

The Sense of Belonging and Otherness: A Study of Pakhtoon Diaspora in Kashmir

Dr. Farah Qayoom

MA, Gold Medalist, JRF, PhD in Sociology

Assistant Professor Department of Sociology

University of Kashmir, Srinagar -190006, Jammu and Kashmir, India.

Abstract

As argued by Bhat (2017) social relations are like liquid and with external stimulus and environment liquids spill, evaporate, freeze, change their form and shape, Pakhtoons of Afghanistan and North Western Frontiers of Pakistan with external stimulus and environment spilled to different corners of the globe. The conflict in their home land forced them to spill far and wide and a large portion dispersed in the Indian subcontinent. The state of Jammu and Kashmir has been one of the passages for this community due to many socio-economic factors. They dispersed in the state from North Western Frontier Provinces about 150 years ago and settled in the upper reaches of the Valley of Kashmir mainly in four districts i.e. Ganderbal, Anantnag, Baramulla and Kupwara.

The community constitutes an important ethnic group of the state. However, they have been “untouchables of academia” as there is hardly any academic exploration on the community, even historical accounts on Kashmir are partially silent as to why and when they came and settled in Kashmir?

The present study by using the tool of oral history aims to know the factors responsible for their spill in the valley of Kashmir. By employing participant observation method, the intention was not only uncovering the socio-cultural of the community but also to reveal their sense of belonging and otherness. It came to fore that the community at the same time has the complex and dynamic sense of belonging and otherness. This study highlights the various aspects of their diasporic consciousness like their contradictions and complexities of belonging to Kashmir, their fierce clinging to the tenants of the Pashtunwali (traditional and typical Pakhtoon code of life). The common phenomenon the “*Myth of Return*” as found in diasporic communities across the globe has been found in the group.

Index Terms: Pakhtoon, Kashmir, Identity, Ethnic Group, Belonging, Otherness, Diaspora, Myth of Return

Introduction:

Afghan diaspora is spilled across the globe they are even found in United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman and Europe (Christophe,2002). . The majority of the Pakhtoon population, also known as Pashtun, Pukhtoon, Afghan and Pathan, occupies what is commonly referred to as, the “Pashtun Belt”. This is a region which transcends the British delineated Pakistan-Afghanistan border, commonly known as the Durand Line. The ethnic Pashtun population of the region has largely remained the same over time. Many Pakistani Pashtuns claim that they are one of the largest ethnic groups in the world without a homeland

Much of the history and customs of the Pakhtoon society has been passed down through oral narratives and allegories rather than through written text. As a result, pre-modern Pakhtoon history is often the work of foreign transcription and has been relatively vague. As such, there is still much uncertainty as to the precise history of the *Pashtun* people (“*Understanding of the Pashtun*”, n.d.:4).

Pashtuns are Muslims who follow Sunni Islam according to the *Hanafi* School of law. Tribal beliefs and behaviors, codified in *Pashtunwali*, predate Islam in Afghanistan and Pakistan and have been in existence for centuries (Johnson & Mason, 2007: 43). Customary law, as represented by *Pashtunwali* and *Hanafi*

jurisprudence coexist, but historically when there is a conflict between the two; *Pashtunwali* takes precedence. Traditionally, tribal mullahs and clerics were subordinate to tribal leaders. They provided religious guidance to the community but their role at community meetings and *Jirgas*¹ was simply to open and close the meetings with prayers.

Pakhtoons have been historically displaced from their homes in Afghanistan because of a series of factors ranging from economic to socio-political. They have moved far, all over the Indian subcontinent. In India they are mainly found in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bihar, Utter Pradesh, Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir (Haleem 2007).

The Pakhtoons came to Kashmir from North Western Frontier Provinces in Pakistan because of inter-tribal feuds. Some also came here during the Afghan rule, while others came as traders and never went back. In the valley of Kashmir they are mainly settled in two districts i.e., Anantnag and Ganderbal. The fieldwork for this paper was mainly conducted in Gutli Bagh area of Ganderbal District commonly called as ‘Little Swat of Kashmir’. Qayoom, (2018) maintains besides socio economic factors Kashmiriyat² was important factor to attract the community towards Kashmir.

The Pakhtoons living in Kashmir form a diasporic group who cling to the tenants of *Pashtunwali* or the Pashtun way of life. Having lived in Kashmir for more than a century now, these people maintain a distinct socio-cultural identity. They maintain boundary from the Kashmiri society and are oriented towards the happenings of their homeland like a typical diasporic group. Yet they are caught between two worlds i.e., “here” and “there”. The present paper tries to analyse their diasporic existence with the help of an ethnographic approach.

Scope and Significance:

Diaspora has been always the area of interest for academic world and many researches across the globe have been carried out in the field. However, certain diasporic groups could not get attention of the academic world and have remained “untouchables of academia” Pashtoon diaspora is one such example. Qayoom and Bhat (2018) maintained that Pakhtoons in Kashmir have not only been ignored by policy makers but have not even been recognized as an ethnic group by the government. The identity of the community has been undermined by enumerating them with local community in census 2011 and clubbing them with local population.

The study is aimed to treat and recognize the Pakhtoons as separate community and exploring as zone which according to Alferd Schutz is “zone of taken for granted” (cited from Bhat,2017). It is an attempt to fill the research gap and add to the domain of knowledge. It brings forth the socio-cultural identity of an ethnic group living in Kashmir since more than 150 years. The work shall add to the domain of diasporic studies and sociology.

Research Methodology

The work is qualitative in nature. As the work was carried out in a traditional society which has different kinds of notions and attachments with strangers before carrying out the study the local contacts from the community who have been working different government departments and educational institutions were explored. The contacts introduced the research in community and removed apprehensions of the people about researcher, but still there were certain problems which researcher confronted in the community, However, with the passage of time the people started to accept the researcher and was often invited to home for tea, lunch dinner which helped a to build rapport.

¹ A council of elders employed to settle disputes

² Kashmiriyat (Kashmiriness) is the ethno-national and social consciousness and cultural values of the Kashmiri people for which they are globally known. It is an art of giving, and suffering for the sake of other.

To take the research to logical conclusion both primary and secondary sources of data were explored. The researcher used participation observation method to collect data, due care was taken that bias; subjectivity shall not hinder and influence the researcher and research work.

Complexities of Belonging

The Pakhtoons have a strong sense of being marginalized by the Kashmiri society as well as by the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The former, they assert, tags them with *Gujjars*³ who they (Pakhtoons) consider to be an inferior race. They assert that their being Pathans is ignored by the Kashmiri people.

“We can understand the Kashmiri Language. In so many interactions, in our presence the locals call us Gujjars. We are not Gujjars. We do not belong to that race. We are Pathans. Our ethnicity is underestimated by them”, says Ajmal Khan a Pakhtoon boy from Gutli Bagh.

They assert that the state of Jammu and Kashmir has marginalized them as they have not been given the status of a Scheduled tribe, though the elders of the community have been fighting for the same for decades. The state, they contend, does not even recognize them as a distinct ethnic group and has, therefore, taken no initiative to preserve their language or to impart Pashtu as a medium of instructions. An important fact to be highlighted here is that although the Pakhtoons assert that they speak pure Pashtu than their counterparts in North Western Frontier Province from where they came here, but they do not know how to write or read in it. This lack of initiative by the government to preserve the Pashtu script as well as the Pashtu culture is an important cause of their alienation.

“Till 1965, we were given the status of the Scheduled Tribe by the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Afterwards, this was dropped by the Mandal Commission. Our children cannot get government jobs due to the lack of reservation. The state has been unjust to us”, says Dost Mohammad, a retired government officer from Chakk Isher Dass, Anantnag.

Radio Kashmir Srinagar has a Pashtu program which is broadcast every Wednesday.

“Radio Kashmir had a programme on Pashtu culture and language from 1948 to 1965. The news on Radio Kashmir in that period was only broadcast in Urdu and Pashtu. Afterwards, we were neglected by all”, says Bashir Ahmed Khan from Chakk Isher Dass, Anantnag who works as a government teacher.

Another reason for their non-identification with the Kashmir society is the strong belief that because of their distinct physical appearance, their language and culture, the natives of Kashmir continue to identify them as “other race”.

This fact goes in light and was found to be in line with the findings of various scholars like Barnes (2001:410) Kumar Beheri (1999:76) etc. who maintain that the experiences of social exclusion from the mainstream society is likely to cause ethnic revitalization and a withdrawal of social and emotional commitment of the diasporic group to the host society.

Though the Pakhtoons have got the formal citizenship but when it comes to substantial citizenship i.e., equal participation in society, many loopholes can be seen⁴.

Despite the fact that their citizenship confers them the voting rights at par with all other inhabitants (called state subjects), they are not represented in the state legislature by any of the members belonging to their community. Haji Mir Alam, a renowned Pakhtoon scholar was the member of the Legislative Council of the state way back in 1980's. Since then, there has been no representation of the Pakhtoons, either in the legislative assembly or the legislative council in J&K's bi-cameral legislature.

³ The Gujjar are a pastoral community that used to be nomadic but many now live in settled communities. The word Gujjar is derived from the term *gaucharana*, meaning to graze cows.

⁴ Castles and Davidson have suggested a difference between formal and substantial citizenship. Formal citizenship is acquired by naturalization. Substantial citizenship includes „equal chances of participating in various areas of society such as politics, work, welfare and cultural relations

Only a handful of Pakhtoons have reached higher positions in the state administration. Gutli Bagh has only two gazetted officers in the population of more than 15000 approximately. Most of the Pakhtoons, who are employed as government employees, have been recruited in police service as constables.

An important feature of the socialization of the young Pakhtoons is the fact that their elders as well as their parents continuously drum in their ears that they are “Pathans” and are expected to behave as such and maintain their identity.

The young Pakhtoons³⁰ particularly the boys, unlike their elders, have access to two different cultures. While this is described to have both positive and negative effects, the fact goes without saying that this exposure to two worlds makes the young members of the community struggle to build an identity that allows them to navigate between the two cultures. They adopt traits of both and switch as the context demands.

“Sometimes we feel confused. Our elders tell us things which are not in tandem with the changes occurring in the society. We learn different things from the internet as well as with interaction with our Kashmiri friends. Some traits of the Kashmiri culture appear appealing to us. Like marrying at a relatively older age, but who can question the elders”, says Shamshad Ahmed who has done his masters in political science.

Most of the young Pakhtoon boys have access to internet and have accounts on various social networking websites like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc. They use their phones to download Pashtu videos and songs as well as Pakhtoon recipes. They feel different from the older generation of the Pakhtoons as well as their peers from the Kashmiri society.

“We have come to know of who we are largely by receiving information about ourselves from the mass media like internet, books etc. we have got a concrete idea about our history through the sources of knowledge which were not available to our forefathers. They were living in a blind age having no idea about who they are except the one passed to them as stories. The Pashtu music is a symbol of our identity. It is a part of who we are. We love it as we love our homeland”, says Ahmed Kamaal, a young Pakhtoon boy from Gutli Bagh who studies engineering.

The elder generation of the Pakhtoons finds comfort in asserting a pure Pakhtoon identity and insists on the difference between them and the Kashmiri people. Though both belong to the same religious faith, yet they believe that “*Namus*”⁵ is not practiced amongst the Kashmiris as they and that not only do they practice Islam in a proper way, they also ensure that the basic codes of everyday life are in tandem with the guidelines of the Holy Quran.

“Sorry to say (pointing to the fact that I am a Kashmiri), the Kashmiris in many ways lack Purdah. They allow their women to move out freely without Purdah or a Mahram which is not good for the family and is also against Islam. A Pakhtoon cannot tolerate this”, says Fazal Rahman Khan, a Pakhtoon residing in Gutli Bagh.

Afghanistan in a symbolical sense⁶ can be called home of the Pakhtoons as it offers a sense of belonging and identity-due to ancestry with its emphasis on blood and roots. In a practical and geographical sense, Afghanistan can't be called home as present day Afghanistan does not offer safety, economic security and education.

Lived experience, is a very important aspect of „home“. Amongst the Pakhtoons, the idea of how life was in their homeland has been transmitted by word of mouth from their forefathers to the subsequent generations.

⁵ *Namus* is an Arabic word which signifies virtue, however, it is popularly used in a gender specific context of relations within a family, usually described in terms of respect, and modesty. *Namus* is a norm through which Pashtuns defend their honour

⁶ Braakman (2005) speaks of two kinds of home “A Symbolic Home” that offers a metaphysical space of belonging and identity and “A Practical Home” as a lived space where life courses are fulfilled.

Along with the place of residence, for Kashmir to be called home, the Pakhtoons need to be accepted by the Kashmir Society as per their definition of inclusion. The notion of belonging is intricately related to social relations namely

In tandem with Brah's (1996) observations that it is quite possible for the members of a diaspora to feel at home in a place and yet the experience of social exclusion may inhibit public proclamations of the place as home, in the sense of calling it as "one's own". For the Pakhtoons, though Kashmir has become the centre of everyday life, but they still resist calling themselves „Kashmiri“.

Facets of life such as language, dress, religion that had rather been unreflected aspects of everyday life have become conscious values as symbols and markers of a Pakhtoon identity.

This very identification of Pakhtoons with a distant homeland (with an implicit „where we are from“) is often at the same time as Ang (2003: 3) in her study argues a sign of marginalization of the community at the place where it is presently at.

Pakhtoons have been granted the permanent state subject (residency rights) in Jammu and Kashmir state way back in 1950's, but most of them have a strong sense of being different and sometimes marginalized as „others“ by the state of J&K.

It is in such a sense of marginalization and hybridity that identifying with a "Watan"⁷ functions as an instrument to create a feeling of belonging and unambiguous identity.

"We do have a sense of belonging to Kashmir (India), but not totally. We live in between our homeland and Kashmir. We sometimes feel we belong to both, but in totality we belong to none", says Wadood Khan (80), from Gutli Bagh.

This concept was noticed to be more among the elders.

This fact goes in tandem with Barouh's (1999:45-64) assertion that it is a common assumption that young people have a deeper cultural flexibility whereas older people who have spent years in a particular socio-cultural system are less open to novel cultural elements.

The older Pakhtoons have a clear understanding of their homeland and in a way they have accepted that they are living away from the homeland. This was further added to by the fact that Pakhtoons on their arrival in the valley had settled in geographically isolated and inaccessible places. This followed by lack of information regarding their homeland again added to what Unger (1986) calls "Mono-Cultural Socialization". But the younger generation that has more pronounced access to knowledge and events regarding their homeland, is in a way living in a transitional existence. This access to knowledge about the homeland has added to the understanding and their realization that they are growing up in two cultures. This makes them more prone to struggle with identity issues and with the question of what home means to them. The causes for the generation of considerable heterogeneity in the notion of home and belonging can be many and varied. Amongst the Pakhtoons, age, gender, experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the Kashmir society, religion, socio-economic status (primarily occupation) can be listed in this regard.

The Myth of Return

In the classical understanding of displacement, it is believed that it strips the people of their identity and such people can regain it by returning "home" or assimilating into the host society and thus acquiring a new home. Traditionally, it was presumed that members of a diaspora forever belong to the home country as was evident in the writings of Safran (1991, 2011). It is now that the anthropologists realize that sense of home and belonging in reality hardly shift to one side. Infact it is now seen that an individual's sense of belonging

⁷ Watan in Pashtu means one's Homeland

to home is located on different positions along the continuum between the two extreme poles of homeland and hostland. Recent scholastic research has challenged the idea of return and points out that myth of return is not universal among the diasporic communities. Diaspora might not be about a longing for another space, but about an attempt to be a part of the host country at one's own terms as Clifford (1994), Gilroy (1993) and others have suggested. The mere existence of emotive discourses on the place of origin does not necessarily imply a wish to return there. Such discourses might primarily serve the purpose of creating a space within another country in which one can feel at home. An important argument is made by Brah (1996:189). She asserts that it should be realized that although a homing desire is probably shared by all migrants, this is not the same as a longing for homeland or an ideology of return. She highlights a distinction between feeling at home and calling a place as home.

Zetter (1999: 6) distinguishes between a "belief in return" and "a hope of return". In the first approach, refugees or migrants have a firm often pathological belief that they will return to their place of origin and restore the past. Such a mythological past overwhelms their present and rejects transition thus acts as an inhibition in building a life in the host society. The "hope of return", on the other hand, enables a simultaneous existence of a wish to return and a development of strategies to integrate and build a future in the host society.

There is a lot of variation among the Pakhtoons in the attitude of return. When it comes to longing of return, the older generation has a different attitude than the younger one. While discussing the idea of return to their homeland the researcher was given mixed replies.

A few of the older Pakhtoons who have perhaps idealized the notion of homeland passed down to them from their forefathers wanted to return to their homeland. Many others admitted that they do not want to face further displacement.

Thus there are three important facets which need to be highlighted when it comes to Return of the Pakhtoons to their homeland:-

First of all the idea of return must be seen in light of the conditions which led to migration of the Pakhtoons out of their homeland. Since most of them came here because of inter tribal feuds, hostility etc. so more or less the migration has been involuntary or forced. The experiences that made them flee from their homeland are still kept alive in the imagination of the subsequent generations by the elder ones. Thus for those who were forced out, the idea of return does not exist.

While some in the old generation still have the nostalgia of "how it was there" lingering in their imagination. Some of them want to visit their kins in North Western Frontier Provinces. Some want to be buried there.

While conducting the pilot study for this research, I met a Pakhtoon called Juma Khan, who claimed to be more than a hundred years old. A few days before his death, I interviewed him and he asserted,

"I want to feel the air of my homeland. If not till now, I pray I go there to die so that my body is buried in the bosom of my motherland".

The young generation also entertains a mixed feeling towards return. They are aware of the happenings in their homeland. Some of them want to see where they came from. Though they don't want to settle there.

Dr. Akbar Madhakhail, one of the key informants of this study who visited Pakistan during the course of my field study shares his experience as under:

"I went to Allayi to meet my relatives. On reaching and having the first glimpse of the place, I felt connected with it. As I breathed the air, I felt my lungs being filled with happiness. I immediately connected with the soil and the people. This is what your Watan does to you."

While being asked about the return to that place, he admits,

“I was born in Kashmir. My children were born here. Studied here. Most of my kins are here. I work here. I do not want to go back. Moreover, seeing the state of affairs that Pakistan is in, I do not think any wise man would want to go back. But all of us would agree that we do have a deep sense of belonging to our Watan”.

A very significant aspect of the research on belonging of the Pakhtoons to their homeland came to the forefront when the researcher interviewed Pukhtanah, a centenarian Pakhtoon woman living in Gutli Bagh. As already elucidated in the chapter on oral narratives, Pukhtanah was married to her cousin living in Kashmir and she is a rare Pakhtoon woman having firsthand experience of migrating from Pakistan before partition.

While asked about return to Pakistan, she says,

“After partition, my happiness left me. I have long to visit my father's home and meet my sisters and brothers and their children in Waziristan. My knees are shaking, but still they have the strength to carry me if someone could facilitate my journey. Since I do not have a passport, my children spoke to my relatives in Pakistan on phone somehow and arranged that my younger sisters should come to the Kishenganga River⁸ so that we could have a glimpse of each other. The roar of the River was too strong to carry our words across. All of us broke down weeping and wailing on the two banks of the River.”

Clinging to Roots: Some Insights

There can be different reasons why a group of displaced people clings to roots. Though, postmodern anthropology primarily focuses on hybrid identities and multiple belongings.

Geishiere and Meyer (1998: 601-615) argue that people's awareness of being involved in open-ended global flows seems to trigger a search for fixed orientation points and action frames as well as determined efforts to affirm old and construct new boundaries. According to them “it looks as if in a world characterized by flows, a great deal of energy is devoted to controlling and freezing them; grasping the flux often actually entails a politics of fixing- a politics which is above all, operative in struggles about the construction of identities.

This observation can be confirmed from the fact that the young generation of the Pakhtoons who have access to the internet find themselves clinging more to the Pakhtoon culture but at the same time exposure to new sources of knowledge makes them challenge some facets of their own culture. Thus, one finds an inherent struggle apparent amongst them to fix and construct their identities which can more appropriately be described as Hybrid with a dominance of the original culture.

Hainer and Baxter (1998:9) add to the above point and assert that although some migrants may embrace these changes with enthusiasm, for most the fluidity in identity and hence the uprooting from cultural markers are experienced as disconcerting and often traumatic. In response, migrants often long for and pursue reestablishment of boundaries and the inclusion of stability and permanence that accompanies them. The frequent search for identity-for homeland and a reconstructed national consciousness speaks to displaced people's quest for order in the face of imposed disorder. It is this longing for continuity and stability in a fragmented world which is experienced through the discourse of “roots”, “where we came from” or “who we really are?”

Thus an attempt to create and construct what is familiar is an important psychological response to coping with the feelings of loss prevalent in a dispersed population. This fact is substantiated by the experience of

⁸ This river forms the line of control (LoC) between Indian and Pakistan occupied parts of Kashmir

many scholars and academicians from Afghanistan who visited Gutli Bagh and later admitted to the researcher that for a moment they thought they were in Afghanistan.

Hobsbawn (2000) argues when social patterns are undermined or destroyed, the impulse to invent traditions increases, in order to attempt to symbolically establish continuity with a suitable historical part.

The Pakhtoons too have taken exposure to the Kashmiri culture in a way which has made them symbolically establish continuity of culture with an overdose of history in many respects.

Rushdie (1992: 9-10) adds to the point by saying that migrants cannot claim precisely the thing they lost, but they might create fictitious, imaginations of homeland.

Graham and Khosravi (1997: 127-128) assert that creating a home in exile can be experienced by some as reconstructing a culture that is truer to the original than the culture that now dominates in the homeland itself. Thus, re-emphasizing the fact that Gutli Bagh is also called as Little Swat of Kashmir.⁹

Similarly a recreation of the homeland culture can be taken as an endeavor to construct a meaningful identity in a new construct. The Pakhtoons believe that they lose their basic identity if they merge with the local culture. So preservation of their Pakhtoon culture is a necessity if not anything else.

“The Kashmiris have their own Rivaaj (Culture). We have our own. We can only be known as Pathans when we follow our Rivaaj. Those who lose their Rivaaj lose their Pathan identity. What will our children become if they lose their culture. They will not be recognized anywhere”, says Haji Nasrullah Khan from Madhhama district Anantnag.

Conclusion:

The tension among the young members of the family to fit in two worlds: one of their own Pakhtoon culture and the other dominated by the Kashmiri culture is apparent. This tension in a way raises tantalizing negotiations of identity and belonging amongst them.

For the Kashmir Pakhtoons, loyalty to roots and staying a “*Pathan*” is both an individual choice as well as a social pressure. The very important means ensuring this loyalty is the threat of “*Ghaiybat*” i.e. gossip and slander.

No Pakhtoon admits that they can bear to be ostracized by their family and community. They believe that they can never belong to a Non-Pakhtoon (Kashmiri) society. Next to their preoccupation with preserving a distinct socio-cultural identity, most of them believe that even if they try their utmost to assimilate into Kashmiri culture, they will always be perceived and treated as “others” by them.

Negotiating the sense of home and belonging, the Pakhtoons are found to have taken two kinds of journeys. First the physical one, across the national borders, from their homeland to Kashmir and the second involving a journey passing through the paradigms of their identity, history, culture, ancestry and belonging.

All Pakhtoons agree that there is a need to preserve, at least, a part of their authentic roots which have to be safeguarded by a behavior which is proper and has a resemblance to “*where we came from*”. For the generation of Pakhtoons living in Kashmir the determinants of the proper Pashtun behavior have been handed down as stories from their forefathers, as most of them have no direct experience of having lived in their homeland (*Watan*).

The young Pakhtoons who were born here in Kashmir seem to have a clear idea of what has to be preserved. Being a “*Pathan*” and behaving as such is connected to the values of *Pashtunwali*¹⁰ - like family closeness, loyalty and respect for the elderly.

None of the Pakhtoons denied that living in another society and facing new circumstances necessarily involves change and adaptation, changes in mentality, culture and lifestyle: both conscious and unconscious,

⁹ For further on this <https://www.telegraphindia.com/1140501/jsp/nation/story_18297774.jsp#.WFvhXFN97IU>

¹⁰ Pashtunwali is the customary law of the Pakhtoon Society

both wanted and unwanted. Yet they maintain that the changes so adapted should not change their basic characteristics which define their identity.

They maintain a deep sense of belonging to their *Watan*. They at the same time are caught up in a continuous flux to fix their identity and situate themselves between two cultures that of the place they came from and the place they have settled in.

The Pakhtoons have varied response to the “*Myth of Return*”, while some in the older generation did admit that they wanted to return to their homeland, yet the idea was found to be more because of a nostalgic representation of the homeland and the subsequent feeling of „what was lost’. For those Pakhtoons who had a shuddering recollection of the conditions of departure from their homeland (mostly passed down by a word of mouth by elders) like family feuds, revenge by relatives, extreme poverty etc. the myth of return was found to have no significance. The young generation of Pakhtoons was found to possess a hope of seeing “how it was” in their homeland, yet they had no plans to settle there permanently.

References

- Ang, I.(2003) ‘Together-in-difference: Beyond Diaspora, into Hybridity’, *Asian Studies Review*, 27(2): 141-154.
- Braakman, M. (2005). *Roots and Routes: Questions of Home, Belonging and Return in an Afghan Diaspora*. Leiden University.
- Bhat, Fayaz. A. (2017). *Redefining Sociology*. Germany. Lambert
- Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. New York: Routledge.
- Barnes, D. (2001). *Resettled Refugees Attachment to their Original and Subsequent Homelands: Long-Term Vietnamese Refugees in Australia,*” in: *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 14 (4). 394-411
- Braziel, J. E., and Mannur, A. (2008). *Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Contention in Diaspora Studies*. *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader* (Ed). Blackwell Publishing. pp.1
- Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. (1994). *Diasporas*. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3),. 302-338.
- Cohen, R. (2008). *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London: Routledge
- Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London and New York: Verso.
- Graham, M. & Khosravi, S. (1997). *Home is Where You Make It: Repatriation and Diaspora Culture among Iranians in Sweden*, *Journal of Refugee Studies* ,10(2), 115-133
- Haines, David W. and Diane Baxter (1998) “*Anthropology and Contemporary Migration,*” in: *General Anthropology* 5(1): 8- 11.
- Hobsbawn, E. & Ranger T. (Ed). (2000). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe (2002). *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation?* London. Zed Books
- Johnson, T, H., & M, Chris, Mason. (2007). *No sign until the burst of fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier*. Naval Postgraduate School. Monterey, CA.
- Kumar B. D. (1999). *Ethnic Identity and the Adjustment Pattern of British-Born Sikh Children in the United Kingdom*. In Shalva Weil (Ed.), *Roots and Routes. Ethnicity and Migration in Global Perspective*, (p. 65-84). Jerusalem: The Magnes Press
- Levy, A., & Weingrod, A. (2005). *On Homelands and Diasporas: An Introduction*. In: A. Levy and A. Weingrod (eds.), *Homelands and Diasporas. Holy Lands and Other Places*. (pp. 5). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Qayoom, F. (2012). Sociological profile of the Pakhtoons of Kashmir: A case Study of Ganderbal. *Journal of Society in Kashmir*, 2, 67-72 (ISSN No. 2249667X)
- Qayoom, Farah. (2015). Home away from Home. *Regional Studies*. Centre for Regional Studies Afghanistan. University of Kabul.No 36. Pp, 1-12
- Qayoom, Farah. 2017. Socio – Cultural Identity and Diaspora: A Study of the Pakhtoons in Kashmir. PhD (Dissertation) Department of Sociology. University of Kashmir. Srinagar (ISSN No. 2249667X)
- Qayoom, Farah (2018) Pakhtoons at Cross Roads: A Case Study Pakhtoons in Kashmir. *Asian Resonance*. October 2018. Vol. 2 pp 147-57
- Qayoom, Farah . Bhat, Fayaz (2018) Sociological Profile of Pakhtoon Communityin Kashmir. *Periodic Review*.November 2018. Vol. 5. Issue 4. pp122-130
- Rushdie, S. (1992). *Imaginary Homelands; Essays and Criticisms*. Cambridge: Granta Books.
- Safran, W. (1991). *Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of Homeland and Return*. *Diaspora*, 1, pp. 83-99.
- Safran, W., Sahoo, A. K., & Lal, B. V., (Eds). (2011) *Transnational Migrations: The Indian Diaspora*. Pp. x-xiii India: Routledge.
- Simon-Barouh, Ida (1999) “Immigration and Age at Arrival: Integration and Cultural Transmission among Cambodian Refugees in France,” in: Shalva Weil [ed] *Roots and Routes. Ethnicity and Migration in Global Perspective*, pp. 45- 64. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press.
- Unger, L. (1986). *Second Generation and Return: Return to Home or Abroad: An empirical Study on the Remigration of Greek Youth*. Bielefeld Studies on Development Sociology.
- Zetter, R. (1999). *Reconceptualizing the Myth of Return: Continuity and Transition amongst the Greek-Cypriot Refugees of 1974*. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12 (1), 1-15.
- -----, *Going Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan: Towards a Better Understanding of the Pashtun: Outreach Strategies*. LLC. URL: <http://www.slideshare.net/outreachstrategists/going-forward-in-afghanistan- and-pakistan-towards-a-better-understanding-of-the-pashtun>