

It will take Time for Time to Change: A Temporal Documentary of Change in Sarwar Aali

by Muhammad Aurang Zeb Mughal

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A B S T R A C T

Time concepts in a given culture are the reflection of social order maintained by that culture and it is very difficult for a culture to adapt a new conceptualization of time that opposes its social order. Change is an inevitable phenomenon and is part of the culture dynamics. A community accepts the change in socio-cultural sphere only if it is provided with a great incentive. Studying temporal organization of a culture not only provides knowledge about the socio-cultural scenario but also indicates the nature, direction and strength of change taking place in that culture because time provides ground for change to take place. The current study aims to analyze the time concepts in a Pakistani village Sarwar Aali with reference to its social order and tries to explain how time and change are interconnected in the socioeconomic set up of the community.

A R T I C L E I N F O

Keywords

Perception of Time, Time Allocation, Change, Sarwar Aali, Social Organization

How to refer to this article

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Introduction

All cultures reckon time as a physical and social reality. Anthropologists have been engaged studying time since the initial ethnographic studies (for instance, Evans-Pritchard 1940). Time-reckoning is an important aspect of social order and gives a complete picture of attitude, behavior and worldview because each activity takes place in time and the motivation behind the activity shapes particular ideas about time. Time is considered to be an abstract concept and studying time is an intricate job especially while studying the time of “others” (Fabian 1983:21-33). Anthropologists, like other scientists, are taking interest to study the time concepts of different communities and have presented their own views about the nature of time as well, for instance, Leach’s (1961) pendulum view of time as ‘successions of alterations and full stops’ is among the famous ones.

Change is an inevitable phenomenon. Social change refers to the change in actual patterned behavior and cultural change refers to the change in culturally meaningful symbols produced by human activities (Moore 1968:366). Change takes place in religious, economic, political and other spheres of human activity by spontaneous process of evolution or through some external agents (Williams 1990:344-376). In either case, social system is confronted with certain alternatives and the acceptance or rejection, partially if not fully, depends upon the culture itself.

According to Eickelman (1977) societies can be categorized into two types; 'close and open' where 'close societies' have less developed awareness and 'open societies' have comparatively developed awareness of alternatives to the established ideologies. 'Close societies' reject the new order because these societies assume change as threat to the nature of prevailing relationships, which provide security for individuals to survive. Open societies may change their social organization of time fully or partially.

Barth (1967: 661-662) suggests that change can be assessed for its speed and strength through new time trends and allocation of time for different activities. In current study, time allocation for various activities can be compared to find out the preferred activities and historical change in the social organization of time. To study the relationship between time and change it is important to know the indigenous time concepts in a culture undergoing change and then to find out the new temporal organization of the community finding its adoptability with change. I have tried to analyze the difference in modern and traditional time concepts as part of the process of urbanization and changing economic patterns because the indigenous time concepts of a society are recognized as 'old' even by the society undergoing change itself.

Sarwar Aali is a small village ten kilometers away from the city of Dera Ghazi Khan in central Pakistan. It is the area where traditional and modern ways of living could be observed together or at least people are aware of both the ways due to its location on main highway giving it easy access to the urban center, availability of modern facilities, and some other socio-economic reasons. The native language of Sarwar Aali is Siraiki and all the population residing in the village is Muslim having different social and economic classes as well. In the past, it was almost an agrarian community but now there is an obvious occupational change due to urbanization. It has rural and agrarian past with a great reservoir of indigenous cultural traits along side the changing behavioral patterns of present. I am using some underline

or strikethrough conventions for some letters in the text to demonstrate the local terms keeping in view the idea of emic approach. These letters are b, d, d, g, j, and t. Here, b sounds like b by stretching the lips horizontally, sound of d is produced by pushing the tongue against the palate forward to d and moving the tongue inward behind, and same is the case with g, j and t against g, j, and t. Sound of d is produced by pushing the palate by tongue even forward to d.

Methodology

The field work was carried out from July 2005 to January 2006 in Sarwar Aali. Four strata were sorted out on the basis of age, gender, education, and occupation from the target population of approximately 205 persons after analyzing information from the socioeconomic census conducted in all 32 households of the village. A random sample of 60 persons was selected for interviews in which 15 persons were selected for interviews from each stratum and 4 persons were selected for life history study using judgment sampling.

Questionnaires or key informants were the sources of information where direct meeting was not possible especially in case of women respondents. Stratified random sample of 3 strata one of men, second of women and third of children (with mix of both genders), each of which consisted of 15 individuals, was drawn for spot checks to document the time allocation for different activities. Men's stratum was then further divided into 3 sub-strata based upon occupations. First stratum consisted of cultivators, second of the men doing business or jobs, and the third stratum consisted of those working as labor.

Time and Social Order

There are local terms for different temporal expressions in Sarwar Aali. These terms provide information about the beliefs and notions associated with time. Daur, Zamana, and Wakht (derived from Urdu's word Waqt) are the terms used to express the general sense of 'time' over long period ranging from thirty to fifty years or even spread over centuries having no measurable demarcation. Old people also use these terms to compare the time of their childhood or young age with old age (for instance, saday daur wich een kadaheen na theenda hayee; such never used to be happened in our age). The term Waila is used to express a short period of time like some part of day especially through informal time markers. Notions like 'some time' or 'few minutes' are very close to the local term Lahza. Tam, the local form of English word 'time', has its sense derived from clock timing.

Stages of life	Age in years (approx.)	Local Terms	
		For Boy	For Girl
Baby	1-5	<i>Nikka or Bulu Baal</i>	<i>Nikki Baal</i>
Child	6-12	<i>Putr-Ḍa Baal</i>	<i>Ḍhi Ḍa Baal</i>
Adolescent	13-20	<i>Chowar</i>	<i>Choyer</i>
Adult	21-40	<i>Juan or Neengir</i>	<i>Tremiḡ or neengir</i>
Middle-aged	41-50	<i>Pakka Sun</i>	<i>Pakka Sun</i>
Old	51-80	<i>Buddha</i>	<i>Buddhi</i>

Table 1: Life Span.

Beliefs about origin and end of the universe are important to understand the arrow of time from community's perspective (Ohnuki-Tierney 1969:489). People in Sarwar Aali do not make any calculation in centuries or millennia about the time of creation and end of the universe. They believe that all living are mortal and this order of the universe will be finished on the Day of Judgment. A second life begins after the death where individuals are asked about their deeds performed in this world. Therefore, each moment is taking either towards heaven or hell.

The concept of past, present and future not only indicate about linear, cyclical, reversible or irreversible notions of time but also our attitude towards our origin and destiny (Adam 1994:510-511). Studying these concepts provides us the world view of a community. Past has two expressions in Sarwar Aali; first is the non-specified period related to the concept of Daur or Zamana and second is the specified time measurable in recognized units. The term Agla is used as a prefix with such terms to convey the temporal expressions of 'passed time', for instance, agla daur, and agla zamana. Par and Paraar are used for the last year and year before the last year respectively. Similarly, Kal is used for yesterday, Parsoon is used for the day before yesterday and Tarsoon is used for 'the day before the day before yesterday'. Elder generations recall the past as good and pure age due to morality, honesty, simplicity and contentment in contrast to immorality, dishonesty, show-off and discontentment of the present times.

The concept of present is associated with the livelihood and involves the notions of struggle for earning and maintaining prestige. It is one of the several reasons that young people start working in the fields and get married at an early age. Future is something for which someone has to struggle no matter the reward is contingent upon fate. Therefore, lazy people are highly criticized. Kal or Sabhaeen and Parsoon are used for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow respectively. The term Tarsoon is used to express 'the day after the day after tomorrow'.

Creating the context of time as good or bad in terms of its consequences is based upon the experience of past and anticipation about future with certain socio-historical, economic and political context (Adam 1994: 509-510). In Sarwar Aali, these consequences are twofold. Firstly, from the economic or worldly perspective, for instance, profit for cultivators in terms of the agricultural production will label the season as good or bad. Secondly, consequences are in terms of reward or punishment in life after death due to the deeds performed in this life.

Therefore, people lived a 'good time' in the past because they performed good deeds. In either sense, time is contextualized in terms of its consequence.

There are some taboos associated with some times. It is forbidden for an adult to eat publicly during the fasting in the month of Ramzan. An adult is supposed neither to touch sacred things like Qura'n and mosque nor to say prayer if he or she has not taken bath after masturbation or intercourse because both these things make the individual as impure. A woman is impure during her menstruation period and she is not supposed to intercourse with her husband during these days. Nighttime is considered as demon's time in most of the so-called traditional communities (for instance, Ohnuki-Tierney 1969:491) and same is the case in Sarwar Aali. Children are not allowed to remain outside the home late at night. They are made to fear Jins and Bhoots (ghosts). Similarly, young girls are forbidden to use fragrance at night unless there is some ceremony because some jin might be fallen in love with her and might harm her.

Events are recalled in Sarwar Aali with reference to other events happened at the same time. It is not necessary that the event to recall and the event used as a reference should be of same nature. For instance, the birth of a person can be recalled with school construction in the village. Sometimes, they can recall the season or month of the local calendar concerning the event. They also do not recognize age in years like most of the traditional communities (for instance, Ohnuki-Tierney 1973). People from older generation have no idea about their exact age and they memorize age with some events. For instance, when I asked an old person about his age, he replied he was at the age of his grandson when Pakistan came into being. We can calculate his age by assuming that he was 20 years (as his grandson is 20 years old now) old at that time and now he is 78 years old after the 58 years of the Pakistan's independence. Different terms are used for different stages in the life span as shown in Table 1.

Islamic or Hijri Calendar and Bikrami or Desi Calendar have been indigenously used in Sarwar Aali. Former has its importance for the commencement of certain religious ceremonies and rituals while latter is important for agricultural activities.

Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar and has approximately 355 days. Each month begins with the crescent sighting.

Months of Islamic Calendar	Ceremonies/Notions	Taboos	
Muharram	Memory of Karbala	Marriages are not performed	
Safar	Month of pains		
Rabi-ul-Awwal	Milad (Ceremony to celebrate the birth of Prophet)		
Rabi-u-Sani	Marriages but contingent upon the season		
Jamadi-ul-Awwal			
Jamadi-u-Sani			
Rajab	Night Ascension of Prophet		
Shaban	Sobh aali Eid or Shab-e-Barat (A religiously significant sacred day)		
Ramzan	Fasting		Eating Publicly during fast is highly condemned
Shiwal	Eid-ul-Fitr or Choti Eid, Marriages		
Zeeqaé	Marriages but contingent upon the season		
Zilhajj	Eid -ul-Adha or Wadi Eid, Sacrificing Animals in the name of God, Pilgrimage in Mecca		

Table 2: Islamic Calendar and Respective Activities.

Names of Months	Respective English Months	Informal Temporal-Markers	Activities
Chaitr	March- April	Sun heat increases a bit, Summer Starts	Jhand (1 st hair cut of the new born usually on some shrine)
Wisakh	April- May		Wheat harvesting, Marriages, Festivals at shrines
Jeth	May- June		Rice, sugar and cotton cultivation
Ahrr	June- July	Extreme hot weather	Friends' trips to river bank to enjoy mango parties
Sawanrr	July- August	Bataira (grey quail) visits	
Badrah	August- September		Cotton-picking, Sugar and Rice harvesting, Marriages
Asoon	September - October	Koony (crane) and tilharr (starling) visit	
Katiyen	October- November	Murghabi (fowl) visits	
Manghir	November- December		Daytime marriages are preferred during this period
Poh	December- January	Extreme cold weather	
Mahn Mahn	January- February	Body skin scratches	
Phagunrr	February- March		

Table 3: Bikrami or Desi Calendar.

Numbers of days in a month are not fixed and in one year one month can be of 29 days while next year the same month may be of 30 days. This calendar is the vital source of the religious organization in Sarwar Aali and defines religious rituals and ceremonies. Use of Islamic calendar has religious implications rather than social or economic (Eickelman 1979:44, Rappaport 1999:190-193).

Fasting month Ramzan has its great significance in terms of time management. Women start to prepare Sehri (equivalent to breakfast) soon after the midnight. Fasting continues the whole day till Aftari (equivalent to dinner). During the last decade of Ramzan, one can stay for Aitkaaf (stay in mosque for a specific period spending the whole time in worship) after Deeghir Prayer of 21st for the whole decade in mosque or on the 27th for three days. All the people in Aitkaaf leave the mosque when the sighting of moon for Eid is declared. Usually, young boys and old persons stay for Aitkaaf because they have lesser economic responsibilities. Women, especially the young girls, also stay for Aitkaaf in isolation within their homes for worship.

Luni-solar Bikrami calendar or Desi Maheenay (local months) has been widely used for economic concerns in Sarwar Aali. The knowledge about the calendar is by two ways, firstly from the counting of days and secondly by noting the change in weather. They can't recognize the numbers of years in the calendar. Therefore, people's knowledge about this calendar cannot help to calculate the age or timing of events. A Bikrami year has 12 months of 30 or 31 days each. Bikrami month starts in the middle of the corresponding Gregorian month. Bikrami calendar has fixed number of days in a particular month except some yearly alterations of one or two days in couple of months. All the agricultural activities are planned according to this calendar. Since Festivals and marriages are celebrated usually after harvesting therefore marriages and festivals also depend on this calendar.

There are two ruts (seasons) summer and winter recognized in Sarwar Aali with 6 months each. Each Desi month has its specific seasonal peculiarity and is recognized as a sub-season marked with specific climatic conditions. Spring coincides with the month of Wisakh, which is famous for festivals due to nice weather. However, there are no indigenous terms which may substitute for spring and autumn.

Physical phenomena are important source of creating and reckoning time (Burman 1981:252-262). In Sarwar Aali, the whole day (twenty four hours according to clock timings) is divided into eight stages called as Pahars; four for the day

and four for the night. Each Pahar is approximately three hours long. There is no sharp distinction between the Pahars in terms of minutes or seconds, instead, these are measured through informal time markers like the length of shadow during the day and movement of stars in the sky during the night. The average tempo of these Pahars is changed with change in the season. Most young people cannot tell what Pahar is this time through physical informal markers. These Pahar have served as units of time measurement and these have been very significant in religious, social and economic domains. The complete detail about these Pahar with their respective activities is given in table 4.

Timing in rituals is important to understand the perception of community regarding the nature of time (Evers 1972:48-60; Geertz 1960:30-85; Rappaport 1999:169-235). Five times daily prayers, weekly Friday Prayer and annual Eid Prayers are the important aspect of religious life in Sarwar Aali. All these prayers are supposed to offer in a group by men in the mosque and at home by women. Each prayer has specific timing and duration, therefore, when there were no clocks then the time for each prayer was determined through informal marker.

Rites of passage are another source of knowing the time concepts in Sarwar Aali. On the 7th day of birth, a ceremony called Satthi is celebrated in which Ghutti (putting drops of milk in baby's mouth with the help of fingers) is given to baby by the elder relatives. Usually, Aqeeqa is celebrated on the 40th day after delivery and some charity or sacrifice is given for the long life and blessing for the baby. Circumcision is also performed with Aqeeqa or some time between five to ten years of age. Some times male babies are given the name Ramzan, Khameesa (Thursday's) and Jumma (Friday's) if baby is born in Ramzan or on either of these two days. The name may be after the name of his recently deceased grandfather as well. This shows the "continuity" and 'recurrence' of time because the grandfather's presence continues even after his death in the form of the name of his grandson (Rappaport 1999:186). It is linear category of time not the cyclical as attributed by Evans-Pritchard (1940:94-138) to such kind of phenomena in his study on Neurs.

As far as marriage is concerned, engagement was arranged at a smaller age to make the bond with the relatives stronger but now the trend has been changed. Forty years ago, the average age at marriage for boy was 18 and 16 for girl but now it has increased to 20-25 years for boy and 18 years for girl particularly in educated families. Marriages of educated persons are delayed because they seek for jobs or

Sr. No.	Pahar		Informal Markers of the Day Passage	Activities
1	Day	Dhami Da Waila or Wada Waila (big time) + Saban Marḍan Ḍa Waila or Fijir (morning)	Sij Ubhcar Ḍa Taara (star of sun rise), Rising of sun, cock crows	Morning Prayer, Time to go for work
2		Chitka/Chita Diyon (noontime) or Sawa Pahar	Sun is overhead	Time for work
3		Paisheen (afternoon)	Mid-day	Afternoon Prayer, and time for rest
4		Ḍeeghir	Sun starts to decline	Ḍeeghir Prayer
5	Night	Namashiyen Ḍa Waila (Evening)	Sun sets, Darkness starts	Evening prayer, Night prayer
6		Saween Sarj (early in the night)	Tarranganrr (group of stars)	Little children sleep
7		Chirk, Adh Raat (midnight)	Chithiyen (group of stars)	Time to sleep
8		Tahajad Ḍa Waila (Late in the midnight)	Kaal Karchi (black bird) comes in June, Gaasay Ḍa Bairra (group of stars), night chill	Sleeping, Tahajjud Prayer

Table 4: Pahars.

Activities	Time Allocated					
	Cultivators		On jobs and Shopkeepers		Labor	
	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%
Religious activities	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25
Economic activities	4.5	18.75	5.5	22.92	5.5	22.92
Household activities	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08
Education	1.5	6.25	2	8.33	1.5	6.25
Sleeping	8	33.33	8	33.33	8	33.33
Childcare	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08
Leisure activities	3	12.50	1.5	6.25	2	8.33
Self care activities	0.5	2.08	1	4.17	0.5	2.08
Eating	1	4.17	1	4.17	1	4.17
Idle	2.5	10.42	2	8.33	2.5	10.42
Others	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08
Total	24	100	24	100	24	100

Table 5: Daily Time Allocation of Men with Different.

some high business. A ceremony Gandheen is observed to fix the date of marriage keeping in view the cultural norms and suitability of the date; for instance, it should not be the month of Muharram. Bikrami months of Wisakh and Katiyen are ideal months for this purpose because wheat is harvested in former and cotton is harvested in the latter and farmer would have enough money during both these months. Moreover, these are moderate climatically. When there was no electricity then marriage ceremonies used to take place at the daytime but now marriages are performed in the nighttime as in the city. Old persons consider the nighttime marriage ceremonies as display of wealth and prestige, not mere the display of lights.

Time of funeral is fixed within few hours of death. For the next three days after funeral relatives and friends come for Fateha that is the prayer for the deceased and condolence with the relatives. On the nearest Friday or any suitable day a ceremony called Qul is observed to recite Holy Qura'n for the deceased. Charity is given on first Thursday and 40th day after death. These all ceremonies are also the way to recalling the faith of death.

Change and New Time Trends

Sarwar Aali had the agriculture dependent economy but during the past few decades change can be observed possibly due to the combination of factors which can be collectively regarded as urbanization and globalization. During early 1980s, when Indus River destroyed the village Drahma some politically influential and economically strong personalities from Sarwar Aali gave their land to the government to build offices, schools, and hospital. It is located on the highway twelve kilometers away from the city giving easy access for the transportation of agricultural production to the city market and also enhancing the prospects for doing business and job, and getting higher education. This has also changed the dress pattern and other social norms of village life to some extent.

Sarwar Aali had no metallic road before 1999 but now it has a metallic road and streets built up with bricks. Old wells are now filled up with mud and each house has at least a hand pump for drinking water. Houses in the past used to be made up of mud while there are houses with bricks and concrete now. Numbers of houses have also increased during past twenty years. There has been developed a small market which has changed the landscape of the village to a large extent. Commercial electrical units have replaced the traditional stone-made unit for grinding wheat to obtain flour. Electrical appliances for

household use like TV, refrigerators, sewing and washing machines electric juicers, irons, and electric heaters have also changed the life pace.

Due to technological advancement, tractors, cars and motorcycles have replaced the donkey and bull carts to much extent for transportation purpose. Engine tube wells can be seen at certain distances in the fields. Modern methods of cultivation with the introduction of new machinery, fertilizers and pesticides have increased the production and cultivated area. During the past decades, many landowners left agriculture due to late out put and risk factors and gave their land on lease. They adapted business or preferred to do job in city after being educated. Women literacy rate is 33 % that is lower than male literacy rate of 48 % in the village according to socioeconomic census conducted for the study. Women education was not appreciated in the past but now people are aware of its importance. There is a high school for girls in the village and an informal institute is also running in public sector. Women are also generating income through small-scale home-based business like poultry .

The Pahars' system actually represented the rural life linked with the agrarian activities while clock timing is the indication of urbanization i.e. 'non-contextualized time' (Adam 1994:510-512). Since people have changed irrigation from canals to the tube well and started to do jobs or business they no more need to recognize the Pahars. Use of wrist watch and wall clocks is common. There is a schedule for prayer timings written on a board in the mosque according to clock time. This schedule is adjusted with seasonal variations throughout the year. Same is the case with Gregorian calendar. Use of Gregorian calendar can also be linked with the cash economy though is not a new phenomenon in Sarwar Aali as it has roots in colonial period but to manage various social and economic activities its extensive use is related with the introduction of cash economy and clock timing. This can further be elaborated with the differential time allocated for economic activities by men in different professions as shown in Table 5.

Professions

People had enough time for recreation during agricultural activities but now working as labor or employee they have not plenty of time out of their duties for leisure. Men find leisure in hunting the birds like teal, fishing, funny discussions, listening music, visit to local market and city. Young boys play volleyball and cricket. Women spare some time to meet relatives and attend ceremonies as recreational ac-

Activities	Time Allocated					
	Men		Women		Children	
	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%
Religious activities	1.5	6.25	1.5	6.25	0.5	2.08
Economic activities	6	25.00	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08
Household activities	0.5	2.08	5.5	22.92	1	4.17
Education	1.5	6.25	0.5	2.08	4	16.67
Sleeping	8	33.33	8	33.33	9	37.50
Childcare	0.5	2.08	2.5	10.42	1.5	6.25
Leisure activities	2	8.33	1.5	6.25	3	12.50
Self care activities	0.5	2.08	1	4.17	0.5	2.08
Eating	1	4.17	1	4.17	1	4.17
Idle	2	8.33	1.5	6.25	2	8.33
Others	0.5	2.08	0.5	2.08	1	4.17
Total	24	100	24	100	24	100

Table 6: Time Allocation by Age and Gender.

tivities because they have very limited time for leisure due to heavy kitchen work, child care and cloth washing. Children enjoy during playing traditional games like moving a wheel with a stick, sleeping, herding the animals. Girls play with dolls and a game using small stones and ball.

As earlier mentioned that there is the concept of two seasons indigenously but young persons recognize four seasons including spring and autumn. A survey was conducted in high school for girls and 100% girls responded that there were four seasons. This shows that people are getting the influence from education, media and city as Ohnuki-Tierney's (1969:490) writes about the adoption of four seasons' concept by Ainu people due to the influence of mainstream Japanese culture.

As the fasting month Ramzan and Eid-ul-Fitr are linked with 1st date of the month so there is great interest of the people about sighting the moon. People used to follow local religious scholars who announced the dates of Ramzan and Eid when there were no means of telecommunication. Now, this news is telecasted on TV or aired on Radio and these events are celebrated with other areas in the country.

Time is allocated for different activities with certain social intervals in Sarwar Aali. Every activity is followed by other activity with an ordered time required for the commencement of these activities. Men, women and children allocate time differently as shown in table 6 because each activity performed by any age group or gender is according to its specific roles and preferences.

Conclusion

The temporal documentary of Sarwar Aali shows that a community's perspective about time has its roots in the belief system which plays a vital role in the social stability and proper functioning of the system. Any change in time concepts will change the whole social organization. As I have discussed earlier, it is not possible for the external change to alter the temporal concepts of a community so easily unless community has better alternatives to change its social order (Burman 1981) because people in each society allocate time among alternatives as a resource (Gross 1984:520). Therefore, the acceptance of new notions of time is dependent on the value of incentive given by change. It is indicated that change in Sarwar Aali is not a forced acculturation because people in Sarwar Aali have changed their temporal organization from economic perspective because they got some better alternatives in the form of cash economy, more output of their efforts due to modern technology,

and facilities for their subsistence. This also shows their self-made vision of progress in which they have specific 'unaltered' space for religious and certain cultural norms.

The allocation of more time and use of clock for their economic activities indicates the 'task-oriented time' because of the world capital economy that alters the indigenous time concepts (Pickering 2004:96) from socially embodied to labor marked by clock (Pickering 2004:85-96), hence, time is taken as a 'scarce commodity to be used carefully' (Webber 1980:5). People have adopted these new time trends keeping in view that their religious activities might not suffer and use of Islamic calendar for religious ceremonies and Gregorian or Bikrami calendar for economic activities is the best example to support this argument. Differential time allocation for religious and economic activities shows that time is categorized and managed in terms of religious and economic points of references. Using clock for prayers is only because they are so indulged in their economic activities that they just take 'time out of time' (Rappaport 1999:216-220) for their religious activities.

The differential time allocation of various economic groups for economic, religious and household activities is due to their specific workplace and different social positions as some of the reasons among others. This indicates that occupational change plays its role in changing the social organization of time. This mean that time is relative to space but not as its dimension as Einstein's theory of relativity (Hawking 1988:150-152) states because it is not the space that determines the 'idea of time', instead, 'social time' is the result of religious and cultural norms as well.

The concept of present related with struggle and prestige through economic and religious activities in Sarwar Aali shows that even the future is considered as will of God but the place for 'free creative movements' (Iqbal 1982:38) is there because their struggle is not to maintain their specific 'social space' but also to gain benefits in terms of economic rewards or 'heaven'.

To be precise, it was not the intention of the people to change their indigenous time concepts but it is their acceptance to change that lead to change in the social organization of time. Therefore, there is no change in their beliefs about time and what has changed is only the social organization of time as Foucault (quoted in Drefus 1982:187) says, 'people know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what do they don't know is what what they do does'.

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