

**Social Impact of Tablighi Jamaat On Pashtunwali (Pashtun code of honor)- A Case Study of District Bannu.**



**Master of Anthropology**

By

**Zafar Azam**

**Department of Anthropology**

**Quaid-i-Azam University,**

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Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

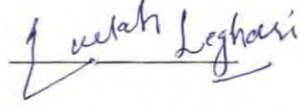
(Department of Anthropology)

Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Zafar Azam. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of M.Sc in Anthropology.

Committee:

1. Dr. Inam Ullah Leghari  
Supervisor



2. Dr. Arab Naz  
External Examiner



3. Dr. Aneela Sultana  
In-charge  
Department of Anthropology



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## Abstract

This research document tries to find out the impact of Tablighi Jamaat, a social movement which struggle for ritualistic Islam, on Pashtunwali codes of *Badal (revenge)*, *tarburwali (cousin rivalry)* and Pashtun's rituals of condolence, celebration a. It discusses in detail the cultural changes which the Tablighi Jamaat had brought and is trying to bring in Pashtun society. It try to explore the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtunwali code of *Nang* (honor). The focus of this research is: what sort of society Tablighi Jamaat is trying to build and how it affect the culture of Pashtun society.

This research, for the first time, tries to explore the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtun rituals associated with condolence and celebrations and it tries to explore the view point of Tablighi and its impact on rituals associated with death such as *Janoza (marriage procession)*, *Skhat(death alms)*, *Veer (mourning)*, *Losnewai (collective praying)*, *Drema (third day)* and *Salveshtama (40 day)*. Moreover, it also tries to find out the view point and impact of Tablighi Jamaat teachings on Pashtunwali codes such as honor and shame, Badal and Tarburwali.

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## 1 Introduction:

For the Muslim of south Asia, The twentieth century, witnessed the emergence of many movements which are based on the ideology of religious revival, religious revitalization and religious awakening. Because of the threat of Islamic fundamentalism, majority of the scholars focus on movements whose basic agenda is to capture political power and establishment of a government based on Shariat. Because of the threat of Islamic fundamentalism, majority of the scholars focus on what is seen as the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. Because of this threat movements which keep themselves away from the political involvement and from the affair of the government and shun publicity, receive not that much attention from scholar and research. In this research, we will focus on one such movement the Tablighi *Jamaat (TJ)*(Sikand, 2000).

Basically the word Tablighi Jamaat is the combination of two Arabic words. The word *Tabligh* simply means to reach a goal or destination, to achieve an objective. While the word *Jamaat* simply means preaching party or convincing party. The term *Tablighi Jamaat* collectively simply means preaching party. It works for the reforms of Muslims and missionary activities for those who willingly want to convert to Islam. It basically teaches ordinary Muslims through their actions and teaching what is appropriate and Islamic activities in daily life (Soares, 2010).

Of all the Islamic revivalist movement the Tablighi Jamaat is one of the extensive globally spread Sunni reformist and missionary organizations in the world today. It is probably the most popular and widespread Islamic movement in the world today as it had spread to around 165 countries of the world. Because of its global reach it is playing a prominent role in the lives of millions of people across the globe. It basically works through volunteers and its activists around the world. The movement structure is largely informal. It is difficult to accurately count the



number of people participating in the TJ at any given time due to the volunteer and largely informal nature of involvement (Pieri, 2015).

The movement held annual congregations at different part of the world. Annual congregation of the movement held at Bhopal in India, Tongi in Bangladesh, and Raiwind in Pakistan were considered among the world largest recurrent Islamic congregation after the Hajj. The movement also held congregations in different part of the world and big annual Ijtema can also be found in Europe, North America, and other parts of the world. As now it has global reach and the movement *marakiz* (head quarters) is present on of regional bases outside South Asia. Despite this, the TJ has the greatest presence in South Asia. In south Asia, the movement founding head quarter is located in Nizamuddin, Delhi, as its inspirational center (Haq, 1972).

Each roving Jamaat is expected to obey strict rules and regulation. Activists are expected to cover their own expenses. When visiting a place for Tabligh they are to stay in the local mosque. Here, they would lean from each other and also from local Ulema about different aspects of Islam. As they do not want to be a burden on people of their respective visit area, normally, they are to use their own bedding and cook their own food. While on Jamaat, the activist, are expected to observe to great simplicity and austerity. They have to spend their time learning about Islam listening to religious sermons, and immersing them in remembering of God. Jamaat participants follow a strict routine in order to improve their knowledge and strengthen their practice of the basic ritual obligation of Islam(Hasan, 1988).

TJ is widely considered as an apolitical organization. It neither expresses view points on political issues on nor becomes openly mingled in political issues. It basically looks and perceives the daily routine of life with an ascetic disdain. Tablighi Jamaat is of the view that this

world is impermanent, so we should prepare ourselves for hereafter for success. The movement strong and firmly believe on the impermanency of this life and during their teachings and preaching this impermanent nature of this life has been the main theme of their activities. The movement stress that we need to prepare for life hereafter. Basically they preach that one should not attach oneself to this life as this life is impermanent (Farish, 2012).

This study tries to find out impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtun code of honor. According to *Pazhwak (1966)*, the term *Pashtu* is not only the name of the language, but also used as a synonym for the term *Pashtunwali* which is very much known in the Western countries. *Pashtunwali*, according to Pashtun's, existed in Pashtun society before the introduction of Islam to Pashtun society. Because of this fact, in traditional Pashtun society, religious clerics were subordinate to tribal elders. Hence, the role of religious clerics were restricted and limited to providing religious guidance to the community members. Their role in community decision making and *Jirgas* (mediation party) was limited and dominated solely by tribal elders. Their role was limited to opening and closing of the *Jirgas* meeting with prayers. They didn't have much power in the society (Ahmad, 1976).

With the passage of time, *Pashtunwali*, amalgamate and combine certain aspects of Islam within the codes of *Pashtunwali*. Today, both work and function simultaneously. Majority of the Pashtun are of the view that *Pashtunwali* follows Islamic laws and norms and there is no such difference and contradictions between the two. But from the view point of Islamic scholars there are significant conflicts between the two. *Islam* and *Shari'a* law, for Pashtun, is the moral code of life while *Pashtunwali* represent the honor codes for living in community. For Pashtun, the honor codes of *Pashtunwali* are of greater importance than the moral codes of Islam.

*Pashtunwali* is basically used for maintaining personal integrity and honor. It's also used to keep

track of one's own, families, and community's identities. Pashtun win honor and the community's security, protection, and support by adhering to the Pashtunwali laws. Expulsion from the society follows a lack of dignity (Atren, 2010).

The basic framework of the Pathan social structure is its segmentary lineage system. The population is split into a hierarchy of social groups of diminishing size and extent—typically tribes, clans, sub clans, lineages, sections, and families. Each group defines its membership by shared descent through the patriline from a common male ancestor (Sokefeld, 2002). Amidst the Pathan's segmentary structure, however, there is also a clear element of caste-like social stratification. Intersecting the lineages are social groups called *Qoum*, which differ greatly in prestige and power and together embody a hierarchical ideology which looks very similar to the caste system in India. The foundation of the quasi-caste hierarchy in the frontier is not purity but rather the idea of honor and shame (Paine, 1981).

Basically Pashtunwali consists of three pillars namely *Badal* (revenge), *Melamstia* (hospitality), and *Nanawatia*, (refuge). In broad sense, it is the revenge of some harm to one by another. The term is also used in positive sense which simply means the exchange of any good deed done. The foundation of the above three pillars of Pashtunwali is based on the concept of *Nang* (honor). According to Johnson and Mason, the Pashtun concept of honor, *Nang*, is not the same as the western concept of honor. It is basically a man's duty in Pashtun society to protect his family, property, land and his women. Maintaining honor is of central code of Pashtunwali. Calling someone *Dauz* (a person without honor) is considered a great insult in Pashtun society and a person without honor found it difficult to marry an honorable female (Banerjee, 2000).

Melamstia is also the core concept of Pashtunwali and it because of it, for a Pashtun, providing the best food, best bed and best pillow for a guest is obligatory. It is also consider the main attributes of Pashtunwali to provide the best food to the guest and to entertain the guest in a best possible way. The host will sit and converse with the guest for as long as the guest desires.

*Nanawatia* and Melamstia is enter changeable terms, but had certain differences. It is related to the concept of *Melamstia* but it has certain difference from the concept of Melamstia. The host in Melamstia is to provide the best food for his guest while Nanawatia the host is considered as the guardian and protector of those who take refuge in own home (Arther, 1967). It can be presented and offered to those whose need of protection, and according to Pashtunwali it can be indeed even given to enemies. If an enemy presents himself to their enemies and surrender themselves, then it becomes obligatory for a Pashtun to give protection even to his enemy.

Another common meaning of *Nanawatia* is the forgiveness of wrongs done. If someone do something wrong and afterwards accept his guilt, he do *Nanawatia* and seek forgiveness. For Pashtun, This action is very difficult to do, and accepting *Nanawatia* bestows on the one who forgives great honor (Khan M. , 2015).

The above mention three basics of Pashtunwali are not the only concept of Pashtunwali. It includes additional values that are important to the code. It also includes equality in community, respect, loyalty, pride, bravery, and pursuit of romantic encounters, the worship of Allah, and the unselfish love for the friend. Members and elders may be given the best seats or the best cuts of meat at meals based on their age and rank, but the idea of equality is extremely important to the Pashtun. Pashtun, according to Pashtunwali, is equivalent to every other Pashtun. There is no difference between the strong and their followers, or between the wealthy and the poor.

## 1.1 Statement of the problem

The research primarily focuses on the social impact of TablighiJamaat on Pashtunwali. It uncover the impact which the Tablighi Jamaat had on *Badal*(revenge)It tries to find out the influence of TablighiJamaat on the concept of *gham*, one of the prominent occasion of condolence in Pashtun society. It also describes the influence of Tablighi Jamaat on *khadee*, the occasion of celebration.

## 1.2 Objectives

1. To find out the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on the Pashtun concept of *Badal* (revenge).
2. To know the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on *gham of Pashtunwali (condolence)* and *Khadi (celebration)*.

## 1.3 Definition of key terms:

### 1.3.1 Badal (revenge)

In Pashtun society, badal simply means reciprocation. It is basically the reciprocation or exchange of something good or bad done to a Pashtun. In the event of an insult or injury to oneself or one's family, Badal is needed. Badal may be soothed with blood, money or the exchange of women, but in the case of death, these remedies are often insufficient. Only blood can fully satisfy the demands of vengeance. Patience in carrying out revenge is praised in folklore, and those who waited years or decades to exact their vengeance are praised. Not only

can violent acts elicit vengeance, but so can merely questioning or even perceiving to challenge, a person's or tribe's good reputation.

### **1.3.2 Gham (grief):**

It is basically the occasion of grief in Pashtun society. Death of someone in Pashtun community is the main occasion of condolence and grief. It is basically the events and rituals which are associated with someone death. Participation in community gham is an important aspect of Pashtunwali and it is importance to participation in funeral procession than festive occasions like marriages etc.

### **1.3.3 Khadi (celebration):**

In Pashtun society, it the occasion of celebration and festivity. Pashtunwali is not just participation in gham, it is also important on the occasion of celebration. Marriage is an important occasion of celebration.

## **1.4 Significance of the study**

At academic level the findings from the study generated knowledge and understanding of TablighiJamaat in Pashtun society and its impact on Pashtun culture. This research would also help in producing knowledge about the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtunwali and rituals associated with condolence and celebration. I trust, this dissertation study would not only fulfill the requirement of my Master degree but also comprehensively orient me on the concepts and dynamics Pashtunwali and TablighiJamaat. I understand this study potentially helped me peruse my future studies in the same filed. Thereby I can further explore the same phenomenon in more scientific fashion of advanced frame in different societies of the world.

## 2 Literature Review

The beginning of every study is to define the subject of study. The subject matter of the following research fall under the ambit of anthropology of religion. As it is difficult to define religion because most of the definitions of religion are too narrow or too loose. Definition that have been given for the term religion are so narrow that they apply only to some culture and not to all culture and only to some of the phenomenon. Such definition is often ethnocentric. It only contains ideas and principles that are considered religious in a particular community. The disadvantage of such concepts is that they exclude a wide range of subjects, including sorcery and witchcraft. On the other hand, a definition that is too vague loses much of its meaning and usefulness (Stein, 2016).

In many definition of religion, it is difficult to differentiate between religion and culture because many definition of religion include several characteristics that we included in our definition of culture. Simply put, religion is a system of beliefs and actions based on a system of symbols. However, this concept has the flaw of not being able to differentiate religious views and attitudes from other aspects of culture. After all, we can identify specific values, attitudes, and symbols that characterize political and economic processes.

One of the important analysis to define religion is the analytic definition. This concept of religion focuses on how religion is represented or manifested in a society. A good example is describing religion as religious practices that involve rituals. Religion, according to Ninian Smart, has six dimensions.

- . The aspect of the institution (organization and leadership)
- . The narrative aspect (myths, creation stories, worldview)
- . The ritual aspect (rite of passage and other important ritual activities)
- . The social aspect (religion being a group activity that binds people together)
- . The ethical aspect (customs, moral rules)
- . The experimental aspect (religion involving experiences of a sacred reality)

The functionalist approach to the study of religion is another important approach. The functionalist definition focuses on what religion does and what is the function of religion in a society. It focuses on the social and psychological function of religion in a given society. For example, rituals of a religion perform the function of bringing the community members together. It can be seen as a source to bring community members together and also bring about individual comfort. Theorists and the main proponents of the functionalist approach include: Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Emile Durkheim and Clifford Geertz. Religion, according to Clifford Geertz, is "a system of symbols that acts to create strong, ubiquitous, and long-lasting moods and motivations with such (Bielo, 2015) an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations appear to be uniquely realistic.

Another important approach to the study of religion is to take a different approach. This approach basically tries to find out the essential nature of religion. This approach tries to answer the question: what is the basic nature of religion? It gives stress on the fact that religion is the domain of extraordinary things. On the basis of this idea we would say that religion is the



domain of extraordinary things and it covers the relationship between human beings and super beings.

Many changes occurred in South Asia during the colonial era. The colonial era brought about significant changes in religious thinking and organization among the people of South Asia. The rise of politicized religious communities in public life was the most dramatic change. This was true of all religious practices in India. Two more major changes occurred, both of which cut through religious traditions. One was an attempt to compare modern action and theology to textual standards. A major theme of what could be called "an improvement ethic" characteristic of socioreligious movements during the last century of colonial rule was the attempt to align actions with what were imagined to be simple divine teachings (Veer, 2002).

One such movement, the Tablighi Jamaat, started in northern India in the early decades of the twentieth century, with origins in the Deobandi reformist tradition. Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas (b. 1885–d. 1944), who studied under Deobandi scholars like Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (b. 1826–d. 1905), founded the movement. In the 1920s, Ilyas established an ordinary man focused Dawa approach to save the Muslims of Mewat region (the TJ's first mission field) that were targeted for "re-conversion" to Hinduism by the conversion activities of Hindu revival movements, such as the Shudhi movement. Dissatisfied with the reforming ability of Islamic Madrasa education, Ilyas initiated the movement to save the Muslims of Mewat region (the TJ's first mission field) (Metlaff, 1987).

Because of the efforts of the movement, the Meos, for whom their Islamic identity for several centuries had been of only the most nominal concern, had, in a matter of just few years, begun to respond so overwhelmingly to Ilyas's struggle. They wholeheartedly welcome the

movement and they started to differentiate themselves from Hindus (Metcalf B. D., 1993). They began to see Hindus as the cause of their deteriorating condition, and they gradually came to see Hindus as responsible for their deteriorating plight. Imagining, as almost all Tablighi writers do, that their increasing association with Islam represented a sudden realization of Islam's reality on their part is overly simplistic and hardly corresponds to the facts as they seem to have been.

Ilyas personality was mainly responsible for the promotion of the movement in Meos. Ilyas sheer charisma and charismatic leadership also specially appeal to Meos and was one of the main reason of the movement early success. The Meos seems to have been deeply moved by his affection, kindness, and care in his interactions with them (Kabir, 2010).

Ilyas also appears to have played a significant role in intra-Meos conflicts as a mediator. He believed that intra Meos conflicts were a major source of concern for the Meos at a time when the community's unity was critical in the face of external threats. Historically, the Meos lacked a fundamental sense of unity, and they often quarreled with one another. As a non-Meos and a religious leader, he was supposed to be non-partisan and to have no vested interest in siding with one party over another (Ingram, 2018).

What attracted the Meos to the TJ, as opposed to the largely efforts of earlier Muslim reformers in the area, was the particular mode of earlier that it attempted to employ to completely integrate Islam into Meo society. The mode seems to have been well-suited to the needs of the Mewati social background at the time. As a result of TJ's success, Ilyas pursued a policy of gradual Islamic reform. The Meo were first required to learn only the Islamic creed and daily prayers, after which they were gradually instructed in other religious matters. The Deobandis did not explicitly attack or condemn Meo institutions and social activities that they deem un-

Islamic. Instead, Ilyas hopes that after Meo has developed personal faith, they will strive to order their lives according to God's dictates. Meos tradition was not directly attacked as a result of this process.

People were drawn to this movement not only because of Ilyas' personality, but also because of his portrayal of an alternative world in which their trials and tribulations can be resolved. Many charismatic religious leaders preach the ascetic ideal to illustrate the present's degeneration and to continually remind their followers that if they engage fully in the revolution and strictly obey its orders, they will have a happy and triumphant future. The Meos were told that their problems and suffering stem from a fundamental lack of faith in God, and that all would be fine if they converted to Islam. Complete obedience to Islam and strict adherence to Muhammad will lead to Muslim success in all areas of life, and thus to victory over all other communities (Ibid, 2000).

Despite the strong areas and emotional association with the TJ in Mewat, elderly Meos often complain that the Meos, especially the younger, more educated generation, no longer have the same enthusiasm for Tablighi work as they did decades ago. The general consensus seems to be that the Meo youth have become so distressingly materialistic that religion has become almost irrelevant to them. In terms of trendy clothing, no one can beat the Meo people, but when it comes to Islam, they still fall behind the rest. When it comes to attending Friday prayers, they are the last ones to arrive.

Many young Meos are now complaining that the TJ is much too ritualistic, otherworldly, and unconcerned with their poor community's real-world concerns. According to a Meos, it is now common for people who know nothing about Islam but have participated in Tabligh to assume

that they know better than the Ulema and begin to object to minor things like wearing western clothing or shaving the beard (Metclaf, 1993).

After the death of his father Ilyas, his son Mawlana Muhammad Yusuf became the movement's Amir (leader). Yusuf extended the TJ's activities around the world during his tenure, and the movement became well-known on a global scale. From 1965 to the present, the TJ has continued to grow under the leadership of Mawlana Inam al-Hasan and others, reaching the global proportions described above. Basically, the movement's leadership and funding are kept secret. The movement is well-organized, and its leaders deserve a lot of credit. The movement is well-organized, and its leaders deserve a lot of credit.

Without a doubt, the TJ's most striking contribution to modern Islamic activism is its grassroots mobilization of Muslims. The TJ teaches ordinary believers to be more observant and pious, first and foremost, through its simple and transferable curriculum.

Though the TJ has always preferred face-to-face contact, the movement's growth in the late 1930s necessitated the writing down of Ilyas's programmed of action. Several of Ilyas' associates took on this mission, including his nephew, Maulana Muhammad Zakariyya, a Deobandi Hadith scholar. Despite criticism from Muslim groups such as the traditionalist Barelves and Salafi Ahl-e-Hadith, Zakariyya Fail-i-Aml (Merits of Works), also known as Tablighi Nisab (Tabligh curriculum), is still the TJ's key textbook or teaching (Taleem) guide (Maryam, 2004).

The first and foremost of the six principles is the Muslim creed of confession of the faith, the *kalima* “there is no deity but ALLAH and Muhammad is Allah’s messenger “. *The participants learn how to correctly pronounce the kalima as well as the literal and the demands it make on the part of every Muslim. This is followed by learning the various details and rules of namaz. The*

third of the six points is knowledge and the remembrance of God (ilm-o-zikr). The fourth point is respect for other Muslims (ikram-i-muslim). Purification of one's intentions (tashih-iniyyat) comes fifth. Spending of time is the last principle in which the muballigh is exhorted to regularly devote some time for the work of Tablighi Jamaat (Shaikh, 2017).

The founders of this movement were themselves 'ulama affiliated with Deobandis reformist seminary. They were part of Sufi networks, devoted to their sheikhs from whom they received initiation and charismatic blessing, engaged in Sufi disciplines and inner purification, and cherished the genealogy of holy men whose ties go back to the Prophet Muhammad himself, as was typical of Deobandi ulama (Jayaram, 2012).

The Deobandis arose in the aftermath of the 1857 Mutiny, when Muslims in north India were especially hard hit. They turned inward to spread what we could call cultural revival through adherence to proper Islamic understanding and practice, as well as devotion to the Prophet Muhammad. Widening circles of 'ulama educated in newly formalized madrasas were key figures in this movement, which was aided by the flood of pamphlets, polemical literature, summaries of correct practices, advisory opinions provided to individual questioners, biographies, and collections of anecdotes about the holy and learned made possible by newly available printing presses. Religious leaders, who had previously relied on affluent patronage and pious endowments, began to depend on public funding (Rehman, 2018).

A section of several generations of 'ulama associated with Deoband, Maulana Muhammad His programmed took place during a time of high Hindu-Muslim tension following the disappointments of the First World War and the Khilafat movement, when north India, in particular, was racked by riots and especially intense missionary activities by the Arya

Samajis.Ilyas, like the contemporary Ulema, does not enter the arena of politics but embarked upon the mission of purifying the inner soul of individual. He considered that it is the duty of every Muslim to teach every other Muslim the basic creed of Islam. He considers the inner purifications of Muslim creed are as important as the defending Islam(Metlaf, 1987).

JAMA'AT Maulana Ilyas argued that what was once thought to be the duty (farzul kifaya) of the 'ulama, namely, teaching obedience to correct conduct, was now the obligation (farzu luain) of all Muslims.His program's main goal was to get Muslims to leave their regular, day today entanglements and stresses and go out in small groups to call other Muslims to this correct practice. He felt that schools or religious institutions are not the correct way to reach out people and but they lived experienced was.The secret to his programmed was the combination of group experiences while on a task and the powerful affect on the teach h her himself or she of educating others (Ibid, 2010).

In a recent autobiography of an individual who started his involvement in Tablighi Jamaat in the 1940s, the following is a summary of the current core of Tabligh work in Pakistan:Allah, the Almighty, is a merciful God.At Raiwind, where the atmosphere is completely different, a major task of Ummah revival is underway.Talim [teaching], Zikr [repetition of sacred phrases], Tilawat [Quranic recitation], and briefing for the Tabligh missions keep people occupied.They are helpful and caring people who live easy, austere lives focused solely on Akhirat [the afterlife].

They hold ijtima's [convocations], travel to different countries for a year or seven months, and then stay busy in local mosques, inviting people to join them in missionary work among Muslims who have only become Muslims in name and have abandoned all religious practices.Jamaat will

travel by foot to Pakistan's most isolated areas and endure difficulties in order to gain Allah's subhanahu Taala' pleasure.(Haq, 1972)

Tabligh believes that preaching must be done face to face, that intellect and logic are useless in shaping lives, and that what matters is a heart-to-heart encounter. Firsthand accounts of Tabligh tours reveal many of these themes'. Participating in Tabligh activities requires the writing down or oral recounting of one's encounters while on a preaching trip. Accounts of tours are known by a term, namely, *kaarguzaari*. *Kaar* is simply "work," "action," "profession. A person who is *kaarguzaar* is someone skilled or expeditious or accomplished in his or her work. *Kaarguzaari* denotes the discharge of one's duty or business, or good service. Hence, *Eek Tablighi Jamaat kii kaarguzaari*" might be simply translated as "the service of a Tablighi Jamaat (Ibid, 2000).

The ways in which theocratic movements are organized, how movement elites work within a given context and a movement's ability to adjust to and from its surroundings are all critical. This is especially true in a period where globalization, emerging technology, and a greater drive for openness have combined to change contexts in Western liberal societies, causing deep unease among no-longer-engaged theocratic movements. How Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) elites have navigated the changing sociopolitical context of Britain as a means to construct their proposed new mosque. As a result, TJ leaders have shifted from a socially disengaged stance to arguing that they are an open and inclusive movement, aligned with the ideals of a new, liberal, and Western state. Before delving into how and why TJ elites in London chose to embark on a phase of adaptation, it's necessary to first grasp the overall nature of the movement (Ibid, 1993).

TJ's organization and function can be studied on a permanent and temporary basis. The permanent include the Tablighi-affiliated mosques and centers' official leadership and

hierarchies, as well as the degree of prominence assigned to each of them. Person Jamaat that are sent out on missionary tours are part of the temporary levels. The two are inextricably linked. Even if the structure only lasts as long as each Jamaat is out in the field, the forms in which permanent structures are structured have a direct impact on the structure of the individual Jamaat. Each Jamaat is given its own name to "demonstrate that it is a micro-representation of the movement as a whole." Through attempts to comprehend TJ's structure and power dynamics, the movement's power dynamics and structure remain a mystery. The movement's power dynamics and structure remain a mystery despite attempts to comprehend TJ's structure and power dynamics (Ibid, 2010).

Bangladesh has one of the world's largest Muslim populations, with an 85 percent Muslim majority and a population of over 120 million people. The TJ enjoys widespread support in Bangladesh, and its annual Ijtema in Tongi, an industrial township near Dhaka, has grown to become the world's second largest Muslim gathering after Hajj. According to a recent survey, the TJ is by far the largest but also the least well-known religious movement in modern Bangladesh. From 1940 to 1990, an analysis of the TJ's growth and spread in Bangladesh provides interesting insight into the movement's processes of accommodation in various sociopolitical contexts.

Pashtunwali is the most comprehensive and elaborate way of social order, right and duties moral and ethical code of honor. It regulates most aspects of a Pashtun life. It is the cause and can be practice in egalitarian societies. It is a code of honor that gives important to personal independence. Thus it is more that a customary law, it give important to honor more than anything, including the acquisition of money or property.



Islam plays an important role in Pashtun life and is an ancient and important factor in Pashtun society and Pathan identity. Islamic symbols are highly visible in Pashtun life. In Pashtun society Islamic symbols and Pashtunwali is expressed in village social life through the combination of mosque and Hujra (men guest house). The four pillars of Islam –prayers, fasting, hajj and zakat are imbedded in local practices and social structure. In Pashtun life, Sunnah also play an important role and one can find frequent usage of tags such as *Inshallah*, and *Mashallah* in daily conversation. Pashtun accept religion without doubts or questions and there is no conflict between code of Pashtunwali and Islam (Banerjee, 2000).

Pashtunwali integrated Islamic elements into the code, and the two work together today. Most Pashtun believe Pashtunwali adheres to Islamic laws and norms, but Islamic scholars believe the two are incompatible. Islam and Shariat law represent a moral code for Pashtun, while Pashtunwali represents a code of honor that supersedes the moral code and is essential for establishing and preserving personal integrity, as well as personal, family, and community identity. Pashtun earn honor and the community's security, protection, and support by following the Pashtunwali laws. Expulsion from the society follows a lack of dignity (Skafold, 2002).

The basic framework of the Pathan social structure is its segmentary lineage system. The population is split into a hierarchy of social groups of diminishing size and extent—typically tribes, clans, sub clans, lineages, sections, and families. Each group defines its membership by shared descent through the patriline from a common male ancestor. Amidst the Pathan's segmentary structure, however, there is also a clear element of caste like social stratification. Intersecting the lineages are social groups called *Qoum*, which differ greatly in prestige and power and together embody a hierarchical ideology which looks very similar to the caste system

in India .The foundation of the quasi –caste hierarchy in the frontier is not purity but rather the idea of honor and shame (Ahmad, 1976).

Dignity, honor, shame are the central concepts in Pashtunwali. The worst thing that can happen to a Pashtun and his family is to be labeled as dishonorable. The value of honors is shown by the fact that, in certain situations, killing or being killed is an appropriate and required act in order to regain one's status or honor. Shame is primarily connected with female's behavior and women cannot increase the honor of the family, they can only contribute to reducing it. Women's actions may have an effect on the group's honor. Men are responsible for their actions and have an absolute responsibility to protect the women of the family, while women are expected to be humble and respectful. Protecting the women and property is closely linked with Pashtunwali. A man who is unable to defend his family and property is not respected, and everyone is free to take what he desires from him (Buneri, 2011)

*Turra*, courage, aggressiveness, and readiness to involve in warfare and violence of the honor are the one traditional ideal of behavior. *Aqal* (reason) is the prudent behavior to benefit one family and ones wider social group. A man of *Aqal* is one who thinks and acts accordingly; he is sociable, generous and hospitable. *Tura* and *Aqal* are the attributes related with individual and are not associated with the group.

In Pashtun society, ideal young man is overwhelmed by *Tura* and to a lesser extent by *Aqal*. However, young man, in Pashtun society also seeks advice from the elder men and it is also consider an attribute of Pashtunwali to abide by the advice of elder. One compelling reason for demonstrating *Tura* is to demonstrate one's equality, sovereignty, and, as a result, of one's family and tribe, rather than bowing down to arbitrary authority (Ahmed, 2000).

The importance of honor, if a man or group is questioned, leads to a strong focus on restoring status. In this context, revenge is the central institution in Pashtunwali. Normally a Pashtun take revenge and justice for something that has been done against himself or his family. Although, Pashtun consider questioning the honor of someone immoral but sanctioning the criminal is not the responsibility of community and the responsibility solely rest upon the victim.

At community level, the revenge is an acceptable reaction and community normally applause the revenge. Local customs, public opinions, and Pashtunwali, on the other hand, restrict the validity of the vengeance. It is the Pashtunwali who decides who, when, and how vengeance should be sought (Hopking, 2020).

Blood vengeance is mainly a Pashtun practice, and it is closely associated with honor. It can be explained by the fact that not taking revenge is seen as a sign of weakness and those who do not take revenge are seen as lacking in moral character by the group. Reporting the murder to the authorities and negotiating financial compensation with the perpetrator's family is seen as a sign of weakness, implying that the party is incapable of defending its honor. However, Pashtunwali placed certain restrictions on vengeance (Ibid, 1976).

If the death was caused by an accident and was not voluntary.

Retaliation is not considered legal if the individual has committed dishonorable acts such as robbery or adultery.

In such situations, killing in the course of a war is not justified in peacetime.

Badal, or vengeance, Melamstia, or hospitality, and Nanawatia, or shelter, are the three primary pillars of Pashtunwali. Badal may also refer to the act of repaying someone for a good deed. All of

these are founded on the idea of *nang*, which means honor. According to Johnson and Mason, *Nang* isn't quite the same as the western definition of honor, but it can be defined as "representing a man's duty to protect the inviolability of his body, his property, and his women." Maintaining honor is extremely important to the Pashtun; calling someone a *Dauz*, or an individual without honor, is a huge insult. A person without honor has trouble marrying and finding a successful career, and he or she must live as a pariah.

*Melamstia* binds a Pashtun to care for a visitor, even if it causes him pain. A guest is served the most delectable meal a Pashtun can prepare, is given the best bed, pillows, and quilt, and is waited on by the host's entire family. The host will sit and converse with the guest for as long as the guest desires.

*Nanawatia* is similar to *Melamstia*, but differs in that the host in *Melamstia* is the provider for his guests, while in *Nanawatia* the host is the guardian. *Nanawatia* can be given to those seeking protection, and it can also be given to enemies who surrender and submit themselves to their foes. It is impossible to deny without jeopardizing one's honor. The forgiving of wrongs is another sense of *Nanawatia*. The forgiving of wrongs is another sense of *Nanawatia* (Malik, 2016).

*Pashtunwali* encompasses more than just these three pillars. Equality, reverence, devotion, pride, and courage, as well as *Purdah*, the pursuit of romantic experiences, Allah's worship, and unselfish love for the friend," are according to the code. Members and elders may be given the best seats or the best cuts of meat at meals based on their age and rank, but the idea of equality is extremely important to the Pashtun. According to *Pashtunwali*, each Pashtun is equal to any other Pashtun (Williams, 2013).

## 3 Research Setting and Research Methodology

### 3.1 Research setting:

With Afghanistan to the west, Punjab and Kashmir to the east, and Baluchistan to the south, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province, is located in northern Pakistan. The province is bound to its north and west by the Hindu Kush Mountains and in the south by the Sulaiman range. On the east, the province is flanked by the Indus River, separating the province from the rest of subcontinent in term of geography and culture. The valleys of the province are made fertile subsidiary channels of the Kabul River which brings waters from the mountains of Afghanistan. Main crops are maize, millet, wheat, sugar cane, cotton, and tobacco. The climate is a dry, continental one, with harsh cold winters and scorching summers (Banerjee, 2000).

In term of population and economy, it is the third largest province of Pakistan. It is the third largest province of Pakistan in term of population and economy. In term of area is the smallest province of Pakistan. It constitutes 17.9% of Pakistan's total population. The province is dominated and inhabited by ethnic Pashtu and Hindko speakers (Historypak, 2021).

#### 3.1.1 Geography of the research locale

The research is conducted in district Bannu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It is located in the southern region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It borders North Waziristan to the northwest, Karak to the northeast, Laki Marwat the southeast and South Waziristan to the southwest. Bannu district is divided into 5 tahsils and 49 union councils. Majority of the population is the follower of Deobandi school of thought and hence considered as the hub for the activities of TablighiJamaat. Moreover, the Tablighi activists have a *Marakiz* in Bannu.(Historypak, 2021)

Map of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa



Source: researchgate.net

### **3.1.2 Physical features**

The Kurram River and the Gambila River (or Tochi River), both of which originate in Waziristan's hills, drain the district. The Bannu Valley proper extends 60 miles (97 kilometers) north to south and 40 miles (64 kilometers) east to west to the foot of the frontier hills, creating an irregular oval measuring 60 miles (97 kilometers) north to south and 40 miles (64 kilometers) east to west (ibid).

### **3.1.3 Demography**

According to the 1998 census, the district has a population of 675,667 people spread over 1,227 square kilometers (474 sq mi). Bannu district has a population of 1,167,892 people, according to 2017 estimates. Pashto (Banesai Dialect) is the most common first language, with 60 percent of the population speaking it, while the rest speak Waziri dialect. The Banesi, Bettani, Dawar, Marwat, Khattak, Arain, tribes speak the Banesai dialect while the Wazir speaks the Waziri dialects of Pashto (ibid).

### **3.1.4 Major industry**

Though there is no industrialization in Bannu still cloth weaving and sugar mills are the main industry of Bannu. Bannu woolen mill is famous for the fine clothes throughout Pakistan. It is also famous for the for its weekly Jumma fair. Though most of the area of Bannu dependent on rain and tube wells for irrigation, some part of the district is irrigated by Kurram and Tochi

River, which originate in the hills of Waziristan. Although Bannu is surrounded by hard and dry mountains, it is a fertile place, and early English visitors had been known to refer to it as a "paradise(Historypak, 2021).

### **3.1.5 History**

Herbert Benjamin, a lieutenant, established the town in 1848.As a lieutenant in the East India Company's private army; he served in the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers Regiment. At the same Time, he was the builder of Dhulipgarh, a fort named after the Maharajah of Lahore. Dhulipnagar was the name given to the town at first (Dalipnagar).In 1869, town the town name was changes to Edwardesabad. The district receives the current name Bannu In 1903.

The British army used the town as an important military base camp. As the district boarder with Waziristan, it was used by the British imperial army for all the operation undertaken in Waziristan. The British also constructed a military road from Bannu towards Dera Ismail Khan.This road was constructed by military engineers under the supervision of Ram N. Mullick, a Bannu engineer.Before Pakistan's independence in1947; he graduated from Banaras Engineering College and worked as a heavy earth-moving machinery specialist in various parts of the British Empire.

### **3.1.6 Bannu Resolution**

Mirzali khan, Bacha khan and some other Khudai Khidmatgars, In June, 1947, declared the Bannu resolution. They requested that Pashtuns be given the option of an independent homeland through this resolution.Instead of joining the new Islamic state of Pakistan, they demanded the



development of an independent state of Pashtunistan, which would include all Pashtun majority territories in British India. However, the British did not accept the demands of this resolution. They were given the choice of either joining Pakistan or India, with no third option. Pashtun nationalists and Khudai khadmaghar were advocating for a united India until 1947, and no prominent voices advocated for a union with Afghanistan.(Historypak, 2021)

### **3.1.7 Famous places**

Bannu was under the strong control of British army and they built a strong wall around city for the safety of the city with several gates in every direction, and a giant fort in the Cantonment area named Dilip Singh Fort. The famous gates of the city were city gates a Laki Gate, Paraty Gate, Qasbon Gate, Mandan Gate, Sokarri Gate, Hinjal Gate, Miryaaan Gate and Railway Gate, much like the wall and gates of Lahore.

In the inner Bannu city, there are several business centers and famous market. The famous bazaars and business centers are: Taanchi Bazor (famous for a huge water tank high above the surrounding buildings), Chaiy Bazor (famous for different variety of tea), Chowk bazor, Railway road , Jammaan Road Bazor (famous for countless Jaman trees alongside the road), Tehsil Bazor (famous for gold merchants), Mir Sauddad Market and Gardhanali Galai (famous for ladies items), Thail Mandaye(famous for all kinds of oil), Sabzii Mandi, Gurh Mandi (famous for the best Gurh in the region), Ghallay Mandaye , Maal Mandi.

### **3.1.8 Chowk Bazor**

In the entire region, Chowk Bazor is the most famous market. After Asar prayer (*Mozdigar*), every day, the people of the city and nearby villages and Waziristan gather and celebrate. They perform different traditional dances and Attan on the traditional dhol. Chowk bazoor is also famous for different food items and sweet dishes. There is a famous local saying that in Chowk bazoor every day is celebrated Eid.

### **3.1.9 Ethnic groups**

Broadly speaking, district Bannu is inhabited by *Wazir* and *Banuchi* tribes. Main city and the surrounding villages are inhabited by the Banuchi tribe while the newly emerging places like tahsils Domel and tahsil Jani khel is mainly occupied by the Wazir tribe. These villages can be easily divided into Banuchi speaking dialect of Pashtu and Wazir dialect of Pashtu. *Surrani, Mandan, Kakki, Fatima khel, Sukari* is inhabited by *Banuchi* tribe while villages *Umerzai, Syed khel, Jani khel, Baka khel and Azeem kala* are famous *Wazir* tribe villages. Banisee, Wazir, Marwat, Bhattani, Qureshi and Awan with many more factions within each larger tribe, is the major tribes inhabiting Bannu.

#### Marriages and Social stratification

Marriage pattern is intra tribal and cases of inter marriage between the two tribes is rare and exceptional. It is preferable to marry within one tribe but cases of inter tribal marriages are also present. A Wazir will marry a Wazir and the same is true to Banuchi. Social stratification of both the tribes are in complete opposition and One can find caste and class social stratification in Banuchi tribe while the same is completely missing in Wazir tribe. In Banuchi tribe major low

castes include *Awan*, *Amandi*, and all people related with low considering occupations such as cobbler, goldsmith, and barbers while high castes include *Peraan* and *Qureshi*.

There is no caste like social stratification in Wazir tribe and during my field work I never find anyone among Wazir who are associated with low considering occupations. Most people related with such low considering occupational groups are Banuchi and Khattaks. Wazir living in Bannu consider it a proud and honor for their tribe that they are free from low caste people. Strong tribal system is present in Bannu. During my field work I found that Wazirs are more egalitarians than Banuchi. One can see strong tribalism and segregation between Banuchi and Wazir tribe in Bannu during election for four (4) provincial assembly seats and one national assembly.

### **3.1.10 Dress pattern**

Shalwar Kameez (*Khat Pardeeg*) normally with a Waistcoat and a Shawl (*Patkai*) and the traditional Bannu sandals (*Sapleeyae*) (much like the national dress of Pakistan) is the dress pattern for male. Charsadechappal and many of them wear a cap of some sort all the time. One can find Tablighi activists from their dress in Bannu. As majority of people are in way or another way connected with TablighiJamaat, one can find the impact of TablighiJamaat on the dressing pattern of people. Tablighi activists normally have beard with long Shalwar and head bald and cover with a cap or turban. Generally, in Bannu, covering head with a cap or Pataki is considering a noble manner. People consider it against the tradition for youngsters to visit another village bare headed. Tablighi activists also preach the same style of dressing and are supporting the traditional way of dressing and at community level they oppose any innovation in dressing.

The women wear colourful clothes at home but go outside only in a full Burqa (also known as a shuttlecock burqa). Strong pardah system exists in Bannu for females and for females it is consider noble to stay at home. Females cannot visit Bazar without their male relative. Tablighi jamaat is also in favor of strong pardah system for females. All these similarities provide perfect breeding ground for Tablighi Jamaat activities. Directly, Tablighi Jamaat is not against girls education but because of it advocacy for strong pardah for females and existing societal pressure for pardah, girls education ratio is very low as compared to boys.

### **3.1.11 Festivals**

In Bannu, Eid (*Akhtar*) is the biggest festival. People celebrate this festival with great festivity. It brings people together. On the sight of Eid moon, the villagers gather at the village Hujra and burn a huge fire. In older times it was a message for the people that Eid moon had been sighted. This special event is called *shahpaai (blessed night)*. Villagers congratulate each other the happiness of Eid. They visit their relatives and friends on Eid and enjoy different food. Every household, on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fiatr cook rice, either plain white with ‘Desi Ghee’ (*Shecha Ghooree*) or the famous Bannu beaf Palao.

After the fajar prayer on Eid day, local village bring different kind of sweet to the village Hujra and enjoy it with villagers. After that man normally change their dresses and proceed towards the bazaar for Eid congregational prayers. After Eid prayers they visit every household and eat bit of food and then proceed to the next house. The same practice is carried out in Bannu City as well but to a limited extent. At Eid-ul, after Eid prayers normally the villagers help each other in slaughtering the animals.

### **3.1.12 Music**

Dhol (*Banisaee Dool*) and Rabaab (*Raboab*) are the main musical instruments used in festival. Attan is the main dance of the district in which the male dances, on the beat of the dhol in large circle. The men of the cities normally perform 'Drab', a modified form of Attan. The dance starts slowly and gets pace as the beat of the dhol gets pace.

### **3.1.13 Gun Culture**

In Bannu, there is a strong gun culture. Many people freely carry weapons, while others keep them locked and loaded. This is due to disagreements between individuals and, in some cases, tribes. The Pathans are passionate and emotional people who value their pride above all else, which is why many conflicts are started and carried out with the use of weapons. The AK-47 Submachine Gun is Bannu's most famous weapon. Many men were seen holding the AK-47, which was also modified with interesting features such as circular 100-round magazines, scopes, and retractable butts. This has also sparked a firearms black market in the region. The majority of the black market guns and munitions come from Darra Adamkhel, a nearby town. In Bannu, a 9mm pistol costs as little as Rs. 10,000, while a locally produced clone of the AK-47 costs as little as Rs. 50,000 (Historypak, 2021).

## **3.2 Research methodology**

The research aimed to document impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtunwali, therefore qualitative research methods were considered as most suitable. The research study is a multi- sited ethnography and makes use of different methods and techniques such as detailed in-depth, semi-structured interviews and focused group discussions to record narratives of different segments of society such as Tablighi activists, youth, and educationalist and Pashtun nationalists. As the research is based on field data, I participated actively in my field work.

### **3.2.1 Entering field**

As native of the area, and having many family friends and relatives in Tablighi Jamaat; I entered my field easily. All I need to do was to visit my village *Masjid* (mosque). As in our village mosque, we have several old Tablighi activists and they perform Tablighi activities with full passion in village mosque. I also started participation and I found no hurdles in entering my field. Tablighi activists warmly welcome me in their activities and in fact give me honor and respect for my education. Tablighi activists are especially interested in educated youth because they consider them very useful in spreading the message of Tabligh across the globe. At the second day of my participation, I was tasked with presenting the six point of Tabligh after fajar prayer.

The field work was extended to 03 months' time to explore maximum possible dimensions of how the Tablighi Jamaat had impacted the Pashtun culture. An effort was made to spend maximum time with Tablighi activists to understand ideology, motives, and changes which they had brought in Pashtun society.

Ethnographic research methodology usually involves direct observations of behaviors, conversations with different degrees of formality ranging from daily conversation to prolonged

interviews (both unstructured and structured). It also includes detailed work with key consultants and informants about details of community life. It may also employ in-depth interviewing with selective respondents often leading to the collection of life stories and struggles of particular people (narrators) to help understand and document the phenomena under study (Britannica, 2021).

Sampling, The first and foremost step was how to choose respondents for collecting reliable and relevant information. Since the focus of the study was to study the changes which Tablighi Jamaat had brought in tradition Pashtunwali and also the view point of Tablighi Jamaat about armed struggle for the capturing state power, therefore, the study required special focus on those who had some knowledge of Tablighi Jamaat and Pashtunwali. People from diverse social and cultural back grounds were included in the study. Moreover, the study also included females who had a direct say in the affairs and decision making of the community. As some of the rituals were directly connected and involved with women so they were also included in the study.

### **3.2.2 Multi sited ethnography**

The ethnographic research could not be limited or restricted to any specific or one small scale community and demanded to consider all such geographical locations, making it multi-sited. This technique gave me an opportunity to study the research question in diverse locations and across ethnicities. Multi-sited ethnographic technique provided me with more scope and opportunity to explore the research question by studying correlations and associations between different socioeconomic variables such as social norms, class, caste, age, marital status, education, locatedness, family support and familysize. Non-probability sampling methods and techniques are always most appropriate for in depth qualitative studies.

### **3.2.3 Sampling**

Convenient and Purposive Sampling helped in accessing research subjects who besides being conveniently available also served the purpose and objectives of the research. Purposive sampling is also called judgment sampling and focuses on choosing cases on purpose and not randomly. The researcher by using personal judgment finds and accesses those respondents who can serve the purpose of the research study. Qualitative researches on specific or hard to find populations rely on judgment sampling.

I used mainly non probability sampling technique for my research. I used purposive and snow ball sampling method for data collection of my research.

### **3.2.4 Sample size**

After constant follow ups with my key informants 30 people from different walk of life were selected as sample size. These people belonged from different walk of life such as locale Tablighi activists, Tablighi leaders of Bannu, critics of Tablighi Jamaat, educationalists, locale Pashtu poets, religious scholars, people who had knowledge of Pashtunwali. I also include women who had knowledge of Pashtun rituals and community life.



### **3.2.5 In depth interviews**

In-depth, semi- structured interviews are verbal interactions where the interviewer attempts to extract information from respondent by asking open ended questions. Even though, a list of pre-determined questions is prepared by the interviewer, in-depth, semi- structured interviews usually transform into conversations offering participants to address issues and matters which they feel as important. This method is useful for understanding opinions and emotions as well as for collecting information on diverse range of experiences. They significantly help the researcher by offering a route to partial insight into what people do and think.

The researcher conducted 25 in-depth semi-structured interviews with the respondents who had ample knowledge of Tablighi Jamaat and Pashtunwali. The interviews proved helpful in documenting the ideology and in underlying the contour of TablighiJamaat. All interviews were conducted face to face and in multiple sittings as they offered me an insight to their journeys and affiliation with Tablighi Jamaat. Interviews were pre-scheduled periodically and systematically after first meeting with the respondents. This saved me and the respondents a lot of time and effort. A list of questions against every objective was also designed to cover all important themes and sub themes identified in the objectives of the study

### **3.2.6 Report building**

Rapport Building Rapport building can help alleviates apprehensions about the researcher and nature of research. The respondents are not very eager to share their stories without incentives

unless they share a certain level of comfort with the researcher. First step was to identify suitable cases for conducting in-depth detailed interviews. For establishing good relations and understanding with my respondents, I tried to be transparent, honest in my communication, clear, responsive, and friendly. It was an effort to put them on ease to talk about their view point with a confidence for confidentiality.

### **3.2.7 Key informants**

The key informants introduced me to many Tablighi activists and facilitate to participate in many occasions of condolence and celebration and explained the purpose of my visit and meeting. Some respondents already knew the researcher. Being proficient in understanding local language was an added advantage. Due to these factors, gaining rapport with the target group did not take much time as anticipated. It helps me in doing my fieldwork effectively. It helps me in participation in Tablighi activities and rituals of Pashtun society associated with condolence and celebration.

The researcher chose 05 key- informants which included a religious scholar and prayer leader at a local mosque, a teacher and Pashtu poet, an old Tablighi activist, a female professor and a local student and human right activist. Key informants helped me in building a rapport and trustworthy relationship with respondents and access to Tablighi activities and knowledgeable about the things the researcher wants to know.

Following are the detail of my key informants

1. Mawlana Shaukat Ali was, who was a religious scholar and an active member of Tablighi and an active member of village Jirgah was my key informant. He helps me a lot to reach and research the topic in study.

2. Sulaiman Khan was a locale poet and a locale nationalist leader, affiliated with Pashtun Tahfuz movement help me to understand Pashtunwali and its different concepts and help me a lot during my research.

3. Sara, a locale educationalist and an active member of the community helped me a lot in understanding the impact of Tablighi Jamaat on Pashtun rituals,

The other two key informants do not allow me to give their details in research. So because of research ethics and confidentiality, I would not include their details.

### **3.2.8 Focus Group Discussion**

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are helpful to find out different range of opinions and views on any one situation. It is helpful in providing an insight into diverse opinions among respondents from different socio-economic contexts. Researcher performs the role of a mediator in a focus group discussion and tries to keep the discussion around the pre-determined agenda. FGDs are one of most effective tools to investigate how a group thinks about any specific issue or defines a concept in local language. Focus group discussions also gave the researcher an inside glimpse of how Tablighi activists view themselves in Bannu and what roles are expected of them. Overall, four focus group discussions were conducted in total with five to ten members each. Two were conducted in UC, Azeem killa, one in UC zeraaki perba khel and one in Tablighi Jamaat Markaz in Bannu.

### 3.2.9 Participant observation

Participant observation is the process of organizing the daily behaviors and routine of people through extensive observation. During participant observation, it is essential for a researcher to include in all the activities of a group to become a part of that group being observed. It is considered as a foundation of many qualitative disciplines. In anthropological research, it is believed as a substratum of a study that facilitates a researcher with a complete understanding of a culture being studied.

As an anthropological researcher, I also participated in the setting activities to reveal the activities of Tablighi Jamaat and to grasp an understanding of teachings of Tablighi Jamaat. The technique being foundational to ethnographic research was employed to extract meaning out of the conversations they had among each other. It also helped in validating narratives provided during detailed interviews.

During the epidemic, the Tablighi activist closed their activities because of the lockdown. They strictly followed the government orders on lockdown and social distancing and they closed their *Marakiz* in different cities of Pakistan. However, still they do Tablighi activities on local and village scale to activate the *zoramalghari* (old and senior Tablighi activists) for this purpose, on local scale, they were initiating *saroza*. I also participated with Tablighi activists on several such *saroza*. I also actively participated in Tablighi activities in a local mosque. During my field work in epidemic, I came to know that local people did not discriminate and hesitate to mix up with Tablighi activists. I personally found; during my participation in *saroza*, Tablighi activist highly cooperative and caring and they help me in data collection generously. They never hesitate to give information about my research topic.

### **3.2.10 Field notes**

I also used field note during my research. They helped me a lot in my research and in gathering true information. Field notes are broadly endorsed in qualitative research as a mean of documenting wished contextual statistics.

### **3.2.11 Case study**

I also use case study technique in my research. It help to record related events an important way of getting into the depth of interviews of the living individuals. A case study should be defined as a research strategy for collecting data regarding research topic for its verification, an empirical inquiry that investigates phenomenon within its real life context. Case study research can mean single and multiple cases.

It helped me to understand the objectives of the research. Main advantage of the case study lies in the richness of its description as the subject is deeply studied. This technique has been used during field work to get detail information and reliable data. I included the case study for the better understanding of research. During my field work I was able to cover and document some 15 case studies.

## 4 Tablighi Jamaat impact on Pashtunwali code of Badal

Badal is one of the important aspects of Pashtunwali. It is basically considered the basics attribute of a Pashtun and for Pashtun it is consider elementary to take and give Badal. As I entered my field, the first concept which I learned about badal was that the local people use this term for reciprocation. Badal simply means exchange or reciprocation. Local people use this term in variety of senses and in different context. One of the contexts was the reciprocation of good or bad done to someone. It is the reciprocation of good or bad done to a Pashtun. If you do good, you will be reciprocated and if you do something wrong you will bear the consequences of your action. For local people the term does not simply means to take revenge. It can be used in variety of contexts and does not necessarily a bad thing. During my *saroza* (three day tour of Tabligh, I heard the term badal very often and by badal they means the reward of Allah almighty for doing good deeds.

. Another context in which local people use the term badal is to take revenge. It is believed as taking the revenge of some wrong done in Pashtun society. Basically it is the reaction of wrong acts or the insult done. In general, Badal include all type of revenge like using abusive language to someone, injuring someone physically or emotionally. In some cases like insulting someone *Zan* (women), *Zar* (wealth), and *Zamin*(land), badal may be very brutal. They had associated these things with their honor and insulting or hurting these things is paramount to insulting their honor.

*Badal* become obligatory in case of an insult or injury to oneself or ones family. Normally *Badal* is revenged with the blood but in certain cases it can be revenged through money or the exchange of women. In majority cases these solution are not acceptable at community level; especially

when the revenge is of death. In Pashtun society blood revenge can only be quenched with blood and blood can fully fulfill the demands of revenge. Patience for taking revenge is perceived in positive light. During my field research, I came across a number of proverbs and folk tales that laud those who waited years or decades to exact their vengeance. Not only can violent acts elicit vengeance, but so can merely questioning or even perceiving to challenge, a person's or tribe's good reputation.

Some of the famous proverbs illustrate the strong presence of Badal in Pashtun society. For example,

*.Badal pa badal khla se zi*

Tit for tat

If you do harm to Pashtun, then you cannot keep yourself safe from that person, he will definitely take revenge from you.

*.Owgora! Pashtun sal kala bad badal wakhosta, waya ye cha zare ma wakra*

See! After a hundred years a Pashtun had taken his revenge and yet he said: still I had taken it early.

It means that Pashtun concept of Badal is above time and they would wait for Badal for hundred years. It shows how much Pashtun is conscious about revenge and it may take them generation for them to take revenge.

#### 4.1 Tarburwali (cousin rivalry):

One of inter related concept with Badal is Tarburwali. In this concept the Badal or revenge is very common to take from near relatives or the patriline cousin, which can easily harm your honor and can make you disgrace in society. In Pashtun society, tarburwali or cousin rivalry is the cause of much bloodshed. In Pashtun society, cousin is considered as well wisher in public and face to face but will harm you and will create hurdles in your way at your back. Pashtun is considered as not real Pashtun if he does not have any Tarbur. Here they don't fear each other but challenge each other.

During my field work I came across many proverbs which can help in understanding of how strong the concept of Badal especially from tarbur is present.

Tarbur da shapy mazwe dy

Cousin is the hurdle of night.

Tarbur dushman dy

Cousin is enemy.

Akhpl ba di wazara wi, pardey ba di wakhanda wi.

Your relatives will make you cry, while a stranger will make you laugh.

The foundation of Tablighi Jamaat is based on the verse of Holy Quran: There must be a group among them to enjoin that which is right and forbid that which is wrong (3:104). The *Tablighi Jamaat* claims that it is the group that preaches to do well and refrain from doing wrong among the ordinary Muslim. The Followers of the *TJ* is of the view that as Allah will not send another



prophet and messenger for the guidance of humanity after Muhammad (SAW), therefore, it is the responsibility of every Muslim to preach and spread the message of Allah for the guidance of humanity.

During my field work I came across that daily fajar prayers they normally sit in a circle and one of them repeat the famous six numbers of Tablighi Jamaat. One of the points was ikram Muslim. In this point they consider it a quality of Muslim to respect every other Muslim. They believe and preach universal Islamic brotherhood. During their morning six points, one of the famous Hadith which they often narrate was that Muslims in every corner of the world is like brothers and protecting their honor, property and respect is the religious duty of every other Muslims.

They are of the view that hurting a Muslim brother is like demolishing the holy Qaba, the holiest place of Muslims across the world. They consider harming another Muslims as against the teaching of holy Quran and Sunnah of prophet saw. In fact, they consider providing a glass of water to another Muslim as a lofty act and Allah gives reward for such acts in here after life.

Tablighi Jamaat considers it a curse of Pashtun society.

Tablighi Jamaat is highly critical of the concept of honors killing and considers it unislamic and barbarity. They are of the view that tarburwali is against the teaching of Islam as Islam order Muslims to live like brothers, and give respect to each others. They consider animosity between cousins as a threat to the welfare of society as also considers it the causative agent of many social problems in Pashtun society.

During my field work I noticed that one of the reasons that people join Tablighi Jamaat was their highly respectful way of preaching and their effective way of dealing and calling towards

Tablighi Jamaat. And their dealing with the t Tablighi activists tries their best to give respect to each other and the native villagers.

When I asked the question about the take of Tablighi Jamaat on animosity between cousin and in other words tarburwali, a local Tablighi activist told me:

*Islam gives the concept of universal brotherhood and demolishes all form of animosity among Muslims and the concept of tarburwali is against this universal brotherhood which Islam had initiated. Moreover, it is the causative agent of bloodshed and law and order situation in society. It has also wasted many precious lives and had created many financial issues for the families which are involved in tarburwali. Hence this un Islamic and inhuman concept should be discouraged and abolished t for the betterment of society.*

However despite strong opposition and preaching and considering it UN Islamic from the Tablighi activists, during my field work, I came to know that tarburwali had always been used in its negative sense. Tarburwali is not just taking revenge or animosity between cousins; it is the cause of healthy competition among cousins for resources, better and honor livelihood. To maintain balance between cousins in material resources, the concept of tarburwali is very important. In economic resources, every Pashtun want to balance their cousins and they never want to lag behind their cousins in economic resources.

Master Suleman, a local Pashto poet, when asked about tarburwali, he told me that that whenever people listen this word, they perceive it as something bad or negative and this term and concept had been used in narrow sense. But in reality, the concept is very broad and is not limited or just mean cousin rivalry or animosity. He further added that tarburwali is very important in Pashtun society and is responsible for the egalitarian nature of Pashtun; it is also important for

maintaining societal peace and harmony. He was of the view that the very nature of Pashtun society as egalitarian is because of the presence of tarburwali and if it diminished, Pashtun society will lose its egalitarianism. According to him, the presence of the concept of tarburwali is very important for the smooth running of Pashtun society.

During one of my focus group discussion, when I ask the question: how much Tablighi Jamaat had impacted the and had changed the concept of tarburwali, from Tablighi activists, my respondents told me that despite strong opposition and preaching from Tablighi Jamaat, the concept is still present and is taking many precious lives. They told me that on daily basis, incidents on the name of this barbaric concept are taking place and the evil is still far from ending. They were of the view that the concept is deep rooted in Pashtun society and we are struggling to eliminate this social evil in all its form.

They also told me that half of Pashtunwali tradition is against Islam and actually infidelity and fighting against this un-Islamic and barbaric tradition and concept is not just the responsibility of Tablighi Jamaat but it is the responsibility of every conscious soul of the society.

During my field work I noticed that at village's level, Tablighi activists have strong bonding and connections. They meet and discuss Tablighi Jamaat activities two or three times a day in local mosque and one special tour around the village. During the tour, they visit sports grounds, guest houses and meet with villagers and invite them towards prayers and discussion of Tablighi Jamaat. They also initiate three day tour with village youngsters towards nearby village for preaching Tablighi ideology. Moreover for long tour in Tabligh, they normally go with local Tablighi activists. Tablighi activists are very active at community gatherings such as death rituals or marriage ritual and they participate in it voluntarily and whole heartedly.

Because of these daily and weekly and early tours of Tablighi Jamaat, member of the community is in constant contact. Basically, Tablighi activists are the cause of inter connectedness among the community and are practically challenging the concept of tarburwali or any other animosity and hatred among the community members. Basically through their tours in Tablighi Jamaat, they want to promote mutual and healthy relations among the inter villages and intra village. They are the cause of linkage among community members. They consider it barbaric and preach universal brotherhood among Muslims.

One local Tablighi Jamaat leader told:

*Calling people towards the path of Allah and His messenger (saw) and propagating brotherhood among Muslims is the corner stone of Tablighi Jamaat ideology and eliminating those concepts and tradition from Pashtun society which is harmful for the society is the mission of Tablighi Jamaat. In fact anything which is against Islamic values and tradition is against the well being of community and such traditions and concept should be eliminated from the society. We are doing practical work to eliminate tarburwali and other un Islamic tradition from Pashtun society. And one the main function of Tablighi tour is to learn Islamic way of living life and also forward what one learn in Tablighi tours to the general masses.*

When I asked him what Tablighi Jamaat has achieved in eliminating tarburwali, he told me:

*Because of Tablighi activities and efforts in this region the concept of tarburwali is dying out and Tablighi activists are the torch bearer of this change. One of the main functions of three day tour to another village and weekly village tour is the promotion of coordination among community members as constant contacts among the community members can eradicate such negative traditions. In fact the best example is the life of prophet (saw) as when He migrated to*

*Medina, one of the first steps He taken was the elimination of tribal animosity among Arab tribes. As Pashtun society is also famous for tribal and cousin animosity, so it is the responsibility of Tablighi Jamaat to eliminate this social evil. Because of the efforts of Tablighi Jamaat people are now well aware that tarburwali serve no one ends; people are now aware of their responsibility and cases pertaining to tarburwali have been lowered.*

## **4.2 Case study #1**

Because of patriline descent and lineage the cousins, in Pashtun society, share their land borders or limits. In majority cases, cousins claim a piece of land which is in possession of another cousin. The other cousins deny their claim and not prepare to leave the ownership of land and become a case of tarburwali or cousin's animosity and that cost many lives for both the parties. Though there were genuine cases in which the strong cousins had illegally occupied another weak cousin's land but during my field work, I found that, in majority such cases, harassing and teasing cousins at the name of tarburwali was the main intention. When one cousin gains some honor and material resources, the other cousins because of jealousy and tarburwali use such tactics that end at the cost of beautiful lives from both the cousins.

Another common cause of tarburwali is when one cousin tries to sell their land to strangers or outside the family. In Pashtun society if one cousin wants to sell their land, the nearest cousins consider it their right to first buy that land. As selling a piece of land to Tarburwali compels both the cousins to start a long and tedious court hearing and at the same time, expensive local Jirgah hearings. In such cases the aggrieved cousins file a petition in a court and through court order forbid the cousins to sell their land. The conflicts over a piece of land, sometimes, turn into

bloody conflicts and take many lives from both the families. In some cases they just do not participate in condolence and celebration as a singing of tarburwali.

During my research, one of my key informants told me about an incident in a village in which cousins were in dispute over a piece of land. During the course of process they also were engaged in physically injuring each other and from both the parties many people were injured. . Now the local Tablighi activists were busy in settling the dispute through Jirgah and *Nanawatia*. I also join the Tablighi activists to know the outcome of the Jirgah. First of all the Jirgah members listen to the point of view of both the parties to the conflict and after listening both the parties; the Jirgah decided that one party to the conflict is guilty and will do *nanawatia*. Jirgah members told the innocent party to the conflict that they will forgive the guilty party.

The Tablighi activists gave a detail account of the importance of the forgiveness. The innocent party agreed to the Jirgah and after *Nanawatia*, they forgive the guilt of that family. When I asked the head of innocent family that why they forgive the guilt of that family, he told me that the Jirgah members were very respectful to me because they provided their services just for the sake of Allah and they did not have their personal interest in this matter so I accepted their *Nanawatia* and forgave the guilt of that family. Moreover, he also told me that Allah will give us reward for this forgiveness in here after. They tell the parties to the conflict about the reward of forgiveness in life here after.

During my field work, I noticed that the locale Tablighi activists are also replacing the tribal elders in Jirgah. As promotion brotherhood among Muslims is the corner stone of Tablighi ideology, at village's level, they play important role of mediation and resolutions of disputes at village level. Tablighi activists consider it their religious duty to provide mediation to their

Muslims brothers in conflict and also the Sunnah of prophet saw. The traditional Jirgah system with tribal elders as their heads had lost its credibility because of money and characters of tribal elders.

The traditional Jirgah have become very complicated and the tribal elders normally demand very high price for the mediation. Because of this high cost and complications of traditional Jirgah, there is a gap which the Tablighi activists are fulfilling. The Tablighi activists provide their services free of cost. They are of the view that it is our religious obligations to provide mediation services if their Muslim brothers are in conflict and Allah will give us reward in life here after. Through their mediation services in Jirgah, the Tablighi activists are discouraging the concept of tarburwali.

### 4.3 Nang

Badal related with *nang* Include cases of elopement and harassing or insulting someone sister, mother, or wife. Respecting females is the main attribute of *Pashtunwali* and Pashtun respect their females as their honor. Insulting females or harassing females is considered as non Pashtun attribute. Respecting and protecting females is an important aspect of *Pashtunwali* and for Pashtun it is obligatory to respect females. Being weak and fragile emotionally and physically, Pashtun respect females. Females are also expected to follow the code of *Pashtunwali* and if they violate this code of social life, the consequences would be very dangerous for them. For example, in cases of elopement, the Badal is very brutal and in some cases, they kill the couple. As they associate females with their honor and they consider this act as violation of code of *Pashtunwali*. But in majority cases, male become the victim of honors killing.

During my field work I came across many cases of elopement in which after the elopement, both family of girl and boy accept the marriage. But later kill the boy for the avoidance of *Sharm* (shame) in society. One of the important causative agents of Badal in such cases is *peghor* (*community curse*). Basically society taunt and enrage the family of the girl by associated certain non Pashtun trait with them. Basically elopement of a girl bring dishonor to family and society look down upon her family and give *peghor* to the family. Society and Pashtun culture prohibit such acts of both male and female and Pashtun tradition punishes violator with death penalty. They can restore their honor by the killing of the couple or the boy. It is consider non Pashtun attribute so because of these *peghor* the family of the girl takes revenge and kills the boy. In fact, society and societal pressure make it very difficult for the family of the girl to live with honor.

One important factor which I noticed from the analysis of different allotment cases which I study and cover during my field work, I came to the conclusion, that basically Pashtun society punish male very harsh and as compared to female. In majority cases I found that family of the girl kill the boy and the family of the boy keep the girl with them as their honor. Basically it is easy to kill a boy as he cannot set at his home.

For female, in Pashtun society, especially in the area of my research, Bannu, observance of Purdah is mandatory for female which make it really difficult for the girl family to find and kill the girl. Moreover killing boy is enough for restoring the honor of the girl family. I also noticed cases in which love marriages take place between the couple with the consensus of both families. Both families accept the validity of the relations and had cordial relations.

During my tours in Tablighi, first we were told some general etiquette about Tablighi tour by the Jamaat leader who was a senior Tablighi activist and was thoroughly expert in Tablighi activities



and management. We were told again and again by the Jamaat leader to lower our gaze whenever we lift the mosque. Another important instruction that we receive was covering our head and give way to females. He told us that to lower ones gaze is the Sunnah of prophet and success in this life and here after lies in following the Sunnah of prophet. Our leader told us that the philosophy behind this is that by doing so we could avoid many immoral and sinful acts. By lowering one gaze we can avoid contact with females and this will save us from many immoral and sinful acts.

One of the basic principal of the Tablighi Jamaat, as I noticed during my field work, was that success in this life and after here lies in following the model of prophet (saw). They preach and practically follow the life of prophet, which they consider the right path of prophet saw. Tablighi basically means preaching, but is not something limited to it. In many daily activities like eating, bathing, praying, they give practical examples to the activists from the life of prophet saw. They are of the view that in matter related with elopement and Badal they also quote examples from the life of prophet saw and his companions.

During my field work I noticed that Tablighi Jamaat did not openly criticize or oppose the concept of Badal. In their sermons during Tabligh they solely focus on Ibadat and did not meddle on social problems and evils. But in Tabligh, the activists were taught about the life of prophet and his companions. They taught them about forgiveness of prophet and his companions. They were also taught what is good in society and what is bad and to order what is good and forbid what is bad. Therefore, after spending some time in Tabligh Jamaat, the activists become sensitive to social problems and evils. Therefore, the Tablighi activists provide volunteer services in mediation during a conflict.

They preach Islamic way of dealing with matter related to Badal. They are of the view that Badal should be for a noble cause and Islam provide perfect guidance for Badal. They are of the view Badal or killing someone just because of love marriage is not a noble intention for Badal. During my field work in Tabligh, I listens many examples from Fazail -e –Amal about how prophet saw and his companion takes Badal and what should be the motive of Badal.

They are of the view that Badal should be for a noble cause and personal grievances should not be the cause of Badal. A famous narration was that prophet saw never take revenge from anyone in his entire life and his life is the best example of forgiveness. In fact, one can find many narrations in Fazail-e- amal about the forgiveness of prophet saw and his companions. One such example, which they often preach, when prophet saw, at the conquest of Mikka, forgives the killer of his uncle Hazrat Hazma (RAZ).

When I asked the question how you perceive elopement and what the view point of Tablighi Jamaat about elopement is and the Badal and honor associated with it, from Tablighi activists, he told me:

*The main cause of elopement in Pashtun society is ignorance and some unislamic traditions such as sharm and peshor. We are unaware from the rights and obligations which our mothers, sisters and wife. Islam and prophet saw give the right of choosing life partner to couples. Infact prophet saw personally ask their daughters about their consensus about a marriage proposal and we should follow the life example of prophet saw. If we follow Islamic model in our family relations, we can avoid such cases.*

Tablighi activists consider honor killing as brutality and are against it. They are of the view that all this social problems in Pashtun society is because of our ignorance from the life and Sunnah

of Prophet (SAW). They are of the view that Islam and the life of prophet saw provide best example and we should consult it in every walk of life. During one of the focus group discussion, when I asked local people of the locale about the concept my respondents told me that though it is not good for progress and prosperity of society, but still, in Pashtun's society it is mandatory to take Badal as it is one of the prominent concept of Pashtunwali.

When I told him about Tablighi teachings that Tablighi Jamaat is of the view that forgiveness is far better than Badal and one of the Sunnah of our prophet (SAW). In response, he was totally agree with the Tablighi Jamaat teachings but he told me that Pashtunwali compel the locals to take Badal and those who fail to take Badal or forgive the opponents, society will call him *daus* and people will give him *peghor*. He was of the view that, in Pashtun society, to forgive an opponent is to violate the code of Pashtunwali and it will have negative effects one honor and social position of violator.

Another respondent told me:

Basically the killing of boys and girls on the name of Pashtunwali and honor is not brutality and it is basically it a concept of stopping such vulgar steps in Pashtun society. He told me that because of the fear of being killed, such cases are very rare in Pashtun society and it is community response against such unwanted action on the part of its members. He was of the view that Tablighi Jamaat is looking at the phenomenon on the surface hence consider it brutality and inhumane. If we look at depth, we can see that it is basically community response and a mechanism to stop and control such behavior of its members.

#### 4.4 Case study

During my fieldwork, I study and investigated many cases pertaining to the elopement or harassing or insulting women. In one case, girl and boy elopement and the girl family killed the boy. The family of the boy was in struggle to take their revenge and was in search of an opportunity to take their Badal. When I asked the reason behind the killing from one of the elder of the girl family, he narrated that because of the social problem and Pashtunwali compel us to kill the boy. He was of the view that the case make it very difficult for them to live an honored life in society and the concept of peshor or shame compel us to make such a decision. When I asked the elder of the family that is this good to kill, that we are ashamed of what we had done. Basically this case had taken a heavy price in material resources and it has basically the threat to be killed make our freedom jeopardize.

In another case of elopement, the girl family not just accepts the boy as their legitimate husband but also had cordial relations with the family of the boy. When I asked the father of the girl that how was it possible for your family to accept the marriage, despite strong societal pressure. He told me that Tablighi activists had told me about how to deal such cases and what is the Islamic way of dealing such cases. In fact Tablighi Jamaat activists help me to avoid bloodshed and told me that Pashtunwali concept of Badal and the concept of shame and honor is contradictory to the Islamic teachings.

He was of the view that village Tablighi activists help me a lot to counter the situation and never look down upon or consider me dishonor because of the mistake of my daughter. They cooperate me for the sake of Allah pleasure and in fact try their best to resolve the issue through negotiations and save me and my family from bloodshed and material losses. He told me that because of their selfless efforts and hard work; I was convinced that Tablighi Jamaat is doing everything for the sake of ALLAH and humanity. He told me that because of their honesty and

fair dealing. I join Tablighi Jamaat and am now active member of Tablighi Jamaat. He was of the view that Islam is a complete code of life and we must follow Islamic way of dealing in every affair of life. He told me that it were Tablighi Jamaat who told me that killing or harming a fellow Muslim will please Satan and will enrage Allah.

#### 4.5 Blood revenge

Other cases of Badal include of injuring someone physically or killing someone. In these cases the Badal is very strong and according to Pashtun traditions such cases of Badal can never be forgive.

One of my respondents, who were a Tablighi activist, when asked about bad, told me:

*The life of prophet and his companion is the perfect example for Muslims and we should consult the life of prophet in every walk of life. In fact forgiveness is better than Badal as it the quality of prophet and Allah.*

Another respondent, when asked, about Badal told me:

*Forgiveness is far better than revenge because forgiveness is the quality of Allah and His messenger. For the promotion of peace and prosperity in society, we should promote an environment of forgiveness. For the betterment of society, we should abolish Badal, a barbaric and UN Islamic tradition.*

When I asked Mawlana Shaukat Ali, a Tablighi activist about Badal, he told me

*That the concept of Badal is not UN Islamic as Quran orders the revenge of eye for eye and ear for ear and so on. But our prophet (SAW) prefer forgiveness our revenge. Therefore, the best*

*way is forgiveness and Allah like those who forgive despite having the capability of taking revenge.*

One of the famous themes of Tablighi Jamaat teaching at the village level was to cooperate with each other

Own cousins can make them stronger, and because of tarburwali, they cannot want makes their cousins strong.

## 5 Tablighi Jamaat impact on Pashtun's rituals of Condolence and Celebration

According to Pashtunwali, Pashtu's should be very social, humane and friendly. Pashtunwali made it obligatory for Pashtun to share each other sorrows and joys. In Pashtun society, participation in community moment of grief such as the death of a community member is far more important than participation in the festive occasion like marriages etc. at the occasion of death of a community member, the elders and youngsters of the village hustle toward the community Hujra to express solidarity and to do funeral arrangement for the deceased. While the youngster rush to the cemetery to dig a grave and make the requisite funeral arrangements, During my field work, I noticed that in case of someone death, the family of the deceased are not bother by the arrangements for funeral procession and arrangements for the funeral procession and other rituals are done by the community members. In fact, community members, because of Pashtunwali, consider it their responsibility and actively participate in it. Moreover, Tablighi activists, during their teachings also told the community members that for their arrangements for funeral procession, Allah will give reward to them on Day of Judgment. They also told the community members that basically it is the right of the deceased on living one to do arrangements for the funeral procession. Basically they are not just teaching community members, during my field work, I noticed that they themselves actively participate on such occasions. Through their actions they give community members that we are not just preaching and teaching but we also actively participate on such occasions. Beside Pashtunwali, one the reason behind such active participation of community members is the teachings of the Tablighi Jamaat.

The moment ones die, his eyes are closed, face turns toward Kaaba and placed on Charpoy in courtyard. The corpse is bathed by the Village Mullah and some other old members before burial; the dead body is normally washed in a corner of the building. As in the area of my village, normally every family had a Tablighi activists and during their Tablighi tours, they learn what is the Islamic way of bathing the deceased, so they also actively participate on bathing the deceased.

To fend off evil spirits, a few candles or a lamp are lit at the location where the deceased was bathed in the evening for at least three nights. After the bath, the death is wrapped in coffin and then taken to the village graveyard in a funeral procession. A Mullah and three or four people, bearing the Holy Quran on their heads, lead the funeral procession. Friends and family members enter the funeral procession and take turns carrying the coffin. The Janoza (prayers), which consist of the local Imam reciting the burial services, are held in the community cemetery. Normally the above events take place under the supervision of the local Tablighi activists. They are trying their best to eliminate UN Islamic rituals through their active participation in death rituals. During my fieldwork, I participated in many funerals and them very active during death rituals.

During one such funeral, I ask the question from the Tablighi activists: what are the UN Islamic death rituals and how far Tablighi Jamaat is successful in eradicating these rituals, He told me:

*Islam is a complete code of life and it also explains what is the Islamic way of dealing with matter related with funeral. Lightening of candles at the bath place of the deceased is a UN Islamic and basically it the influence of Hinduism on local culture. Basically people are unaware of the fact that it is unislamic and because they do not the Islamic way of dealing with*



*bathing the deceased. Because of the struggle of Tablighi Jamaat and with the help of Allah, our society is now free from such UN Islamic ritual. We told, teach, and practice the Islamic way of dealing with the matter of funeral. Local people also accept our message because we are preaching and practicing the Sunnah of prophet and in fact doing all these things for the betterment of society.*

I asked the same question from another participant of the funeral, he narrated:

*The practice of carrying Holy Quran in funeral procession as Un Islamic and people were doing this because of ignorance from Islamic teaching and now with the help of the efforts of Tablighi activities, this un Islamic practice is no more present and we had successfully eliminated this practice.*

It also follows that all other forms of condolence are considered un-Islamic. In the course of my fieldwork I witnessed several incidents where members of the Tablighi consciously discarded certain rituals regarded as incompatible and unsuitable. On other occasions I attended discussions and lectures where Tablighi elders warned their fellow members of the dangers of doing UN Islamic rituals on the name of celebrations and condolence. However, the movement has remained a flexible one that continues to accept individual mistakes and violations.

## **5.1 Veer**

Normally the female of the community visit the family of the deceased for condolence and *Veer* (mourning). They gather around the corpse and weep and mourn loudly. In some cases the female hire women for *veer*. However, during my field work, I did not come across any such *Veer* in which they hire a woman for *Veer*. The woman sings *Tappay* to arouse the feelings of the

community female so that they can weep and mourn loudly. Presently, the elder female of the community of also perform this duty. Some of the *Tappay*, which I learned during my field work, and thanks to a locale student (Saqib Islam), who translated this Tappay into English.

1.

*He is alive not dead*

*Has closed his closed colorful eyes*

*Because of coquette.*

2.

*Jay is roaming on the top of mountain*

*May he not come down?*

*He is separating daughter from mothers.*

3.

*With a sickle in his hand*

*He came to a hot market*

*And is reaping folks*

4.

*Hey, bro take this handkerchief*

*Remove the dust from his face*

5.

*He don't stay as a guest*

*Even if you make soft glittering*

*Velvet blankets for him*

6.

*Plz plz, carry him slowly*

*He is overlaid in blood*

7.

*Undertake his funeral hastily*

*He is going to an unknown place*

When I asked a Tablighi friend about *veer*, he told me:

*Veer is something which is very contradicting to Islamic teachings. In Pashtun society, females normally do not have knowledge about the basic creed of Islam and are ignorant of the Islamic way of mourning. Because of the ignorance and distance from the Islam teachings, they do such rituals and sing songs. Singing songs or Tappay around the dead body is not just un-Islamic but also against humanity. Islam orders female to follow Purdah and should not leave her home for veer as, in Islam there is no such concept as veer.*

Tablighi activists are opposing *Veer*, because they consider it UN Islamic and preach openly against it on occasion of *Losnewai*. During their tours in Tablighi Jamaat, they learned the Islamic way of these rituals and when they come back, they start preaching what they had learned. They give practical examples from the life of Prophet (SAW) and quotes from the Holy Quran to local people. They preach under the guidance of local *ulama (religious scholars)*. Basically, Tablighi activists are dividing each and every thing as Islamic and UN Islamic and they try their best to eliminate each and everything which is not present in the tradition of holy Prophet (SAW).

They consider female participation in such practices unsuitable. They also consider female emotionally weak and unstable and are of the view that it causes great discomfort and unrest. Tablighi activists are of the view that females are emotionally weak and start weeping which cause problem for the family of the deceased. One of my respondents told me:

*Beside the fact that veer is something contrary to Islamic traditions, female should not participate because normally females are of soft heart and when they visit the family of the deceased and participate in veer they normally cause unrest for the female of deceased family.*

Tablighi activists consider Prophet as the only true, perfect Muslim and consider it imperative to follow whatever the Prophet did. To be a good Muslim, they preach the need for a total mimesis of prophet on all registers, from speech to behavior. Because of the teachings of the Tablighi Jamaat, the custom of *veer* is dying out.

During my fieldwork, I came across many deaths where there is no *veer*. Tablighi Jamaat also has female activists who strongly oppose *veer* during the death. Because of the teachings of female of Tablighi Jamaat the tradition of *veer* is dying out. The Tappay (couplet), one of the

famous genres of Pashto poetry also contain some couplets which came from *veer* is also in danger because of the teachings of the Tablighi Jamaat.

A female respondent told me:

*That female being the member of the community should also participate as they can ease the responsibilities and grief of females of the deceased family. Being the member of Pashtun society, it is also mandatory for female to participate in one another Gham. If I don't visit the family of the deceased in Gham, the female of that family will give me peshor and it will disturb and will cause unbalance in the society. However, she told me that veer should be abolish as it causes unrest among the females and also arouse the feeling of unrest among the family of the deceased.*

I asked the question: how you perceive the preaching of Tablighi Jamaat against the participation of females in *veer*? From one of my respondent, he narrated:

*Every society has their own way of mourn and condolence and the Tablighi Jamaat is basically against everything native of Pashtun culture and they are basically vanishing Pashtun society of their own culture and they are promoting Arabic culture on the name of Islamization. It is a potential danger for one of the famous genre of Pashto poetry called Tappay as from centuries this genre had been evolved through oral tradition and basically many of the Tappay came in to being on such occasion as *veer*. Because of Tablighi Jamaat Pashtun culture is vanishing as they label and divide everything as UN Islamic and Islamic.*

Because of the teachings and preaching's of the Tablighi Jamaat, during my field work, I came to the conclusion that the ritual of *veer* had not completely over and just had changed the shape and took new shape. Now the females of the community did not sing Tappay over the body of the

deceased but now recite verses of Holy Quran over the deceased. Though the tradition of loud weeping still exists but now the females normally avoid such weeping.

## 5.2 Skhat

After the burial of the dead, alms are distributed among the needy and poor's at the graveyard. This is called *Skhat*. The Pashtu regard the payment of Skhat as a necessary part of religious services as well as a matter of prestige. And the poor borrow money for this reason in order to protect their reputation. Though, from Islamic point of view Skhat is an optional ritual but Pashtun have made it compulsory and those who don't do skhat are consider as burying their dead as burying a wood. The funeral prayers, which consist of the local Imam reciting the burial services, are held in the community cemetery... Secondly it is obligatory for those who do not pray their prayers and observe fasting properly.

Basically, Tablighi Jamaat doesn't discuss *masail* and they are told by their elders to discuss only *Fazail*. *Skhat* comes under the domain of Masail but Ulema connected with Jamaat have a clear stance on skhat so they consider it a religious obligation to propagate the message of Ulema connected with Tablighi. It is a religious practice but Pashtun have made obligatory and those failing to do skhat are considered as non Pashtun.

I asked one of my respondents that why people perform skhat if it is un Islamic, he narrates:

*Basically, in Pashtun society, the concept of peshor is the main cause of many un Islamic traditions and concept. Pashtun society has made skhat compulsory because of this peshor. Pashtun society is basically ignorant of the Islamic teachings. If someone buries their dead*

*without skhat, society will give peghor to the family of the deceased that you bury your dead one like wood in earth. It means that burying a dead without skhat is like burying a wood in earth. In fact society will curse the family of the deceased for not performing the skhat.*

Mawlana Shaukat Ali, a local Tablighi activist and an imam in a local mosque told me:

*Skhat is basically an Islamic concept but with certain conditions and as the condition for performing skhat is no more present and in fact Pashtun has made it obligatory rituals. It is equivalent to adding something new to Islam and our prophet strictly order us not to add something new to Islam. As the condition for skhat is no more present so this un Islamic tradition should not be follow.*

Master Suleiman was of the view:

*Skhat is not just un Islamic ritual but it has also economic consequences. As majority of the villagers are poor and because of competition with reach members of community in performing it, many people take debts. We should not associate each and everything with prestige and should abolish such rituals and traditions with are not constructive for the member of the community. Moreover, people perform it because of societal and community pressure not because they consider it Islamic. He told me that in many cases those who are unable to do it take debts because of social pressure. He was of the view that this un Islamic and cruel tradition must be abolished.*

During my field work I noticed some changes in the form of it. The ritual has not completely vanished by Tablighi Jamaat and still present but had changed it form. Tablighi Jamaat is opposing it when it is in the form of money but they have introduced dates in place of money. Some critics of the Tablighi Jamaat were of the view that the movement is not against it but they

are against Pashtun's traditions and values. He was of the view that in the name of Islamization, they just want to introduce Arabic culture and just want to eliminate Pashtun identity and culture.

### 5.3 Losnewai

*Losnewai* is the main occasion of condolence. The event takes place after *janoza* prayer. In this ritual, locale people visit the *Hujra* of the deceased and pay condolence to the family of deceased. Moreover, the visitors also pray for the soul of deceased and show sympathy to the family of the deceased. Pashtun's society is basically a tribal society and in tribal societies people participate in *Gham and Khwashi* of people. It is also considered part of Pashtunwali and those who do not participate in *Losnewai* are considered as having no *Gham Khwashi* and non Pashtun.

Normally, the family of the deceased does not do cooking in their home and the community does not allow the family of the deceased to burn fire in home. They are of the view that if they if the family of the deceased burn fire in their home, something bad will happen to the whole community. The community and relatives normally prepare and arrange food for the family of the deceased and the visiting guests.

Tablighi activists are of the view that of *Losnewai* is in accordance with the Islamic teaching and it is the best ritual on the occasion of *Gham* as it ease the grieve of the deceased family. It is the reason of unity among the community members as the whole community participates and cooperates with the deceased. Tablighi activists appreciate that *Losnewai* is a Sunnah of holy prophet (SAW) and *Losnewai* in Pashtun society is in accordance with the Islamic way of condolence.



Referring to the tradition of not allowing the family of deceased to cook or burn fire in their home, during the period of Losnewai, one of respondent, *a zora malghari* of Tablighi Jamaat, told me:

*The tradition of Pashtun society in which the community forbid the family of deceased to not cook their food and to not let them to burn fire is in perfect accordance with the Islam teachings as, in Islam, it is haram to burn fire for the family of the deceased and our holy prophet forbid Muslims to not let the family of the deceased to burn fire in their home.*

Still the Tablighi activists have reservation over few practices in Losnewai. They are of the view that Losnewai continue for more than three days which is UN Islamic as Islam ordain to mourn for three days. Moreover they also criticize the tradition of Dao. They are of the view that anyone who visits Losnewai call for Dao UN Islamic and should be abolished. During my field work, I noticed, that despite the staunch opposition from the Ulema associated with Tabligh, people still widely practice these traditions and, normally Losnewai continue for more than three days.

#### **5.4 Drema**

Drema is the name for the third day of death. The day is commemorated with appropriate solemnity. On that day, the village women gather in the deceased's home, pay a morning visit to the cemetery, lay a floral wreath on the grave, and give prayers for the deceased. Friends and relatives continue to frequent the village of Hujra in the meantime. It is the beauty of Pashtun culture that they have specific ritual for female to participate in Gham. During Drema the community females normally visit the family of the deceased and share grief with them. If they did not participate in Drema, it would be a matter of shame and honor and the community

females would consider them *begharata* and one having no *Khwashi* and *Gham*. Females, being the member of the community also have some obligations and to fulfill this obligation is the part of Pashtunwali.

When I asked the local Tablighi leader about Drema, he was of the view:

*Basically in Islam there is no concept of specific day for mourning or doing alms. Also there is no need for the community females to visit graveyard as Islam strictly order females to stay in home and it is also sinful for females to visit graveyard. Moreover, visiting the home of deceased at third day increase the grief of the family of the deceased.*

Tablighi Jamaat considers it UN Islamic and is openly opposing it. They are of the view that in Islam there are no specific days for mourning or alms. A Tablighi activist told me that Drema and some other rituals related with Gham are contrary to the injunctions of Islam and are basically the results of impact of Hinduism. Drema is also a Hindu ritual as there is no specification of days in Islam.

He told me that being the member of Tablighi Jamaat; it is my religious and moral duties to educate people about UN Islamic beliefs and rituals and to eradicate these Hindu rituals from our society. For this reason, was opposing to the ritual of Drema and the alms of Drema. Moreover, In Pashtun society, the ritual of Drema is made obligatory and in many cases those who are unable to perform Drema borrow money from others to perform the ritual. Of the view that Drema should be abolished as it is difficult for poor to do Drema.

When I asked Tablighi activists about the visit of female to graveyard on Drema they are of the view that, in Islam, for female there is strict order of *Purdah*. Therefore, female should not visit graveyard.

During my field work, one of my key informants told me about the death of a Tablighi Jamaat activist. I visited and participated in janoza with my key informant. During my visit, there was no Skhat offered after janoza and when I along with my key informant visit for Losnewai there was no Drema. When I asked one of the deceased relative, he told me “Pashtun rituals of Gham are in contrary to Islam, therefore, they avoid to do these rituals”. He also told me that the deceased was a Tablighi activist and he was against these rituals during his life time so after his death we did not perform these rituals. However, during my field work I came across many cases in which the family of the deceased perform these rituals with zeal. When I asked about that Tablighi Jamaat is opposing these rituals and still you are performing. They told me that because of social compulsion we are doing all these rituals.

## **5.5 Tablighi Jamaat impact on the rituals of celebration**

Pashtunwali is not just participation in gham, it is also important on the occasion of celebration. Marriage is an important occasion of celebration. The foundation of marriage is based on *loserai*, engagement. Before engagement parents of the boy and girl with the consent of both of them reach an agreement. Now, the elders, young’s, doing *Attan* while females singing folklore, arrange a procession toward the village of the girl. When they reach, they reveal the agreement in front of the entire participant and do initial *Nikkah*, and distribute sweets among the participant. As Pashtun’s associate honors with females, so normally the family of the arrange marriage

ceremony as soon as possible. With the consent of both the parents, they fix a date for marriage ceremony.

## 5.6 Jang

Janj is the name given to the bridal procession. The bridegroom's village has a cheerful appearance on the day of the wedding. Both the young and the old dress beautifully. The Janj, or wedding party, usually begins at noon, with musicians leading the procession to the bride's village. To the sound of drums, the WRA, or female marriage group, departs from the village, and the male participant's fire their weapons. It is an occasion of great happiness especially for female and children and without Janj marriage ceremony is incomplete.

Tablighi activists are preaching against *loserai* and *jang* on the ground that Islam preaches simplicity and lavish spending is strictly prohibited in Islam. It burden the family of the bridegroom

Tablighi activists are of the view that in Islam there no concept of Janj and this un Islamic tradition of Pashtun society. In Islam there is strict observance of *Purdah* and that in Janj of Pashtun tradition, female basically violates *Purdah*. Tablighi activist told me that Janj is the not a native tradition of Pashtun society and it is basically the impact of Hindu culture on Pashtun culture. They also criticize the *jang* was of the view that it cost very high to the family of bridegroom and it should be abolish. Islam is based on simplicity and there is no room for lavish spending for in Islam. They are of the view that Janj should be arrange and celebrate in simplicity and in accordance with Islamic principles.

This ritual is vanishing because of the teachings of TablighiJamaat activists who consider it un-Islamic. Critics of Tablighi Jamaat told me that basically Tablighi activists are against Pashtun culture and they want to eliminate Pashtun culture on the name of Islamization. They also told me that Tablighi activists want to convert marriage, an occasion of happiness, into an occasion of mourning as they are against any sort of celebration.

Landora is the main event of marriage and in majority cases; it is the end of marriage event. During this event, the youngsters of the village arrange a night musical program at the night of *Nikkah*. They arrange a local singer and, some local folk storytellers and dancers

When I asked about Landora one of my respondents told me that marriage is a Sunnah but Landora is something really bad as it is against the essence of Islam. He was of the view that to do Landora is against the teaching of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (SAW). He was of the view that Islam forbid music and dance so the tradition of Landora should be abolished. Another respondent told me that marriage is an occasion of immense happiness and Pashtun society has its own tradition of celebration this event and TablighiJamaat are against this celebration. He was of the view that without Landora, marriage would be mourning.

Another respondent told me:

*That Landora is the cause of many social evils and problems. He was of the view that basically it promotes prostitution and homo sexuality in Pashtun society. Another respondent told me that Landora is also a cause of economic problems in Pashtun society and many people receive debts for Landora. He was of the view that it causes economic problems in community.*

## 5.7 Case study

During my field work I came across many marriages and participated in it. I participated in marriage of Tablighi activists, during the meal they offer us a glass of milk and some dates when I asked one of the participants, who was a Tablighi activists, the reason behind the tradition of dates and milk, and avoidance of other Pashtun rituals, told me:

*Islam teaches us simplicity and dates and milk serving to the guests are the Sunnah of prophet. Islam prohibit Lavish spending of marriages It is basically against the teachings of Islam to do the rituals of Pashtun society and it doing such rituals and lavishing spending on marriages is paramount to the promotion of un Islamic traditions in Pashtun society. We, the Tablighi activists are struggling to build a society based on Islamic bases and we are doing this through our actions.*

During my field work, I came across a marriage, in which the family had arranged Landora, another Attan programs for the youngsters of the village. The marriage was a great feast for the villagers, but the Tablighi activists had boycott the marriage. They did not participate in the marriage and also told the villagers to not participate in this marriage. They were of the view that basically participation in such marriages is like encouraging people in promoting un Islamic traditions and participation in such marriages will fell Allah wrath upon us. In fact it will send Allah wrath upon the whole community.

I also noticed that on the call of Tablighi activists to not participation in the marriage, the response of the community was mixed. Some of the villagers, who had Tablighi activists in their families, did not participate in marriage while those who did not had Tablighi activists in their

families participate in the marriage. They also participate in rituals which the Tablighi activists consider un-Islamic.

During my field work, in majority marriages, the community members avoid Landora and other rituals which the Tablighi activists considered un-Islamic. When I asked the elder of the family of the marriage about the behavior of the Tablighi Jamaat about such rituals, he stated that Tablighi Jamaat is not just opposing the existing rituals which they consider un-Islamic but also provide an alternate way of doing the same ritual. They provide an alternate method of doing their condolence and celebration and they believe that following Islamic way of life will lead us to success not just in this life but also in here after. One of the reoccurrence themes of Tablighi Jamaat teaching is simplicity.

During their dealings and their day to day activities, they practice and preach simplicity. They are of the view that Islam provides an easy and simple way of life. They are opposing rituals which they consider un-Islamic and have caused social and economic problems in the society. They portray Islamic way of condolence and celebration as beneficial for social and economic uplift of society. They are opposing and preaching against un-Islamic ritual because they consider it the cause of many social and economic problems.

## 6 Conclusion

The research is conducted in district Bannu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is a qualitative research and it was conducted by applying qualitative research paradigm. The main focus of the research is to explore the Tablighi Jamaat impact on codes of Pashtunwali such as Badal, honor and Tarburwali. It also tries to find out the Tablighi Jamaat impact on Pashtun rituals of condolence such as Drema, Veer, Losnewai and other rituals associated with death. It also focuses on the view point of Tablighi Jamaat about Pashtun's rituals of celebrations.

Majority of Pashtun's belong to Deobandi School of Islamic school of thought and the movement was also started by the Ulema of Deobandi school and because of this reason it has strong influence in Pashtun society. Hence the movement is widely spread in Pashtun society. Majority of the people respect and listen their message with great care. Every family in Pashtun society has Tablighi activists and because of large numbers of activists, it has strong influence on Pashtun society and is trying to have an impact on community.

As it emphasize on oral communication and face to face interaction, it is easy for them to reach every segments of society. Their daily and weekly preaching programs make it very effective to bring about the desire changes. One of the major causes of the success of Tablighi Jamaat is the volunteer nature of the movement. Their activists preach the message of Tablighi Jamaat for the sake of pleasure of Allah. According to them, as Allah will never send another prophet for the guidance of human beings, so it is our responsibility to educate people about and to guide people.

They consider themselves the preachers of the Sunnah of prophet and they consider the preaching and following the Sunnah of prophet is the guarantee of success in this life and also in life here after. It is because of this reason; the activists preach the message on their own



expanses and on their own behalf. As they consider their way the appropriate way of prophet and Sunnah and teaching of Holy Quran hence people listen to the preaching's of Tablighi Jamaat with respect.

Because of the strong presence of Tablighi Jamaat, the movement has impacted the socio cultural foundation of Pashtunwali and Pashtun culture at large. It has greatly influenced the concept of Badal and tarburwali, one of the causative agents of bloodshed and cousin rivalry in Pashtun society. They believe and preach universal Islamic brotherhood. During their morning six points, one of the famous Hadith which they often narrate was that Muslims in every corner of the world is like brothers and protecting their honor, property and respect is the religious duty of every other Muslims.

They are of the view that Islam gives the concept of universal brotherhood and demolishes all form of animosity among Muslims and the concept of tarburwali is against this universal brotherhood which Islam had initiated. Moreover, they also consider it is the causative agent of bloodshed and law and order situation in society. It has also wasted many precious lives and had created many financial issues for the families which are involved in tarburwali, so because of this reason this UN Islamic concept should be abolish in all its forms and manifestations.

They are of the view that hurting a Muslim brother is like demolishing the holy Qaba, the holiest place of Muslims across the world. They consider harming another Muslims as against the teaching of holy Quran and Sunnah of prophet saw. In fact, they consider providing a glass of water to another Muslim as a lofty act and Allah gives reward for such acts in here after life. Tablighi Jamaat considers it a curse of Pashtun society.

Because the movement is not just limited to preaching; with their practical actions, they show the community members what it preaches against. The concept of peshor and Sharm, one of the prominent concepts of Pashtunwali, is also denounced by the Tablighi activists through their actions. As they claim that they are the preacher of Sunnah of prophet, so it has had greatly influence the all these concepts. What it has influenced not just Pashtunwali codes, but the traditional dress pattern and naming culture of Pashtun society.

It has also greatly impacted the rituals associated with condolence such as Drema, Losnewai, Drema, and other associated rituals. The influence is not just limit with rituals of condolence; it has also reservations over rituals associated with celebration. They proudly announce their impact from the fact that if we compare Pashtun society to other societies in Pakistan, we can see the visible change and differences in matter related with religion. They consider Pashtun society far better than other communities in term of religious matter and they give all the credit to Tablighi Jamaat.

Critics of Tablighi Jamaat are of the view that every society has their own way of mourning, condolence and celebration and the Tablighi Jamaat is basically against everything native of Pashtun culture and they are basically vanishing Pashtun society of their own culture and they are promoting Arabic culture on the name of Islamization. It is a potential danger for one of the famous genre of Pashto poetry called Tappay as from centuries this genre had been evolved through oral tradition and basically many of the Tappay came in to being on such occasion as veer. Because of Tablighi Jamaat Pashtun culture is vanishing as they label and divide everything as UN Islamic and Islamic.

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