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## Dancing in Kalash valley

Dance as ethnic marker of Kalasha  
people living among Muslims in North of Pakistan.

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## Brief:

My thesis is focused on understanding the relationship between the two religious communities, Kalasha as minority and Muslims as majority, living in the North of Pakistan. The theoretical framework is set around the text of Fredrik Barth's 'Ethnic groups and boundaries' to create a picture of the ethnic and religious boundaries of each group. Also, to analyse the dance in relationship to these boundaries. By using the concept of Alfred Schutz's 'The Phenomenology of the Social World', I have shed some light upon the meaning of the actions that take place between the social world of these communities while also exploring their possible intension behind these actions. Another important aspect of this research is the analysis of the Kalasha dance along with the realization of these dances in different events. Kalasha events have different emotions attached to different events which I refer to as modes. These modes are also an important part of Kalasha dance. To reach my goal, I have used some unconventional methods such as drawing and characterization of the dance types for analyzing the Kalasha dance. Once this is done, it becomes easy to comprehend the relationship between the dance types and their realisation in different modes. By doing so I hope to form a solid foundation to further explore my concern of the effect of two ethnic groups living together on Kalasha dance.

**Keyword:** Kalasha dance, Kalasha community, Uchaw, co-existence of religious groups, ethnic groups in Pakistan.

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## Introduction:

A few days into my fieldwork on a quiet night I sat on the bench of the lawn outside my hotel room while waiting for the mosquito spray to settle that I had just sprayed in my room. Hearing the rhythmic sound of water and enjoying the soft wind I looked around. Sarwar *Sahaab* my hotel manager gestured me from afar to see if everything was ok. 'I have sprayed in my room, so waiting for it', I said. He started walking towards me and sat next to me. For a little while there was a silence, and then I decided to break it with a question, '*Zindagi kya ha Sarwar Sahaab?*' What is life Sarwar *Sahaab*? Little did I know my question would bring out one of the deepest insights of the Kalasha life. He did not look puzzled by my bizarre question, rather seemed to have an answer for me. 'What is this life?', he repeated and carried on. 'Once a relative of mine, my aunt's son, went to the *Charagha* (green lands) with his flock of sheep and two young boys. Later, that night the boys came back running, saying *Taliban* took him'. Almost shocked by the causality of his tone, while sharing such a dramatic story I asked, 'Then what happened?'. 'Then what.. me and another man went to get his body from Afghanistan, we only had one dress on, and I took a gun with me that I had at that time and nothing else'.

If I look back at this point of my stay in Kalash valley, I see my role changing from a tourist to a person of confidence. It felt like a dear diary moment, when I realized these people, I am with, have had experiences bigger than life. This was a clear picture of Kalasha people and their struggles of living in their homeland while also practicing their religion amongst Muslim majority. Kalash valley has been a place of interest for many researchers and anthropologist for a long time. This text however is an ethnochoreological approach to finding the relationship of the two religious' groups (Muslim and Kalashas) in the Kalash valley when their life worlds come together in the presence of dance. Also using anthropological methodology for collecting data and using choreomusical analysis to analyze their dance, it is a first step towards finding a way to preserve the Kalasha dance. The text includes five chapters of different lengths, to navigate through my experience in the field while also sharing my findings about the negotiation and local politics of the valley. In Chapter 1 I would be first introducing the layout of the valley and the

physical placement of the two groups in the area. Then I go on with explaining the relationship of the two groups with each other while also sharing my experience of interacting with them. Furthermore Chapter 1 also investigate the presence and absence of the dance in the valley in respect to the increasing tourism. From here I move to Chapter 2, explaining the Kalasha dance and the types that fall under the umbrella of this term. This is a crucial part of my thesis as my initiative is also to document the Kalasha dance. The dance analysis comprises of two parts. The first part comprises of very unconventional tool for the characterization of dance movement analysis. In this section I have used my own method of interpreting the main features of Kalasha dance while also taking the inspiration from the Kaellper's method of analyzing dance (Adrienne L. Kaeppler, 1972). I am using Kaeppler's vocabulary to identify smallest meaningful movement and the combinations of such movements in the totality of Kalasha dance. The second part is the Labanotation of the foot movement of each dance type. The labanotation is of the simple level as to characterize the movement to identify the basic relationship of music and dance sets. Chapter 3 will explore the realization of different modes in these dances and their relationship with each Kalasha event. Kalasha religion has many rituals related to different aspects of life. Some of these rituals have dance as important part of it such as celebration of Winter season *Chowmos*, death and other such events. I consider it to be a form of ritual dance in such events, whereas in other events like the childbirth and occasional events Kalasha dance plays a role of entertainment and celebration. To make it even easier to understand, I would present my meaning of ritual in this text. A set rules of performing acts such as dance, singing, sacrifice etc. in specific order and manner is what a ritual in this text refers to. There may be a margin of some changes in performing these acts, however to the community the meaning and importance of these acts is always the same. By following this simple definition of what ritual is, following the rest of the details about Kalasha dance and its events will be very easy. The second step from here would be to know about the forms of Kalasha events to recognize the realization of modes attached with each event. For which I first explain the events, then the two modes of Kalasha dance and at last the movements and gestures exhibiting these modes in these events. After knowing these elements of the Kalasha culture, it gets easier to absorb further complex ideas such as the power dynamic of the two groups (Muslims and Kalasha), the two worlds intersecting during some of the Kalasha events and the effect of such not so merging co-existence of the groups on the Kalasha dance. I intend to do so by sharing some ethnographic accounts of my field work in

chapter 4. By developing further, the theory of two life worlds in the form of two religious' groups living so close together in a tense conflictual binarity, I hope to shed some light on the struggles and compromises that Kalasha people go through in keeping their dance form alive.

Being a Muslim and a Pakistani national, I was an outsider on a considerable scale for the Kalash community. My religious ethics and its dilemma cultivated a new branch for me to explore in the field, where I was the medium of accumulating knowledge. The fact that I am a Muslim myself and a female researcher, became a reason for many choices along with forming my positionality in the field. It also helped me to approach my concern from a different perspective, meaning how my teaching of Islam shaped my thinking and what these thinking made me realize in the field about the relationship of these two groups. Last two sections, Chapter 4 and 5 are catering these accounts under the light of Fredrik Barth's understanding of 'ethnic groups and boundaries' and Alfred Schutz's 'The Phenomenology of the Social World'. Bringing my text to a point where I conclude my thesis by presenting the examples of my awareness and understanding of the two religious groups and their effect on the Kalasha dance.



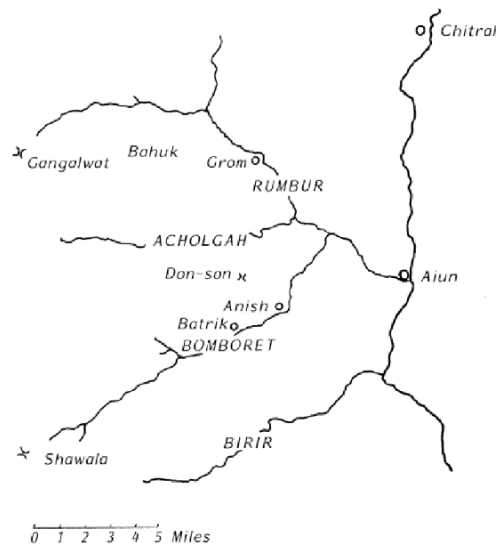
## Glossory:

<i>Khawsāḡaw</i>	Calendar celebrations
<i>Ishpata</i>	This is a general greeting
<i>Uchaw (Ucaw</i>	Festival of harvest in August
<i>Poo (Pū')</i>	Grape harvest festival
<i>Joshi (zhoshi)</i>	Spring festival
<i>Chowmos (Cawmos</i>	Winter solstice festival
<i>Rat nat'</i>	Night Dance
<i>Ca'</i>	Quick tempo dance accompanied by clapping
<i>D'hushak</i>	Medium-fast dance and song performed at festivals
<i>Drazhayl'ak</i>	Story-telling folksong sung in a drawn-out manner at festivals
<i>S'us'ut</i>	Women's ornately decorated headband with tail
<i>Pat'i</i>	Woman's woven cummerbund
<i>Nat'ikeyn</i>	Dancing place
<i>Jes't'ak han</i>	Place for conducting funeral ceremonies
<i>Dewadur</i>	Altar to spirit beings
<i>Indrain</i>	The altar to Balimain
<i>Sajigor</i>	The spirit being Sajigor/The altar to Sajigor of Rumbur
<i>Dewalok</i>	The spirit man walks in the upper sky
<i>Bal'ima'in</i>	The spirit being to whom the winter festival is dedicated
<i>Bashali</i>	House for childbirth and menstruation
<i>Suria jagek</i>	Observing sun
<i>Ishpē'i</i>	Flute
<i>Dāu</i>	Large drum
<i>Wāc</i>	Smaller drum
<i>Dehar</i>	Shaman/Religious songs.
<i>Qazi:</i>	Leader

## Chapters 1: Kalash Valleys- The Kalasha and the Muslims

The peculiar community of Kalasha people resides in the Kalash valley of lower Chitral district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The geographical placement of these people is significant as it plays an imperative role in their lives and history. It will also help the reader to follow the thread of my first and secondhand experiences in the context of risk while navigating in the field. At the height of 1670-2309 meters (5,476-7,576 foot), there are many sub valleys in the area. When one says Kalash valley, it is important to know that they are referring to the three sub-valleys: Rumbur (*rukmu*), Birir (*biru*), and Bumboret (*mumurét*). together, where Kalasha people have their villages along with Muslim villages. The valleys where there is no Kalasha village, are not considered Kalash valley even though they are in the same geographical location.

The arrival of Kalasha people in this region is still ambiguous. According to different historical citations, these people were thought to have arrived here with Alexander the Great and his army, however Cacopardo et al in his text ‘Are\_the\_Kalasha\_really\_of\_Greek\_origin’ makes it clear by sharing the linguistic and historical accounts that Kalashas are not of Greek origin (2011). While also sharing a possible theory of Gail Trail ‘Kalasha could be the descendants of native Syrians who would have absorbed Greek culture during the reign of Seleucus I’ (Augusto S. Cacopardo, 2011:59). Cacopardo introduces the similarities in believes and deities of the two religions. The events on which these deities come to interact with human along with the nature of these gods, can be seen having some common points in both Kalasha and Greco-Roman religion. However, Cacopardo suggest that the influence of Asian religious belief would have travelled to Greece rather than the influence coming from Greece to Asia. I will share some of the rituals and events of the Kalasha religion in detail a bit later in the text.



## 1. The inhabitants:

The Chitral district has many indigenous tribes living there for almost 2000-2500 years, out of which the community of Kalashas once being the biggest in number was up to 200,000 people. According to the internet sites, their number shrank drastically due to the forced conversion that took place in Nuristan region in Afghanistan by the orders of Emir Abdur Rehamn Khan around a century ago. Recently their population count was documented to be around 4000.

As already mentioned, the Kalasha people share this valley with Muslims, but the villages of each religious group are separately located in the sub valleys. The Kalasha houses are mostly a cluster of simple wooden houses with open verandas and minimal furniture, whereas Muslim houses are mostly well constructed, concrete and separately located houses with tall walls. Although the villages are different for both groups, their day-to-day social interaction is quite high.

To differentiate a Kalasha woman from a Muslim woman is very easy, since Kalasha women wear these long, decorated robes with ornate headdresses on daily basis. This is not the case with men as Kalasha Men like any Muslim men wear '*Shalwar Kameez*'. Although their traditional 'Cap' with a colourful feather and embellished 'Sash' are the marker of their individuality but are worn only at the time of celebration. It is important to have these identity markers of both the genders of Kalasha community revealed at his point, for a better understanding of the effect one ethnic and religious group can have on another while living together. Muslims of Kalash valley can also be of two types (Wynne Maggi 1966), one: the converted Kalashas (maximum 3 generations) second: who have been Muslims for many generations. As I observed, the converted Kalashas have more interactions with Kalashas than the old Muslims as they know the Kalasha customs and are welcomed in their gatherings.

As soon as a Kalasha converts to Islam, they give up wearing their dresses and living in the Kalasha villages. Recently there have not been any imposed conversions, rather cases converting out of their own choice. These choices included love marriage or getting the knowledge of Islam and wanting to follow it. In both cases the Kalasha members of such families were unhappy with the choice of the individual and many times ended up breaking ties with them. I would like to share two very important cases of conversion that can explain each situation very well. One case

that I came across during my field work was of one of my informants' sisters. The oldest daughter of the house now was a mother of two kids married to a Muslim. She was visiting her parents in Krakal village of Bumburet Valley. The only woman who was talking in Urdu with her daughters and wearing Shalwar Kameez in that house. Now she was living with her new family in a new place. Multan a city in the south of Pakistan.

In her interview with me, she told me how her family was unhappy with her decision and stopped talking to her, but later gave in because she was after all part of their family. Her daughters cannot speak Kalasha and her Parents donnot know Urdu, so the interaction between them is very little.

The other case is of a Muslim flute player, Iqbal Shaheen, from Darazguru village of Bumburet valley. His mother took a decision of converting to Islam after getting a *Dawat*, invitation of Islam by fellow Muslims, when he and his brother were very young. Iqbal shared that his father was very upset and a whole dramatic act took place where the father in anger took his gun to shoot who ever helped his wife convert to Islam. However, after a week or two Iqbal's father also converted to Islam to stay with his wife, instead of marrying another Kalasha lady. It is understood that Islam does not allow interfaith marriages and if one has to marry a Muslim, they have to be a Muslim too. Although the conversion might seem to be only out of choice in both the cases, yet there is a factor of retrain and rules in the practices of Muslim world. The restrictions and restrains do not let Muslim world to mix with Kalasha world, which forces the Kalasha world to either separate themselves from Muslims or to accept Islam to enter their world. One way or the other there is a factor of force in all acts of conversions.

One of my guide's explained to me that Kalasha can be anything but a Muslim. A Kalasha can be a Christian, Hindu or Buddhist and still be Kalasha, but if they become Muslims, they cannot be Kalasha. I interpretation of this stamen is that Islam is a monotheist religion like Christianity but is also very traditional and clear about its rules and religious figures. There is also a very clear mentioning of some important angels with their names in Islam and one of the five pillars of Islam includes the belief on these angles along with other angels. This means any alteration in these ideologies will cause conflict in the practice of Islam. Whereas Kalasha religion has many different deities or as they have started saying these days, angelic characters in their belief. During my interview with the one of the Kalashas, I was told that a religious character by the

name of *Bal'ima'in* comes to visit them on *Chowmos* (*Cawmos*) which is the winter celebration. Baleymahin or *Bal'ima'in* is although a visiting god in the belief of Kalashas (Augusto S. Cacopardo, 2011:74) but in this particular interview, I was told he is a *Farishta* which is a word used in Urdu for Angel. The etymology of this word is *Sanskrit* and *Avestan* but the word is used as literal Urdu translation of the Arabic word *Malak* which also means Angel. Another interesting point that was shared with me in the interview was the hierarchy of Kalasha divine beings, which starts with *Dewalok* being the supreme entity and *Bal'ima'in* being the messenger of *Dewalok* for mankind. *Bal'ima'in* being the messenger between the rest and *Dewalok* gets all the information about mankind when he visits the *Dewadur* temple on earth during *Chumos* and then takes it to *Dewalok*. In addition, they said Allah is called *Dewalok* in their language and one person even said that *Dewalok* is with Allah. This in my opinion is an adjustment being done to make Kalasha religion more acceptable for Muslims around them (Wynne Maggi 1966). The reason I say this is that *Dewalok* and *Bal'ima'in* are mentioned in many texts and *Dehar*, Kalasha religious songs as the gods and not 'messengers of Allah' as mentioned by the interviewee. They have not been divided in any hierarchal order rather more of two individual gods for different aspects of nature. Even though Kalasha religion now shows these linguistic adjustments in their belief according to their neighboring religion, they still cannot be Kalasha and Muslims at the same time. Islam is a very sensitive religion where even a little difference in the belief can create a new sect, however the whole community respects the five basic pillars of Islam- *Shahada*, *Namaz*, *Roza*, *Hajj*, *Zakat*. The Muslim community in Pakistan might not actively come together on many occasions but when it comes to Blasphemy or conversions, the community will be seen vividly active. This means no Muslim can change their religion or add new things to the existing elements and when it comes to marrying a person from another faith, they will not be the ones changing their religion.

A Kalasha lady who was the niece of my hotel manager Sarwar *Sahaab*, once hosted me for tea at her place. It was rather a surprise visit from our side. Sitting in her well-maintained lawn of an unexpectedly modern house, she told me a story of a young Kalasha girl who converted to Islam once and later realized she didn't want to convert. This ended up becoming a very big event, where my host tried to hide the girl in her house and a bunch of Muslim men attacking her to so call rescue the now converted Muslim girl. Another version of this story later came out in front of me by a different source. In this version it was said to be not so aggressive incident where the

now converted girl just wanted to keep wearing her Kalasha dress and the Muslims just asked her to change her dress, but the Kalasha people thought the Muslims were forcing the girl to convert to Islam. To understand the attitude of each community and their politics, it is important to also mention that even though Kalash is a very open and welcoming community, they still apply restriction on the involvement of Muslims in their events. One of the Kalasha annual events *Uchaw*, around which I conducted my research, includes dancing as big part of their celebration. The Kalasha dance is a ritual, entertainment, and community dance at the same time. As Kalash community pray to their gods on the festivals, they dance while singing the worship songs as form of prayer. During this dance anyone can join them except for the Muslim men. It is although not just a religious reason, but only applied to Muslim men and not any other. During the dances they allow Muslim women and kids to participate but they do not allow Muslim males over the age of 13 years to participate in the dance. Although one time during the *Rat nat'* plainly translated to English as Night dance, I was told by a Kalasha man (guard of the dancing area) that I was not allowed inside as I was a Muslim. Although later I was able to enter the dancing area in every *Rat nat'* but that night I had to stand outside with every other Muslim man as a poster saying 'Muslims not allowed' was pasted on the wall of the Nat'ikeyn, (dancing place for *Rat nat'* and *Uchaw*). On the day of *Uchaw* in Rumbure valley, all the Muslim men were sitting outside the dancing place. They were not welcomed even if their female family or group members were sometimes dancing with Kalashas. But a foreign (White) couple was welcomed for the dances. The man was taught the dance and was encouraged to dance in the group with them. This means that the restriction is no doubt religion based while also showing some traces of gender-based restriction in it. The second restriction which is purely religion based is the interaction with Muslims during *Chowmos* which is a Kalasha religious event celebrated in winter. All Kalasha people gather in the *Indrain* alter of the village in the last few days of the event to pray and dance and offer wine to their god. They make sure to purify the place and every person before entering in the area. When I asked my guide if a Christian could attend the event, I was told yes. So where did the problem lie in letting a Muslim enter the premises? The Muslims cannot go through the purification ritual, as it does not resonate with their religious teaching, and a Muslim will not be able to offer their obligatory prayers inside. So, this means, without getting purified no one is allowed to enter and no impure activity is allowed inside. Consequently, this will cause the Muslims and Kalashas to stop their interactions. In my

understanding any two ethnic groups living so closely together, there would always be a borderline between them which would not let them completely mix.

Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence

(Fredrik Barth, 1969)

## 2. National recognition:

Nevertheless, Pakistan takes pride in having the Kalash community as part of it. This shows the idea of National pride residing in the presence of different religions. There is a political aspect to this pride. The colourful representation of a country for political and economic gains has always been a part of this world so this case is no different. When Duke and Duchess of Cambridge visited Pakistan, they were taken to Kalash valley for its uniqueness and exceptionality which cannot be found anywhere else in the world. These types of showcasing of Kalasha community also attracted national and international tourism as referred by my gate-keeper Yasir *Sahaab*.

The southern part of Pakistan is hotter than the northern part and spreads all the way down to the Arabian sea. A lot of people travel north for the summer break and Chitral is one of the places where tourism increases in summer according to the locals. In Pakistan most of the tourism revolves around the natural scenery, food, and souvenirs in the form of jewelry or clothing as I have been part of such trips myself. But in Kalash valley the display of their culture, dances and rituals is an added attraction. My acquaintance who is a tour guide in Pakistan told me how the marketing of these tours is based on such elements. Although these elements are not always present and are occasional, but they are a big fascination, and many tourists plan their trips according to the dates of Kalasha events. However, when it comes to their existence as a religious group, they are called 'Infidels', Kafirs and pagans and their religion is only taken seriously for the entertainment purposes. This is quite demeaning to the exceptional culture of Kalashas. While many NGOs and individual researchers started working for the community and 'The Greek Volunteers (GVs)', an NGO of Greece worked the most to recreate the architecture

and the culture of the community. The truth however is that the culture which was put in front of the Cambridge nobility to entertain them and represent the bright side of Pakistan is now in danger of extinction.

### 3. Invisible Kalasha:

Going further into the knowledge of the Kalash valley and community, the three sub-valleys mentioned earlier, do not have exactly same customs when it comes to the cyclical events. Kalasha religion having the traces of Animism, has four religious events called linked with different seasons – *Uchaw (Ucaw)* and *Poo (Pū')* Harvesting season, *Joshi (zhoshi)* Spring season and *Chowmos (Cawmos)* Winter season. All three valleys of Kalash celebrate *Chomous* and *Joshi* while the two valleys (*Rumbur* and *Bumburet*) celebrate *Uchaw* and one valley (Birir) celebrates *Poo*. The difference between *Poo* and *Uchaw* is of the time when it's celebrated. While *Poo* takes place in October in Birir valley, *Uchaw* takes place in August in Rumbure and Bumburet. I conducted my field work in Bumburet and Rumbur valley during *Uchaw*. Although it is a one-day event, the preparation starts almost two months earlier. This includes many nights of *Rat nat'* where young Kalashas practice their skills of playing drum along with dancing and young girls stitch new dresses for themselves. Kalasha people are mainly shepherds and farmers, they depend on these resources for their everyday dietary needs, but many Kalasha own their own shops as well. These festivals are a major opportunity for Kalasha to earn for the whole year as winter becomes too harsh for any touristic activity. There for in winter they depend on their livestock and the money they have earned over the time of the *Uchaw*.

While Bumburet was busy with new batch of tourists coming in every now and then and the preparation of *Uchaw*, I hiked to Birir Valley for ten hours to see what was happening there. I had already seen the excitement and preparation of Bumburet valley and heard many stories of how on the day of *Uchaw* everyone travels to Rumbur in the morning and comes back to Bumburet in the evening to celebrate *Uchaw* together. Nonetheless, the absence of *Uchaw* from Birir made me inquisitive. I lived in Birir for two days and saw nothing like tourism or celebration there. It was hard to even find a room to rent. In Bumburet I felt like an outside to an extend of a tourist, however in Birir I felt as if I am the only person who ever came there from



somewhere outside of their valley. I not only felt like an outsider, but I also felt as if I was an alien. Someone from far away.

I was wearing similar dress to 'Shalwar Kameez' but still my way of dressing up, my choice of cloths and my backpack was extremely amusing for everyone. The fact I spoke neither Kalasha, nor Chitrali, made every child giggle and all women sympathize with me. 'She is a *Punjabi*' (people from the Punjab), our guest and a girl traveling alone. They gave me their attention, food, and respect. Sarwar *Sahaab*, my hotel manager and tour guide for the trip, wanted me to meet some *Qazi* of the Valley, so I could understand better why *Uchaw* is not celebrated in Birir. It was a hard work to find any *Qazi*, as all of them had gone out to work in the fields or to take care of their goats. Kalasha people are all welcomed in each other's house without knocking. Which I found very fascinating. They all know each other and are all in a way related to each other. The Kalasha people do not marry in the same family, due to which they are mostly married across valleys. Sarwar's *Sahaab*'s wife was from Birir valley, so he was very familiar with the people of the valley. He would enter any Kalasha house without hesitance. The first house we went to told us the *Qazi* was gone to the field, the second house said the same. However, something very interesting happened in the third and the fourth house. As we entered the small door of a house, we heard someone walking and as soon as we entered the corridor of the house from one end, the person was gone. While walking across the corridor, Sarwar *Sahaab* knocked on the doors on our left and said something in Kalasha. No one came out or replied and soon we were out from the other end of the corridor. This made me and Sarwar *Sahaab* laugh on the absurdity of the situation that we were in. This means that even though Kalasha people never close their doors for another Kalasha, the person who saw us, was not interested in entertaining me or Sarwar's *Sahaab*.

The next house we went into was apparently a Kalasha *Qazi*'s house, but the girl sitting inside was wearing normal *Shalwar Kameez* and a *Duppata* on her head. Sarwar *Sahaab* started talking to her, I was not sure at this point if he was talking in Kalasha or Chitrali. Then he laughed and I asked him what happened. He explained that the *Qazi* has gone out, so he asked the girl who she was, and the girl told him she was the daughter of the *Qazi*. *Qazi* in Kalasha religion are those who know the most about religion and the culture, however *Qazi* these days mean a governmental official, a position which is filled by those who are seniors no matter if they know

much about Kalasha religion or not. They are paid monthly for filling the post and they are given the duties of mainlining the Kalasha traditions. I did not ask the details about selection process of these *Qazi* as I was already in a middle of one inquiry. I did try to find out more about the decision of the girl to change her dress. Kalasha dresses have elements of wool in it. The *Pat'i*, waste belt is hand woven on the traditional wooden loom. It's hard to keep wearing it in such a hot weather, but Kalasha woman wear it to represent their individuality as a community. Even the *Duppata* scarf that the Muslim women wears can be hard to carry in such hot weather. The reason cannot be just this when it comes to changing your identity marker. The suggestion Sarwar *Sahaab* made was that in Birir there is a bigger Muslim majority than in the other two Valleys, which he thought would have caused some shyness on the part of Kalasha women who are minority. I noticed it too and I think it's a good interpretation of what was happening.

After the long search, finally in the fifth house we found one *Qazi*. She could not speak Urdu, but Sarwar *Sahaab* translated her words for me. Kalash traditions have verbally travelled down through generations. A thing that I observed in this community was, the group discussions these people have over almost everything. They believe in working together. They come together to celebrate all events, share the pain of each other and they put in efforts to maintain a certain image of their community. Even on that day, the whole group of Kalasha seniors, came together to find an answer to the question about the differences in the practice of Birir valley. Although my purpose was not to force an answer out of them, which I think basically happened in this situation, rather my goal was to observe what their relationship with each other across Kalash valley is and what is the absence and presence of dance in these different valleys look like. The answer I was given about the difference in their practices was that the Birir valley celebrates the *Uchaw* with Rumbur and Bumburet, and at the time of *Poo*, both the valleys come to Birir to celebrate it. Even though this was a single *Qazi's* suggestion but later I noticed many Kalasha of Birir Valley in the celebration of *Uchaw* in both the other valleys. Another thing mentioned by the same *Qazi*, for which I did not find any solid evidence was that the *Uchaw* is the start of Harvesting season and is celebrated in the two earlier mentioned valleys and the *Poo* is the end of the harvesting season and is celebrated by all the Kalashas in Birir valley. The Kalasha people in old time decided the dates of these festival by, observing sun and the dates varied from year to year. However, these days the dates are fixed and are always celebrated on almost the same dates each year to accommodate the tourism. Although these changes were proposed by the

governmental bodies, the Kalasha people accepted them for their profit. With this, it is quite clear that the everyday Kalasha practices such as wearing their traditional clothing, practicing *suri jagek* or preparing for their events, are being compromised and a major part is played by the Muslim majority of the valley and the Country. These negotiations can be seen as the struggle to survive in their homeland while it is causing them to be less visible in some parts of the Valley. Another view is that they have opportunities coming out of these situations and their homeland is marked by their presence even if they choose to dress as Muslims. All these factors are very important for an anthropological analysis of Kalasha community and its practices.

## Chapter 2: Kalasha Dancing:

Now with having the geographical understanding of the Valley and the placement of Muslims and Kalashas in it, the next step is to comprehend the multifaceted Kalasha dance along with its presence in the Kalasha events. According to my understanding of the community and its dance practice, I would find it easy to discuss the Kalasha dance in three different aspects. These aspects are Kalasha Dance types: combination of movement and music patterns, Kalasha events, and dance realization in two different modes in Kalasha events. I would like to share that mode is the term I am using to talk about the emotional identification of events. I have divided the Kalasha dance into two chapters. In this chapter I will share the Kalasha dance types done on *Rat nat'*, *Uchaw* and *Joshi*, then analyze them in the light of Kaeppler's method (Adrienne L. Kaeppler, 1972) while also using my own method that I have developed to understand the relationship of these movements and the music in Kalasha dance. Whereas chapter 3 is dedicated to the description of Kalasha events and the realization of the two types of modes in Kalasha dance. In doing so I hope to understand and reveal the systematic arrangement of the Dance in Kalasha lives while further annotating the social relationship of the two religious' groups under dialogue.

### 4. Kalasha Dance types:

Kalasha Dance in my understanding is an umbrella term which covers different dance types in the form of movement set. The three main types of Kalasha dance done in Uchaw or *Rat nat'* are

*Ca'*, *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*. The full understanding of the dance to be absorbed in my body took a lot of observation and conversation with the Kalasha people. Sarwar *Sahaab* once played all the festive dances' beat (*Ca'*, *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*), for me to know the difference between them. Before anyone explained me the difference, I was looking at all the dance moves as similar. Rather impulsive and chaotic than intended and organized. As Morin mentions in his text the value of verbal communication in transmitting the knowledge of any cultural element is as much as of any other mode of transmission (Olivier Morin, 2013). It was not unless the Kalasha people told me about their dance that I replaced my misunderstanding of it with the proper knowledge. Although I was able to see the difference in the three dances, I was still not able to recognize the drumbeat for each of them. Having only two drums on the Rutnut and Uchaw festival, there is not a significant change in the music. The change in the rhythm would appear due to the speed at which the drums are being played or by the change in count of these beats.

On one *Rat nat'* while sitting on the side of the Nat'ikeyn surrounded by children, I saw a few Kalasha people dancing solo in the throng. I just tried to absorb the picture in front of me as it was out of the ordinary. I had only seen people dancing in groups before this. I asked a girl sitting on my right to explain me what that dance type was, thinking it was separate from types of Kalasha dances already mentioned. The girl told me it was *Ca'*. In Kalasha dance a set of music structure and a set of dance structure are paired up. The names of the dances are similar to the names of the beats. What I mean by this is, that a drumbeat is also called *Ca'* and the specific dance structure performed on that music is also called *Ca'*. Same is the case with *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*. Each set of dance structure is only performed on the set of music it shares the name with. The girl at that time was referring to the music and not the dance of solo person. Later I got to know that both *D'hushak* and *Ca'* can accommodate solo dancers while the solo dance doesn't have many varieties of movements. *Drazhayl'ak* being the slowest tempo, does not have the solo dance. On asking if we could dance solo on *Drazhayl'ak*, one of my informants told me that it's not done as it is not fun to dance solo on that beat. From what my informants told me dance type is the movement pattern with music that the locals distinguish from one another on the basis of beat pattern. As a Researcher and observer, I made the distinction between the solo dance and the other three dance types (*Ca'*, *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*) on the basis of structure. My distinction was made by following strict structure-based education of dance whereas for the local

community the distinction is made with the music and not just with the movement patterns. As they do not separated set of movement patterns from the set of music patterns, the girl did not distinguish the solo dance from the *Ca'*, dance as the beat being played at that moment was *Ca'*.

#### 5. *Ca'* (Pop):

The drum beat of *Ca'* is a fast-paced tempo. The beat count is 3/4 and is played by two drums: *Dāu* big drum and *Wāc* small drum. The movement that is done on the beat is also very energetic and active. I noted repeatedly and was confirmed by Kalasha that the dance is done in groups of three, four or five preferably, as many steps involve rotating and walking. The biggest group for *Ca'* I saw was of 6 people. The dance starts with gathering in a group, standing side by side. The groups for male and female are mostly segregated but sometimes they can also share a group. Each dancer then holds the other dancer from either their waste or puts his/her arm around their shoulders Fig 1a and 1b. Forming a good grip, the dancers then collectively start walking forward with small steps. The upper body of the dancer does not move much, as the dance is mostly based on foot work. The two main upper body movements which can be seen as a separate Motif are, the torso bending forward when the dancers shift from walking forward to running forward and the torso lifting back up when the dancers shift from running to walking again. Apart from this the upper body stays fairly stiff, as the neck is also kept in the direction of the foot. This basic rule is followed in all the Kalasha dance types.

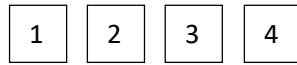


*Fig: 1a*



*Fig: 1b*

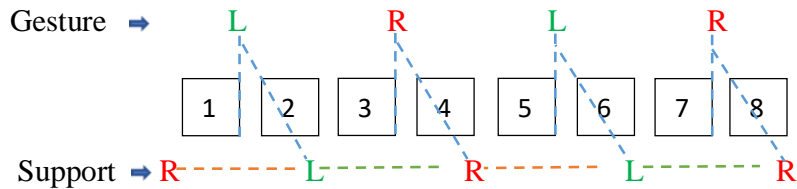
Now to explain the relationship between the beat and the step taken, I would like you to imagine each box representing a beat:



To show where each kineme of the first leg motif of *Ca'* fall, I have placed the foot kinemes with the beat to show the value of each motif in connection to the beat. This analysis started in the field where I observed the movement by looking and participating then later by watching the videos of the dances on my laptop.

The upper line represents the gesture of the leg, and the lower line represents the support.

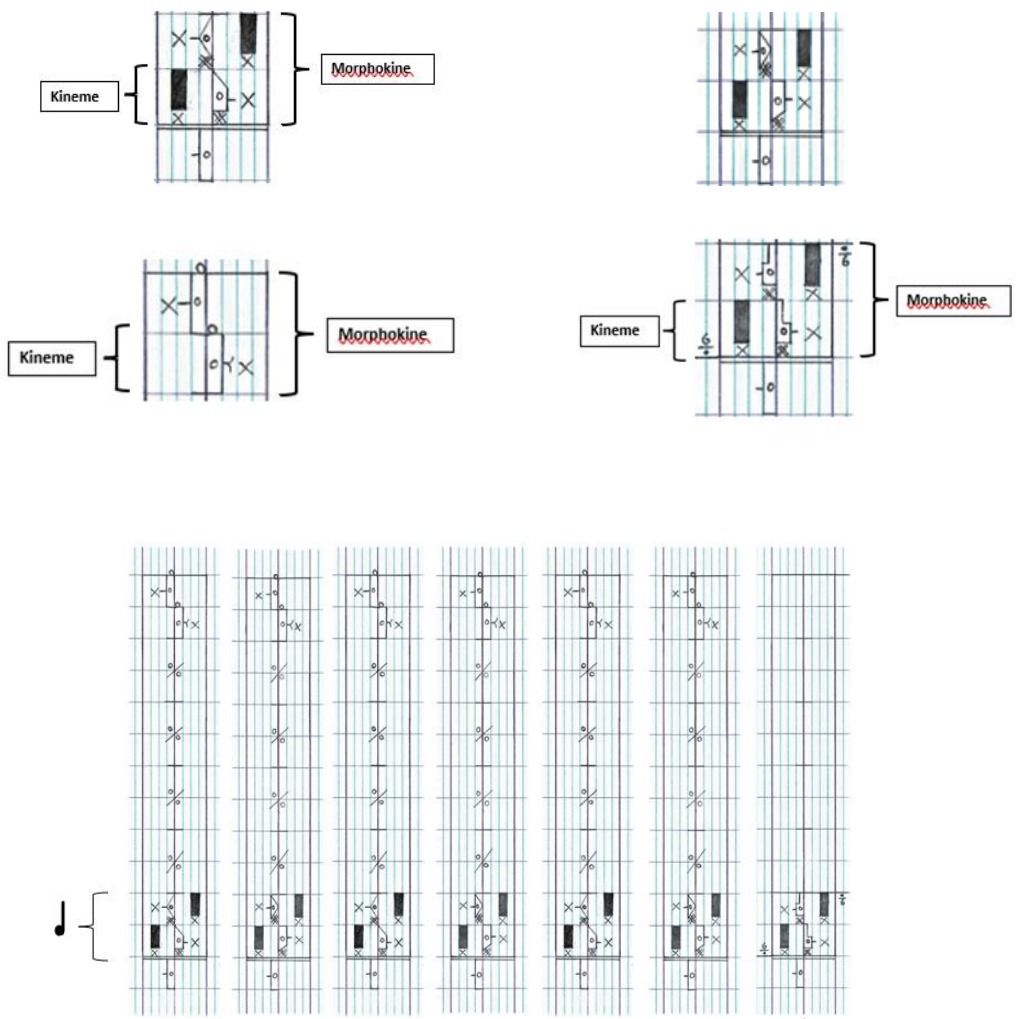
1. L (Left leg)
2. R (Right leg)
3. - (Hold)



The support leg changes after every two beats while the gesture leg lifts at the end of the first beat becomes a support leg on the second beat. There is a hold on both legs on the second beat before the whole movement is symmetrically repeated. In a traditional Kalasha *Ca'* dance, this pattern is carried out throughout the dance both while walking forward or rotating left to write. Movement of body in space and the directions is also an important factor of Kalasha dances and is related to the types of modes mentioned earlier. The dancers in *Ca'* move their group in an anticlockwise direction inside the *Nat'ikeyn*.

**Rotation:**

The rotation of the *Ca'* dance is done while keeping the fellow dancers together. The middle dancer/s become an axis for the group with the help of which the group pivots. The movement of the rotation starts with turning to the left and then turning to the right. This motion is repeated three to four times before changing to walking again. When I saw the older Kalasha women doing *Ca'*, I noticed their walk and rotation to have the same pace, while the younger Kalasha girls and boys would run instead of walk and would swing faster while rotating as it adds more excitement to the dance. During the participation in this dance, I realized the importance of holding my fellow dancers firmly from their waists or shoulders so to not get disconnected from the group. This unity in the movement comes from the embrace of your groupmates and all the bodies work as one.



## 6. D'hushak (Semi-classical):

*D'hushak* was explained to me as a semi-classical Kalasha dance by Yasir Sahaab

. According to him *Ca'* was a pop music whereas *Drazhayl'ak* was classical and the slowest of the types. The beat of *D'hushak* is 4/4. The instruments used to play *D'hushak* are the same two drums used in *Ca'*. The group can be from three to twelve or more people. Unlike *Ca'*, *D'hushak* is done by walking sideways, while every dancer faces the center of the *Nat'ikeyn*, where the drummers and reset of the Kalasha stand. This dance type also has two parts, one of which is walking sideways and the second is going back and running forward. Although I only saw young Kalasha men doing the second part mostly while some girls occasionally did it. I assume that this norm does not exist in older Kalasha women.

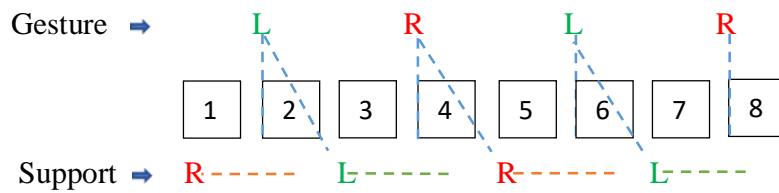
The upper body movement of the dancers are the same as in *Ca'*. Each dancer holds the fellow dancer from around the shoulder or the waist. The step is taken towards the right side with small distance in order not to step on the person on the right Fig 2a.



Fig:2a

To understand the beat and the movement I will use the same method of explanation that I used for explaining *Ca'*.





The Support leg is changed at the start of the first beat and the gesture leg is lifted at the start of the second beat. While the gesture is made by the leg on the second beat, support leg is on hold. The gesture leg is placed behind the support leg fig 2b. This motif is then repeated symmetrically throughout the dance. The going back and running forward is also done with the same understanding of the beat but can sometimes happen more impulsively. The dancers again move anticlockwise in the space during *D'hushak*.



Fig:2b

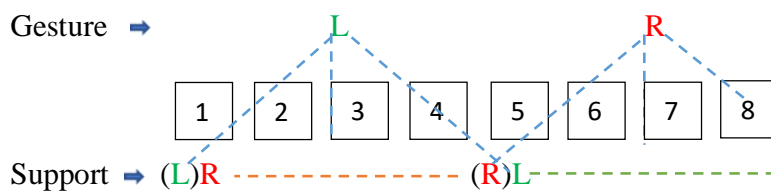
## 7. Drazhayl'ak (Classical):

As I am not a music student, I can hear and grab the beat but can't explain it in an intellectual language. So, I sat with a musician friend of mine to understand the beats of each dance type and *Drazhayl'ak* appeared to be 2/2 count. The slowest of all the Kalasha dance types, *Drazhayl'ak* has near to no upper body movement. The body sways due to the weight shift each time a step is taken. This is also a group dance, in which more than fifteen people in a group is normal. Sometimes a group can be of more than fifteen as well. Each dancer can either hold the fellow dancer the same way they do in *Ca'* and *D'hushak* or can leave the arms tired in front of them. There is no specific rule of holding the arms in a certain manner Fig 3a. The only thing important is to keep the shoulders and movement together. The steps are small, relaxed, and taken towards the right side. According to the Kalasha dictionary 'The verb *drazhek* means 'to stretch out' and

the words of the song are sung in this way.' Following the stretched songs, the movements are also stretched and elongated.



Fig:3a



The support leg is placed on every first beat and is held for next four beats. The body weight is shifted in these four beats while the gesture leg is lifted at the start of the third beat. The gesture leg is placed next to the support leg instead of placing it at the back like they do in *D'hushak* fig 3b.1, 3b.2. I have gone through many videos of *Drazhayl'ak* dance and noticed that the count changes every now and then, but this can be a good understanding of the footwork to start with. The dancers move slowly anticlockwise in the space and always face the centre of the *Nat'ikeyn*.

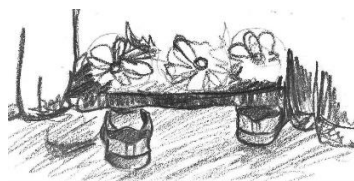


Fig:3b.1



Fig:3b.2

## 8. Solo dance:

This dance is the most dynamic in terms of the upper body movement. The movement is happening at the will of the dancer and the dancer moves freely in space as compared to the group dances. As I said earlier it is not considered a separate dance type amongst the locals. The reason why I am separating it is due to the rich gestures and liberation of body in a dancer while they perform alone. The dancer if dancing solo, performs in the center of the *Nat'ikeyn* or *Jes't'ak han* while the group dancers perform in the outer part and the drummers along with other people stand in the center. In a death dance, the solo performer can place themselves where the other group dancers are as the position of the drummer is also changed due to the placement of the deceased in the center of *Jes't'ak han*. The dancer again has to move anticlockwise in the space. The arms are raised above the head while repeating a hand gesture throughout the dance. The dancer can take spins whenever they want. The head leads the upper body to lean side to side. There are slight variations in arm movements coming from the shoulder. Dancer is free to face up, down or sideways during the dance.

I have been quite good at imitating any dance move as long as it did not require a lot of stretching. Still, these dance types became hard for me to perform. In *Drazhayl'ak* after finally getting the grip of the music, when I saw my feet, they happened to be moving different than the rest of the people. This kept happening till the day of Uchaw. Many times, my legs would start hurting and I would want to excuse myself from the group. The reason for that I believe is the repetition. My cognitive ability was challenged when I had to simplify the moves on an enthusiastic drumbeat. The simple repetitive movement are hard for me to learn as my brain was accustomed to responding to a set of music with different muscles at the same time. What I mean by this is that my training of dance had taught me to create or perform multiple motifs on a set of music. My brain was in a habit of changing the movements quickly in order to compliment the variation in music. Whereas any of the Kalasha dance, requires minimizing the use of multiple muscle instead using particular muscles to complement the variation in music. This causes the stress on the muscle however helps in developing the muscle memory. It was particularly hard for me to keep my arms up in the air while doing the solo dances. I was told in my Kathak class to relax my shoulders and to lift my arms from the elbows, which helped in keeping the line

connected while doing the *Hastak* Arm/Hand movement. This case was similar to that because I had to keep my shoulders relaxed and hold my arms up in the air. It was not a common practice for me and hurt my arm quite a lot. Even in the group dances, holding someone from around their shoulder or waist for long periods made my arms sore. It didn't seem to be a problem for any of the older Kalasha men or women.

Mauss describes this phenomenon of body getting used to a certain practice as habitus of body, which develops in any culture over time and constant presence of a training (Marcel Mauss, 1973). As Kalasha men and women were in a habit of doing this dance step in different occasions, it became part of their style. Some Kalasha girls did complain about it, I assume it was because they did not participate in the dances that often and were now dancing more because of my presence. However, they were still wearing their heavy dresses and *S'us'ut* headgear which adds more complexity to the movement. It took me some time to become more comfortable with the dances, repetition, and the eyes of people on me. I learnt how to avoid being too close to another group if the area became too crowded. All these sophisticated details of moving in the space show the long tradition of Kalasha dancing towards which this thesis is my first step.

### Chapter 3: Kalasha Events and their modes of realization:

I have already shared a few things about the Kalasha event in the text earlier, yet there are many things to examine before going any further. Kalasha events are not just limited to the religious occasions. When I say Kalasha events, I mean to mention their ceremonies and customary occasions as well. These occasions include, weddings, childbirths, deaths, and *Rat nat* along with the religious events which they call *Khawsāgaw* such as *Uchaw* (*Ucaw*), *Poo* (*Pū'*), *Joshi* (*zhoshi*) and *Chowmos* (*Cawmos*). Another event that I observed, which is rather occasional than regular, is the function arranged when any VIP dedicates or special guests visit the valley. Kalash community is a strongly united community, and they show this in all their practices. They make sure to take part on every occasion of each family. In every one of these events, dance is the most important practice. During my stay in the Valley, I attended two childbirths, two deaths, seven *Rat nat'*, one VIP function and the *Uchaw* festival. Each event has its own significance when it comes to understanding the Kalasha dance. Now I would share my ethnographic

accounts of each event to further develop the understanding of the Kalasha dance along with my positionality as a researcher.

#### 9. Rat nat':

*Rat nat'* is an essential practice before Uchaw and *Joshi*. Yasir *Sahaab* had arranged for me to attend the *Rat nat'* on the second day of my arrival. As it was very early in my fieldwork, I had no clue what this word meant and for that matter, how was it even pronounced. It is done once on the night before *Joshi* whereas for Uchaw it takes place on multiple nights dedicated to practicing the dance and music. The *Rat nat'* unlike my initially interpretation is not part of the Uchaw or *Joshi* in the strict sense, rather a preparation phase leading to these events. In my understanding which I also confirmed with my different informants the Uchaw can exist without *Rat nat'*, however it is an important element or extension that takes us towards the event, making it somewhat part of it. Before Uchaw there is no specific numbers of *Rat nat'* that takes place, however its occurrence is in consecutive order in Aneesh and Krakal village of Bumburet valley. This is to encourage celebrating together as a community. In the initial days, young Kalasha girls and boys are the ones practicing and old people mostly join in the last ten days. As the name suggests the practices happen at night around 9:00 pm to 12:00 pm.

Kalasha practices have passed down from generation-to-generation through communication and imitation (Cacapardo & Cacopardo, 2011). Kalasha children observe their elders and help them by indulging in regular chores with them. Some day-to-day tasks in a way become a gender based social activity as they are done in groups, while children from both the genders learn their customs in a social setup. For instance, girls and women cannot make their hair in the house and have to go to the river side to open, brush and tie their hair again. Young Kalasha girls follow their elders in this activity, as soon as their hair grow long enough to be tied up. Another instance is that the monthly cycle of Kalasha women also has an element of social activity in it. Due to the Kalasha values, all the women who are menstruating are required to go and live in the *Bashali*, literally translated as Maternity home, as they are considered 'impure' to live in their houses. Although it is a biological cycle it becomes a social cycle during their time in *Bashali* as they enjoy their free time with other women sharing the dates of their period cycle. During this

time, they are not allowed to touch any man or women who is pure and cannot enter the village or take part in any social events. This Kalasha value again is taught by the elders, but children observe them time and again and learn to keep their distance from the *Bashali* and the women on their periods. While traditions and practices including men involves, taking goats to the *Charagha* the green lands, up in the mountains. Men go in groups and live there for a few weeks to feed their goats in summer and young Kalasha boys join them sometimes to learn from them. Same is the case with dance and music, there is no academic system for children to learn their traditional dance. Instead, it is introduced to them very early in their lives through these events. *Rat nat'* for that matter is significant event as this is the time for new generation to improve their skills of dancing and playing drums. As there is no books or written scriptures for Kalasha traditions, the knowledge when passed down through words can have some difference or loopholes (Cacapardo & Cacopardo, 2011)

Considering this, it is reasonable that many Kalashas don't know how to explain something about their dances, but there is a clear understanding of dos and don'ts amongst them. This knowledge is built by constant observation as well as trial and error. For example, no one would ever dance in a pair outside of the death ceremonies (especially in Bumburet and Rumbur). On asking what if a child does it out of ignorance? I was told by the Kalasha that they are stopped immediately and corrected. The reason behind it being wrong is only known to the point that this rule is strictly related to the connotation of loss. The dancing in a pair of two is done on Death and there for is avoided in the festive dances. I will further elaborate on the clear distinctions made between the happy occasion dance and sad occasion dance while talking about the realization of Kalasha dance in reference to these modes.

During *Rat nat'*, all the Muslims stand outside the *Nat'ikeyn*. There are five *Nat'ikeyn* in Bumburet valley and one in Rumbur. Some of the *Nat'ikeyn* have a roof and some do not. Some are marked by the walls, other are just marked by the dance floor and some are just open spaces. In any case the Muslim me cannot enter the dancing area, which is mostly marked by the dancers themselves. As *Rat nat'* is the preparation for Uchaw, the instruments used in the practices are the same two drum used in Uchaw; *Dāu* big drum and *Wāc* small drum fig 4. The drummers stand in the middle of the dancing area and the dancers move around the drummers as explained earlier in the types of Kalasha dance.



Fig:4

#### 10. Childbirth:

The mother after giving birth, stay in the *Bashali*, for at least 2 weeks. After the mother comes back home, the childbirth celebration is started. First step is to do the purification ritual (Wynne Maggi 1966) then to decide a date and inform the guests. Both the childbirth events that I attended were arranged at night. All the relatives bring sweets and snacks to the host's house. Special food is prepared for the guests, which includes *Panir* cottage cheese, *Roti* flat bread and meat *Palao* rice. After eating dinner, the guests start gathering in one place, where they start to dance and enjoy. In the case of the first childbirth, it was a small room in one of the Kalasha houses, whereas for the second event, everyone gathered in the courtyard of the house of the new parents. The dance in this event plays the role of entertainment for each Kalasha. The purpose of dance is to enjoy and celebrate. There is no involvement of mother or child in this dance. In the first childbirth, the mother was resting in another house with her child, as she had not fully recovered from her operation. She was not aware of who was taking part in the celebration. The mother in the second event was although sitting with the guests, however kept her presence limited to a room.

Music played in this event is different than the music played on *Uchaw* or *Rat nat'*. The main instrument in this event is the flute (*Ishpē'i*) along with the tambourine. The people who are not dancing, form a circle around the dancers, which in the first ceremony was by sitting on the floor

of a small room and in the second ceremony was by standing in the courtyard of the house. The dancers then get up and come to the centre of this dance area. The dance can be done by many dancers at the same time, however there is no group formation. The dancers face each other while dancing or go round in the circle, still following the rule of moving anti-clockwise in the space. I did not participate in the dance of the first ceremony as a dancer, but in the second ceremony I did dance for a few minutes as many people insisted me. Such dancing as I mentioned is just for amusement and not for praying so there are no *dehar* sung while dancing. The event goes on the whole night while they drink and dance to celebrate.

### 11. Death Dance:

For the first time when I attended a Kalasha Funeral, I didn't know what to expect. The only thing I knew was that there would be dancing. As everyone knew I was asking constant questions about Kalasha dance, I was told by almost everyone that Kalasha people dance all the time even on deaths. On my way back to Bumburet Valley from Birir Valley, I got to know that a Kalasha senior had died the previous night in one of the villages of Bumburet Valley. I had booked a car to travel back and my guide Sarwar *Sahaab*, was accompanying me. While entering in Bumburet, Sarwar *Sahaab* asked the driver to stop and went out of the car. I gave him my I.D card thinking it was a regular check-post entry. After some time, Sarwar *Sahaab* came back with a group of four Kalasha people. Due to the darkness and lack of light, I could not see who it was. The group had two women and two men. Before I could even greet them, I found myself scooching to the corner of my seat to make space for them. Two women and a man sat in the back seat with me, and one man sat with my guide in the front seat. It turned out that I had met these people in one of the villages in Birir Valley. From here onwards, on every step I found our group growing, with more and more Kalasha people joining us. It was really amazing for me to see these people recognizing people around them or walking on the narrow steep path with almost little to no light. I on the other hand, was using three mobile torches to catch up with them.

Upon reaching the *Jes't'ak han* Sarwar *Sahaab* got busy with meeting everyone around him. By this time my eyes had accustomed to the darkness and with the help of little light coming from



houses around us, I was able to recognise people as well. Constant drumming and singing could be heard at the background, while people met each other, talking about different things in Kalasha language. Music grew louder as I followed Sarwar *Sahaab* into *Jes't'ak han* (building for the death ritual). The instruments used in the funeral music are same two drums which are used in Kalasha festivals and the music sounds very similar to the three types of music that I shared earlier. Nevertheless, the music is played differently that any of the three Kalasha music types. In addition to that the songs sung in a death dance is different than the songs of Uchaw or *Joshi*. In the centre of the room, on a bed, the deceased is placed covered in red sheet, with a red flag set up on the bedhead. The bed used for this purpose is the same one on which the deceased slept in her/his life. It is considered as her/his important belonging. The dancers in a group of up to eight people perform round the body (fig:5).

When the music stops, all the close family members and friends of the dead one, along with the *Qazi* (Leader), gather around the bed. This is when they remember the good deeds of the late person. They talk about her/him and share his/her stories. These stories are narrated in Kalasha language. Having said that, I was not able to understand anything that was said for the dead person, rather was given a gist of the narration by my guide later. This activity is done many times before taking away the body. They keep shifting between the dancing and story narration, while other Kalasha people arrive from different valleys. taking away the body.



*Fig:5*

I spent the night at one of the neighbours' house who were Muslims. Being one of the closest houses to the *Jes't'ak han*, they had to entertain many guests for tea or food and some like me,

for a night stay. The Muslim women didn't speak Urdu, and my guide translated for her my messages in Chitrali. All night I could hear drum beating and singing. After doing this ritual for the whole night, early morning next day, the final ritual was performed. I made sure to get up early and to attend the last ritual of death dance.

During the final dance ritual there are gunshots fired. After the last dance ritual, the gun shots are stopped while the body is lifted by men and is taken out of *Jes't'ak han*. The gunfire is resumed on the way out. The implication of firing as I was told by Sarwar *Sahaab* during the ceremony, is to scare away the evil or demons from the path of the funeral. The body is then taken to the graveyard where they bury it and put the '*Charpai*', bed of the person, upside down on the grave. After completing the burial, everyone goes and wash their arms, faces and feet in the river and for those who cannot go all the way to the graveyard, the water is brought to the *Jes't'ak han* in a jar. While most of the people are busy with the funeral ritual itself, some of the Kalashas are responsible for the preparation of food. Large cauldrons of meat stew are prepared for the guests on behalf of the deceased's family. The food is then shared with everyone in the village. However, there were some who had converted to Islam, due to which not everyone in their guests are Kalashas. Also, the Kalasha villages are closely situated with Muslim villages and the food is sent to the Muslim villages as well. The goats which are slaughtered for the meal, are slaughtered by Muslim butchers, as Muslims only eat *Halal* (Permissible) meat. This shows inclusion of Muslims in their funeral rituals as an important act to create harmony in the society. As the book 'Politics of cultural performance' (United Kingdom, Berghahn Books, 1996) discusses the conscious or unconscious political agendas behind any action committed through different case studies of cultural performances, I would like to suggest that the Kalasha funeral ritual also falls under the culture politics. The community comes together to grieve with the effected family, hence showing the power of unity and the healing that dwells in it. As a *Qazi* in Krakal village explained me that by doing so they intend to show their strength and number (both living and passed on Kalasha) as a recognition of their community and as a mark of their religious struggle.

The first death I attended in the valley, occurred during the preparations of *Uchaw* festival, which is the harvesting festival. Due to the death, all the preparations or celebrations were put on hold. The *Rat nat*' was also cancelled for minimum of one week in the farthest village and for 15

to 20 days in the closest village where the person passed away. However, the second death took place right on the next day of *Uchaw*. 'Imagine, had it been on the day of *Uchaw*...' I said to my guide. 'Who knows' said my guide 'Maybe, they didn't say it until the end of the festival. The importance of death ceremony as a factor of unity and being together in times of sorrow is very visible in Kalasha practice. However, sometimes choices such as arranging the funeral and performing rituals, are made keeping in mind the effect of overlapping of death ceremony with other events.

## 12. Function:

The word function is used by the locals to talk about an event where some entertainment is presented to special guest or VIPs. These events mostly take place in hotel lawns on special requests of the guests or is a pre-decided part of the tour for VIPs. The function can have Kalasha dance and Kalasha music, or Chitrali dance and Chitrali music. As I noticed, if the guests are VIPs, then the Kalasha dance and music is presented and if they are regular tourist who want to pay for any entrainment then Chitrali music and dance is presented. It is understood that the Kalasha dance is presented by the Kalasha people (mostly women) however the Kalasha music can be played by Muslims and Kalashas together. I will talk about the gender roles of this event in the light of power dynamics later in chapter 4. The instruments used in the Kalasha function music are the same as the instruments of Kalasha childbirth celebration, a flute and two drums. On the other hand, the Chitrali dance is presented by Chitrali or Kalasha men together and the instruments can also be played by both. The instrument for Chitrali music can be the same as the instruments for Kalasha music or if nothing is available, then a small gasoline tank *Ilkain* is used to create the sound of the drum. It is not a makeshift drum, instead is taken as a serious musical instrument in both Chitrali and Kalasha music. These functions can be arranged in the afternoon or at night. There is no fix rule to such event. My hotel staff in Aneesh village arranged a small function for me on the fourth day of my arrival. The cook and the caretaker were both Chitrali and had two more young Chitrali men coming to visit them. Ijaz a young tour guide assigned to me by Yasir *Sahaab*, and another Kalasha man, who could sing very well were also joining them for the night. All four Chitrali men had smoked up and were enjoying the music. The other Kalasha man was singing and one of the Chitrali man was playing *Ilkain*. I placed myself on the opposite site of the men in the room to have a clear view of their activity. A

Chitrali man started dancing on the song. Hardly after five minutes of me being in the room, a few men from the same hotel started walking in the room. The group of tourist men wearing white Shalwar Kameez sat wherever they felt comfortable. Someone ordered tea for them, and I realized that these men are going to stay here for the whole function. I excused myself from there and so did Ijaz. Later I got another chance of attending a function arranged for some VIP dedications. A group of ministers and some of their family members were visiting Kalash valley for an official visit. The event had Kalasha dance and music as first part of the entertainment and then Chitrali dance. The Chitrali dance was spontaneous and Kalasha dance was especially arranged before the event.

The Kalasha dance in a function has very different arrangement of performers than on *Uchaw*, death ceremony or childbirth ceremony. It is a solo dance where dancers do their own movement without physically connecting with each other as they do in the three types of Kalasha dance. While the dancers perform, they keep their eyes down but sometimes look at their fellow dancers to observe their movement. Like death ceremony, I was completely an observer in this event as well. I made sure to place myself in the corner of room where my presence would not be noticed. The reason for this was to see what a close encounter of the audience of Muslim men and the Performers of female Kalasha looks like without any attention towards me. I took this decision because, in *Rat nat'* and *Uchaw* I had seen that my observing through participation was bringing attention of the audience towards me and the relationship between the two characters, (Kalasha performers and male Muslim audience) was weaker. Another aspect of it is that although by participating I was being observed by the audience and was able to live the relationship that male Muslim audiences and Kalasha people had but was not able to observe the relationship. Taking some distance from the action was important to have a proper observation of the relationship between the two groups.

### 13. *Uchaw* – Celebrating harvesting season:

Kalasha community highly depend on agriculture and farming for their food sources. *Uchaw* is the celebration of harvesting season in Kalasha culture. The word used in Kalasha language to talk about these events is *Khawsāgaw* which when the locals translate to English is called

festival. I have decided to avoid using the term festival as the use of *Khawsāgaw* in the Kalasha language is not similar to the use of the word festival. Although many scholars and researchers have used it to talk about the four different *Khawsāgaw*, the fact that Kalasha people do not refer to any of the events by adding *Khawsāgaw* at the end of it shows that festival might be a good ‘closest meaning’ of the word but not the literal meaning of it.

During the time of *Uchaw*, Kalasha people collect all ripped food which is mostly the grapes, walnuts, and cornmeal then dry and preserve it for the harsh winter. As mentioned earlier, the dates of Kalasha events are now fixed due to the tourism which I find as a huge problem. *Uchaw* is also a religious event according to the Kalasha folklores the Kalasha deities, *Bal'ima'in* and *Dewalok* observe them. They perform dances and play music for these gods while they pray thought *Dehar*. The purpose is to thank the gods and honor *Sajigor* the spirit being in Kalasha mythology along with asking for better harvesting season. The three dance types which I have shared already are mostly done on *Uchaw*, and the dates are now fixed instead of selecting through traditional ways which is *Suria jagek* observing sun, the religious element has been manipulated (Pir, Ghiasuddin. (2019). Chapter 7. Suri Jagek Traditional Meteor)

*Uchaw* is celebrated in Rumbur valley in the day and in Bumburet valley, at night. The point has been established time and again that the Kalasha from all the villages come together to celebrate all aspects of life. Considering this I also went to Rumbur valley to follow the Kalasha tradition and celebrate *Uchaw* while Ijaz accompanied me as my guide this time. A night before *Uchaw*, the final *Rat nat'* took place in the *Nat'ikeyn* of Grom village in Rumbur valley. That night I saw many Kalashas from Bumburet valley and some from the Birir valley too. The *Nat'ikeyn* of Rumbur valley is situated quite high in the mountains with a tall staircase leading towards it. The architecture of this *Nat'ikeyn* has wooden pillars and wooden roof surrounded by cemented stair-seating from three sides and a railing opening towards the mountainous view from the fourth side. The light source in the area was just a few bulbs which were lit above the dance floor. I had borrowed a Kalasha outfit from one of Ijaz's sister. She was very happy to lend me an old dress and even helped me select the perfect dress for myself. I had already bought an old *S'us'ut* traditional Kalasha headgear from a Kalasha souvenir shop. That night I wore the dress on my own and realized, it was not as easy carry the dress as the Kalash women made it seem. The *Pat'i* waist belt of the dress had to be tied in a specific way so it will not open while dancing.

After reaching the *Nat'ikeyn* I saw many Muslim tourists sitting around the dancing area on the stair-seating. Because I was now wearing the Kalasha dress, it was not easy to distinguish me from Kalashas, as one of the Chitrali Muslim friends of Ijaz said *Ishpata*, (a Kalasha local greeting know to Chitrali speakers as well) to me while meeting Ijaz. Whereas for the Kalasha people who had not met me earlier knew I was not a Kalasha as my face was not familiar to them. I danced and interacted with the Kalasha I knew. Many times, some young Kalasha I hadn't met already, felt comfortable enough to talk to me because Ijaz was with me. They were interested in knowing about me. Some girls also fixed my dress for me. After participating in the Rutnut, I decided to sit back and see how the Kalasha community interacts with each other during festivity. I sat amongst Muslim men as they were on the side which was closer to the dancing floor. Finding a good view to observe most of the activities, I placed myself in the center of the stairs. Ijaz sat right next to me as I took my notes. After a few minutes, a Kalasha man came and said something to Ijaz. Ijaz translated it for me that we were sitting on the side closer to the *Sajigor* the alter of *Sajigor* and women were not allowed so close to it. This meant we had to move to the other side of the seating area. I could not find a good spot from any other place due to the lack of light. However, the next morning gave me more opportunity to observe from a spot where women were allowed. The *Uchaw* celebration started early morning. I could hear the drum beating all the way to my hotel room, which was good three kilometers away from the *Nat'ikeyn*. Ijaz told me the festival usually starts early but with a fewer people. The crowd starts gathering after 11:00am.

After having breakfast, three Kalasha girls who were around eleven years old, came to help me dress up. They all made my hair and securely tied my dress. After getting dressed, the girls joined me to walk all the way to the *Nat'ikeyn*. Ijaz and his younger brother also came along, carrying my backpack and other equipment. Ijaz insisted on carrying a backpack because it made him look different and he liked it. AS many foreigners come wearing backpack, I assume this was the different he was referring to. Once we reached the *Nat'ikeyn*, it was hard to find a place to sit as the whole place was swamped with people (Muslims on the three stair-seating and Kalasha on the fourth side sitting on the base rail).

There were tourists everywhere and as Rumbur as only one *Nat'ikeyn*, whereas Bumburet has five. In the beginning, I tried to sit amongst the audience to draw the sketches of the activities in

front of me, later I moved to the side where Kalasha people were sitting to take break and socialise. The dances took place one by one, and I noticed the old Kalasha people were more involved than the younger Kalasha. What I mean by this is that the younger Kalasha people would mostly participate in *Ca'* and *D'hushak* but when *Drazhayl'ak* played most of the young men and some young women stood outside of the dancing floor to take break whereas the older Kalashas kept dancing. After 3:00 pm the activity slowed down and after 5:00 pm Kalasha people and Muslim tourists all started to move towards Bumburet valley. The driver I hired to pick and drop me from Rumbur to Bumburet cancelled last minute and I had to walk for a long time before I could find a car that agreed to take us to Bumburet in an affordable price. The new driver was a young Kalasha who couldn't speak in Urdu and drove rashly. The unmetalled thin path was busy with cars and our car was rushing through the narrow spaces between them. I kept reciting Quranic verses for my safety with a few gasps every now and then. When I asked Ijaz to tell him to drive slowly, they both told me it's alright, they do it every day many times and are used to driving on these roads. Obviously, this was just an exaggerated statement that they do it every day many times, but I had no choice but to trust them with my life at that time. The driver told Ijaz to tell me that it is good that we will reach soon so we can enjoy the remaining *Uchaw* celebration.

It was very active and crowded in Bumburet as well. We walked from Aneesh village to Karakal village where my hotel was and throughout the way, there were tourists all around us. However, the Muslims of the valley were doing their day-to-day chores as on any other day. The valley was now covered with three prominent groups. Kalasha people who were highly active, Tourists (Muslim and non-Muslim) who were fairly active, and Muslims of valley who were not very active. Although at night when the *Uchaw* celebration started, many local Muslims also came to see it. I participated in the celebration wearing the same dress and by now I was feeling very comfortable in it. I was also able to balance the *S'us'ut* on my head better while dancing. I heard the next day that celebration kept on going till 4:00 am or 5:00 am in the morning but I had left for my room around 1:30 am. The next day I also received the news of second death in the valley during my stay.

#### 14. Realization of modes:

Movement patterns in Kalasha dance are realized in two different mode which is associated with two emotions: sadness and happiness. As explained earlier each Kalasha dance types is bound with a music set, some of the movement patterns are bound to these modes. It is forbidden to mix these movement patterns and modes. The reason of such rule is not easy to find as the knowledge of the present-day Kalasha has gaps in it. If one were to find a reason for these rules, it would not be enough to just ask them. As I ended up creating a situation where an answer was cooked for me to gulp down my throat. My question of why it is like this? caused the Kalasha community to realize their lack of knowledge about their practices. Which even though was a good realization but from a researcher's point of view was wrong as the answer was created just for the sake of a reply. I would still like to share my finding as it has a value in my research.

Now with this sense of each dance, comprehending the distinction between the sad dance and happy dance would be easier. I with my research have come to know of three major differences between the death dances and all other festive dances. First difference which I have also shared previously in my writing is that in festive dances, dancing in pair of two is forbidden, its either a single person dancing or a group of three and more. Dancing in couples only happens on deaths. Although in one of the valleys (Birir) people danced in couples even on happy occasions. Second difference is that the hand movement in festive solo dance, shows the gesture of 'Calling', as each arm is raised above the head and fingers are clapped against the palm (fig 6a, 6b). Whereas in death dance, same movement is done while fingers move away from the palm, giving a gesture of 'Gone' (fig 7a,7b). There is also a little difference in the movement of wrist in both the gestures. Performing this gesture is not allowed anywhere outside of a funeral. The last difference is that the circles taken by the dancers on the festive dances are anti-clockwise, whereas the clockwise circles are only taken in death dance.

I was very observant towards finding these differences. I noticed very early in the funeral ceremony, two girls dancing. After a while I could see the people dancing alone doing the hand gesture. It was not until the final ritual was performed, that I noticed the clockwise circle. The final dance ritual of Kalasha funeral, before taking the body for burial, is for the close family members to perform. This is the part where all the family members form a circle around the



body. They start walking in a circle and making the same hand gesture by raising their arms up, indicating that the person will not return. The circle is again anti-clockwise, but after completing one circle they turn around and make a clockwise circle. This is very different from other parts of this dance ritual. In the rest of the dances, the dancers create a chain by standing side by side, holding each other like they do in *Ca'*, *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*. Whereas in this part the members of the family create a line, one after the other without holding each other. Their face unlike in *D'hushak* and *Drazhayl'ak*, is not towards the centre. They start with their left side of the body facing inside the circle and left side of the body facing outside. One of the men in the circle, holds a gun and fires it in between the circles while the other Kalashas whistle and keep singing. The amount of anti-clockwise and clockwise circles, and the numbers of fire shots may vary from time to time. That morning I counted five sets of the anti-clockwise and clockwise circles and six shots of fire. It was hard for me to see the emotions in their tears and gestures along with hearing the gun shots.



*Fig:6a*



*Fig:6b*



*Fig:7a*



*Fig: 7b*

## Chapter 4: Interpretation of power dynamics:

The understanding of my findings about the interaction and social accordance of the two religious' communities, Muslims and Kalasha, majorly depends on the complex arrangement of events that took place in my field. These events are not only important for defining my roles and positionality in the field but also are the key moments of adopting new roles during my stay in the Valley. I will be using some ideas from Alfred Schuts' text, 'The phenomenology of social world', to explain my experiences and the meaning that I built from them. My purpose is to slowly establish my theory of the 'effect' that the coexistence of these two religious groups has on the Kalasha dance. I will take a moment here to explain what I mean by effect. As Fredrik Barth et al explores the idea of social organization of two ethnic groups and their self-ascription and ascription by others to create an argument that the boundaries between the ethnic groups do not dissolve by their close and long-term interaction (Fredrik Barth, 1969). I believe that the changes that Kalasha people have adopted although are in the domains that Kalasha people emphasize as important to their cultural identity still does not completely abolish the self-ascription of the community as Kalasha. These changes are either adaptation to the environment or can be considered the 'effect' of the environment on the Kalasha culture. One such effect I shared earlier from the time when I visited Birir valley and saw the *Qazi's* daughter wearing *Shalwar Kameez* due to hot weather as she explained, there are more cases of this nature where the diacritical feature (Fredrik Barth, 1969: 14) of their culture is altered due to their experience of interacting with Muslims.

Now once the meaning of effect has been established, I would like to share some personal encounters to support my theory. Some of these events also made me realize my association with Muslim community. Another thing I would like to explain in this chapter is the social relation of the two groups in the light of phenomenology (Schutz). This again will be built on some personal experiences and interactions I had as a Muslim with some Kalasha individuals. By doing so, I hope to bring to the surface some not so hidden power dynamics of this coexistence.

#### 15. Salient moments of social relation:

Kalasha community as stated earlier is very welcoming towards tourists. They make special arrangements to accommodate their guests and make sure to take care of them. This is to ensure more visits from them in coming years and to also get verbal promotion in Pakistani tourism. I found my gatekeeper Yasir *Sahaab*, who was also a Kalasha tour guide through a Chitrali friend of mine. My friend had been to his hotel many times and thought of him as a best person for this task. The initial contact I made with him was in October 2020 to ask about a few things related to Kalasha festivals. Later I decided to use his contact to make my way in the field, which worked very well for me.

In Pakistan the acceptable and unacceptable social actions of women are quite straight forward. Out of many, I would like to focus on one deciding factor which is relevant here, that if any action involves a women to be alone in an unknown area, it is problematic and worrisome. From the society's perspective it is an idea borrowed from two different places. First is from Hindu texts in which women although are shown as strong goddesses but on the other hand are limited to gender specific roles. The second is the Islamic concept that a women should not be without her *Mehram* (a man who is a blood relative or spouse) which is mostly practiced by the Islamic extremist to keep women locked in the houses and is a manipulation of the actual practice of Islam which tells a woman to protect herself from *Namehram* (not related men). However, from the perspective of the woman or her family, it is worrisome for safety purposes. Such social restriction can cause a lot of hesitance in planning a solo trip to Pakistan and also in the neighboring countries sharing same social ideology. Having a gatekeeper who was recommended by my friend created a great sense of comfort.

When I reached Kalash Valley, I went straight to Alexander hotel where Yasir *Sahaab* was a manager. The hotel was in Aneesh village of Bumburet Valley, and I lived there for a few days.

I had already established the role of a student researcher before reaching the Valley, but I did not know I was about to receive many other roles in the span of a month. My second week in the field started with moving to another hotel room after being fed up with the first room. I felt almost exploited by the behavior of Yasir *Sahaab* who offered me a dingy room for four days. I kept on living there because I wanted to stay in contact with the Kalasha people. I was afraid of

doing anything which would jeopardize my relationship with them. I was also uncomfortable to mix with the Muslim community because of an overwhelming experience I had when I visited a Muslim house. Initially I had planned to conduct my research in a way that would help me collect data from both communities. One day on my way to exploring the Valley with Ijaz who was assigned to me as my guide on the same day, I visited a Muslim house just to say *Salam* hello to them. I had to go in alone as Kalashas men are not welcomed in Muslim houses. Within a minute of entering the house I found myself surrounded by three children and four women, while a man stood at a distance. They were excited to have me and started telling me the stories of recent wedding of their brother who was the man standing in front of me. Within the next five minutes they took me inside to show me the decorated room. After entering the room, the newly married man sat at the corner of the entrance, while me and the rest of the ladies along with the children sat on the sofa looking at their wedding photos. The women on one hand showed me photos and telling me stories of their Kalasha girlfriends who come to visit them and the young man on the other hand asked me questions such as, ‘how old are you?’.. ‘Are you alone here?’ .. ‘Why are you not married?’.. ‘Where are you staying?’. I realized how important the age of a woman is for the people of Chitral. A woman who is old enough to be married and is not married, rather is independent can be a topic of interest for them. All of a sudden, I was made very well aware of my age. Now I could see myself from their eyes. A single woman who has passed the so-called decent age of being married. Interestingly within the fifteen minutes of my staying in that house, I was being forced to come live with them instead of living in a Kalasha hotel. At this time, I grasped a glimpse of some resistance in these old Muslim family towards Kalasha people. I understood at this point that most of the old Muslims just look at them as non-believers living amongst them. This experience then influenced my research as I took the decision of only indulging in close interactions with the recently converted Muslims while observing the old Muslims from a distance so to not get sidetracked.

Now since I wanted to avoid interacting with Muslims and didn’t want to get ignored by Kalasha, I was in a tough place where after being bit by many bedbugs, fearing to use the toilet, which was small and wretched, and not being able to sleep comfortably, I was considering looking for a new room even if it is in a Muslim hotel. One thing was clear, if I stopped the profit of a Kalasha hotel, I would not be welcomed in their lives with the enthusiasm I needed because of such a tight network of the community. When Yasir *Sahaab* got to know that I was

considering a particular hotel, he called to tell me about a hotel in Krakal village that was owned by his brother-in-law. I was relieved by this and moved into the new hotel the same day. Although this was not the best option, but I just needed a decent toilet, so it was not the worst one either. My new manager was Sarwar *Sahaab* a shy polite person who couldn't read or write. He had another Kalasha helping him with paperwork, who was a schoolteacher in the government school of Bumburet valley. Government schools in Kalash valley educates children of both religious groups. The uniforms are color coded. Kalasha girls wear their traditional black gowns with blue and white motifs on it and the Muslim girls wear white *Shalwar* and *Duppata* with blue shirts. However, the subject of Islamic studies is compulsory for both the groups. I asked the Kalasha children what they do in this period, and they told me they just sit with their heads down while Muslims students recite the Quran. When Greek Volunteers came to Kalash Valley for the welfare of the Kalasha community, the member of the NGO Athanasios Lerounis a teacher, started working on the Kalashadur museum in 1995. This museum is also a cultural center for the community. Kalasha children are taught about their culture by the Kalasha teachers. When I visited Kalashadur, I met the teachers, saw what the course outline was. I also met the children who were half shy half excited to meet me. They are taught Kalasha language, their songs, and values, however the highest grade that is taught in this center is up till grade 5. Later Kalasha children join the government schools if they wish to study further.

After being introduced to government teacher who was helping Sarwar *Sahaab* with managing his hotel, I thought of learning some Kalasha language from him. I had already started learning a few things on my own but when one evening I found a chance of talking to him, I made the request. He bluntly asked me what I could offer him in terms of money and without waiting for me to answer he went on with sharing his experience of being exploited by many people, who came to help but ended up taking all the knowledge and later making a lot of money out of it. Although I didn't understand completely what he meant my making a lot of money out of the knowledge he gave them, but I did realize that Kalasha people and their practices have been a topic of interest for many. This teacher also told me how before getting recognized as a tradition and practice in danger by NGOs, Kalasha women were taken by rich men visiting Chitral to dance for them. '*Humari wives or baitiaan utha ker ley jatey they, bs key humarey samney nachain.. kon rokta unko*'- 'They would take our wives and daughter to dance for them. who could stop them?' I felt sorry for them and wondered what it would have been like.

As I listened to him, I became conscious of my surrounding. The setting sun, the running river, and the company I was in. Ijaz was sitting right next to the teacher, half listening and half wondering in his thoughts. Sarwar *Sahaab*, lying down on the *Takht-posh* bench staring at the darkening sky and Pervaiz a young Kalasha boy who was interested in anything I was doing in a day. I was the only woman amongst these Kalasha men that too a Muslim woman. I felt a bit strange about my comfort level with them. Earlier sitting with the Muslim family in their house, I felt anxious and somewhat scared of the surrounding. Although I was a Muslim as well and there was only one man in the room at that time, I still felt intimidated. Whereas now I was sitting out in the open, on a Kalasha property surrounded by Kalasha men and yet I felt comfortable. If I try to examine both the situations, I felt intimidated by the Muslim family, I felt as if they had some right over me due to sharing the same religious belief. Fredrik Barth calls this the association of identities and value standards (Fredrik Barth, 1969:14-15), in which an individual fears that the new ways that they have adopted or want to adopt might be inappropriate for a person of their identity. Even if I was not afraid of the physical power, I was worried about the social power they had over me. Whereas Kalasha people were not my people or to be more precise, I was not part of their community. I did not feel socially bound to them in a way I felt socially bound to the Muslim family. If anything, I felt more powerful because I belong to the majority group.

While saying something the teacher pulled his Shalwar in a way that his hems came up to his knees. I found this action and his way of sitting quite vulgar, as in Pakistan men and women in a mix gathering are expected to sit with etiquettes. Whereas this man was sitting with his legs open and folded towards his chest. I felt uneasy at this point and tried to look away, soon it was time for *Maghrib* evening prayer. I stood up and told everyone I will be in my room praying so I will see them soon. When the teacher saw me getting up, he immediately changed the topic to what I did for living. I told him I also work as a teacher. I didn't want to tell him I teach dance, but he ended up asking what subject I taught. As soon as he got to know I was a dance teacher, he raised himself a little bit as if to reach something. Pointing towards Ijaz he said '*Wah! to koi gana wagera lagao, kuch dance ker k dikhao humain*' – great, play some song and show us some dance. I looked at Ijaz and Sarwaar *Sahaab* to see if they found this statement as upsetting as I did. The reason I became upset was clearly the connotation of asking someone to dance for you. In my very Pakistani perception, there is a strong gender specific role assignment in this idea and this kind of request or demands are made to the dancers, especially girls to entertain the male

gender. This all takes us to the *Mujra* culture, in which female dancers dance for money in front of male audience. Their main goal is to show off their bodies through dance to elicit appreciation and money from male audience.

Bring a Muslim woman, I expected to get respect from everyone around me, as it is very clear practice in Pakistani Muslim culture that women practice modesty in all aspects and are treated either reverently or are suppressed completely in a social setup. Either way they are never told to dance by any man. Even if I was not exhibiting the traditional Muslim characteristics but the fact that I had just gotten up to pray, I was not expecting such a statement from a Kalasha man. I was from a middle-class family in Lahore and a Muslim girl, and this was a powerful social position to be in if compared to a Kalasha man, so listening to this statement, I felt harassed. I am sure I would have felt harassed even if a Muslim man would have said this to me, but it was more hurtful as I had trusted the community to some extent. As much as I was very angry, I did not react to the statement as none of the men said anything to shut him up. I somehow politely excused myself from the area and went on with my work. It was hard for me to tell if the man intended to harass me, or he just said it because this concept existed in his culture. This subjective meaning of insult by his words was built in my understanding due to my experiences around this concept of dancing for others. As the teacher himself had just mentioned the hurtful story of Muslim tourists taking Kalasha women to dance for them, I was now mindful that Kalasha men have experienced this in their lives. Dancing in front of everyone is a normal thing in Kalasha community, the whole community from all three valleys try to get together on every occasion. As stated earlier all Kalasha events have dancing in it. For example, in childbirth ceremony Kalasha men and women dance in a circle made by rest of the Kalasha. Coming to the center of the circle either solo, in a couple or three at a time and dancing, whereas the people in the circle and the ones sitting outside, cheer them up by clapping and whistling. The sitting arrangement in both ceremonies were very casual, meaning that the Kalasha people can be sitting on the floor and chair or can be standing. There is no assigned seating and the entering and exiting the circle can happen even in between an ongoing music piece. This doesn't quite make it a 'staged' performance or 'dancing for someone' as each dancer has the willingness of dancing along with the freedom of starting or ending the dance with their own wish. Nevertheless, there is the element of people watching you while you dance.

On one of the days while I was heading to visit the Darazguru village, I stopped in a guesthouse near Aneesh village. My tour guide for the day was Iqbal, the converted Muslim, and a flute player. He had a 'function' as the locals call it, in the guesthouse where he worked. I wasn't expecting to have any stay, as Iqbal told me to meet him there so we could go ahead together. It felt a bit unclear and out of my interest to spend time in a Muslim guesthouse, attending a function hosted by Muslims. Still, I decided to wait and see, so Iqbal told me to go upstairs and sit in the hall from where I could hear some chatting. On asking who are there, Iqbal just said '*Apney log hain, family vamily*' – 'They are our people, family'. On entering the room, I saw many Kalasha women sitting and eating fruits. Many of them familiar to me, got up to greet me as I showed my excitement of seeing them there. Soon I got to know that the function Iqbal was referring to, was a Muslim political delegacy who had come to visit the valley and wanted to see Kalasha dance heritage. The Kalasha women performed in front of them while Iqbal and another person played instruments. As compared to their community dancing on a childbirth ceremony, this performance looked more staged. Now interaction of these groups in forming this social relation was in a more western theatrical structure where, one group is in the center, dancing while the other group sat around on the dedicated chairs placed with the wall in an organized manner. The big windows on one side of the room brightly lit the whole room unlike in the childbirth dance where the events were conducted at night with minimum light source. In my opinion this is a clear form of 'dancing for someone', as the dancers came to the floor before the music started and left the floor when the music ended. The freedom here was missing, as everyone at some point had to perform whether or not they wanted to.

Almost every performer was either women or a female child except for one male child who came at the very end. The performance by the females and the surprised entrance of the male child was appreciated throughout by the Muslim and non-Kalasha men in the audience. The Kalasha men were encouraging the performers by slightly pushing them onto the dance floor and sporadically passing money handed by the men in the audience to the women performing. This again shows that Kalasha men are accustomed to having their women dance freely may that be in their *Khawsāgaw*, any ceremony or in an occasional dance event such as this. In Muslim world it would be an unacceptable and shameful thing if a female family member is dancing in front of other men for entertainment. The senior official of the delegacy after the performance on his way out, stopped at the door turned around to thank the performers and said '*App humari saqafat ki*



*shaan hain, ap sub ney humain waqt dia bohat shukria ap ka* – ‘You are the grace of our Culture, you all gave us your time, thank you very much’. The words chosen by the senior official for this compliment were highly literate and very polite. This phenomenon of being aware of the others and to form a relationship with them in my understanding is explained by Schutz as an in-order-to motive of social action (Alfred Shutz, 1967:88-89).

There are three basic types of social relationship: a relationship in which the two partners merely observe each other, a relationship in which the first partner affects the second while the latter merely observes the first, and a relationship in which the two partners affect each other.

(Alfred Shutz, 1967: xxviii)

As entertainment was one of the purposes of this function, the social relation that formed between the two groups, the Muslims and the Kalasha, the Performers and the Audience, the men and the women was such that one effected by performing and the other observed as playing the role of the audience. This however makes it very different from the concept of Mujra that I mentioned a while ago, for two reasons. First reason being the focus of this event which was to showcase the culture of this community adding a layer of an artistic display and not the men’s leisure of watching female figures. The second reason is that in Mujra there is a different type of social relation at play between the performer and the audience. Both actors affect each other in form of constant cheering and the exotic moves done to provoke the cheering. Going back to the incident of being asked to perform by the government schoolteacher, I imagined the intention of the teacher to show me the power of his gender. Where he being a man wanted to get entertained by a woman dancing which he had seen in his experience and mentioned as well in his monologic conversation earlier. A few days later when I got to know that the schoolteacher asked about my whereabouts from different people whenever I left my room to conduct research in the village, I confronted the teacher and also mentioned his statement as offensive. I did so in front of Sarwar *Sahaab*, Parvez and Ijaz, but the teacher refused to have said it. At this point when I looked at Parvez, he tried speaking about it but was not able to talk back to a senior Kalasha (the teacher). I then hoped for Sarwar *Sahaab* to take a stand as the teacher was calling me a liar, but even he ended up ignoring it and told the teacher to go home and asked me to

relax. The teacher then told me that I was creating troubles between the two of them, which I realized was true. As an outsider to the community, having spent a couple of weeks with them did not make me important enough for any of the Kalasha to fight with another Kalasha. It reminded me of the argument from 'Ethnic groups and boundaries':

Dichotomization of others as stranger, as member of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgment of values and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest.

(Fredrik Barth, 1969: 15)

Sarwar *Sahaab's* realization of the teacher being a fellow ethnic and religious group member overpowered the social relation he had developed with me. I had observed Kalasha culture using dance in all aspects of life, the experiences with Muslims, that they shared with me in the form of stories along with the ones I observed in front of me, supported my hypothesis about how Kalasha culture has been used for entertainment purposes by Muslims around them which is belittling to this remarkable culture. Social relation of both the groups and their interaction in everyday life or in occasional incidents such as mentioned above (in form of my personal experience of being harassed and the function that took place), shows the fluctuating power dynamics between these groups. As one group being clearly the majority in not just the Chitral district and Pakistan but also in the neighboring country (Afghanistan), has more power than the other. I want to make it clear that I am referring to the power of number here. To stand strong in front of this power of number the Kalasha people show the power of unity, influence, and politics.

## Chapter 5: Negotiating with Tourism- the effect:

The first *Rat nat'* I attended was in Aneesh village, on the fourth day of my arrival. By revisiting those moments in my memory, I have come to a certain understanding of my positionality as my experience is not just limited to the dance itself, but also how I felt in the space where this dance was taking place. I will explain this understanding by using the same theoretical framework that I used in the previous chapter. With the help of the texts written by Alfred Shutez and Fredrik

Barth, I will further explore the social relationship of the communities, however this time with the focus on tourism in *Rat nat'* and. *Uchaw*

Holding cameras in my hand, being visibly South Asian, not being part of Kalash community and still standing inside the dance area, I was an odd subject for both the Kalashas inside the premises of the *Nat'ikeyn* and the Muslims limited outside of the premises. As already mentioned quite in detail the roles and assigned areas of Muslims and Kalashas when it comes to Kalasha dance, my mere presence inside the *Nat'ikeyn* was creating an overlapping of two worlds. Then this was not the only reason for the curiosity of both the groups towards me. My being an outsider for both the groups was also a big factor. Moreover, I was trying to understand the space and the actions happening in that space. Such acts of mine showed my confusion and made me eccentric for them.

The more days passed, the more villagers started knowing me, the more I found myself surrounded by young Kalasha girls and boys during *Rat nat'*. Sarwar *Sahaab*, Ijaaz, Parvez and Rehmat *Sahaab* a Kalashadur teacher would take duties to accompany me to *Rat nat'*. They did not let me go there alone, as they did not want me to have any trouble of dealing with strangers. On first *Rat nat'* in Krakal village that I attended after moving there, I discovered very distinctive interaction between Kalashas and Muslims. This was almost three weeks before the *Uchaw* and Rehmat *Sahaab* accompanied me that night. It was around 9:15pm and I was sitting on the balcony of one of the houses next to the *Nat'ikeyn*. The house was higher than the dancing area because of being on the higher plane, so I could see everything including the dancing area, the seating area (which was right under the house) and the different streets entering the *Nat'ikeyn*. Right in the middle of the dance floor, Rehmat *Sahaab* was playing drums with another Kalasha man and fifteen Kalashas (male, female of different ages) were dancing around them. In between the dancers and the drummers, a Kalasha guard was standing, whose task was to keep order amongst the young Kalasha boys and girls. There were a few Muslim audience, standing around the dancing area while also covering a bit of the dancing surface. They were clearly the tourists from nearby towns as their clothing and language suggested.

Rehmat *Sahaab* after playing the drum, joined the dancers in *D'hushak*. By this time there were two times more audience (all men) around the *Nat'ikeyn*. Almost 10 more Kalasha men and women had joined the dancing as well. The area was not too crowded, but due to less light the

Muslim tourist men were now moving closer to the Kalasha performers to get better views and videos. A few times the Kalasha Guard told the Muslim men to stay outside the dancing floor but every time they would move back in. The exchange of the conversation here was sometimes polite sometime impolite which made the Muslim tourist to disregard the request. There was nothing else that could have been done in this situation. There is no official security on *Rat nat'* for keeping check on the situation. Many times, Kalasha people end their *Rat nat'* earlier because of too many tourists standing around the *Nat'ikeyn*. Rehmat *Sahaab* however came up with a very clever plan to tackle the situation. I saw him talking to Kalasha boys in a huddle while the *D'hushak* beat was still playing in the background. As men's group was outside and women's group was inside, Rehmat *Sahaab* placed himself in the middle of boy's group. They started the *D'hushak* dance and when it came to the specific part where the chain goes back and runs forward, Rehmat *Sahaab* kept taking the chain back till the end of the dancing floor. This caused Muslim men to step off the dancing area. Although on realizing the situation, Muslim men started to push the Kalasha men from the back, but this only gave the Kalasha men a good flow to run forward for finishing the movement. This happened a few times and then Muslim men completely got off the dancing area, as they were not able to take any video or photo in such condition. I was really impressed by the technique that Rehmat *Sahaab* used to deal with such a complicated situation without any aggressive reaction. The playful pushing although seemed like an unintentional act but was enough to convey the message to Muslims to get of the dancing area. This was my first the first time I had seen the two groups Muslim audience and Kalasha performers coming so close together. After this night such incidents became more evident. The closer it got to the *Uchaw*, more and more tourist started appearing. By this time, I was a lot closer to the Kalasha community in terms of being accepted. I had spent some really strong moments with many Kalasha people. I had hiked for ten hours with Sarwar *Sahaab*, I had attended several *Rat nat'* with Ijaz, I had attended two childbirth celebrations with the community and had been part of a death ceremony as well. I could feel with the way of how the tourist looked at me that they thought I was well familiar with the area and locals. I would make my hair like the Kalasha ladies, try to talk in their language and was even welcomed in their homes. One day while sitting in the shop of an old Kalasha lady I called *Aya* mother, a tourist came to me. He was evidently from the southern part of Pakistan because of his dialect. While purchasing something from the *Aya*, he requested me to convince her to reduce the price.

Another time in the same shop, a lady came to me asking if I was a Kalasha, I asked her why she was interested to know that. She told me she was looking for a bride for his brother, who was parking the car. She wanted me to tell if there was a Kalasha girl who wanted to marry. I asked her if she was aware Kalashas are non-Muslims and that there were Muslims people here as well. She told me she knew a Kalasha girl who had married one of her relative and they have come for this purpose. I had to tell her that I can't help her with this as I am not part of their community, but she kept insisting that I seemed close to the owner of the shop so I could help her get in touch with the rest of the community. I was being seen as part of Kalasha community and the Kalasha community was also accepting me to some extent to be part of it. Another incident that took place was in the hotel that I was living in. Some new guest had checked in two nights before *Uchaw*. It was a group of men and some of them were in the room next to mine. I was playing a board game with Rehmat *Sahaab* and Sarwar *Sahaab* in the lawn around 7:00 pm in the evening, when all the men came out of their rooms to sit in the lawn. On seeing this, I decided to go back to my room after finishing the game. After some time, a man knocked on my door and asked for the board game. I gave it to him. Almost about half an hour later there was another knock on my door. This time a new man was asking for the board game, I told him that I did get him back so it should be outside. As I locked my door, the man knocked again. I asked what he wanted without opening the door. He didn't reply, instead knocked my door again. On third time when he knocked the door, I called Sarwar *Sahaab* to inform him about this before opening the door. When I opened the door and asked him what he wanted, he said '*Kuch nahi, App kuch lain gi?*' 'Nothing, would you like anything?'. Sarwar *Sahaab* came at that moment and the man turned away. At this point Sarwar *Sahaab* made it clear to the man to leave me alone and to respect me as I was their guest. This if compared to the incident with the schoolteacher, shows that I by this time had developed such relationship with the community that they were ready to stand up for me. Although may be not against their own group members, but with the Muslims who were their guests too. The Muslim tourists mostly men, display a very rowdy behavior the valley. They get drunk on the wine that Kalasha people make out of grapes and get into fights or play loud music. They get into Kalasha houses without asking and take their pictures without permission. To deal with such behavior female Kalasha adopt a strict tone while talking to them. Many Kalasha women have started wearing *Duppata* over *S'us'ut*, which they use to cover their faces with. I remember *Aya* saying to a tourist who commented on the beaded necklaces Kalasha

women wear as heavy and ‘too much’ that this is our *Duppata*. According to me the lack of respect that Muslim tourists sometimes show towards the locals is because of two reasons. One is that there is a friction between the provinces. People of one province has different traditions and values which causes. It is commonly observed that a Punjabi will tease Pashtun, Balochi, or Sindhi on their values, and they will response in the same way. Same goes for the rest of the provinces. Each provincial group will make fun of the traditions of the other wherever possible. So, the tourist coming from the south of Pakistan have different values than the locals of north. It is part of their social conduct to comment on the values and traditions of the other ethnic group. The second reason I believe is that the Kalasha culture is shown as more liberal than rest of the cultures in Pakistan. The tourist men consider this as a free pass to Kalasha lives. They think that a community that is comfortable with showing its culture and its women to the world is also comfortable with dealing with such interference. Now I will share two incidents to further support my theory.

On the night of *Uchaw* in Krakal village as entered the narrow street leading to the *Nat'ikeyn*, I saw it filled with people. Some families some groups of young men were coming and going while also stopping in between to take pictures and videos. Some of them were speaking Urdu some were speaking Punjabi. Many were talking in other regional languages as well, but I could only recognize the first two as they were my mother and first language. The narrow-crowded street took us to even more crowded *Nat'ikeyn*. A line of police officers was standing outside the dancing floor whereas the Kalasha were inside the line and the tourist were outside, spread all the way to entrance of all streets. The *Nat'ikeyn* in Krakal valley is an open space, without any roof or pillars. Same stair seating is made on three sides of the dancing floor whereas the fourth side has a back wall of a Kalasha house facing it. The *Nat'ikeyn* was decorated with hanging decorations. A reasonable light source was arranged to light up the area. It seemed like that more than seventy percent of the tourist audience was group of men the remaining percentage was of the families and female groups who were either sitting on the stair seating or were standing on the balconies of Kalasha houses. I went inside the dancing area after pushing through the male crowd. I was welcomed with enthusiasm and compliments as many of these people didn't see me in the Kalasha outfit earlier. They told me I carried the outfit very well and looked very Kalasha. The dances were going on one by one. I joined the dances while Ijaz helped me record the videos. I tried to say a few words of the songs that I had remembered while doing *Drazhayl'ak*.

Very slowly moving to the right, our line reached the place where Muslim men were standing against the back wall of the Kalasha house. There was a narrow area and the Kalasha, police and tourists got very close. I heard a couple of men from the tourist mimicking the sound of the song Kalasha people were singing at the time. It was done in a way that in my opinion sounded like mocking. I felt really bad as I was also part of the dancer and it felt as if someone was making fun of me. I looked at the Kalasha women around me to see if they reacted to this mocking, but they kept ignoring them and carried on with their singing. Earlier when Kalasha people shared their negative experiences of the tourist (Muslim men), I was not able to fully understand it, as it was their lived experience and not mine. Muslim-tourist-men-audience were just my contemporaries. When I saw this incident taking place while I was temporarily part of the Kalasha community, I developed a face-to-face relationship with them (Alfred Shutz, 1967:169). This was the moment when these Muslim-tourist-men-audience became my consociates. This mocking was coming from the consciousness of others. The Muslim tourist men treated the Kalashas as they would treat anyone from traditional and cultural background, disregarding their emotions surrounding these traditions. At that point I once again became aware of my positionality as someone who does not belong to Kalasha community but is still welcomed. Also, as someone who was indulged in a non-serious, dance activity as the Muslim tourist thought. This doesn't mean my connection with my ethnic and religious group had ended. I was still very conscious about what I was doing, what words I was using, so to not ignore my religious belief. The consciousness was with me since the very first time I participated in the Kalasha dance. Even now when I think of each time, I participated in Kalasha dance, I feel a few emotions. If I were to write down my thoughts of one of these moments, they would have so much conflict in them.

*'This light is quite bright and so centered. The men are sitting in the dark watching all this, so typical of them. These ladies look decent and should not judge me for dancing. Do I look Muslim? Of course, I don't look Kalasha, so I must look Muslim. Why would I look Muslim, I can be of any religion. But I am Muslim, these people are non-Muslims, and this dance is a way of worshipping. Is this sin? But they are not worshipping right now so it's just a dance. What is even happening with the feet? I am so glad I am wearing a mask, why are these men making videos? I think I have to put my left foot slightly behind my right, so to avoid stepping on her*

*foot. Why is her hand on my Shoulder and my hand on her waste? Oh God, I hope I am not recognizable, I want to take off my mask'.*

In the text 'Ethnic Groups and boundaries', this phenomenon is described to be one of the reasons why ethnic boundaries exist. The difference in value orientation between me, even though I have been a progressive Muslim, and the Kalasha people was so vast that I could not help but think of the negative judgment by Muslims around me. I could not let myself fully blend with the Kalasha practices. I had to know the meanings of the words they were saying so to not say something against my beliefs. Meanwhile I was also observing the Muslim audience who were constantly making videos and watching us dance. This made me very uncomfortable, and I kept my mask on. Thanks to covid, we had a reason to hide our face with a mask and many Kalasha girls did the same. Some who did not wear mask, wore the *Duppata* over the *S'us'ut* and ticked it in their teeth to hide their faces. The reason was simple, to avoid having their videos on the internet. I was also worried about it. If my picture or video would get circulated on internet, then it would be there forever. When being tired of so much dancing, I wanted to sit to rest, I realised that there is not space for the Kalasha to sit. All seating areas were occupied by men and the very little area left in one corner had garbage or liquid spilled over it. I thought of going to Yasir *Sahaab's* house for some water as it was right next to the *Nat'ikeyn*. Again, I had to cross a thick crown of men standing outside the police line. I along with a Kalasha girl made our way through the crown. The moment I crossed the police line, I felt a hand brushing over my hip. I immediately held the hand and turned around. A middle-aged chubby man looked back at me with fear in his eyes. I started scolding him while the police officer next to us was unaware of the incident. In return the man started calling me sister and said it was a mistake. Later the police officer took over and dealt with the man. On our way back to the dancing area, I heard some men talking to the Kalasha girl accompanying me. '*Baat to sun lo, Acha suno to*' 'Ok at least listen to me'. I kept walking ahead and the girl started replying to him in a strict tone. As I mentioned earlier, this seemed to me like the tourist men felt as if they were entitled to talking to Kalasha women. They had the right to do so because the girl was comfortable dancing in front of and audience. As compared to the childbirth dancing or the function dancing, this event has more elements of staged dance to it. One reason being the restriction on including Muslim men in the dance for a very good reason considering the number of Muslims and the possibility of harassment. The other reason being the tourism that is attracted towards Kalash valley on the



name of cultural display. All these factors add to the Kalasha dance becoming more of a performance dance. I say so because the presence of Muslims first of all is not needed in performing the Kalasha dance especially on *Khawsāgaw*. As soon as there is a group of people observing Kalasha dance while also affecting them while Kalasha people dancing with the intention of thanking their gods and celebrating the blessings upon them, the social relationship changes into a forced performance. I would have said it to be the social observation (Alfred Shutz, 1967: xxvii) but the verbal involvement of the tourist changes the dynamic from observing without affect to observing with affect. As for the Kalasha people are forced to stay on the dancing area, as they don't have enough space to sit down and rest, try to avoid all the interference from the other group while continuing their practices.

It was in the last few days of participating in Kalasha dance that I understood the margin of error in each dance. Where I could improv, where I had to strictly follow the rules. I learnt to loosen my grip and rest my arm on the shoulders of people besides me if I felt too tired. The things I could do without disturbing the dance and the dancers. I learnt to adjust my body with the bodies of my fellow dancers, to lower my arm if they were too tall or to put it around their shoulders if they were too short. I learnt to become more comfortable with touching other bodies and to move in synch with them. Once or twice, I did get a chance to dance with males, the young boys, or Ijaz. I learnt the speed and energy of men is different as their weight is different from the women. I learnt it all from the girls around me. How they bent their necks to keep their *S'us'ut* from slipping of their heads, which also gave them a good reason to avoid the camera.

## Conclusion:

Every community has its own values and practice that it holds dear. These values and practices are the traditions that are passed on to the next generation. Considering a community that is living in ethnic and religious diversity, the values have a margin of adopting to its surrounding. However, too much alteration in these values, in my opinion can cause the dilution of the traditions. A community like Kalasha, which does not have written script of their religious and cultural values while being exposed to a strong religious group of Muslims for so long, is in more danger of being diluted. For this reason, it is very important to first identify the areas where the social relation of two groups become problematic for Kalasha religion. Keeping this in mind

I started my argument with recognizing the social status of these groups. The majority Muslim community and the minority Kalasha community live in binarity in the valley named after the minority group. This in itself is a recognition to the Kalasha community. Although they are shown lack of recognition in their practices time and again. The Kalasha practices such as *suri jagek*, wearing their traditional dresses and performing ritual dance on *Khawsāgaw* have become bound to the world of Muslims. As all the *Khawsāgaw* are now fixed to accommodate the tourism especially from Pakistan, it is an indicator of Muslim world interfering the Kalasha world. Whereas to deal with such interference and continue practicing their religion in such social world, Kalasha people have developed their own techniques of negotiation. These negotiations involve the acceptance of linguistic adaptation of the neighboring community, including the local Muslim in their ceremonies, practicing power dynamic where possible and showing unity in all aspect of live. By doing so Kalasha community tries to keep a tight connection with the local Muslims and have created a secure shield around their practices to protect them from getting lost in time. However, this shield gets penetrated close to *Uchaw*. The social relation becomes social problem as the tourism rises and changes the Kalasha ritual dance into a Kalasha stage dance. The disregard of their emotional values attached to their practices causes Kalasha people a great deal during *Uchaw*. The effect starts to become more visible as the young Kalasha men and women change their practices to deal with the interference of Muslim tourist during the dance. By working further on identifying their problems, I hope to one day find better solutions for the community to practice their culture. Along with this a strong method can be developed to systematically document the multifarious Kalasha dance.

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