

Who learns from whom?

Pukhtoon Traditions in Modern Perspective



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This book is dedicated to the youth who still live in the traditional society and don't know how to find out about the old practices and traditions and compare them to the modern practices of the developing world. May this help them to implement peace and harmony among the divided communities?

Acknowledgments

I am thankful to all my friends, colleagues and well-wishers who encouraged me to write this book. Because the Pukhtoon culture is very rich, I have had to pick just a few aspects of Pukhtoon life that I think are important for the youth to learn and practice. My hope is that they will reactivate those values and traditions that have kept us nonviolent and remind us to work for humanity.

Information on such practices is found everywhere. However, the Pukhtoon youth most often use Western resources in English as a source of knowledge and aspiration. This keeps them from learning from their own community and heritage, which have many of their own good practices. If these traditional practices are explored and utilized, they will bring fruitful results.

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Living in Nicaragua, she does not have many opportunities to work directly with JPI. However, she has offered to edit several of my writings because this is one way she can contribute to the work. In addition, she believes that information about the Pukhtoon is extremely needed in the West to counteract much of the propaganda that most receive. She believes that concrete knowledge begins to dispel fears and opens up communication. We both believe this is the indispensable first step towards dialog, mutual understanding and the potential for peaceful relations.

Introduction

In the world today there are many concepts, theories, disciplines and terminologies that existed with different names in traditional societies in the past. These traditional communities not only put into practice these concepts and disciplines in their daily lives but also ran their affairs with other tribes and countries based on these concepts and theories. The only thing that makes it difficult for the average person on a grassroots level is the changes in the language and the lack of a record in their native language.

The language barriers widened the gap among the traditional communities and the new generation of young people. The youth today have less knowledge of their religion and traditional values so they find novel ideas that come from other nations. If they read and learn their own traditions, values and history they will find the same concepts and theories in their own culture and they will discover practices that have been around for centuries. These youth not only face problems due to a lack of a full command in the other languages, but also face the problem of linking these new concepts and practices to their own culture due to a lack of knowledge of their own past.

In the past, grandmothers and grandfathers, the elders of the community, during the evenings and nights passed on these stories, proverbs, traditions and religious teachings. Modern technology has had a good impact on the young generation by allowing them to get updated knowledge about world affairs. However, it also has had negative consequences on the whole family, since everyone listens to the radio or watches television for their news and uses cell phones for communication. They have no time to listen to their elders at home or in the Hujra (the Community Center) to learn about their history. For language reasons, the media knowledge is difficult for them, and in addition, they lack knowledge of their own history so they have no context in which to put this media-gathered information.

Chinese culture is considered the world's oldest civilization. In Chinese culture there were known elders in each tribe and clan of the society. They were not only attending to the affairs of their own clan or tribe but were also working with the elders of other tribes and clans to confront the common problems faced by the villages and the country. These elders had an in-depth knowledge of their people and the wisdom, experience and skill to face any issue internally or externally. Such practices still exist in the ancient civilizations of the world that preserve their identities and face the modern social and cultural invasions of other nations.

Among such nations are the Pukhtoon communities that live across the Durand line (international frontier) in Pakistan and Afghanistan. They have many tribes, sub tribes, clans and areas where they live. They are the inhabitants of high mountains, plain areas and even the deserts. The customs and traditions of each tribe, at a thirty-mile distance from another tribe, are slightly different from each other but the basic themes of codes remain the same. They have a verbal code of life called Pukhtoonwali. Pukhtoonwali consists of a number of different concepts and among the most famous are Badal (revenge), Milmastya (hospitality), Jirga (elders committees), Nanawati (Sanctuary), Nang (Honor), Peghoor (challenging someone with shame), Lakhkar (volunteer force), Chagha (announce and taking abrupt

action in case of emergency), Ashar Gobal (community participation), Hujra (community center), Tega (a ceasefire symbol), Toor (shame), Tarboorwali (first cousin rivalry).

These people have preserved their traditions throughout the years through verbal teachings where the young learn from the elders in the Hujra or at home. They learn not only verbally but also by doing. It was not only important for the youngsters to learn the practices but also to adopt them in their daily lives. Any deviation from these practices is not only an act of shame for an individual but also for the whole tribe. The tribe then must commit to everlasting enmities or pays the price through other means like Swara (giving away a female child for reconciliation), khunbaha (blood money), or other traditional practices of restitution.

The common azizwali (the Pukhtoon code of life) is a method to prevent an individual from acting against the social rules as it is considered an act of humiliation not only for the individual but also for the clan, tribe and nation.

Those who call themselves Pukhtoon use Pukhtoon as a language, a code of life and an identity for themselves. During their discussions they taunt each other that the other has no Pukhtoo, which means that they are not following the Pukhtoon code of life. It is an insult against a member of another nation if they challenge that you have no English, French etc.

With other nations who are not part of the Pukhtoon community there is a different type of identity. If other nations believe in "we vs. them," here in the Pukhtoon community they resolve their issues by identifying "I vs. you." A tribal chief, an elder, a religious leader, a father will also start with the issue that "I told you this but you violated it. If I am not here, then you are nothing." This means that the privileges that you have are because of me and if I am no more then you will also lose.

Within their own society they strongly believe in "I vs. you." But when it comes to outsiders they follow the world rule of "we vs. them." Pukhtoon people outside their areas will look for the people belonging to their race, then to the same tribe and then to their own clan. Even language nuances and clothing is sufficient enough to defend each other or bond together against a common threat.

I was born into this Pukhtoon culture and have worked for Afghan Refugees for more than thirteen years as head of the social welfare cell, which is part of a large organization. I have also done research on different indigenous institutions. I found in many of these tribal cultures some of the interesting concepts that have been practiced for centuries and which are now used widely all over the world and go by different names in different languages. There are many similarities between those concepts of the past and those presently used. The problem is that these concepts were not documented and, thus, were not brought to the world's attention.

My main focus is on concepts that have arisen in the work of trainers and trainees in all social issues: the human rights of those working in a variety of fields from social work to peace building, fundraising on the grassroots level, drug awareness, HIV/AIDS awareness,

gender discrimination in capacity-building and the implementation of humanitarian work. The trainers and trainees relate these concepts they use to modern scientific theories that were evolved from historical practices in the West and invented in the West some time back. The present developing societies in the world today are facing many of the same transitional processes that nations of the developed western world faced in the past. These developing societies mostly learn from their own communities and give these concepts modern scientific terms to deal with the new challenges.

The common examples are the British constitution and modern Restorative Justice Systems. They are based on old traditions and conventions: Sulha (verbal indigenous law) in the Middle East, the Mori tribal traditions in New Zealand, Punchayat in the sub-continent, the Circle of the Native Americans in North America, Kherga in Spanish community, Majlas in Iran, soviet in Russia, Jirga in the Pukhtoon belt of Pakistan and Afghanistan. All of these are common examples for problem-solving practices in the present day world.

The question is how these practices can be utilized for the benefit of the community and the implementing agencies. The community-based knowledge will help both sides to understand the existing mechanisms and help people adopt these new ways of practice.

Few Proverbs of the Pashto language

Allah May spare you a Pukhtoon's Anger

A Pukhtoon never forsakes revenge

A stone of Pukhtoon (enmity) does not rot in water

A Pukhtoon enmity is a fire of a dunghill

If a Pukhtoon took his revenge after a hundred years, it is still too soon

There is an appeal against a decision under the shar'ah (religious system) but not under the Rawaj (tradition)

The Pukhtoon

“The Pukhtoon loves fighting but hates to be a soldier; loves music but has a great contempt for the musician; is kind and gentle but hates to show it; loves his new rifle and his old wife; is hot-blooded and hot-headed; is poor and proud with strange principles; might be a loving friend or a deadly enemy; in general, he is very simple but very complicated in his simplicity.”¹

My focus is not to shed light on the history of the Pukhtoon since I am not an historian. But I want to present the history of the Pukhtoon written by different authors. I consider it important basic information for the reader. I compiled the history from different sources and have let the original texts speak for themselves without any additions or deletions.

The origins of the Pukhtoon are unclear. Pukhtoon tradition asserts that they are descended from Afghana, grandson of King Saul of Israel, though most scholars believe it more likely that they arose from an intermingling of ancient Aryans from the north or west with subsequent invaders. Several Pukhtoon tribes are known to have moved from Afghanistan to Pakistan between the 13th and 16th century. Each tribe, consisting of kinsmen who trace descent in the male bloodline from a common tribal ancestor, is divided into clans, sub-clans, and patriarchal families. Tribal genealogies establish rights of succession and inheritance and the right to use tribal lands and to speak in tribal council. Disputes over property, women, and personal injury often result in blood feuds between families and whole clans; these may be inherited unless settled by the intervention of clan chiefs or by tribal council called jirga.

The Pukhtoon are farmers, herdsmen, and warriors. Most tribesmen are inactive farmers, combining cultivation with animal husbandry; some are migratory herdsmen and caravaners. Large numbers of them have always been attracted to military service.

There are estimated to be about 9,800,000 Pukhtoon in Afghanistan and 14,000,000 in Pakistan. They comprise about 60 tribes of varying size and importance, each of which occupies a particular territory. In Afghanistan, where Pukhtoon's are the predominant ethnic group, the main tribes--or, more accurately, federations of tribes--are the Durrani south of Kabul and the Ghilzay east of Kabul.²

¹ Ghani Khan: Famous poet and philosopher

² Source: Encyclopedia, vol1

The Origin

The triangle between the Indus, Hindu Kush and the Sijistan plateau of Iran is populated by an assorted group of tribesmen some of them living in plains and valleys and others in mountains interspersed over the entire length and breadth of this triangle. This is the largest gathering of tribal people in the world.

According to Niamatulla's *Makhzan-i-Afghani* and Hamdulla Mustaufi's *Tarikh-i-Guzida*: one of Prophet Ibrahim's descendents, Talut (or Saul) had two sons, one of whom was named Irmia or Jeremia. Irmia had a son named Afghan, who is supposed to have given the name to the Afghan people. Tareekh-e-Sher Shahi states that Bakht Nasr who invaded Jerusalem and destroyed it, expelled Jewish tribes, including sons of Afghan, from their homeland. During the days of the Babylonian captivity when the Jews were scattered, one of the tribes settled in the Hari Rud area of modern (south) Afghanistan. Pathan legend states that they accepted Islam during the time of the Prophet(PBUH) when a group of their kinsmen (Jews) living in Arabia sent word to them that the true Prophet of God as prophesied in their scriptures had appeared in Mecca. The Afghans, the story goes, sent a delegation to Arabia headed by one Imraul Qais who met the Prophet, embraced Islam, came back and converted the entire tribe to the new religion. The Prophet was so pleased with Qais that he gave him the name of Abdur Rashid, called him Malik (king) and Pehtan (keel or rudder of a ship) for showing his people the path of Islam.

The story proceeds: Qais Alias Abdur Rashid Alias Pehtan had three sons named Sarban, Batan and Ghurghust. Most of the present-day Pathan tribes claim descent from these three persons. The major tribes of Afghans named above, it must have been noted, should be of Turkish origin as they are descended from the Turkish prince Hussain Shah who married the Afghan girl Matto, daughter of Batan and grand-daughter of Qais Abdur Rashid. Thus, according to their own accounts there would be two groups of Afghans, one of Jewish (Semitic) origin and the other of Turkish origin.

There is a third group of Afghans called Hazaras living in the Hazarajat areas of Afghanistan. They are said to be descended from the remnants of the Mongol armies which had come along with Changez Khan or during later Mongol inroads. The origin of the Hazara Afghans, as such, is Mongol.

Regarding the large number of tribes living on both sides of Pak-Afghan border such as Shinwaris, Mohmands, Mahsuds, Khattaks, Afridis, Orakzais, Achakzais, Bannuchis, Waziris, Bangash, Yusufzais, etc., some trace their origin to Aryans, others to Greeks who had come with Alexander, some to the Jews and still others to the Caucasians. "The Kalnari tribes of today: the Waziris, Bannuchis, Khattaks, Bangash, Orakzais, Afridis and the rest are sprung from an indigenous stock not Pashto-speaking and became fused with or overlaid by Pashto and Pashto-speaking peoples learning in the process the language of the dominant race. The Kalnaris are not Afghans in the true line and may be much older established."³ "The original Afghans are a race of probably Jewish or Arab extraction; and they together

³ (The Pathans, by Sir Olaf Caroe)

with a tribe of Indian origin with which they have long been blended still distinguish themselves as the true Afghans, or since the rise of Ahmad Shah Durrani as Durrani, and class all non-Durrani Pushto speakers as Opra. But they have lately given their name to Afghanistan, the country formerly known as Khorasan.

"All inhabitants of Afghanistan are now in common jargon known as Afghans, the races thus included being the Afghan proper, the Pathan proper, the Gilzai, the Tajik and the Hazara, besides tribes of less importance living in the confines of the country"⁴.

Of late, scholars in Afghanistan are seriously absorbed in research to prove that Afghans are neither of Jewish, nor Turkish nor Mongol nor Greek origin but of pure Aryan stock. They are taking pains to demonstrate original home of Aryans was Afghanistan by pointing out the similarity in the names of several places in their country with those mentioned in the Rig Veda.

Thus, the different tribes of Afghans/Pathans have different claims, racially as divergent as the Semitics and the Aryans, Greeks and the Turks, Mongols and the Caucasians. However, leaving aside the claims, there is another aspect of this issue which has great substance, weight and research behind it. This aspect is the conclusions arrived at recently by the Western scholars after a careful study of the historical and cultural developments of the region and its people. Based on the information obtained from latest excavations and the data collected in a specific manner, modern scholars have expressed certain views on the origin of the Afghans/Pathans, which cannot be brushed aside lightly or treated frivolously. They claim that the origin of the Afghan/Pathans is something different.



Origin As Traced By Modern Scholars

They are of the view that there might have been some settlements of the Jews in the area in 800 B.C. or so; similarly, some leftovers of the Aryans might have been left in the

⁴ (The Punjab Castes, by Denzil Ibbetson)

inaccessible mountains in days of yore; and that there did exist some Greek and Iranian colonies here and there. But from 1st century B.C. to 5th century A.D., during a span of 600 years, this area witnessed three immigrations from Central Asia of such gigantic magnitude -- - those of the Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars --- that everything was swept before them, overwhelmed by them and submerged in them. In short, hardly any previous group whether Aryan, Jewish, Greek or Iranian could retain its identity.

Western scholars, therefore, maintain that an overwhelming majority of the Afghan/Pathan tribes are positively descended from the Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars. Some of the scholars point out the possibility of the word Abdali being another form of Epthalite by which name the White Huns (the ancestors of Rajputs) were known. Grierson finds a form of Paithan in use in the East Gangetic Valley to denote a Muslim Rajput. Bellew, one of the greatest authorities on Pathans, notes that several characteristics are common to both the Rajputs and Afghans and suggests that Sarban, one of the ancestors of the Afghans, was a corruption of the word Suryabans (solar race) from which many Rajputs claim descent (Bellew: Races of Afghanistan). The great Muslim historian Masudi writes that Qandahar was a separate kingdom with a non-Muslim ruler and states that 'it is a country of Rajputs'. It would be pertinent to mention here that at the time of Masudi most of the Afghans were concentrated in Qandahar and adjacent areas and had not expanded to the north. Therefore, it is highly significant that Masudi should call Qandahar a Rajput country.

Since the modern state of Afghanistan and the N.W.F.P. province of Pakistan were the main regions through which Central Asian tribes passed and in which they settled down, it is impossible that these areas should have remained un-colonised and the blood of their inhabitants pure. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that the present day Afghans/Pathans are mostly, notwithstanding their claims, the descendants of Central Asian tribes of Sakas, Kushans, Huns and Gujjars. It need hardly be pointed out that from them are also descended the major tribes of the Kashmir, Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan.

Just as the present-day Greeks are Slavs and not of the same race as Alexander and Aristotle, so also is the case with the present day Afghans and Pathans. According to the Encyclopedia of Islam, the theory of the Jewish descent of Afghans is of later origin and may be traced back to Maghzan-e-Afghani compiled for Khan-e-Jehan Lodhi in the reign of Mughal Emperor Jehangir and does not seem to have been recorded before the end of the 16th century A.D. Prior to this period no other book mentions that Afghans are descended from Jewish tribes. The Jewish books also do not mention anywhere that Saul's son Jeremia had a son named Afghan from whom Afghans claim descent.

Similarly, the story of Qais Abdur Rashid having gone from Afghanistan to Arabia to meet the Prophet(PBUH) and after returning to his country having converted the Afghans to Islam also does not stand the scrutiny of history. Muslim historians Ibn Haukal, Utbi and Alberuni are unanimous in the view that uptill the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi i.e. almost four hundred years after the death of the Prophet(PBUH), most of the Afghans were still Buddhists or Hindus/Pagans/Aminists. Mahmud Ghaznavi 'had to fight against the infidel Afghans in the Sulaiman mountains.' Even 200 years later in the encounter between Mohammad Ghorri and Prithviraj in 1192 A.D., according to Farishta, Hindu/Pagan Afghans were fighting on the side of the Rajput Chief. The fact that the Afghans should have joined the Rajput confederacy of Prithviraj may also indicate some sort of kinship between them.

On this subject the views of the Russian scholar Yu V. Gankovsky are also interesting. He says: "My opinion is that the formation of the union of largely East-Iranian tribes which became the initial ethnic stratum of the Pashtun ethno genesis dates from the middle of the first millennium AD and is connected with the dissolution of the Epthalite ([White Huns](#)) confederacy. In the areas north of the Hindu Kush some of the tribes of this confederacy participated in the formation of the nationalities who inhabit Middle Asia today, and, among other tribes, in the formation of the Turkmen and Uzbek nationalities. This is attested, among other things, in the records of genonymy which indicate that among the Turkmen and Uzbeks (as well as among the Lokai) there occurs the ethnonym Abdal descending from the name of an Epthalite tribal union (Abdals, Abdel). South of the Hindu Kush, another part of the Epthalite tribes lost their privileged status as the military stronghold of the ruling dynasty and was ousted into the thinly peopled areas of the Sulaiman mountains, areas where there were not enough water supplies and grazing grounds. There they became a tribal union which formed the basis of the Pashtun ethno genesis.

"Of the contribution of the Epthalites ([White Huns](#)) to the ethno genesis of the Pukhtoos we find evidence in the ethnonym of the largest of the Pukhtoon tribe unions, the Abdali (Durrani after 1747) associated with the ethnic name of the Epthalites -- Abdal. The Siah-posh, the Kafirs of the HinduKush, called all Pashtuns by a general name of Abdal still at the end of the 19th century.

"It is not impossible that certain Kushan-Tokharian elements also took part in the formation of the Pukhtoon ethnic community. In this connection it is worthwhile to note the fact cited by G. Morgenstierne: among the Ormuri the Pukhtoos are known under the ethnic names 'kas' i.e., Kushan. A number of Pakhtoon tribes belong to the Ormuri group. They are Afridis, Orakzais, Khattaks, Khugiani, etc."

This treatise of Prof. Gankovsky forcefully puts forward the view that Afghans-Pukhtoos are the descendants of Epthalite ([White Huns](#)) and Kushans.

Different hypotheses have been suggested about the origin of the Pukhtoos. Khawaja Niamatullah describes them as descendants of Jews, connecting them with the lost ten tribes of Israel. This theory of the Semitic origin of the Pukhtoos has been supported by some Pukhtoon writers, including Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Afzal Khan Khattak and Qazi Attaullah Khan. A number of orientalists like H.W. Bellew, Sir William Jones and Major Raverty have also subscribed to this view on the basis of Pukhtoon physiognomy, and the striking resemblance of facial features between Pukhtoos and Jews. They believe that the prevalence of biblical names, certain customs and superstitions, especially smearing of the door post and walls of the house with blood of sacrificial animals, further substantiates this theory. But these presumptions do not hold good in view of the fact that resemblance in features and certain characteristics do not provide a scientific criterion for the ethnology of a race or a section of people. This can equally be said about the Kashmiris and certain other tribes who can hardly be distinguished from Pukhtoos in physique, color and complexion. Similarly a scrutiny of the social institutions of the Arabs of the Middle Ages and present day Pukhtoos would lead one to believe that Pukhtoos are not different from them in their social organization.

Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kaka Khel in his well written book "Pukhtana" and Sir Olaf Caroe in his book "The Pathans" place little reliance on Niamatullah's theory of the Semitic origin of the Pukhtoons and say that his account of the Pukhtoons suffers from historical inaccuracies. To disprove the assertion that the Pukhtoon tribes had embraced Islam en-bloc after the return of Qais Abdul Rashid from Medina, the accounts of Al-Beruni and Al-Utbi, the contemporary historians of Mahmud of Ghazna, establish "that four centuries later than the time of Qais the Province of Kabul had not been Islamized and this was achieved under the Ghaznavides. The Hindu Shahiya Kingdom of Jaipal extended almost to Kabul, Mahmud had to fight against infidel Afghans of the Sulaiman mountains". Even Prithvi Raj had a cavalry of Afghans in the battle of Tarian against Mohammad Ghorī. Other writers, after a careful examination of the physical anthropology of the Pukhtoons say that difference in features of the various Pukhtoons point to the fact that they must have "mingled with races who passed through their territory to conquer Hindustan".

Khawaja Niamatullah's theory has further been put to a serious test by prominent linguists who maintain that Pushto bears no resemblance to Hebrew or other Aramaic languages and the Pukhtoons' language, Pashto, belongs to the family of the Eastern group of Iranian languages. Mr. Ahmad Ali Kohzad and some other Afghan historians, lending support to the Aryan origin of the Pukhtoons, say that the Pakhat of the Rig Veda are the Pukhtoons of today. It is a fact that the North West Frontier of Pakistan has, perhaps been involved with more foreign invasions in the course of history than any other country of Asia. Each horde seems to have left its mark on the Pukhtoons who absorbed the traits of invading forces, "predominantly of Turks, Iranians and Mongols".

According to Khawaja Niamatullah the Pukhtoons embraced Islam in the first quarter of the 7th century when the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) sent his emissaries in all directions to invite the people to the fold of Islam. One such messenger is stated to have been sent to Qais Abdur Rashid, who is claimed to be the ancestor of the Pukhtoons, through Khalid bin Walid. In response to Khalid's invitation, Qais hurried to the Holy land and as a result of the sublime teachings of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) embraced Islam in Medina. After his return to Ghore, his whole tribe followed him in the Muslim faith. But due to weak evidence, missing links and wide gaps this theory has aroused suspicion in the minds of scholars.

If the origin of a race can be determined on the basis of customs and traditions then Pukhtoon would be closer to Arabs. The study of Arabian and Pukhtoon society presents a remarkable resemblance particularly in their tribal organization and social usages. Both possess the same virtues and characteristics. To both hospitality is one of the finest virtues, revenge a sacred duty and bravery an essential pre-requisite for an honorable life. Love of independence, courage, endurance, hospitality and revenge were the supreme virtues of pre-Islamic Arabs. These very attributes also form the basis of the Pukhtoon code of honor and anyone who repudiates them is looked down by the society. A Pukhtoon is nearer to an Arab in his tribal organization. Like an Arab tent, every Pukhtoon's house represents a family; an camp of Arab tents forms a hay and a cluster of a few houses constitute a village in tribal areas. Members of one hay form a clan in Arabia and a Khel (which is an Arabic word meaning association or company) is the basis of the Pukhtoon's tribal organization. A number of kindred clans grouped together make a qabila in Arabia and a tribe in the Pukhtoon borderland. Even the Pashto script resembles the Arabic script in essence. The

Arabs held in great esteem four moral virtues, viz Ziyafah or hospitality hamasah or fortitude, muruah or manliness and courage and ird or honor.

The Pathans are brave, courageous, hospitable and generous and these attributes are considered as pillars of the Pukhtoon code of honor or Pukhtoonwali. The Pathans like the Arabs also believe in fire and sword for all their adversaries. This was the reason that they fought tooth and nail against the non-Muslim rulers of the sub-continent whether Sikhs or Feringi as the Britishers, Russian, or present insurgency were called.

The position of a tribal Malik who plays an important role in tribal politics is similar to that of an Arabian Sheikh. The qualifications of a tribal Malik, such as seniority in age, qualities of head and heart and character as courage, wisdom and wisdom etc. are not different from an Arab Sheikh. Like a Sheikh, a tribal Malik follows the consensus of opinion. He is required to consult the heads of the families or village council while making any decision with regard to future relations with a village or tribe. Darun Nadwa was the centre of activity of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the Pukhtoons' Hujra is also not different from it in its functions. All matters relating to war, peace, future relations with neighboring tribes and day to day problems used to be discussed in Darun Nadwa. Similarly, all tribal affairs connected with the tribe are discussed in the Hujra.

Hospitality is one of the sublime features of the Pukhtoons and pre-Islamic Arabs were also renowned for their hospitality and for affording asylum to strangers. They would share the last crumb of their bread with a guest and protect him from all harm so long as he was under their roof. Similarly, Pukhtoons regard hospitality as a "sacred duty and safety of the guest as inviolable". It is a serious violation of their established norms to hurt a man who enters their village as a guest. In the pre-independence days they provided asylum to all and miscellaneous, including the proclaimed offenders wanted by the British Government in cases of a criminal nature in the settled districts. Similarly the Arabs the right of asylum considered sacred and was rigidly respected regardless of the crime of the refugee.

The spirit of revenge of the Pukhtoons is not different from that of the Arabs. Blood according to the law of the desert called for blood and no punishment could satisfy an Arab other than wreaking vengeance on his enemy. Similarly, the hills of the Pukhtoon highlanders vibrate with echoes of retribution till the insult is avenged. As a matter of fact, the society of both the Arabs and the Pukhtoons is inspired by a strong feeling of muruwwa, virility or a quality to defend one's honour (ird). There are several anecdotes of revenge resulting in long blood feuds for generations. The Basus war between Banu Bakr and Banu Taghlib in Arabia lasted for about 40 years whereas tribal disputes between Gar and Samil factions of the Pukhtoons continued for decades. Pukhtoons like Arabs are conscious of their racial superiority. An Arab would boast of being a Quraish and a Pukhtoon would assert his superiority by saying, Am I not a Pukhtoon"?

The customs regarding giving protection to weaker neighbors is also common between Arabs and Pukhtoons. A weaker tribe in Arabia would seek the protection of a powerful tribe by means of Khuwah and a weaker Pukhtoon tribe would ensure its security by offering "Lokhay" to its strong neighboring tribe. The custom of "Lokhay Warkawal" is still prevalent among Afridi and Orakzai tribes of Tirah. A similarity can also be found in their customs relating to birth, marriage and death etc. Certain superstitions are also common

between the Arabs and the Pukhtoos. Both believe in all kinds of invisible beings, wear amulets as a safeguard against the evil eye and believe in soothsayers and fortune tellers.⁵

The Name and Language

The term Pakhtun or Pukhtoon, according to Raverty, is derived from the Persian word 'Pusht' meaning 'back'. Since the tribes lived on the back of the mountains, Persians called them Pashtun which is also pronounced Pakhtun. Some scholars think that the word Pashtun or Pakhtun comes from the Old Iranian words parsava parsā meaning strong men, knights. In Indian languages it was spelt as Pakhtana or Pathan. Herodotus and several other Greek and Roman historians have mentioned a people called 'Paktye' living on the eastern frontier of Iran. By the word Paktye they meant the people of the frontier. (According to the Encyclopedia of Islam the word Pathan is from the Sanskrit word Pratisthana). Muslim historians from Al-Biruni onward called them Afghans, never using the word Pathan which expression was extensively employed by the Hindus. "No Afghan or speaker of Pashtu ever referred to himself as a Pathan and the word is an Indian usage."⁶ "It is significant that neither Ibn Batuta nor Baber mention the word 'Pathan'. Baber gives the names of many east Afghanistan tribes, but nowhere does he mention Pathans, Pakhtuns or Pashtuns. He calls the people Afghans and their language, Afghani."⁷ As for the word Afghan, it appears in the inscriptions of Shahpur I at Naksh-e-Rustam which mentions a certain Goundifer Abgan Rismaund. According to Sprengler, a similar name 'Apakan' occurs as the designation of the later Sassanian Emperor Shahpur III. "The word Afghan, though of unknown origin, first appears in history in the Hudud-al-Alam, a work by an unknown Arab geographer who wrote in 982 A.D." (Afghanistan, by W.K Frazier Tytler). But according to the Encyclopedia of Islam: "the first mention of the Afghans in written history is in the Chronicle of al-Utbi in Tarikh-e-Yamini and an almost contemporary mention by Al-Biruni. Utbi records that Sabuktigin enrolled Afghans in his army." Another version states that the earliest recorded use of the name Afghan is by the Indian astronomer, Varaha-Mihira of the 6th century A.D. in the form Avagana.⁸

"The supposition that the Pathans are any different from the Afghans is not borne out either by the legendary accounts associated with the origin of this people or by historical or ethnological data."⁹

Both Bellew and Longworth Dames consider the two terms as appellation of a common people. There is no racial difference between the two. The two words are synonymous referring to one and the same people though a few writers try to make a distinction between Afghans and Pathans which is ephemeral.

⁵ Pakhtuns/Pashtun/Pathans/Afghans SYED ZUBIR REHMAN

⁶ (The Pathans, by Sir Olaf Caroe)

⁷ (Afghan Immigration in the early Middle Ages, by K.S Lal)

⁸ (Afghan Immigration in the Early Middle Ages, by K.S Lal).

⁹ (Encyclopedia of Britannica).

For instance, some authors maintain that only those tribes living in southern Afghanistan, particularly between Herat and Qandhar and who speak Persian should be called Afghans while others living in the rest of Afghanistan, NWFP and Baluchistan speaking Pashtu language should be called Pathans. What they mean is that those who speak Pashtu are Pathans and those of them who speak Persian are Afghans. Sir Olaf Caroe makes a distinction between the Afghans and the Pathans on the basis of the hillsmen and plainsmen. He thinks that those living in the fertile plains of Qandhar, Herat, Kabul and Peshawar should be called Afghans and those living in the hills, Pathans. Lt. Gen. George McMunn divides Afghans into three groups: Abdalis, Ghilzais and Pathans (Afghanistan from Darius to Amanullah, by Lt. Gen. Dir George McMunn). But, as already stated, such distinctions are confusing and will lead nowhere. All should be called either Afghans, Pashtuns, Pakhtuns or Pathans.

There has, however, been no dispute over the name of the language they speak. It is called by one name only i.e., Pashtu. But its origin, again is disputed. Most of the authors are agreed that "it is both in origin and structure an Eastern Iranian language which has borrowed freely from the Indo-Aryan group."¹⁰

But one of the greatest authorities on the Pathans, Morgenstierne, on the other hand, feels that it is probably a Saka dialect from the north. The general opinion, however, is that Pashtu is a branch of the original Iranian language called Pahlawi.

Concept of Kinship

The social structure of Afghan society is based on clan /kinship and genealogical order. Mostly kinship relationship unites its members primarily in social, political, economic, recreational and military shares. In Pukhtoon society, it holds each man equal to his fellow Pukhtoon. Individuals are assumed to be essentially independent actors, however, strong men compete for secular power, but the actual power of an individual is short-lived and undermined by the resistance of peer and institution of shura /jirga. Within a culture philosophy of equality and autonomy, another logical possibility for validating legitimacy is the spiritual authority. They exhibit distinct characters, possessing scarce knowledge of Koran, and following the prophet's(PBUH)traditions, display spiritual morally and ascetic holiness and a sober emulation of the life of the prophet(PBUH),as sufi, pir, sayed and Pash imam. Religious leadership has always played central role especially in the time of internal crises and external invasion. "Kinship is connected to the Throne (‘Arsh). It says: ‘Whoever severs me, then break (away from) him. And whoever maintains me, and then keep connected to him." And in one narration. "Verily, the kinship will be connected to the Throne of the Most Merciful on the Day of Judgment. It will say: ‘This is the place for the one who sought refuge in you from the severing (of family ties). So Allah will say to it: ‘Will it please you that I connect those who maintained you and that I cut off those who severed you? And it will say: ‘I will be pleased (with that), my Lord."

¹⁰ (The Pathans, by Sir Olaf Caroe)

Besides landed gentry and religious leadership, a large number of people fall in the category of kasabgar (professional with certain specialization, such as carpenter, barber, gold and blacksmith, shoemakers, artisan) mostly landless, the people of little traditions. Since time in memoriam the Pukhtoon have lived among different ethnic groups and have taken in various other people not necessarily from their tribe by birth. Most common way of organization is the area, or the village wherein they live and interact with one another on a daily basis. The term Taal is commonly used in case of heterogonous families (not necessarily having the same ancestors) living together in an area or village. The tribal concept of democracy urgently demands an equal participation in collective village/area affairs.

Instead of having one common leader, they have to pick and choose a man from each and every major and minor group to ensure the practice of pluralism. Each Taal (segment of population) is considered to be a separate unit, thus, their interest, feeling and wishes are ascertained by the community through their respective representatives in the village, shura/marka/jirga.

The following information comes from my own life experience of being a Pukhtoon and from my many years of work in the Pakistani and Afghani Pukhtoon communities.

Pukhtoon communal life

The three Important Institutions:

Jumat (mosque),

Hujra (Community Center),

Jirga (Elder Committee)

Jumat/Mosque



Islam is the only binding force for unification in the Pukhtoon community as in other matters they are mostly divided. But for the sake of Islam they are one and united against any internal or external threat.

Jumat is the place of religious worship headed by the Pash Imam who leads the prayer five times a day. Friday prayer has a special status in the religious practice. The Pash Imam usually lives in the mosque or, if he has a family, then closes to the mosque. If he does not have his own house, a rent-free house is given to him by a person of the community. Many of his needs are fulfilled by the community and he is respected by all.

Apart from leading prayer, he has many other responsibilities. He keeps an eye on the bad practices in the community and gives lecture on them in the Friday sermon from an Islamic perspective. The people follow him and take immediate action according to his guidance in Islamic issues. He teaches the Koran in the afternoon to the community children in the mosque. He makes arrangement for the ghusal (final bath) for the male dead bodies and prepares all sorts of instruments used in the ghusal and the grave with the help of the community elders. He also leads the final prayer (Janaza) for the dead male, female and children. In addition to his daily needs, he receives a special share of food that is given to him soon after the preparation from each household participating in the mosque. Zakat, which is the religious responsibility of the Muslim and is one of the five basic pillars of Islam, is given to him or, on his advice, to others who deserve it. On the occasion of any ceremony he is invited first to eat and pray and then the food is served to others.

The Pash Imam is also invited to give Azan (GOD Calling) in the case of any child and also served with food and cash. He also performs the Nikah (wedding Contract) for the couple after marriage and for that also he is given various gifts and money.

The wife of the Pash Imam is respected in the same way as her husband. She teaches the Koran at home to the girls of the community (home school). She teaches the prayers, different methods of wado (cleaning body for prayer) and fasting, etc. She is also invited for certain occasions like the ghusal of the dead women. Food and other gifts are sent to the Pash Imam's house since the women in the Imam's house follow the strict veil rules and are highly respected by the community

The Mosque is a place of worship and also a place to hold the shura (Jirga) if the parties agree to resolve the issue through religious means. The Pash Imam narrates religious examples of the matter from Koran and Sunnah (sayings and practices of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)) and informs the parties of the outcome of the decision if it is not adhered to.

Hujra (the community center)

There are three important institutions in the Pukhtoon community where a male Pukhtoon child gets an education



The Mosque is for receiving religious education. The school is for receiving worldly education. The Hujra is for learning about the Pukhtoon code of life, called azizwali/Pukhtoonwali. The Hujra is similar to a present day community center. All of these are open to men but not women.

The Pukhtoon child gets an education in three disciplines as compared to other nations of the world community, where two institutions are mostly used for the education of the children. Schools are most commonly for worldly education and the Mandar, Church, synagogue, Mosque is for religious education. A Pukhtoon child, apart from religious training in the mosque and worldly training in the school, gets a unique verbal and unwritten knowledge in the Hujra about Pukhtoonwali.

The children learn from elders, called Masher, while youngsters are known as Khashar. Taking apart the word Masher in Pustho: Ma is used for no, Shar means violence, so Masher are those who prevent or stop violence and conflict. Ka in Pustho means doing, so ka -shar means the one who goes after violence and conflict. The elders are considered the traditional leaders while the modern world considers the politicians to be the leaders of a community.

Sometimes Mashar and Khan are considered synonyms but actually they have different meanings. Mashar is an elderly wise and credible man on whom the Qaum (tribe) has trust. He is expected to have proved his worth through the thick and thin of life. He is expected to keep himself aware of the situation of the community or Qaum and keep his eye on the good and the evil in vogue. He gives his approval or disapproval of the prevailing patterns of the society and if he considers it appropriate, he refers the issue to a council of elders for their intermediary role.

Leaders Vs Elders

1. The leaders follow the Roberts Rules of Order; the elders obey the spirit.
2. The leaders see the trouble and try to stop it; the Elders see the troublemaker as a possible teacher.
3. The leaders strive to be honest; the Elders try to show the truth in everything.
4. The democratic leaders support democracy; the Elders does this, too, but also listens to the dictator and the ghost.
5. Leaders try to be better at their jobs; Elders try to get others to become elders.
6. Leaders try to be wise; Elders have no mind of their own. They follow the events of nature.
7. Leaders need time to reflect; the Elders take only a moment to notice what's happening.
8. The leaders know; the Elders learn.
9. The leaders try to act; the Elders let things be.
10. The Leaders needs a strategy; the Elders study the moment.
11. The Leaders follow a plan; the Elders honor the direction of an unresolved and unknown river.
12. The Leaders make strategies to win; the Elders recognize others and become their student.
13. The Leaders try to change people; the Elders assume we are all exactly what we are meant to be.

14. The Leaders focuses on the issues; the Elders on the feelings as well.

The name of the Hujra (community center) and the Jumat (Mosque) are simultaneously used in the Pukhtoon community, while Hujra is also linked with the Jirga. A community is not complete in the Pukhtoon culture if they have not these three entities: Hujra, Mosque and Jirga.

The Hujra is a communal setting for entertainment, a community center for children to play, a decision-making conflict resolution center, a place to offer people workshops in various skills, a place for ceremonies and celebrations in the event of deaths, marriages, festivals, and a communal "hotel" and guest hall with a big compound for males in the community or village.

The community members make contributions and provide the physical labor, called Ashar, to construct the Hujra on the land that belongs to each individual of the community called shamalat. Visitors and unmarried young men sleep in the Hujra. The villagers usually share the expenses. The Hujra plays a pivotal role in Pukhtoon daily life. It serves as a club, dormitory, guesthouse and a place for rituals and feasts. It is a center for social activities as well as a Council Hall for the settlement of family and inter-tribal disputes. The Hujra is not only a meeting place for the villagers but is also used as a platform for the Jirga's meetings (grand community meeting) where important decisions are made and family quarrels and tribal disputes are cordially resolved.

It is a guesthouse where guests are jointly entertained by village folk and a community center for marriages and other social functions. Even condolences are offered in the Hujra on the demise of a person and here sympathy is expressed to the bereaved family. It is a place of public resort where village elders and youngsters get together in their leisure hours to discuss tribal, national and international affairs and matters of mutual interest. The guests and strangers are fed and sheltered free of cost in the village Hujra.

The Hujra and the Jirga are interrelated. The Hujra is not only a meeting place for the villagers but it is also used as a platform for the Jirga's meetings where important decisions are made and family matters and tribal disputes are amicably resolved. In some places the Hujra happens to be the property of one man but in tribal areas it is common property. In the Hujra, the Hubble bubble (Cheelam) and the Rabab (ancient guitar) and the Mangia (an earthen pitcher) are always played together.

Though the Hubble-bubble still retains its old place, the music of the Rabab with the accompaniment of the Mangai is vanishing and is being replaced by the radio, transistor and television. Before the appearance of these modern technologies, story-telling in a melodious voice by a community member was one of the common practices. On certain occasions music with a woman singer was arranged by the family for the celebration of a marriage etc.

The Hujra are generally well fortified. They have one or two towers with a loop-holed bulwark for the purpose of the defense of the village and shooting from above along the wall

in case of an outbreak of hostilities. The youngsters of the village and unmarried men sleep in the Hujra to guard the village in case of blood feuds. The Hujra usually consists of two or three rooms with an adjacent veranda and a courtyard. A number of bed stands or charpayee, pillows and quilts and prayer rugs are available in the Hujra for the guests.

The Hujra's use is multipurpose as mentioned above. The elders stay in the Hujra when the villagers leave for work. They not only discuss the village affairs but also keep an eye on the visitors and newcomers. They entertain them and assist them in all respect. They offer guidance to beginning itinerate merchants, called Banjaree, who sell small items or cloth. They also collect taxes from the people and oversee the collection of stones from the hill, sand from the stream and other activities that generate village revenue. They respond to emergencies in the absence of the youth and other family elders and arrange to look after the sick. They sit in the Hujra until lunch and afternoon prayer.

The second shift starts when the children leave school to eat lunch and go to the Hujra for games. After two or three hours the carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, barbers and other skilled workers come to the Hujra and do their community jobs. These are compensated for their work after the harvesting of the crop with a special share according to the Narkh (existing prices) by each individual of the community.

The Dam (in some communities called Nayee) are always present to keep Hujra clean, entertain the locals as well as guests with the Hubble bubble, serve tea, food and drinks and provide other formalities as needed. The elders and youth look after the poor, disabled, sick and elderly of the community. The physical assistance is carried out by the youth and the



financial assistance of treatment, daily food, entertainment is looked after by the elders of the community.

The elders also maintain all the services and items that community needs i.e. tools for repair, graveyards, tents, funeral equipment, beds, quilts and blankets, crockery, cooking utensils, etc. Similarly they maintain the arms and ammunition in the community in case of any security threats to the community. Furthermore, the elders stay current with the situation of relatives and friends of each family in other areas and are informed in the case of a death of any family member. The electricity bills of the Hujra and mosque, and even of some poor

families, are paid from the community savings. Due to a joint family system the unmarried youth use the Hujra as a bedroom and all arrangements are made by the elders for their needs.

The last session at the Hujra is for the youth and elders together. Elders soon after the night prayer join the youth for an updating and discussion of issues. After awhile the elders leave and the youngsters can enjoy their own company.

In the Hujra each Kashar (youth) is a volunteer who works for the elders and guests. They are involved in providing food, helping the elderly, looking after the village and community security, making arrangements for funerals and happy occasions and celebrating religious and traditional festivals. The youth are not involved with fundraising and gathering contributions from the villagers since this is the duty of elders.

There are common places like the desert, hillsides and graveyards where community members gather sand, stone and wood for their use. Villages have special taxes on such items, which they collect from the user and this becomes part of the village revenue. Small merchants such as egg sellers (ageemar), sellers of small items for children and of makeup for women (banjaree), cloth sellers, fruit and vegetable sellers also pay to the village on each visit.

Similarly the village servant pays a special contribution on Eid festivals for the village and community betterment. If the community needs further resources for specific projects then the contribution is taken from each household. Poor families are exempted and the contribution is usually taken from each married male head-of-household. Women and children are exempted from such financial liabilities. The money is kept with the elders of the Jirga, who share the information on the expenditures and income with the community after Friday prayer in the mosque. If someone needs further funds clerification he can contact the elders at the Hujra.

Each community has their own system of distribution and skilled personnel to meet the needs of the community and these receive compensation in the form of food grains when the crops are ready. The landless poor, the disabled and the elderly are assisted without compensation.

Story telling was an important component of the Hujra. A famous man from the surrounding area was invited to narrate the story of love, bravery, pukhtoonwali to the youth of the Hujra. The elders sometimes also attended these special sessions. Story telling with traditional guitar (Rabab) and Pitchers was another way of presenting the information to



the youth. These stories sometimes lasted two or three nights and the people not only enjoyed the singing but also the enactments of the songs done by the youth at the direction of the presenter. Such stories were also recited by the youth and practiced in the Hujra or during the Ashar (harvesting time of the crop).

With the passage of time and the arrival of electricity story telling changed to the use of the gramophone, radio, and TV. Since TV is such an all-encompassing visual and auditory experience, people started to leave the Hujra culture and watch their TVs alone at the Batak (the drawing room adjacent to the home) and in their homes.

Rules at the Hujra

Each youngster will stand upon the arrival of an elder who is or not from his social or financial status. Elders and guests will sit at the head of the bed; youngsters will bring pillows, the Hubble-bubble, water from the pitchers. They will not sit until and unless asked by the elder. Then they will sit on the floor or at the tale of the bed. They will serve the elders in the order of seniority. They will keep silent when elders are talking. They will follow the instructions given by the elders and will report back to them the next night. Youngsters will keep a cap on their heads and a sheet (chader) on their shoulders at all times in front of their elders. They will not smoke or take snuff in front of the elders.

Guests are honored above all. The youth will guard the elders while visiting other places and they will escort the guest visiting the Hujra to their homes. Any misshape on the way will be dealt with according to the order of the elders and the consequences will be shared by all the community. Youngsters will keep and follow all rules of Pukhtoonwali and any misconduct on their part will be taken as shame for the whole community. If for honor they take an action for the community's sake it will be fully supported by the community whatever the consequences may be. Elders will also follow the same rules. They will act as ambassadors and authorize diplomats to act on behalf of the tribe or community. Any decision will be shared with the community at the Hujra and will be supported by the community members. But they will also look after the interest of the community in all respect.

It is interesting to mention that modern political initiatives are taken from the Hujra and Jirga. A person contesting an election will first arrange a Jirga in his community Hujra where he will take a consensus of the people. If the community elders decide to support him, then they will completely stand behind him. If a candidate does not follow the rules even a brother or father will not support him. There is a pustho proverb, "da koor Na Durand har chertha Durand wee" (A person respected at home will be respected everywhere). This is similar to



another proverb that says "a koor moor her chertha moor wee"(a person well-fed at home will have a full stomach every where). If there is a guest in the Hujra, he will be served first even before the elders who have more years or status. A guest of one is the guest of all. Each individual will bring food, according to his status and all will eat together with the guest. Any disrespect to the guest will bring shame and dishonor to the community. Working for a guest will be considered an honor by the community members and will be taken on by all. There is no discrimination between the guests of the community or a passerby who stays for a night or takes some rest. A guest is a guest and will enjoy all privileges given by the Pukhtoonwali.

Younger men will do any service for the Hujra member or guest. Women are not allowed to enter the Hujra but if there is a matter of urgency an old woman can come and asked any member of Hujra for consultation or sharing of information. They also invite the Hujra member to their own places where women share their remedies for later discussion with other elders at the Hujra.

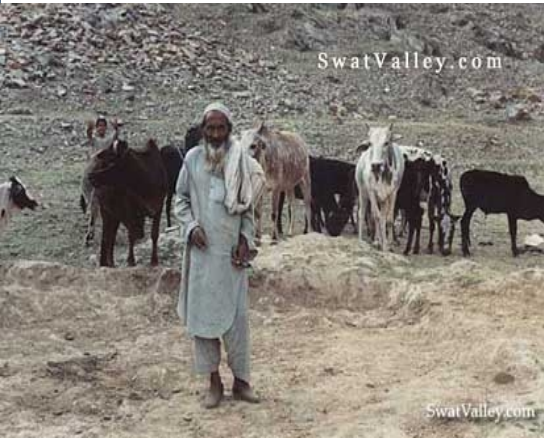
Drumbeaters are used on special occasion like a meting of the Jirga or other important occasions in the Hujra. People run to the scene to participate. If there is a chagha (call for help) every young person and the elderly runs to support the community.

In case of a death, the elder of the Hujra will arrange for a gravesite, the final bath (Ghusal) for the dead body, the coffin, the Last Prayer (janaza) and three-day prayer ceremony at the Hujra. Members of the community rotate the responsibilities of providing food for guests and local families. Guests of bereaved family are also accommodated logistically and served according to the prevailing condition.

The same is true on happy occasions of marriages, engagements and any others. The community shares the responsibilities after the family has consulted the local Jirga with community members. Family members can ask the community elders for help and the elders will provide it.

It is clear that the use of the Hujra is for many purposes and advancement over the present day community centers. It is where the community members share their sorrow and joys with each other. In a community center the members come from different backgrounds and cultures and traditions while in the Hujra the community shares a common culture, tradition and language. It is the place where the young men learn all the Pukhtoonwali codes and ethics have the opportunity to practice by doing.





(Jirga (assembly of tribal elders))

Democracy is not alien to the tradition of the Pukhtoon. They have based their typical and elementary form of government on democratic principles since the beginnings of time. A unique feature of tribal life is the Jirga system, a council or assembly of tribal elders, which closely resembles the Athenian democracy of the City States of ancient Greece. The Jirga is considered a more advanced institution than one finds in most democracies because in a democracy the opposition remains forever while with in the Jirga process there is a difference of opinion but the decision is unanimous and each individual is responsible to respect the verdict even if they have held a different opinion within the Jirga process.

The Pukhtoon practiced this participatory sort of democracy long before Locke, Rousseau and other eminent philosophers expounded on their theories on democracy. It is similar to the Circle of the Native Americans, the Gachacha of Africa, the Sulha of the Middle East, Panchayat of India, Mori tribe customs of New Zealand, Kherga of Spanish community, the approach of Socrates in Greece and Italy. It is also very similar to the Restorative Justice system of the present-day world.

The Jirga is an assembly of tribal elders called for various purposes whether for waging war or building peace, tribal or inter-tribal relationships. The meeting of the elders may lead to a decision or not but it is the way to begin communication between parties.

Considered one of the Pukhtoon's national treasures, the "Spingrey" is a grey-bearded man who embodies a wealth of experience, has complete knowledge of the Pukhtoon code and is well respect. They speak frankly and they only follow the truth. And therefore they are regarded as the leaders of the community. They can advise the youngsters who are obliged to listen and follow their directions with complete sincerity because they know that the directive has come from the Spingrey.

If one quotes a Spingrey, for example, "a Spingrey once said or our Spingrey says....." that holds a lot of weight. The Spingrey not only transfers his experiences or evidence to the younger generations but also imparts to the youth the stories and wisdom that they themselves learned from their Spingrey when they were young. The reason behind this oral transfer of knowledge is that in the region there has not been much use of the written word or printing and therefore the culture and traditions have been transferred through word of mouth.



The Council of Spingreys, the Jirga, is used for consultations, advice and decision-making. It has a right to interfere and intervene but if the parties do not extend their consent to a specific Jirga, then the parties are asked to nominate their own chosen Jirga so that the issues could be addressed. People consent to refer their disputes to such councils and also put trust in their credibility. The Jirga does not deliberate on the issues on which the parties do not extend their mutual consent for arbitration. If the decision of one Jirga cannot be executed then another Jirga is formed. In some cases when some issues in a dispute cannot be resolved because of the absence of precedents then an outside or new Jirga is invited to address only those specific issues.

In addition, in times of dispute between two or more tribes, the Jirga specialists from other tribes are invited or a regional council is invited which is called a Loya Jirga. Loya Jirga is usually employed to announce war, to call a ceasefire or to confront a national emergency. A government can employ the Loya Jirga comprising people of repute to address an issue of national importance.

Sometimes the Jirga is divided into two or more parts and each part has a specific charter. The Jirga believes in collective leadership and each member of the Jirga is as important in his own right as the others. One of the main roles of the Jirga is to keep its people informed of the state of affairs. They can deliberate upon the role of the Mashar and the Khan both. If the conduct of any one is found to be below their dignity then the Jirga is duty-bound to inform the Qaum about the situation and alert them. People of the community have a right to sit in the proceedings of the Jirga as observers. Therefore the Jirga sits like a judicial council so that their decisions are transparent and enforceable.

Pukhtoonwali is the code of ethics of the Pukhtoon, Hujra the parliament building and the Jirga their Parliament or National Assembly and intrepidity and frankness an essential trait of their character. An atmosphere of equality pervades the tribal area and even a poor man dressed in rags considers himself equal to his adversary or his rich neighbor. This spirit is well reflected in their Jirga system, which, like the ancient Greek democratic institutions, signifies their love for democracy.

The Jirga of today also plays an important and constructive role in solving the tribal matters. It is an authority for settling disputes and dispensing justice to all irrespective of their social status, influence and wealth. All matters including the question of peace and war within tribal limits fall within the purview of the Jirga. It consists of the leading Maliks, khan, religious scholar and tribal elders.

There are no hard and fast rules for the selection of Jirga members except that they must be men. All tribal elders Spingreys, or gray-beards, are considered eligible for its membership and each one of them has a right to speak and freely express his opinion. However, Jirga generally consist of persons known for their honesty and integrity. The Jirga exercises both executive and judicial roles and settles all disputes pertaining to the distribution of land, property, blood feuds, blood money and other important inter-tribal affairs on the basis of tribal conventions, traditions and principles of justice. It performs judicial functions while settling a dispute and discharges police functions when a threat to peace and tranquility or danger to the life and property exists within tribal limits.

The Jirga usually deals with inter-tribal affairs and serves as an instrument for dispensing speedy, inexpensive and "on-the-spot" justice. After careful consideration, the Jirga decides the disputes on the basis of available evidence.

The word Jirga has different meanings: one is a place where one can express his feelings openly without any fear or threat. Jir-jar means "with open voice" and ga-gah means "place". The Jirga assembles in a Hujra or a village mosque or in an open field outside the village under a shady tree. The Jirga members usually sit in a circle without any keeper. This Round Table Conference like a meeting without a chairman clearly reflects their love of democracy and the principle of equality irrespective of wealth, status or family background. The main criteria are knowledge of Pukhtoonwali, wisdom, and skill for problem solution.

The Jirga conducts its proceedings in a simple manner. It has two methods: "parachute diplomacy" when the Jirga enter between the warring factions and beg for peace, or the other method involves one party approaching the Jirga and the members of the Jirga begin their "shuttle diplomacy."

The Jirga members in the process employ all modern techniques in traditional ways i.e. facilitation, mediation, arbitration, and reconciliation. They interview the parties, give them a patient hearing and examine witnesses to ascertain the facts of the case. After searching inquiries, the Jirga makes every possible endeavor to find an impartial and acceptable solution of the problem.

The Jirga's decision is generally based on Shariat, Islamic Law, local traditions, justice and fair play. In serious cases the Jirga asks a party to clear itself of the imputed charge by an oath on the Holy Quran. This seals the issue once for all, as the religion and social bounds of Pukhtoonwali are extremely strong forces. The Jirga announces its decision only when the majority of its members reach an agreement. But Jirga members deem it prudent to obtain the consent of both parties before making its verdict public. This practice is known as WAAQ or IKHTIAR (Power of attorney). It is through the instrument of Waaq or Ikhtiar that the Jirga commits both the parties to abide by its decision. The Waaq also gives a binding force or some sort of legal cover to the Jirga's verdict and it becomes incumbent upon the parties concerned to honor its verdict.

Jirga has all modern components of western peace making efforts, including the following:

Peace making

Jirga members divide their roles and responsibilities and act in different ways to cool down the parties' emotions, contain the conflict, and come away with the consent (waaq) of both parties. They also investigate the conflict to find the facts and decide accordingly.

Peace keeping

When there is a violent conflict between parties the Jirga intervenes through shalagoon (20 armed volunteers) with white flags. When the firing stops the Jirga goes with the same

volunteers and declares a ceasefire (Teega) for a certain period of time. During this time the Jirga members take the opportunity to investigate the matter on their own. They take guarantees in the form of cash or commodities from both parties to maintain the ceasefire. The Lakhkar, part of the volunteer force, implements the decision of the Jirga in case of any violation.

The elders place a Teega (stone) between the parties in conflict and ask for money, weapons etc. that are then kept with the Jirga. They declare a ceasefire for an interim period, before the final decision is made. If any one of the parties violates the ceasefire, the Jirga confiscates its money or other items. A special voluntary force, Lakhkar, in such cases, imposes the decision of the Jirga to punish the perpetrator.

The Jirga members intervene at the request of the parties in conflict, and they use shuttle diplomacy or use their own powers, or come into the middle through parachute diplomacy. Peace is brought about by first listening to the parties and convincing them to accept the solution to the problem. The role of the Jirga members changes from a diplomat to a mediator and an arbitrator.

Apart from conflict resolution, the Jirga plays an active role in the development of the areas. They change the Jirga role and regulations and bring in new laws, according to the needs of the community. They also work closely with the government agencies for the betterment of the people. In addition, they provide an equitable share of jobs, land, and other resources to each tribe, according to its population in the government.

Peace building

There are three common international processes for bringing peace into a community or country: peace building, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. Peace building means creating the tangible and intangible conditions to enable a conflict-habituated system to become a peace building system.

There are three types of Peace Building. The first one is Political Peace Building.

Political Peace Building

This process deals with establishing political arrangements that provide the overall context within which to understand the relationship of various parties and their resources. It is about building a legal infrastructure that can address the political needs and manage the boundaries of a peace system. Some examples are negotiation, technical working groups, and fact-finding missions.

This is an integral part of the Jirga system where elders of the community start negotiating with the parties. They investigate interview people, survey the venue and make a decision based on their findings.

Structural peace building

This process deals with creating structure-system of behavior, institutions and actions that support the embodiment (by word, picture) or implementation of a peace culture. It is about building economic, military, social infrastructures that provide concrete and realistic avenues through which a new peace system might express itself. Examples are disarming warring factions, repatriating refugees, monitoring elections, and cooperative projects of economic and social development.

Here the elders of different tribes sit and think about the needs, resources and strengths of each tribe. They elect and select the elders according to the tribe, role of the tribe to be fixed and resources to be shared accordingly.

Social peace building

This process is about relationships and it includes feelings, attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, and skills as they have and shared between peoples, individually and in groups. It is about building a human infrastructure of people who are committed to engendering a new culture of peace -- within the social fabric of communal and inter-communal life. Examples are dialogue processes, community building activities, training.

Such informal training and behavior changes take place in the Hujra where the needs of the time are shared with the youth and new pattern of life are given to them to follow. Elders become role models and the youngsters follow. This still occurs in the rural areas but not so much in the urban areas.

Modern concept of ADR and the Jirga system

1. **Spirituality:** The spiritual nature of the Jirga is one of the binding forces of the Jirga decision and contributes to the effectiveness of its implementation. Elders are considered the guests of God and to refuse their decision is considered an invitation to the curse of God. With the elders of the community, the religious elders also sit in on the decision-making process. They start the process with special prayers and announce the decision again with prayer. With traditional arguments they also help the elders, along with their religious practice, to make the process easy, acceptable and more binding. The elders also describe to the parties the worldly and religious/spiritual consequences of not following the agreement. The final agreement is reached mostly by bringing the holy Koran in the middle and the parties put their hands on it and swear to be faithful to the decision of the Jirga for the rest of their lives.

2. **Volunteerism:** All the elders are volunteers, who come forward to resolve the issue/conflict in order to gain God's blessing and to make the lives easy for the parties with less violence. They bear all the cost on their own, without any outside help or assistance. They keep their neutrality at all times during the Jirga process and try to resolve the conflict impartially, in a manner acceptable to all parties. Jirga members play different roles at different times in the Jirga. They facilitate, mediate and arbitrate and present their good office at the same time.

3. Pre-mediation: If, after getting adequate information from the community members, the parties or the elders themselves get into a violent situation, they start pre-mediation in small groups. Their job at this stage is to motivate, to advocate, and to de-escalate emotions. The people from the Jirga who know the parties can take the initiative on their own with due consultation of the Jirga members, to see and convince the parties separately. They also facilitate the individual process with the party concerned and talk on behalf of the other party for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

4. Mediation-Arbitration: In the most common example of the Jirga, the parties are approached for mediation in advance; their emotions are lowered to make them ready for negotiation. The parties in conflict give permission, commonly known as *waaq*, to resolve the dispute. When the Jirga elders get permission from the parties for arbitration, then the parties are also bound to accept the Jirga elders' decision whatever it is.

5: Community based: There is only one type of Jirga in the tribal belt of Pakistan sponsored by the government under the British-made law, FCR (Frontier Crime Regulation). The rest of the Jirgas in Pakistan/Afghanistan are community-based in which only communities members who are approved by the parties are known in the areas participate. In the majority of the cases the Jirga is not given any legal coverage by the governments. However, the government authorities accept Jirga decisions.

6. Preventive measures: In the Jirga process Jirga members make the decision to solve the problem by involving the victims and the offenders directly or indirectly. With give and take, they compensate the victim's losses and also take preventive measures to stop similar crimes in the future with the help of community. Jirga members look into any situation within the community that creates further violence and take remedial action to make the community safer for the community. Tega, Nanawati, Nagha etc. are all such measure which make the community safe from further violence

7. Offender taking responsibility of wrongdoing: In the Jirga process the offender takes the responsibility for his wrongdoing and commits himself to do the right thing, according to the decision of the Jirga. Sometimes the offenders go to the victim's house with the Jirga elders called Nanawati (sanctuary) in Pukhtoonwali (Pukhtoon unwritten code of life). The victim forgives the offender for his wrongdoing in honor of the Jirga.

8. Healing: The healing stage is unique in its nature. Not only is the issue resolved, but also the Jirga further lays the groundwork for friendship. This even leads to the process of reconciliation. The family and friends of both parties become so close to each other that the enmities change to friendship and sometimes to ongoing relationships.

9. Forgive and forget: "Forgive and forget" is another important aspect of the Jirga decision. Jirga members over time follow the process of reconciliation in hopes of bringing the parties closer to each other. Sometimes people forget the damages or losses and become close friends or even relatives.

10. Circle: Jirga members sit in a circle on the ground without any discrimination and discuss the issue one at a time. They reach a decision only after thoroughly discussing each

and every aspect of the issue and finally coming to a conclusion. The circle of Jirga is similar to all types of Restorative Justice System circles. It covers all aspect of decision-making, healing, restitution and so on.

11. Follow-up and aftercare: Jirga member also do proper follow-up and aftercare following the resolution of the dispute. The idea behind that is to make the relationship strong and to prohibit the interference of third party “pot stirrers”. As the Jirga is working toward the resolution of the conflict, “pot stirrers” can make the process more difficult for their own interests and benefits.

12. Speedy and easy access to justice: It is an inexpensive and easy way to resolve disputes on any level in the Pukhtoon community. Big issues, even enmities and murder cases, are resolved in days. The criminal justice system punishes the offender but does nothing to end the animosities. Even after a prolonged criminal justice punishment process, the parties again request the Jirga for intervention for ending the enmities.

13. Involvement of the parties for further dispute resolution: There is a Pustho saying that one is a good Jirga member who has practically gone through all the steps of a Jirga process. The Jirga resolves the conflict and also makes the parties ready to help others to resolve their conflicts peacefully. They tell their own past stories and make the parties ready to resolutions. People respect them for being a role model for them, for listening to them carefully and for offering their respected decisions within the Jirga process.

Differences between Western use of peace making and the Jirga method

14. Democratic. Jirga is more democratic in the sense that the Jargamar (Jirga members) sit on the ground without any social identity. Respectable among them is the one holding knowledge of the cultural traditions and wisdom. In the Jirga process there are differences of opinion but the decision is always unanimous without any dissenting voices. That’s why Jirga is considered a more advanced system than the present day democratic court systems, negotiation practices or mediation methods of the western world.

Traditional /anti social aspect of Jirga

The Jirga is a typical example of a traditional tribal method for resolving the tribal disputes. Much has been made of the use force in case of a non-acceptance of the Jirga decision. In the tribal belt, a special volunteer force called Lakhkar implements the Jirga decision of expelling some one from the area, demolishing the houses and properties, even some time killing the offender while in the settled districts social boycotts and taking a stand with the opposite parties are common practices.

Punishment

Punishment for any deviation from the Jirga decision can include burning or demolishing a person's house, heavy compensation of cash money, giving *Swara* or marrying a girl to the victim's relatives, keeping the offender away for the rest of his life from his native area. These are some of the punishments that can be meted out. These not only make the

offender but also his family members' lives miserable. The next generation of the offenders becomes more vulnerable to crime due to the financial constraints placed on them.

Forced implementation

Even though the Jirga members are volunteers, a decision made by the Jirga is so strong that it is implemented by force in the tribal areas. The parties' voluntary participation ceases to have value and the forceful implementation of the Jirga members become more visible to rest of the world. The parties give their decision-making power or waaq to the Jirga and then these parties are bound to follow the decision of the Jirga.

Arbitration

After taking (waaq) permission from both sides the Jirga members decide according to the prevailing tradition and custom of Pukhtoonwali. The parties have no right to refuse the decision of the Jirga.

Verbal decision

Most of the Jirga decisions are verbal without written agreements. It can become a problem in a long process, if the Jirga member dies or someone within the parties involved refuses to accept further the decision of Jirga. It also creates a problem if the conflict is prolonged and goes to the courts.

No role of women

The Pukhtoon community is a male-dominated society. Therefore, the men make all the decisions of the Jirga without any involvement of the women. The veil system for women is another obstacle for women to come forward and take an active part in the decision-making process of the Jirga. Even though the Pukhtoon community is not ready to give women their proper role in the decision-making process of Jirga, women play an active role behind the scenes in family matters and especially when women are the victims. In the recent past women were also given the right to participate in the Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) of Afghanistan. This is a positive sign for further involvement of women in the Jirga system on the grassroots level in rural areas.

It is also one of the functions of the Jirga to ensure law and order and a lasting and durable peace in the area. Here the Jirga can be likened to the General Assembly of the United Nations. As all peace-loving nations can become members of the General Assembly, similarly the Jirga is composed of such elders who have stainless characters and spotless records. As no decision is taken in the United Nations without a majority vote, likewise the majority opinion prevails in the Jirga. But here the similarity ends. The Jirga is more powerful as compared to the General Assembly. It can easily enforce its decisions through a tribal Lakhkar and the erring party or the dissident group is promptly punished. The UN and other world powers in most of the conflicts in the present-day world follow Jirga parachute and shuttle diplomacy

Maraka

Maraka is for minor issues where the parties in conflict select one or two (according to the nature of problem) representatives from both sides to resolve an issue. They are mostly the

family members or elders who know the conflict and they resolved the conflict according to the prevailing traditions and needs of the families. The main difference is that in the Maraka are less important issues with fewer people involved. While in jirga bigger issues -- even including murder -- are dealt with by a large group in the community. Here the parties can select some representatives but mostly the jirga members (jirgamar) are famous and are known in the area.

Pukhtoonwali (Code of life)

Pukhtoonwali is a verbal, complete code of life that many people prefer over the modern codes and rules of life available to them. Some of the Pukhtoonwali codes are explained below for the common understanding of the reader.



Pukhtoon, Pukhtoo, Pukhtoonwali.

It depicts a complete set of characteristics or traits associated with basic Pukhtoon identity that a Pukhtoon is expected to exercise. This is a local code of life and any deviation from the general norms can lead to one's expulsion from the basic identity group of Pukhtoon.

Pukhtoo is the language, Pukhtoo is a code of life, and Pukhtoo is honor, ego and so on. That's why in anger Pukhtoos always taunt each other that "you are not Pukhtoon, you have no Pukhtoo." This holds no similar meaning in other cultures i.e. "you have no English, no Persian, no Urdu," etc.

Khan

Anyone having property is not a khan but he who extends his property for common use becomes a khan. In times of need a Mashar demands leadership from the Khan. Sometimes the chairs of the Khan and the Mashar rest in one person. It is so when the Khan is an elderly and experienced man and enjoys the respect of the council of elders.



Malik

A person with a good reputation is usually selected by the government and the tribe together to develop a bridge between the community and the government. He mostly assists the government officials at the Hujra. He is the one to collect revenue (malia) from the farmers if the land is irrigated from the canal. He also collects other taxes from the people for the government. He helps the security agency to identify criminals in the community, by his recommendation criminal of the area is declared No-10, and their photos are placed at the police station, and are called by the police in each offence for further interrogation. In addition he is the one to verify the children of deceased in the government inheritance register. In land purchase and selling he is present to be witness with revenue officials. He also takes the responsibility for signing the bail of an accused person in the court

Mashar/Khasar (Elder/Youngster)



Pukhtoo scholars define the word Mashar (ma-No, Shar- conflict, violence) and Kashar (ka-go for, shar-conflict, violence). Mashar is mostly defined by age and means someone who gains experience, wisdom and knowledge even if he is an uneducated male or female. As a Pustho poet says in Pustho and I quote "tajraba da jawandoon loya sarmaya da, Kala-kala Mareezan hum tabeban shee" which means "Experience is the best asset of life as sometimes a prolong sickness makes a person a doctor."

A Mashar in another culture might be considered a burden on a family, here in Pukhtoon culture this person becomes more powerful due to his/her wisdom, experience, closeness to God, spirituality and social, financial power. He gains more power and rules a family. Due to his/her age he/she is very powerful in the family. Second the experience and history that they carry in their minds and hearts give them more strength and people approach them to resolve their conflicts and ask them about the history of family, land, traditional customs, medicine, stories etc. He or she also becomes a source of inspiration and respect for others to follow. Due to their age they become a blessing for others to pray for the prosperity of an individual and family.

Mashar are well received in the community also. They are helped in all respects in their daily life in the mosque, Hujra, street and at home. They are the ones to be asked in each matter first and others follow their advice without any argument or discussion. The youngster listens to them, learns what they say or convey verbally and stores these in their minds. They even avoid talking in front of a Mashar.

Mashar can be considered "mobile history," since they narrate stories to the youth that enrich their knowledge about the history, good and bad events and also the code of pukhtoonwali. The youth mostly inherit good practices from the elders and they receive appreciation from them. They avoid any problems or bad practices so as not to harm their good name and the reputation of their elders and not to hurt their feelings.

Milmastya (Hospitality)





"Khalq Tandee la zee, Tali la na zee," a Pustho Proverb which says "People go for a smiling forehead not for an eating bowel")

The Pukhtoon have been described as the most hospitable tribe. They consider Milmastya or generous hospitality as one of the finest virtues and ghereat (honor) their guest warmly with a broad smile on their faces. Since they consider a guest a blessing of GOD, the guest is not left on his own but as they say, "The guest is the ward of the host." A Pukhtoon feels delighted to receive a guest regardless of his past relations or acquaintance and prepares a delicious meal for him. Expanding on the subject Mr. L. White King says "Pathans regard the dispensing of hospitality as a sacred duty, and supply their guests with food according to their means".

Guests are usually entertained in a Hujra (village meeting place. Each village contains at least one Hujra. The host kills a fowl if he cannot afford to slaughter a lamb or goat and prepares a sweet dish (Halwa) to satisfy his sense of hospitality. Guests are not only looked after but also respected. "A rich chief", says T.L. Penall, "will be satisfied with nothing less than the slaying of the sheep when he receives a guest of distinction. A poorer man will be satisfied with the slaying of a chicken".

Pukhtoons feel happy over the coming of the guests and greet them with traditional slogans, "Har Kala Rasha" and "Pa Khair Raghley" and "Starrey Mashey , khadi da rawala" i.e. "May GOD bring here." Which means, "May you often come, welcome and may you not be tired." He also exchanges such courtesies with the guest as "Jorr Yai" (Are you well?) "Kha Jorr Yai" (Are you quite well?) and "Takrra Yai" (Are you hale and hearty?). The guest gratefully acknowledges these forms of welcome by saying "Pa Khair Ossey", (May you be safe) "Khudai de mal sha" (May God be with you.) "Khushal Ossey" (May you be prosperous and happy) and "Ma Khwaraigey" (May you not be destitute). This way of greeting-- full of friendly gestures-- reflects the warmth with which the guests are received.

The arrival of the guest in the Hujra is immediately followed by Hubble-bubble and tea, and later the guest is served with a rich meal consisting of Pullao (rice dish) Halwa (a special sweet dish) and other seasonal dishes. When the guest sets off on his journey he is bade farewell in these words "Pa Makha De Kha" (May your journey be safe and happy).

The guest of an individual is considered as the guest of all and he is jointly entertained by the villagers in the Hujra. A variety of dishes are served and the elders of the family lunch or dine with the guest on a common piece of cloth dining sheet (Dastarkhwan) spread over a carpet, or a mazri mat. It is one of the cardinal principles of Pukhtoon hospitality to request the guest to sup or take a few morsels with the village folk even though the guest may have had his meals but the etiquette requires the guest to oblige his hosts by taking a few more morsels. The meal starts with the name of Allah. After they have partaken of a meal, the company prays to Allah again to give the host riches and prosperity and power of entertaining more guests.

Giving a vivid description of Pukhtoon hospitality, Sir Olaf Caroe writes "The giving of hospitality to the guest is a national point of honor, so much so that the reproach to an inhospitable man is that he is devoid of Pukhtoo, a creature of contempt. It is the greatest of affronts to a Pukhtoon to carry off his guest, and his indignation will be directed not against the guest who quits him but to the person who prevails on him to leave. This, or something like it, was the reception accorded to the outlaws from British justice who fled to the hills."

Dr. Pennel who served in Bannu and the adjoining tribal areas as a missionary doctor for a number of years records another example of Pukhtoon hospitality. He writes "On one occasion I came to a village with my companion rather late in the evening. The chief himself was away but his son received me with every mark of respect and slaughters a fowl and cooked a savory Pullao". He adds, "Late at night when the Khan returned and found on enquiry that the Bannu Padre Sahib was his guest, he asked if he had been suitably entertained. To his dismay he heard that only a chicken had been prepared for dinner. Immediately, therefore, he ordered a sheep to be slaughter and cooked, so that his honor might be saved." To their minds, says another English writer, "hospitality is the finest of virtues. Any person who can make his way into their dwellings will not only be safe, but will be kindly received."

A guest is very important to Pukhtoos. Keeping a guest is a matter of pride. Attracting a guest is considered heavenly. The guest may be a stranger but when he chooses to become a guest, he is privileged. He is not asked personal questions and the family adopts a respectful attitude towards the guest. A guest is never insulted even if there arises a disagreement on issues of religion. He is offered the best meal even at the cost of personal diet. The host always conducts himself with dignity before the guest. Even if his worst enemy reaches his house as a guest, the host is supposed to forget his enmity and entertain him as a guest. There is no defined length of stay for a guest. Anybody who doesn't cordially receive guests is looked down upon by others and is not trusted for his conduct as a Pukhtoon. A Pukhtoon will cordially keep a guest even when he is outside his community and country and will take pride in the gesture.

Badal (Revenge)

Self-respect and sensitivity to insult is another essential characteristic of the Pukhtoon. The poorest among them has his own sense of dignity and honor and he strongly refuses to submit to any insult. In fact every Pukhtoon considers himself equal if not better than his fellow tribesmen and an insult is, therefore, taken as offensive reflection on his character. An insult is sure to evoke an insult and murder is likely to lead to a murder.

Badal (revenge, retaliation) and blood feuds generally emanate from conspiracy with women, murder of one of the family members, violation of Badragga (armed escort), slight personal injury or insult or damage to property. Any insult is generally resented and retaliation is exacted in such cases.

A Pukhtoon believes and acts in accordance with the principles of Islamic Law i.e. an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and blood for blood. He wipes out insult with insult regardless of cost or consequence and vindicates his honor by wiping out disgrace with a suitable action. But the urge for Badal does not mean that he is savage, blood thirsty or devoid of humane qualities. He is kind, affectionate, friendly and generous and forgives any one who kills his relatives by a mistake but he will not allow any intentional murder to go unavenged. Proud of his descent, he becomes offensive only when an insult is hurled at him or some injury is done to him deliberately. He goes in search of his enemy, scans the surrounding area, lies in wait for months and years, undergoes all hardships but does not feel content until his efforts of wreaking revenge on his enemy are crowned with success. "Da Pukhtoo Kanara Pa awboo ki na rawasteegee" ("The Pukhtoo revenge stone did not rot in the water")

Those who fail to fulfill the obligations of Pukhtoo (self-respect) by wiping out an insult with an insult, lose their prestige in the eyes of their compatriots, render themselves liable to Paighore (accusation/Taunting) and earn an unfair name. According to Nang-e-Pukhtoo or code of honor an unavenged injury is the deepest shame and the honor of the person can be redeemed only by a similar action. It may, however, be noted that "there is little if any random crime or violence" in the tribal areas as the stakes are too high and the retribution too certain to follow.

Many daring stories of Badal or retaliation are recorded by European as well as Asian writers but one such story showing a Pukhtoon's strong urge for Badal has been related by Mrs. Starr. She writes, "Once an old man with a white beard and hair and eyes filmy with cataract came into the out-patient hall, and when his turn came to see the doctor. He said, 'I am old but give me sight that I may use a gun again.' 'To the doctor's query he replied in quite a placid and natural manner: 'I have not taken the Badal (revenge) for my sons' death sixteen years ago'."

Another famous story of revenge, as told by T.C. Pennell, is that a Pukhtoon girl approached a court of law for justice but the judge expressed his inability to prosecute the offender for his imputed crime due to lack of ample evidence. This enraged the girl and she said in fit of anger, "Very well, I must find my own way". She went in search of the murderer of her brother "who had escaped the justice of the law but not the hand of the avenger". She "concealed a revolver on her person and coming up to her enemy in the crowded bazaar, shot him point blank".

Sometimes a Pukhtoon becomes so sentimental that he vows not to take a meal with his right hand and to sleep on the ground instead of a charpayee (bedstead) until he has avenged the wrong done to him. Pukhtoon history is full of many examples of Badal and there are instances where a child born a few months even after the murder of his father has taken vengeance on his enemy after patiently waiting for many years.

The obligation of Badal rests with the aggrieved party and it can be discharged only by action against the aggressor or his family. In most cases the aggressor is paid in the same coin. If no opportunity presents itself "he may defer his revenge for years, but it is disgraceful to neglect or abandon it entirely, and it is incumbent on his relations, and sometimes on his tribe, to assist him in his retaliation". When a Pukhtoon discovers that his dishonor is generally known, he prefers to die an honorable death rather than live a life of disgrace.

Badal resulted in blood feuds and vendettas in the past, but now due to the prevalent peaceful conditions in the tribal areas and with the spread of education, the incidence of Badal are few and far between. When people refer to Badal they are speaking of taking revenge for a serious enmity.

Belga (Stolen Property)

The word Belga is used for stolen property. According to tribal custom, a man is held responsible for a robbery, theft or burglary if any of the stolen articles are recovered from his house. In such a case he is obliged to make good the loss sustained by the afflicted person. He, however, stands absolved of Belga if he discloses the source or the persons from whom he had purchased the stolen articles. The stolen properties recovered from a person and the person who commits the theft is considered one and the same.

Pukhtoons take theft very seriously as theft is also considered a weakness of the owner, which means that he can't look after himself. Therefore he is vulnerable to any other major harm from an outsider. Such actions of theft open the doors to other bad actions. The elders are also implicated in such a theft since it is considered a weakness of an elder that allows someone in the community or outside the community to harm an individual member of the community. Perhaps the elder had not made the necessary arrangements, or they themselves were weak which allowed others to commit the crime.

In a case of Belga an individual issue becomes a community issue and the community takes it very seriously. Now it is the responsibility of an individual to disclose to the community the name of the thief from whom he bought the stolen goods. The community will go after the real offender and he will be brought to the Jirga. The man from whom the stolen property is recovered will disclose all facts and will provide proof. Such proofs are further investigated when the person is asked to take an oath on the holy Koran or throw three pebbles and with every pebble say, "I divorce my wife." If people take an oath but the Jirga is not satisfied they ask the offender to throw three pebbles. The offender won't oblige because throwing pebbles means one divorces his wife, which is not acceptable to any Pukhtoon. Divorce is always taken as a shameful occurrence not only for himself but also for the whole family and the tribe. The Jirga will decide according to the prevailing traditions, witness, and proof to blame a person and punish him properly.

Kanrai or Teega (Ceasefire)

Kanrai or Teega is another custom among the Pukhtoons. It means a ceasefire of bloodshed between opposing parties. Teega (literally means to dig or put a stone between the warring factions) indicates a temporary truce declared by a Jirga. The word "stone" is used

symbolically since no actual stone is put at the time of the end the hostilities. Once the truce is in force, no party dares to violate it for fear of punitive measures by the Jirga members or the rule of Pukhtoonwali.

Kanrai evolves after deliberate consideration of a Jirga on an issue that was new to the society. It carries with it the weight of the consent of the communities and is used as a reference for the stopping of future disputes. This is also used as a way to establish the ground rules for conduct between the two or more tribes, so it takes the shape of a treaty and is tagged with specific penalties for violation.

When hostilities break out between two rival factions and firing starts from the housetops and surrounding hills, a tribal Jirga intervenes to restore peace and prevent blood-shed. The action is "parachute diplomacy." They go with white flags into the middle of the parties even in heavy firing and often are accompanied by women. These women who accompany the Jirga members go with their own symbolic gestures, either without their veils on their heads or with the Holy Koran in their hands.

When shooting starts, there is no security for life or property and death hangs over the feuding factions. The Jirga, consisting of local tribal elders and religious elite, declares a Teega after full deliberations and in consultations with the parties concerned and declares a truce for a specified period on pain of a Nagha or fine. The party that violates the truce pays the Nagha. The objective underlying Teega is to restore normal conditions by holding the feelings of enmity in abeyance, cooling down tempers and providing an opportunity to the two sides to settle their dispute cordially through tribal elders on the principles of justice and fair-play. The parties generally strictly adhere to the terms of the truce. Any of the contending parties which commit a breach of the truce is punished with a heavy fine.

If the party guilty of violating the truce declines to pay the prescribed amount of fine, the Jirga proceeds to recover it forcibly. This may be in the form of burning of the houses of the rebel group, its expulsion from the locality or banishment from the tribe called Kushanwar. This task is accomplished with the help of a tribal Lakhkar, composed of armed tribesmen. No one can, therefore, violate the truce because of these powerful actions.

Here the Jirga's actions resemble the U.N. General Assembly's actions against any rebel government. The General Assembly applies economic sanctions against a defiant government, which may be ineffective because the General Assembly has no authority to enforce it or compel member countries to abide by its decision. However, orders of a Jirga cannot be ignored or diverted and if that happens then the Lakhkar implement the verdict of the Jirga.

Toor

The Pukhtoon are sensitive about the honor of their women and any slight molestation of a woman is considered a serious and an intolerable offence. Toor refers mainly to the rape of a woman while rapes of men do occur and this term can also refer to homosexuality between men.

Another most important factor related to toor but slightly different is sharam (shame). If a man is killed that is not considered as serious as compared to if his trousers are removed. In such case even the Jirga is not ready to intervene. The revenge for this is only murder. The cases of adultery and illicit relations are put down with an iron hand and no mercy is given to either the male or female culprit. The casting of an evil eye on a woman is identical to putting one's life in danger. Both sexes, therefore, thoroughly avoid indulging in immoral sexual practices.

If a Pukhtoon discovers that a particular person is carrying on a liaison with any female of his house, then he neither spares the life of the female nor that of her men. This is called Toor in Pustho (literally meaning black but used for public disgrace and defamation) or stigmatization of both male and female who are found guilty of illicit love on sufficient evidence. Both the man and the woman are put to death according to the customary law and this type of bad name, abuse and insult to the family is wiped out with the blood of the culprits. Besides adultery, the death penalty is also prescribed for elopement that also falls under the purview of Toor. In cases of Toor, a murder is not considered against tribal law. The relatives of the woman have the right to kill their female relation as well as her paramour. In case any of the persons guilty of adultery succeeds in escaping, the heirs of the female have every right to kill him and her whenever and wherever an opportunity presents it. Otherwise the matter remains Paighore (in reproach/taunt).

Toor has two aspects. If a woman is criminally assaulted and raped by force by a man with whom she had no previous illicit relations, then the woman is spared because of her innocence and the guilty man alone is put to death. According to the tribal custom, the accused is handed over to her parents, or her husband, if she is married. If the culprit's family refuses to hand him over to the Jirga or the relatives of the violated woman, then the adulterer's family is forced to abandon their village and seek refuge outside tribal limits. In such cases the relatives of the woman have a right to wipe out the insult by killing the accused himself or his brother or father. Not only the husbands but also even brothers consider themselves bound to wipe out the insult.

The second aspect of Toor is that if the betrayal of a woman or the alleged involvement of adultery of both male and female is proved, then both are put to death. It is because of such deterrent punishment and disgraceful death that both the sexes dare not indulge in fornication. The modern concept of Honour killing is the old code of Toor that leads to murder and killing of both men and women.

Lakhkar (armed force)

Lakhkar is an armed force constituted by a tribe under the leadership of the Jirga elders to implement a verdict, which comes from a village or tribe on the occasion of warlike activities. The Lakhkar may consist of a hundred to several thousand men. The Lakhkar assembled for a Jihad (Holy War) is usually very large.

The decisions of a Jirga, if violated by a party, are enforced through a tribal Lakhkar. The Lakhkar thus performs the functions of police in the event of a breach of tribal law. There are different Narkh (rules) in each tribe. In one tribe the criteria for being a tribal Lakhkar may be being able to pick up certain sized of rock or the ability to use a rifle.



Women play an important role in the village or the area in supporting the Lakhkar. They cook food, take care of their home and even watch the areas and homes in the absence of men. The Lakhkar is the volunteer force of the Jirga in the implementation of its peace-keeping function. The Pukhtoon are famous for Badal (revenge) but in the case of Lakhkar when every tribe and home has their representation, it is not possible for an individual tribe to take revenge. Since all tribes are included in the Lakhkar any deviation by one tribe can be checked by the others and therefore no one can take the traditional law into their own hands. People are mostly satisfied with such actions and the victim's wounds also heal to a great extent. People also take care of the weak in their communities because there is the existing code and fear of the Lakhkar. Thus the weak get equal status in the community.

The present multinational peace keeping force has the same motive i.e. to keep peace in the affected areas the world over. Lakhkar is voluntary in nature with their own arms and ammunitions, while the UN forces are supported in all respects by the United Nations.

Badragga (armed escort of a escapee)

An armed party escorting a fugitive or a visitor to his destination is called a Badragga. The Badragga is the guarantee of safety for a man who is either hotly pursued by his enemies or in danger of being harmed on his way home. An armed party accompanies such a man as Badragga or 'escort' to ensure his safe return home. The Badragga is never attacked by a second party because of fear of reprisals and the blood feud that is sure to follow if an attack is made. The Badragga convoy can be depended upon only within its own geographical limits. Beyond these limits, the people of another tribe take over the responsibility of conveying the traveler to his destination. The Badragga are from those tribes living in the area. Any harm to the individual means the whole tribe is held responsible. An attack from another tribe within the area of the tribal jurisdiction means an invitation to receive the enmity of the whole tribe.



Each tribe has a specific jurisdiction over a certain area and is responsible for the security of that area. The dividing lines are natural streams, hills, roadways, meadows and so on. A Badragga will stop at the tribal dividing points and hand over the guest, person or group to another tribal Badragga. At that point the new Badragga takes responsibility in their jurisdiction and gives safe passage to the people in danger or need of support. Present day escort service offered to a guest or an accused is the same as the Badragga.

Baramta or Bota (recovery and restitution)

Baramta like Bota is resorted to when the grievances of a party are not redressed or a debtor adopts delaying tactics in the payment of a debt to a creditor. The word Baramta is derived from Persian word Baramad that means recovery or restitution of property or other valuables. Under Baramta hostages from the village are held for ransom until the accused returns the claimed property. The Pukhtoon consider it against their sense of honor and contrary to the principles of Pukhtoonwali to take as hostages those individuals from the dependent classes such as blacksmiths, tailors, barbers and butchers etc belonging to the debtor's village. In the tribal areas this action has often given rise to inter-tribal disputes and blood feuds.

The British Government in India often resorted to Baramta in the event of hostilities with the tribesmen. When the Government failed to cow the tribesmen by force, it used to resort to this coercive method by seizing cattle, property, and men in an act of Baramta wherever they happened to be in the settled districts. That way still prevails in order to force the tribe to put pressure on the parties and to resolve the issue peacefully. This practice is similar to putting a lien on someone's bank account.

Arbakai (community policing)

From among the people, there are healthy men who are appointed to execute the decisions of the Jirga. These men are called together from time to time, depending on the gravity of the situation, to form an army to execute the decisions. They can only perform the tasks as

assigned by the Jirga. These men are also entitled to uphold the well-established norms of the society.



The notion of the Arbakai is an old concept of community policing in the Pak-Afghan community since time immemorial. It is the law enforcement and execution duties of the Jirga to impose decisions and keep peace in the community. The Arbakai members are responsible to bring peace to their areas. A sub-commander, called the Mir, heads each Arbakai. Many Mirs are then under the direct command of tribal council or Jirga. These Jirga and shura (traditional religious Jirga that bases its decisions on religious teachings) persons are accountable to the community. So there is a proper checks and balance system at each step.

Sometimes the government supports the Arbakai if the government missionaries face some problem or fail to bring peace to an area. Even when the Arbakai are receiving a stipend from the government, their loyalties are always to the community and local elders.

The structure of the Arbakai is the same as that of present day community policing. With the community policing the community police is under the direct command of the government officials while in the Arbakai they are answerable to the elders and community in their respective areas.

In some parts of Pakistan and Afghanistan there were groups called sarlastha, mostly made up of about forty members under a commander. The group was composed of members from one or several different tribes. They dealt with community issues -- especially security - - identified by the elders.

With the passage of time such institutions as the Shalagoon, sarlastha and the Arbakai did not exist any more and this put pressure on the government agencies, especially the police departments. It is a known fact that without the community supports of the people any government agency, especially law and order institutions can't bring about their desired objectives.

Asthazai (Diplomat)

A Dam/Nayee is a clever person from the kasabgar community in the Pukhtoon community. They are the ones who look after the Hujra and carry messages between the communities in the tribes. They use language that defuses the tension and prepares the ground for further communication even in cases of anger between the individual and tribes. The Asthazai attend many functions, ceremonies and Jirgas and learn a lot from the elders in this way. Such people in the past mostly rode on horses with turbans on their head and were received with respect by the other community to whom he was sent. He was also exempted in the tribal enmities and was always given safe passage to convey the message. These people are like the present day diplomats bringing the message from one country to another.

Nanawathay (beg for forgiveness)

The offender reaches the house of the victim either by his own will or through intermediaries to confess his offence and extend his apologies. He also takes with him valuables as gifts and makes his move public to restore the honor of the victim. Actually in this process he admits his mistake and begs for forgiveness with the elders of the community. This process is used with petty crimes and even serious ones like murder. The victims are obliged to forgive the person, return the money and gifts and even serve the group with lavish food and gifts. They forgive the accused person once and for all and end the enmity forever.

This is the same when someone in western culture says they are sorry for rather small mistakes. However, in the Pukhtoon culture, a major offense like murder is forgiven by those offended in the same traditional way. People respect the elders and families who accept nanawathay and forgive the enemy.

In Pukhtoon culture committing any wrongdoing is consider a sin and a person will suffer for his actions along with the family and tribe. Some writers have said that there is no word for "sorry" in the Pustho dictionary. A Pukhtoon always takes a stand on whether he is right or wrong and the family and tribe stand behind a single individual no matter what the consequences. If a person realizes his wrongs, accepts it and goes along with the elders of his community to the other side to beg forgiveness then such actions are highly valued and even the murderer is forgiven along those who commit lesser crimes.

The word Nanawathay comes from the verb "to go in," and is used when the wrongdoer is prepared to go into the house or the Hujra of the victim, admit his guilt and beg forgiveness. There is no Nanawatay when the dispute involves Toor or injury to a woman.

Some European writers define Nanawatay as the granting of asylum to fugitives or extreme hospitality. An experienced British administrator who served as a Political Officer on the Frontier for a fairly long time describes it "an extension of the idea of Milmastya, (Hospitality) in an extreme form, stepped up to the highest degree". But the granting of asylum or sanctuary is only one aspect of Nanawatay while its exact definition and true spirit seems to have been ignored. In fact, it is a means to end longstanding disputes and blood feuds and transform enmity into friendship. Under Nanawatay a remorseful enemy is

forgiven and the feuding factions resume peaceful and friendly relations. Thus it creates a friendly atmosphere for peaceful co-existence and mutual understanding through eventual reconciliation.

When a person feels apologetic over his past aggressive actions and hostilities and expresses a desire to open a new chapter of friendly relations with his foe and live in peace and goodwill with him, he approaches the tribal elders, the Ulema and religious scholars for intervention on his behalf for a settlement. In this regard the Jirga's efforts are always countenanced with favor and the very presence of the petitioner in the enemy's Hujra creates a sociable atmosphere for the resumption of friendly relations.

The host, who used to scan the neighborhood in an effort to avenge his insult, exercises patience and kindness and gently pardons his opponent for his past misconduct. Following this there is the slaughtering of a sheep or goat or a few lambs or goats provided to the suppliant. A feast is held in the Hujra and with it the enmity comes to an end.

Grey-bearded people are not only respected due to their wisdom, knowledge, and practice of Pukhtoonwali but are also considered the guests of GOD. Since they try for reconciliation between the two individuals or groups they get a benefit after death. That is their motive for visiting any conflicting parties. They throw the turban at the feet of the other elder and beg forgiveness. They bow at the feet of the injured party, slaughter a sheep at the Hujra entrance and all these are symbols of forgiveness. The injured responds positively to these gestures. Sometimes an individual on his own, after committing a crime, goes to his enemy's home with his own weapons and hands these over to his enemy. In most such cases the offender is forgiven one hundred per cent.

The customs relating to Nanawatay are more or less identical throughout the Pukhtoon society. In some parts of the tribal areas, however, there was a custom in which the suppliant would go before his enemy with grass in his mouth and a rope round his neck as a mark of humility. But this custom no longer exists.

Sometimes women bearing the Holy Quran over their heads would approach the enemy's house to plead their family member's innocence in any given case. The tribesmen, like Muslims all over the world, have a deep faith in the Holy Quran and they, therefore, regard it as a disrespectful act to deny the favor asked for through the Holy Book. In addition, the women are held in high esteem by the Pukhtoon and, therefore, a favor solicited through them is seldom denied. Sometimes a man manages to reach his enemy's fireplace and stays there until his request for Nanawatay is accepted. However, if some obstacle lies in the way of acceptance of a Nanawathay, then the suppliant bides his time for an opportune occasion such as occurrence of a death in his enemy's family. He hurries to his enemy's village, joins the funeral procession, tries to be one of the pallbearers and announces his desire for Nanawatay. This evokes a spontaneous feeling of sympathy and the relatives of the deceased readily concede to their late enemy's desire. It is, however, interesting to note that no Nanawatay is accepted in which the honor of the women is involved.

Nanawatay is total forgiveness as it is done in the South African Desmond Tutu- style of reconciliation.

Panah (Asylum)

Any one who gains access to a Pukhtoon's house can claim asylum. The owner of the house protects him even at the risk of his own life. Under Panah (shelter) that is a subsidiary element of Nanawatay in which one can take shelter under the roof of a Pukhtoon's house irrespective of caste, creed, status or previous relations. Though it would seem contradictory, Pukhtoons on several occasions have provided refuge to their deadly enemies. Panah is best illustrated by a story that, according to Mr. Claude Field "is often told on the Frontier."

Once a quarrel between a creditor and a debtor resulted in the death of the creditor near his village. The debtor made an unsuccessful bid to run away, but the deceased's relatives hotly chased him. Having failed to escape, the assassin approached a village tower and sought refuge in "Allah's Name". The chieftain of the tower, after inquiring from the fugitive realized that he had slain his brother. Instead of avenging his brother's death on the spot, the chieftain calmly said to the fugitive, "you have killed my own brother, but as you have asked for refuge in God's Name, in His name I give it to you." He was forthwith admitted to the tower and the pursuers sternly forbidden to approach. When they departed, the chieftain gave the refugee an hour's grace to leave the premises and be gone. The refugee made good use of the grace period and escaped death-- on that occasion at least.

Another example of asylum, as recorded in books, is that of an old Pukhtoon woman. It is said that once a gang of dacoits raided a village. The villagers, including the two sons of an old woman, came out to challenge the dacoits. Soon a fierce fight ensued between the two parties in which besides others both the sons of the old woman were killed. The dacoits having found all escape-routes blocked, sought shelter in the house of the old woman. The pursuers, who were close on their heels, felt delighted that the dacoits were now in their grip. But on approaching the old woman's house, they were deeply annoyed to find their way barred by her. Displaying traditional Pukhtoon courage she firmly said that she would not allow anyone to lay hands on them. "You don't know" the pursuers angrily said, "They have killed your two sons". "That may be so", she calmly replied, "but they have taken refuge in my house and I cannot see anyone laying his hands on them so long as they are under my roof".

The obligation of asylum frequently brought the Pukhtoons into conflict with the British during their one hundred years' rule on the Frontier. The government, under various treaties and agreements entered into by the tribesmen with the British and under the principle of territorial responsibility, often insisted that tribesmen should refrain from harboring outlaws, but the Pukhtoons considered it an act against the canons of Pukhtoonwali. They often refused to oblige the authorities in spite of threats of reprisals and severe punishment. The tribesmen's stubbornness in this connection, on many occasions, led to the dispatch of military expeditions and economic blockades by the British. The Pukhtoons braved all sufferings, bore the brunt of the enemy's attack and suffered losses both in men and material but bravely refused to hand over the guest outlaws. "In common with all Afghans", writes Claude Field, "the Afridi exercise a rough hospitality and offer an asylum to any fugitive endeavoring to escape from an retaliator, or from the pursuit of justice and they would undergo any punishment or suffer any injuries rather than deliver up their guest". The denial

of protection, says Sir Olaf Caroe, "is impossible for one who would observe Pukhtoo. It cannot be refused even to an enemy who makes an approach according to Nanawatay."

Ajab Khan Afridi, the hero of the famous Miss Ellis drama (a young woman was kidnapped by the Pukhtoon and when she was released she had nothing but admiration for the Pukhtoon hospitality that she had experienced while held captive), took refuge with Mullah Mahmud Akhunzada, a religious divine of Tirah Orakzai after the abduction of Miss Ellis. The British government brought enormous pressure on the Akhunzada to surrender Ajab Khan and his accomplices but he refused to deliver them on the ground that they had taken asylum under his roof and it was contrary to the norms of Pukhtoonwali to hand them over to the government.

Similarly a few outlaws took asylum with the Jowakis, a clan of the Adam Khel Afridi tribe, in 1877. The government demanded their return but the Jowakis refused to comply with such a request. Ultimately their intransigence over this question brought them into an armed clash in which more than 5000 combatants were engaged. According to George B. Scott "every glen and valley of the clan was occupied, every tower destroyed, many cattle died, the families suffered in the wintry cold, only then did the chiefs come into camp and ask for terms. These were a fine in cash, of course, but a small fraction of what the expedition had cost -- the surrender of a certain number of rifles and other weapons in Peshawar and the surrender of two noted outlaws for murderous raids. The chief of the tribe replied "we will pay the fine, we will surrender our arms, but those two men have taken refuge with us. We will not give them up. You are in possession of our country. Keep it; we will seek a home elsewhere, but those men we will not give up. Why will you blacken our faces"?

Another example of asylum has been quoted by Major Herbert B. Edwardes, who says that "Raja Heera Singh, when Prime Minister of Lahore, sent an offer of three thousand rupees or 300 pound to Malik Sawab Khan Vezereee, if he would give up Malik Fattah Khan Towannuh, who had taken refuge in his mountains. The offer was rejected.

Tawan (loss, damage)

Tawan means losses in any event or occasion. Pukhtoon bear Tawan and accept it in order to keep his honor. Azath (respect) and Gherath (honor) are so dear to them that they will pursue these to any extent, whatever the physical, financial or human losses may be. So Tawan can be accepted in the form of fines, cash or any other method of compensating to the other party. Economic sanction of the present time is similar to it

Saz (blood money or compensation)

The word Saz means blood money or compensation (Kuan Baha in Islam) and this concept of compensation in modern law is in lieu of killing. Under the custom of Saz a person who feels remorseful after committing a deliberate murder, approaches the deceased's family through a Jirga and offers to make payment of blood money to end the enmity between them. All hostilities come to an end between the parties after the acceptance of Saz. Sometimes the payment of compensation takes the form of giving a girl (Sawara) in marriage to the aggrieved party. The young girl has no say over her fate. Although the government of Pakistan has banned the practice, it still happens in some parts of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

It is also called Swara, which binds together the two parties in blood relations and thus helps in eradicating the ill will and feelings of enmity.

Jabba (verbal agreement)

In Pukhtoon culture a verbal agreement is sufficient to assure the commitment. In this situation proof is required later. This is very common in the Pukhtoon culture where a word or promise by mouth is respected and honored at all cost and whatever the consequences might be. That's why most of the code of pukhtoonwali is verbally inherited from generation to generation.

Aitbar (Trust)

Aitbar means trust or guaranteed assurance and is one of the cornerstones of the Pukhtoonwali code that is based on verbal trust. This is governed by unwritten laws or conventions. All business, including contracts relating to the sale and mortgage or disposal of property, is transacted on the basis of trust or Aitbar. Such transactions are verbal and are entered into in the presence of the village elders or a few witnesses. The violation of Aitbar is considered to be a dishonorable act, unbecoming of a gentleman and contrary to the norms of Pukhtoonwali.

Roagha (compromise)



Roagha means compromise through arbitration by the Jirga. Roagha is the final stage of reconciliation that's done mostly through arbitration where both parties come face to face in the Hujra in front of friends, relatives and Jirga members. It is a grand ceremony where many people are invited from both sides to witness the occasion after long enmities. The parties embrace each other and forget the old and start a new life. It resembles the South African reconciliation but here the parties are in close contact with each other and must maintain good relationships in the future. They also try to motivate other people in their localities to reconcile and become jirga members. They are listened to by the people involved

in enmities since they have gone through the same process and lost wealth and loved ones. They have faced hardships and lost much while gaining nothing. It is the same as when the parties reach a final stage after arbitration or mediation and write the decision on paper.

Doad/Dastoor/Rawaj (cultural norms/social liability)

There are cultural norms, such as those described above, which are respected within the community. For example her husband and her in-laws should look after a married woman. After that the responsibility passes to her father or the brothers or her uncles or cousins. But if none of these males is alive then the gray-bearded ones, the Spingreys, take on the responsibility to ensure that the woman is being well taken care of by her husband and the in-laws. Some of the traditions and laws are the same everywhere in the Pukhtoon belt while others may change depending upon the needs of each tribe.

Tarr/Nagha (Ban)

A mutual accord between two tribes or villagers with regards to a certain matter is called a Tarr. For instance, after sowing wheat or any other crop, the people of the village agree not to let loose their cattle to graze in the fields and thus damage the crop. The man whose cattle are found grazing in the fields in violation of this agreement has no right to claim compensation for an injury caused to his cattle by the owner of the field.

Nagha is mostly imposed to protect the graveyards, meadows and forests owned by the village. A person called naghchee (a man responsible to collect fines from the wrongdoer) is selected from the village to monitor these places. After catching the wrongdoer he assesses the damage and imposes the fine. He takes a certain share from the fine and the rest is deposited with the Jirga members on a daily basis. This fine also generates village revenue. If the damage is more than the usual fine, it is referred to the jirga. Nagha is a tribal fine decided by the council of elders and imposed upon the wrongdoer. It is extracted if necessary by force (i.e. the mobilization of a Lakhkar) and the wrongdoer may have his house burned or broken down.

Nagha in the present world is similar to the prohibition of certain acts such as deforestation, and the promotion of certain acts such as the preservation of animal life.

Badnarr (a ban)

Badnarr means the imposition of a ban that closely resembles the Tarr both in spirit and essence. The only difference between the two is that the scope of the Tarr is vast and it includes any matter unanimously agreed upon whereas the Badnarr is specifically used for a ban on cutting wood from hills. Anyone violating the Badnarr renders himself liable to the payment of a specific fine. Tribesmen immediately approach him for extraction of fine and he is obliged by this tribal custom to pay a Badnarr (fine).

Shpool (barbed wall or protection)

The literal meaning of the Shpool is a barbed wall of thorny bushes around a place in order to protect this place from human or animal access. A person, tribe, group with power and prestige can use Shpool to protect a family or tribe from government influence and internal or external threats. The term can refer to both the actual metal barbed wall and it can also refer to the person's qualities that allow him to protect the community.

Path (friendship)

If the Pukhtoon is famous for his enmities, his friendship is also long lasting. A Pukhtoon maintains a friendship for generations. A friend of one becomes the friend of all and is invited for both good and bad occasions called gham/khadahi. Such friends support each other in any matter, good or bad, and the friendship transfers from father to son and grandson. It is similar to countries that have diplomatic friendships that are both short-term and long-term, based on mutual self-interests. The difference is that the Pukhtoon friendship is not based on mutual self-interest and it is always long-term.

Khegara (welfare for others)

The idea of working for the welfare of others without any self-interested reasons or need is an integral part of Pukhtoo culture/tradition and religion. So Khegara is done just for the good of humanity and with good faith in others.

Khegara can be compared with present day volunteer work where individuals want to contribute to society through charity work.

Wagara (person in the Pukhtoon community)

Wagara is usually used for the person in the Pukhtoon community. A person who belongs to the Pukhtoon community is called Wagara but only if he lives the ideals of Pukhtoo and serves as a role model practicing all Pukhtoon code of life.

The term Gentleman in the present day world can be used for such a person.

Toora (Bravery)

The literal meaning of Toora is sword. However, in Pukhtoo it is used for braveness and doing an unforgettable job for the sake of pukhtoonwali, tribe, family and nation. Such a work is remember by the Pukhtoon and is passed down from one generation to another verbally, in poetry and history.

In the present day a man is honored by the government for rendering valuable service to the nation with a special commendation or medal, while in the Pukhtoon society the people remember the person in their hearts.

Nang (honor)

The use of the term Nang means that a person took a stand for the sake of others, or for his language, traditions, religion, tribe, etc. This usually is done by a Pukhtoon in his own culture but it can occur in another community outside of his culture. It brings a lot of problems for the person who takes such a stand, but he still feels proud to bear all those hardships with an open heart for the sake of Nang.

Namoos (Modesty)

There are two words used simultaneously in Pukhtoon culture: One is Azat (respect) and another is Gharat (honor). For a Pukhtoon if wealth is lost, nothing is lost; if one's health is lost something is lost; but if Azat is lost, everything is lost. Azat comes with honor. A person is honorable due to his straightforwardness, truthfulness, hospitality and wisdom. He receives Azat from everyone and is honored by everyone. He considers his self-respect to be the most important of all. These acts of courage are remembered when a person sacrifices himself for the Namooos of others, or tribe, clan, women and men. In other cultures a person of such acts is called a hero.

Tauant/ Paighaur (taunting/humiliation)

A Pukhtoon would rather die and take the shame along with him than behave cowardly and humiliate all his tribesmen. A person can forget everything but not Paighaur (humiliation). A person who has not taken Badal (revenge) will be taunted because he is not fulfilling his expectations as he had as per Pukhtoonwali.

Taunting is the immediate cause of conflict, murder and many evils in Pukhtoon community. Taunting an individual means taunting the whole family, tribe and even sometimes the whole nation and can lead to a major conflict. Taunting is very common among the women and that spreads to the men and then men go to any extent to equalize the balance of taunts. Taunting is usually bad in any culture or nation but in the Pukhtoon community shame accompanies a person until death. In many cultures shame is considered more of a problem for the person who is offending than for the person offended.

Taunting sometime plays a positive role, if it is given for constructive reasons such as pushing someone in their education, job finding, love, and many other situations. There are many love stories in Pukhtoon culture where the lover gets her beloved after a long struggle due to taunting. There is not an example of this type of taunting in other nations as much as in the Pukhtoon culture.

Qaum (nation)

Qaum means a nation in the sense of a tribe or a community. It embodies a commonality of interests and the thoughts and emotions of the group. There is an element of loyalty and compassion and love embodied in this concept.

Sometimes this word is used to mean the wider nation, which is called the Millat, meaning the whole set of tribes comprising the larger nation. That is also called the Pukhtoon nation. This means that a member of a Qaum has a share in the mutual interests, in the losses and

gains of the collective group and this also implies a definite sense of loyalty to the larger group.

The word used in everyday jargon for nationalism is Qumwali. This is a frequently used to mean national pride, national honor and your own sense of responsibility before the nation. Therefore a Pukhtoon can be expelled from the Qaum if he does not conform to the norms of the group or he brings shame to them or does not support the nation or the group in pursuit of its common interests.

Tarboor (first cousins)

Tarboor are the first cousins that should be considered part of one family but are in conflict with each other due to issues of land, property, or women. They become enemies, fight and kill each other. Most rulers the Pukhtoon have used the device of "divide and rule" through the use of this Tarboor wali system. The main bone of contention between the tarboors is mostly land and property, but sometimes the relationships with the women can be used. For example, some babies are matched up for future marriage at the time of birth and if later in years this agreement is not carried out, it can lead to conflict. To outsider they one but inside they are enemy.

Trabgani (rivalry between cousins)

Trabgani is the rivalry between cousins and at its basis is the struggle to secure equal status, respect in the society, resources and land distribution. However, when there is a common enemy the Pukhtoon will put Trabgani aside. From this comes the common saying “ a brother offers his head for protecting the honor of his brother but never offers a single penny.”

Gawand (neighborhood)

The Pukhtoon give special meaning to this term as it implies that all the outsiders in the community are the social responsibility of the concerned tribe and their well-being is the collective responsibility of the inhabitants. A neighbor's honor, shame, or respect is considered as their own. Everyone shares in the good and bad no matter what the cost is. In case of need members of the Gawand are given emotional and tangible support. They receive respect and care in the case of any emergency, neighbor security and protection and they are assisted by all means in any circumstance. Food, utensils, other daily-used items are shared with the neighbors. In case of any sickness or death the neighbor provides space, food and money to the neighbors not only for the specific family but also for their guests.

Cham, Tapah, Kandai (subdivisions of the Gawand)



Each village is divided by subsections called Cham, Tapah and Kkandai. Each subsection has its own mosque, Hujra, jirga, and common Pukhtoon code and relationship. Any issues of a Cham, Tapah or Kandai are first discussed by the elders of that subdivision.

Later it is referred to the village elders and they decide depending on the needs of the village. Cham and thapa have their own demarcation, land distribution, family structure, space in the village shamalat, graveyard, hills, meadows, etc. Similarly they pay and receive revenues according to their resources and population. They also take part in the village jirga, Lakhkar, Arbakai, Ashar according to the tribe's strength.

The municipality systems of the cities in western culture are similar to these Pukhtoon structures but they are pervasive in the Pukhtoon belt.

Khel (another subsection of a tribe)

This subsection of a tribe may include different villages. A tribe may have many Khels or subsections of the village.

Tribe

Many sub tribes make up a specific tribe that includes many Khels. Sometimes individuals give their personal names to a specific area. A first name may go along with the name of the tribe as a last name to specify an area

Kasabgar (skilled worker)

Kasabgar are mostly skilled people in the community who work for the community and get their proper share after harvesting time from each household. They are landless but get their share from each landed farmer. They receive fruits, vegetables, and other crops from the farmer that is called dada. They run their shop mostly at the Hujra in the afternoon until evening when all farmers come back from the field and need repairs for their farming tools.

The community elders look after the need of each kasabgar and make sure that their needs are filled.



Laman (front of the shirt)

It is the lower front of the shirt that hangs below the waist. It is a single piece of cloth and is a sign of a dignified person. It is raised for begging only and an arrogant Pukhtoon never ignores the begging (the raised laman). In special circumstances, especially when it has to do with begging for peace, an elder will raise his laman for the safety of others. Women specially do it in case of a fight or domestic violence. They also beg the males of the family and community for peace by taking the veils from their heads and throwing them at the feet of the angry men.

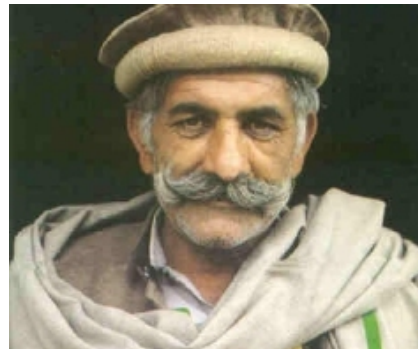
Shamla (headgear)

It's a huge headgear that symbolizes personal respect and a strict adherence to the Pukhtoon culture. Shamla of a turban resembles this same respect and dignity of a person. A good deed by a family member will help keep the elders' Shamla up while a wrongdoing will bring it down. Before the Shamla was used by all family members since the turban was used so commonly used but now the shamla is used only by the elders. Elders keep it on their heads as a symbol and a force with the youth, the Qaum, and other tribes.



Brait (wearing a moustache)

Wearing a moustache is mandatory and a sign of responsibility towards the culture. There is no way that one can live without being constantly tested to confirm his credentials as a Pukhtoon. However, if he doesn't wear a moustache, he will be advised to do so and will be ridiculed if he doesn't. The Brait is a sign of manhood, strength and even terror. A long Brait by a person means he has a strong will and is also brave. Sometimes a long Brait is also a sign of wickedness.



Giraywan (front of the collar)

The front of the collar is where the individual keeps his "self". An open and worn collar symbolizes that the person is in a desperate position and is very needy. Giraywan is also linked to the person's dignity and honor. A person who comes to someone with an open Giraywan means he is in need of help, sympathy and support. Even if he is not saying anything verbally, by his actions and gestures he is indicating that he is in need.

Waena (informal invitation to one's home)

This is a formal invitation to someone's home in case of a good or bad event. Mostly in Pukhtoon culture invitations, like other things, are verbal. But the person who is inviting should visit the invited family on his own or through a special messenger that is called a Dum

or Nayee. An invitation by other means is considered bad manners and people sometimes will ignore the invitation. The term for this negative type of invitation is translated as *spak katal* or degrading someone, while a personal visit by the host to the family is taken as a sign of respect.

It depends on the importance of the event, just like the present day diplomat who visits another country is received by the host country according to the status and importance of the event or occasion.

Gham and Khadai (sad occasion and happy occasion)

These two words sometimes are used interchangeably in the Pukhtoon community to mean brotherhood. Gham is mostly used in the case of a death where community people take the responsibility to clean the Hujra and the mosque, offer three days of prayer, and invite community people and guests to come and offer condolences. The elders of the community arrange for the coffin of the dead, the last bath (*ghusal*), the *janaza* (final prayer for the dead before digging the dead body), the gravesite, and three days of prayer at the Hujra. They inform the relatives and friends of the bereaved family by sending a special messenger. They take care of the food and logistical arrangements for the family since it is customary for the family to not cook or serve food for three days. All is arranged by the community for both the guests and host family.

In the case of Khadai (a happy occasion), the family invites the elders of the community and shares the occasion, food, logistics, guests etc. The elders then share the responsibilities among others. The family only provides the items for cooking and rest is done by the community members.

Barabary (equality)

Pukhtoons consider themselves equal in all respect without any hierarchy, wealth, or power divisions. That's why in each *jirga* an individual representing a family, clan, and tribes has one vote. He talks to his other companions of the *jirga* by looking directly into his eyes with a sense of equality. In terms of social status he may be poor and from a family of low income but in the tribal system he is equal to all others in each and every respect. The Pukhtoon refers to other person from his or other tribe as "*aziz*," while the system is called *azizwali* (relationship). In *azizwali* they react to each individual based on the past --whether good or bad. That's why the terms for revenge and *Khegara* is transmitted from generation to generation as part of *azizwali* and the children remember them for long time.

Pashoon (ambush)

This term means an ambush or offensive action. This was used against the British in 1842 and against the Russians in 1979. It is mainly occurs in the early morning when the enemy is fast asleep and there is darkness. It is the same as any army might do in an attack against its enemy. Ajab Khan Afridi informing the British Deputy Commissioner Kohat in advance about his intention to take revenge.

Paraywatay (stumbled)

This term is the opposite of Walar (upright). It refers to a person who is irresponsible and does nothing and is careless. He loses his respect in both the family and the community. People don't trust him and he is considered a useless person. He also defames his family's honor and becomes a symbol of shame for the whole family.

Toora, Toor cloth (black cloth)

It is a black mark used to keep children and girls safe from the evil eye. Most often black cloth is hung as a flag or with a car to protect it from the evil eye.

Sarray, Sarritoob (gentleman)

Manhood or character is very important to the Pukhtoon. A person is expected to set the best example of humanity, traditions and the religion. An act of bravery or respect brings pride to the whole family and tribe. People take pride in every single act of an individual that brings pride.

Spak katal (to look down on)

This is considered an abuse as it touches on the dignity of an individual and is safeguarded fiercely. Spak katal may be taken in different ways on different occasions. The greeting of a guest in a non-welcoming way, serving him food below his status, sending a message of Gham/Khadai in a disrespectful manner is all examples of spak katal.

Rasthanyee (clearing of a dispute through discussion)

In the case of Rasthanyee two individuals come face to face and clear the conflict through discussion. The conflict may become violent or resolved but this type of clearance is most often carried out in conflicts between women. This is one of the main reasons that women are not violent since they clear their conflicts sooner than men. Thus a minor conflict or break down in communication does not lead to violent conflict.

Badee/Dushmanee (enmities)

The terms Badee and Dushmanee refer to enmities in the family, clan or tribe. Badee can be with or without violence, may involve someone being injured or killed, or it may refer to only an exchange of hot words.

Para Jamba (lasting friendship)

Para jamba is an integral part of pukhtoonwali in which the Pukhtoon keeps his friendship through thick and thin. He comes to the aid of his friend when threatened, goes to the

courts to be a witness, bails out the friend from prison, gives him money when needed, is present at the Gham when someone dies, and even takes on an enemy for the sake of his friends.

Dazzay (shooting in the air)

Aerial firing is practiced on happy occasions like a birth or a wedding ceremony or after a truce or to mark the end of an enmity. With the birth of a male child who is born into the Muslim tradition there will be a Dazzay which is a Pukhtoon tradition both for the individual family and in the community. Dazzay only happens at the birth of a male child. The birth of a female is not considered very favorable in the Pukhtoon culture.

Dhoal (drum)

This drum is played to mark a specific happiness. The Dhoal was mostly used in the Hujra or public places to celebrate an event. It was used whenever many people got together to celebrate. Now it has been replaced by the loud speaker.

Naghara (Traditional Drum)



It is mostly used to announce the birth of a male child, or inviting community people to a jirga, or the announcement of some special event, like an immunization team visiting the village. It has been replaced now by the use of the loudspeaker.

Attan (traditional dance)

Every male and female, young and old, rich and poor, is expected to join the hustle in which they are traditionally trained. Attan is mostly performed with the Dhoal, torrey (flute), bajee (special harmonium). The youth are specially trained to take the lead while the elders enjoy watching.

Khanda (laughter)

A Pukhtoon does not laugh with just anybody. However, if he joins in the laughter then it says "we were partners in the laughter" or "we have laughed together."

Jarra (crying)

This refers to pleading or narrating a personal misery. This is also a sign of warning that if due care is not taken the situation might turn into an actual mourning situation for somebody.

Saib (sign of peace)

In Pukhtoonwali, to use the term "Saib" with someone is a sign of a peace offering. This title is given to a person of good repute. It implies that he is responsible for taking care of his family and property and following the decisions of the jirga.. It is similar to the use of the title "sir" in the western world.

Shuma (individual dignity)

This is a type of social security and is granted when a person becomes incapacitated due to any natural factor. With the shuma he is entitled to receive support from his fellow tribesmen. If the tribesmen do not support him, he can appeal to the larger group of tribes for support. This support is granted in cash as well as in-kind goods. It is not a donation but a right of a person and an obligation of his fellow tribesmen. At the same time it's a social responsibility of all individuals not to fail their tribe by living without dignity and honor.

Mattal (proverbs)

These proverbs are developed by the elders in the Hujra through common discussion. Mattal is usually used in a discussion to hook the audience of the Hujra and



smooth the way by keeping the audience's interest alive and then say what he really wants to convey at the very end almost with a "punch line." It is a way to engage an audience in a presentation about topics that may be difficult for them to accept. By using proverbs the speaker is able to get his points across. This method is also used in the West in public speaking.

Jinn Ghost (Spirit)

There are many practices that are used to keep away the evil spirits or ghosts: things to hang around the neck, versions of the Quran used by the religious elite with couples, visiting shrines of the saints and other traditional practices.

Pola (demarcation)

Pola is the common demarcation between two fields that is mostly divided by elders and differentiated through stones dug into different parts of the long dividing line. The stones are mostly used by the elders to assess the validity of the land and resolve conflicts between the cousins (Tarboor), villages and tribes. It may be used between the inherited fields of two cousins, or between two villages where the edge of the hill, a natural stream, etc are marked as Pola. It is also between certain tribes that are known to the elders and they show the Pola to the youth in case of any conflict or death.





Pola is the same as the demarcation of borders drawn on maps that countries in the west use.

Deran (garbage area)



It is small areas of the common land (shamlat) that are designated for throwing garbage. The Deran is later a source of fertilizer for the crops. Sometimes a powerful man takes this land and starts constructing his house or a Hujra for his own purposes. Other groups challenge him and with this the conflict starts. There is a common proverb in Pukhtoon culture that says "Pukhtoon arat bayelee, awo Deran Ghatee" which means "A Pukhtoon for the sake of Deran loses Arat (irrigated land by Persian wheel that is very precious)."

Shamalat



Shamalat is land kept for general purposes and use. In the past such land belonged to each individual of the family where it was used for the dehran or garbage dump. This is where the village waste was dumped by the women at nighttime and later on used as fertilizer for the crops. The village Hujra, Mosque, graveyard, funeral prayer place (janazgah) and eid prayer place (Eid gah) were mostly placed on such land. With modernization such land is further utilized for school buildings, water supply schemes, basic health units, Madrassas etc. It is the same as western governments allocating certain land for a township, playground, park, Community center, school, college, hospital, graveyard or any other communal activity.

Wesh/Asthamal (distribution of land)

Wesh and asthamal are both used for distribution of land. Wesh is mostly done by the elders of the community while asthamal are by the government revenue departments in settled area of the Pukhtoon in Pakistan. Sheik Millia in the 15th century did wesh and gave it the name of dafter code. The man who divides the land of the Pukhtoon into various tribes is called a dafter. After ten years the Wesh was done through the pacha (the casting of lots).

In this system khawaga and terkha (fertile and barren) land is distributed on the basis of turns of one tribe and then another. In this method equal shares are given for a period of ten years for the use by a family. Later the family is moved to other areas as per the Wesh. This

method was adopted by the government later on and they used the asthamal in the settled districts for land distribution.

Asthamal is the modern way of land distribution used more often now.

Zan (women), Zar (wealth), Zameen (land)

All conflicts are related in one way or another to one of these issues: women, wealth or land. They are well known issues both in the Pukhtoon belt and also throughout Pakistan.

Sarai (buffer land)

In the past when the Pukhtoon tribes divided their lands, the parcels of land at the boundaries of each village sometimes become a source of conflict since both villages claimed the land. The villages decided to share it on an equal basis but there was the danger that the conflict might arise in the future.

It was decided back then by the elders to give such land to the religious elite -- members of the Pirs and Syed families and the Pash Imam. These families were all respected and also any conflict within these families was considered a sin due to their religious knowledge and practices. Such land became buffer areas between the two villages and the inhabitants of both villages were safe from any conflicts in the future.

Later on the western world powers also adopted such practices to declare certain states as buffer zones between the various powers.

Peace & security

Chagha (call for help) or chagha (pursuit party)

Chagha is a loud call for help or an announcement of an action. Chagha means the pursuit party that is formed when there is a threat to a village of a raid by armed bandits with the object of stealing cattle, looting property or abducting a resident of the village. Composed of armed persons, the Chagha party goes in pursuit of the raiders to affect the release of the cattle or recover the stolen property.

Lokhay Warkawal (giving in order to protect oneself)

Literally it means "the giving of a pot" but it implies the protection of an individual or a tribe. A weaker tribe with the object of ensuring its safety and security generally gives Lokhay to a stronger tribe. It may be in the form of a sacrificial animal such as a goat or a sheep. When a tribe accepts a Lokhay from another tribe, it undertakes the responsibility of safeguarding the latter's interests against its enemies and protects it at all costs. The custom of Lokhay is common among the Afridi tribes of Khyber Agency and Orakzai tribes of the Tirah.

MalaTar (standing behind)

This term is used for all members of a family who are capable of carrying and using firearms. If for instance, some one says that "person/group" has a Mala Tarr of ten men; it would mean that "person/group " can furnish an armed party of ten men usually consisting of his sons, grandsons or close relatives. Secondly, it means espousing the cause of a man against his enemies and providing him with an armed party. The tribesmen resort to Mala Tarr when a person belonging to their village or tribe is attacked, mal-treated or disgraced by their enemies.

Amman (peace)

In today's world the words "peace" and "security" are used interchangeably. However, in the Pukhtoon culture they have two different meanings. "Peace" is kept by following traditional norms and values of Pukhtoonwali and own by the community, while "security" is given by another to the community.

It is well known today that Pukhtoon men, especially in the tribal areas, all carry weapons. However, this was not always the case. In the past there was peace and harmony and men did not all carry weapons. The main reason for this was that in the past the majority of men strictly followed the norms of Pukhtoonwali. Any deviation was considered a humiliation and shame not only for the individual but also for the whole tribe and even into the future generations.

Another important aid to peace keeping was that people thought of crimes as sins and feared the consequences from God. Today without the same weight of these two important factors, Pukhtoonwali and fear of sinning, there is less that prevents someone from committing a crime. Peace in the past was maintained by these two important factors throughout the Pukhtoon community.

Sometimes during the rainy days in winter and the warm winds in summer the weather was linked to a murder or another crime and they were considered the curse of GOD. Prolonged drought was also linked to GOD's curse and the sins of people. People begged for rain with special prayers.

When there was a belief in God and institutions like the Hujra, jirga, and the Pukhtoonwali was strong, there was less crime and more peace. When such institutions became weak, peace slipped away.

Security was also provided by the village youth by the consent of jirga. A big issue like a fight between two tribes was referred to government agencies for assistance. The government and the para-military forces also intervened on the consent of local elders and the jirga.

Guilt, Ego, Shame and Honor:

Guilt is a feeling that an individual experiences because of an act which he thinks was not appropriate. Since people have different definitions of good or bad, there is no one standard that all agree upon. An act which gives you internal satisfaction is considered good and if you feel sad it is considered bad. A guilt feeling is expressed in excuses or apologetic behavior. This is easy and possible in the "low context culture," but in the "high context culture," due to the shame factor, such expressions become very difficult.

Such is the case in the Pukhtoon culture where guilt cannot be expressed and "sorry" can't be conveyed to the victim for any wrongdoing. To do so is against the culture, traditional norms and values. It is something that will degrade a person in front of his own tribe. Any act of an "I" (i.e. an individual) will unite the tribe or the collective "WE" to follow the one who did it. Such practice encourages the individual and leads him toward more human violations in the future. Thus if a person has done a bad act and the community stands behind him, he will be encouraged to do more bad acts.

In Islam the internal soul needs nourishment. The good deed one commits helps it prosper. But in the case of wrongdoing, a black scar appears on the heart and affects the soul. This scar will expand with subsequent acts of wrongdoing. With the passage of time, an individual, after committing many crimes, lacks the guilt factor.

In contrast to the internal guilt feeling, shame is an external feeling of an individual or group. This is very common in "high context cultures" and definitely so in the Pukhtoon areas. What others say or think stays in the mind of every Pukhtoon man or woman wherever he or she goes. People sometimes make their own lives miserable only to make others happy and in order not to feel shame in the society.

It is also interesting to mention that in the western culture shame is usually for the offender who commits any crime. But in the Pukhtoon culture shame is for the victims. It can be equalized and therefore cancelled through revenge. Even though there is a strong religious belief that God will punish the wrongdoer here and in the hereafter, people still go for revenge and pretend to be acting ahead of God's decision. A victim of rape, kidnapping or murder carries with her or him the shame of this crime done to them. This shame will persist for their whole life until and unless it is equalized by revenge. It is also true that the shame factor is carried by the family and tribe of the victims for generations.

People stay away from the shamed person in social relationships. A victim in such a case is either marginalized by the family members or becomes a matter of prestige and honor for the whole tribe. In the tribe, which can be referred to as "you," any individual or tribal chief, referred to as "I," may come forward and take revenge for the victim. In that case the "I" is not only acting for him but for the whole family or "you." He will feel proud to bring back the family honor. The individual who takes the revenge brings honor not only to his own circle but also within his tribal community and even with other tribes with whom his tribe interacts.

The feelings of shame make it very difficult or impossible to experience the feelings of guilt or feeling sorry on the part of the offender. In the Pukhtoon dictionary there is no word for "sorry". Once someone does something wrong, both the offender and the victim will suffer for generations until and unless it is equalized.

In the case of the victim the shame will accompany the individual and tribe for generations. This circle from guilt to shame will continue for a long time until and unless the traditional elders of the Community intervene and deal with it by traditional law. The western or country law will punish the individual but will never resolve the enmities. Honour and shame are an integral part of Pukhtoon society. Pukhtoos live in a community strongly linked through the clan, sub-clan, tribe and sub-tribes. Each one is the custodian of personal and family tribe honor. Dishonoring one means dishonoring the whole tribe. An act of shame on the part of one will be considered the same for the community of the same tribe.

Honor is again divided into Gharat and Azat. If a person's father, brother or relative is killed and he did not take revenge that is called Gharat or honor. If a woman walking with you is teased or a guest is treated badly by some one in your Hujra (community center), that act has taken your Azat or honor.

Issues of honor lead to violence among individuals while other members of the clan, tribe take a stand and the circle of violence will accelerate until the elders intervene and take some initiative of peace building. If there is a killing, there are approaches that one can follow that can lead to peace building. However, in the case of a woman who is kidnapped or raped, or the woman elopes based on her own desire for a love marriage, then there is no way for compensation or peace building.

Identity issues in the Pukhtoon community

I vs. You Pukhtoon Identity:

The Pukhtoon will always introduce him/herself, as “I” Pukhtoon. They claim that we are the Martial race, who rules others but is not ruled by anyone. However, to the outsider the Pukhtoon acts always as a “we” and will unite against any outside. Recent examples have been the two Afghan wars with outside forces i.e. with the British Empire and with the invasion by the former Soviet Union.

The idea of race and of pure blood is very dear to a Pukhtoon. There are cultural hierarchies and they claim only people of pure Pukhtoon blood. Those other professionals who are the scheduled caste, who are also Pustho-speaking people, are not given the social status and privileges in their structure. Such scheduled caste people outside the Pukhtoon geographical areas claim the same Pukhtoon identity and feel honored to be Pukhtoon. To achieve such status one must leave his place of origin and migrate to another non-Pukhtoon area where he may start a new life with pure Pukhtoon identity.

It is not only on the grassroots level, but also among high profile people, that the “I” identity plays an important role. In the Pukhtoon poetry the “I” identity is given preference and highlighted on different occasions. One famous Pukhtoon scholar, philosopher, and poet Ghani Khan has mentioned in his poem,

If I a slave lie buried in a grave,
Under a dazzling tombstone,

Respect it not; spit on it!
O mother, with what face will you wail for me
If I am not torn to pieces by enemy's guns?
Either I turn this wretched land of mine
Into a Garden of Eden
Or I wipe out the lanes and homes of Pukhtoon!

Interaction in the daily life is on a different level in the Pukhtoon community. Between the tribes the usual war and peace matters are being dealt with "them" and "us" relationship. Within the Jirga of a clan and sub-clan the matters are address through: "WE" identity, but inside the Jirga the usual routine dynamics are handled through "YOU" and "I" identity. The tribal chief will always point to "MY" tribe. Here he claims that "I" am here and therefore that's why "THEY" are.

Within the family, the "I" factor is again very visible. In their introduction to a stranger the people will also mentioned the name of a famous individual and in one way or another will link him/herself to him. In pustho proverbs, the powerful individual's wife is the sister-in-law of all tribes. The father will always receive honor for the wealth and property preserved through inheritance or bought by him for the rest of the family. A brother of strong financial, professional or social status within the family, while helping others within or outside the family, claims the "I" identity. If the brother does not claim or refer to "I", his wife always taunts the wife of the brother who was helped by taking the credit for her husband's help to them. Such practices are inherited by the children and lead to conflict and enmity between the first cousins on inheritance matters or any other minor identity issue. There is a pustho proverb that, "The Pukhtoon need enmity: If not an outsider, then the first cousin is the first enemy".

Outside threats make them unite to "WE" identity but in the absence of outside threat the "I" identity plays a major role. Even with outside enmities, one person in the family takes the lead in taking revenge. In the case of any family member's disgrace, murder etc., this one claim to be the one who restores the family honor and gets the "I" identity, while the rest of the family member follows him as "WE".

On the other hand an individual "I" will be supported for any good or bad that he does since he is from the "WE". The opposite side will try to take revenge, but will not harm or kill the offender. Instead they will go for the financially, socially or professionally strong one in order to handicap the tribe with the one "I" and leave them as a "WE" only.

There is another common saying in Pukhtoo that, "the number 1 (one) has its own value but if we add zeros on its right side the value increase from one to ten, hundred, thousand and so on. If you delete 1 (one), there will be zeros, and zero plus zero is equal to zero."

In the case of a family or tribal conflict the word "I" is very common. People claim that "I" did it for the sake of my family or tribe. If "I" did not do this then not only I, but also "WE" were all not safe from them. An individual in the tribal system will always look and care for the honor and prestige of the tribe. Any act against the individual will be an act of shame and humiliation for the whole tribe. People will first blame the parents and then the tribe. And such a black scar will be on the forehead of the tribe for generations.

The role of “I” in bringing peace

If “I” plays a negative role, it also plays a positive role in the case of solving family disputes and peace building. In case of two families, two individuals acting as two “I”s comes into the middle and takes all power of decision-making from both sides. That is called (waaq) -- the power of decision-making. Then the person in the “I” role acts on behalf of both parties and gives his decision according to the prevailing custom and tradition of Pukhtoon code of life.

A respected elder of the community jumps into the middle through parachute diplomacy and then starts shuttle diplomacy to bring the parties to negotiation. He will listen to the parties and will arbitrate according to the custom and tradition. His decision will not only be acceptable to the parties but also the Government will give due respect and honor to the decision.

Here “I” plays an important role of trust, as people trust an individual “I” when they give him the power to make a decision. This “I” not only respects the parties’ trust and the tribal traditions but also seeks the wisdom and guidance of God.

“YOU” and “I” are some of the factors in the Pukhtoon community that are basic to each conflict. The idea that the “I”s role is everything and the “YOU”s role is nothing leads to shame and guilt. Due to the high context nature of the joint family system, an individual is supported for his good or bad actions. This can make the situation worse in a conflict.

If “sorry” comes into the middle or if an individual feels guilty and expresses his guilt to the others, it is most possible to get rid of the conflict and enmity once and for all, as forgiveness is very common in the Pukhtoon traditions if asked for. It is also unique in the Pukhtoon culture not only to forgive but also to forget.

People make their own lives miserable for the sake of others: what others will think about me or us, never accepting their mistakes, and never feeling ashamed for their wrongdoing and even feeling proud for the wrong done by individuals in the tribe. These make the situation worse in almost all cases.

The poor victim suffers due to the fact that victims are innocent, but still the shame victimizes them throughout their lives. The strong enjoy while the weak suffer a lot. Sometimes the weak become so aggressive due to these guilt and shame factors that they make the life of the strong miserable and bring a lot of losses in a variety of ways. Human beings under the influence of “YOU” and “I”, shame and guilt violate all natural and traditional laws and fight to the last moments of their lives.

Social work

Social work is an integral part of Pukhtoonwali. The Hujra (community center), the Jirga (committee), the Ashar Gobal (community participation for personal and community work) are the most common examples of the Pukhtoon way of life. The voluntary participation in helping a friend in need is the common essence of the Pukhtoon code of conduct. Such

practices are very common in conflict situations where the Jirga members spend money from their own pockets even sometimes refusing to eat and drink with the conflicting parties in the Hujra until and unless they agree with the terms and conditions laid out by the Jirga for reconciliation.



Balandra /Ashar (village aid program)

Balandra or Ashar is an aid program under which a particular task is accomplished on the basis of mutual cooperation and assistance. At the time of sowing or harvesting, the villagers lend a helping hand to the man who seeks their help. They take out their pair of bullocks to plough his fields at sowing time and assist friends in reaping his crops at the time of harvest. The man in return is obliged to hold a feast in his supporters honor.



Balandra and Ashar also mean a collective effort conducted for the purpose of welfare. For example, the mosques, roads, bridges and recreational places are constructed through Ashar. A general announcement is made to the effect that an Ashar is needed for a specific purpose and then at least one person from each house is expected to participate in the community work. The activity is conducted with a celebration through drumbeats and festive songs and continues until the completion of the work. Each one brings his food and most people participate with zeal and zest.

Another aspect of Asher is visible in the community works of the young for the benefit of the widows, orphans and the elderly people. These include the building of houses, the preparations for winter and other tasks for which outside help is required.



At times if someone can't carry out special task such as harvesting or the removal of trees, then such a person calls for Ashar and provides food to the participants.

Many types of short-term community jobs are performed through Ashar. The elders identify the places where work is needed such as the streets, the Hujra, the mosque. When repairs or

construction is needed whether in the graveyard, playground, storage of water, shallow wells, they arrange a Jirga and invite the people through Naghara (drum) in the evening.

The people listen to the drum, go to the scene and listen to the elders' instructions. The next day the people come with their specialty: carpenters with their own tools, villagers with their horses and donkeys and elders with special food for the participants of Ashar. The drumbeater drums the instrument to keep the people's spirits up. The job is completed in a few hours.

Ashar is also arranged for the poor and vulnerable people of the community. The elders again ask the youngster in the Hujra at night to help the vulnerable according to the needs. The youngster performs the job as and when required.

The community also contributes to the special tasks in the village. The elders share from the village account, which they generate from different sources. The account is open to every one in the Hujra to check. The assigned shares are mostly for married people, the rich of tribe or people who receive a monthly salary. This is a unique example of community participation that has existed in the Pukhtoon belt for a long time.

The custom of Ashar is very similar to volunteer community participation. The Hujra is the community center, and serves as the office where the committee and the jirga meet. They identify problems, prioritize them, generate funding through community resources and utilize these resources for development. This is the essence of true social work or volunteer work that has existed in the Pukhtoon community for a long time.

Fund raising

The Jirga imposes taxes on visitors selling different goods like egg seller, cloth seller, fruit seller etc. Other forms of taxes are raised by people taking stones from the hills for construction, sand from the stream, mud from the field and these are deposited with a group of the elders of the jirga. On special days like eid festivals, the servants of the village working abroad are asked by the elders to deposit some money for the village development work. They also share the yearly expenditure on such occasions with the people to make the process transparent. If there is a dire need of any developmental work then the village elders decide to collect certain amounts of money from each household. The criteria for that are fixed based on one's marriage and financial status. The poor and the skilled work for free since it is their labor and skills they offer in the development work.

Gender issues



Toor Sarye (black hair)

Toor Sarye is mostly used for women in Pukhtoon community. They are respected and looked after for their safety and dignity. They are so respected that if a women throws her veil before a warring faction, the violent conflict stops. If they come in the middle of the conflict with white flags or the holy Koran, the firing stops. The respect for women is followed by the men no matter where the women go --to the hills, graveyards, meadows, woods. Women wear the veil at all times. It is used on certain



occasions. Elderly women are less careful about the veil and can approach a jirga member as an individual in order to narrate a story in detail and in this way they can represent the other women indirectly.

Veil/Purdah



This is the same "Veil or Purdah" which the Europe loathes and detests. In the West it is considered a mark of oppression, narrow mindedness and barbarism. This is often what is first mentioned in pointing out the ignorance and backwardness of an Eastern nation. So much so that when a person has to describe the cultural and social advancement of an Eastern nation, the first thing that he often mentions with great satisfaction is that the nation has advanced by discarding the "Purdah/Veil".

Now if a Muslim feels this way, let him hang his head with shame. This is not a custom that was devised and adopted in recent years but it was indeed devised by the Quran itself and established by the Holy Prophet himself as a social custom...

Indeed, all the disputes about the veil spring from this hypocrisy. People have tried their very best to prove that the present form of Purdah/Veil was a custom of the pre-Islamic communities, and that Muslims adopted this custom of ignorance long after the time of the Holy Prophet.

If one carefully considers these injunctions for Purdah/Veil, one will find that the Islamic Purdah/Veil is not a custom of ignorance, but it is a rational law. A custom of ignorance is something rigid: it does not permit modification or change under any circumstances. If it covers a thing, it covers it forever, and it cannot be uncovered whatever may happen. In contrast to this, a rational law is flexible. It permits strictness and laxity according to the circumstances'; it



permits exceptions in its rules according to the time and occasion.

"O Prophet, enjoin your wives and daughters and the women of the Muslims to draw their outer-garments close round them; it is expected that they will be recognized, and thus not molested..." (33:59)

"Every religion has a morality, and the morality of Islam is Haya (Shyness)".

The word Purdah/Veil is used as a title for the set of injunctions, which constitute the most important part of the Islamic system of community life. If these injunctions are viewed in their right perspective against the structure of this system, every person who has not wholly lost his powers of discernment will readily admit this to be the only balanced and just view in regard to man's social life.

Bibi (term of respect for women)

Is mostly used for women as a sign of respect. A respectable woman of the community is called bibi or with her name the term is added as mostly in the west people called might call a man "sir" or a woman "madam."

Wadah (Marriage)

"The Pukhtoon, in sentiment, will sympathize with lovers in poetry and fiction, but lovers in real life pay for it even with their lives".

The Pukhtoons in general feel reluctant to give their daughters in marriage to non-Pukhtoons but they are not averse to marrying girls of respectable non-Pukhtoon families. It is not usual for a Pukhtoon to take a spouse from another tribe. They also disapprove of overtures for the hand of a younger daughter in the presence of an un-betrothed elder daughter.

Marriages with widowed sisters-in-law are common and a brother considers it his duty to marry the widow of his deceased brother. The widow, however, is not compelled to marry her brother-in-law or anyone else for that matter against her wishes. In most cases widowed Pukhtoon women prefer not to marry after the death of their husbands. If she has children, it is thought most becoming to remain single.

Child marriages are common. Polygamy is also practiced. A Pukhtoon takes a second wife only when the first one is unable to bear children or differences between the husband and wife assume proportions beyond compromise. Divorces are not common, as the Pukhtoon abhors the very idea of a Talaq or divorce. The word Zantalaq (one who has divorced his wife) is considered an abuse and against the Pukhtoon's sense of honor. Such an abuse sometimes results in murders and blood feuds.

Neewaka (Literally "to catch")

Neewaka can be interpreted as an assertion of claims. This is a custom under which marriage can be solemnized even against the wishes of the girl's parents. Public claim through Neewaka debars others from making overtures to the girl's family for her hand. Marriages under 'Neewaka' often take place among relatives, especially the first cousins. This custom is also disappearing with the passage of time.

Kwedan (Betrothal)

As is common everywhere, the parents cherish a desire to get their sons married to pretty and virtuous girls of respectable families. But in the tribal areas more importance was attached to the strength of arms and family influence of a girl's parents than beauty or other attainments of the bride-to-be. With the ushering in of an era of peace and tranquility this trend has however, undergone a drastic change. The boy is now also consulted while selecting a girl and his views are given due weight in educated families.

Walwar (head-money)

This is part of the negotiations and is determined at the time of engagement. Walwar also means standing or a companion. Any one who can take care of his household and is responsible enough to contribute positively towards the society is considered to be upright. He is respected by the family and community both. He is trusted and is invited to any good and bad event to take the responsibility and run the affairs smoothly. It is true that he is under tremendous pressure in many arenas but due to respect for the family and community he/she bears all for others. To help others in accordance with the Jirga's decision, the suitor's parents agree to pay in cash the stipulated amount to the girl's parents on the day of marriage. A part of the payment is made on the day of the agreement. The rest of the money is paid on the marriage day.

Pakha Azada or khpartha (visits between the engaged couple's families)

There are visits back and forth between the families of the fiancé and fiancée. These calls begin a few days after the betrothal. The prospective bridegroom's parents pay a visit to the girl's house and present her with a gold ring or a pair of silken clothes. They also send her presents on Eid and other auspicious occasions (called Akhtar shuqadar). This is called Barkha or the girl's share. Once the girl is engaged, she starts observing purdah with her soon-to-be in-laws, both men and women.

Aurbal (hairstyling ceremony)

The women go the bride's home in the evening one day before the Wada (marriage) and do up her hair with a special hairstyle in the ceremony called Aurbal. While some women are

busy with arranging the hairstyle, others are singing and dancing until late at night. They are also served with light refreshments at the bride's home.

Dolai (platform to carry the bride on the shoulders of the men)

While men remain busy in target shooting, the female party gives a display of its skill in singing and folk dances. Divided into two groups they sing in the form of a double act. Sometimes they form a circle and dance and sing in a chorus.

The bride is handed over to the bridegroom's relatives in a solemn ceremony. One of her younger brothers conducts her to a Dolai or a palanquin and a handful of money is showered over the Dolai. The Koran is kept on the bride's head before her



departure and a Lenten (light in the hand of a child) goes before the Dolai. Sometimes a black goat or sheep is slaughtered before Dolai to keep away the evil spirits. The bride is accompanied by the marriage party and is led to a car or bus. The Dolai is carried on the shoulders if the distance is less than a mile and sometimes on a camel if the distance is long. On the way back home one can witness scenes of merry-making. The female party sings happy songs and men fire crackers and volleys of shots in the air.

On arrival at the village, the village youths carry the Dolai to the bridegroom's house. They do not place the Dolai on the ground until they are rewarded. After this the bride is made to sit on a decorated cot. All the women hasten to see her face. The mother-in-law or sister-in-law takes the lead in unveiling her face and the other female relatives follow suit. This is called Makh Katal (seeing the face). The bride is presented with some money on this occasion. The record of such donations is also kept for re-payment on a similar occasion. Thus the marriage ceremony comes to an end with the transfer of the bride from her birth home to the marital house and distribution of sweets both in the Hujra and the house.

Janj (Marriage procession)

The bridal procession is called Janj. On the day of a marriage, the village of the bridegroom wears a happy look. Old and young alike wear their best clothes. The marriage party or Janj generally starts for the bride's village at noontime with musicians leading the procession. The female marriage party starts from the village to the sound of drums and the male participants set off their guns.

Nakha Wishtal (Target Shooting)



The Pukhtoons are fine shots. Target shooting is one of their favorite games and a fascinating feature of the marriage ceremonies. The bride's villagers invite the bridegroom's party to a target shooting competition. The challenge is accepted by the others to show their mettle. The target is generally placed in a cliff, a rocky area or some place that is difficult to reach with bullets. It is also one of the tribal customs that the Janj does not leave the village without hitting the target. The man who hits the target first receives a Lungi (a turban) as a prize for his accurate marksmanship.

Nikah (wedding contract)

The target shooting over, friends and relatives of the bridegroom assemble in the village mosque for the Nikah by the Pesh-Imam or the religious leader. On this occasion the bride proposes the name of bridegroom's brother, uncle or any other near relative as her Nikah Father (Attorney). It becomes the moral duty of Nikah Father to give paternal love and affection to the bride and treat her the same as his own children.

The Pash Imam repeats the names of the bride and bridegroom three times and seeks the approval of the bridegroom in the presence of two witnesses and some village elders. After this he recites a few verses from the Holy Quran and declares the couple wedded to each other. The Imam is given some money for this religious service.

Nandara (money for the bridegroom)

At the time of the Nikah, friends and relatives of the bridegroom contribute money to lighten his financial burden. This is called the Nandara. It can be likened to a debt of honor or some sort of financial help repayable to the donors on a similar occasion. A proper record of the donations is maintained and the names of the subscribers are entered into a notebook for future reference.

SAR Pasaia (bride money)

These are goods that are given to the father of the bride by bridegroom family and are part of the woman's share in the father's property. It is a custom in some areas. While in other

districts the father of the bride receives money from the bridegroom and then arranges a dowry. Women are not allowed to give property in inheritance.

Swara /Satan (A women given as bride to the victim as compensation)

Swara is mostly given by the offender side in the case of a murder or sharam (shame) to the victim as a symbol of reconciliation. The sister, daughter and first or second cousins are given in compensation and reconciliation to the person offended. Such practices were very common in the past but are now being eradicated with government action and civil society pressure and awareness. In Afghanistan the custom is still practiced in almost all parts.

Toor (Honor killing In Afghanistan)

Pukhtoon culture is based on the code of honor, which is largely manifested in the behavior of one's women. Sexual misbehavior is subject to rigorous consequences similar to those that legitimize revenge killings because it is deemed an offense against family honor. Pukhtoon tradition takes such violations so seriously that while revenge for murder is one for one, a victim's family is seen has having the right to kill seven members of the offender's family in revenge for adultery, abduction or rape in Afghanistan.

Killing both individuals if they are caught together punishes adultery. If only one of the two is slain, the killing is viewed as illegitimate because it throws suspicion on the killer's motives. In the case of forcible rape or if a woman reports that she has been sexually harassed, only the man is liable to be killed. Such honor killings may also occur in cases of elopement (forcible abduction) when an unmarried girl runs off with a man without her family's permission. Because her father and brothers are then expected to kill them, the couple often flees the area and seeks sanctuary (Asylum) elsewhere. They may later try to regularize their status by providing indemnity (pour) and two sheep as a shame payment. The man's family must also provide two women in marriage (Swara) to the offended family by way of apology.

In cases of the abduction of a married woman, the woman and her lover are similarly liable to be killed if caught by either the husband's family or the women's family since both have had their honor offended. Should the man be killed in revenge the woman is expected to marry her lover's brother, but this now marks him as a target for revenge as well. Such abduction may therefore lead to the emergence of a difficult and long-lasting blood feud. While sexual crimes are primarily committed by men on women, adolescent boys also fall victims.¹¹

The role of personal honor (Gharat) in the Pukhtoon Code of life is the driving force behind these institutions. Men seek to preserve and enlarge their reputations at all costs. Such positive acts as physical courage, generosity, outstanding public speaking, success in building political alliances, or winning disputes add to a reputation. Equally important is defending a reputation against insult or attack. This includes protecting one's property (particularly land) from encroachment, responding aggressively even to symbolic attacks such as insults or disrespect that attack one's honor, and willingness to sacrifice wealth or life to preserve one's reputation. These acts (positive or negative) are never confined to an individual alone but extend to his whole kinship group. Thus an attack on a single member of a lineage is seen as

¹¹ *(Zadran 1978: 272).

an implicit attack on them all. And fear of shaming the group impels an individual to act regardless of the cost to himself.

Nowhere is fear of shaming the group stronger than in the requirement to defend the honor of one's women (namus). Women (except among the nomads) are normally secluded from contact with strangers and play no public role in disputes. While they cannot accumulate honor in their own right, they can lose it through misbehavior or attacks on them. Any attack on a woman, physical or verbal, is seen as an attack on a man's (father, brother, or husband) honor. Such attacks must be revenged.

Similarly any sexual improprieties by women themselves are deemed such serious violations of the honor code that they can and should be killed by their male relatives. Women's passive role in the honor system is well known, but they also play a large role in accessing men's honor. It is the women's opinion that is often decisive in raising or lowering a man's position. Their praise or hateful gossip can have a powerful impact on how a man or group is judged.¹²

Men induced to action by fear of women's contempt lay behind the famous story of Malalai, the Afghan heroine at the Battle of Maiwand against the British in 1880. She used her veil as a standard to urge the troops forward by proclaiming in a Pashto landay (couplet):
Young love, if you do not fall at the Battle of Maiwand, By God, someone must be saving you as a token of shame.¹³

Arranged Mirages

Marriages are arranged in the rural area. They often involve long negotiations and questions may arise as to when or if a commitment is binding. Negotiations center first on whether the offer of marriage should be accepted and then on the amount of bride price that will be paid by the groom's family to the bride's family. Elopements, as describe above, grew out of this arranged marriage tradition but provoked a violent response.

Women socialization (Daewdai, Tanaoor, Deran, Gowder,)

Pukhtoon are blamed for many things that they practice in daily life. One of them is the objection to the Pukhtoon community gender discrimination and male-dominated society. Women's participation is very visible in the Pukhtoon community as compared to men's if we look to history. The problem at the present time is that all those places where women socialized themselves are diminishing with the passage of time.

For the men there are only two places, the mosque and the Hujra, where they can socialize. Since the mosque is only for religious practices, the only recreation center for socializing is the Hujra. However, for women there are many places in the village for socializing on a daily basis. Among these are the dawdai, (corroders) of the house outside to the street where women after breakfast come to exchange ideas on daily issues and on all other matters of common interest. The dawdai is only for the women's use and men even on the street are

¹² *(Grima 1992).

¹³ *(Shpoon 1968:48)



not allowed to cross into it. The elders of the village, sitting in the Hujra, perform the watchdog duty on the street to the dawdai. They restrict the movements of the villagers as well as any outsider. All this still happens in the rural areas but is changing in the cities.

After the morning session at dawdai comes the community oven, called the Tanaoor.



The Tanaoor is either on community space or in the home of a rich man or elder. The rich family's women come first to get the oven started. The reason for this is that at the beginning ovens need much fuel to start, while later on one only needs to warm it up. Women come from different community places and wait their turn. The oven is also a place for women to gossip and socialize.

The third place for women is the Deran (garbage dumping place). That is mostly used in the evenings when the women dump the household garbage. They usually go in groups or accompanied by a child. Women at such places again sit for a while and discuss their issues. All these practices still exist in the villages but have diminished in the cities.





The Gowder is the place where women draw water and wash their clothes. The Gowder is allowed only for the men folk early in the morning and late in evening. The rest of the time it is only for the women's use. Women go to draw water and spend time gossiping. If they are washing the clothes then the women spend the whole day at the stream. They sometimes even have their launch and 10 o'clock tea together. Here the women not only discuss their general problems but also discuss issues the village women face. Old women in such places take the responsibility to bring such problems to the village men and elders. They further discuss these issues and find out solutions for them.

The Ashar is a place mostly for women since it is where they do the maintenance of the roof for winter season's rain protection, separate grain of maize and put the grains in kottai/kando (mud-made food storage places at home). On such occasions the men's entrance to the home is restricted and the women enjoy their work accompanied by singing and sharing of issues along with gossiping.

Women in tribal areas also shared the work of the men in agriculture and in other fields. They go to the hills in groups to bring in wood and fodder for the animals. During these trips they can discuss and share their daily issues and problems. Here they also share the Pustho poetry, and take turns singing the tapa, two sentence poetry.

Human rights

Human rights preservation in the traditional way is very common and an integral part of Pukhtoonwali. If the Pukhtoon is considered a warrior on the one hand he is also the custodian of human rights on other.



There are family, tribe and sub-tribe enmities. In all such enmities women, children and old people are totally exempted from any sort of harm. In the case that a woman from either side comes into the middle of a conflict and throws her veil or carries the Koran on her head, the fighting will stop. An enemy unarmed or in a vulnerable condition is not attacked. Property, crops, trees are protected by either side. A guest is respected and protected by all means even if he is an enemy. Similarly, asylum and protection is provided to the stranger in case of any accident or harm to him.



Vulnerable groups -- widows, orphans, disabled, mentally retarded-- are respected and helped in the community socially and financially. Landless people are allowed to get vegetables, foods, grain and daily items from the fields of the villages. Similarly their guests and relatives are served by the community people in the Hujra. Zakat (money) is distributed among the poor of the village and on special occasion like the Eid festival or the holy month of Ramadan (fasting). The poor are fed and supported by the whole community. The weak facing threats from any one in the community are protected by the community elders. Their share is taken --sometimes by force-- from the strong ones.

Balance of Power/Terror

Gundi (balance of power)

There is a classic case of balance of power in the tribal areas. It is derived from the Pashto word Gundi, meaning a political party, but it is used for an alliance.

As modern states enter into bilateral agreements for promotion of trade, cultivation of friendly relations and mutual defense, similarly various sections of a tribe align themselves in

blocs or Gundis to safeguard their common interests. Gundi is entered into to defeat the aggressive and nefarious designs of a hostile neighbor. In tribal fighting the Gundi members espouse their mutual interests against their common enemy and act as a corporate body with all the resources at their command

A balance of power is maintained in each Pukhtoon tribe and even in the families. A tribe having more manpower and arms is considered powerful and rules the others. In Pukhtoon culture couples want more sons in order to be strong in the tribe and to get respect. With more men folk there are more arms needed since arms are the ornaments of the men. The relationship between the families and tribes in case of marriages and engagements is also based on how to get more support and strength for the family and tribe. An individual's character, education or job is not that important compared to the family's strength, the elders' reputation and number of men.

Terror is another sign of respect in the community for an honorable life. If you have more men and more weapons this means there is more terror in the community. So you need a balance of power and terror both in the community.

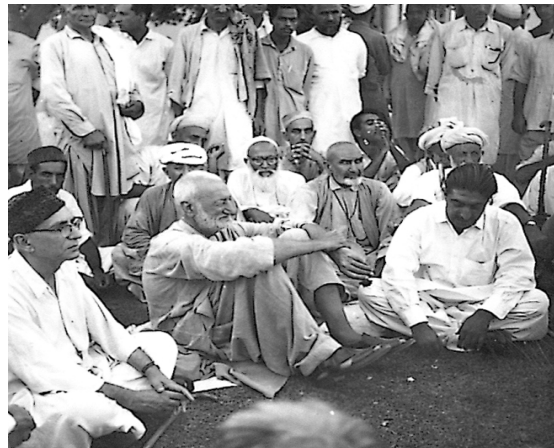
Both of these concepts are very similar to the Super Powers or other countries' politics of balancing the power and their use of deterrence by threat of terror that they gain through economic growth, weapons and scientific approaches.

Non-violence

In the present world politics conflict has invaded the globe. The word peace has little meaning. The changing nature of conflicts from interstate to intrastate creates hatred within nations. People divide themselves into “us” verses “them”. The world is again going back to the old ways when the weak spent their lives under the domination of the strong. Modern technology has made communication almost instantaneous in spreading the latest news or rumor. The news travels around the globe.

The religion of Islam has gained its momentum since the tragic incidents of September 11th 2001. It has also exposed people around the world to the Pukhtoon culture in the form of the Taliban. People were curious who these people were and researched the topic and gained their knowledge from the electronic media.

The history of the Pukhtoon nation is full of feuds, war, revenge, and enmities. They never allowed anyone to rule them and always kept their independence. Old books are full of such stories and the present western media presents the Pukhtoon nation to the rest of the world with negative images. Thus people today formed their beliefs based on what they saw on the TV screen. These negative images



change into reality when people begin to think that this type of nation should be dealt with an iron fist.

In the Pukhtoon nation, a man was born a century back, who organized these warriors into the world's first nonviolent army. They called themselves the Khudai Khadmathgar, "The Servants of God". Their motto was freedom, their aim was service and since God himself needed no service, they would serve his people.

The man was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan). Like Gandhi in Hinduism, Martin Luther King, Jr., in Christianity, Ghaffar Khan and his Servants of God demonstrated conclusively that nonviolence--love in action--is deeply consonant with a vigorous, resurgent Islam. Khan's simplicity, deep faith, and selfless service represent the Islamic traditions at its purest and most enduring. The Khudai Khadmathgar, under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, became history's first professional nonviolent army.

It is a known fact that Bacha Khan learned much of his nonviolent teachings from the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) life in Mecca. There are many examples where the Prophet (PBUH) bears all sorts of pressures and cruelties from his opponents while only using nonviolent means. This is mentioned by Bacha Khan in his book. Other world writers such as Gandhi's grandson, Minmohan Gandhi, quote Bacha Khan in this regard.

Bacha Khan started his nonviolent struggle in 1910, while Gandhi came to India in 1925 and visited NWFP (North West Frontier Province of Pakistan) in 1938. When he saw the Servants of GOD rallies he was so impressed that he himself thought of beginning another army, by the name of Shanthi Sena, on the same pattern in India. But Gandhi's dream was not fulfilled as he was killed two days before the meeting he called for the same. It is clear that Bacha Khan had a great influence on the history of nonviolent struggle.

Ghaffar Khan's struggle was against the oppressor both internally and externally, through the nonviolent teachings of Islam in its jihad or holy war. After the thirteenth century the holy war against the infidel concept was changed to the real spirit of the holy war within the soul.

According to the Koran, every human soul has three inclinations. One is the inclination towards doing wrong, evil and sinful acts, termed Nafs-i-Ammarah (12:53). The other is the inclination towards realization and repentance i.e. to realize immediately if one does something wrong that what he has done is wrong and to repent of it or rather reproach oneself for it, termed Nafs-i-Lawwamah (75:2). The third is the inclination towards doing good and righteous deeds; termed Nafs-i-Mutmainnah (89:27) this is also called the soul at peace because satisfaction and peace of mind are the natural outcome of doing good and righteous deeds.

In the Arabic idiom, the heart is considered the center of intelligence and affection. Hence, the word "heart" in the verse is to be understood as having reference to intelligence and affection. The word "grateful" in the verse implies making the right use of the qualities mentioned therein. Human beings have also been endowed with the quality of conscience i.e. the ability to make distinctions between right and wrong in regard to one's own conduct (91:8) and have been provided the necessary guidance (76:3).

Ghaffar Khan started his struggle from his own village by establishing schools for the poor to get an education. He faced strong resistance from the religious leaders. Their common slogan was,

Those who learn in schools
Are none but money's tools?
In the heaven they will never dwell;
They will surely go to hell.¹⁴

He went to five hundred villages in three years on a village-to-village basis and organized people. He made the people aware of the traditional and religious leaders' exploitation and the nonviolent struggle against the British Empire. He started his struggle on three main fronts: against the religious leaders to get modern education, against the traditional leaders' exploitation of the poor and against the British government to get independence. He worked against these with a one hundred thousand strong organized Army, the Servants of God, the world's first and last nonviolent army, and with a strong Jirga (council of elders) in the center for policy matters.

His message to the Servants of God was, "I consider it a crime to be a slave. Therefore, until we establish in this country a true people's government under which every community secures equal opportunities for expansion, you will find me struggling for freedom, no matter who dominates the scene".¹⁵

Ghaffar Khan's approach came both from his religion, Islam, and from the Pukhtoon as a martial race. It is quite visible from his quotes while speaking to the people on different occasions. He said, "The holy prophet Muhammad (PBUH) came into this world and taught us that the man is a Muslim who never hurts anyone by word or deed, but who works for the benefit and happiness of God's creatures. Belief in God is to love one's fellowmen".¹⁶

On another occasion he spoke to a gathering of the Servants of God, "There is nothing surprising in a Muslim or a Pukhtoon like me subscribing to the creed of nonviolence. It is not a new creed. It was followed fourteen hundred years ago by the Prophet (PBUH) all the time he was in Mecca, and it has since been followed by all those who wanted to throw off an oppressor's yoke. But we had so far forgotten it that when Gandhi placed it before us, we thought he was sponsoring a novel creed."

¹⁴ Eknath Easwaran, A Man To Match His Mountain

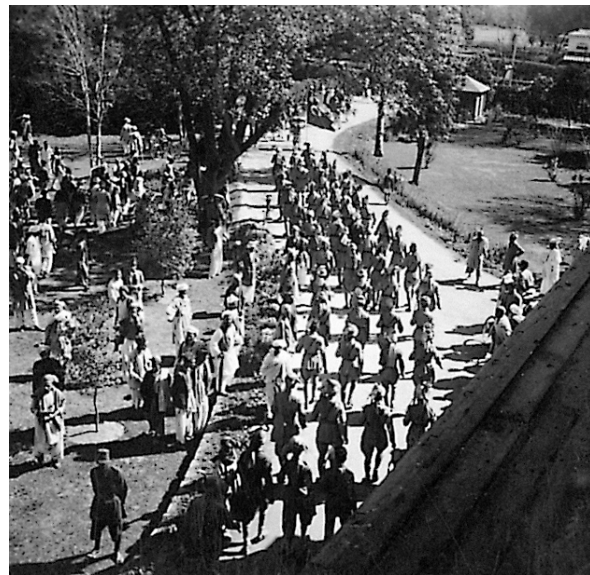
¹⁵ A bid P 181

¹⁶ A bid P-55

His appeal to the Pukhtoon race was also unique when he calls upon them to remember their history and the race they belong to. As Pukhtoon they consider themselves the martial race that always rules but is never ruled. They also consider themselves one of the missing tribes of Moses and think they are the old and pure race in every respect. Ghaffar Khan was aware of the Pukhtoon psyche as he mentioned to them, "O Pukhtoon! Your houses have fallen into ruins. Arise and rebuild and remember to what race you belong. Is not the Pukhtoon amenable to love and reason? He will go with you to hell if you can win his heart, but you cannot force him even to go to heaven. Such is the power of love over the Pukhtoon."



Gaffar Khan came from the class of the high-ranking landlords but embraced the life of the poor and stayed with them through the good and the bad times. He spent thirty years, fifteen before partition and fifteen after the creation of Pakistan, in prison and seven years in exile. He showed his patience for his just cause by organizing one hundred thousand, well-organized and strong men into a nonviolent army. He could easily have fought with any power of the world. He himself followed all these principals listed below and his followers also strictly followed the same rules by taking this oath before joining the force:



I am the Khudai Khamathgar (Servant of God), and as God needs no service, but serving his creation is serving him, I promise to serve humanity in the name of God.

I promise to refrain from violence and from taking revenge.

I promise to forgive those who oppress me or treat me with cruelty.

I promise to refrain from taking part in feuds and quarrels and from creating enmity.

I promise to treat every Pukhtoon as my brother and friend.

I promise to refrain from antisocial customs and practices.

I promise to live a simple life, to practice virtue and to refrain from evil.

I promise to practice good manners and good behavior and not to lead a life of idleness.

I promise to devote at least two hours a day to social work.⁷

⁷ Ghaffar khan, My life and struggle, Pukhto version

Ghaffar Khan worked on different fronts. His awareness campaign and practical actions against the local traditional feudal system and also the British Government were very successful to a large extent. However, he still faced difficulties in overcoming some obstacles. His economic, social, and political agenda was confined to the Pukhtoon community only and did not appeal to the outside world or other Muslim or non-Muslims of the Indian sub-continent because of his association and strong friendship with Gandhi. Outside of the province most Muslims were in the Gandhi nonviolent movement. Gandhi's nonviolent movement was a strategy while Ghaffar Khan's nonviolence was theory and practices both. His friendship with Gandhi also made him pro-Hindu in religious circles. The British, his political opponents, used this against him. His opponents on political fronts challenged his religious faith and religious approaches to nonviolence.

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WINER/LOSER OF A COMMUNITY BASED CONFLICT

Primary Stakeholder	Category	Psychological	social	financial	physical	traditional	Religious	legal
Party A	Offender	*More	* More	*More	*more	*more	*More	*More
Party B	victim	* more	*less	*Less	*more	*	*less	*less
Secondary stakeholder								
Family	offender	More*(threat)	*More(isolate)	*more dependent	More(safety/defensive)	*More(cruel)	More(sin)	More*
Family	victim	More*(losses)	Less*(gain Support /Sympathies)	More(physical/Financial)	Less(offensive)	Less(sympathies)	less	Less
Territory Stakeholders								
Community	Victim offender	Less(safety)	Less While middle wicked gain more	Less(but provide support to both parties financially)	Less	More(as such practices were resolved through peaceful means before)	more	More as authorities want witness
Criminals	Come for/rescue support Victim+ offender	(please to get more friends)	Less(get a chance and hide places)	Get financial support	Get more	Friend in need ,friend in deed	Traditions are more important	Do what is new
Government officials	Implement law and order	less	less	Gain /bribe	more		More/accepting bribe	More[divine law]