

**ETHNICITY AND HABITAT:  
a comparison of indigenous and Afghan migrant settlements  
in Quetta, Pakistan**

by  
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements of the Degree Master of Science in Architecture Studies  
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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis is a brief study of factors influencing the domestic built form in the context of ethnicity and migration. At the beginning of the research it was assumed that the theme of built form is a clear manner of expression for distinctive attributes of various sub-groups in a society. Hence the subject focussed on shelter, the domestic environment, generated by ethnically distinct communities. In analyzing the social boundaries, as they are translated to spatial boundaries at the level of 'informal' housing, this thesis observes that different ethnic communities create distinct spatial and social patterns in the same physical setting. The correspondence between ethnic groups and the expression of their spatial domain is the driving issue of the entire study.

While establishing its theoretical framework, the thesis suggests a wide range of themes which can be grasped for further explorations. The case studies are based on data compiled during field visits of the case settlements. The process included surveys of houses built by the inhabitants, observations of various spaces within the houses in relation to the living patterns of the users, and evaluation of how the residents perceive, and relate to, the various spaces within their respective settlements. (this is based on information obtained by discussions and interviews of the residents).

The evaluation of the data and the field visits reveal variation in environmental quality of the two communities belonging to the same economic group. The analysis of the data reflects that these variations have occurred due to the difference in nature of migration experienced by the inhabitants of the two case settlements, and hence the difference in the attitude of the two communities towards cultural assimilation in general, and housing in particular. The relationship between cultural cohesiveness and environmental quality is a significant observation of the research.

Among the forces which have been decisive in the process of civilization are those which have brought people together in competition, conflict and co-operation. It is a consequence of migration that conflicting cultures meet and fuse. The occasion for fusion of people and cultures inherent in the process of migration makes the study of migrant communities, and their settlements, pivotal in identifying possible explanations for divergent cultures. The inadequate existing literature on the relationship between domestic built form and society, in the context of migration, renders the entire exercise intellectually stimulating. This is further strengthened by the presence of unexplored dimensions in ethnic influences in Quetta, Pakistan, and their reflection in the residential architecture created by the people.

Thesis Supervisor: Ronald B. Lewcock  
Title: Professor of Architecture and Aga Khan Professor of Design for Islamic Societies



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## ABSTRACT

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#### SCOPE AND FORMAT OF THE THESIS

This thesis analyzes variation in the social and physical pattern of the two settlements in the context of migration. The difference in response to a similar environment is the focus to clarify links between persistence of ethnicity and its resultant impact on the built form. Two settlements have been studied in the light of the ethnic groupings of the residents of these settlements. The analysis of the case studies, it is hoped, will explain the circumstances which made it possible for one group of locally integrated migrants to spatially segregate themselves from the local settlements and upgrade their environment, both economically as well as socially, with minimal formal services provided by the government.

The analysis attempts to highlight the differences in responses to the built environment in the cases of people who experience migration across international frontiers and those who experience rural-urban migration. In the former case it

is usually the political circumstances that lead to a migration and the immigrants cannot avoid this experience. In the latter case the conscious decision for migration is taken by the group largely due to economic circumstances.

The motive for selecting this subject is in a sense personal, as this thesis has evolved out of my observations of a particular settlement pattern created by the Hazaras. The physical and perceived pattern of this settlement seemed to differ significantly from the local patterns. The Hazaras migrated from their place of origin in Afghanistan to Pakistan in the late nineteenth century, as a result of political upheavals in the region of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

When they first arrived in Pakistan, the Hazaras settled within the physical limits of Quetta city. In the last twenty to thirty years they have developed a settlement in the foothills of the mountain range that marks the north-eastern limit Quetta, distancing themselves from the local population. Here, their distinct preferences seem to have found expression while building their own environment.

This document reflects the stages of modification that paralleled its production. The first phase of the research provided a theoretical base for the analysis of the case studies. This initial stage of research was decisive in suggesting an appropriate mode of inquiry for the research. It is included here because it deals with the available literature relevant to the study.

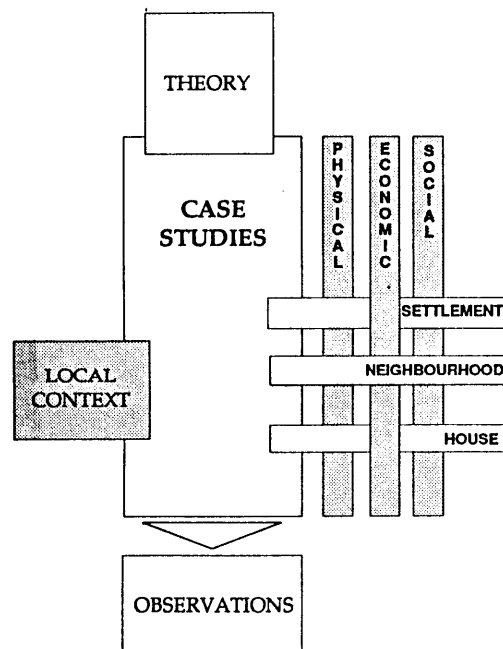


Fig. 1.1 Structure and format of research methodology.

As the thesis research proceeded the objectives were refined. This I have been able to demonstrate through the case studies, which illustrate the approach I finally selected, that of focusing on factors which explain the phenomena of spatial segregation in the built environment. This type of research program is inevitably influenced by the special conditions of the socio-cultural context. Yet the theoretical explanations for this thesis, illustrated through the case studies, may perhaps have a wider validity.

The first chapter deals with analysis of existing literature relevant to the study and provides a method for structuring the case studies. The second chapter describes the social and political background of Pakistan and sets the context for the case studies. The case studies in the third chapter, which is the core of this exercise, deal with two different kinds of environments built by groups of different ethnic origins, within a single geographical region. The attempt is to undertake a comparative study of dwelling types and social environments that are generated by the indigenous tribe of this region and the tribe that migrated here, and came into physical as well as social contact with the indigenous population.

I believe that traditions are manifested in the living patterns of a society through time, therefore the analysis is focussed on traditional social patterns of the residents of these settlements. In doing so the attempt is to discover, in these social patterns, common traits that have continued to survive, in spite of all the complex changes in a society that time

inevitably caused.

The concluding chapter reflects on the case material with reference to the theoretical framework setup earlier, in order to account for the various pointers which are not in themselves conclusions but have potential for further inquiry. The chapter also brings to the light the factors influencing domestic built form in the context of ethnicity and group migrations.

### INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES

The informal settlements at present accommodate almost 30 percent of Quetta's urban population. They are not confined to any specific area of the city, rather, as is common elsewhere in the third world countries, they are scattered all over the city. The forces involved in the location of these settlements are land availability, access to transport, location of job opportunities, and security against eviction. In almost all cases the ethnic background of the residents acts as a major force in the location of the informal settlements in the context of Quetta, as groups belonging to a specific ethnic background tend to live in close-knit communities.

The case studies used as the basis for this study are two informal settlements located in Quetta, the capital city of Baluchistan in Pakistan and inhabited by ethnically distinct group of migrants. The two case studies were chosen because of the variation in the quality of environment and because they provide an excellent opportunity to examine

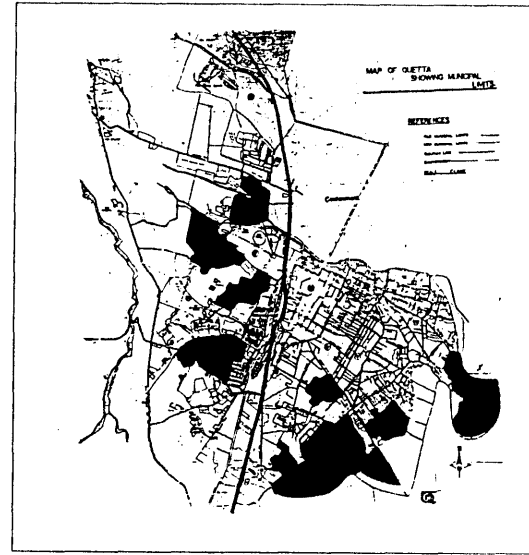


Fig. 1.2 Plan locating informal settlements in Quetta.

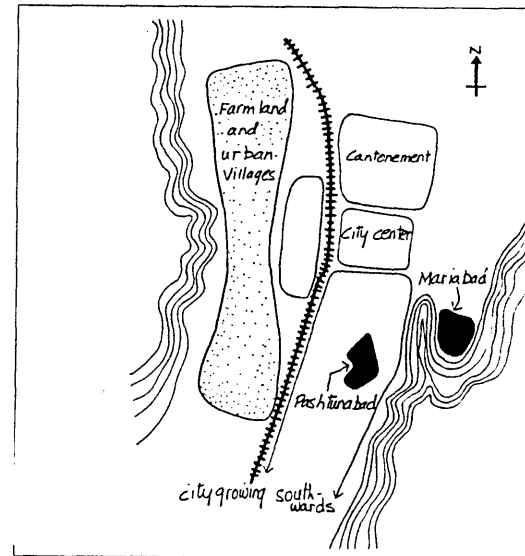


Fig. 1.3 Sketch map of Quetta locating the two case studies.

*Fig. 1.4 Case one:  
Mariabad, street scene*



*Fig. 1.5 Case two:  
Pashtunabad, street scene*



the variations in response to a similar environment by the two ethnically different migrant groups. Each of these groups are characterized by a migration process initiated for different reasons and in distance travelled over vastly different geographical space and cultural regions.

This visible difference in environmental quality corresponds to the difference in the initiating factors for migration that the residents of each settlement underwent. The case analysis illustrates consequences of migration and its effect on the migrants, in terms of the migrant's perception of the new social and physical setting.

The case material has potential to examine distinct responses of two ethnically distinct groups of migrants, to a similar physical setting, and clarify links between domestic built form and ethnicity in the context of migration, in terms of their attitude towards cultural assimilation in general, and housing in particular.

The first case, Mariabad, is a settlement built by a group of migrants, the ethnic Hazaras, who settled in Quetta and after remaining assimilated within the city for nearly two generations developed Mariabad, in early 1970's, outside the confines of the city. The second case, Pashtunabad, is a settlement ethnically dominated by Pathans, who belong to the rural areas of Baluchistan, and migrated to Quetta largely for better economic conditions offered by the capital city of the province, and settled, and have remained within

the city boundaries.

Both the case settlements are homogeneous ethnically. The economic background of the residents of both the case-settlements are similar,<sup>1</sup> thus providing a fair ground for analysis of the social and physical environment generated in both the cases.

#### Notes

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<sup>1</sup>Information for the economic background of the inhabitants of the case settlements is provided in the tables (chap.4, p 68.). The statistical data used in the analysis of Mariabad and Pashtunabad, are based on the socio-economic survey done by the Quetta Development Authority. The surveys were undertaken as part of the Mariabad and Pashtunabad Upgrading Plan.

## CHAPTER TWO

## DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK

### SOCIETY AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

As architects, our designs have significant impact on the existing social order, yet understanding the social complexity of architecture remains a low priority, perhaps due to the increasing technical and financial demands on the field. Nevertheless, the social aspect remains primary, because the built form is a very powerful "symbolic language" from which people take clues for appropriate behavior within the social and physical landscape. The built form also seems to influence people's perception of themselves, the world and their behavior within it.<sup>1</sup> This is because human response to environment is mediated by a "moral order" which influences individual perceptions. Culture literally does not allow humans to believe their own individual senses, except in extreme.

Characteristic patterns of social organization, inherent to a sub-groups in a society, mitigate human-environment perception, definitions of a situation and actions. It seems that

*"It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations and physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that social facts are susceptible to measurement."*

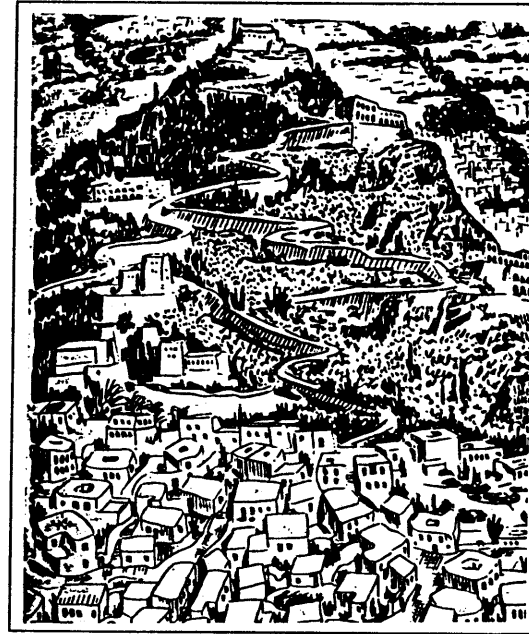
*Robert Park*

the method by which individual concern about environmental issues becomes reflected in a willingness to act, change matters, depending upon social processes involving linkages characteristic of a particular human habits.<sup>2</sup>

“The emergence and response to non-human environments, apparent at the societal level of human groupings, seems to be dependent upon processes that are significantly removed from such environments per se but, inherent in the human environment, for example, traditional patterns of communication, allocation of symbolic resources, and so on.” (refer note 2)

The built environment is a convenient, revealing key to culture. It is the clearest, most concentrated and significant imprint which a culture produces on the landscape. It also provides a setting within which a social environment is organized and this, in turn, impacts directly on behavioral outcomes. The way various contingencies operate in an environment over time produces observable patterns of behavior. Since the origins of what we call civilization, with the appearance of the first cities (perhaps as long ago as the fifth or sixth millennium BC), each successive culture has built cities which reflect, symbolize, and re-affirm its character, its values, and its distinctive set of solutions, or non-solutions, to common human problems.

In any society, in any particular period, there is a central system of practices, meanings, and values, which can be identified as dominant and effective. It is a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced as practices,



*Fig. 2.1 Built form of cities: a significant imprint on the natural environment produced by civilization.*



Fig. 2.2 Sketch showing relationship of city and the natural environment.

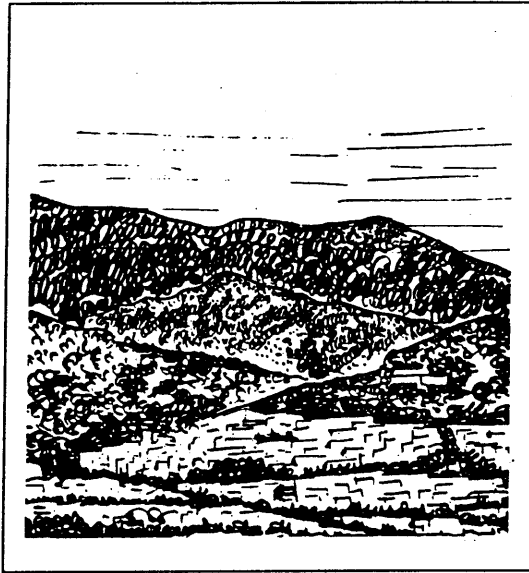


Fig. 2.3 Study for a field deployment inspired by the settlement type found in northern India.



appear to be reciprocally confirming: they thus contribute to the establishment of a sense of reality for most people in the society. In studying human settlements the practical nature of everyday life thus becomes a focus for the social explanation. Culture exists primarily as a conceptual model of the world. Modification of architecture and architectural meaning reflects an attitude of adjustment to new conditions and also a way of retaining some meaning or values rather than lose all of them.

One might expect that the existing social differences in any society become dissolved, over a period of time. But the habitat of a group responds to a complex logic in such a way that the tendency of homogenization is much less marked than one might expect. From city to city and from class to class, cultural differences persist which have pronounced effect on the rhythms of daily life, on the bustle of streets, on the security or violence in the civil society. These differences are frequently expressed in morphological arrangements.

There are an enormous number of variations of meaning implied by the terms "physical environment" and "social phenomena". Dealing with all the combinations is not within the scope of this thesis. Rather, I will confine myself to outlining a frame of reference which can theoretically unify as well as clarify the essential research. According to the studies undertaken so far, social scientists have conceived of, and studied, people according to three methods: culture, social and perceptual.<sup>3</sup> Anthropologists have customarily focussed on the cultural system, which includes the rules and goals by which behavior is guided.<sup>4</sup> Sociologists have

concentrated on the social system, the relationship of men to each other in social groups. The aspect that distinguishes the focus from the study of culture to that of society is that societies create culture and therefore the professionals emphasising the stratification of a society see culture as an end product - a resultant rather than an influencing factor. Psychologists have focussed on cognition as a major feature of individual psychology that can be collectivized by common perceptions which to some extent shape a more or less permanent set of predispositions to behavior internalized by people as a result of their unique life and learning experiences.<sup>5</sup>

Architecture, when conceived as a cultural artifact in the anthropological sense, presents itself as a complete phenomena which can be viewed from various perspectives. Since this discipline addresses questions of aesthetics, art, and daily human activities, it is potentially a strong reference from which to see an integrated architectural theory. The application of these methods (of anthropology) to architectural inquiries initiates interesting and productive themes. The concern of anthropologists is to comprehend how people use and understand the architectural artifact and what cultural behaviors and attitudes are supported by the form of the built environment.<sup>6</sup>

The three systems, cultural, social and perceptual, can be viewed analytically as forming a group independent of other systems, as within each there exists a multitude of variables which interact primarily with one or both of the

*Fig. 2.4 Laugier's "ideal hut": The representations interposed between artifacts and the primitive making of use-types, in the service of the user, a bearer of social meaning.*



others. That is to say, although each of the disciplines spends a major part of its effort in understanding and demonstrating the relationships of variables within its special system. Nevertheless, the systems impinge on each other. The three fields of study have developed enough to handle the relations of variables between systems. "Culture and personality" and "personality and social structure" are standard frames of references from which the study of inter-system relationships may be studied. A study of the impingements of phenomena in the human-made physical environment on, and from, the other systems is proposed by Michelson in his study which emphasizes on sociological approach to the relationship of people and environment.

"Just as one can now study the interdependence of elements of personality and culture, so one can study the interdependence of physical environment and social structure. Each system can still be viewed as analytically distinct from each others, but the significance of mutual contact and interchange must be noted."<sup>7</sup>

This falls within the framework suggested for other phenomena by Louis Wirth:

"Until someone is able to subsume the facts of the ecological environment, the organism, and behavior within the same explanatory, conceptual system, we have to seek for some degree of lawfulness in the links between the separate systems."<sup>8</sup>

Research can proceed from the point of view that a particular physical environment sets broad limits to the range of phenomena from the other systems which can be found there. The notion of physical environment as a potential limiting factor, with respect to human behavior is inherent in Wirth's writing:

"physical factors...are at best conditioning factors offering the possibilities and setting the limits for social and psychological existence."<sup>9</sup>

One of the issues which has to be considered is the central role of the social structure of a society, the general institutional and ideological structure which forms both the supportive and the constraining frameworks in which the behavior of people takes place. Members of different groups within society, which can be large or small, share attitudes, interests, values or experiences. These groups provide references for "appropriate" behavior for their members and are therefore influential in the development of meaning in daily life.

Some social worlds are closely tied to the dominant social structure, both in terms of the ideological and institutional frameworks, while others are marginal. Some social worlds are powerful and wealthy, while others are relatively powerless and poor. Finally, one cannot ignore the individual, for it is individuals, acting collectively, who produce and reproduce the societal structures. Society-wide values and at-

attitudes towards housing are not autonomous or mysterious in their origin but are rooted in individual consciousness and action. The meaning attached to housing may vary across societies and sub-groups within societies and may be the source of tension between groups with different sets of attitudes and values, especially when the providers and consumers of housing have contrasting attitudes towards the house. In groups in which individualism is a dominant ideology, the house is intimately bound to the individual's concept of self, reflecting his personality, social status or accomplishments. In many groups which have a more collective ideology, and among certain collectivistic social worlds within individualistic societies, however, the house is seen as symbolizing group values, as a shelter which has little to do with one's concept of self.

In order to understand both the attitudes towards the house and the use of the house in the range of different societies, one has to understand the nature of social structure in these societies. There are central structuring relations in any society or sub-groups within a society which produce subsidiary relations. Groups whose central structuring relations are individualistic produce very different attitudes towards display of acquired possessions in general and the house in particular, as compared to groups whose central structuring relations are collective. The former see the house, most importantly, as a status symbol critical to one's social and personal identity. The latter see the house primarily as an object that contains their everyday activity and goods. The nature of these structuring relations in a society stress a

focus on a certain kind of status display. Hence the attitudes towards housing stem from rational responses of individuals to given structuring relations of the societies.<sup>11</sup> These variations in the perception of housing is illustrated through the case studies in chapter three.

The physical environment imposes constraints and at the same time support, and therefore can be termed as "conditional". The absolute limits set by the physical environment may be viewed negatively or positively depending on the changing values of the society. Therefore, it is my contention that by observing the customs or the conscious agreements, codes or common laws of a society one can limit the possibilities inherent in the built form and understand clearly the underlying phenomena.

Particularly in the contemporary world, culture and stage of economic development interact uniquely to influence forms of habitation. In order to understand the transactions of co-residents in domestic space, it is necessary to be able to differentiate behaviors which reflect socio-economic (or productive) status from those that appear as persistent rituals of habitation holding quite consistently across economic groups within a society.<sup>12</sup>

Social worlds vary along a number of dimensions; in size, in the spatial distribution of their participants, in the extent and clarity of their boundaries, in their solidarity and in the extent of identification felt by the participants. A person may be oriented primarily to one social world or may

participate in many different social worlds.<sup>13</sup> Values and meanings, including conceptions of the self and the symbolic meanings of objects, will vary across social worlds of individuals.

### ROLE OF TRADITION IN SOCIETY

In spite of all the upheavals that time, or a particular incident, may cause, and all the changes that a society undergoes, there are certain attributes and traditions that stubbornly persist. At times their persistence may manifest itself and be visible, at others such attributes may not be directly observable. Yet the shifts in a society that directly influence traditions may be momentous. In spite of fundamental changes that a society experiences, one finds recurrent behavioral patterns which cannot be explained or predicted on the basis of particular norms professed by the respective society. A closer look shows them to be stemming from values that are currently claimed to be outdated and therefore inapplicable.

Any attempt to understand the role of tradition in the architecture of a society is a complex task, for tradition seems such an unquantifiable element to discern, measure, and analyze. One possible way to tackle the issue is to study traditions as they are manifested in the living patterns of a society through time, and, in doing so, try to discover in them the common traits that have continued to survive, in spite of all the complex changes in a society that time inevitably causes.

Progress is made by standing on the shoulders of predecessors; by building on certain traditions and rejecting others. The growth of knowledge therefore takes place through criticism, which destroys, changes, and alters earlier myths and beliefs. This does not mean that new myths or beliefs cannot be formulated.

"You may create a new theory, but the new theory is created to solve those problems which the old did not solve."<sup>14</sup>

Popper goes on to explain that the emergence of traditions in society has a role similar to scientific theories; they bring order and rational predictability into the social world we live in. They give us clear idea of what to expect and how to proceed. The origin and propagation of traditions therefore lies in our need to introduce structure and regularity into our natural and social environment.

"Our social life is only possible when we can have confidence that certain aspects of our society must be or act in this wise and not otherwise. Out of these needs, traditions arise."<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, social traditions not only help in creating social structures but are also subject to criticism and change. The continuance of traditions in a society renders them above criticism; had they ceased to be valid, they would not have persisted. Their survival in a society is thus based on an

in-built mechanism of criticism, whereby those that remain pertinent continue, while others get deleted. Thus the issue involved seems more of an acceptance of their validity and identification of their presence through critical analysis, rather than testing their validity through criticism.

Throughout, in the debates outlined above, traditions seem to be dealt with as rational, intellectual issues, rather than products resulting from complex social processes. But traditions are heavily dependent on the unpredictable and often irrational human nature which often makes them difficult to explain. Though, it must be recognized that in their case, criticism and the choice of alternatives takes place through acts rather than rational analysis; they are based on what happens in practice more than what is thought of in theory. Moreover, they comprise patterns of behavior established over time, and do not lend themselves to intellectual questioning.<sup>16</sup>

A society is in a constant state of evolution and transformation. As it is confronted with forces of change through time, it may accept and accommodate those it considers suitable and reject those that are totally against its norms and values. The survival of certain customs against all odds proves their continued validity and requires appraisal of the prevalent attitudes of disregard, if not total rejection.<sup>17</sup>

The built form and its use occur within a cultural context, therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between the physical environment and human behavior. While

there seems to be a flexibility for adaptation of the behavioral patterns to their given environments, there may be limits to this flexibility. Beyond these limits, it is the environment that needs to adapt. The recurrent behavioral patterns seem to be manifestations of some consistent underlying values. These values may not be consciously safeguarded, but can neither be deliberately replaced, for they are internalized and invaluable to its people.

The physical environment stabilizes behavior - not simply by the way it constrains action but also by the way it symbolizes past actions, events and feelings. Past, present and future, then, are created together and influence one another. Their span and content are affected not only by external factors such as the stability and success of the past experiences, the symbolic security of the perceived environment, the pressures of the present on future expectations, but also by internal habits of mind, by symbolic abilities, by the sense of self and by the strength of motivation.<sup>18</sup>

#### BEHAVIOR AND ADAPTATION IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

We owe a lot to our surroundings. Paradoxically, we also create our surroundings, by making compromises yet assessing alternatives and choosing from those alternatives. Adaptation, when defined as behavioral "coping" with the environment, becomes a general positive value in human existence.<sup>19</sup> That is, there is a high value placed on "coping" or adjusting in all societies; it is one of the few universal



patterns for which anthropologists have directed their efforts in. The human relationship to environment is in one sense based on available choices of solutions. The decisions made from these choices by the individual or groups are not solely for survival needs, but to the needs or wants which emerge in the process of living socially.

The use of the term adaptation above refers both to individual and group processes. The concept is meaningful yet confusing, because the adaptive process is not identical for both individuals and groups. There is a third element involved here, as the environment is itself affected by individual and group interventions. What may be adaptive for individual or group, may be mal-adaptive for the environment, just as, what may be adaptive or good for the individual, may be mal-adaptive or bad for the group, and vice versa. Thus, while for research purposes it is possible to study the adaptive process objectively (that is, without reference to values), it is essential for the present study to see this as a normative process and to observe contradictions that emerge out of these interactions (that is, the trade-offs and compromises that are made with the environment). The choices that are made are subject to the value system of the people in concern, thus introducing a judgmental dimension to the survival or need satisfying function.

The types of arguments suggested by scholars dealing with the relationship between the built environment and human behavior all have one thing in common, which is that any relations that exist between environment and people are a

function of perceptions that are learned in given cultures. Yet, it is important to investigate the broad limits within which variables representing different systems articulate with each other. Within these limits, there exists a wide range of human variability and choice which is undoubtedly based on perception and learning.

My contention is that we increasingly adapt more to each other than directly to the physical environment, as we have to resolve contradictions which we ourselves create. In most cases people make choices that reflect a set of values, beliefs, world views and symbol systems which are learned and transmitted through interaction within their respective social groups. These shared rules which also guide the organization of space, time, meaning and communication are linked systematically to culture and provide appropriate behavioral cues which can be understood by the individuals in the group.

The values used to assess the consequences of adaptation are almost always derived from mental images. This behavior of humans is characterized not merely by generation of symbols reflecting cultural values, but also by specific types of memory storage. This learning process sometimes involves preserving out of mode, and perceptually mal-adaptive, solutions. These generate conflict, and encourage adaptation based on precedents.

The process of adaption can be illustrated by observing migrants who strive to adapt to a new physical setting.

Changes in the physical environment may result in changes in the social, economic and political structure of the migrating group. Migration usually involves contact with an unfamiliar environment initiating an adjustment process by the individuals.<sup>20</sup> This behavioral adjustment to the changing environment could result in the defensive process of internalization. Whereby the individuals undergoing “moral turmoil”<sup>21</sup>, due to the new cultural contact, derives solutions from prior learning experiences stored in their memory.

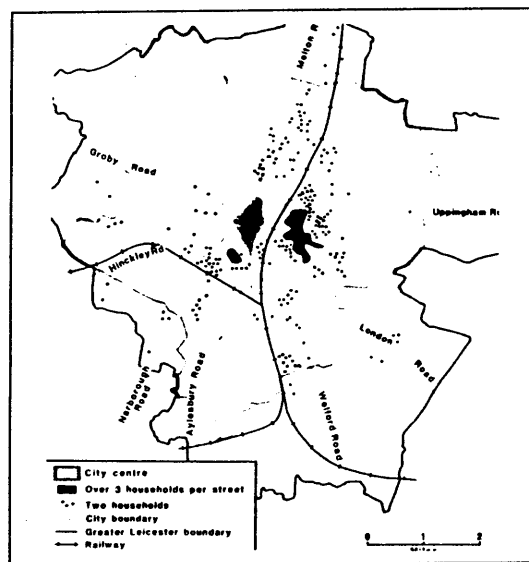
Social patterns are persistent, to quite an extent. It is difficult to affect those patterns by imposing spatial changes. There is a fundamental impact of spatial migration on the well being of the individual. But, even for the first generation permanent migrant, for whom a new spatial scene may bring striking release, anguish, or stimulus, the new scene is not very likely to affect their social patterns and values. The contact of individuals or small groups of people with a new social environment will have significant effects, to be sure, and a spatial shift often accompanies this process. The migrants are likely to modify the new environment to approximate the one they knew or to choose a landscape that is similar to the old.

#### SPATIAL SEGREGATION:

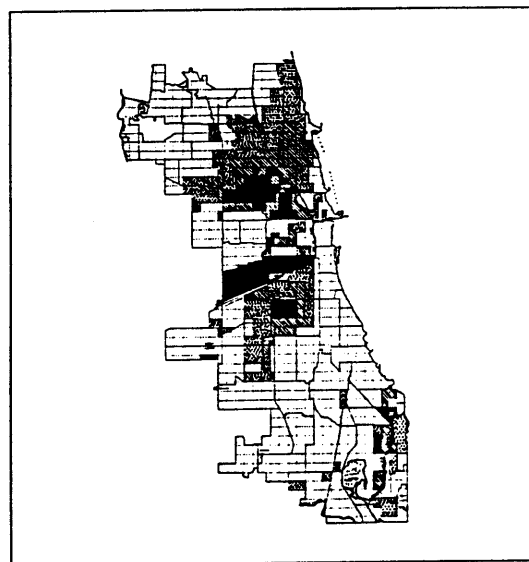
*a means to resolve ethnic conflict*

“In society we not only live together, but at the same time we live apart, and human relations can always be reckoned, with more or less accuracy, in terms of distance”.<sup>22</sup>

*Fig. 2.5 Spatial distribution of Muslim immigrant households in Leicester, Britain: The pattern of immigrant residence reflects a cohesive and highly distinctive community in central Leicester, characterized by high level of concentration and segregation from indigenous population.*



*Fig. 2.6 Hispanic population in Chicago, USA: The growth of Hispanic subgroups has been selective, and particular neighborhoods have come to be identified with their ethnic residents.*



Segregation, whether on the basis of economic and ethnic characteristics, is a significant feature of most cities. It is usually measured on the basis of the spatial distribution of individuals or households belonging to a particular economic, religious or ethnic group. Spatial segregation becomes central to this study, as segregation influences other aspects of ethnic assimilation of migrants into a new environment. Residential segregation maintains visibility and awareness of the status of the ethnic group both for its own members and for other segments of the city's population.<sup>23</sup>

Spatial orientation is essential for existence. It has been suggested that psychological reality and well-being requires an awareness not only of oneself, but of one's position in some social and spatial order. Therefore, human beings order themselves in space and take possession of their environment by reducing the natural order into a logical consistency. The conceptual model of territoriality forms the basis for achieving a sense of security, in developing familiarity with one's surroundings. It also involves establishing an affinity and identity with the environment.

An important consequence of the differences between ethnic segments and their ability to compete is the inclination of the human population of the city to locate unevenly, that is, to concentrate in some parts of the city and to avoid other parts.<sup>24</sup>

Ethnic segregation, in the context of migration, can be viewed in terms of the situation faced by migrants upon

their arrival and in terms of the condition of their habitat. If the already existing structure or pattern of the city receives a group of migrants, these migrants have to adapt to the structure and pattern of the city. As such, their segregation can also be viewed as a form of adaptation.

Aside from economic differences between ethnic groups, one would expect residential segregation under two sets of circumstances: first, if the group was of undesirable status, then the group would be involuntarily segregated; second, if the proximity to members of the group facilitated adjustment to the conditions of settlement in a new country, or if members of an ethnic group simply viewed the residential proximity of members from the same group desirable, and of members from different groups undesirable, there would be voluntary segregation.

We have been considering the concept of ethnicity and its effects on residential segregation. In so far as the resulting patterns of location are a function of the differences between ethnic groups in their social position, these patterns tell us something about the nature of the populations or the organizations involved. Park (1952, p.177) in fact, concluded:

“It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations and physical distances so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that social facts are susceptible to measurement.”

If these “social facts” exist in a society, then there is a paradox

in the fact that the promotion of ethnicity at the national level tends to work against ethnic integration at the macro level. At the level of personal relationships, specially which is structured by ethnicity, traditional norms and values tend to persist. Ethnicity generated, to a great extent, at the "domestic" level, has its expression at public level. This understanding is shared by John Clammer, who suggests:

"In multi-ethnic societies, undergoing rapid industrialization /urbanization, ethnicity becomes a resource used, consciously or unconsciously, not only for the pursuit of political and economic ends, but as a device for the suppression of alienation."<sup>25</sup>

Clammer also supports this aspect of ethnicity by exemplifying:

"This is seen most clearly in the context of housing. Government policy has been to promote inter-ethnic harmony by ensuring a mix of ethnic groups in public housing estates, but it has become increasingly clear that people still continue to interact on an ethnic basis."

The present study, in observing built form from this vantage point, has to understand that the primary systems (religious observances, speaking a specific dialect, eating habits, etc.) which are predominantly domestic, are also ethnic in the sense that in observing certain cultural forms at home, one is signalling and reinforcing one's otherwise elusive ethnic identity.

The analysis of the relevant literature, included in this chapter, raises several issues related to ethnicity, its persistence and rejection, in the context of migration. This process has helped me in maturing initial thoughts regarding the relationship of spatial and social domains. This evolution in the thought process can be further strengthened by objectively discussing the social and political context of the case studies.

Understanding the context of the study is of importance for both the reader and the researcher, in terms of evaluating the method of inquiry and building a possible systematic explanation which is valid across cultures. The proceeding chapter is an attempt to observe the applicability of the broader framework to the context of the case studies, in terms of ethnicity and the variations in perceptions of the social and spatial domains.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Celebrating Diversity. p.
- <sup>2</sup> Burch, W.R. Cheek, N.H., and Taylor L., *Social Behavior, Natural Resources, and the Environment*, p. 201
- <sup>3</sup> This is a standard conception from the works of Parsons; An outline of the social system, in *Theories of society*, ed. Parsons p. 30-79
- <sup>4</sup> Rapoport, A. Shelter and Society, in "The Pueblo and the Mogan" ed. Paul Oliver, and Rapoport, A., *House Form and Culture*,
- <sup>5</sup> Prohansky, Harold M. *Environmental Psychology: man and his physical setting*. p115
- <sup>6</sup> This observation is also made by Jamal, Khadija in her thesis, *The present of the past: Persistence of Ethnicity*, p.22
- <sup>7</sup> Michelson, William H. *Man and his environment: a sociological approach*. p. 45
- <sup>8</sup> Wirth, Louis. *Human ecology*. in *classic essays on the culture of cities*, ed., Sennett, Richard, p.170
- <sup>9</sup> Wirth, Louis. *ibid.*, p.173
- <sup>10</sup> Anderson, Stanford. *Convention of form and convention of use in urban social space*. in *Ekistics* 280, p. 31
- <sup>11</sup> Duncan, James S., *From container of women to status symbol: the impact of social structure on the meaning of house*, in *Housing and Identity*, ed. Duncan, p.43
- <sup>12</sup> Howell, Sandra. *Domestic Privacy: Gender, Culture and Development Issues*, p.4
- <sup>13</sup> Lynch, Kevin; *Environmental change and social change*", in *What time is this place*, p. 215
- <sup>14</sup> Popper, Karl. *Towards a Rational Theory of Tradition: conjectures and refutations*, p.129, 132
- <sup>15</sup> Anderson, Stanford. *Architecture and Tradition That Is'nt "Trad. Dad"*, *History Theory and Criticism*, p.80
- <sup>16</sup> This conclusion is reached by Arshad, Shahnaz in her thesis. *Re-assessing the role of tradition in architecture*. p. 25
- <sup>17</sup> Anderson, Stanford. *Critical Conventionalism: the history of Architecture*. *Midgard* 3, *Journal of Architectural Theory and Criticism*, vol.1, no.1
- <sup>18</sup> Lynch, Kevin, *What time is this place*. p. 219
- <sup>19</sup> Prohansky, H., *Environmental Psychology: man and his physical setting*.
- <sup>20</sup> Lynch, Kevin, *What time is this place*. p. 216
- <sup>21</sup> Park, Robert, *Human Migration and the Marginal Man*. in Sennett, Richard. *Classic essays on the Culture of Cities*.
- <sup>22</sup> Park, Robert, *Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation*. p.1
- <sup>23</sup> Jackson, P. and Smith, S. *Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation*. p.78
- <sup>24</sup> Peach, Ceri. *Conflicting interpretations of segregation*, in Jackson, Peter and Smith, Susan J. *Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation*, p.19-33
- <sup>25</sup> Clammer, J. *Ethnic and classification of Social Differences in Plural Societies: a perspective from Singapore*, in Paranjpe A.C. *Ethnic Identities and Prejudices: a perspective from the Third World*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE LOCAL CONTEXT

#### THE COUNTRY OF PAKISTAN

According to the 1981 Census, Pakistan has a population of 84,254,000. In many areas Pakistan falls into the category of what Clifford Geertz calls "old societies and new states".<sup>1</sup> It shares with other "new states" many features - a long history of colonial domination, and a pluralistic society. Pakistan is ethnically and linguistically diverse, with several distinct ethnic groups and tribal regions. These numerous ethnic and language groups result in sharp cultural diversity and social and political disunity. Religion, being the key force behind the drive for a Muslim dominated nation in the subcontinent, has not provided a focus for national identity. The cohesion of shared religious belief has not been strong enough to develop political unity and stability.<sup>2</sup> The country can also be divided into a series of linguistic and cultural regions, which correlate geographically with the significant ethnic groups or clusters of groups and to some extent with

the former provincial boundaries. These ethnic groups and clusters are hereditary social groups, many of which maintain traditional patterns not shared with rest of the population in the country.

Because of the strategic location of Pakistan, in the context of central Asia, there have been successive waves of migration throughout history, particularly after Russian and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The permanent migrant groups have become a feature of specific regions and effected the traditional ethnic balance within the indigenous population. Although each of the four main regions of Pakistan contains mixture of numerous ethnic groups, each is also distinguished by the social dominance of an easily identifiable group.

In Baluchistan, the western province of Pakistan, Baluchs and the Pathans constitute the overwhelming majority. The various tribes of the province can not only be classified primarily by languages and dialects, but they are distinctly distinguished by social customs, norms and values, the way they dress and sometimes physical characteristics. It is the largest province in terms of area, that is, 43.6 percent of the total area of the country, and is the least populated, that is, 5.1 percent of the total population. Defined in linguistic terms, the people of Baluchistan form a complex "polyglot", the product of mingling of successive waves of migrations from central Asia and the Iranian plateau with the indigenous people. This demographic character of Baluchistan represents an excellent case-study to examine the reflection

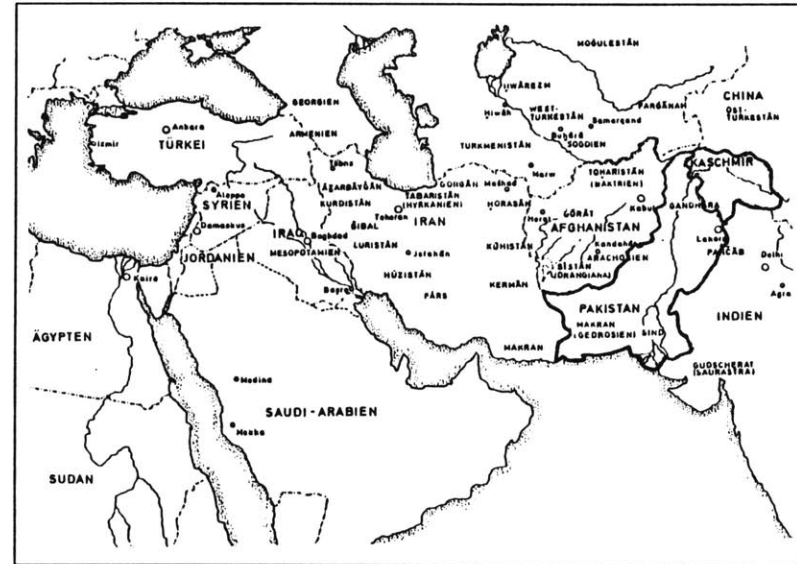


Fig. 3.1 Location of Pakistan in the context of Central Asia.

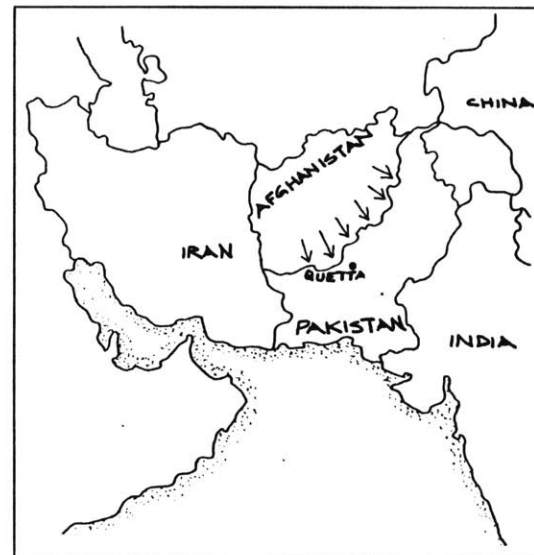
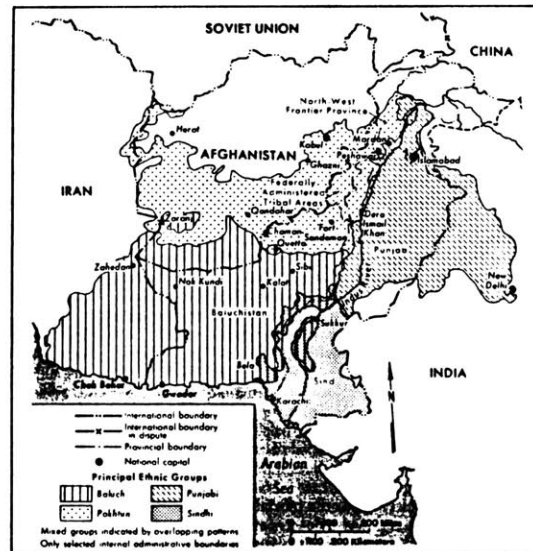


Fig. 3.2 Infiltration of Afghan migrants across Pakistan-Afghanistan border.



Fig. 3.3 General location of Principal Ethnic Groups in Pakistan, and its neighbouring countries.



of behavioral responses on the built form in the context of migration.

## BACKGROUND OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN PAKISTAN

Since the state of Pakistan was created for all the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent who held a common religious ideology, it was not expected that the question of major differences among the entire population would ever arise. Yet Pakistan, ever since partition, has been faced with the rise of ethno-national movements.

The political decision makers of Pakistan have been continually preoccupied with the ethno-national movements, since the formation of the country in 1947. The state-building efforts proved counter-productive as the Bengali ethno-national movement in East Pakistan was matured during the 1958-1970, eventually leading to the the creation of the country in the wake of the third Indo-Pak war in 1971.<sup>3</sup> The Bangladesh syndrome continues to haunt the Pakistani decision-makers, who fear that the up-rise of ethno-national movements in the other provinces, the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.), Sind and Baluch may also follow in the precedent set by the Bangladesh movement. Examining the rise of the ethno-national movement of post 1971 Pakistan, it is critical to note that the social base of two of the major movements, Pashtunistan movement and the Baluch movement involve the region and the people of Baluchistan.

In Pakistan, as in many new states, especially those with numerous sub-national groups, there has been an imbalance in the distribution of power among the groups. It is obvious that language and cultural factors are not supportive of the growth of a single nationalism. This is because a great many of the new states have “illogical” boundaries cutting across tribes and nationality groups or they contain within themselves sub-national groups whose leaders aspire an independent nation state. The social group cleavages in multi-cultural states are both horizontal, that is, ethnic, religious, linguistic, tribal, and vertical, that is, class, caste, sectarian. The most immediate loyalties of the vast majority of people go to units other than the nation state.

Every community has its own traditional values and cultural emphasis. These are peculiar to the group; and in respecting them, a major step would be taken in terms of awareness. This awareness will itself lead to tolerance and acceptance. Observing the ethno-cultural group conflicts in Pakistan’s plural society and the consequent problem of integration, it seems relevant to appreciate the cultural differences and the existing divergences across country rather than suppress them.

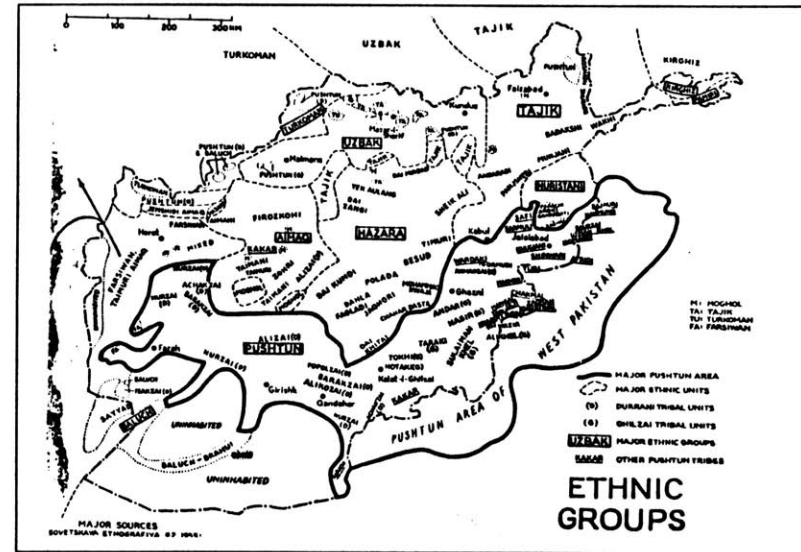
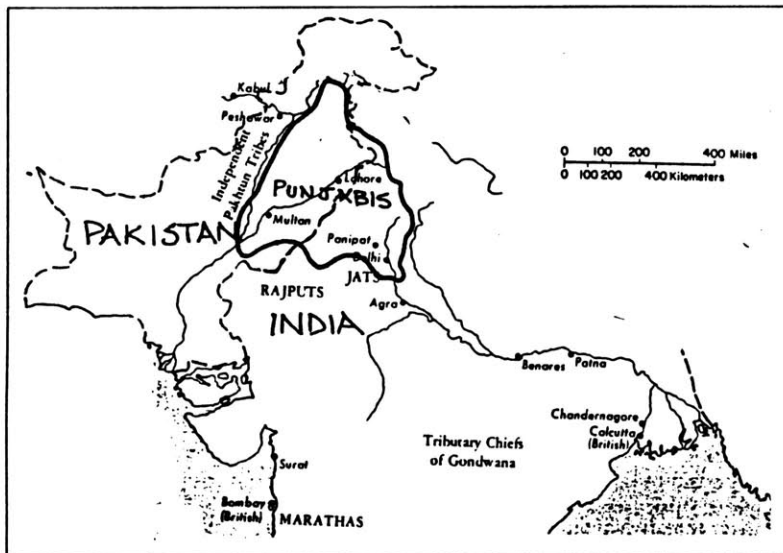


Fig 3.4 The western border of Pakistan with Afghanistan cutting across predominantly Pathan area of the two countries.



*Fig. 3.5 The eastern border of Pakistan with India cutting across predominantly Punjabi area of the two countries.*

## NOTES ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BALUCHISTAN

Societies merit special consideration for the study of cultures because they are the most complete human groups that exist; a society is a social system "characteristic by the highest level of self-sufficiency in relation to its environments".<sup>4</sup> When we are dealing with two societies in interaction some societies reveal greater flexibility in permitting cultural integration than others.

This thesis, in understanding the circumstances and processes generally involved in the generation of built environments, focuses on the Quetta, the capital of the Province of Baluchistan, where the two case studies are located.

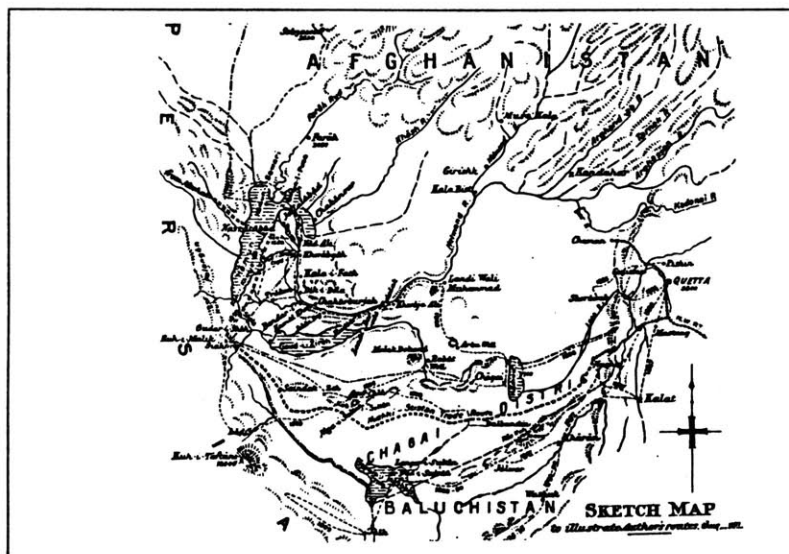
The indigenous tribes of Baluchistan live in inhospitable environment and remote territory. Their way of life demands good internal organization of the small community. They commonly develop compact descent groups that trace their line through the male members of their ancestors. Their dependence on their highly vulnerable livestock and the necessity for ranging across wide areas places a premium on self defence and so encourages military virtues and tight group organization. The mobility of each individual group and the harshness of the territory impede the development of close ties across groups and encourage in each group a fierce independence.

Contrary to common belief, and contrary to the implication of the name, Baluchistan, the "Land of The Baluch", is not the domain of the Baluch alone but of many others also; of the Pathans, for instance, with a distinctly different origin, history, culture and language; and of an overflow from the adjoining provinces of the Punjab and Sind.

Before independence, when the British assumed power in this region, they found that the tribal organization was effectively hierarchical and that they could govern through the chiefs. To quite an extent, the present government has retained this procedure.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from cultural differences amongst the major groups of the province, the division is also based on the functioning social organization and the supposed differences of descent and tradition among the groups. In the broader terms of social organization and ecological adaptation, however, these tribal groups are to some extent similar.

Census operations in Pakistan do not provide for the enumeration of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the Census of 1961 includes a grouping with respect to mother tongue also. This may, however, be a misleading yardstick, as many in Baluchistan are bilingual, even trilingual. Therefore, there is no criterion available to fix, even approximately, the percentages of population by ethnic groups, or to determine the proportions of population as between the two dominant groups, the Baluch and the Pathan. But a very rough estimate worked out on the basis of the mother tongue, as given



*Fig. 3.6 Sketch map of Baluchistan before the demarcation of the Durand Line by the British in later part of the*

in the Census of 1961, would place the Baluch population at about 50 percent and the Pathan at about 33 percent. Both the Baluch and the Pathans are considered the indigenous races of significance in Baluchistan.

The Pathans, or Pashtuns as they describe themselves, appear to have been living not far from their present abode in the time of Herodotus, if the identification of his Paktake with Pakhtuns (terminology used for Pathans) is accepted.<sup>6</sup> The Baluch tradition indicates Aleppo as their country of origin. The most recent researcher arrives at the conclusion that they are of Persian origin.<sup>7</sup>

Except in South-Western Baluchistan, where no tribal system appears to exist, Pathans and Baluch are organized into tribes, each having a multitude of subdivisions, clans, sections and sub-sections. There is a distinction, however, between the character of Pathan tribe and that of a Baluch tribe. Among the former the feeling of kinship is a bond of union far stronger than among the latter. Theoretically, a Pathan tribe is constituted from a number of kindred groups of agnates; in a few cases only are small groups to be found which are not descended from the common ancestor. The Baluch tribe is mainly a political entity, composed of units of separate origin, clustering around a head group.

## STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUETTA

One of the most striking facts in the history of the region is that, while many great conquerors of India have passed across the borders, they have left few permanent marks of their presence. Macedonian, Arab, Ghaznavid, Mongol, Mughal, Durrani, all have traversed the country, and occupied it to guard their lines of communication, but have left behind no buildings or monuments.

Up until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Quetta finally passed into the hands of the local tribe rulers, the history of Baluchistan, and that of Quetta, centers around the province of Kandahar in Afghanistan. Forbidding as the country was, however, it attracted the attention of the British Indian Government around 1807, when the dispatch of a mission to Persia by Napoleon Buonaparte roused the British Authorities in Calcutta to take steps to counteract his approach in this direction.<sup>9</sup>

Quetta was formally established as the capital city of Baluchistan by the British government, before independence, when they assumed power in this area. Before the British intervention the city comprised tribal settlements and its development was based on the availability of agricultural land. The British attempt towards a planned city comprised of a Cantonment and an inner city district with a Town Hall and a District court. The peripheries of this central core were developed for residential colonies based on a grid-iron

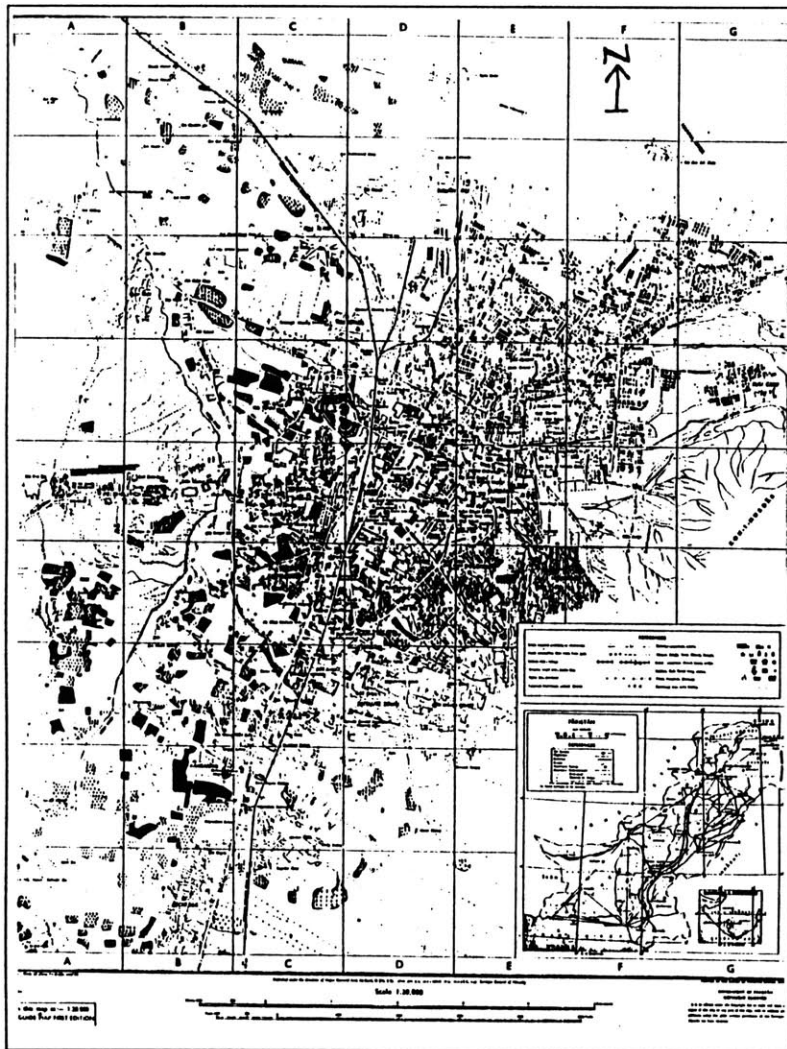


Fig. 3.7 Map of Quetta city showing the city's land-use, as surveyed in 1982.

pattern. Quetta developed rapidly; the city limits kept expanding from its initial confines.

The direction of growth was predominantly southwards. There was more than one reason for the southward direction of growth. Firstly, the cantonment area on the north had to remain secluded from the rest of the city. Secondly, the settlements located on the west of the railway track were still hostile towards the colonial regime. There was limited possibility for the city to grow eastwards due to an extremely low water table and the barren and harsh mountain range known as Koh-e-Murdar.

The rapid development of Quetta resulted in the transformation of the indigenous settlements into urban villages. The rise in the availability of work opportunities initiated movement from these settlements into the city and a need for extended road networks and transportation. The city therefore started extending beyond the western limits of the railway track and in a short period, these indigenous settlements were accommodated within the city limits.

The strategic location of Quetta has placed it under constant pressure of refugees from Afghanistan throughout history. This has in turn over burdened the existing housing stock. Development of housing stock and services have not kept pace with the rapidly increasing population - both rural-urban migration as well across the international frontier migration trend and also natural increase. As a consequence informal settlements are developing at a tremendous rate to

accommodate the shelterless. These settlements at present accommodate almost 30 percent of Quetta's urban population.<sup>10</sup> They are not confined to any specific area of the city, rather as is common elsewhere in the third world countries, they are scattered all over the city. The forces involved for the location of these settlements are land availability, risk of eviction, access to transport, location of job opportunities and in almost all cases the ethnic background of the residents.

#### ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF THE CASE COMMUNITIES

##### *The Hazaras*

Among the small ethnic groups in Afganistan are the Hazaras, who live in the area of Hazarajat in central Afganistan. The Hazaras are of mixed Mongolian origin, and they probably arrived in Afganistan between A.D.1229-1447.<sup>11</sup> There exist conflicting views regarding the ethnic affiliation of the Hazara people. The name by which they are known affords no clue, as it is derived from the Persian word Hazar; a thousand, and was applied to this ethnic group by their neighboring tribes. It was in consequence of their having been planted in Hazrajat, as military colonists in detachments of a thousand fighting men each by Genghis Khan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. However, the Hazaras are not descendants of the army of Genghis Khan, as popularly believed.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the other ethnic groups in

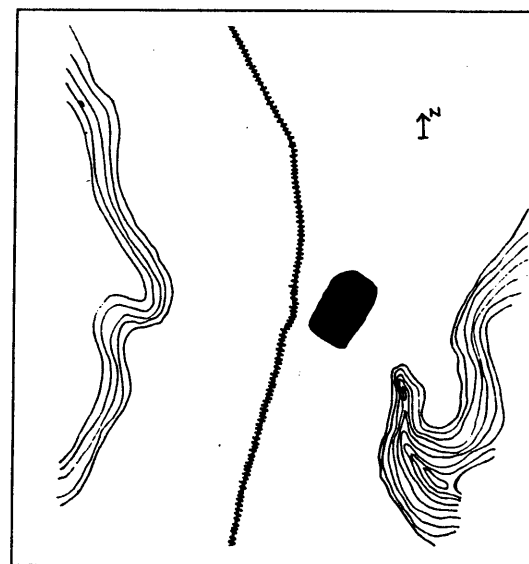
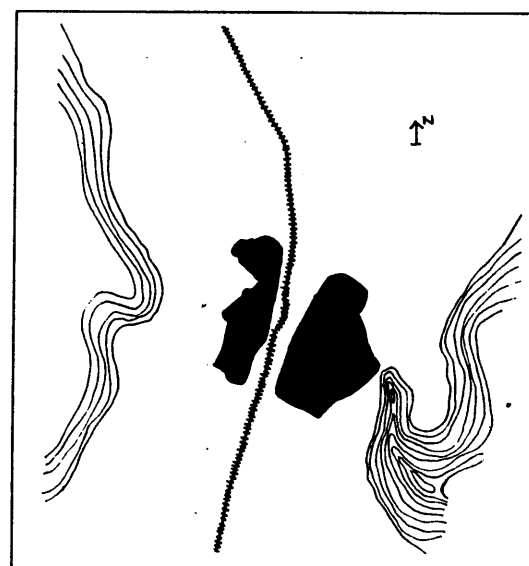


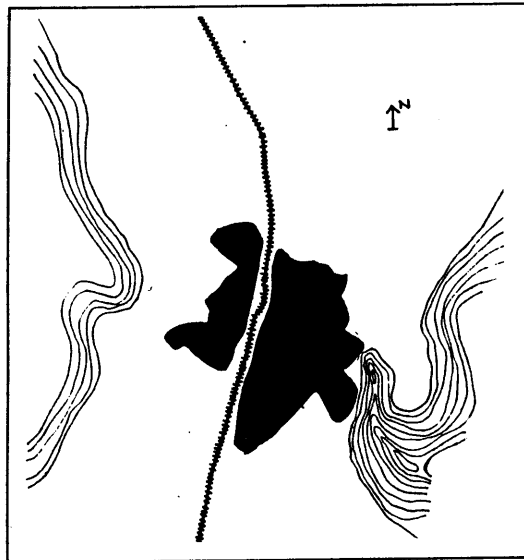
Fig. 3.8 Diagrams illustrating stages in the growth of Quetta:  
a) Before 1900, developed during the British annexation.



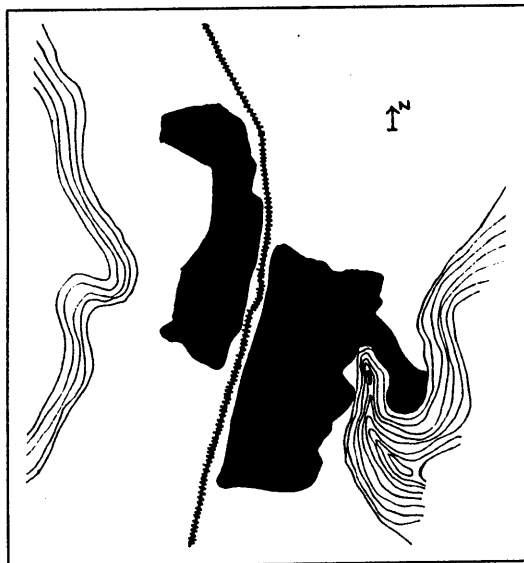
b) Growth of Quetta from 1900 - 1930



c) Growth of Quetta from  
1930 - 1960



d) Growth of Quetta from  
1960 - 1990



Afghanistan, who are members of the Sunnite sect of Islam, the Hazaras belong to the Shiat sect. In the cities as well as the countryside, the Hazaras in Afghanistan are considered low men by other the ethnic groups of the country. They have been discriminated due to two reasons; they are physically Mongoloid and, by tradition, descendants of the destructive army of Genghis Khan, and their being Shiat Muslims.<sup>13</sup>

The Hazaras differ entirely from all other ethnic sub-groups in Afghanistan, and are categorized as the semi-nomadic people of Afghanistan. Yet they occupy an extensive area in the center of the country. This region is mountainous throughout, and for the most part the soil is poor. The inhabitants of central Hazarajat dwell in portable yearths, which is a conical mobile structure.<sup>14</sup> There are several types of yearths. These yearths are located inside compound walls, serving functionally as summer huts. These walls insure privacy, and corralled the livestock at night. Each compound comprises three to four yurts inhabiting a clan. Nuclear families among the group seasonally move from village to agricultural fields, often for several weeks.

The nomadic movement of the Hazaras, in the region of central Hazarajat, resembles intricate military operations. A group may move two or three miles a day; or it may move up to fifteen miles a day over barren passes to reach a fertile camping ground. Often, the group camps outside villages on the plowed fields. When they stop for night, the women start work immediately. The men stand guard and get the sheep and goats ready for the night for their protection. Most

Fig. 3.9 Sketch locating Hazarajat in central Afghanistan and showing major routes of seasonal migration by the local Hazara tribes.

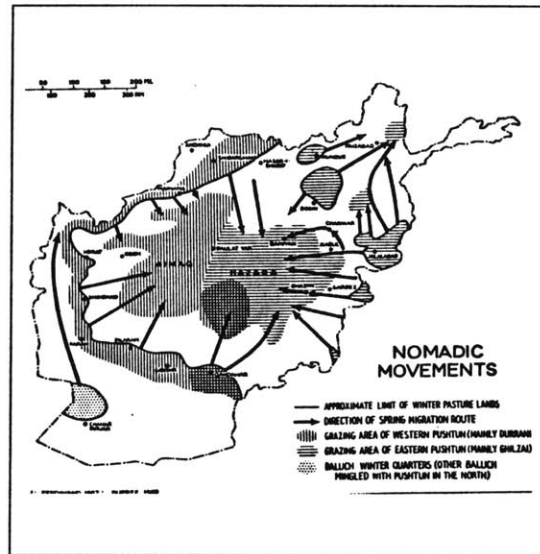


Fig. 3.10 Summer camps in Hazarajat.

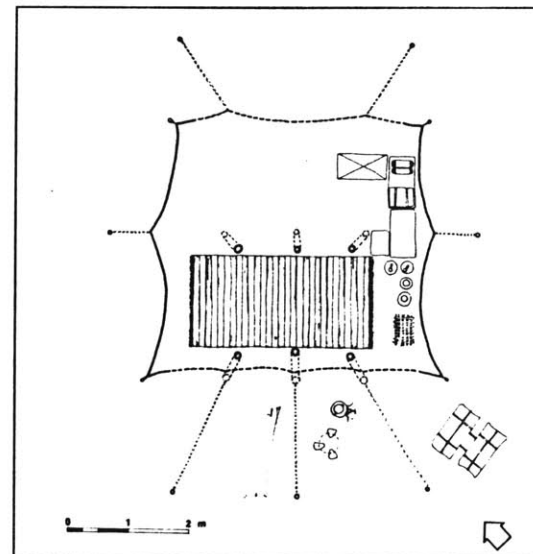
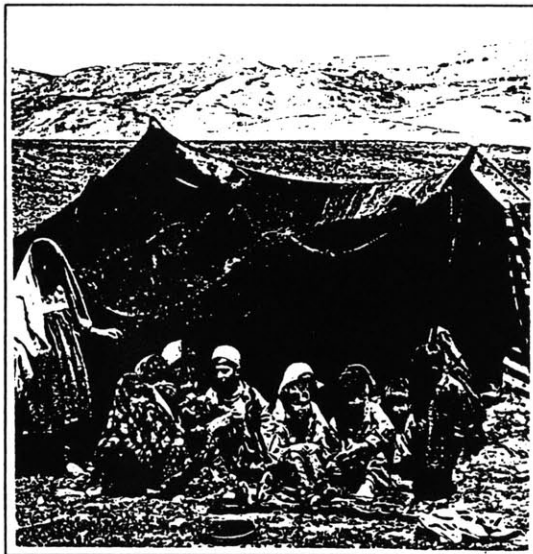


Fig. 3.11 Plan of typical tent used by the Hazaras during seasonal migration.

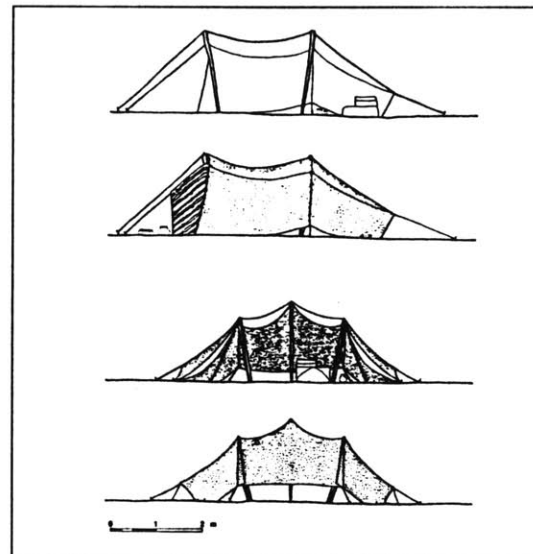


Fig. 3.12 Section and elevation of the tent. The accessibility to the open space around the tent makes it easy to extend household activities outside the tent.

Fig. 3.13 Yearths in mud walled compound. The open space used for household activities around the yearths is incorporated within the limits of the household, in the case of temporary settlements.

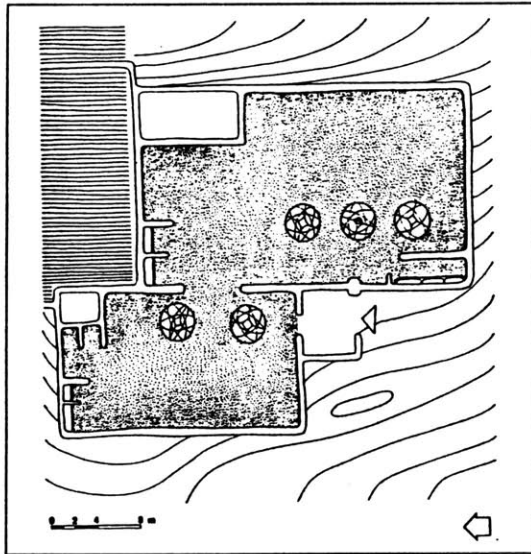
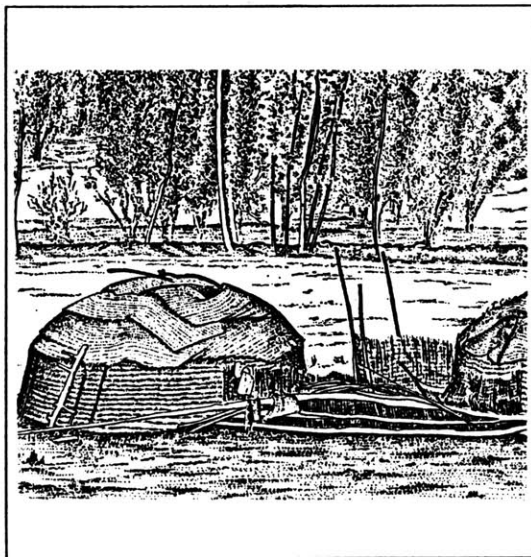


Fig. 3.14 Sketch of a temporary settlement in the region of Hazarajat. The nomadic pattern of life of the ethnic Hazaras has generated propensity for extending household activities outside the dwelling units.



of the work is done by the women, from making the tents to putting them up on the camping site. They also unload the camels, cook food, make the butter, weave and sew.

The behavioral patterns of the Hazaras have evolved due to their nomadic origins and the need for constant seasonal movement within their region, that they as a group encounter. The sense of group integrity is an eminent aspect under these circumstances and gives rise to extreme levels of collectivity. The emotional involvement of Hazaras in mosque and religious rituals is less related to their self-conception as pious Muslims than to the complexities of social relations within the congregation.

The Hazaras inhabiting the area towards the mountains, and away from the plains in the region of Hazarajat, dwell in mud huts with flat roofs, built under rock shelter. These houses are built of large sun-dried brick and *pise* structures inside the openings of large rock shelters.<sup>15</sup> The settlements of the Hazaras, due to their nomadic character, do not consist of communal and congregational structures. The required community and religious activities takes place inside the compound wall of the senior-most resident of the settlement.

### *The Pathans*

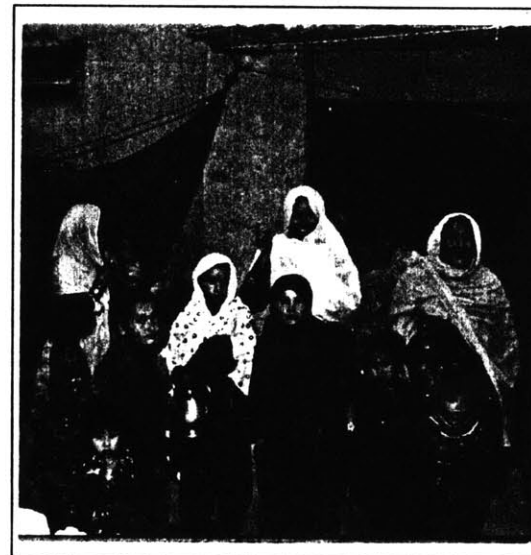
The Pathans probably compose the largest tribally organized people in the world today. They are the historical founders of the Afghan state and their cultural attributes have exerted a powerful influence to other ethnic groups in Afghanistan, giving them a degree of the characteristics that can be called "Afghan".

Genealogies order all Pathans into families, lines and branches, systematically related to each other and corresponding to the territorial divisions of eastern and southern Afghanistan. In large areas of the countryside, people live in their ancestral homelands. Their roots in these specific territories form the base of their tribal organization. Even today the defence of ancestral home territories and the punishment for the killing of relatives are not matters for the formal judiciary to deal with but the responsibility of social justice formed by these families and clans. In such conflicts, the basic rule is that close relatives should support each other against distant relatives, and that all relatives should support each other against outsiders. This structure has two implications:

- The right of a Pathan as a citizen of a tribal community can only be exercised if he or she lives among relatives and on the land of their forefathers. The political participation in the group is based on the inherited plot of land and the share in common belongings of the clan. No purchased field or residence can give tribal rights that are aspired by all Pa-



*Fig. 3.15 View of the mud settlements in the region of Hazarajat.*



*Fig. 3.16 The Hazara nomads of Hazarajat*

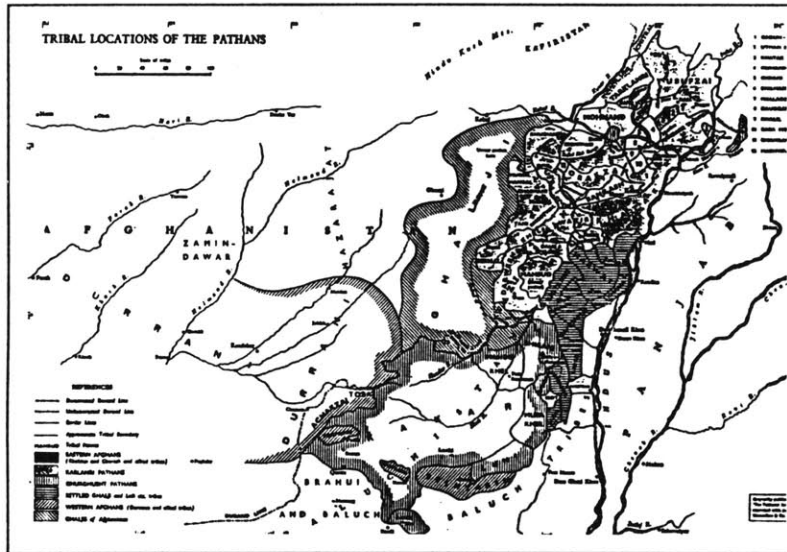


Fig. 3.17 The tribal location of the Pathans in Pakistan and across the border.

thans. Every person of the group is thus closely tied to his place of birth and its defence is the foremost concern.

-The family and clan unite to defend their common interests only against outsiders. The rest of the time they are one another's perpetual rivals.

This defines the context within which the ideology of courage, honor and independence has been bred and exercised. The success of an individual in such a society demands great force and self-resilience and fosters an individualism of an extreme kind. A reputation for force and violence is an expected norm in such a society.

The value of honor and self-respect are supplemented with high valuation of local custom and culture creating a stronger will to resist the world outside their tribe, clan and family. Hence, the character of the tribal society of Pathans is divided and sedentary with an ideology of group structure and individual self assertion.

These models of extreme individualism and self-defence generate preferences for forms and volumes that reflect security from the enemy that the individuals in this society are always trained to be prepared for. To the outsider their reflection of collective unity is of great importance to create an image which supersedes the insecurity of being an individual and a part of a society that generates fierce competition of power and authority.

The social organization of the Pathan community is competitive and unstructured. Islamic, mosque-oriented rituals, rather than demarcating social groups and patterns of authority, manage both to declare the theory of equality and stress the reality of inequality. The Pathan conceptions of their historical identity, and of their relation to other ethnic groups with whom they are in constant political and economic competition, lead prominent and successful members of this society to an orthodox and unemotional observance of Islamic rituals.

The behavioral patterns that the Pathans have adapted are based on the long evolved ethnic integrity of the tribe. The patterns assist the group in coping with the rugged and harsh environment that they are exposed to and live in. The strong sense of individuality demonstrated by every member of this tribe contradicts the overall image of a community that is associated with the tribe. This distinct character necessitates the grouping together of members of a clan and family against other clans and tribes for an image of strong integrity which the Pathans have been successful in creating.

The characteristic dwellings of the Pathans inhabiting the rural areas of Baluchistan is a big farm house, known as the *qala*. This dwelling type is similar in concept to the fortress/castle of European agricultural feudalism, in which the large landowner lives surrounded by the peasants who work on his farms and their family. The primary difference is that in a Pathan's *qala* the workmen live within the fortress rather than outside.<sup>16</sup> The development of the *qala* form is



Fig. 3.18 The ethnic Pathans of Pakistan.

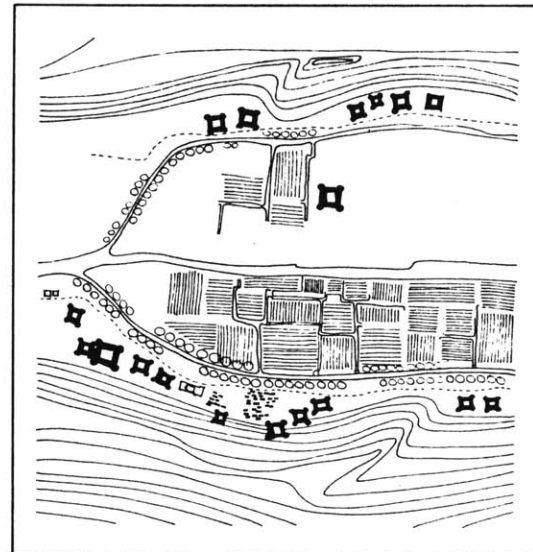


Fig. 3.19 The configuration of characteristic dwellings, locally called the *Qala*, in the rural areas of Baluchistan inhabited by the Pathans.

Fig. 3.20 Spatial arrangement of the dwelling type Qala. The courtyards of individual houses in the Qala do not connect into a communal space that would relate to the overall unity of the form of the structure. Thus reflecting the individualistic character of the inhabitants.

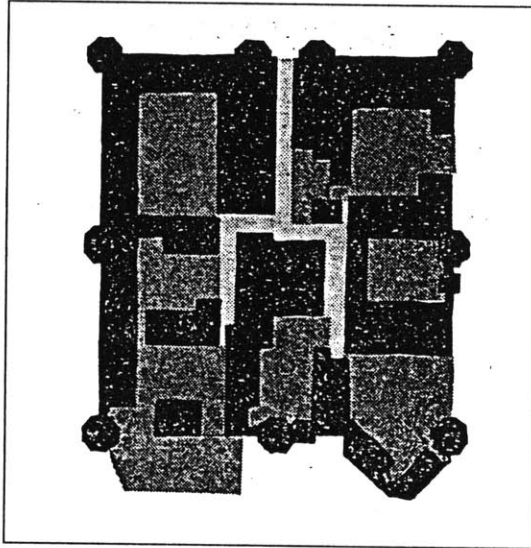
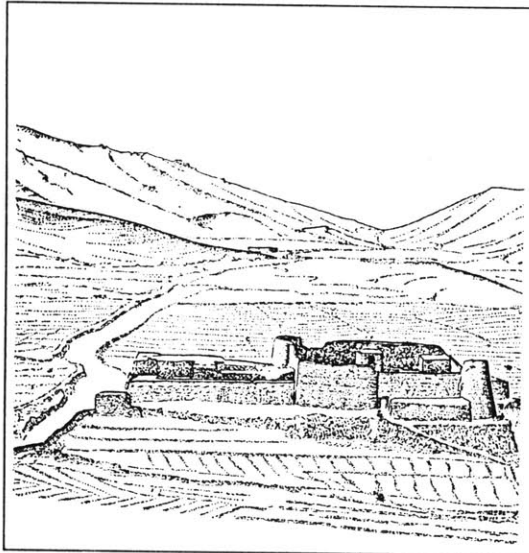


Fig. 3.21 The fortified compound of the Qala: The externally unified form is directly related to security and represents an aspiration of the resident clan to reflect their capability to defend themselves from probable rivals.



directly related to security. Besides the perpetual problem of securing the stored crops from thieves, the family residing in the *qala* has to contend with the neighboring tribal hostilities ranging from rivalries about water rights and ownership to dry-farming rights on adjacent hillsides.

The organization of the traditional rural countryside, in Baluchistan, involves the interaction of a variety of people and groups. At the top is the leading member of the clan, known as the *khan*, who is the master of the *qala*. Next is the chief of the village, known as the *malik*, who is responsible for the administrative relations between the *qalas* and the village. Other officials include the *mullah*, or the Islamic priest, who is responsible for the mosque and the teachings of Islamic religious law. They also control the irrigation and distribution of water.

In this chapter I have endeavored to develop an understanding of the prevailing ethnic diversity and its related conflicts in Quetta. The diversity in the perceptions of the "actors", who are involved in creating the case settlements are rooted in alternative cultural traditions. Therefore, it is hoped that this chapter is successful in providing insights to the ethnic background and character of the case communities before embarking on the main core of the research, that is an analysis of the case studies.

Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Geertz, Clifford; *Meaning and order in Moroccan Societies: three essays in cultural analysis.*

<sup>2</sup> Amin, Tahir; *Rise and fall of ethno-national movements in Pakistan.* vol. 1, p. 73

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 114

<sup>4</sup> Parsons, Talcott ed. *An outline of the social system.* in *Theories of society: a foundation of modern sociological theory*

<sup>5</sup> Amin, Tahir; *Rise and fall of ethno-national movements in Pakistan,* vol. 1, p. 114

<sup>6</sup> Caroe, Olef; *The Pathans*

<sup>7</sup> Dames, M. L.; *The Baluch Race*

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>10</sup> Government of Baluchistan, Quetta Development Authority, *Mariabad Upgrading Plan: socio-economic survey, 1983*

<sup>11</sup> Bacon, E.; *An inquiry into the history of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan,* *South-western Journal of Anthropology* vol. 7, p. 230-47

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p. 230-40

<sup>13</sup> Dupree, Louis; *Afghanistan,* p. 161

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 172

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p. 142

<sup>16</sup> Hallet and Samizay; *Traditional Architecture of Afghanistan,* p. 123-143



## CHAPTER FOUR

## ILLUSTRATION THROUGH CASES

*We no longer describe for the sake of describing, from a caprice and a pleasure of rhetoricians. We consider that man cannot be separated from his surroundings and is completed by his clothes, the house, the city, and the country; hence we shall not note a single phenomena of the brain and heart without looking for the causes or the consequence in the surroundings...I shall define description: "An account of environment which determines and completes man." .....In a novel, in a study of humanity, I blame all description which is not that definition.*

*Emily Zola in The Experimental Novel*

### STRUCTURE OF THE CASE STUDIES

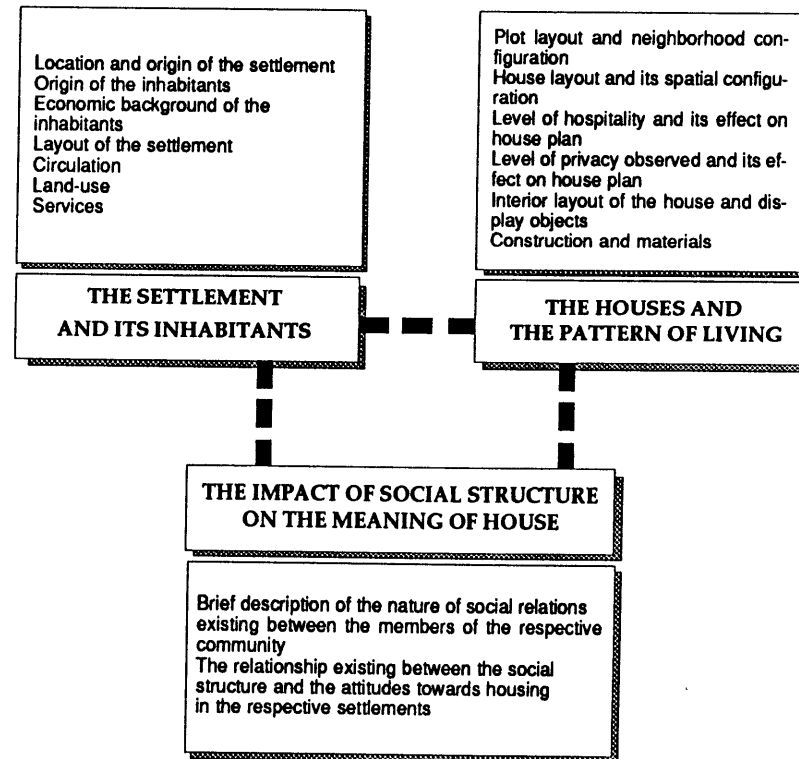
The theoretical phase of the research has attempted to identify a relationship between the social structure of the communities, based mainly on tradition, and spatial segregation in the context of migration. This has formed the basis of an analytical structure with which to evaluate the cases. In this thesis the case studies are used to illustrate the factors underlying the phenomena of ethnic concentration and segregation in the built environment.

The core of the study is in understanding different kinds of environments built by groups of different ethnic origins

within a single geographical region. The method employed is to make a comparative study of social and physical environments generated by the indigenous tribes of Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, with a tribe that migrated to this region and settled permanently. The migrants came into physical as well as social contact with the indigenous population.

Dwelling forms, given in plan, is the fundamental document that establishes the physical boundaries of the household for the purpose of the case study. The plan may incorporate enclosed areas surrounding the dwelling, if activities of householders are regularized in the space.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, each of the two case studies in this chapter are analyzed at four levels: the settlement, the inhabitants, the dwelling units, and the pattern of living. In the end of each analysis the house configuration is analyzed with reference to the social structure of the respective community. The text for this chapter is organized as follows:



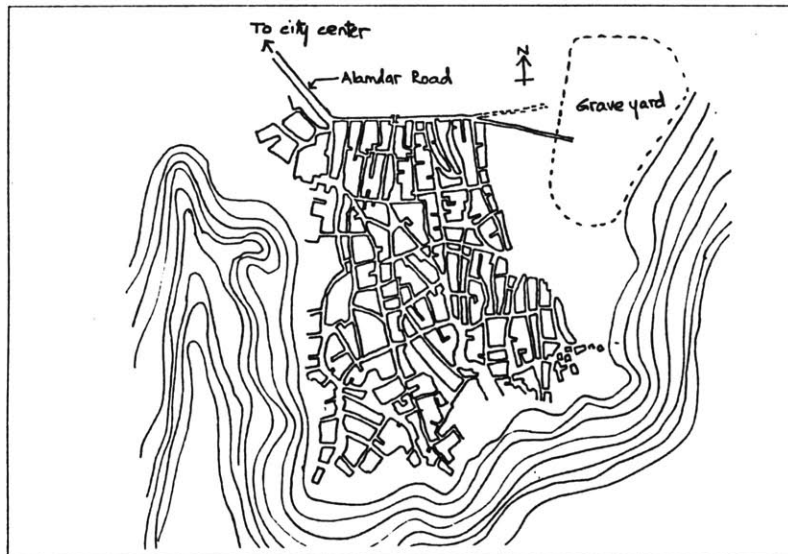


Fig. 4.1 Settlement pattern of Mariabad: The configuration of the settlement showing the built-up blocks in relation to the street network.

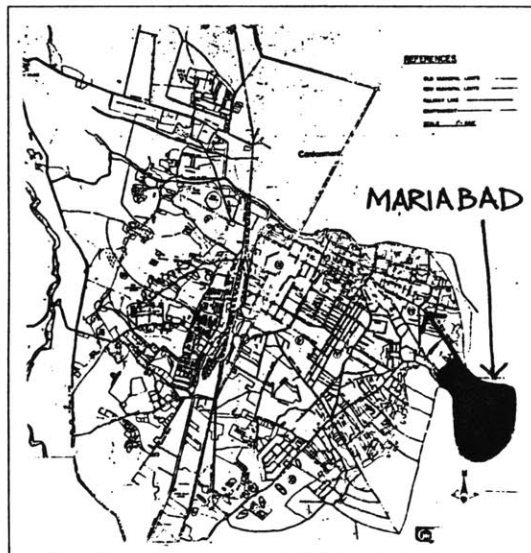


Fig. 4.2 Plan of Quetta locating Mariabad.

## CASESTUDY

### *The settlement and its inhabitants*

- Location and origin of the settlement
- Origin of the inhabitants
- Economic background of the inhabitants
- Layout of the settlement
- Circulation
- Land-use
- Services

### *The houses and the pattern of living*

- Plot layout and neighborhood configuration
- House layout and its spatial configuration
- Level of hospitality and its effect on house plan
- Level of privacy observed and its effect on house plan
- Interior layout of the house and display objects
- Construction and materials

### *The impact of social structure on the meaning of house*

- Brief description of the nature of social relations existing between the members of the respective community (for detail, the reader shall refer to chapter three in the sub-headings of each case-community)
- The relationship existing between the social structure and the attitudes towards housing in the respective settlements

## CASE ONE: MARIABAD

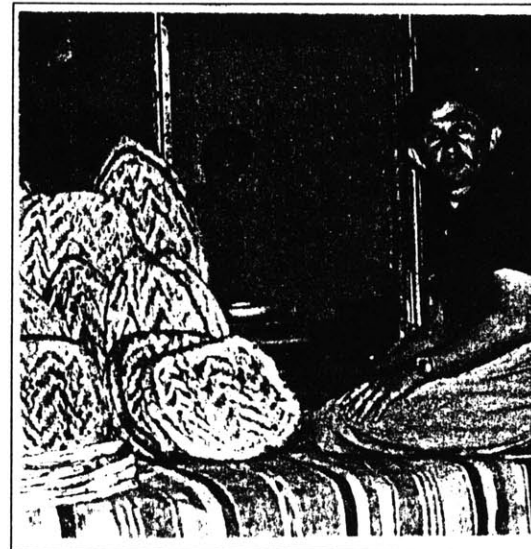
### *The settlement and its inhabitants*

Mariabad is a hill-side informal settlement located on Quetta's eastern side and spatially segregated from the rest of the city. This settlement is inhabited by the Hazara refugees from central Afghanistan. When the Hazaras first arrived in Quetta, during the Second Afghan War (1875-78), they settled within the physical limits of the city. The Hazaras are migrants not only from across the present borders of Baluchistan but also from across the Pathan and Baluch areas of pre-British period. They are also the only Shiat minority in Baluchistan. These factors have made it very difficult for the Hazaras to remain assimilated within the city limits as, even after settling in Quetta for more than a century, they have not been accepted as local inhabitants by the social groups already existing in the city.

The Hazaras can be physically distinguished from the local sub-groups of Quetta, because of their Mongoloid features<sup>2</sup> and fair complexions, and there has always been discrimination against them. At the time the Hazaras arrived in Quetta, their economic conditions and pressures due to forced migration left them little choice but to settle within the existing fabric of the city. The issues faced by the Hazaras forced them to seek alternatives to remaining assimilated with the local groups within the city.



*Fig. 4.3 View of a street, lined by houses on either sides, and corresponding to the natural valleys created by the terrain of the site. Neighborhood shops can also be viewed along the streets.*

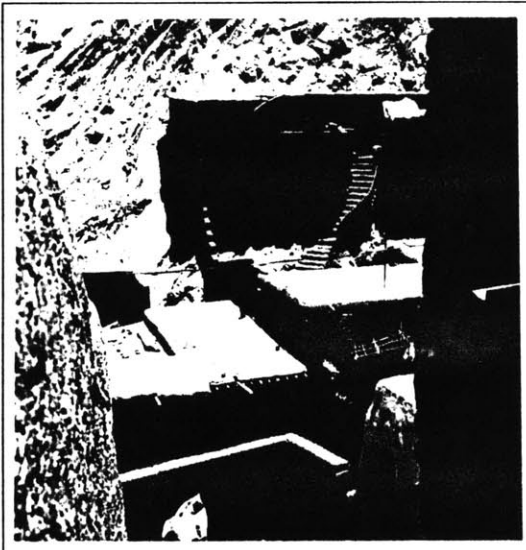


*Fig. 4.4 Shop selling freshly baked bread, nan, serving the neighborhood households.*

Fig. 4.5 Houses of Mariabad clustered along the foot hills of Koh-i-Murdar.



Fig. 4.6 Houses set in the natural terrain with accessible terraces.



The area of Mariabad is 86 hectares. The total population of Mariabad is 18000 persons with a population density of approximately 219 persons/hectare, as opposed to 50 persons/ hectares of Quetta.<sup>3</sup> The settlement, in spite of being an informal community, has better physical environment as opposed to other communities of similar character in the city, developed by the indigenous ethnic groups migrating from rural areas of Baluchistan to Quetta.

Mariabad is predominantly residential, although there are many mosques and Imam- Baras (religious building specific to the Shiat community), evenly distributed in the fabric of the settlement. Small neighborhood shops occur in close vicinity to religious and/or community activities. The lack of extensive commercial activity in the main streets of the settlement gives the community a chance to generate a social life, rather than a commercial life, on the streets. It gives a chance to the women residents of Mariabad to extend their household related activities, and create a social environment, outside the dwelling units. This is in contrast to areas where commercial activity dominates the main streets, resulting in the streets to perform as a domain for male residents of the settlement.

This characteristic of the streets of Mariabad distinguishes the settlement from other settlements of Quetta. The neighborhood shops sell utilitarian goods of everyday life, like vegetables, freshly baked bread (*nan*), and other groceries. There are no street side cafes which would attract men to

form a group and entertain guests on the streets rather than their homes. For the men the streets are a path that they have to traverse everyday to reach their work places.

This aspect of the use of streets is in contrast with the rest of the city, where streets are almost devoid of women. Additional commercial activity occurs at the foot of the hill, along Alamdar road. Educational institutions serve sixty percent of the overall need, with two primary schools and a Madrasa (school for Quranic studies affiliated with a mosque). The rest of the student population of Mariabad go to schools in the immediate vicinity.

The inhabitants of Mariabad are well known for their technical abilities and are mostly involved in private business as shopkeepers and the owners of workshops for the repair of electric appliances. About thirty percent of the working population of Mariabad are in government service and the remaining work as skilled laborers.

The table on p. 68 shows the actual distribution of occupation in the entire population. The residents of Mariabad have prospered economically, in the past fifty to sixty years, due to the initiation of private businesses. The language spoken within household is Persian but the working population speak and understand Pushto and Baluchi, to the best of their abilities, to communicate with the local population of Quetta.

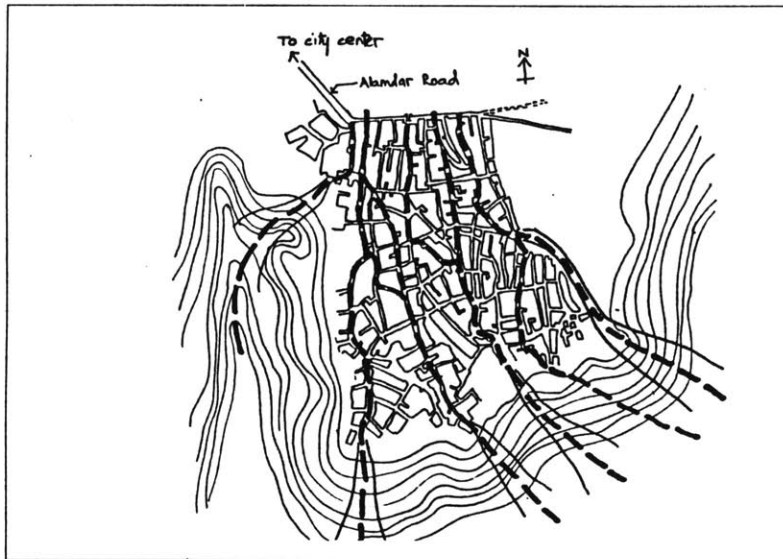
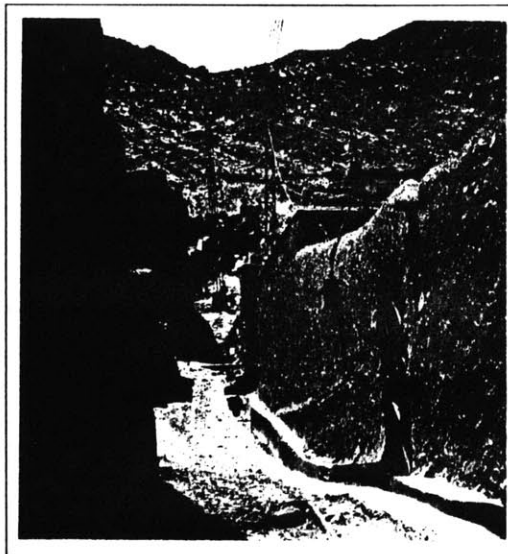


Fig. 4.7 Street network corresponds with the configuration of natural valleys, *nalas*, created by the site terrain.

Fig. 4.8 View of street with open drains along side of the street. The natural terrain provides effective drainage for the settlement.



The majority of the residents of Mariabad go to their places of work and educational institutions by walking. The common mode of transportation is the bicycle, as 60 percent of the overall population is under the age of 24 years. Paved roads with drainage facility has been serviced to 40 percent of the area by the Quetta Development Authority, in the past four years. The remainder of the streets are unpaved, with storm water drains on either sides. The streets serve both for pedestrian and vehicular circulation. In spite of the steep gradients the residents possessing automobiles, persistently drive their way even to the most steep areas of the settlement. Mariabad is connected to the city center by a bus line along the Alamdar road, making the city center easily accessible by foot.

The cohesive community of Hazaras is spread over the adjacent areas of Naseerabad, and Saeedabad. The earliest homes in Mariabad were located outside the eastern limits of Quetta, near the Murdar Range. The settlement has expanded in the south-east direction, resulting in construction of houses on the slopes of the hill. Alamdar road is the main approach road linking the settlement to the city center. This approach road flanks the northern length of the settlement. The remaining three sides of the settlement are bounded by the Murdar and Kansai Ranges.

The major streets of the settlement run in roughly north-south direction, corresponding with the direction of the natural storm water valleys, locally called the *Nalas*, which are created by the site terrain, with gradient sloping down

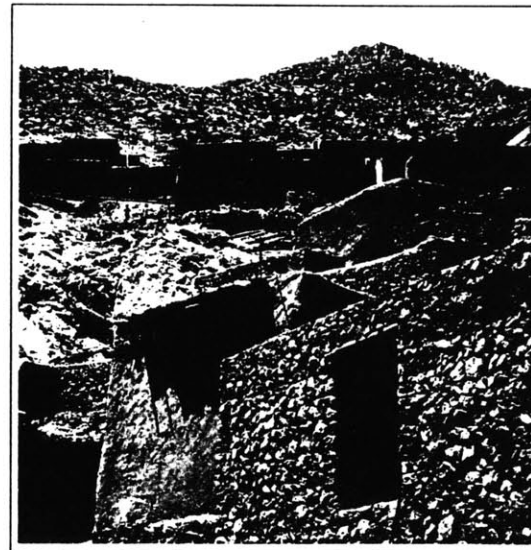
towards the Alamdar road. These streets are connected with secondary streets running perpendicular to both the *Nalas* and the north-south streets. At instances these horizontally running streets are bridged across the slopes of the *Nalas*. This characteristic street network generates more or less uniform blocks in between, making land sub-division close to a grid iron pattern, unlike the other informal settlements of the city.

drains on either sides. The streets serve both for pedestrian and vehicular circulation. In spite of the steep gradients the residents possessing automobiles, persistently drive their way even to the most steep areas of the settlement. Mariabad is connected to the city center by a bus line along the Alamdar road, making the city center easily accessible by foot.

The interviews, of some of the oldest residents of Mariabad, reveal that the initial settlers chose to settle in Mariabad because of its vicinity to the already developed areas of Naseerabad and Saeedabad. These areas are also inhabited by the Hazaras who were amongst the first few groups to move out of the city limit. The residents of Mariabad indicated that they selected the area primarily because of the presence of relatives within the neighboring localities. Familial ties have played an increasingly significant role as Mariabad's population has become more stable over the years. Almost 60% of the entire population of Mariabad are inter-related. Kinship ties were of extreme importance and are reflected in the number of residents or households being



*Fig. 4.9 Houses of Mariabad, with terrace evolution, as houses keep building in accordance to the adjacent properties.*



*Fig. 4.10 The site terrain prevents easy transportation of construction material limiting choice of materials to stone and mud. Yet, the distinctive use of these materials integrates the settlement with its natural environment.*



Fig. 4.11 The streets are used as an extension of the households that are configured along either sides.



interrelated, playing a significant role in providing structural organization to the entire community.

The interviewed residents reflected that their previous neighborhoods, in and around the city center, lacked social cohesiveness, and were environments unsuitable for bringing up children. In most traditional societies children are

brought-up under constant supervision of their mothers, requiring them to remain in close contact. Therefore, the visual as well as physical contact between a mother, working inside the house, and children, playing outside in the streets, requires a woman to be able to come out of their houses without being threatened by a stranger passing on the streets.

Thus, the streets of Mariabad enclose within them everyday activities of their respective neighborhoods, and the predominant activities are generated by the women of the community, who comfortably walk through them for social visits to the neighboring houses, running after their children, and walking to and from the Imam Baras, as the religious activities taking place within the Imam Baras is mostly attended by the women of the Shiat community.

#### *The Houses and the pattern of living*

The houses in Mariabad are mostly constructed on regular plots, based on the configuration of the settlement. There is very little variation in the dimensions of the plots. The houses are well adjusted to the steep gradient of the hilly site

condition and in most cases the terrain is incorporated as part of the open space inside the dwellings. At present most of the houses in Mariabad are considered to be *kutchha*; <sup>4</sup> although there are many *pukka* and *semi-pukka* houses which belong to affluent residents. Hence the houses in Mariabad are commonly of stone walls, both categories of un-plastered or mud-plastered walls are found. Wood, rubble and

mud are used as roofing materials. The predominant use of stone gives the settlement a specific character and integrated the settlement with its immediate surroundings. The houses are all single stories with basements and sometimes a split level plan due to the terrain of the site.

Although, the family structure is going through extension with the passage of time, there is at present no significant transformation taking place in the house holds. When a son in the family gets married a construction on another site of a separate, single room, house takes place with one room added on to it later. Very often the residents of a dwelling comprise an old man and his wife living alone after all their children are married who have houses of their own, next door or in the close vicinity. Even if the children cannot stay in the same neighborhood, the parents feel secure living alone as their social links with their immediate neighbors, even if they are not related, are very strong. In such cases, the grand children tend to spent most of their time in the house of their grand parents, running to and from their parent's house.

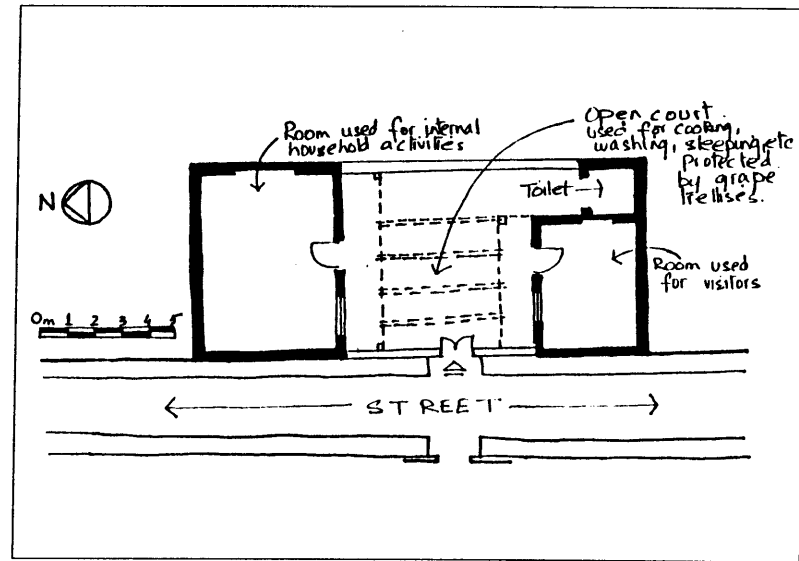


Fig. 4.12 Plan of house in Mariabad, reflecting the spatial links developed in the opposite diagram.

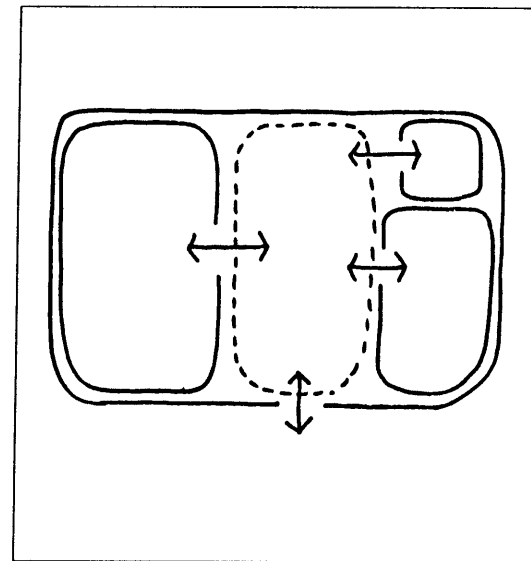


Fig. 4.13 Diagram showing spatial links between rooms, the open court and the street.

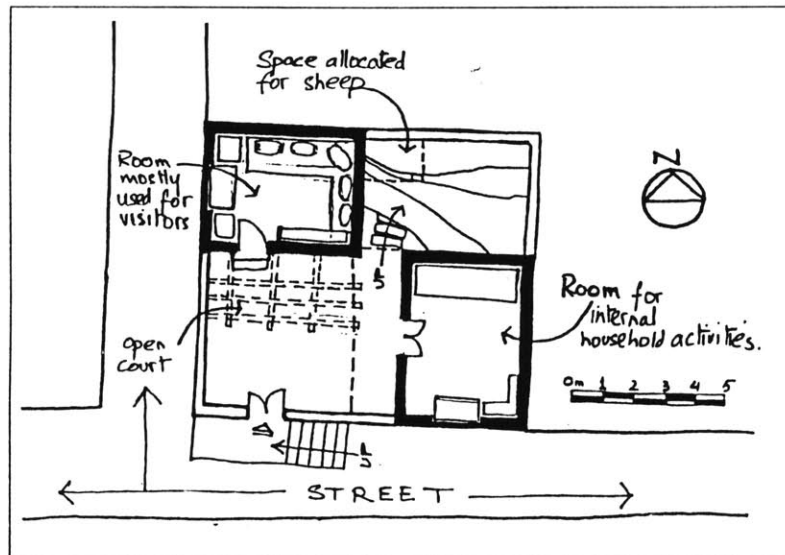
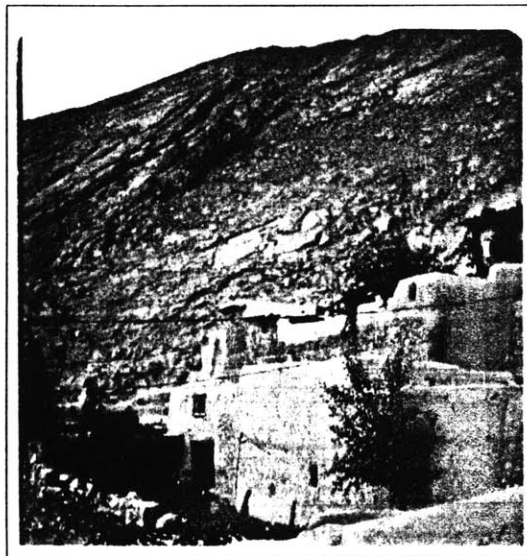


Fig. 4.14 Plan of house in Mariabad: the use of the open court for almost all household activities. This space is protected from extreme weather by planting trees or grape trellises to maximize its use.

Fig. 4.15 Trees, planted inside the open court of the house, contrasts with the sparseness of the physical setting.



The street space between the two houses, if they are very closely located, becomes an extension for both the houses. The streets are kept absolutely clean by the residents of the adjacent houses, because the resident's pattern of living is not contained inside the dwelling unit and the street space is considered as part of the house and the residents feel responsible for maintaining its cleanliness.

Wooden or metal doors serve as entrances to almost all houses in the settlement. The entrance doors are kept open during the day with a curtain hanging in the doorway. The stone platform crossing over the open drain flushed with the street level, and the threshold is not emphasized in terms of a level difference, making it possible for the space inside the house to easily flow into the street and vice versa.

The door opens into an open and paved court. This space is the focus of all domestic activities and is the most vibrant sections of the house. The use of the court for all domestic chores including cooking, washing, feeding babies and even eating food, whenever the weather permits, can be attributed to the nomadic background of the Hazara community. The open court in the houses in Mariabad are partially covered by the presence of grape trellises which are supported by wooden parabolas, to maximize the use of this space even in extreme weather conditions. The presence of small trees and grape trellises behind the walls of houses lining the streets contrasts with the sparseness of the environment.

Almost 50 percent of the houses in Mariabad comprise of two to three rooms. These living quarters are organized on two sides of the open space. This organization varies according to the site of the house. In most cases the rooms are arranged opposite to each other and in other cases the rooms are organized to form an L-shaped configuration, with a common wall in between the two rooms.

The rooms are not designated for any specific functions; the activities within them vary from one season to another. The spatial distribution of the household members shifts with the growth of the family. During winter season the living quarters are used for eating, entertaining guests, taking an afternoon nap, and handicraft activities by the women of the household during the day and sleeping at night. The beddings are vertically stacked in a niche built in the wall, with an embroidered cloth neatly covering it. At night these would be spread for the household members to sleep on.

Children of 10 years or less sleep with their parents irrespective of their sex. Once the children are older they are designated sleeping areas with respect to their sexes. In the case of a three-room household the male and female siblings have their own respective rooms. In the case of a two room household the female sibling share their parent's room till they are married and have their own house. The male siblings of the household sleep in a separate room after the age of ten years. However, this segregation of sexes within the household does not prevail during the day. During summer almost all members of the household sleep out in the open

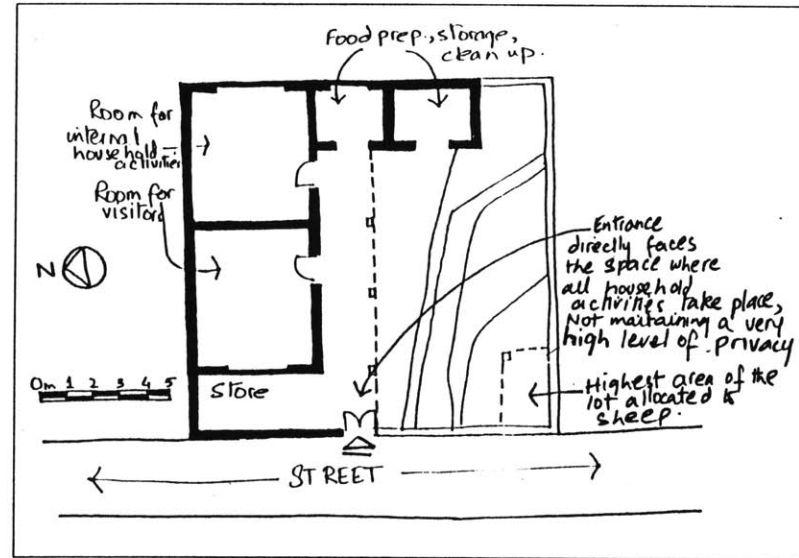


Fig. 4.16 House plan of Mariabad: Variation in house type based on the principle of spatial links that renders individual living quarters with spatial autonomy. The issue of spatial privacy within the dwelling is quite clearly not crucial for the residents.



Fig. 4.17 The court is protected from extreme weather conditions to maximize the use of this space. This aspect of the use of space can be attributed to the nomadic origin of the residents and their propensity for the use of open space outside the dwellings.

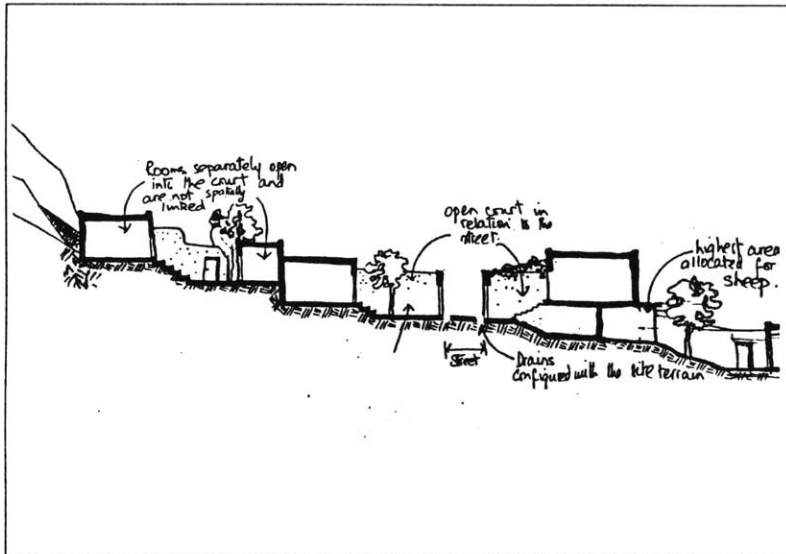


Fig. 4.18 Sketch of section through a portion of the settlement showing terrace evolution and use of space in relation to the site terrain.



Fig. 4.19 View of an open court in a house in Mariabad.

court, except women who have new born or very young children who would sleep inside.

Hospitality in Hazara community is considered a positive attribute. This is a characteristic which can be generalized for all Muslim societies. The guests in the Hazara community are entertained within the household. The residents of

Mariabad tend to socially interact within their own close-knit community, which makes it possible for most of the visitors to join the family in the open court. Yet, there might be instances when a stranger, from the same community or outside the community, may visit a household. The interiors of the rooms in the dwellings in Mariabad are modestly decorated. Furnitures, as in the western concept, are not predominantly used. The rooms comprise of large cushions placed on the floors. Their arrangement in the rooms give clues to the value that the Hazaras attach to hospitality. The wall decorations of the rooms, both photographs and paintings, reflects the resident's religious affiliation and ethnic identity and affinity.

Whether a household comprises one room or two rooms, in both cases the rooms are not linked internally and can be accessed from the court only. This spatial organization permits a certain level of seclusion for the women residents from strangers accompanying any member of the family. The women will usually stop their work in the court and remain in the room which is located at the other end of the court, and the visitors will occupy the room closest to the

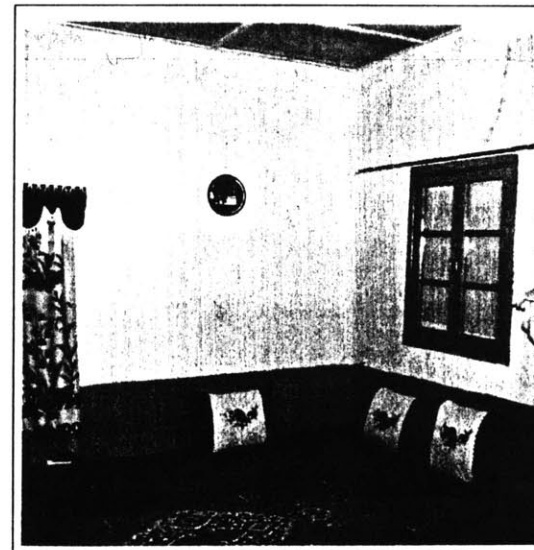
entrance door. As can be seen from the space relationship diagram, the domestic activities taking place in the open court are hindered by visitors who are unfamiliar with all members of the household. As in most cases the household do not anticipate such visitors, therefore this aspect of the spatial organization does not become a critical issue. Yet, the space link diagrams indicate that the possibility of segregation for women does exist due to the separate accessibility of the rooms from the open court. The affluent houses of the settlement, which comprise more than three rooms too follow the same concept of the spatial organization discussed above. These layouts amplify the usage and linkage and meaning of the spaces in the houses, irrespective of the size or terrain of the plot or material used for construction.

#### *The impact of social structure on the meaning of the house*

The nomadic background of the Hazaras has resulted in developing a collectivistic social structure in the community. (refer to chapter 3-the Hazaras- for detail.) Originally, this collective structure amongst the nomadic members of the community was required to survive the harsh environment, and for the nomadic movement of the Hazaras within the territory of Hazarajat. This trait has been heightened within the community of the Hazaras who migrated to Quetta. Not only did the Hazaras come in contact with an equally harsh environment, they had to adjust in a city that was distinctly divided into various social worlds that conflicted with theirs.



*Fig. 4.20 The interiors of the houses in Mariabad reflect the residents strong affiliation to their religious preferences, which contrasts them from the local population of Quetta.*



*Fig. 4.21 The interiors of even the affluent houses in Mariabad encourage modesty in the display objects which in almost cases comprise household utility items.*

*Fig. 4.22 Interior views of house in Mariabad showing utility objects on display.*



*Fig. 4.23 The spatial arrangements of the interior encourage hospitality, in terms of the level of accessibility to the spaces allocated for entertaining guests.*



Analysis of the case of Mariabad, in terms of the relationship between collectivistic social structure and the attitudes towards housing, indicates that the inhabitants of the settlement perceive their houses as a enclosure of the family and their daily activities, a showcase of utilitarian goods linked with those activities, a place to live rather than an arena of status display. In the Hazara community group status is achieved primarily through group-oriented consumption and display. The house as a private, non-group object cannot fulfill this role. The house, as it appears in the case of Mariabad, is seen by both men and women of the community in very functional terms. For women it is a place where they spend their time doing a series of household tasks. For men the house serves a purely functional purpose as a enclosure of relatives, wife and children. Rather than being a prestige object, it is a enclosure of those who provide one with the means of acquiring prestige.

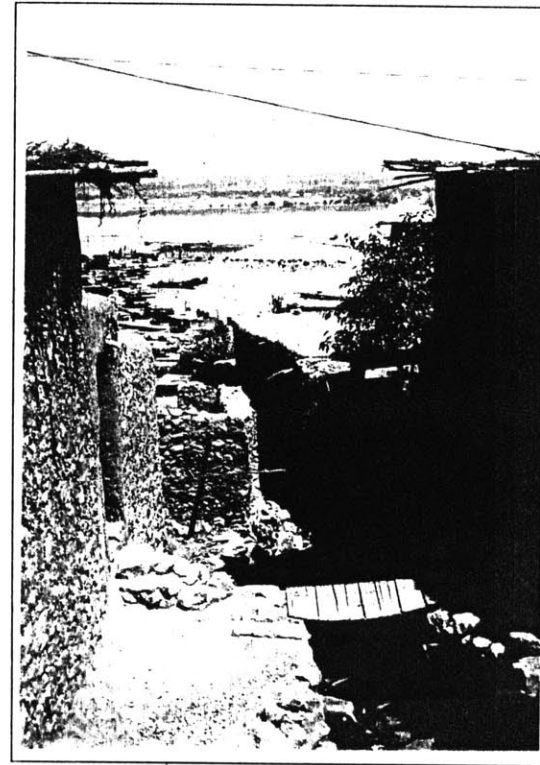
The analysis in the case of Mariabad results in bringing to light the distinctiveness in spatial and social patterns generated by the Hazara migrant. This aspect can be attributed to the nature of migration that the Hazaras underwent. The spatial movement, in this case was inevitable and the migrant group had limited options for acting otherwise. This resulted in denial of both cultural and structural assimilation on part of the migrant group. There is evidence that the orientations of migrants are differentiated towards their own ethnic group rather than towards the host. They have preferred to remain insular by maintaining their traditional beliefs and strongly guarding their religious aspirations in

spite of becoming a threatened minority by doing so.

The Hazaras, even after remaining assimilated within the city limits for about two generations, were successful in maintaining the customs and social norms pertinent to their ethnic background. These ethnic characteristics are in relation with their nomadic background, which still persist in spite of their living in an urban situation. After acquiring economic and social stability, the Hazaras still felt the need to live in a homogeneous environment, where they could accommodate their traditional patterns of living.

The Hazara population of the city has formed a cohesive and highly distinctive community in Quetta. This is characterized by a high level of concentration and segregation from the indigenous population. This clear separation of ethnic and indigenous residential space may be seen as a reflection of social distance between the groups, suggesting that there are important cultural differences between the minority and host in Quetta.

The interpretation of ethnic residential concentration and segregation that is presented by this case study as the voluntary clustering of an ethnic migrant community based on housing preferences and cultural differences. This seems to have played an important part in the current pattern of Hazara residence in Quetta. Of particular importance to the



*Fig. 4.24 View of the spatial distance between the urban center of the city and Mariabad. Voluntary segregation from the indigenous population has played an important part in the current pattern of Hazara residence in Quetta.*



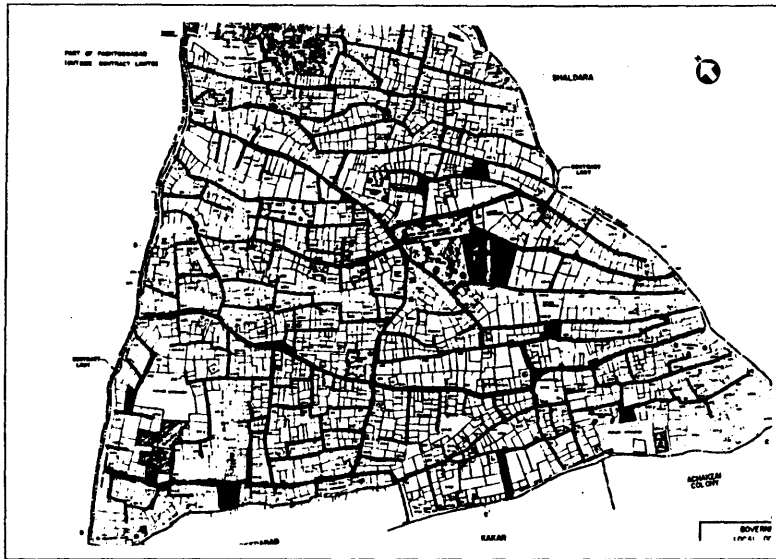


Fig. 4.25 Settlement pattern of Pashtunabad: The orderless fabric of the settlement, the street network that corresponds with the lack of order, and the variations in the plot dimensions are characteristic features of this settlement.

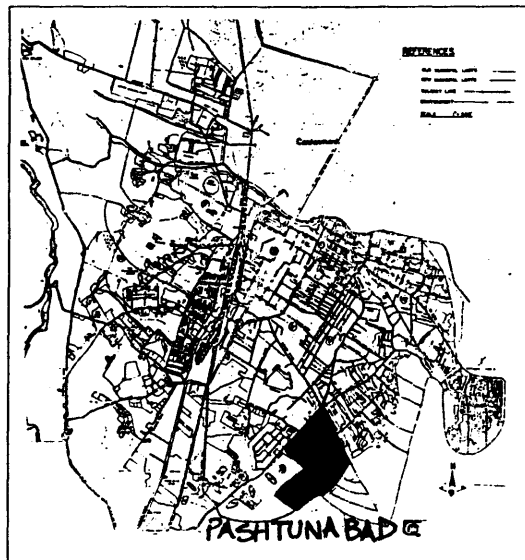


Fig. 4.26 Map of Quetta locating Pashtunabad.

development of Mariabad is the early stage of settlement, when choice of location was governed by the availability of land and the desire for concentrating in proximity to the ethnic group. Whereby, the initial clustering was reinforced by the strengthening of bonds within the community, which provided a sound basis for intense interaction within the group.

### CASE TWO: PASHTUNABAD

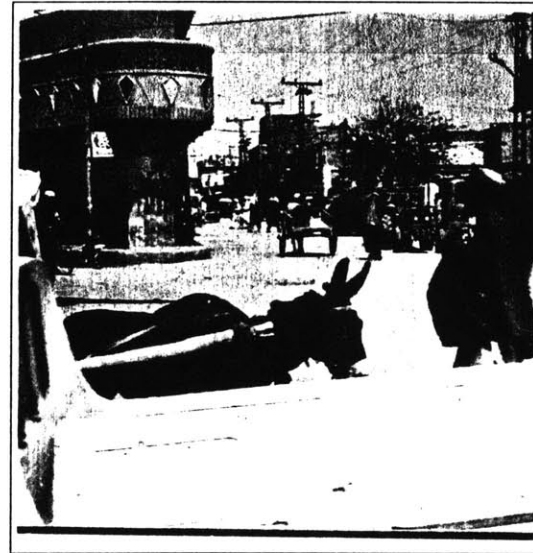
#### *The settlement and its inhabitants*

Located on Quetta's south-east side, Pashtunabad is an informal settlement inhabited by the Pathan rural migrants from parts of the Pathan area that fall within existing Baluchistan. Before 1950, the area that is now called Pashtunabad was owned by landowning tribesmen of Quetta. These tribesmen used to cultivate the land, but diminishing supplies of water for irrigation and the low rainfall, this area was becoming highly unsatisfactory for agricultural purposes. In 1950, an announcement regarding planning of new satellite towns attracted the people to develop new areas. These favorable conditions created opportunities for landowners to dispose of their land to interested groups. In most cases these groups comprised rural immigrants seeking a permanent source of income. These migrants were attracted to the provincial capital as it offered a strong economic base in comparison to the other major towns of the province.

The area that is categorized as being part of Pashtunabad is

110 hectares. The settlement is bounded by the Kanshi graveyard in the north, Baluch colony in the south, Sirki road in the west and the Murdar range in the east. The total population of Pashtunabad is 24500 persons with a population density of approximately 223 persons/hectare.<sup>5</sup> The settlement is a residential community with significant commercial activity taking place on the main roads, which are distinguishable from the secondary roads. The nature of the shops vary from household goods and appliances to manufacturing workshops and street side cafes, called the chai-khana. The main streets as well as the secondary streets are wide. The street scape is dominated by the men of the community. For the men streets are not only paths leading to and from their households, they are also the domains where they interact with the members of their community and visitors from outside the community.

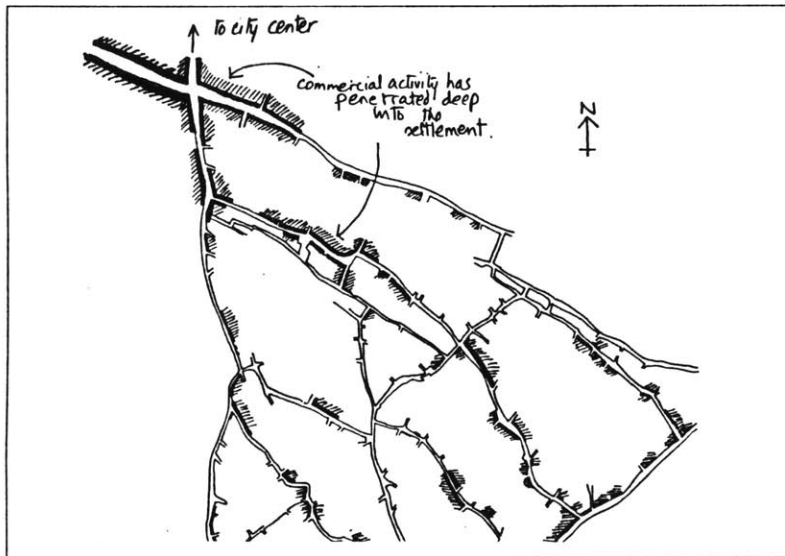
Mosques are the only religious buildings present and are evenly distributed in the fabric of the settlement. These constitute the only community activity taking place in the settlement. The male members of the community prefer to pray at the mosques, specially on Fridays and Eid ceremonies, when the mosques of the settlement become the center of social activity after prayers. The Mullahs, religious leaders who are responsible for leading prayers in mosques, very frequently reside in neighborhoods in vicinity of mosques and preach sermons from Quran to the children of their neighborhoods. Apart from the Madrasas attached to the mosques there are schools in the settlement that cater to 56% of the total requirement. However there are no girls



*Fig. 4.27 Street scene of Pashtunabad: The activities very seldom involve the residents of the settlement. This aspect is in contrast with the nature of activities generated in the case of Mariabad.*



*Fig. 4.28 The streets are perceived to be the domains of the male members of the community and remain lifeless during day because of their absence.*



*Fig. 4.29 The proximity of the settlement to the urban center of the city has generated significant commercial activity and the settlement is physically exposed to the neighboring settlements. This disrupts the ethnically homogeneous character of the settlement.*

*Fig. 4.30 Street scene of Pashtunabad: Commercial activity penetrates deep inside the settlement. This has been a cause for the rise in ethnic conflicts with the residents of the neighboring Baluch Colony, south of Pashtunabad.*



schools and female students, who are very few in number, have to go to other parts of the city.

The inhabitants of Pashtunabad are mostly self-employed and work as laborers (almost 50 percent) in the city center and the neighboring satellite towns that are developing south of Quetta. About 30 percent of the entire working population has small shops in the main roads of the settlements. Very few inhabitants of Pashtunabad are in government service. In most cases this due to lack of education. The exact distribution of employment for the inhabitants of the settlement are given on p.68. Almost 21 percent of the entire population is engaged in different economic activities, which equals about 40 percent of the total male population and two persons per household.

The language spoken within households is Pashtu. Very few of the inhabitants of Pashtunabad can speak a second provincial language except the national language of Pakistan, i.e., Urdu. Although the inhabitants of Pashtunabad have migrated from different parts of the rural areas in Baluchistan, yet they have very strongly maintained a predominantly Pathan community and the inclusion of ethnically different families into the settlement is not favoured. There are other localities in Quetta which are ethnically dominated by Pathans but Pashtunabad is where the rural migrants of Pathan originally come and settle. The inhabitants who prosper economically due to private business tend to move into the neighboring Satellite towns.

**OCCUPATION (%)**

	MARIABAD	PASHTUNABAD
LABOUR	28.06	40.8
SERVICE	25.1	21.3
SELF EMPLOYED	29.71	37.6
RETIRED	-	1.1
SHOE MAKER	17.15	

**NUMBER OF EARNING MEMBERS (%)**

	MARIABAD	PASHTUNABAD
ONE	47.52	45.70
TWO	23.40	20.40
THREE	17.02	18.80
FOUR	07.09	07.50
MORE	04.97	05.40
NO RESPONSE		02.2

**LAND TENURE PATTERN**

	MARIABAD	PASHTUNABAD
OWNED	94.6%	84.4%
RENTED	5.4%	7.0%
ENCROACHED	na	8.6%

**MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME(%)**

INCOME BRACKET IN RUPEES	MARIABAD	PASHTUNABAD
UPTO - 500	3.73	1.6
501 - 1000	9.70	16.7
1001 - 1500	26.12	18.3
1501 - 2000	18.66	12.9
2001 - 2500	16.42	4.3
2501 - 3000	4.48	12.4
3001 - 3500	7.46	5.9
3501 - 4000	2.24	7.0
ABOVE 4000	11.19	17.7
NO RESPONSE	0.0	3.2

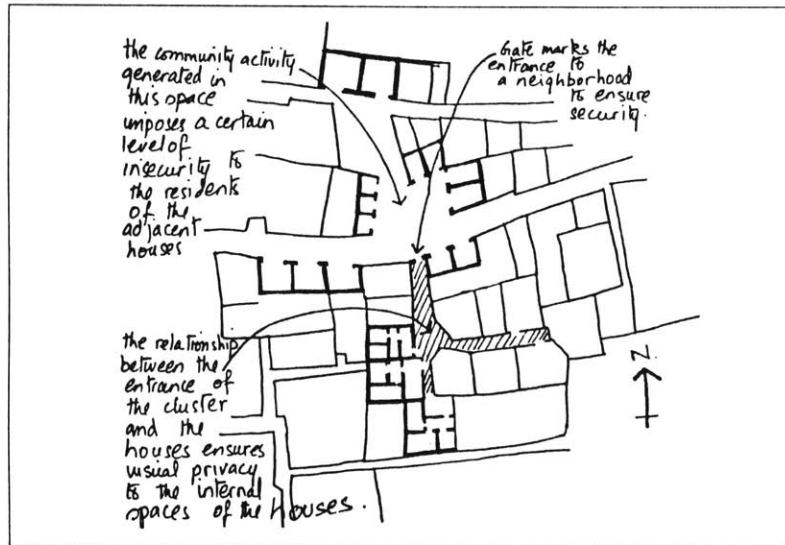


Fig. 4.31 The links between house and the neighborhood are determined by the insecurity felt by the residents against strangers.

Fig. 4.32 Very frequently gates define the domain of a cluster of houses. The inscriptions on the gates make it evident to the non-residents of the neighborhood that they are not welcome!



Sirki road, which is the western boundary of the settlement, is the main approach road that links Pashtunabad to the city center. Because Pashtunabad is an informal settlement the land distribution was not planned and the configuration of the settlement has resulted in the formation of irregular building blocks and streets that do not conform to a specific grid. The built fabric is significantly punctured with large open spaces in between the back sides of the houses. These open spaces are very seldom used by the neighbouring household cultivation and usually lack any level of maintenance. This results in detached plots and houses that do not have an adjoining wall with that of a neighboring house.

The Quetta Development Authority has upgraded the settlement recently, in the past 3-4 years. Now almost 80 percent of the houses have electricity and gas connections. Almost 50 percent of the roads in the settlement are paved. The interviewed residents indicated that they chose to settle in Pashtunabad because of the ethnically homogeneous community. Although the inhabitants are not related with family ties, yet they did not favour living in a locality inhabited by ethnically different communities.

#### *The houses and the pattern of living*

The houses in Pashtunabad are mostly constructed on irregular plots, and the irregularity is accommodated in the open spaces within the houses. At present most of the houses in Pashtunabad are semi-*pukka*; although there are some *pukka* houses belonging to the affluent inhabitants of the settlement and also some *kucha* houses inhabiting the

recent migrants who have not been able to consolidate economically. The houses in Pashtunabad are mostly constructed of burnt brick walls. The roofing structure varies from RCC to metal sheets and sometimes wood and mud construction. There is evident variation in the use of material for construction of houses in Pahtunabad.

All streets in Pashtunabad are more than 14-16 feet wide, but they can be distinctly categorized as major and secondary due to the variation in activities taking place on these streets. The major streets are commercial; mainly male inhabitants of the settlement use these streets. The secondary streets are quieter and are used by children to play in. The women of the household tend to stay inside the dwelling units and very seldom will come out of the house for a wedding or some social event in the neighborhood. The women in this community of Pathans do not participate in religious activities and always pray at home.

The average household size, according to the socio-economic survey done by the Quetta Development Authority as part of the Pashtunabad Upgrading Project, has been determined to be 10 persons per family. Almost 85percent of all the houses in Pashtunabad are owner occupied. The average number of rooms per dwelling is two to three.

The brick walls of the houses are punctured with metal doors that give access to the open courts behind them. These open spaces are mostly rectangular in shape and are flanked on one side by living quarters forming a line with common walls between the rooms.

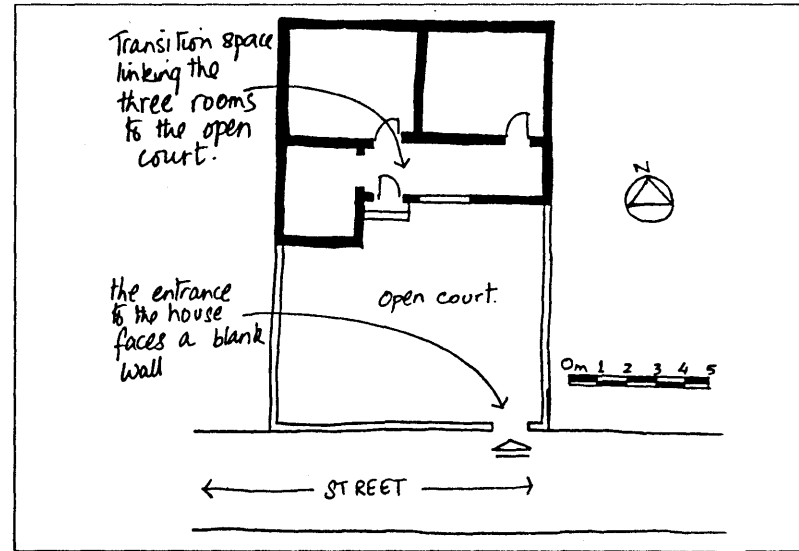


Fig. 4.33 House plan of Pashtunabad: The addition of a transition space to link the living quarters with the open court is characteristic feature of the houses in this settlement.

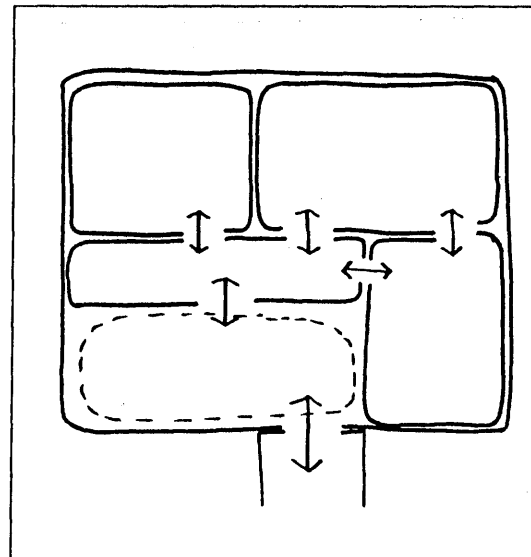


Fig. 4.34 Diagram of spatial links between living quarters of the house and the transition space that is directly linked with the open court.

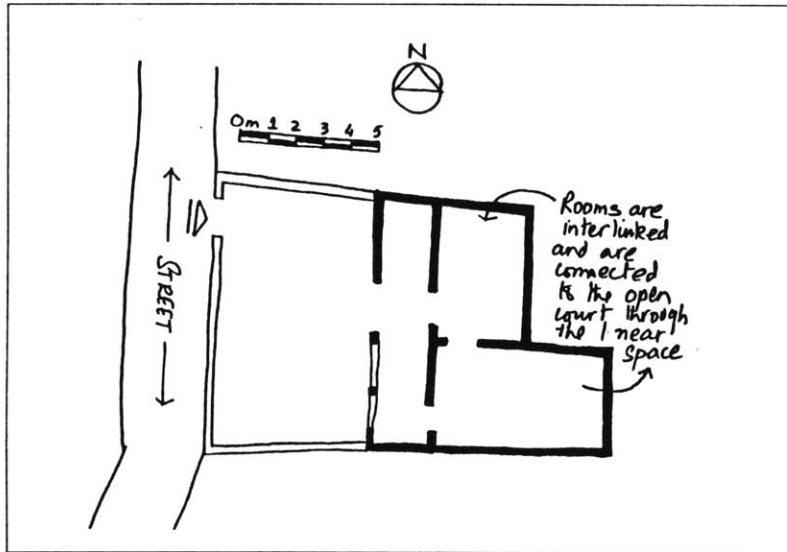


Fig. 4.35 Variations in the house type, reflecting the same principle of the use of transitional space linking the internal spaces to the external spaces.

Fig. 4.36 The residents of this settlement clearly place high value on achieving their housing aspirations and elevating their social status. This propensity of the inhabitants is reflected in the spaces of their dwellings and the environment outside the dwellings.

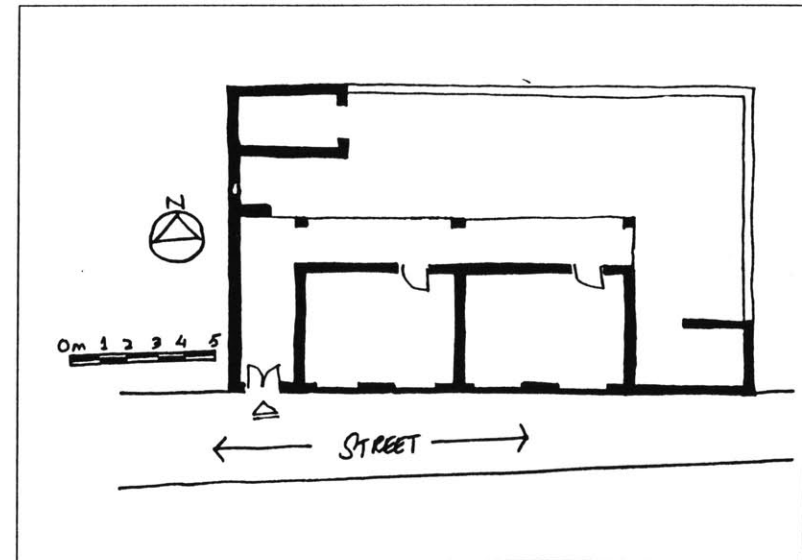
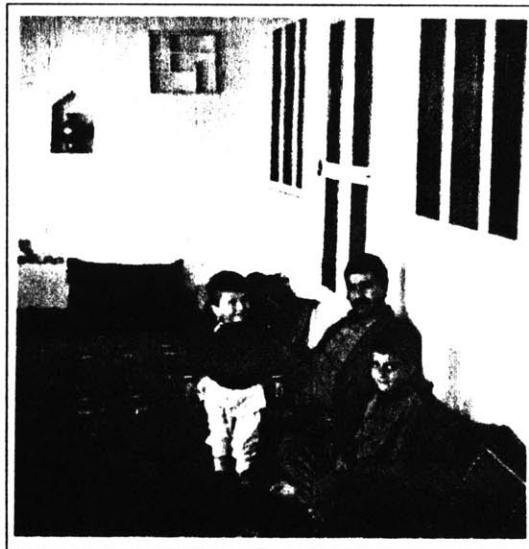


Fig. 4.37 Governed by the household privacy, the living quarters of the houses in Pashtunabad are located across the open court which is entered without visual access to the house entry.

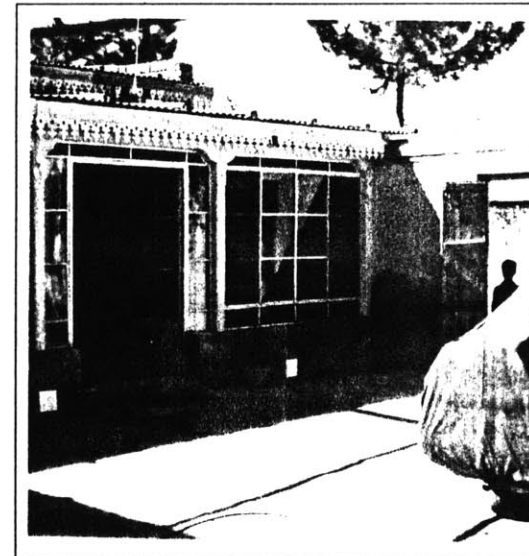


Fig. 4.38 View of the open court and its spatial link with the transition space.

*The impact of social structure on the meaning of the house*

The models of extreme individualism and self defence that are characteristic of the ethnic Pathans, results in the preference for forms and volumes that reflect security from the enemy that the individuals in this society are always trained to be prepared for. To the outsider their reflection of collectivity which supersedes the insecurity of being an individual and a part of a society that generates fierce competition of power and authority.

The display of arms in the living quarters of a Pathans dwelling reflect their need to demonstrate the strength of head of the family and his capability to defend himself and his family. As security and influence in such a tribal social structure depend largely on personal strength. Since childhood, every boy is trained to carry arms and to fight; not for abstract ideas of freedom or collective ideologies like nation and state, but for himself, his honor and his property, in revenge, defence or to reflect power and authority.

The inhabitants, of the case of Pashtunabad, are rural-urban migrants. The decision for the spatial movement, from rural areas of the province to the city of Quetta, that this group underwent, was consciously taken by the members of the migrant group. The settlement developed, thereafter, reflects compromises made with the new physical environment, on the inhabitant's part. The urban environment that they encountered, very likely, had an overwhelming effect on the migrant group. Whereby, there is no significant attempt made by the individuals of this group to retain spatial forms that are characteristic of their previous envi-

ronment. It is observed, in the case of Pashtunabad, that the inhabitants have opted to assimilate within their new surroundings.

The nature of migration that the Pathan inhabitants of Pashtunabad underwent reflects decision for movement at an individual level, for the purpose of acquiring economic stability as individual and nuclear families rather than for collective improvement for a group of people. This attitude towards individual improvement, pertinent to the inhabitants of Pashtunabad, is the basis of their spatial movement to the urban environment. Therefore, the assimilation that the Pathans have opted for in developing Pashtunabad (within the fabric of the city and corresponding more with the spatial structure of the city), can be viewed in terms of their recent contact with the urban environment of Quetta, as compared to the Hazara migrants who migrated much earlier than the Pathan migrants.

## Notes

<sup>12</sup> Howell, Sandra. Domestic Privacy: Gender, Culture and Development Issues, p.12

<sup>3</sup> Dupree, Louis. Afghanistan, p.161

<sup>4</sup> Government of Baluchistan. Quetta Development Authority, Mariabad Upgrading Plan: socio-economic survey, 1983

<sup>5</sup> The typology of houses has been based on van der Linden's analysis and categories. *Pukka* is any structure having an RCC roof; *semi-pukka* then refers to structures with walls of bricks or concrete blocks and roof of any other material but RCC; *kucha* houses are those of mud, stone, reed matting, tin sheets, jute, etc. This includes the popular *jhuggi*.

<sup>6</sup> Government of Baluchistan. Quetta Development Authority, Mariabad Upgrading Plan: socio-economic survey, 1983



## CHAPTER FIVE

## OBSERVATIONS

### REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

This concluding chapter is an overall reflective impression on the issues raised in the previous chapters and attempts to tie the loose ends of preceding discussions. It also brings to light the factors influencing domestic built form in the context of migration and ethnicity. Although this thesis does not reach a formal conclusion, the entire product of this document embodies fruitful material and efforts in terms of suggesting a wide range of themes which can be grasped for

further exploration, specially within the context that is dealt with.

The study observes and analyzes distinct variation in responses, of two migrant communities belonging to different ethnic origins, to a similar environment. The analysis suggests that these variations can be attributed to two aspects of the migrant groups in question:

-the nature of migration that the respective groups of migrants underwent. (across international frontiers in the case of the Hazaras, and rural-to-urban in the case of the Pathans.)

-the difference in the ethnic groupings of both communities and thus the distinctiveness in social structure prevailing within each community. (Similarity in characteristics of spatial themes that are reproduced appear throughout the social groupings as repetition, in what is recognized as "ethnicity in space".<sup>1</sup> Each ethnic group has its own identity in spatial themes.)

Ethnicity is an influencing factor in the organization of Quetta's informal settlements and it can be deduced that the social boundaries have been translated to spatial boundaries at the level of informal housing. These social boundaries have created areas in which a minority exists as a majority maintaining sub-cultural identity, and a pattern of life based upon pre-migration social norms and values. The

concentration and segregation of groups in homogeneous clusters did not establish ethnic divisions but perpetuated the natural tendencies of sub-groups, existing in a common place, to create a cultural pluralism in the context of Quetta.<sup>2</sup>

Within poly-ethnic societies behavioral scientists often use an "assimilation perspective" to examine the social position of migrant ethnic groups in relation to the host population.<sup>3</sup> Researchers in this field seek to ascertain the migrant's degree of adjustment to the host society's cultural milieu, as well as the extent of ethnic participation in social institutions dominated by the host. Assimilation is a function of time, according to their point of view:

"In each succeeding generation of migrants - first-generation migrants, second-generation who are native-born, and so forth - more and more of their memberships would adopt the outlook of the host population."<sup>4</sup>

However, during the course of this study my observations of the migrant group in question reflect that assimilation need not be the end point for all migrants. This is true especially if economic power, and ethnic issues are mediating in migrant-host relationships. Migrants who come in contact with new ethnic communities may not move to full assimilation in the host society and can follow more than one path.

It can be argued, here, that during the first phase of migration, the migrants are vulnerable to compromise with the

new environment and the natural tendencies to assimilate are pertuated during this period. Whereas, with the passage of time, the migrants may wish to (or are led to due to ethnic conflict with the local sub-groups) make an effort for retaining their old spatial environment, based on pre-migration social norms and values.

The analysis of the case studies brings to light an interesting aspect in the context of migration, based on the differences in response of the two migrant groups in question. Comparing the quality of of environment, in both the case settlements, it is observed that cultural cohesiveness that the Hazaras have maintained over nearly two generations has had a significant effect in creating a distinct and a better environment. The preference for collective improvement of the community over individual improvement has positively effected the quality of spatial and social environment generated by the Hazaras.

As the thesis has illustrated, there is a correspondence between ethnic groups and spatial domains; and the dynamics of spatial behavior is concerned with maintaining this relationship. It would be difficult to explain the variation in the spatial quality, in moving from one neighborhood to other belonging to the same economic order, unless the spatial environment is perceived to have, and develop, social meaning only when identified with a particular group.

The central structuring relations in any society or sub-groups within a society are, as suggested by Duncan<sup>5</sup>, the

element that produce subsidiary relations. According to this explanation, groups whose central structuring relations are individualistic produce very different attitudes towards display in general and the house in particular, as compared to groups whose central structuring relations are collectivistic. The former see the house as, most importantly, a status symbol critical to one's social and personal identity. The latter see the house as primarily an object for the housing of their everyday activities and goods. These attitudes stem from the rational response of individuals to the general institutional structure within their society. (Duncan, J.)

It is suggested in this study that, although certain types of behaviors and attitudes towards the domestic environment are influenced by structural conditions in a society, social structure does not in itself determine the consciousness of individuals, but that the relationship between consciousness and structure is highly complex.

Although firm conclusions cannot be reached in this study, certain important influencing factors can be extracted. The approaches suggested for the analysis of built form, in this thesis, lends significance to issues which architects tend to overlook, specially in connection with people. The requirements of the user, in the architect-client relationship, are dealt with more in the physical sense rather than perceiving human beings as cultural beings. This study has tried to look into these issues from a cultural perspective and rendered this approach relevant to the study of built form.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This term is also used by Jamal, Khadija in her thesis: *The Present of the Past: persistence of ethnicity in built form*, p. 29

<sup>2</sup> Amin, Tahir: *Rise and fall of ethno-national movements in Pakistan*, p. 71

<sup>3</sup> Park and Burgess, 1921; Warner and Srole, 1945; Handlin, 1959; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Greeley, 1974; Gordon, 1964; 1978.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, Peter and Smith, Susan: *Social interaction and Ethnic Segregation*

<sup>5</sup> Duncan, James: "From a container of women to status symbol: the impact of social structure on the meaning of the house"; in *Housing and Identity*, ed. by Duncan, p. 36-59.

### GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF QUETTA

The geographic character of the region around Quetta, has significantly effected the direction of growth and the development process of the city of Quetta. The general character of this district is mountainous, the mountains being intersected by long, narrow valleys. All valleys exhibit similar features and consist of flat plains of alluvial soil in the center, with slopes or daman composed of pebbles, which are of varying lengths rising on either side to the surrounding mountains.

Three systems of hills meet in the neighborhood of Quetta, giving rise to a very complicated geological structure. There are, firstly, a series of ranges striking approximately north and south, extending from Kalat towards Quetta; secondly, another series with strike varying from north-west to west and west to south-west, converging towards the tall Takatu range north of Quetta, and expanding fan-wise in an eastern direction; and lastly, a third set of ranges striking approximately north-east in the direction of south-west to south, which occupies the north-western part of the district.

This third series of ranges differs both in structure and in composition from the other two ranges. Instead of being made up structurally of comparatively simple synclines and anticlines,<sup>1</sup> like the other two ranges, its rocks exhibit an extreme degree of compression and disturbance of a very uniform character, represented principally by a series of over-thrusts directed towards the south-east and culminating in a great over-thrusts fault following the south-eastern border of the system. This faulted boundary may be observed along the hills bordering the western side of valley of Quetta. This over-thrusts forms part of one of the most extensive structural features on the surface of the earth, being the western continuation of the Great Boundary Fault which follows the southern border of the Himalaya.

Earthquakes are, therefore, not uncommon in this region and have mostly cause damage, and shaped and re-shaped the structure and growth of the city. About the close of the year 1888, frequent shocks of earthquake were felt in Quetta, due to which several buildings collapsed, and many natives had to leave the town. On December 20, 1892, a severe earthquake occurred in the Khojak region, south of Quetta, which was felt over a large area of Baluchistan. Many buildings in Quetta city collapsed and the railway line between Quetta and Chaman was damaged. A fissure in the ground was found to run across the railway line. Captain McMohan discovered, while demarcating the Afghanistan-Baluchistan frontier, that this fissure was part of the well-marked line of depression or indentation in the ground, running some eighteen miles north of Chaman. It is a well defined

broad line of deep indentation, in places as clearly defined as a deep railway cutting. Both due to the presence of water and from its forming a short cut across mountain spurs, the crack is largely used as a thoroughfare<sup>2</sup>

Another severe earthquake was felt in 1900, causing a spring to appear in the valley across Quetta on the slopes of Takatu range. In the summer of the year 1935 another devastating earthquake hit the city of Quetta, dislocating almost 40% of the entire population of the city. For months to follow people who stayed back, instead of migrating to Karachi, took refuge in the camps installed by the British Government in the central park, the Liaqat Park, of the city. Except for minor shocks no major earthquake has ever since occurred in close vicinity of Quetta.

The various mountain systems in Quetta valley consist principally of tall barren ridges separated from one another by high-level plains in which villages and towns are situated wherever sufficient water is available for sustenance. The center of the flat areas in the valley consist to a great extent of fine grained alluvial silt and clay. These fine deposits graduate into coarser accumulations towards the margins of the plains, finally passing into the extensive areas of boulders, characteristic of arid regions, which fringe the rocky ridges and constitute the daman or skirt of the hills. They are the paramount importance to the economy of the district on account of the storage of water within them, which is made available chiefly by artificial underground channels, known as *karez*, and to a smaller extent by artesian wells.

Except at the foothills of Chiltan range, north of Quetta, where there is a good number of pistachio trees, the hills surrounding the Quetta valley have been denuded of their only trees - juniper and pistachio, to supply Quetta with firewood. The valley therefore, for greater part of the year, has an extremely barren appearance.<sup>3</sup>

The climate of the whole district is generally dry and, on the whole, temperate. None of the different parts of the district present any marked variations, but Quetta, owing to its high elevation, is cooler than other areas of the district. The climate of Quetta valley is eminently suited to fruit growing. Throughout the valley, near all villages, are numerous orchards, which are surrounded by high mud walls. In addition to the walls there is usually a belt of mulberry trees planted inside along these walls to protect the apricot, apple, pear, peach, and almond trees from wind.

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Notes

<sup>1</sup> Geological terms expressing the structure of the rock strata in mountain ranges. Synclinal rock structure: inclining upwards on both sides from a median line or axis, as a downward fold of rock structure. Anticlinal rock structure: inclining downwards on both sides from a median line or axis as a fold of rock strata.

<sup>2</sup> Government of Pakistan. Baluchistan through the ages: section from Government Record, vol. 1, p. 33

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30



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