and Abdullah Jan as members from Mominabad. This was the first time when Ismaili council⁷⁶ granted representation in religious affairs. Afterwards, Habibullah Jan⁷⁷ served as a secretary for many years in Ismaili Regional Tariqa Board.

On empowerment, a researcher said that modern institutionalization in Ismaili sect such as Councils and Tariqa Boards have opened opportunities, which ultimately helped Dom to get empowered by availing various opportunities. Whereas history is concerned, traditional structure was exclusively limited to *Raja* and his decisions. However, after rationalization of institutes⁷⁸ they have gained more space to play their role. In the context of Ismailism, religion helped *Domaaki* to transcend from traditional limitations. The relation between *Domaaki* and religion is like “it is a kind of modernizing force to get rid of shackles or chains of traditions that bound them (Dom) under the position of subalternity”.

Data show that Ismaili Council suggested entitlement for *Kalb-e-Ali*, who was a local *Surunai* player and wind instruments prodigy of the 20th century. Later on, this suggestion for entitlement was accepted and conferred “*Huzur Mukhi*” as honorary title from Ismaili Imamate.

4.7 Migration

In early times, only the ruler and his close associates were well-off and the rest struggled for every aspect. For Dom, one of the factors for migration is lack of land holding.

In a group interview, the respondents claimed that they have no intention to migrate from their hometown Mominabad. However, better opportunities can convince anyone from anywhere. In history, migration was more oriented towards new settlement. Being professionals, it was a need of time to accompany other tribes in settling new towns. Hence, professional people such as skilled blacksmiths migrated along with other migrants to counter land scarcity in Hunza. However, musicians also migrated according to the needs of people. Data confirms that with passage of time, many people from Mominabad moved to other towns such as Oshikhendass, Danyor, Nomal,

⁷⁵ *Mir* Jamal Khan.

⁷⁶ With reference to Hunza.

⁷⁷ A resident from *Bérisal/Mominabad*.

⁷⁸ In the context of Ismailism.

*Matumdass*⁷⁹, Sost and Shiskat due to land scarcity in their hometown. Migration has played a vital role in benefiting *Dawoodi* on several fronts that include new economic opportunities, excess to education and health, and land acquisition. However, political inclination as a community is still underdeveloped.

Respondent said that migration has opened new opportunities for them that includes easy access to education, health, economic activities, businesses, land ownership, public and private offices. Additionally, another professional affirms that migration has brought positive changes in living standards. For instance, it opened local and national based opportunities in different sectors without any prejudices.

While discussing historic atrocities, interviewee narrated an incident that was passed to him through his father. He said, one day some school kids quarreled with his uncle for attaining school and were beaten. However, his father resisted and defended his brother, and told them that it was not their concern. Due to such incidents, few individuals moved to Gilgit for attaining education and later held different positions at offices. On the other hand, migration has helped many individuals to excel in businesses.

Commenting on migration, respondent said that it is important to get diversified and migration is a tool that plays this role. Another interviewee confirms that migration has played a vibrant role in getting diversified. He said that migration has solved the problem of land scarcity and also opened economic opportunities on a large scale.

Data revealed that many people have received compensation in the form of lands from the king against compulsory-cum-communal work called *Rajaki*. Due to such land holdings many people from Mominabad migrated to new towns for resettlement and the same case applies to the respondent. Furthermore, he narrated that migration has played a vital role in changing the mindsets of *Hunzukutz*, as the majority of emigrants from Hunza are friendly to them. However, people from central Hunza still hold biased opinions, and one example is scarcity of intra community marriages. On the other hand, he believes that migration has played a vital role in economic growth as well as in the attainment of education. Hence, he said that migration helps to change identity.

⁷⁹ Rahimabad.

It is the fact that Dom arrived from various vicinities to Hunza with artisan and musical skills in different epochs. However, with the arrival of these skilled people, they were not allowed to choose their own locale and practices but created social boundaries against their social role. A respondent firmly substantiates:

“Holum duwaam teylatey babar oxanaan.”

“They were immigrants hence not considered equal.”

Furthermore, he said that it is universal behavior of indigenous people to resist against new arrivals. In different countries around the world, every country has their own set of stern rules for granting citizenship, which is a time taking process. In historic context, more or less Hunza had granted citizenship to brave people, wise, any extended family member from any indigenous tribe, and immediate relative(s) of women married from outside. Many people migrated from different regions to Hunza and settled according to association with local tribes with certain rules.

He added:

“Oqaratas eh tariqan bixum, bes senuma ky, rom xum holey life ee apim na. Room xum holpa eerimi ky na en satesh emae bam na eerum lo shapik nichu bim, nae n zameen yacham, na en xhil yacham. Bes senuma ka ky han roman eh rajaki, han roman eh duwaki, han roman eh systeman lo emanas zaruri bilim. Khuvey ovey baan menay amit k roman lo avorutan, khuvey roman lo avorutan. Qadeemtareen, khuvey kuyoch men bam ky, ov bes ayurutuman, khot tareekh eh gutey baravlo but ziada clear ayechi bi, hunzo eh tareekh eh. Beruman eh saebaan ky dakalumux awaji baam teylate duxam, da yarey alag dish nuchin Bérisal eh orutumen saebaan. Beruman eh khayal ehtay bila ky, khuvey tae apim, thaloh khanaan bim. Thaloh khanaan xum gusey khaney eek k alag bilim, Bérisal apim, Bérisal apim, tayly ky hunzukux bam, jarmas bam. Beruman eh khayal eaty bila ky, yatey gutay amit ky roman lo adjust omanumen ky, amlum deem enay nixo yaarelar washcham saebaan, yarey huru ni, yarey ovey ka maney nusey. Taemeymatey beruman maring khandaaning eh holum dumusho ov ky akholar nikiyanin ye etay ovik duwasila saebaan”

“There were rules for settlements as life outside social group was impossible. For instance, death outside of caste makes hurdles in funeral processions i.e., burial and funeral repast meal. Additionally, out of caste individuals had no land and irrigation rights. For acquisition of all

such rights, it was necessary for one to be a part of communal work in accordance with his tribe. These people were not merged with any social group. The oldest history of Hunza is not clear on the disintegration of this group. Yet, some say that blacksmiths were the need of time thus summoned and allocated lands at Bérişal. Some believe that there were seven localities and Bérişal was not one of them. Even at that place, different people of Hunza resided. In view of some, foreigners who were not adjustable to any social group were sent down⁸⁰ for settlement. Hence, many respectable foreign families were also merged and tagged with same name⁸¹.”

Furthermore, respondent added that migration of *Bérićo*/Dom out of Hunza not occurred due to social suffocation but to advance their capacity building. Secondly, people of Hunza generally moved out to acquire lands and the same is applicable to them. However, there are fewer possibilities that anyone would have migrated from Hunza to reshape identity. For instance, one or two individuals out of hundred might have migrated due to later causes. But there is a fact that wherever they migrated with *Hunzukutz*, they were called *Bérićo*.

Interviewee added that modernity has helped Dom to overcome social taboos and it eased paths for education. Whereas, migration to new towns, helps to get rid of previous power relations and social structure. Likewise, it happened with Dom who migrated out of Hunza. On the other hand, earlier patterns of migration were limited to new settlements in peripheral regions of old settlements such as Hussainabad. In such cases, non-Dom were accompanied by skilled Dom people in order to serve new settlers-cum-immigrants with their skills. For instance, music on occasion of festivals and marriages as well as crafting tools for agricultural activities were among basic services. Such historical migrations not only copied the same social structure but also continued it for generations. However, later migrations to cities like Gilgit and Karachi created new social relations. The respondent divides migration into two phases. First includes orders of *Mirs* who were sole decision makers in the princely state era for any human mobilization to other parts of Hunza and outside of state. Secondly, after the abolition of Hunza state, dynamics of migration changed and varied according to the needs of individuals.

⁸⁰ *Bérişal*.

⁸¹ *Bérićo*.

On reason of migration, a respondent said that scarcity of land is a major factor for outflux of Dom people from *Bérisal*/Mominabad to other regions such as Oshikhendass, Danyor, Punjab, and Karachi.

Data show that internal migration of *Bérićo* in Hunza has eased social pressures, such as out of tribe marriages in certain limits. However, emigrants (*Bérićo*) of Hunza have widely gained freedom due to minimal social pressures and traditional hierarchy.

4.8 Results

On surface, traces of historical marginalization of *Bérićo* are not prominent but feebly exist in the society of Hunza. Previously confined roles have come to an end. Fortunately, after the end of the princely state era, their own will triumphed in achieving socio-economic goals in and around Mominabad. The saviors of traditional music have disseminated beats and tunes to non-*Bérićo*, who once relegated *Bérićo* for being musicians. Few of them expressed that people venerate their contributions and also pay respect to traditional musicians without any prejudice. Once considered blacksmithing as an ill-fated profession is now a source of inspiration for all modern businessmen, who deal in the same products and ventures.

In particular, the past profiling of *Bérićo*'s sanctity by the ruling class and people of Hunza, is now crumbled. The research data affirm that people held unethical biased grounds to keep them on margins. However, modern accessibilities, socio-religious avenues and educational development in the region have unchained *Bérićo* from stigmas. Resultantly, contemporary matrimonial matters are now relatively diverse, with wider space for more intra-tribal marriages. Doubtlessly, migration catalyzed access to education and now it is not a matter of trouble unlike the princely state era. Majority of respondents claimed that land scarcity and professional services compelled them to migrate. This claim can be substantiated from the locale of *Bérisal*, as it holds scarce land.

However, one of the identity threats for people of Mominabad includes colloquial language. Here colloquial language includes intentional or unintentional usage of specific words and phrases that directly or indirectly hurt emotions of *Bérićo*/*Dawoodi* people. On the other hand, *Bériski* has been drastically becoming a severely endangered language due lack of interest from *Bérićo* themselves.

Currently, the majority of *Bérićo*/Dom disregard historic names such *Bérić*, *Bérićo*, *Bérisal* or Dom. They claim that these names were discriminatory labeled by the-then ruler(s) hence not

acceptable. In this regard, they possess a strong narrative that *Bérićo* were not remained a single ethnic group. Reason why, ascribing a single name to different ethnic groups is an unjust association. On the contrary, I have found that a chunk of the population accepts historical identity and they feel no shame in it. Rather they believe that new names may cause an identity crisis.

Despite all mentioned developments in the region, migration has played a vital role in empowering this tribe. Inevitably, migrants have a higher ratio of land holdings and wider businesses. Additionally, migration also helped them to overcome past hierarchical values that were restraint in achieving social equality. Now, they have equal access to the modern world except for a few hurdles in intra-tribal marriages. On the other hand, inhabitants of Mominabad are not deprived of common resources. However, feeble shadowiness of marginality is likely more prominent in Mominabad compared to other areas, where *Bérićo* migrated. Research identified this phenomenon and claims that it is due to close proximity to older settlements, i.e., Altit, Baltit and Ganish. Both ruling class and ordinary people from these places were involved in sidelining inhabitants of *Bérićal*. On the other hand, peripheral areas were not strongly bonded to traditional structure. Hence, this reason partially eliminated social biases and created a sense of harmony on foreign lands. The *Bérićo* people are thriving and developing economic opportunities both in businesses and through diverse professions.

Interestingly, many claim that people outside of oldest settlements⁸² are less concerned with earlier marginal relations with *Bérićo*. Comparatively, these people are more sociable with migrant *Bérićo*. However, there are feeble traces around Mominabad. In nutshell, migration has helped every migrant community including *Bérićo* to break the traditional hierarchical structure of central Hunza installed by *Mirs*. Now, traditional social structure is weakened in every aspect. Whereas, in recent decades, Ismaili sect has played an inclusive role to strengthen this community by offering working space. Altogether, inclusion of *Bérićo* in religious matters helped to weaken structural marginality. This claim substantiates the inclusive approach of Ismaili council, which included individuals from this community in both administrative and religious responsibilities. In different places, they were accepted and such acceptance helped them to secure institutional development in diverse social settings.

⁸² Altit, Baltit, and Ganish.

In Hunza, the inception of diverse and modern knowledge transformed individual behavior, which further contributed to the upliftment of society. Non-*Bérićo* people passionately adopted many occupations that were previously attributed to *Bérićo*. One of foremost professions is music, which has been widely accepted and spread as an occupation in multiple communities. Irrespective of tribe, traditional blacksmithing is now transforming into modern business ventures and people from different tribes have their share of investment in this industry. Besides this, there are few *Bérićo* individuals who are still working as blacksmiths. Moreover, stigmatization is now not a prominent ascription but weakly exists in society. Whereas marriages are concerned, there is evidence of intratribal marriages with *Bérićo* people but society needs more. On the economic front, this tribe benefits from private and public jobs, and businesses in various areas. Interestingly, there is no contemporarily recorded political victimization of this tribe. Previously in the princely state era, low population was a hurdle in socio-political emancipation but now they have wider choices.

Interestingly, few immigrants and non-immigrants reject *Bérić*, *Bérićo* or *Bériśal* as popular identities. These people prefer *Dawoodi* or Mughal over *Bérić/Bérićo*, and Mominabad over *Bériśal*. Contrary to this, many respondents suggest that older names should not be replaced by new ones as these changes can potentially damage heritage. Additionally, there were respondents who traced the meaning of *Bérić* and *Bériśal* from *Burúsaski* language, i.e., *Bér* means skill and *Śal* represents town.

Majority have agreed that language is a prime tool to represent this specific tribe. However, *Bériski* is on the brink of linguistic. Maximum numbers of respondents said that language should be preserved. However, a small portion of *Bérićo* showed least concern with *Bériski* language.

On the other hand, migration of *Bérićo* can be divided into two phases. The first includes migration based on orders of *Mir(s)* and later includes push and pull factors that compelled *Bérićo* to migrate for various reasons. The most dominant reason includes scarcity of land in *Bériśal* area. However, businesses and educational opportunities also convinced them to migrate to other towns. Whereas, cultural components also caused migration. To a larger extent, respondents avoided substantiating the impact of cultural aspects on migration and identity. Doubtlessly, cultural aspects played a vital role in changing the identity of *Bérićo* people.

Interestingly, immigrants *Bérićo* believe that migration has played a vital role in changing identity by providing them wider socio-cultural and structural opportunities compared to indigenous of *Bériśal/Mominabad*. However, people of Mominabad have put forth concerted efforts to uplift their socio-cultural and structural positions.

In nutshell, reaching different people clarified that there are at least three following prominent trends in various regions, where *Bérićo* reside;

1. Few *Bérićo* people feel honor in historically associated names and vice versa.
2. Majority of people realize past socio-cultural roles and contributions of *Bérićo* and pay due respect. Whereas, fewer individuals still show arrogance in accepting the historical role of *Bérićo* in Hunza and its peripheries.
3. Ismaili Council has contributed in providing multiple positions and responsibilities, which caused upliftment of *Bérićo/Dawoodi* in religious organizations and its structure.
4. Migration has provided diverse social and cultural venues, where intracommunity marriages increased. On the other hand, stigmatization is no more prominent. However, language is on brink of linguicide. Additionally, migration also assisted this community to avail economic platforms and these opportunities have strengthened them.
5. Unfortunelty, low and scattered population of *Bérićo* is a weak point in politics but not hurdle in political process.

In nutshell, role of migration on identity of *Bérićo* has wider and positive impacts on cultural, social and structural settings except language.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Prevalence of marginality on the basis of personal prejudices is solely unethical deliberation from the other end of society. Such biased approaches cease prestige on both individual and communal levels. Hence, marginalization may result in depriving people from opportunities. However, marginalization is an inevitable phenomenon, which can be lessened under different settings but elimination is unrealistic.

Around the world, various social settings possess differing degrees, where individuals play their social role. To a certain extent, such engagements provoke unfavorable exertions in a society. Likewise, the humiliated *Bérićo* remained on margins despite possession of diverse skills. Interestingly, the degree of marginalization is in a declining phase after the end of the princely state era. These people are now availing various opportunities and platforms, which contributed to unshackling traditional hierarchy. Incredibly, now, cultural affiliations and social roles are not drawing biased lines for *Bérićo* of Hunza rather they are gradually emancipating from the margins.

Doubtlessly, migration has positive impacts on identity change of *Bérićo* people. Moreover, movement within Hunza and outside enabled them to explore wider opportunities. The research findings vividly portray these vital changes in society. Rather, data shows progressiveness and commitment towards equality and equity.

5.1 Recommendations

Research claims following recommendations based on findings of this study, that may help policy makers.

1. There is an instant need to invest in preservation of *Bériski* language. This can be achieved through confluent efforts of indigenous and foreign scholarship.
2. Development of curriculum in local languages shall be the priority of the government including *Bériski* on priority basis.
3. Traditional music is limited to specific events, which has threatened different historic compositions. Hence, tradition-based institutionalization of music is the need of the hour.
4. *Bérićo* being composers and custodians of traditional music, non or fewer compositions are named after them. Whereas, the majority of compositions are associated with *Burúšo* people. Hence, a study shall be conducted to determine relevant traditional compositions, which were composed by *Bérićo* musicians and subsequent declaration as their intellectual property. This declaration is practically possible through confluence of local artisans and department of cultural affairs.
5. The *Bérićo* community is struggling to identify origin. Whereas, different names such as *Bérićo*, *Dom*, *Dawoodi*, and *Mughal* are causing further muddle. Hence, identity shall be constructed on research-based facts.
6. Official and detailed census is required to identify the total population of *Bérićo/Dom* both in Hunza and outside. This may assist future researches.

5.2 Limitations

Financial constraints restricted this study to five towns inside Hunza. Whereas, only two villages in district Gilgit remained part of the locale. Additionally, the comparative analysis of *Bérićo* from Hunza and Nager would have been a major study subject, but lack of resources restricted this research to Hunza. More importantly, accessing *Bérićo* women in the community is a hurdle for male researcher due to academic remoteness to this particular gender. Hopefully, future PhD research can be built with extension to the whole Gilgit-Baltistan.

6 Glossary

Baldasaro

A person who carries load.

Bérić (Plural: Bérićo)

A Burúsaski variant for Dom.

Bériśal

An oldest locality of Bérićo of Hunza, which is renamed to Mominabad.

Bériski or Bériciski

A Burúsaski variant for the name of Dom's language.

Burúśo

People who speak Burúsaski language.

Čhágur

A wooden box to store flour.

Dom, Doom, Doma, Domi

A Shina variant for Dom tribe.

Dadang

A cylindrical double-headed traditional drum.

Damal

Pair of small hemispherical drums or kettle drum(s).

Dawoodi

Due to similarity of traditional professions of prophet David and people of Mominabad, they prefer to be called Dawoodi.

Dumaki, Domaki, Domaaki

Different Shina variants for language of Dom.

Jaṭi

A wooden bowl used for drawing out flour from a wooden box called Čhágur.

Mughal

Official name of Dom tribe of Hunza.

Mond, Mondpa

A Balti variant for Dom.

Mir (Plural: Mirs)

Entitlement of kings in both princely states of Hunza and Nager.

Gabi, Surunai, Tutek

Three different wind instruments for playing traditional music.

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8 Appendix

UDC: 1 - Interview with Dom/Bérićo People

Respondent Name(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Age(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Occupation(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Interview Date: _____-2021

1. Who are Dom/Bérićo?
2. How is Dom community different from rest?
3. **Cultural**
 - a. Tell us about the origin of *Bériski* language, preferences at home and outside, and shift to other local language(s)?
 - b. How do you see stigmas related to *Bérićo*?
 - c. Tell us about marriages of *Bérićo* community with non-*Bérićo* in the past and now?
4. **Social**
 - a. Whether the status of *Bérićo* is ascribed as musicians or blacksmiths? Why?
 - b. How do you see the professional preferences (i.e., Music and Blacksmithing) of *Bérićo* Community in the past and now?
5. **Structural**
 - a. What are the historic and contemporary economic conditions of *Bérićo* in *Bérićal*?
6. What are prominent aspects of *Bérićo* identity?
7. What were the approaches of *Bérićo* in dealing socio-political matters with power structure in the princely state era? And how do you see current government platforms to deal with *Bérićo's* socio-political matters?
8. What are potential threats to the identity of *Bérićo* Community?
9. Do you have any intention or reason to migrate from your hometown (*Bérićal*, Hunza)?

UDC: 2 - Interview with Dom/*Bérićo* Immigrants

Respondent Name(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Age(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Occupation(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Interview Date: _____-2021

1 Who are Dom/*Bérićo*?

2 What factors convinced you to migrate from your hometown (*Bérisal*)?

3 Cultural

a. Which language do you prefer to speak at home? Why?

b. Why do people associate stigmas with *Bérićo*? How can migration minimize such stigmas?

c. Do non-*Bérićo* people frequently prefer marriages with immigrant *Bérićo*? Why?

4 Social

a. How do you see the professional preferences of *Bérićo* Community in the past and now?

b. What are impacts of migration on ascribed professions (Music and Blacksmithing) and other professions?

5 Structural

a. Does migration help strengthen economic conditions of *Bérićo* Immigrants?

b. How migration plays a role in gaining political autonomy of *Bérićo*?

6 Does migration help to change the identity of *Bérićo*?

7 What are potential threats to the identity of *Bérićo* Community? Do you have feelings of being a minority/isolated in your locale?

8 Would you recommend migration of indigenous *Bérićo* members of *Bérisal* Hunza to other regions? Why?

9 Would you prefer to move back to *Bérisal* Hunza? Why?

UDC: 3 - Interview with local Historians, Researchers, and Religious Scholars

Respondent Name(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Age(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Occupation(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Interview Date: _____-2021

1. Who are Dom/ *Bérićo*?

2. How is *Bérićo* community different from rest?

3. Cultural

- a. Tell us about the origin of *Bériski* language and shift to other local language(s)?
- b. Why do people associate stigmas with *Bérićo*? How can migration minimize such stigmas?
- c. Do non-*Bérićo* people frequently prefer marriages with *Bérićo*? Why?

4. Social

- a. How do you see the professional preferences (Music and Blacksmithing) of *Bérićo* Community in the past and now?
- b. What are impacts of migration on ascribed professions (Music and Blacksmithing) and other professions?

5. Structural

- a. What were the medium(s) of interaction or engagement of *Bérićo* with public authority in the princely state era? And how do you see contemporary interaction or engagement with public authority?
- b. How migration of *Bérićo* from *Bériśal* plays a role in interaction or engagement with public authority?
- c. What are the historic and contemporary economic conditions of *Bérićo* in *Bériśal* and outside?
- d. Does migration help strengthen economic conditions of *Bérićo* Immigrants?

6. What are prominent aspects of *Bérićo* identity?

7. What forms of marginalization *Bérićo* have faced in *Bériśal* Hunza, which result in formation of specific identity?

8. What are potential threats to *Bérićo* identity?

9. Do you see any different reason(s) for migration of *Bérićo* members from *Bériśal* Hunza?

10. What is the role of religion in changing the identity of the *Bérićo* community?

UDC: 4 - Interview with non-*Bériço* residents of Hunza and Gilgit

Respondent Name(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Age(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Occupation(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Interview Date: _____-2021

- 1 What is Dom/*Bériço*?
- 2 Do non-*Bériço* people normally prefer to marry *Bériço* people? Why?
- 3 How would you perceive a marriage proposal from the *Bériço* community?
- 4 Are there any biases, when it comes to establishing economic activity with *Bériço* Community?
- 5 Do you feel that *Bériço* have been marginalized in Hunza? Does this marginalization create a specific identity of *Bériço* people in a society?
- 6 What aspect(s) need(s) to be considered and strengthened in order to have better socio-cultural and structural relationships with *Bériço*?

UDC: 5 - Interviews with *Bériço* Professionals

Respondent Name(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Age(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Respondent Occupation(s): 1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____

Interview Date: _____-2021

- 1 Who are Dom/ *Bériço*?
- 2 Does profession influence the identity change of *Bériço* people?
- 3 Does migration is helpful in achieving better economic opportunities for *Bériço*?
- 4 Being a *Bériço* is a hurdle in professional life? Why?
- 5 Is there any advantage or disadvantage of being *Bériço* in a professional life? Why?
- 6 Do you think that migration can change the Socio-Cultural and Structural identity of *Bériço* people?