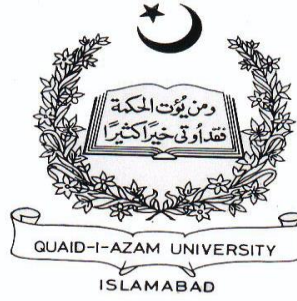


Cousin marriage, Agnatic Rivalry and Modernity among *Pakhtuns*
A case study of District Mardan, KPK. Pakistan



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in Anthropology.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the prevalence, trends and determinants of cousin marriages in *Pakhtun* society. The field data indicates a very high prevalence of cousins marriages in the locale as 72.5 % of marriages were cousin marriages out of 92.5% of all endogamous marriages. Patrilineal parallel cousin and matrilineal parallel cousin marriages were the most common type of cousin marriages both 14 % respectively of all endogamous union.

This thesis is an attempt to understand the social and cultural structure of *Pakhtun* society with a special emphasis on cousin marriage and agnatic rivalry both apparently paradoxical to each other, yet co-exist in *Pakhtun* society for centuries. The study describes the changing dynamics of cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali*. In the literature *Pakhtun* ideal behaviour and society is presented as static one. Changes are inevitable and due to modernization, globalization, mass media, education and technological advancement, *Pakhtun* culture in area has undergone various changes that have impacted the lifestyle of inhabitants.

It has helped to understand more fully the existence of cousin marriage phenomenon from the perspective of local community. The main reason of more prevalence of paternal parallel cousin marriage was that they were considered real relative and own blood (*khpala weena*) and there was a general belief that one's own blood has embedded sympathy for each other as compared to other relatives. Interestingly the maternal side is never considered as one's own blood but they do come in the line of priority after paternal side. People are of the view "just like a paralyzed part of the body is carried by remaining body, it implies that handicapped or disable will not be abandoned by relatives".

In *Pakhtun* society *khpalwali* or *Khpalvi* (close circle of relatives who participate in each other's event of their social lives and who extend help and come forward for the protection of any member as a one unit, this special type of relationship is called *Khpalwali* or *Khpalvi*) and *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry) subsist side by side. If you give importance to enmity with your agnates than you are following *Tarboorwali* and if you subside your differences with your agnates and blood relatives than you are doing

khpalwali or *khpalvi*. Cousin marriage also transforms feeling of enmity of rivalry among agnates and blood relatives into *azizwali* (treating and feeling of all blood relatives as one unit) and *khpalwali*.

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic in a general perspective, states problem in a historical perspective, and then locate it in a theoretical framework. This chapter also includes objectives, significance, and model of the study and also elaborates the overall research methodology including various anthropological techniques. The second chapter is devoted to various theoretical perspectives that describe nature and extent of cousin marriage, agnatic rivalry and modernity in various societies with special emphasis on consanguinity and cousin marriages. Chapter three relates details of the area in general and the socio economic profile of target population in particular. Fourth chapter is about the historical perspective of cousin marriage in Islam and Muslim societies and religious regulation of Cousin Marriages in various religions and various historical periods. The causes and consequences of such marriages in Middle East societies are discussed from socio-political perspectives.

Fifth and sixth chapters discuss the various rituals of marriage in *Pakhtun* society and the historical background of cousin marriages in the *Pakhtun* history respectively. The causes and consequences of cousin marriages are discussed in detail in the light of field data. The seventh chapter provides details related to *Tarboorwali* as a social institution and its functionality in *Pakhtun* society. The eighth chapter deals with the understanding of *Pakhtun* society through *Pashto* proverbs with special emphasis on *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriage, and ninth chapter is devoted to the understanding of the concept and phenomenon of modernity in *Pakhtun* society with special emphasis on *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriages. Last chapter sums-up and conclude the research study.

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LIST OF ABBRIVATIONS

ACO	Assistant Coordinating Officer
ANP	Awami National Party
BCE	Before Christian Era
CE	Christian Era
DCO	District Coordinating Officer
DCR	District Census Report
DHO	District Health Officer
DPO	District Police Officer
FBC	Father's Brother's Children
FBD	Father's Brother's Daughter
FBS	Father's Brother's Son
FFBD	Father's Father's Brother's Daughter
FFBSD	Father's Father's Brother's Son's Daughter
FZC	Father's Sister's Children
FZD	Father's Sister's Daughter
GOP	Government of Pakistan
JI	Jumati Islami
JUI	Jamiati Ulmai Islam
MBC	Mother's Brother's Children
MBD	Mother's Brother's Daughter
MCC	Matrilineal Cross Cousin
MPC	Matrilineal Parallel Cousin
MSD	Mother's Sister's Daughter
MZC	Mother's Sister's Children
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PCC	Patrilineal Cross Cousin
PPC	Patrilineal Parallel Cousin
PPCM	Patrilineal Parallel Cousin Marriage
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehriki Islam
SHO	Station House Officer
USA	United States of America

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Marriage as social phenomenon cannot be studied and understood in isolation rather it is related to other social institutions. Different cultures of the world have different practices of marriages, so to give one precise definition which will encompass all the marriages of the world is not possible. It's relation with other social institutions like economy, religion, and education further added to complexity (Schaefer, 2006). So anthropologists and sociologists from across the world are agreed upon that from a global, cross culture perspective marriage is the most complex word to be defined. No definition of marriage could cover all the varied institutions that anthropologists regularly consider as marriage (Linda, 2004).

There are innumerable considerations about marriage in every culture. In the anthropological sense of the word, descriptions about marriage are constructed keeping in view the cross cultural perspective. This involves the study of variety of definitions which come under the lens of anthropology. In the western point of view, marriage is considered life-long contract between two individuals which legitimates the sexual union and assigns them the responsibility of parenting their children. It brings parents and children at one platform where the roles are distributed among every individual in accordance with their age and gender.

Marriage is characterized with the sexual relationship between married couples. But in the society like Nuer the case is different with that of the woman. In the previous Christian societies celibate marriages were in practice where the sexual bond between married couples was not functional properly. In most of the societies, the married couples live in a house of their own. But in some of the cases, separate residences of the husband and wife are frequently reported in a number of places. The institution of marriage provides motivation for an individual's behavior. By marrying, one assumes certain rights and duties, which differ from culture to culture and society to society. For example in the Nayar culture of India, the husbands in a marriage do not have any obligations and duties toward the children born out of the marriage; it is the responsibility of the wife's family to cater all the needs of children (Gough, 1959).

Marriage is necessary for the social and psychological stability of an individual and it is the close personal relationship that has greatest impact upon individual's personality. On other hand in most culture including Western culture, however, the husband is expected to provide support for the offspring of his marriage. Different kinships system may result in different sets of marital rights and duties, but one marital right that is almost universally recognized is the right to have sexual relations with one's spouse or spouses (Magill, 2010). In accordance with the Levi Strauss, one of the important components of marriage is to establish as well as maintain the consanguineal ties. In historic sense of the word, the maintenance of alliance with that of the in laws was the reason which helped in originates the human marriage. Secondly, the factor of maintaining their property was prioritized in order that there could be a few hands which could control the wealth (Linda, 2004).

Keeping in view the diversity and multiplicity of the nature of the marriage Gough provided one of important definition which encompasses all the aspects of marriage as "Marriage is a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum" (Gough, 1959).

Havilland at el provided another definition with a universal nature in their book "Anthropology the Human challenge" as

Marriage is a culturally sanctioned union between two or more people that establishes certain rights and obligations between families, children, and in-laws. Such marriage rights and obligations most often include, but are not limited to, sex, labour, property, child rearing, exchange, and status (Havilland at el, 2005).

Some cultures regard marriage as necessary to fulfill a duty to family or tribe. Many African societies believe that dead ancestors are reincarnated in new children having children is thus regarded as necessary for letting the ancestors live and even for one's own rebirth (Magill, 2003).

Marriage is the means of managing sexual relations to establish stable social alliances essential to survival of individuals and their offspring. Marriage, in all its many forms, provides a cultural structure that helps meet that challenge.

Except for the marriages of mature men, not normally their first, all marriage is arranged by ascendants or collaterals and not by marrying parties themselves. The importance of marriage derives from the bond which it establishes between the families of the contracting spouse (Barth, 1975).

Cousin marriage can be understood as marriage between people who are closely related, who have their biological link with one another and often as first cousins, but cousin can also denote genealogically more distant kin or even a social category rather than a genealogical position. This type of marriage is extensively discussed in anthropological literature as the preferred type of marriage in most of the world populations, mainly and mostly in the Middle East, but, contrary to popular understandings, it is not commanded by Islam, and can be found in most of the major faith groups (Shaw & Raz, 2015).

Historically, cousin marriages emerged in the primitive Israel, Greece and Palestine. At that distance of time, there were no prohibitions in the Christianity or Hebrew and particularly Islam (Tillion, 1983). But in the traditional societies cousin marriages are practiced with impunity and with some rigidity. This takes place when most of the people live in one community and network of the families which are closely affiliated with one another. In the pre-capitalist families, cousin marriages at regular interval were operational on account of securing their positioning of wealth and aristocratic form of government. Mainly, it was encouraged in a bid to keep their wealth with themselves and retain the status in the society. Anthropology categorizes those segments in the terms of agricultural and landowning families more specifically the aristocratic families. The basic purpose of going through this practice is to avoid the distribution of wealth of tribe and resulting to the fragmentation of the tribe and extended family (Bittles, 2001).

Marriage is not a uniform and static institution; rather it reveals a variety of forms and patterns each with its own rationality and justification. However, cousin marriage is

abundantly prevailing in almost all cultures of the world. Most common marriages found in the cultures of the myriad societies are cousin marriages and parallel cousin marriages. There are two types of parallel cousin marriages, father's brother's daughter (FBD) and father's sister's daughter (FZD). FBD marriages have a relation with Islamic culture of North Africa, Sahara, Near and Middle East. There seems to be some functional connection between Islam and FBD marriage. In Islamic law the daughter has her share of inheritance, half of the size of son. This norm has created problems in agricultural societies, the cousin marriage will solve the problem if a man's daughter marries his brother's son, and the land she inherits will remain under control of his father (Korotayev, 2000).

Murphy and Leonard traces cousin marriages in the Middle East to Arab rule. The main purpose of that practice was to intact property within the family, in case of Islamic law which bounds father to give half share to daughter as compared to son. Due to this law of inheritance the society developed a social system in the support of that. It was a general belief in that society that paternal cousin has the first right upon the daughter of father's brother. If in case there is no patrilineal parallel cousin then there is the right of another close relative from patrilineal side. Among the Lebanese peasants after PPC they gave preference matrilineal parallel cousins (Morphy & Kasdan, 1959).

Cousin marriage, for many earlier forms of society, was maintained in the European upper classes also. Many nineteenth-century Victorians such as Charles Darwin, the famous, wealthy banking Roth Child family of Europe, and many other families of the upper classes married their cousins on a regular basis, just as the people of the old Testament and the early Christian and Roman era did in earlier agriculture societies (Scupin, 2012).

The advantage of the cousin marriages and consanguinity is that it offers stability because the couple family is behind them. If develop any conflict between the husband and wife the parents of both spouses came forward to resolve the conflict. Arrange marriage persist also, because of family ties. Even financially independent couples usually live with the husband's parents. As a result similar backgrounds and compatibility with in-laws are more important in India than in the west. The advantage is

that there tends to be much family support if marriage runs into trouble (Benokratis, 2011).

There is a general perception that due to modernization and industrialization consanguineous marriages and cousin marriages will decline with considerable extent. The western values system has revolutionized family system and marriage pattern in many countries of the world and sharp decline is observed in such marriage practices in Western countries and industrialized countries. The practice of consanguineous marriage continues notwithstanding deadly effects to children from such marriages. Many social scientists have forecast a drop in consanguineous marriage in the due process of modernization, but this trend shows the opposite of that and such marriages increased in many countries with the passage of time. In fact in some of the Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran and Pakistan the consanguineous marriage is considered as the most preferred form of marriage in certain class and ethnicity (Hussain & Bittles, 1999).

Kinship institutions are instrumental to the political and social life in Pakistani rural society and kin members are very close to one another. *Biraderi* is the central institution of kinship in rural *Punjab* and it is a tightly knitted corporate group and it is also the basic unit of social organization.

Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is an essential factor in the structuring of *Pakhtun*'s society and is especially related to the genealogy and degree of relationship in the social system. There are many types of marriages in *Pakhtun* society but cousin marriage is the most prevalent form of marriage. Such marriages strengthen already existing relation and contribute good relation between husband and wife, and kinsmen share similar interests each party has prior knowledge each other which result harmony of relations.

In every society there is a separate yardstick for the match selection, some focused on love, some on family background and other on expressive love, and some do not shows their loves for wives. In *Pakhtun* society marriage is not all about love and sexual feelings; it is something deeper and aptly embedded in certain cultural practices.

The *Tarboorwali*¹ is an important part of social dynamics in *Pakhtun* society. The word *Tarboor* means patrilineal parallel cousin. *Pakhtunwali*² serves as an ideal type of *Pakhtun* society and not only depicts values such as hospitality, honour and valor, but also provides space for the values such as competition over resources, jealousy, rivalry, conflict and revenge. Belief in adherence to *Pakhtunwali* is what creates intra *Pakhtun* loyalty and a shared identity. *Pakhtunwali* demands that all those brothers and patrilineal cousins, who shared blood, also share honour, name and property. A corollary of this sharing is that brothers and cousins protect and defend one another when an outsider or a distant relative threatens or attacked any group members. The other side of the coin, however, is that brothers and patrilineal cousins are also rivals of one another as they share property and wealth and one's gain is other's loss. The first cousins, descended from a shared grandfather would often fight among themselves over land or inheritance, but they would join together as a member of same segment to fight more distant relatives from another segment (Banerjee, 2000).

Tarboorwali depicts discrete sphere of hostility among the male agnates. Although *Tarboor* may grow up as a childhood companion, but with the passage of time, he becomes the chief rival for political leadership within lineage (Ahmad, 1980). Even hostility starts between the young male members of the same family. Brothers are competitors for father's land and quarrel with each other to maximize their share in common land of a father. Thus *Tarboorwali* demands intra-patrilineal loyalty and also simultaneously creates intera-patrilineage hostility.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Every institution has its own function in society but the institution of marriage occupies a special position in every society. Marriage basically is a union between two individuals but in fact it's a relationship between two *Khanadans*³. The pattern and rules through which marriage takes place varies from society to society and *Pakhtun* society is no exception. Marriage is an important part of any society and no culture can be

¹ Agnatic or patrilineal parallel cousin rivalry on the basis of common ancestral land is called *Tarboorwali*. There are always enmity feelings among such agnates who shares land and property.

² *Pakhtuns* lives are guided by ideal code of conducts, a like constitution.

³ All those people who share a common traceable ancestor are called *Khanadan*.

understood without knowing about marriage rules and patterns. There are many types of marriages prevailing in *Pakhtun* society but cousin marriage is the most ideal preferred form of marriage.

The present study is to examine the institution of marriage in a village community. It emphasizes on the nature and extent of cousin marriage with special emphasis on “*tra lor sara wada*” [marriage with father’s brother’s daughter], along with the causes and reasons behind this typical type of marriage in *Pakhtun* society.

The study deals with the various types of marriages, especially the favorable attitudes regarding preferential cousin marriage. Through the research an attempt was made to enquire as to how the traditional claims to the marriage of patrilateral parallel cousins are regulated with differences in wealth which make the preferred spouses and their respective families occupying different economic status.

One of the most pivotal purposes of the marriage is to establish an association between two families or to renovate and reinforce an already existing connection (Eglar, 2010). So cousin marriages in some cases are exercised to make alliance against the other relatives. Cousin marriage is still the most prevalent form of marriage in spite of the discovery that there are higher chances of genetic abnormality in offspring of close relatives. There is some importance embedded in the culture which people prefer over the biomedical discourse, and carry on such marriages despite of knowing the genetic dysfunctions of such marriages in *Pakhtun* community. It means that *Pakhtuns* attach different meanings to cousin marriage in different context and strata, and sociological significance is more important than biological importance.

An unlimited importance has been given to the analysis of endogamy in the anthropological literature as a general category and no special importance has been given to study preferential parallel cousin marriage and kin group endogamy as a distinct and independent category. This category of marriage has been associated to the contemporary Arabs and Kurds societies (Patai, 1965).

But in *Pakhtun* society consanguineous and cousin marriage is still considered as the most preferred form of marriage pattern but the dimension and nature of such practices are different from that of Arabs, Kurds and other people of the Middle Eastern

countries. This phenomenon of cousin marriage is not so simple; it is the part and parcel of *Pakhtun* culture, so to understand this we should study it in context of *Pakhtun* code of conduct and ideal behaviour of *Pakhtuns*. Patrilineal parallel cousin marriages occur more often among families of those *Pakhtun* who have high economic standing and among politically influential families; having a large chunk of village land. Land is considered the sole reason of political influence in rural area and landlords are influential village leaders, helping to settle disputes and to run the affairs of the village. So cousin marriage among these people is not for economic purpose but for political purpose to strengthen alliance among close relatives. The high relationship between patrilineal endogamy and political influence may reflect the prevalence of feuding in the village, which creates a situation in which the unity of patrilineal kin is critical to the maintenance of leadership roles (Aschenbrenner, 1969).

The researcher studied the underlying motivation and inclination of *Pakhtun* mating behaviour and the factual knowledge how it operates. The focus of the study was to find out the causes of cousin marriages, its push and pull factors including *Tarboorwali*. The first cousin descended from a shared grandfather would often fight among themselves over land of inheritance, but would join together as members of same segment to fight more distant relative from another segment (Banerjee, 2000). In the current study the relation of *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriage, as both are paradoxical to each other but exist side by side, and how the society maintains both. It was also studied that how cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali* influence each other in different times and situations.

The political aspect of such marriages are studied to analyses as either such marriages are used as a tool to appease and put a constraint on the rivalry and conflict among agnates, that it could not rupture the whole structure of kinship system, or, such marriages are practices to take revenge from uncle or cousins by the time of conflict by putting pressure on them through their married daughter or sister. Another political aspect of such marriages was the name and honour of a family, how for that aspect of culture is perpetuated through cousin marriage. Such marriages are practice, not to expose family matters with the people of other lineage. As women are main source of honour in *Pakhtun* community, so to keep ones honour in one's family cousin marriage is

exercised. FBSs are physical and moral guardians of their FBDs. The study also focused on the stigma and *Paghoor*⁴ aspect of *Pakhtun*'s culture and its role in continuity of cousin marriages in the society. The economic aspects of such marriages were also thoroughly analyzed from critical perspective. FBD marriage will be likely to avert intrusion on a brother's share of the property if a brother is intended to do so, eventually it would damage the living of one's own daughter as the wife of brother's son. The study also explored FBD marriage as an approach to avoid the fragmentation of land by passing in to the possession of an outsider.

The study has attempted to analyses and understands the changes that are constantly taking place in the pattern of marriages due to modernity, mobility, economic differentiation and urbanization. Both cousin marriage and agnatic rivalry is very much there in the *Pakhtuns* society in present time. The modernity has changed the dimensions of both cousin marriage and agnatic rivalry but not` cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali* itself. Now the surge of competition and *sially*⁵ is there but not in the traditional way. Now due to modernity they are competing with agnates in other newly created avenue of influence such as education, health, philanthropy and welfare activities at the village level.

1.2. Objectives

The main objectives of the study were to;

1. Analyze the nature and extent of cousin marriages among *Pakhtuns*
2. Assess the frequency of cousin marriages among different strata.
3. Identify the factors which influence their choice for marriage
4. Examine the significance of *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry) in *Pakhtun*'s society
5. Why there are cousin marriages despite agnatic rivalry, as both are paradoxical to each other, how the society maintains both

⁴ *Paghoor* generally means taunt but in *Pakhtun* society it one of the main factor responsible for feud and bloodshed in the society. *Paghoor* is the taunt where a *Pakhtun* failed to protect the honour of family members especially girls, or failure of any kind of taking revenged inflicted by any person of the society.

⁵ *Sially* is the typical sense of competition with the agnates in every aspect of life. Such compitive spirit ones developed against his *Tarboor* since childhood through the process of socialization.

6. Understand the perception of people about *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriage through *Pashto* proverbs and
7. How the *Pakhtun's* society see the concept of modernization, particularly the changing pattern of cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali*.

1.3. Theoretical Support

There are various theories about mate selection and pattern of marriages in different societies.

1.3.1. Theory of Mate Selection

Marital choice is affected by two pools of potential mates; the field available, which refers to the potential partners with whom one is likely to come in contact, and second the field of desirable partners, defined by social and personal preferences for a mate similar to oneself. Together the fields available and desirables constitute the field of eligibility (Kerckhoff, 1974).

In *Pakhtun* society the field of available pool of would be spouses are mostly confined to endogamy in one's own *Khanadan* specifically and ethnicity in generally. Most people prefer marriages in their respective *khel* and marriage with non *Pakhtun* is rarely practiced.

The particular desirability for certain girls as there would be wives are propagated through various proverbs and the people learn such desirability through the process of social interaction and socialization.

1.3.2. Attraction Paradigm

Attraction paradigm has conventionally and usually focused on those factors which are directly related to attraction, such as apparent similarity of attitude, propinquity, and homogeneity. The attraction paradigm factors i-e attitudinal similarity and socio-economic equality and similarity would have an influence on apparent parent understanding and would have a positive impact on marital happiness (Honeycutt, 1986).

Attraction paradigm is concerned with how similarity in attitude, socio-economic class and proximity determines partner attraction. The more the partners have similarity in attitude the more partners will be attracted to each other. Similar personality traits, values and similarity in belief have effective attraction towards each other. This would assume a direct link between attitudinal similarity and marital happiness.

1.3.3. Filter Theory

According to filter theory, most of us narrow our pool of perspective partners by selecting people we see and keep in touch on a regular basis, on the basis of similarity in age, race, ethnicity, values, social class, sexual tendency, and physical appearance.

Theoretically speaking, we have a massive pool of suitable and entitled partners but in reality and practically our field of prospective partners is restricted by our own culture. According to this theory, we examined and scrutinized appropriate people keeping in view the suitability and particular criteria and thus further constricted down the pool of possible partners to a small and explicit number of contenders.

Filter theory proposes that social structure limits our chances of meeting people from different background, culture, ethnicity, and classes. In this sense the filtering process, that restricts the pool of eligible candidates', is largely unconscious and often beyond our control.

1.3.4. Filtering Variables

1.3.4.1. Propinquity

Geographic closeness, or propinquity, is one of the first filter variables that, from who we meet, get to know, interact with, and subsequently date and marry. In *Pakhtun* society propinquity plays an important role in consanguineous marriages. The real *Pakhtun* actively participates in *Gham Khadi*⁶ and his life always revolves around this institution. To do *Gham Khadi* required a lot of resources and time, that's why people in *Pakhtun* society try to get marry their sons and daughters within the existing circle of

⁶ To participate in funeral, marriage, circumcision ceremonies and all events of public and individual importance with in a circle of certain people.

people with whom one is bound to do *Gham Khadi*. If they opt for exogamous marriages their *Gham Khadi* circle will include new people which will be an extra burden on them, that's why they preferred to get married in close proximity of their existing structure.

1.3.4.2. Physical Appearance

Once proximity brings us together, the physical appearance matters most. Men and women are attracted to each as partners on the basis of similarity in physical attractiveness. Physically attractive people are expected to have other socially required features such as friendliness, sexual openness, compassion, self-confidence, openness and good moral character. This variable is not important in *Pakhtun's* society context. Family name and reputation are always preferred over individual personality and physical beauty.

1.3.4.3. Ethnicity and Race

In *Pakhtun* society marriage with non *Pakhtun* has rare social acceptance. In the *Toru Dafdarro* 100 % people were married within the *Pakhtun* ethnicity. This criterion of eligibility is further narrowed down to one's *Khel*⁷ and *Khanadan*⁸. People preferred marriage in ones *Khel* if marriageable partner is available, if no match is available then they opt for marriage in their respective clan and at the end it is mandatory to marry *Pakhtun*.

1.3.4.4. Religion

Religion can also affect mate selection. In the locale *Toru Dafdarro* all people are Muslim, and hail from Sunni sect. intersect marriages are strictly discouraged. So it is mandatory that your would be a spouse be *Sunni* Muslim.

⁷ The conglomerate of different families of the same ancestor is called *Khel* or *Tabardari*

⁸ A large unite comprising of all families having common ancestor is a called one *Khanadan*.

1.3.4.5. Age

There is no specific age for marriage in *Pakhtun* society. Mostly the girls become entitled for marriage at the age brackets of 15-18 years and male 18-22 years. The wife is expected to be younger than the husband and there must be an age difference of at least 3 to 10 years. The ideal age for marriage in village for the female is 20 and male is desired to be 25 years old according to field data findings.

1.3.4.6. Social class

Class is also one of the important variables for date and mate selection. Mating relationship is determined by the partners sharing similar attitudes, values, and lifestyles. So was the case in the village, where the landlords married in the landlord families, the Syeds in their respective Syed families and the peasants and labourers with peasant and labourer families.

1.3.4.7. Values and Personality

Mate selection methods may have changed, but has there been a corresponding change in the values that shapes our choices. The educated people preferred educated, intellectual, smart, social, good looking; healthy partners while those with religious background preferred counterparts with similar social status as their own.

First a biological filter evaluates the physical similarity and physical attractiveness. This evaluation follows the standards of local context.

Second social filter focuses on education, social class, caste, race, ethnicity and religion. Race and ethnicity are significant factors for mate choices.

Third filter assesses the psychological characteristics of a prospective spouse, like habits and attitude.

Fourth filter examines, the complimentary needs of the actors and the expectation that a potential spouse could fulfill these needs. This trial proceeds with a trial filter where spouses find a partner with whom they can assess each other's needs.

People learn about spouse preferences in their socio-cultural environment and set their preferences according to the standard of their socialization. Though filter theory does not work in some cases of marriage in one clan or *biradari*. Some of the filter variable may be helpful in the selection of mate but other may not have any practical applicability in *Pakhtun* society. For example no one gives importance to physical attractiveness in conservative landlords' families in the village. For them the most pertinent aspect is the family background and how a would be spouse help and support her husband in socio-political domains.

1.4. Social Capital Theory by Bourdieu

Social capital creates opportunities through shared common values and interests, and binds a group together. One of the simplest definitions of Social capital is the means through which people connect with each other on the basis of similarities in social networks, shared values of trust and exchange. It has also an economic function, in as much as social ties increase economic opportunities in a social network.

Symbolic capital is the visible component of cultural component of cultural capital which represents honour, prestige and the role of an actor within a social structure. It may be acquired through marriages and kinship ties. The social status of elders, as well as the respect and obedience of their children are indicators of symbolic capital.

Consanguinity is one of the basic tools to strengthen economic, political and social connections between members of a particular family. In simple words, consanguinity shapes "social capital" within a family. Joshi et al mentioned two types of social capital i-e social capital and bonding social capital in their research article. The first is also labeled cross-cutting social ties between different groups, while the latter is related to plane associations, which link sameness and enables cooperation between groups for example, networks and clubs. A feature of bonding social capital is that the bigger the group that sustains it, the more powerful bonding social capital is" (Joshi et al, 2010).

In *Pakhtun* society the existing social capital benefited all the people who were part of it. To further strengthen and to take benefit of the social capital *Pakhtun* opted for

cousin marriage. The support mechanism is one of the core foundations of social capital which he takes advantage of during the time of crises.

1.5. Significance of the Study

In anthropology discipline kinship was considered a feature of primitive society. It was a general belief that cousin marriages were found only in primitive societies, but when the societies adopted more civilized nature, the cousin marriage practice ceased to exist. Such views of early anthropologists were biased, as these needed to be critically analyzed from a modernist perspective. The present study is an attempt to highlight the prejudices of such earliest anthropologists. Cousin marriage and kinship system is uniquely civilized.

The study has attempted to take an in-depth view of marriage as a tool of handling the nexus between political and economic dimensions, resultantly directed the rivalry and competitive aspects of the social fabric of the society. This is the first effort of its kind to find out culturally embedded meaning of cousin marriages and the pull and push factors of cousin marriage especially in the cognition of the people.

With the advent of the scientific discoveries of genetic abnormalities from consanguineous marriages; there is a dearth of research to understand the socio-cultural dimensions of such marriages which influence the decision making of people for such marriages in a particular society. The present research focused on that ignored socio-cultural aspects of cousin marriages which is responsible for genetic abnormalities among the offspring's of such cousin couples. It was clearly established from the data findings that such marriages are mainly responsible for the genetic abnormality especially impaired vision of one eye among *Khankhel* in the village. Many educated people openly confessed that such genetic abnormality is caused by endogamous marriages among the close family members. In traditional Pakhtun society, family honour and name, purity of blood and enactment of shared land is more important than individual welfare and health.

A lot of ethnographic studies had been conducted by prominent anthropologists in domain of political anthropology among the *Pakhtun* community. It is the first time that cousin marriage the domain of social anthropology and *Tarboorwali* the domain of

political anthropology were studied together to understand the complex nature of the phenomena from a different angle and different perspective. The study shows the relationship of political aspects with that of social aspects and how social events are patronized to meet political goals.

The study found out the reason why cousin marriage is common among *Pakhtun*. The cognitive aspect of cousin marriage with that of agnatic rivalry (*Tarboorwali*) which is paradoxical to each other was explored and brought to limelight. To show the relationship of *Tarboorwali* with that of cousin will be the first of its kind of study. In such research the society and its inner conflict were studied from different angle through the prevailing proverbs in the society and a new paradigm was introduced to examine power relation in the domain of social aspect.

The study will help the scientific community to understand the *Pakhtun* society and their worldview especially through the proverbs. These proverbs help to understand the psyche of the people and their perception toward any phenomena. This study can be utilized by the national and international organizations to understand the *Pakhtun* ethnic group and their worldview in an exceedingly commendable way and develop policies accordingly.

1.6. Research Methodology

For carrying out of all researches if that may natural or social research, certain significant and appropriate methods and techniques are used to make the research systematic and within the domains of given parameters and discourses. Methodology is an important aspect of data collection about the research topic; it is defined as the combination of tools and techniques which are used to collect the information for the research purpose in a specific area.

For making the study more reliable and authentic, the researcher adopted certain methods and techniques for gathering trustworthy data for the accomplishment of necessary condition of the research.

Interview guide, case studies and focus group discussions were some of the main tools used by the researcher for data collection during fieldwork in the village. Here are details of few techniques and tools that were used during fieldwork for data collection:

1.6.1. Rapport Building

Rapport building is the essential and central aspect of qualitative research. The researcher started his work from initiating the process of rapport building. The researcher got closer to the people by participating in their ongoing activities to make himself familiar to various socio economic and religious activities. Mr Iqbal Khan *Toru* the secretary of the Union Council introduced me to the villager in his *Hujra*⁹. As he was highly respected member of the community so the people answered my preliminary questions regarding the history and the people of the village with patience. Due to him the people extended their invitation to me to visit their *Hujras* on some suitable time.

I started to participate in every important event in the village and started discussion with them to familiarize myself with maximum number of people. I took part in their daily activities, and i went with them to their fields where they worked in agriculture related duties. I also accompanied the people and participated in their gossip about politics and day to day social lives and customs of the people. In this way many people extended their invitation to me to visit their *Hujras* as an expression of hospitality. In *Hujra* setting i discussed the origin of *Pakhtun*, the people of the village and their origin and history.

During my whole stay in the field, I keenly observed the community and important events that occurred in the field and tried to understand and analyze the importance of these events in their social and political lives.

In this way the researcher tried to become a part of the society and people felt at ease in the presence of the researcher. The researcher participated in different activities of the people from different walks of life to get the holistic picture of the society. The researcher generally discussed the layout of the village, land tenure, customs and *Gham*

⁹ Men guest house in the village. It is infect the name of an institution where all important events took place on different occasions. It is platform for the socialization of the young generation where they learn the ideal *Pakhtun* behaviour from the elders.

Khadi and marriage pattern in general. The researcher also met with some of the important members of local committee who were the representatives and leaders of the local people. These local leaders were the main source of information and provided authentic knowledge about the village and its people. The researcher discussed in detail every aspect of the village life with these elders to dig out truth and history of the village. This technique helped the researcher to maintain friendly and trustworthy relationships with the local people.

1.6.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation is hallmark of the anthropological research; it is a way to facilitate the execution of qualitative research in a systematic way. It demands living with the respondents in the locale of the research for prolonged periods, and getting close to the people and making them feel comfortable with the continuous presence without hesitating any answer to query. This helped the researcher in coming to terms social environment, close observance of the villagers activities and record information about their lives. The researcher participated in all the events of social importance during his extended stay at the village. The researcher participated in the marriages and funeral ceremonies of the people to gather firsthand information. It helped the researcher to get closer to the people, gain their trust, made them feel comfortable, all aimed at getting required information from them.

All the customary practices of the people of the village were keenly and minutely observed. No activity remained unattended and nothing was considered unimportant. If the marriage ceremony was taking place, the researcher concentrated on the information thought to be useful. Points like who are getting married to whom, the existing relation among the bride and groom's families, reasons behind the decision of marrying to any particular man or woman, the level of understanding among the relatives involved in the marriage, the customs that were performed in the wedding, the stake holders of the relationship, comparison of the groom's and bride's families in terms of affluence and reputation. The researcher thought to go to the extent of asking from the people if there

was any ill-feeling or enmity among two parties or the political advantage and gains or disadvantage of such marriage etc.

All the points were minutely and thoroughly observed and investigated in order to get a thorough overview of the whole prevalent activity giving a wide place to a mere visionary approach without investigation and searching for irrelevant sentiments which usually work as barrier in accurate perception of social truths. For this very purpose, I participated from the simple routine activities to the important ceremonies and exercises that occurred during the period of my stay.

It helped me in knowing the community, their culture, their concepts of *tlal ratlal*¹⁰ and *khel* system, norms, values, class and all kind of stratification systems. I also attended to the agricultural practices of the villagers that in real world shaped their life style. I also participated in different types of games with the youths to understand their perception and priorities and how they spend their time in recreations. . It helped me to grasp the true nature of the people's outlook regarding the changes that occurred in the community.

1.6.3. Key Informant

Anthropologically speaking key informant is the person who can help and facilitate the researcher in the data collection during the extended period of field work. It is a very important and reliable technique for collecting and cross checking of the data. It is obligatory on the part of researcher and is also one of the main ethical duties to make aware the key informant about the nature of research, funding resources and significance of research. For the smooth running of the research and data collection good informants are asset. Some basic qualities in the key informants such as with whom you can talk easily, who can have understanding of the information you need and who are willing and ready to give it to you or get it for you. A good key informant is the one who has knowledge about the past of the society, and the dynamics of the present community. The key informant can be depended on for providing the researcher with multidimensional

¹⁰ *Tlal ratlal* means the participation of people in funeral, marriage ceremonies or any event of social importance with a close circle of people.

picture of their community in time and space. In a community, where researcher was a stranger, the selected key informants played the role of a bridge between the target population and the researcher.

As the research was an ethnographic study, to conduct research on cousin marriage and its relation with *Tarboorwali* for this purpose knowledgeable and well informed key informants were indispensable in this regard.

The researcher's first key informant was a 75 years old man (who was president of peace and reformation committee (*Islahi aman committee*)). He was a thorough gentle man and was expert in conflict resolution; due to which people had great reverence for him. He possessed knowledge of every aspect of village culture and was aware of all historical details and events that took place in this area. As he enjoyed a respectable position in his community and enjoyed a good reputation, researcher was able to meet other people with his reference without any hindrance and collected the desired data for the research.

My second key informant was a local *Khan*¹¹ and secretary of Union Council. The main reason for his selection was that, he had complete record of union council, its population, household, births, and professions of people etc. Being a local *Khan* he enjoyed a respectable place in the society. My third key informant was Mr. Ghayyas Khan who helped me considerably in establishing rapport with local people by explaining purpose of my research and ensuring my stay in the village.

Mr Maaiz Khan *Toru* aged 25 years, was one of the young key respondents. He not only provided me information regarding the young people of the village, but also helped the researcher to establish the genealogical history of *Khankhel* by facilitating meeting and discussion with literary and well-known figures of the village.

1.6.4. Socio-Economic Census Survey

The socio-economic census provided the basic information about the demographic and socio-economic conditions of the locale of research. The researcher filled forms from all the 66 household of the study area. This turned out to be a good

¹¹ A person having few acres of land in village is called *Khan*.

source of collecting qualitative data, and provided baseline information about household population size, family structure, marriage pattern and size of land holding by each household and family.

Socio-economic census survey forms were filled from all the households of the village. These included the certain features of the households like, age, sex, education, occupation, income, marital status, marriage pattern and landholding. This technique helped to collect quantitative data and explore its dimensions. The researcher used the data of socio-economic census in tabulated form and the details are given in the chapter that is based on the information of socio-economic census.

1.6.5. Sampling Method

Sample is the representative of any set of group. Sampling is used to get the reasonable amount of representatives of any community. Sample size whether small or large must be selected and designed with utmost care, and it must be a representative of the universe as a whole. The large sample size holds no guarantee for the accuracy of the results.

Mainstream data were collected from the village through socio-economic census survey. As the union council *Toru* is scattered area comprising of 15000 hectares of land, so the researcher chose a small village *Daftarro* as a research locale outside of the main *Toru* village. There were a total of 66 households in *Daftarro* and one married member from each household was selected on the basis of availability and consent. In this way purposive sampling was used to get the require data from the village.

1.6.6. In-Depth Interview

In-depth interview was used as a basic method of data collection for qualitative research. In depth interview we understand and extract knowledge, about the social world from individual respondent. In-depth interviews are a particular kind of conversation between the researcher and the interviewee that requires active asking and listening skills (Hesse-Biber at el, 2006).

During the filling of census forms I realized that direct questions created ambiguities and suspiciousness in the mind of the respondents. So I arranged in-depth interviews in which respondents were allowed to talk freely and in a relaxed manner. To ensure the legitimacy of interviews, a semi structured interview schedule was prepared concerning the basic questions about cousin marriage, its causes and consequences, agnatic rivalry and its relation with cousin marriage and the influence of modernity on both. I also measured the trends and attitudes of the people towards the cousin marriage system.

1.6.7. Case Study Method

The case study method is another very important tool which helps in collecting in-depth and detailed data about some events and individual's action. Case study method helped to gain evidences on how people are influenced in certain situations. With the help of key informants, I collected a series of case studies that revealed the pattern of cousin marriage, causes and consequences of such marriages, *Tarboorwali* and its relation with cousin marriage and changing trend of cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali*.

1.6.8. Photography

The researcher has used the technique of photography to grasp the situation at the village. The photos of different events and the activities were taken to depict the real picture of the village life. The researcher also took the pictures of the places having social importance. The photos of *Hujras*, *Havali* of *Nawab*, Hindus remnants, graveyard and mausoleums of prominent figures, Buddhists and historical sites, markets and mosque were taken to preserve a picture of social life. The photography helped the researcher to make visible features of events and places as a part of the research.

1.6.9. Focus Group Discussion

The group discussion on a particular topic is an important technique used by the anthropologists in a field survey. This technique was used during the field work as the focus group discussion for the academic research, and it provided a lot of valuable and

reliable information and through this method researcher could cross check the information preventing respondents to hide any information. As every individual is different from every other individual in nature and outlook, and so are, their viewpoint. This meant that the focus group discussion conducted among the people of different strata to get the holistic picture of the phenomenon was able to collect varied viewpoints of the participants. From focus group discussions, the researcher cross checked different answers to the questions posed in the presence of others and the degree of consensus found among the people regarding their problems and the whole scenario. With the help of this technique, useful information and different views of the people on research topic, and the problems they were encountering were collected in a better and systematic way.

1.6.10. Field Notes

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) narrated that field notes provide an opportunity to record what researchers see and hear in the field. The researcher takes notes on jotting pad of event, action or discussion that have relevance with the research topic. The researcher used different symbols and signs for noting down important information, and later on elaborates that in detail during thesis write up.

1.6.11. Discourse Analysis

This tool helped the researcher in gaining an insight into the meanings that popular verbal discourse circulating in the community under study like oral history, songs and particularly *Pakhto* proverbs which average member of the village owns. It allowed the researcher to decode and understand the meaning of the popularly circulated written cultural accounts of the community. It also helped the researcher in understanding the meaning and perception of the people about agnatic rivalry and cousin marriage. Many quotations, *tapah* and proverbs were collected and were made a part of research with their interpretations and social connotations in “understanding cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali* in data analysis chapters.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The concept of marriage as a social institution exists in all societies across the globe. However, the Anthropological and Sociological literature finds it a contested and a challenging concept. The two most practicing forms of marriages are endogamy and exogamy. Many social scientists including sociologists, psychologists, and particularly anthropologists have presented different theories regarding the selection of life partner. Their arguments are based on the various ethnographic researches conducted in both exotically distant and modern societies. There is an abundant literature on the institution of marriage and also cousin marriage.

Mate's selection is an important aspect of marriage. In joint or extended family system parents or any elder of the family will choose a spouse for the younger member of the family. In such societies marriage is not only a personal relation between two persons but it constitutes a wider network of relationships between their families. Hamza Alvi characterizes the marriage system in the West Punjab as: "*Biraderi* endogamous, customs and traditions require that marriage must take place within *biraderi*. However, within this endogamous system exogamy also exists" (Alavi, 1972).

All societies designate categories of person whom one may or may not marry, and frequently there are additional categories of persons whom it would be regrettable, but not totally forbidden for ego to marry. Usually there are implicit if not explicit categories of persons whom it would be desirable for one to marry. Regulations which prescribe marriage outside a stipulated group are referred to as rules of exogamy. On the other hand, rules of endogamy exist when the field of possible spouses is limited to persons within an individual's territorial or social group. Hobel while discussing endogamous systems says: "special form of endogamy that occurs among primitives includes the village endogamy of the Bella Coola Indians of the North West Coast and the spectacular lineage endogamy of the Islamic societies of Middle East, Pakistan and India who practice parallel cousin marriage" (Hoebel, 1958).

The relation and bond of kinship plays a pivotal role in mate selection marriage consideration. In order to establish durability and stability in already established

relationship, tendency is to confine marriage within constricted sphere. In this regard, Yalman states:

“Bilateral kinship spreads far and wide but close endogamous marriage is reinforces kinship ties, furthers the sense of dependence of kinsmen, keeps property in reliable, close circles and above all, safeguards the ritual qualities in the blood of kindred” (Yalman,1960).

Zakia Eglar contributed to understand all the issues attached with endogamous marriages in Pakistan with special emphasis on *Zikri Baloch*. According to her, each individual or each sibling has a unique set of relatives. Kinship is ego focused. Agnatic or cognatic relatives allow recruitment to a structural group which can take on various tasks. Marriage within a kin group is considered successful and secured by one group of people unlike the other group as a half from one’s own home is better than a whole from outside.

2.1. Consanguinity

The study of literature also shed light on the consanguinity marriage. Unions contracted between persons biologically related as second cousins ($F > 0.0156$) are categorized as consanguineous (Bittles, 2001).

Hafez and others defines it as: “A consanguineous marriage is one in which the two partners have at least one ancestor in common, with the ancestor being no more distant than a great-great grandparent” (Hafez at el, 1983).

Bittles and others state that consanguineous marriages are comparatively common practice in numerous areas of the modern world, especially in Middle Eastern, South Asian Countries, in some countries of sub-Saharan Africa, and some parts of rural Muslim dominated China. Bittles discussed pattern of cousin marriage in Muslim Arabs. In first cousin marriage, preference are given to father’s brother daughter (FBD), mother’s brother daughter (MBD), father’s sister daughter (FSD), and mother’s sister daughter (MSD) respectively. Among Arabs a considerable number preferred FBD marriage to due patrimony. Some of Muslim countries such as Bosnia and Sudan marriage with FBD and FSD (Father’s sister’s daughter) are considered incestuous (Bittles at el, 1991).

Al- Nassar who conducted research in Kuwait says that consanguineous marriages are in most preferred form of marriage in many populations, such as numerous parts of North and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Central and South Asian countries. There is drastic decline of consanguinity in European Countries but still .5% of such marriages are reported from Europe, North America and Australia. Variation in consanguinity rates (11 to 58%) were reported by various social scientists in their studies in Muslim and neighboring countries of Pakistan, while the highest rate of consanguinity (61.3%) was reported in Pakistan (Al-Nassar et al, 1989).

Raffat Hussain very comprehensively and comprehensibly highlighted the institution of consanguinity. To him, in Muslim societies, regulations on marriage are thoroughly discussed in the light of Surah Al Nisa Chapter 4 verses 22-24 of holy Quran, and are generally parallel to the Judaic pattern. Though uncle-niece marriages are allowed in Judaism, Islam strongly forbids such unions. Some people interpreted consanguineous marriage as Islamic. However, there are no specific Islamic teachings on it. Socio economic conditions such as maintenance of family structure and to keep intact patrimony, consolidating family ties and financial advantages related to dowry and bride's wealth payments and close proximity were found the impelling factors of consanguineous marriages (Hussain, 1999).

Saira Rehman further extended the dimension of consanguineous marriage. According to her, in Mirpur, such marriage usually exercised in particular social-cultural and religious domains. They also justified such marriage from religion perspective as Islam encourages us to help and support relatives always and in all forms. To marry one's own relatives falls under the domain of help. The same perception has been developed by the young through the process of socialization in Britain, parents inculcate in their children preference for consanguineous marriages by giving them Islamic and altruistic touch. However, a number of anthropological studies show that the tendency of marrying back in Mirpur has been falling back as a failed experiment due to cultural differences between the generation brought up in UK and Mirpur (Rehman, 2013).

Annan debated the different aspect of consanguinity not directly related to Inheritance of land rather to preserve the influence of certain families through consanguineous marriages among the close circle of intelligentsia. In this regard he

documents the social history of all academic don in Cambridge, Oxford and elsewhere in the UK and argues that for several centuries, elaborated as consanguineous marriage is used a tool to preserve the control of few families on knowledge and intellectual ideas. This helped to sustain an “intellectual aristocracy” and gave social benefits to its members along with power and influence over the history of ideas (Annan, 1999).

2.2. Social Solidarity

Consanguineous and cousin marriage is mostly exercised to enhance and strengthen the already established relationship. In Muslim societies, such matrimonial trend exists to perpetuate and keep the solidarity within family members. Contrary to this, arranged marriage is dominant in most African and Asian countries. The proportion of arranged marriages varies across nations. South Asian countries, except Sri Lanka, will probably be the highest in terms of the percentage of arranged marriages. The benefits of this system should be perceived within the social framework of the society where the system is in existence. From the societal and cultural contexts, arranged marriage is functional in terms of keeping social tradition. The arranged marriage performs the following functions to maintain social stratification in general, to affirm and strengthen parental power over the children, to keep the family traditions and value systems intact, to consolidate and extend family property, to enhance the value of the kinship group, and to keep the tradition of endogamy if one desires (Goode, 1962).

Moreover, Levi Strauss says that matrilineal cross cousin marriage promotes greater social solidarity because wife givers and wife takers regularly stands in the same relationship. While in patrilineal cross cousin marriage, these standings reserve themselves in every generation and such marriages cannot promote stability and solidarity as in matrilineal cross cousin marriages (Strauss, 1969).

Neckarhausen Sabeian says that any individual was related equally to mother and father, and with the passing of each generation, the number of consanguineal kin grew exponentially. On the other hand as the distance between people became greater, their commitment to each other declined. Conflicting loyalties would have arisen in any situation in which a person was related equally to people who were in opposition to each other. *Sabeian* and Warren stated: “A kin-related marriage re-centered an alliance and

effectively brought many more distant kin into a narrower circle of connection. All the people between the bride and the groom became related to each other and to one another in more than one way (Sabeen, 1998).

The same is further augmented by Alavi in Pakistani context as; kin marriages are considered as the source of stability and unity in the relationships. He mentions that: “The Punjabi Muslims kinship system is structured on the principle of preferential patrilineal parallel cousin marriage. Marriage with father brother daughter is the most preferred, where accidents of demography do not make such a match convenient of possible preference is for structurally equivalent FFBD or FFBSD etc.” (Alavi, 1972).

Charsley discussed risk as a social factor and as a social matter in the selection of mate. Risks are closely embedded in societal norms and are not taken in isolation, rather friends and relatives and the socially shared norms always guided the various dimensions of risk. Such work is in sharp contrast to the universalizing theories of global ‘risk society’. Several factors like prior knowledge about family, bride and mutual trust play very significant role to organize such marriages and happiness of the newly married couple. Such marriages therefore reduce risks of new people unlike transitional marriages based on love affairs (Charsely, 2007).

2.3. Political Preferences

Barth is of the view that cousin marriage and kin marriages are practiced to enhance political influence in Muslim societies. Cousin marriage has important political implication in Islamic societies. It welds political alliances among brothers and other patrilineal kins where the prevailing ethos is equality and autonomy among males, with the continuous threat of anarchy and fragmentation (Barth, 1954).

Korotayev also shed light on the political aspect of such marriages. According to him, during Omayyad dynasty Arab being the dominant there was a natural pressure on non-Arabs Muslim to look like Arabs. They blindly followed Arabs norms and practices irrespective of its relevancy with Islamic teachings. They also adopted their cultural practices pertaining to consanguineous marriages especially father’s brother’s daughter marriage. Their high functional value in the Islamic context would help to reproduce Arab cultural patterns for generations (Korotayev, 2000).

Kuper studied the relationship between ideology and cousin marriages. He discussed with help of a statistical survey conducted in the Tswana of Botswana by Isaac Schapera, a student of Malinowski. In Botswana society, marriages with mother's brother's daughter are considered the most preferred. It was fairly common among ordinary Tswana. Nobles, however, preferred marriage with a father's brother's daughter. In both cases, the reason was very similar. Men tried to reinforce relationships with powerful kin. For a commoner, these were often mothers' brothers. For a noble, the best-placed relatives would be fathers' brothers" (Kuper, 2008).

In addition, Aschenbrenner studied the relation of cousin marriage with that of political influence in the society. To him:

Patrilateral parallel cousin marriages are common practice among social and economically well off families in Faqiriawalla. Politically influential families who are supposed to solve the disputes of the community and look after the affairs of the village, encourage their youngs to be married in respective family to preserve their social capital and influence. This suggests that the political motive in these marriages is greater than the economic one of keeping property within the family, or at least that the political results are more positive than the economic ones. The high relationship between patrilineal endogamy and political influence may reflect the prevalence of feuding in the village, which creates a situation in which the unity of patrilineal kin is critical to the maintenance of leadership roles (Aschenbrenner, 1969).

Patrilineal endogamy was especially high among families with political influence, confirming the views of Barth, Spencer, and others that it has important political implications in Islamic societies, welding political alliances between brothers and other patrilineal kin where the prevailing ethos is equality and autonomy among males, with the continuous threat of anarchy and fragmentation (Barth, 1954).

Glatzer has highlighted this from ethnographic perspective. He states: "In western Afghanistan among *Pashtun* nomads as well as in Pakistan among Mohmand the frequency of father-brother-daughter-marriage conforms to the expressed preference" (Glatzer, 1998).

Similarly, Tapper says: “Marriage as one of the most important means of politics and indicator of status and ethnic affiliation is the focus of Tappers thorough ethnography. The *Durrani* moved to north-western Afghanistan at the beginning of the 20th century to live in an area ethnically extremely mixed. They are the dominant group, but under pressure to remain so (Tappar, 1991).

2.4. Cousin marriage and property

A review of Islamic system of inheritance reveals that daughters receive a share from their father’s property which is half the share of their brothers. However, this practice is not always followed in rural society of Pakistan. Thus one purpose behind patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is to keep intact the shared land and keep property in one’s family. The incidence of close family endogamy and close cousin in marriage especially of the father’s brother’s daughter type has usually been expected to be associated with the desire to keep intact property within the family (Ahmed, 1973).

Hence daughters are not given outside kins. Thus one purpose behind patrilateral parallel cousin marriage is to keep the property intact within the family. Similar, idea is expressed by Donnon during his study among the Dhund Abbasi of Muree Pakistan (Donnan, 1988).

Alvi further augments these arguments by saying that: “There is a recognized hierarchy of priority of claims among biraderi members to be given the hand of a fellow *biraderi* member’s daughter in marriage to a youth. Such claims are graded according to the proximity of relationship, links through paternal line having priority” (Alavi, 1994).

2.5. The Concept of Honour Associated with Women

In Muslim as well as *Pakhtun* society honour is embedded with women of the family and clan. The value of individual, family and group is perceived in the notion of honour and expressed in the idiom of honour, and it can only exist in opposition. It is a competitive concept that needs to be vulnerable and defendable, it is a concept that carries with it some notion of fragility as well as of some elusive "against". Honour is grounded in a name, an affiliation, a group; it is at the same time an individual and a

collective matter and a symbol inspiring action of a certain type. It is the ideological and structural core, upon which all culturally accepted models of action are based. Without opposition, there is no honour, no segment, nor tribal unity nor identity. Complementary opposition is thus inherent in honour and the principle shaping all possible courses of events without allowing any preview of the actual results. Honour is at the core of the *Pakhtun* value-system and the source of rules and norms, informing representations and operational models of social action in all and every circumstance (Tappar, 1991).

Albania, being a Mediterranean society with Islamic and Christian traditions, had "honour and shame" as central concepts which regulated interpersonal relations. "Honour" is connected to respect, prestige, and reverence while "shame" has to do with disdain, contempt and disrespect. "Honour" in Albania was a quality which in the first place was associated with men and symbolized male superiority and supremacy. "Shame" on the other hand was seen as a female attribute. To defend the tribe's, the families and one's own honour was a very important issue for men and constituted a background to blood vengeance (Danemark et al, 1989).

2.6. Honour definition and dimension

Honour is a social logic which works in a particular environment. It stresses self-interest against that of others. As a "model for" it could be described as: we against them. Duty is felt where honour is shared. Honour means self-confidence and mistrusting everything not under immediate control; a trust in personal qualities, not things or outside conditions. It is a habitus of constant vigilance and self-control including personal needs and urges as possible source of dependence. As male attribute honour is achieved, as female it is ascribed. The former can and must be defended or regained, the latter must be maintained by modesty. Once lost, it cannot be regained. Shame works as powerful means of social control for both sexes, in different degrees and contexts. Honour is the dialectic of a double discourse which shows two different aspects of the notion.

Marriage contradicts their ideal of complete autonomy, the giving of women is shameful, and the taking is a dubious thing as well. Although it connotes superiority, it is a reminder of the necessity of affinal relations and the existential dependence of the

individual: Marriage is blamed to destroy agnatic solidarity and is thus a menace as such (Lindholm, 1982).

Pakhtun's self-image and honour is personified in men's control over women and how a household head maintains the honour of family by not compromising on the shame associated with women. Such control determines the name, *namus* and respect of the family in the society. *Pakhtun* women also share this code of honour, and themselves endeavour to merit the name of *Pakhtana* by leading an honorable life in accordance with the standards of *Pakhtunwali* (Boesen, 2002).

She is socialized into being a *Pakhtana* in the full sense of the world—the female role with its various tasks, and the concepts of *purdah*, honour, and shame. In actual life shame is much more explicitly stressed than honour, since honour is a condition of existence normally more or less taken for granted, while shame implied the destruction of honour through deviant behavior. There is an additional strong motive for women to have children, apart from the motivation that springs from cultural emphasis on the mother role, and the security it gives to a woman to provide her husband and his agnatic family with the sons that are so important to them (ibid, 2002).

Boesian further elaborates the subject as that honour is an indispensable part of the *Pakhtun's* self-image and ideal behavior. The honour of a male *Pakhtun* in society is determined by his control over the womenfolk in the household. In *Pakhtun* society, honour is linked with women. The preservation of family honour demands to control and to protect the honour of the women along with the undisputed protection of the land which are subsumed under the same concept of honour, *nomus*. *Pakhtun* women also share this code of honour, and they themselves endeavour to merit the name of *Pakhtana* by leading an honourable life in accordance with the standard of *Pakhtunwali* (Boesan, 1980).

Likewise, Pitt Rivers distinguishes three marriage strategies: the balanced, the defensive, and the aggressive. The first is: women for benefits. The second is: close marriage for men and women. The third is: we keep our women and try to get others as well (Rivers, 1997).

Mairead further augmented the honour aspect of marriage in South Asian Muslims communities. The concept of *Izzat* (honour) is more important in the institution of marriage in South Asian Muslim communities as a means of strengthening occupational and personal relationships among the extended family so if someone that pulling out from a commitment to marry is not only influence their personal and social position in the society but such act is considered one of the worst form dis-honor inflicting by him on his family name and honour. To keep intact the honour of the family the young Muslims always keep intact their marriage commitment in a close group, that no one questions the integrity and honour of their families (Mairead, 2009).

2.7. Economic Causes (Dowry, Land and Property etc.)

Kuper is of the view that the family business involved in by several generation of cousins in a complex way was, one of the basic unit of entrepreneurship in the Victorian era. The Rothschild's was one of basic example of such free trade partnership based on kinship. When the five brothers, who established the five branches of the great Rothschild bank, were faced with the problem of continuity and stability, the solution were provided by endogamous marriages in close circle in order to avoid the disintegration of the bank. Between 1824 and 1877, marriages were endogamously contracted, and 78 percent of such endogamous marriages were among with a father's brother's daughter or a father's brother's son's daughter (Kuper, 2008).

The bride groom's father wants his brother's daughter because the financial expenditure is minimal. It is a bargain for the bridegroom's side. The *Maher* (dowry) charged an FBS (father's brother's son) is only a tenth to a fifth that is charged by a stranger. But what of the girl's father, who foregoes his right to a higher bride price. By exempting his brother's son from payment, he binds him to a lifetime obligation of political allegiance. But could the father not waive the charge for outsider grooms as well or are we to believe that "blood is thicker than water (Barth, 1954).

Some scholars break out of the vicious circle of materialistic arguments by assuming that a boy who grew up with his FBD within the intimate framework of an

extended family develops love for her which, in turn, augurs well for the happiness of the marriage (Patai, 1959).

In most cases recorded, the girl's father acknowledges his brother's son's right to his daughter and buys him off (Peters, 1967). Marriages between cousins are practiced due to weak economic conditions, because in such type of marriages the expenditure of both parties (bride and groom) is less. Imtaiz Ahmad is also augmented the same view from his research and weak economic conditions were declared as of the main factor of such marriages (Ahmed, 1976).

Donnan made similar observations by saying:

“In many spheres, therefore, relationships among the different qoums are less restricted than they appear to be elsewhere in Pakistan, and they can and do participate in a number of different activities together. However, there is one sphere in which the qoums remain strictly separate that of marriage” (Donnan, 1988).

Peters (1970) mentions women in a Shi'ite Lebanese village who legally can and do accumulate property and alienate it from their father's group. Both the political and the economic explanations consider the custom of PPCM (Patrilineal parallel cousin marriage) as an instrument to attain concrete goals. Semi-desert dictates of animal husbandry may result in factional struggles inducing patrilineal affiliation and the rise of FBD marriage. This, however, does not explain marriage of paternal cousins in modern villages and Bedouin encampments wherever state law is imposed. The third traditional approach views PPCM from society's perspective as a means for promoting the segmentation process within a framework of unity; that is, detachment of descending generations from intimate commitments to increasingly distant relation while maintaining the principle bond of their mutual responsibility to one another.

Pastner also conducted research among the *Zikri Baluch* in *Panjghor* but his approach is different from Eglar. Eglar only focused on the paternal aspect of consanguineous / cousin marriage while Pastner studies both paternal and maternal aspects. He is of the opinion that mothers and fathers can have different impetuses in their children's marriages, as well for themselves. So two patterns of marriages paternal

side and maternal side both father and mother tries to enhance their respective family influence through the marriage contract of their sons and daughters among the *Zikri Baluch*, but with an internal variation according to male and female perspectives (Pastner, 1981).

As in above point of views were further added by Geertz (1979) in the Moroccan context: such pattern of marriages is not directly determined by the personal choses and likeness and dis-likeness of the would be spouses rather the parents perception, worldview and personal interest determines such marriages. They also give importance to the children likeness and personal choices if it is in the same group and social acceptable category.

Some of the reasons for the "delay" in marriage for males in Pakistani society are undoubtedly founded on economic necessity as perceived by the families of the young men. It must be remembered that a marriage contract is a religious requirement, and that the commitment of Maher, which serves as a bridal gift may take time to accumulate, but it is more likely that career development may be the more pertinent reason (Korson & Swabzwari, 1980).

2.8.Exchange marriage

Exchange marriage in rural Pakistan provides itself as a social mechanism for balancing within indigenous society, according to Jacoby and Mansuri. The phenomenon of such an exchange is known as *Wattasatta*. This very practice is always seen as an exchange of two women for marriage between two families. This *Wattasatta* is being practiced widely and is virtually held responsible for all marriages. However such an exchange seeks an anthropological insight so as to get immersed into phenomenon to have a better understanding of it. *Wattasatta*, if not divorced from its latent meaning shows as to how an establishment of socio-politico liaisons are being carried between two families or within society. Besides it also ensures a healthy marital life of both the couples, for instance if any of the two husbands mistreats his wife the other will retaliate. Such a mechanism thwarts both the husbands not to act harshly towards any of the wives. Husband can be made to pay in the same coin the mistreatment of his sister by his brother

in-law and treat his wife to settle the score in the same way without his self-interest (Jacoby & Mansuri, 2010).

Charsley argues that double *rishta* (relationship) sometime alleviates the potential rivalry. For example if your sisters are married with your husband's brothers then at the same time they become your in-laws. The basic advantage of *watta satta* marriage is low costs and low dowry and the support mechanism from both sides provide security against marital failure (Charsley, 2007).

2.9. Purity of Blood / identity

Dorji argues that cousin marriage in *Bhutan* was a connection and creating common identity and social organization, and it determined social status by preserving family wealth and lineage and, thereby, caste. The practice is linked to the value given to endogamy and the idea of 'bone'. "It is believed that marriages between same "bones" ensure purity of the descent. Families' status is differentiated according to "bone quality" (Dorji, 2003).

The significance of endogamous marriage is in preserving and continuing 'blood' and 'bone', caste, ethnicity, and thence status and society itself. That marriage defines a person's place in society is an idea and a social norm that children are socialized into, particularly important for the elite. The sacredness of marriage is tied to the importance of having children. This entails routine concerns children as a person's social security, especially in illness and death that along with religious connotations bring commoners within the ambit of the value. The notion of marriage as a life-long relation is also glossed in moral terms not tied to any one religion—it is the basis of a happy family life and demands respect, trust, and faith. In this is inserted an ethic that there is a difference between sexual relationships within and without marriage (Chuki, 2010).

Alison Shaw discusses the role of tradition in marriage arrangement of British Pakistanis by their parents and elders over ideal marriage patterns i-e love marriage of the West. A certain traditional ideology always favours and supports family's interest as supreme over personal and individual interest. In such circumstances the acceptance of

arranged marriage is a moral obligation from the family, which had spent and did so much for the individual and now individual will reciprocate all that to the family in the acceptance of family choice and interest over personal choice and interest. The liberal ideology of Western societies based on individual liberty to choose one's own partner without giving any importance to social class, ethnicity and the interest their parents (Shaw, 2001).

Hussein discusses the perception of Pakistani people about consanguineous marriage that purity of the agnatic bloodline should remain integral in the family and if you marry outside of your family and clan your blood and lineage will no more remain pure and original, and that will affect the status of the children in the society. The Sayyed and Qureshi groups of Pakistan who claim themselves to be the direct descendants of Prophet Mohammad, to keep the purity of their blood they exercised high levels of consanguineous marriage" (Hussain, 1999). Abu Lughod expresses the same view but from a different perspective that is the high consanguinity found among the Bedouin groups in Egypt.

Alison Shaw expressed the same opinion in her research study conducted in Great Britain. The adults in Britain explain their preference for such marriage in Pakistan from a socio-cultural perspective. The British Pakistanis do not want to pollute their religious and cultural purity with Western norms and values which give preference to individual liberty and rights over communal welfare and interest. This communal and religious approach always guides the marital interest of the upcoming generation in the Western society (Shaw, 2006).

2.10. Consanguineous Marriages and Social Capital

The use of the term "social capital" to refer to "the resources that emerge from one's social ties" is exceedingly popular (Portes & Landolt). This popularity reflects the fact that many sociologists have been impressed with the conceptual clarity of microeconomic models of human behavior, but see the need to incorporate an actor's

position in the social structure as an important influence on choice processes (Granovetter, 1985).

Samuelson's definition of capital is that social capital consists of relationships that are themselves actually or potentially productive: social capital facilitates the achievement of certain ends. Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu defines capital as a resource, which is both produced and potentially productive. He defines social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that amass to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986).

In sum, the work of Homans, Granovetter, and Bourdieu delineated three conceptual dimensions of social capital: 1) the quantity of an individual's social relationships; 2) the quality of those relationships, which includes the dimensions of interaction, shared activities, and affect; and 3) the value of the resources that partners in the relationship can potentially make available to an individual. A large sibling group provided social capital not only for the parents, who are having the children, but also for the extended family and for the children themselves. In short, in Benguet Province, good parents provide their child with siblings, because in so doing they indirectly make available to that child resources they cannot directly provide themselves.

Pastner studied social capital aspect of cousin marriages among the *Zikri Baluch*. Keeping in view the amassing of social and economic obligations between kin, the marriages of one's children always enhance the exchange of mutually shared social capital further in the already established kin relationships. Father and mother are morally obliged to their respective families so they safeguard the interest of their families while securing the bride for their son. This rivalry and competition among the parents, characterizing fraternal relationships. Residential propinquity, for example, is as likely to result in disaffection as in solidarity between brothers" (Pastner, 1981).

2.10.1. Inalienability

Aston and his fellows are of the view that like human capital, but unlike most forms of physical capital, social capital is inalienable that is, it cannot be exchanged with or given to another person. Suppose, for example, that members of a particular group have advantages in the labor market because they have a large stock of family ties that can be used to obtain jobs. The inalienability of social capital implies that any programmatic efforts to redress this situation must focus on either the development of equivalent ties for members of other groups (e.g., mentoring programs) or limiting the use of family ties in hiring by employers (e.g., affirmative action programs) (Astone, 1999).

2.10.2. Depreciation

Human capital seeks to perpetuate and reproduce itself to exist. If any of social capitals is not perpetuated and let be static, it will simply die out. Thus rural people whose social relations proves itself as an adhesive force in the agglutinating of society, needs to reproduce itself for perpetuation. Such an understanding of the rural people makes us understand as to why they need a practice like *watta satta* in society. *Watta satta*, actually reproduces the relations between the families for mutual and peaceful coexistence. If the perpetuation of social capital is stopped at either ends, the families will lose their mutual relations, while in the long run societal mechanism will ultimately lead to disharmony (Ibid, 1999).

2.10.3. Fungibility

Fungibility is the ability of a resource to be used in a variety of ways. Coleman writes: "Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is not completely exchangeable and replaceable, but is exchangeable with respect to specific activities" Having a child, by contrast, is fungible social capital. Grandparents may provide parents with many types of help a down payment on a house, the loan of a car, companionship- much of which would not be available to childless adult children or would be available to

a lesser degree. Although the grandparents may perceive this help as primarily intended for the grand- children, the middle generation may also benefit (Coleman, 1988).

Family formation and marriage is among the most important types of investment in social capital made in all societies. Sociologists and other social scientists who are concerned with social capital will derive findings from the studies of family demographers. Although there have clearly been pronounced changes in family patterns, there is little evidence that the family is withering away along the lines Coleman suggested. For example, (Cherlin 1992) documents the high importance American women place on marriage, and Reher (1998) notes the persistence of strong family ties in countries with very low fertility (Astone, 1999).

Mason says that the actions of individuals are affected by the institutional characteristics of the family in the society they live in, and how their actions feedback to cause institutional changes (Mason 1991). Kinship sentiment (among the Tikopia) are expressed through the shared activities and interaction among kinsmen.

Homans's definition refers to the building blocks of social capital as activity, interaction, and sentiment. Activity has its commonsense meaning of the "things people do," work, talk, and play, and so on. Interaction is a concomitant of activity. It takes place; however, "apart from the particular activities" in which individuals interact. Sentiments are internal effective states: emotions, feelings, and the like. He describes in detail how activities, interactions, sentiments, and their interrelationships create new resources. By increasing the social capital of its members, a group is able to prosper and persist (Homans, 1974).

However, marital relations are the only currency to invest for better social capital. Moreover, even the modern politics has not discarded the very phenomenon, yet and do practice it for formation of political alliances and such an alliances are established through political marriages between to political factions. Besides such a surplus of social capital caters an optimum to societies and families to work smoothly together and reach at a decision good for all.

In India the economic opportunities of middle-class men have never expanded. They are only equipped with modern image of masculinity. For instance Arnold Schwarzenegger and Jackie Chan are images which are replicated and reproduced within each man among Indians while modest women and family oriented women are still expected to be in conformity with the morals and values of traditional India. Besides the concept of arrange marriage and dowry evince as to what extent the globalization of modernity has to be penetrated into the social fabric of so-called modern India (Srinivasan & Lee 2004).

Marriage decisions and behaviors, trace its legacy back into traditional India, where women were symbolized as chaste, virgin and modest. Moreover class superiority within social stratification could only be attained through control over the sexuality of women (Lester & Desai, 2010).

2.11. Consanguineous Marriages and the Status of Women in Society

Nancy Thapper discusses the status of women in Afghan and *Pakhtun* society. She depicts woman status through a *Pashto* proverb “*da khazi zai ya kor ye ya gor*” [A woman is best either in the house or in the grave]. The idea that women’s place is in the home and if she step out of home she will face dire consequences for that. The only honorable place for the women is her father’s or husband’s home. Such practices show as to how women are being kept as controlled beings whose task is only to bear children for the husbands for continuation of their lineage. If a woman breaches any of the social laws of the society, she might risk her life for it, and ironically her husband is also warranted to kill her. She is a slave kind of by-product of patriarchal power structures, produced by community, father and her husband at different levels. She is considered a byproduct of patriarchal structure and is treated as a community first by her father and after marriage by her husband (Tapper, 1981).

The *Pakhtun* male household head controls the family’s property in relation to his dependents as well as to his dependents as well as against the world. The other is control

over marriage. This means a complete control of the women's bodies i-e their sexuality as well as their reproductive capacity. Men's control over the women manifests the dominance of the male while deciding marriages of the daughters and sisters. To defend the family and its women from the male world, the women's behaviour has to be controlled, so that they will not destroy male honour by contacting men from the outside world (Tapper & Lindisfarne, 1991).

The high mud wall is the physical expression of the institution of *pardah* the seclusion and veiling of the women of the household from the public male world. The ideal *Pakhtun* woman keeps within the house, she observes *pardah*, and she never taints the family honour through adultery. If she does the grave awaits her.

The power, dominance and autonomy for males and females in Afghanistan's context were studied by Thapper in the Durrani. Sex differences are more prominent in answers to the question of dominances. She was quoted by Tashakori to understand the belief system of male and female towards equality and equal power. Men and women world views and believe differently on the equality and equal power. There is a constant competition of kinsmen and neighbour for a complete control sexual as well as object over women, and such control determines the status and prestige of the family in society (Ibid, 1988).

Honour is the principal idiom by which this competition is regulated and claims to status are made. This idiom is the conceptual basis of the ideology of control. Concepts of honour and shame are elaborated in an extensive vocabulary, but most often the ideas are subsumed under a few key notions: *num* (reputation, literally name, the big name or good name of a big man); *Pashtu* (a synonym for all or any facet of honour); and *namus* (a man's honour as it derives from the morality of his womenfolk). Each of these notions may be negated to describe the absence of honour, while one of the commonest and most offensive, opprobrious epithets relates to the ruin of the household (Tapper, 1981).

2.12. Religious Interpretation

Islamic religious authorities often give the justification of consanguineous marriages due to the observance of inheritance rule, Muslims are bound to pay due share of inheritance to daughter that is why to keep the land intact, they opt for kins marriages. Anyone who attempts to deprive a daughter of her share in any type of property is a clear expression of violation of the command of Allah (Barth 1954).

Some writers such as Barth, Nancy Thapar etc. link up Father's brother's daughter marriage to that of Islamic culture. Such marriages are prevalent in those areas which remain the colony of Arabs. Cousin marriage pattern were adopted by such people to be like Arabs while the other injunction to protect one's patrimony inside the family. If your daughter marries outside of the family she will get half share as compare to his brother from his father property. So Islamic *Shariah* give right of inheritance to daughters and sisters and this right of inheritance is responsible for the high rate cousin marriages in such societies.

Arab Islamization of surrounding areas and countries and its inclusion into the eighth century Arab Khalafat encourage and consolidate cousin marriage. As it was a common practice among the Arabs so the non-Muslim Arabs adopted this trait to look like the dominant Arabs. Such marriages bring economic advantages and keep the property intact. A systematic acceptance of parallel-cousin marriage took place when Islamization occurred together with Arabization. Father's brother's daughter marriage played a certain function in Arabs society, so this trait was an adopted as Islamic tradition. In Islam daughter is entitled to receive her due share of inheritance in her father's property, such share of inheritance may be one the functional value of such marriage in Arab society (Korotayev, 2000).

Even the procreative function of marriage in the t traditionalist view represented a dual purpose: preserving one's kin descent, and fulfilling a religious duty. Profane benefits accruing from begetting children such as securing labor and economic aid in parents' old age only received minor cultural stress. Actually, the double notion of procreation was consistent with the pivotal role of ritualism and kinship in early tribal life. Viewing procreation as a central marriage function was affirmed by the Prophet

Muhammed (Peace be upon him) and many early Muslim leaders. The Prophet (Peace be upon Him) is quoted to have said "One's marriage means the fulfillment of one's religion creed." Along this line of thought Khalifate Ommar Ibn Al Khatab had once uttered "The sole justification for man's marriage is to beget offspring (Al-Nouri, 1980).

2.13. Ethnicity / *Biraderi* role in Cousin Marriage

Biraderi and ethnicity are the two fundamental variables of consanguineous marriages especially in the context of Pakistani society. Prior knowledge of the potential spouse is considered one of the basic aspects of endogamous marriages. The nearer the relative, the more one will have prior knowledge about possible spouse. Similarity of *Biraderi*, culture and ethnicity added to trust required for such marriage (Charsley, 2007).

From Pakistani context, all land is owned by the *Biraderi*, so the status and prestige of the *Biraderi* is judged by the amount of land having by that *Biraderi* in the area. No *Biraderi* member can sale out his due share of land to the outsider. They keep intact their property at any cost and consanguineous marriage is one of such strategies to keep intact the land of a certain *Biraderi*. Not only the *Biraderi* exercise its right to control and intact the fragmentation of land, at the same the *Biraderi* extends its support fellow members at the time of need whenever and wherever it requires. The *Biraderi* members although a great deal of social control is exerted at this level, the *Biraderi* also functions help each other to meet the expenses of marriage of fellow being. The *Biraderi* also extend their help to meet the marriage expenses of a poor family member (Eglar 2010).

Bilateralism in *Zikri Baluch* kinship is expressed through bilateral kinship terminology and certain genealogical order of kinship to the ancestor. The more you are close to the ancestor the more you are sharing blood. In this connection, Pastner states: On the basis of genealogical order, a certain sense of feeling and bonds of obligation are established and maintained with the fellow kins. Out of that bond one's paternal side is considered the closest relative so in that regard marriage with father's brother's daughter or first cousin marriage got more regard and significance among the *Zikri Baluch*. Unions are preferentially contracted between nakozak (either FBC or MBC) or druzak

(either FZC or MZC). This is not a closed system of exchange, but one generally conceived of as "delayed reciprocity," in which a bride or groom should be forthcoming from the uncle or aunt who previously received a bride or groom. *The Zikri Baluch* are well aware of the major shortcoming of ideal exchange as availability of potential partner of suitable sex or age may not be available, or the constraint relation of families may prevent the negotiation for such mate selection (Ibid, 1981). This reciprocity of brides on prateral and maternal side always create a sense of competition and rivalry among the parents.

Zikri Baluch society can be dichotomized into two parallel networks of males and females on the basis of social life spheres. After marriage the females shifted to house of husbands' fathers, but they did not totally cut off their relation with their parents rather they frequently visit their parents' homes on all important events of social life. The female network is very significant, most women give birth their first baby at natal home out of the convention and some time for subsequent births they do visit their natal homes. Apart from that the wives of overseas *Zikri Baluch* often reside with parent instead of their in laws homes.

The interesting aspect of *Zikri Baluch* is that solidarity of female sibling is always stronger than its male members. As economic resources rests with the male, so female has very limited access. Females especially married sisters expect limited financial help at the time of need, as brothers did expect more from each other.

2.14. Family Tides

According to Shaw (2001), the notion of "purity of blood", religion, culture, social intimacy and the close connection among relatives determine marriage among Pakistani families. Endogamy marriages are preferred, as they strengthen the mutual interests of the family and social networks. Marriage is one of the important determinants of establishing and expanding relationship with others. She says:

“Once a relationship takes place through marriage, then further marriages are arranged within same family’s siblings so as to strengthen the initial ties. Sometimes this takes the form of a type of brother-sister exchange, in

which a brother and sister marry relatives, usually cousins, who are a sister and brother". Parents are of the view that such marriage balance the relation between two families if something goes wrong with one couple it will for sure affect other pair of couple of exchange marriage (Shaw, 2001) . There is certain criterion on which one can judge the prospect of a rishta. Social and economic similarities enhance the chances of success of such marriage. Such criterion of match selection is easily available within the family while risk is always attached with outsider due to lack of prior knowledge. A rishta within the family further consolidates the already existing ties of rishta. Choosing a rishta offers the opportunity to reproduce closeness between particular kin, and this is especially important for family members divided through transnational migration" (Shaw, 2006).

To further strengthen her argument Alison Shaw (2001) cited Donnon study on Murree Abbasi. Even in quite strictly endogamous groups, marriage choices reflect the interests and negotiations of the marriage arrangers, although within the frame-work of a preference for marrying kin. The obligation to kin is given importance, but is not the only factor taken into consideration. British Pakistanis, like many other British South Asians, interpret their arranged marriages as a stimulus continuation of the parents' cultural values. They give importance to traditional values system over modern value system so they preferred arranged marriage as a continuation of tradition over love marriage as a modern value system. Pakistanis and South Asians derive their social identity from their respective culture so they always give importance to communal lives over personal and individual lives. There is a moral obligation to safeguard and prefer family interest over personal interest and choice. A certain ideology is to inculcate in the mind of young since their childhood that family is the only source of protection and parents and elders are the only knowledgeable people who better know what is harmful or beneficial for their children (Shaw, 2006).

Both Patrilateral and matrilateral kin may be considered as important so one can choose potential spouse either from father's side or mother's side. Mostly father side is preferred over mother's side as brothers shared interests in land, property, and business. This is sometimes connected with specific economic ties between brothers, in the form of shared interests in property or business. A man with business links with their brothers will prefer brother's daughter for his son and he will reject any such proposal from wife family side out of economic interest. If no potential spouse is available in father's family

than mothers' family is opt for marriage. Social networks are maintained through continuous marriage arrangements among cousins. The developing social ties are embedded in the local knowledge (Ghosh, 2011).

2.15. The Agnatic Factor and Cousin Marriage

FBD marriage is said to be a norm stemming from structural needs subjected to social maintenance and continuity. On the other hand, it is shown to be the social structure's provision for the satisfaction of individual needs. From the society's point of view, three approaches are evident; economic, political, and social harmony. Endogamy within groups of agnates preserves their common assets. Among peasants this usually involves a farm (Rosenfeld 1957).

Agnates are committed to helping one another to wed their daughters and sisters endogenously as a necessary condition to enhance their common esteem. PPCM is not a rule, not even where monarchy is apt to prevail, as in desert population and among the Bedouin. It is an advisable way to conduct affairs, the ambitious group's rule of thumb for status seekers. PPCM in essence, by preventing female kin from marrying non-agnates, is one of the prerequisites for moving up the social ladder for the same reason that an identifying mark of elite groups is the claiming of brides from lower status; i.e., smaller and weaker kin groups.

Agnatic endogamy does not enhance the patrilineage's property or help to maintain it intact. Rather, agnatic endogamy requires excessive means. The former Bedouin direct a great amount of their savings into the competition for elite social position. They have been successful as they shift from traditional to modern occupations but traditional channels of conspicuous consumption often take precedence over Western-style parallels. Investment in social relationships here corresponds to socio-political and status competition (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.16. Marriages in Pre-Maturity / Marriage at Early Age

According to B. Ghose, due to gendered nature of marriages women suffer much healthy issues, as they are forced to get married at early stages which result in health issues. Moreover such practices also deprive them of education, freedom of choice, safety and of the like. They are also not given the choice to have a say on their own reproductive health (Ghosh, 2011).

There is a peculiar patriarchal value system which always encourages early marriage. A certain ideology about early marriage is embedded in culture that it reduces the risk attached with virginity and chastity which are symbols of honour and status of family and clan, of unmarried girls. This aspect of the culture encourages parents to opt for early marriage. The more you delay marriage of a daughter the more will be risk attached with chastity and family honour (Sociological Bulletin, 2011).

Soraya Tremayne says that the changing pattern of marriage is caused by modernity and globalization, accompanied by better job opportunities and physical mobility, better access to education, especially girls' education. Education further transforms the traditional social, gender and family system. Job and education provides more opportunity to be in contact with people and as a result the chances to get married with man of equal social and economic status outside of the family. As physical mobility and social mobility more alternatives are available in shape of partners this availability of partners brings a considerable increase in the rate of divorce; and finally the inclusion and participation of women in the labour market. Marriage is a destiny for nearly all women in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan. As marriage fetches social status and, on the contrary, remaining unmarried is considered an eccentricity and creates doubts in the mind of the people about girl physical and moral defect, rural parents prefer to marry their daughters early to avoid the complications of marriage later. Keeping in view the above criteria parents encourage early marriage of daughters to avoid complication of late marriages (Tremayne, 2006).

To Ghose Biswajit, in Malda the rate of child marriage in the district is quite high. Such a relationship between child marriage and community is not a mere coincidence.

There is nexus of early marriage with that of socio-economic structure of the community. The prevailing poverty, landlessness, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of awareness and large family size perpetuates the tradition of early marriage of girls in the locality. It has also been observed that persistence of strong social and community bonds among them due to kinship ties, religious obligations, and social practices leave little space for any individual or family to rise above the tradition (Ghosh, 2011).

Ghose also discussed folktales as one of the factors and variable of such marriages. People of older generations tell successful stories of their early marriages to the one generation and a certain sense of moral obligations are inculcated in them through the process of socialization. He states that “being confined within the four walls of the home for a substantial part of the day, women start believing the experiences of the older generation. Hence, the logic of late marriage propagated by the health worker and others do not produce any visible result” (Ibid, 2011).

Korson and Sabzwai discussed another cultural factor which contributed to the desire for an early marriage for women is the concept of *Izzat*, or family honor. As the family honour are determined by the good conduct, character and chastity of the women in the family, so to preserve one’s honour in the family marriages are arranged inside the family. To them:

“By their modest behavior do they maintain such honor for the family and the behavior of an unmarried girl is a reflection on the family's honor. The men of the family might be considered the protectors, if not the "enforcers" of the normative behavior of married as well as unmarried women, so that the earlier a girl is married the sooner the major responsibility for her behavior is removed from her family of orientation and the family's honor continues unsullied. The major responsibility would then be passed on to her husband and his family, although both families retain an interest in her behavior” (Korson & Swabzwari).

2.17. Reproductive Behavior

Adam Kuper further says that historically the English affluent classes were freely marrying cousins, and were expanding their business through such marriage. It was the main source of social capital but later medical research was conducted which highlighted that such consanguineous marriages had bad effect on the health of children. Charles Darwin who was married to her cousin was concerned with his own ill-health. Even if

one of the children showed any sign of illness he always suspected as symptom and consequences of heredity, as a price of his marriage with cousin (Kuper, 2008).

To Shaw, British Pakistanis were famous for consanguineous marriages in early part of 1980s. A bio-social discourse emerged to study biological risk attached with such marriages. She said that: “A study of the health of 4934 infants from birth to 5 years of age across all ethnic groups in Birmingham, England assessed the impact of consanguineous marriage on infant mortality and morbidity. While Pakistanis comprised 20 % of the study population, they accounted for 40 % of the observed illness; in addition, morbidity was three times higher among the children of consanguineous couples” (Shaw, 2006).

Cousin marriage increase the probability of risk of recessive genes alteration received from common grandparents. In effect, consanguineous marriage redeploys such recessives genes in close population and thus enhances the chances of genetic abnormality in the family. “Empirical observations of the occurrence of such abnormalities permits evaluate population-level risks. While the chances of abnormalities in children of couple cousins become double or even triples the risk of having abnormal children with a recessive disorder, the resulting risk of between 4 % and 6 % rather than 2 % for an unrelated couple leaves a 96 % chance of having an unaffected child” (ibid, 2006)

2.17.1. Morbidity and Mortality

Studies of different nature have shown that consanguinity is held responsible for biological dysfunctions owing to an increase in genetic load attributed to homozygosity. Thus consanguinity is held the only root cause of genetically related mortality (Guo, 1993). Studies, also, have evinced that overall mortality is low among consanguineous marriages than those of in non- consanguineous marriages (Bundey & Alam, 1993; Bittles & Neel, 1994).

Additionally, consanguinity is also associated with the deaths witnessed within the first year of life. Numbers of deaths were reported in particular consanguineous

families (Bittles et al., 1993). Number of studies has shown an increased level of morbidity and mortality among the offspring of consanguineous parents (Khoury & Massad, 2000; Tamim et al., 2003).

2.17.2. Congenital Defects

Accordingly it is witnessed; the intimate the blood ties between parents, the greater the impact on offspring. Moreover, consanguineous marriages are more susceptibility for polygenic and birth defects (El-Hazmi, 1999). That is why detection and characterization of mutations in human genes provide insights into the pathophysiology of genetic disorders.

However, any kind of mutation in such kind of genetic information steers to various variations in phenotypes. Majority of these mutations can prove harmless and result in polymorphisms, while few of such mutations change to a degree that clinically an ailment is diagnosed. Although mutation rate varies man to man, however, from different studies we can deduce that every human being has 5-10 mutant genes that might inherit and be part of the gene pool in certain terrains (Miglani, 2002). Because all the human life processes like embryology, anatomy and physiology mostly depend upon genetic information.

Briefly, marriages of consanguineous nature among human can lead to an increase of homozygosity of recessive lethal and such lethal and of detrimental alleles that may entail the risk of morbidity and mortality. Genetic studies have played an important part in understanding the health within culture and populations (Haan, 2003).

Moreover, different studies have shown that mental retardations, neural tube defects, developmental and chromosomal disorders have been witnessed among the off springs of consanguineous couples. Furthermore, phenylketonurea, congenital cataract, deafness, retinitis Alopecias, Alzheimer's disease, and albinism, are also few among many such diseases, prevalent among the off springs of consanguineous couples (Kaur & Balgir, 2005). Different studies have also shown that inbreeding eventuates from

consanguinity and contributes to an increased mortality levels of offspring via recessive genetic disorders (Tamim et al).

Zaman conducted research in Kaber Wala village of Southern Punjab who reported that marriages between cousins become the cause of many genetic diseases such as thalassemia, heart disease, post-neonatal childhood morbidity, and homoglobinopathies. Such marriages are also responsible for low intelligence, mental instability, and cystic fibrosis in the Children. Most people of the area are not aware of the genetic abnormalities associated with such marriages. The educated people who are aware of the genetic diseases cannot go against the practice being a part of existing social system which perpetuated and safeguard such marriages (Zaman, 2010).

2.17.3. Genetic Screening and Prenatal Diagnosis

Screening tests is an inexpensive and useful way to identify a caste or ethnic group within larger population. This will identify the couples at high and will consider reproductive options for them like that of sterilization, contraception, pregnancies, abortion, adaptation, and artificial insemination by donor sperm (Lemana et al, 1990).

However, presently, new medical techniques have been devised to deal with issues of prenatal diagnosis, via ability to detect abnormalities in an unborn child and several other techniques like amniocentesis, ultrasound, fetoscopy, radiography, and DNA analysis, can be employed for prenatal diagnosis of genetic disorders

2.18. Changing pattern of cousin marriage and modernity

Globally, cousin marriages are on decline mode but still 10% of all marriages are expected to being between cousin, while interestingly the figure will reach 50% in Muslim and Arab parts of the world. The vast majority of cross-cousin marriages appear among the Islamic cultures of North Africa, and those of North Africa and those of West and Central Asia (Bittles & Black, 2010).

Modernization theorists point out that societies that have commenced and accepted industrialization and urbanization, had an impact on the social values of the society. As a result of that parental choice of arranged marriages are replaced by individual choice of love based marriages. These new marriage patterns, together with other broad trends of family change such as conjugality, neo-local residence, and fertility decline, have been labeled as the demographic transition

Modernization theorists argue that industrialization and urbanization have changed the nature of division of labour and in the new set up there is least dependency on large family for production and reproduction. The experiences derived from formal scholastic institution, employment in industries and associated social and physical mobility with that created new socio-economic structural conditions for new and modern ways of life, therefore shrinking the significance of traditional family institutions in the lives of those who are living in the modern cities (Goode, 1963; Fong, 2004).

There is expected decline in the cousin marriages due to industrialization and urbanization. The modern values indeed change the traditional family set up but contrary to that in some regions the cultural preference for such marriages remain unchanged. Such prevalence of cousin marriages put a question mark on the prediction of Goode and others and there will be a considerable decline in consanguinity due to modern norms, values and modern way of life. The institution of consanguineous marriage is not directly linked with nuclear family only rather other aspects of family life such as choices of would be spouses, and nepotistic behavior within the kin network one learns from the family through the process of socialization and thus becomes an indispensable part of the cognition (Givens & Hirschman, 1994).

There is a general shift from traditionalism towards modernity. In this respect, one can expect that the importance of love, equality, and respect for the partner's interests has increased. On the other hand, decline is observed in the importance of good relations, fertility, economic condition and fidelity. Love, equality and same interests are connected with a modern view of marriage. On the contrary, good relations among members of the kinship group, loyalty, fertility and economy are more traditional oriented. Love and

fidelity are the outstanding and most important factors. Women value love highest and men faithfulness (Ibid, 1994).

Goode predicted a considerable decrease in consanguineous marriage due to modernization. The modern values system will replace family tradition with personal choice and likeness from large pool of potential partners. In his description of changing family systems in the Middle East, he observed that in more educated families they will preferred personal liberty and personal likeness and dis-likeness and such attitudes will bring changes in the dowry related matters into an end. He also suggested that women with more education and labor force will reduce her dependency and will increase her liberty and freedom in the selection of partner for marriage (Givens & Hirschman, 1994).

Theoretically, the effects of cultural changes and the effectiveness of attempts to change attitudes depend on a concrete effort to make it compatible to the belief structure of the individual. If a change is against the belief system of the people there will be a resistance from inside and no change will penetrate and over pass that structure of the people. Also, resistance rather than change would be expected when advocated positions are very discrepant from those of the individual. However, “within limits, the greater the discrepancy of the position advocated from the individual's position, the more pervasive will be the attitude or belief change. The fact that preferred marriages were largely confined to blood kin, namely parallel cousins and, to a lesser degree, cross cousins, contributed immensely to the ease of marriage negotiations” (Tashakkori, & Thomson, 1988).

Individuals with higher social status will desire more freedom from traditional society and will tend to marry later in life and have fewer arranged marriages. As fewer individuals have arranged marriages, the theoretical expectation is that the overall incidence of consanguinity should decrease (Goeff & Khalid 2014).

In addition, modernization theorists argue that industrialization and urbanization have increased the division of labor in society and reduced the reliance on the large family for production and reproduction. Modernization experience derived from formal schooling, factory employment, occupational and geographic mobility, and the like has created the structural conditions for the modern ways of life. These resulted to diminish

the importance of traditional family institutions in the lives of urbanities in modern metropolises (Zang, 2005).

Education is becoming an important factor affecting marriage prospects. This is particularly so in the case of males where educational level-among other things played an important part in determining the kind of families from whom they can marry. It is becoming fashionable for urban families to discourage illiterate males from asking their girls' hand in marriage. On the other hand, college-educated girls appeal less to wife seekers than those with modest education, namely high school. This seems to derive from the social notion that women going that far in their advanced schooling are relatively old (Al-Nouri. 1980).

Traditionally and historically, it was the domain of Kuwaiti parents to choose a spouse for their children in closed extended network of relatives. They played supreme role in their children's decision to marry. The spread of education and new sources and avenues of economy shrank the dependency of sons on their parents, so the marriage associated role of parents also got change (Al-Khakeb & Fahed, 1984).

Changing pattern of marriage is caused by modernity and globalization accompanied by rapid urbanization and physical mobility. Better educational facilities for girls changed the gender related role and as a result it affected the large and extended family that was replaced by the nuclear family structure. Jobs market offered more jobs to educated females and diminished their traditional dependency on family for marriage. This social and economic mobility changed the labour market as well as the marriage and divorce patterns. More and more opportunities and rights were given to the women who totally changed the socio-economic structure of the society. "Transition from traditionalism to modernity is reflected in three fields: decision-making in choosing the marriage partner, arena of choosing the marriage partner; factors of importance for harmony in the marital relationship. We also outline the changes in women's participation in productive work, in social and policy life and in education" (Tremayne, 2006).

Education has been viewed as an indicator of social modernization and all empowering institution liberating women from gender inequality and discrimination. Embedded in the longing for education for girls is also their economic and social

empowerment, and the lack of participation of women in the labour market is blamed on their lack of education (Ibid, 2006).

Modernization theorists point out that in societies that have undertaken industrialization and urbanization, parental arrangement has steadily given way to free choice and early marriage has been gradually replaced by late marriage. These new marriage patterns, together with other broad trends of family change such as conjugality, neo-local residence, and fertility decline, have been labeled as the demographic transition (Zang, 2005). However in some countries the present rate of cousin marriage appears to surpass those of the previous generation, possibly owing to greater numbers of relatives surviving to marriageable age and to the near universal presence of marriage in these societies (Bittles, 2008).

The prevalence of consanguineous marriage worldwide is declining, with marked reductions during the 20th century in the more industrialized countries of Western European, North America and in Japan. People's Republic of China with a population of 1.3 billion, legal proscription of first cousin marriage will also exert a considerable effect on global consanguinity. Large scale emigration of people from countries, where consanguinity is preferred, to North America, Western Europe and Oceania. In migrant community of UK origin Pakistani population, Turkish or Moroccan communities in Belgium, cousin marriage is still preferred because of their close attachment with the traditions of their home countries. Norwegian Pakistani community is the only case where a considerable decline has been observed (Bittles, 2010).

The younger generation of South Asians from different geographic locations and social backgrounds understand the traditional rivalry of West and East and apply that prism to understand the contradiction attached with love marriage in Western society with that of arranged marriage in Eastern society. As the younger generation are socialized from a traditional perspective and value everything including consanguineous marriage, which are Eastern. "The literature clearly suggests that in the midst of westernization the traditional definition of the situation pertaining to arranged marriages is being challenged slightly more by the younger generation of South Asians in the West, regardless of country of origin (Zaidi et al, 2002).

Farsoun (1970) studied the impact of modernization on the family system in Lebanon and found strong family-kin ties. Modernization had no effect on the traditional functioning of the family. In every social stratum, people gave importance to in based ties over other ties. He states that “most industrial and commercial firms were owned and run by relatives. Family members helped each other in finding jobs and acquiring promotions. Many families in Beirut lived next door to kin and saw them daily” (Farsoun, 1972).

In case of daughter marriage in Kuwaiti society, the parents' role has been changing too. Traditionally, a girl's parents usually made the final decision about her marriage with her symbolic approval. Women sometimes did not see their future spouses until the wedding day. Now there is no absolute authority of parents on their daughter marriage. Now parents seek the approval and consent for the marriage from daughter and daughter also convinces her parents for future husband. The Muslim family in Kuwait and elsewhere in the Arab and Islamic world has experienced significant change in recent years because of modernization, urbanization, and, to a lesser extent, industrialization. The nuclear family is not only in the majority but is also preferred. The ideology of the Western nuclear family system has influenced the traditional family structure in the educated upper middle and upper strata of the society (Al-Khakeb, 1985).

There are four major pushing forces for being married: (a) Few desire to maintain a “best friends” ties, with closeness, affection and intimacy (b) Little involved with each other in contrast to “best friends” while some couples are, however, comfortable and quite satisfied with their relationship, though they are not as intimate as other, yet they are find themselves pleased with each other, for they have some sense of sharing and caring. (c) Culture, habit, convenience, convention, children and economics are the pushing factors that form an altogether different group of marriages; they might show little resistance, or might be highly in conflict with negative effects. (d) Religious or may some very strong moral convections hold some marriages together (Ahmad, 1976).

Gottlieb studied the perception of Libyan men about educated women. College-educated girls appeal less to wife seekers than those with modest education, namely high school. This seems to derive from the social notion that women going that far in their

advanced schooling are relatively old. Incidentally, the typical age for marriageable girls is within the 16-18 years range. Highly educated women, people also argue, tend to be too domineering and independent, a quality still somewhat feared by Libyan males. For their part, highly educated girls are extremely cautious when it comes to their marriage. They scarcely accept to marry someone less educated than they are. In most of the marriages involving educated couples, therefore, husbands are better educated (Gottlieb, 1986).

Yabiko discussed three mechanisms which schooling can affect marriage timing in Chitwan. First, variable is young people's independence from parents and elders, second young people's temporary removal from the marriage market in search for jobs or education in cities, and thirdly young people's exposure to a pool of potential spouse and attractiveness as mates. The introduction of formal schooling takes the traditional socialization away from elders within the home and gives control to unrelated individuals such as teachers and peer groups outside the home. In such way the authority of the parents shrank and a considerable increase was observed in decision making ability of young educated class. In Chitwan, this may mean they shun the early marriage patterns of their parents' generation (Yabiku, 2004).

Similar changes were reported by Hefner Indonesian marriage pattern out modernity and urbanity. He linked such changes to new employment opportunities created by new economic and educational system. Now the criterion of prestige and status changed and well off people express their wealth by sending their children to the prestigious high schools and colleges (Smith-Hefner, 2005).

Moreover, Gottlieb opines that for young Javanese, the basic fundamental of modernity such as individual choice and freedoms so extensively exercised as the only expression of Western modernity and development over the backwardness and traditional. The traditional values and norms did not allow them to express their modernity and personal liberty as convention attaches negative religious connotation with western values. The message many pious Muslim youth deduce from the contest is that selfhood and sexuality should be not merely a matter of individual achievement and

autonomy, but part of a broader and notably less individualistic vision of religious piety and moral community (Gottlieb, 1986).

Better and superior educational and employment opportunities for women leads to late marriages among highly educated and professional women. Educational and employment opportunities provided greater opportunities and allowed interactions with members of the opposite sex and increase the likelihood to exercise her personal choice to select marital partner. The newly emerged ethos stands directly in contradiction of traditional practices of veiling and most and simple outlook of females. The traditional segregation of males and females, and preservation of pre-marital chastity were slowly and gradually replace by mixed gathering and pre-marital relations. Hefner states in this regard that: "Modernity in Muslim Indonesia has ushered in enhanced social mobility and increased opportunities for education and economic achievement. As in other parts of the Muslim world, however, in that modernity remains a space of intense moral and political contestation, not least of all as regards ideals of family and, especially, femininity" (Ibid, 2005).

Albania, being a Mediterranean society with Islamic and Christian traditions, had "honour and shame" as central concepts which regulated interpersonal relations. "Honour" is connected to respect, prestige, and reverence while "shame" has to do with disdain, contempt and disrespect. "Honour" in Albania was a quality which in the first place was associated with men and symbolized male superiority and supremacy. "Shame" on the other hand was seen as a female attribute. To defend the tribe's, the families, and one's own honour was a very important issue for men and constituted a background to blood vengeance (Givens & Hirschman).

Givens and Hirschman quoted Goode that in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, India, and China, a gradual decrease will happen when individuals begin to enjoy greater freedom in the process of mate selection. In modernizing societies, individuals are no longer restricted to the choices offered by an arranged marriage. Goode and many other modernists predicted change in family structure and marriage pattern due to industrialization and urbanization. But a growing number of literatures made available did not support the above claim of the social scientist. There is every reason to believe

that, especially in those cultures where the tradition of family has been strong, such as Brazil and other countries of Latin America, kinship will continue to play an important role in ordering social relations. The family is easily one of the most important institutions in Latin America. As the primary group in society it exerts a greater influence on the individual than does any other group.... The family and its role are of interest to us not only as a key social unit but also as one of the major influences shaping the nation's political and economic development (Givens & Hirschman, 1999).

Bittles and Black sum up the present ratio of cousin and consanguineous marriages worldwide. Presently 10.4 % of world represents consanguineous marriages. The percentage fluctuates from place to place in some areas and there is a greater concentration of consanguineous marriages in north and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and west, central, and south Asia. "In these regions even couples who regard themselves as unrelated may exhibit high levels of homozygosity, because marriage within clan, tribe, caste, or *biraderi* boundaries has been a long-established tradition. Nevertheless, current data indicate that some 10.4% of the 6.7 billion global populations are related as second cousins or closer ($F > 0.0156$)". Although there is general decline observed in the prevalence of consanguineous marriages but interestingly there are some areas which showed a considerable increase in such marriages from the preceding generation. The overall prevalence of consanguineous marriage seems to be declining; but in some countries the present-day rates of consanguinity exceed from those of the preceding generation (Bittles & Black, 2010).

Love, equality and same interests are factors which we connect with a modern view of marriage while good relations between all the members of the kinship group, fidelity, fertility and economy are more traditionally oriented ones. Love and fidelity are the outstanding and most important factors. Women value love highest and men fidelity (Danermark et al, 1989).

2.19. *Tarboorwali* (Agnatic Rivalry)

The key words and motivation in *Tarboorwali* are *nag*, shame (*ghairat*), prestige (*izzat*) and *Pakhto*. Conflict is based on the notion of cousin enmity and the desire to

maintain honour in relation to him. The rule of *Tarboorwali* conflict are known and respected by the concerned parties. As a *Pakhtun* you are without shame if you do not bow before a *Tarboor* (Ahmed, 1980).

First, *Tarboorwali* provides diacritically social behavior distinguishing *Pakhtun* and non-*Pakhtun*. *Tarboorwali* separates non-*Pakhtun* from ideal *Pakhtun* behavior and confers superior and inferior status in society. Second, *Pakhtun* carries with it various social and political advantages and implications. Political authority and leadership in society are seen as a monopoly of *Pakhtun*. The goals and prize cannot be defined in material terms. Yet what are the compulsions that drive men with such intensity that they are prepared to kill each other? The answers lie in the concepts of the *Tarboorwali* cousin syndromes, mostly based on the notions of honour: *saritob*, *ghairat* and *sharm* (Ibid, 1980).

Such particular cultural factors combine to place close agnatic collaterals in a perpetual relation of opposition and rivalry. This negative charge on their structural relationship is clearly recognized in *Yusufzai Pathan* kinship terminology. *Pathans* distinguish between Father, Mother, Father's Brother, and Mother's Brother, but classify Father's Sister and Mother's Sister together. The terms for the two kinds of uncle and for aunt are extended to first and second cousins of the parents as well. Sibling terms are extended to the children of all these persons, except to the children of Father's Brother, own or classificatory (*tre*), for whom there is a special term (*Tarboor*). A differentiation of kinds of 'siblings' may of course be expressed, but only by constructions such as 'aunt's son' (da tror zoe) or 'mother's brother's daughter' (da mama lur). Patrilineal parallel cousin is uniquely separated from all other cousins and siblings by a separate term. Furthermore, this term carries the subsidiary connotation of 'enemy' (cf. Morgenstierne 1927).

In a patrilineal system, there is a fusion of the interests of fathers and sons, of the father with his brothers and of these brothers with their sons, and by the same token with grandfather, grandfather's brothers, and their descendants, etc. In such fashion, a charter of unilineal descent becomes a charter for the fusion of interests and progressive creation of larger corporate groups along a gradient of collateral distance. This fusion of interests is situational; it implies identification in situations of conflict with those more closely

related by lineage bonds against those less related, or unrelated. Implicit in the framework of a lineage, then, are both identification and opposition, both fusion and fission. The opposition between near and distant collaterals, defined by their descent from two different ancestors on one level of segmentation, in one generation of the genealogy, is overridden in the case of outside threats by fusion in terms of the sibling bond which unites these two ancestors and defines a common interest for their descendants. The solidarity implicit in such a description of the political system is derived from the likeness of the groups concerned, and their ego-centric conception of rights and wrongs. The implied solidarity of groups is thus a mechanical solidarity (Barth, 1959).

Tarboorwali, institutionalized opposition between paternal cousins, is a consequence of a land tenure system structured genealogically. As a result, proximity in space is isomorphic with genealogical proximity in the patriline. Genealogical structuring and opposition holds throughout the Valley, so that individuals stand opposed to neighbors within a ward, wards opposed to other wards within a village, and villages opposed to neighboring villages according to genealogical distance within a district. Finally, the whole valley stands united against external opponents (Lindholm & Meeker, 1981).

Tarboorwali regularized the relationship of political block system. As in *Pakhtun* society his most dangerous enemy is his patrilineal parallel cousin and he always make alliance in opposition to cousin on the basis of ancient political principle “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”. But such enmity with cousin and such alliance formation are always situational and contextual one. Relations in bloc are very much fluid and changeable one. Personal strategy of an individual to maximization of profit always plays a pivotal role in the alliance formation. Obviously membership in a bloc is hardly fixed, and individuals can and do switch sides with enthusiasm whenever advantage is perceived. For instance, if one cousin is very successful in his political maneuverings, he will quite likely find his allied cousins joining his enemies to level him. The constant fluidity of party loyalties ends in a long-term balance of oppositions (Lindholm, 1981).

Thus, where friendly relations do exist, the proper term for such cousins is not used, and they are referred to as siblings by courtesy. Only unfriendly collaterals, one's relations are freely referred to as *Tarbooran*, father's brother's sons (Ibid, 1981).

The *Pashto* proverb: “no matter how far you go, you'll eventually return to your village” (“che ze ze no Abazai la ba raze”) insists on an ideology of *Pakhtun* identity being vested in its rural heartlands, as well as in *Pakhtun* villagers, who are said by many *Khan* and *Bibiane* to embody a purer form of *Pakhto*. The complex, village organization is shaped by the dominant role of landlords on whose hospitality, patronage and land ownership all other categories of villagers depend. *Gham-khadi* the ceremony to participate in marriage or funeral related rituals is the crux of *Pakhtun* social lives and one can judge the socio political status of an individual on the basis of how he upholds *Pakhtunwali* and how he manifest his *Pakhtunwali* through *Gham Khadi*. Many of the concepts characterizing *Pakhtunwali* (such as forms of hospitality, revenge, agnatic rivalry) are acted out in funerary and wedding events (*Gham-khadi*) (Ahmed, 2005).

Pakhtunwali prescribes proper behaviour. The violence of revenge is a major part of the code, but the code rests as well on traditions of hospitality for all passersby, and refuge to all who ask it, even if the guest is one's worst enemy. Honour lies not only in standing strong in battles with one's opponents, but also in courtesy and generosity. Certainly political manipulation for personal advantage, with the concomitant patterns of betrayal and violence, is a major part of Swati life, but even this is morally structured-so that betrayal may be expected but breaking the moral obligations of revenge does not occur. Amineh Ahmad states that: “*Pakhtunwali* is an 'ideal-type code' based on such principles as *badal* (revenge), *melmastia* (hospitality), *nanawatee* (refuge), *tor* (female honour), and *Tarboorwali* (agnatic rivalry)” (Ibid, 2005).

Banerjee (2000) in her renowned work “The Pathan Unarmed; Opposition & Memory in the North West Frontier” explains the social organization and dynamics of relationship between agnatic kins at the start of her work. The writer explains:

“The *Pakhtuns* associate themselves in to the small clans and sub-clans that are based on the size and extent of their population. Each group defines its membership shared decent through a patriline from a common male ancestor. The writer talks about the nature and dynamics of social conflict in *Pakhtun* society and argues that grouping of various level of hierarchy may come together to support one another and fight together depending upon the kin relationship of the protagonists. The alliances and groups follow the principals of segmentary opposition. The logic of the system can also be seen in the phenomenon of *Tarboorwali* that is enmity

of first cousins that is regarded by *Pakhtuns* as the most frequent cause of conflict” (Banerjee, 2000).

Not only in *Pakhtun* society but in all South Asian context identity is not derived from individual qualities rather every individual is collectively shared with parents, spouse, children and other kinsmen and even beyond that. Every individual member both male and female has important position in web of relation on the social matrix extended from local to national level. Kinship among *Pakhtuns* is typically conceptualized as condensed and multi-faceted. Such web of relation attach individual not only their close kin such as parents, children and siblings but also to a range of distant relatives and affines, usually connected through the marriages of female relatives. In village life it is *Gham-khadi* that determines ones status and prestige in that society and there is a moral obligation on *Khanan* and *Bibiane* to attend *Gham-khadi* of fellow villagers and close circle of relatives, and in this way a complex pattern of web of relationship is established. Each individual family member is bound to others by a pattern of reciprocal visiting. *Bibiane's* entry into a *Gham-khadi* circle, on marriage, commits them to a category of social relationship with other families in which *Gham-khadi* obligations subsume all other ties, as *Gham-khadi* and *tlal-ratlal* participants understand themselves to be performing an identity-making practice of '*Pukhto*' (Ahmed, 2005).

Chapter 3: AREA PROFILE

3.1. Name and Nomenclature of Mardan

The word *Mardan* is derived from the name of a prominent religious leader of the area *Pir Mardan Shah*. With passage of time a large surrounding area came to be known as *Mardan*. District Mardan was part of Peshawar valley under the famous Ghadahara Kingdom of Buddhist era for many centuries. It remains a part of Peshawar district till 1937 and the same year it was declared as an independent and separate district.

3.2. History

The area comprising of Mardan district was a part of the Peshawar valley, which was historically a part of the Gandahara civilization. After invasion by Alexander the Great, the area was brought into limelight and received world's attention. This area was widely travelled by the armies of Alexander who reached the Indus valley by adopting two routes, one direct from Khyber Pass and the other through Afghanistan's province of Kunar, later entering into Bajuar, Swat and Buner in 326 B.C. After the end of Greek reign the area came under the control of Chandra Gupta, who ruled the valley from 297 to 321 B.C. His grandson Ashoka the Great spread Buddhism to all corners of present Peshawar valley. The valley saw the resurgence of Brahmanism after the Greeks took over in the time of king Mehanda. Latter on the valley was ruled over by the Seythians and Indians respectively and retained control of the valley till the 7th century A.D (District Census Report, 1999).

In the beginning of 8th century Afghans started various expeditions to control some part of the valley under the ruler of Lahore at that time. With help of Gakkhars, the ruler of the territory between Indus and Jhelum Rivers compelled the Lahore ruler to surrender them hilly area to the West of Indus and South of the Kabul River. In the 10th century the Afghan king Sabuktgin defeated Hindu ruler, Raja Jaipal and area directly came in the control of Afghans. Sabuktgin's son Mahmud of Ghazni made seventeen attacks in this area and further extended his control towards the interior part of India. Ghazni dynasty was further consolidated by the proceeding kings. After the decline of

Ghazni another Afghan tribe Ghoris started penetration into the area, and through successive attacks seized the area in the 15th century. In 1505 the Mughal appeared on scene and the emperor Babar attacked the area through Khyber Pass. He set up Mughal Empire All over India. The Mughals defeated the *Pakhtun* king Abrahim Lodhi and snatched the reign of the government from him so there after *Pakhtun* never lost any opportunity to regain their lost kingdom from the Mughals. During the reign of emperor Aurangzeb the *Pakhtuns* revolted against him and the present *Pakhtun* areas emerged as independent territory. In 1738 the Afghans once again appeared on the political scene of India, and Peshawar valley including Mardan district was captured by the armies of Nadir shah from the Mughals.

After the Nadir Shah rule, the Sikh warlords appeared on the political scene of this part of the country. They conquered Attock in 1814 and extended their rule to the present Peshawar in 1818. Hari Singh Nalwa was appointed as the commander and ruler of the area but confine himself to Lahore. This area stayed under Sikh rule till 1849. Control of the Sikh rule over area became after second Sikh war and the British emerge as a new power on the horizon of the sub-continent. When it came under the direct rule of British, Major Lawrence was appointed as the first Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. Since then Peshawar remained as an administrative district under the Punjab government. Peshawar valley remained under the administration of Punjab till 1909, and after that it become a district of frontier and in 1937 Mardan is bifurcated from Peshawar district and became an independent district.

3.3. Important / Historical Places

3.3.1. Shahbaz Garhi

This Buddhist site is situated on Mardan Swabi road at a distance of 12 kilometer from Mardan city. Buddhist traditions indicate that *Shahbaz Garhi* was the site of an ancient city of Varusha. It began to develop into an important Buddhist culture in the third century BCE. After Ashoka selected *Shahbaz Ghari* for the location of his famous Edicts (Samad, 2011).

During the Kushan period, the trade route passing through Shahbaz Ghari acquired increased importance due to the linking of the Peshawar valley to Xinjiang through Swat and Khunjrab pass. As a result Shahbaz Ghari developed into an important commercial and cultural center in this period. It became a regular stop for all Chinese Buddhist scholar monks, who travelled on this route between 4th to 8th century CE (Ibid, 2011).

Early Buddhist traditions linked Shahbaz Ghari with important events during previous lives of *Buddha* donated a white elephant in charity here. Shahbaz Ghari emergence as an important commercial and cultural city during the Kushan period, witnessed construction of two stupas on the outskirts of the town to commemorate the events pertaining to *Buddha* previous lives.

Archaeological excavations at various sites were carried out the Japanese Archaeological Mission, which unearthed remains of buildings with typical Gandhara architecture.

3.3.2. Kashmir Ghar

Kashmir Ghar is another historical site situated on the eastern part of Katlang near village Babozai. Small broken sculptures have been found and preserved near the walls of this monastery. It means that once Hindu Pundit worship here. There is also a swimming pool which seems to be ashnon a sacred bathing place for Hindus.

3.3.3. Jamal Garhi

Jamal Garhi another Buddhist site is situated at 13 kilometer from Mardan city on main Katlang road. It is situated in the middle of Takht Bhai and Shahbaz Garhi at equal distance of 12 kilometers from each place.

This site was first explored by a foreign company named Sappers and Miners. The Kharoshti inscription was found on the antiques discovered from this site, having main round stupa. A famous Chinese pilgrim Mr. Haven Sang, who visited this area in 7th century say nothing about this stupa, hostel, main stupas, courtyard of many stupas and secret wall. The Buddhist inscription discovered from this site is preserved in the

Peshawar Museum. From this monastery the Kharoshti inscription also discovered on which the figure 46 has been written. In 1836 Sikh General had made it Gandapharas. Kahamghum also explored this monastery in 1876. Later on in 1910-11 it was again excavated and helped further.

3.3.4. Sawal Dher

This historical site is located at a distance of five kilometer in the south western part of Jamal Garhi. Most of the remains and sculptures of this monastery are preserved in the Lahore Museum. The present Sawal Dher village is situated in the ancient city Ghandahara civilization.

3.3.5. Takht Bhai

Takht Bhai is one of the main Buddhist site located on main Mardan Malakand highway at a distance of 15 kilometers from the main Mardan city. It is considered as one of the ancient Buddhist monasteries in the historical Ghandhara district. According to the oral history of the people the word *Takht Bhai* derived from two word *Takht* means thrown and *Bhai* means water in Persian language. The people of the area believe that it was named after the natural spring located on the left side of the historical site. According Dr Luca Maria Olivieri Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, it is one of the oldest site which is still exist in the original form since its inception in the 1st century CE, this view is further seconded by the important inscriptions discovered by the site, bearing the name of Gondophares (20-46 CE). Gondophares was a Parthian king of Suren house, from Sakasran, or sistan who defeated the roman forces in the battle of Carrhae, in today's Turkey, in 53 BCE, where 20,000 Romans were killed and 10,000 captured” (Khaliq, Dawn news, June 2nd 2014)¹².

¹² www.dawn.com/news/1185519



Figure 1: Source Dawn News Paper

After the death of Gondophares, Takht Bhai came under the first Kushan king, Kujula Kadphises and remained under the Kushan dynasty till the 7th CE. Due to architectural significance and serenity of its location, make it one of the ideal places for the tourists.

3.3.6. Sari Behlol

The Sari Behlol monastery which is situated on a mount is 10 kilometer away from main Mardan Malakand highway. Prominent archeologists Dr Spooner and Dr. Arl-Strain, placed it one of the precious assets of Gandahara Art. The Peshawar replete with the sculptures discovered from Sari Behlol monastery. In the opinion of archaeologists due to sudden fire burning here the sculpture remained preserved. Coins were also found from this site.

Sahri Behlol was a major ceremonial and religious center during the peak period of the Gandhara Civilization. There was a large stupa on the city mound itself, which was constructed by Ashoka in the honour of Buddhist saint. A large number of Buddhist sangharamas and stupas were located all around the city. The archaeological site of Sahri Behlol and the Buddhist monuments around the city were extensively explored by D.B.

Spooner in 1907 and by Aurel Stein about a decade later. The excavations yielded a large number of Buddhist sculptures, most of which are presently housed in the Peshawar valley (Samad, 2011).

3.4. Formal Administrative and Justice System

The formal court in district Mardan is a part of administrative division of courts in Pakistan. Chaudhary has described the division of courts in Pakistan as follows:

The whole country is administratively divided into provinces and each province is subdivided into divisions. A division has districts subdivided into tehsils. Each *tehsil* is divided into *qanunga* circles, a *qanunga* circle into *patwar* circles and a *patwar* circle into *mauzaz* (revenue estates). At the *tehsil* level comes the *thana* (police station) and each *thana* covers many villages. The *thana* is the lowest unit of the official system of justice administration” (Chaudhary, 1999).

The administrative setup of *Mardan* is just like any other settled district of the country. District of Mardan is divided into three sub-divisions i.e. tehsil *Mardan*, tehsil Takht Bhai and tehsil Katlang. The district coordination Officer (DCO) stationed at *Mardan* city supervises the activities of all departments in the district. His major concern is the maintenance of law and order situation in the district this is because; he functions as a District Magistrate also. He also looks after the land records in his capacity of district collector. He is in-charge of district record room and district treasury. Three Assistant Coordinating Officers (ACOs) one each at Mardan tehsil, Takht Bhai tehsil and Katlang tehsil work under the DCO. The Assistant Coordinators decide revenue and criminal cases of a certain nature at the level of each sub-division. They also look after the law and order situation. Each sub-division has a revenue set-up of a *Tehsildar* and *Naieb Tehsildar* who have a number of *Gardawars* and each *Gardawar* looks after the work of several *Patwaries* of his *Gardawar* circle. The *Patwaries* are supposed to maintain and update the land record of their *Halqa* (defined territory).

In *Mardan* the judicial system is based on the Criminal Procedure and the Civil Procedure Codes as in most of the country. The District and Session Judge assisted by a senior civil Judge stationed at *Mardan* and hear cases of civil and criminal nature. In criminal cases a public prosecutor contests the cases on the behalf of the state. Appeals

from the Session Court are heard in the High court Peshawar. For under-trial prisoners a judicial lock-up is available at *Mardan*.

However, the region being tribal in nature still holds the traditions of *Jirga*¹³ system and many serious issues are mostly resolved by sittings of the elders of the area. Those cases instituted in the court are finally settled by the *Jirga* because *Jirga*, which works in accordance with the traditions of the people, is capable to reach at consensual solution of the dispute.

3.4.1. Police Department

District Police come under the direct control of District Police Officer (DPO). He supervises and controls the police force in maintaining law and order situation in the district. He is also responsible to supervise the process of investigation of cases of criminal nature. He is assisted by three sub-divisional Police Officers, one each in sub-division Mardan and Takht Bhai and Katlang. There are total 18 Police stations in district Mardan. The police department has a wireless communication system, which is extended to all the police stations and fitted in police vehicles.

3.5. Location, Area and Boundary

The district lies from 34 05 to 34 32 north latitude and 71 48 to 72 25 east longitudes. It is bounded on the north by district *Buner* and adjacent area of *Malakand* division, on the east by *Swabi* and some part of *Buner* district, on the south by *Nowshera* district and on the west by district *Charsada* and some part of the *Malakand* division. The total area of the district is 1632 square kilometers (Population census report 1999)¹⁴.

3.6. Physical Features / Topography

Geographically Mardan district may mainly be divided into two parts, North Eastern hilly area and South Western plain. The northern side of the district is surrounded

¹³ A council of elders responsible for settling of disputes in *Pakhtuns* society

¹⁴ GOP (1999). District Census Report of Mardan. Population Census Organization Statistic Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad

by the hills. District is lacking high mountains but there are some hills with a considerable height such as *Pajja* or *Sakra*, which are, 2056 meters high and *Garo* or *Pato that* are 1816 meters high. The Southern part of the district consisting of fertile land famous for cultivation of wheat, tobacco, and sugarcane. Historically the fertile plains were once a flowing lake but later converted into the plain area by earth load and silt surrounding hills. From the foot hills the plain runs down at first with a steep slope which carries the rain water to the lower levels and ultimately drops into the river *Kabul*¹⁵.

3.6.1. Rivers and Streams

All the natural streams of the district flow from north to the south and ultimately drain into famous river *Kabul*. All the small streams such as Baghiari stream from Sudham region and Muqam stream join the mother of all streams, i-e *Kalpani*, and an important stream of the district that originated from the *Baizai* region and runs down toward South to join river *Kabul*.

3.6.2. Climate

Due to the geographic outlay the summer season is exceptionally hot. An unexpected rise in temperature is usually observed during the month of June till August. The highest temperatures are observed during the month of July and August. The area receives intermittent expected uneven rainfall that is why the canal system caters to the basic need of water for growing crops in the plain areas. Meanwhile the dry and pastured area depends on rainy water though out the year. The temperature starts declining in the month of September onward. December and January are the coldest month of the area where temperature sometimes falls to zero degree Celsius.

There is uneven rainfall throughout the year. July, August, December and January are the months which experienced more rainfall as compared to the other months. August is the month in which frequent rainfall occurred, which in the rest of the month unpredictable rainfall occurred. Same is the case the prevalence of the humidity, highest

¹⁵ It is the name of the river coming from *Kabul* capital of Afghanistan and joins the Indus River at district Attock.

humidity is observed in the month of December while in the rest of the months the ratio of humidity remained low. (DCR, 1999).

3.6.3. Flora

The present flora of the irrigated areas is outlandish. There are very limited forests areas in mountain ranges of *Rama* and *Babuzai* and most of the trees are grown on the bank of fertile land for making as supplementary income through the sale of fuel wood. Shesham trees grown on the bank of entire length of the canal are property of the government and local people are strictly prohibited to cut such trees. The forest department guards keep a constant vigil on the protection of government assets, trespassing of land and any possible damage to property. The common trees are mesquite, ber, different species of acacias and jand. The most common shrubs are tarmariax articulate, spands, akk, small red poppy, spera, pueghambrgul, drab grass, eamelthrol and pohli chaulai etc.

3.6.4. Fauna

The district has a variety of fauna as leopard cat, Black bear, brown monkey, jackal, wild goat and pheasants. A species of wild goat which are on the brink of distinction are found in the mountain ranges of *Rama* and *Babuzai*. This species become distinct globally from the world, and the world life department has banned the hunting of such goat in the area to preserve the species from complete extinction from the world.

3.6.5. Agriculture

Mardan is known for its rich fertile land and the best agriculture area in the country. Mardan provides the best quality of sugarcane and virgin tobacco in the country. Sugarcane is used for the production of sugar and locally made raw sugar called *Gur*. Wheat and rice are the other cash crops grown by the local farmers. Mustard and millet are grown on the dry land where no irrigation water is available. Apart from that, different types of vegetables and fruits are also cultivated in some part of the district.

3.6.6. Irrigation

Mardan district is replete with water resources in every aspect. The main source of irrigation is the canals system which stretches all over the district. The Upper Swat canal irrigates, mostly Mardan district and the lower Swat canal irrigates south western part of the district. Besides that irrigation are supported done by tube wells and channels from various surrounding streams in the vicinity.

3.7. Industry

A small industrial estate is situated on main Nowshera road in district Mardan. Initially 66 industrial factories were established by the government, presently only 36 are in working condition and the rest have been closed. Mardan is rich in sugar cane, tobacco, poplar and shesham wood. There is a lot of industrial activity for the production of sugar and manufacturing of cigarettes. In 1997-1998 there were 77 industrial unites of sugar, tobacco, match, furniture, marble, flour mills, steel industries, aluminum goods and hand crafts etc. (Smeda report, 1999).

3.7.1. Trade and trade centers

Sugar is produced on large scale at Mardan, *Takht Bhai* and *Katlang*, which is supplied to other parts of the country. Premier sugar mill of Mardan is one of the largest such facilities in Asia. The trading center of sugar and tobacco are situated at *Rustam*, *Shahbaz Garhi*, *Mardan*, *Takh Bhai*, *Shergarh* and *Hathian*.

3.8. Communication

The main means of transport are roads. There is a good network of metaled and undetailed roads in the district. District, tehsil headquarters and all important towns are connected with roads. There are 351 kilometers of metaled roads in the district. The condition of existing roads improved tremendously in the previous government of ANP. They have connected all villages to Mardan city with the construction of new network of roads.

Pakistan railways serve only a part of the district. The district headquarters Mardan is linked by branch railway line with Dargai, Malakand protected area, charsadda and Nowshera. On first of January, 1901, a narrow gauge railway line known as the Nowshera Dargai Branch line connecting with the foot of Malakand Pass was opened. This was converted into broad gauge in 1921. The important railway stations on this railway line are Gujjar Garhi, Takht Bhai and Hathian.

There are 127 post offices, one telegraph office, 14694 telephones connections and 1156 small exchange connection numbers in Mardan (DCR, 1999). Introduction of Mobile phone technology is getting roots and now all most 90% of the people use mobile phones.

3.9. Ethnicity and Tribes

Mardan district is mainly inhabited by the Yousafzai *Pakhtuns* but the *Lundkhwar* valley has sizeable *Khattak* population. The founder of Yousafzai tribe in the present yousafzai land was Malik Ahmed Khan Yousafzai who was born in 1460 in Afghanistan. All the prominent elders of Yousafzai tribe were brutally killed by the Mughal king and the other were banished from Afghanistan. They entered into Peshawar valley in the under the leadership of the Malik Ahemd Khan. In 1510 AD Malik Ahmed Khan attacked Malakund and defeated the ruler of that area. They further expanded their rule to surrounding Swat area and ultimately defeated Sultan Owais the ruler of the Swat in 1515 AD. The Thana of Swat was declared the capital of Yousafzai land. In 1520 Dalazak the local inhabitants of the area, and Dalazak's army was defeated by the arm forces of Ahmed Khan in the decisive battle and first State of Yousafzai were established with name of *Pakhtunkhwa* in 1520 AD.

The other main tribe of Mardan is *Khattak*. The *Khattaks* trace their decent from *Lukman*, surname *Khattak*, son of *Burhan* and grandson of *Karran*. The *Khattaks* prominent sardar was Shahbaz Khan who exercised political influence in Mughal court, and he fought against *Yousafzai* to show his allegiance to the Mughals. After the death of Shahbaz Khan his son Khushal Khan Khattack was appointed a sardar by the Mughal regime but he developed differences with Mughal emperor Aurangzib, and tried to mobilize all *Pakhtun* tribes against the Mughal regime. For greater interest of all *Pakhtun*

tribes he made peace with *Yousafzai* tribe. Historically some of Khattaks migrated to Mardan district and permanently settled there.

After the construction of Upper and Lower Swat canals from river swat in the British era, the Mohmand tribe migrated to district Mardan as tenants and peasants workers. Z.A Bhutto during his power (1972-1977) introduced reforms that encouraged them to claim the ownership of the land they were cultivating and harvesting. A sizeable number of Syeds, Mians, Afridis and Gujjars have permanent abode in district Mardan.

3.10. Village Profile / Locale of the Study

3.10.1. Name and Nomenclature

According to Safdar Khan a local landlord and a retired government officer no authentic information is available regarding the nomenclature of *Toru* by any Pakistani writer. But according to an Afghan writer Mohammad Amin Khugianay, who cited that a general in Alexander army by name of *Torees* felt sick during the expedition and stayed here in the present *Toru* area which later on was named after him. With the passage of time the word *Torees* corrupted into the present name *Toru*¹⁶.

There is another nomenclature, according to which some people narrate that the word *Toru* is derived from the word *Tor saran* (black grazing field), as the local inhabitants Dalazak a *Pakhtun* tribe that lived around 510 A.D used to graze their buffalo on the grassy land over here. That is why the *Tor saran* took the name on and become known as *Toru*. The majority of the people of the *Toru* rejected this claim of *Tor saran* of *Dalazak*¹⁷.

When this researcher selected the topic of cousin Marriage, agnatic rivalry and modernity among *Pakhtuns*, the village *Toru Daftar* was selected for two reasons. First a sizeable number of landed gentry lived here and marriages with cousins were very common, second it was manageable size of community for participant observation an anthropological technique for data collection.

¹⁶ A local landlord and retired government officer who has keen interest in the history of *Toru* shared these views with researcher during the field stay in the locale.

¹⁷ This nomenclature was shared by Safdar Khan during the interview with researcher.



Figure 2: The Havali of Nawab of *Toru*, the former ruler of the area before partition of Pakistan and India, 1947. ((Source: Author)

3.10.2. History of *Toru*

During Alexander the Great's military adventure his General *Torees* in 326 BC stayed here and set up this village near the present *Toru Dheray*¹⁸. With the passage of many centuries the area was conquered by the Afghan tribes. In 200 A.D the area was overtaken by Raja Wart and Raja Bheti from Brahman dynasty (Toru, 2012)¹⁹.

¹⁸ A mud mound situated at elevated ground

¹⁹ Toru, Sheri Farzand (2012). *Tawarekhe Toru: Sarzamini Uloom (Bukhra Sani)*. An unpublished book. Quarashi bookshop, Peshawar.

In 501 the Mardan belt was captured by Dalazak tribe and they ruled over it with the result many other Afghan tribes also started building their residences. It said that natural calamities destroyed this area completely.

In 725 A.D with the spread of Islam in this region, the Hindus and Afghan inhabitants of the area embraced this religion. By 740 the old name *Torees* was replaced by present name Toru. In 772 the people of the area revolted against Islam and started their Hindu practices of preaching idols again. There is biblical type of story, that Almighty Allah destroyed the people of this area through big moussees as a holy indignation²⁰.

In 1102 this *Dheray* was established again and this time it was named as *Torees* the second. The people of the area practiced various religions yet lived with harmony with each other. There was mosque for the Muslim and *Mandir*²¹ and *Dharamsala*²² for the Hindus and Sikhs in the same vicinity.

In 1620 a prominent leader and pious person from the *Ranra Zai* tribe situated in *Dargai Bara Baz Dara*, migrated to *Dehray* and it was named as *Dheray Hasan Khan* after his name, and he was chosen the Sardar of the area both by Hindus and Muslims.

The famous legends of local love story Adam Khan and Durkhani are also buried here. Adam Khan was the son of Sardar Hasan Khan. The people of the area especially the young lovers used to visit the mausoleum of Adam Khan and Durkhani for their *manath*. The Mausoleum of Hasan Khan is also situated here in this *Dheray*. His Mausoleum is famous by the name of Shal Gazi Baba (20 yard stretched tomb)²³. This *Dheray* was completely washed away by the floods somewhere in 1680 and the people migrated to the present *Toru* village.

²⁰ Story narrated by Zakir khan a local landlord and government officer, during the interview with researcher in the locale.

²¹ A *Hindus* temple where they worship gods and idols.

²² A place, where Sikhs meet regularly to sing praises of Lord and to discuss matter of public concerns.

²³ Oral history shared by one of the respondent during the discussion of historical importance of the village.



Figure 3: The historical *Toru Dheray* established by General Torees of Alexander’s Army, it was also called *Yonan Sani* in the literature. (Source Author)

3.10.3. Religious history of the area

As the area was originally inhabited by the General Torees who accompanied Alexander the Great’s army and many other, the people of the area therefore started practicing their Greek religion and customs. After many centuries when Raja Kanishk became the ruler of the area, so he and his predecessor converted the people to Buddhism.

Later the people started practicing Judaism and then Christianity spread in the area. After that when the Buddhist Rajas emerged on the rural scene of the area they once again converted people to Buddhism. Between 8th to 12th centuries the people were simultaneously practicing Islam and Hinduism. After 12th century with the advent of religious saints, their selfless preaching irrespective of any religious affinity and afghan warriors all the people converted to Islam (Toru, 2012).



Figure 4: Remains of Hindus population, before partition a sizeable number of *Hindus* were living in *Toru*.
(Source Author)

Hafiz Mohammad Idrees from *Toru* was a thorough gentleman and a man of great learning. He was the first scholar who translated holy Quran into *Pashto* language. *Toru* was famous as Yonan (Greece) and was also prominent as Bokhara sani (second to Bokhara) because it was considered as the center of knowledge and intellect during the Mughal and British eras. A.A.Khanum was a school teacher from *Toru* who wrote the holy Quran, and that handwritten Quran is a master piece of ultimate devotion and dedication. The contribution of Mohammad Idrees and A.A.Khanum shows the importance of religious education in this area.

In Mughal reign *Toru* was famous for Afghani *Polao* (rice) and yogurt (*dahi*), and Emperor Jahangir mentioned that in his account when he visited *Toru* and this was narrated by Zakir Khan one of respondent.

All the inhabitants of the village are Muslims now. They show great love and affection for Islam, and participate in various religious rituals and practices. Ideally they accept that each and every action of life should be changed according to the principles of

Islam. But, whatever they practically perform is also equated with the interpretation of Islam. This phenomenon which emerged as a result of nomadic behaviour can be observed in the terms of trivial traditions.

Islam and Islamic values are great tradition of the *Pakhtuns*. Other daily rituals and practices are necessary results of such belief. One of the main *Khankhe*²⁴ sub sect also believes in “*Pir Faqir*”²⁵ as the religious and spiritual leaders, which is part of the little tradition. This is the only sub sect of *Khankhels* who give their due share of inheritance to daughters and sisters under the spiritual influence of saintly figure.

3.10.4. Location of the village

Toru village comprises of several *Bandas* (small village in the outskirts of main village) which stretches over several hundred hectares of land. On the east of *Toru*, a historical Buddhist site *Ghari Kapora* is situated. On West Shiekh Maltoon town the only planned urban town of Mardan is located and, on the North the locale shares boundary with District Nowshera and on the South Mardan city is situated.

3.10.5. Population of the village

Total population of the union council *Toru* is approximately 15000 and the numbers of households are 2000. The main landed gentry is *Nawab* family (the ruling family who ruled over this area before the partition of subcontinent) and *Khankhel* their cousins. The total land of the area is 12550 acres (Field data provided by Secretary of Union council *Toru*)²⁶.

²⁴ *Khankhel* is the sub caste of *Yousafzai* tribe of the village. It is the only landed gentry of the area.

²⁵ Saintly figure relationship with the disciples. The disciples believe in the spiritual guidance of saintly figure in every important event of their lives.

²⁶ Secretary of the Union Council keeps the official record of population, landholding, trade, birth etc.

Table 1 Landholding in Acres by each Caste of Union Council

Caste	Household	Landholding in Acres	Percentage
Nawab	30	8000	66.7
Khankhel	80	2000	16.7
Ammokhel	120	1000	8.3
Zaidkhel	45	250	2.09
Sadikhel	40	400	3.3
Malakkhel	40	200	1.7
Mosakhel	25	200	1.7
Bosikhel	20	100	.83
Syed/Miangan	65	400	3.3
	465	12550	100

3.10.6. Language

All the inhabitants of the village are *Pakhtun*; by ethnicity and *Pashto* is the common language used for communication in everyday life. It is the mother tongue of the village people. Being Yousafzai dominated area all the people speak the hard Yousafzai dialect. The educated people of the village can speak Urdu and English languages also; however this linguistic facility is only confined to the educated landed gentry mostly.

3.10.7. Ethnic groups

3.10.7.1. Khankhel

Khankhels trace their lineage from Dalil Khan the elder son of Jalal Khan. Jalal Khan traces his descent from Faith Mohammad Khan son of Maluk Khan the sardar and Khan of Ammokhel.

Figure 5: Genealogy of the Descendants of *Khankhel*

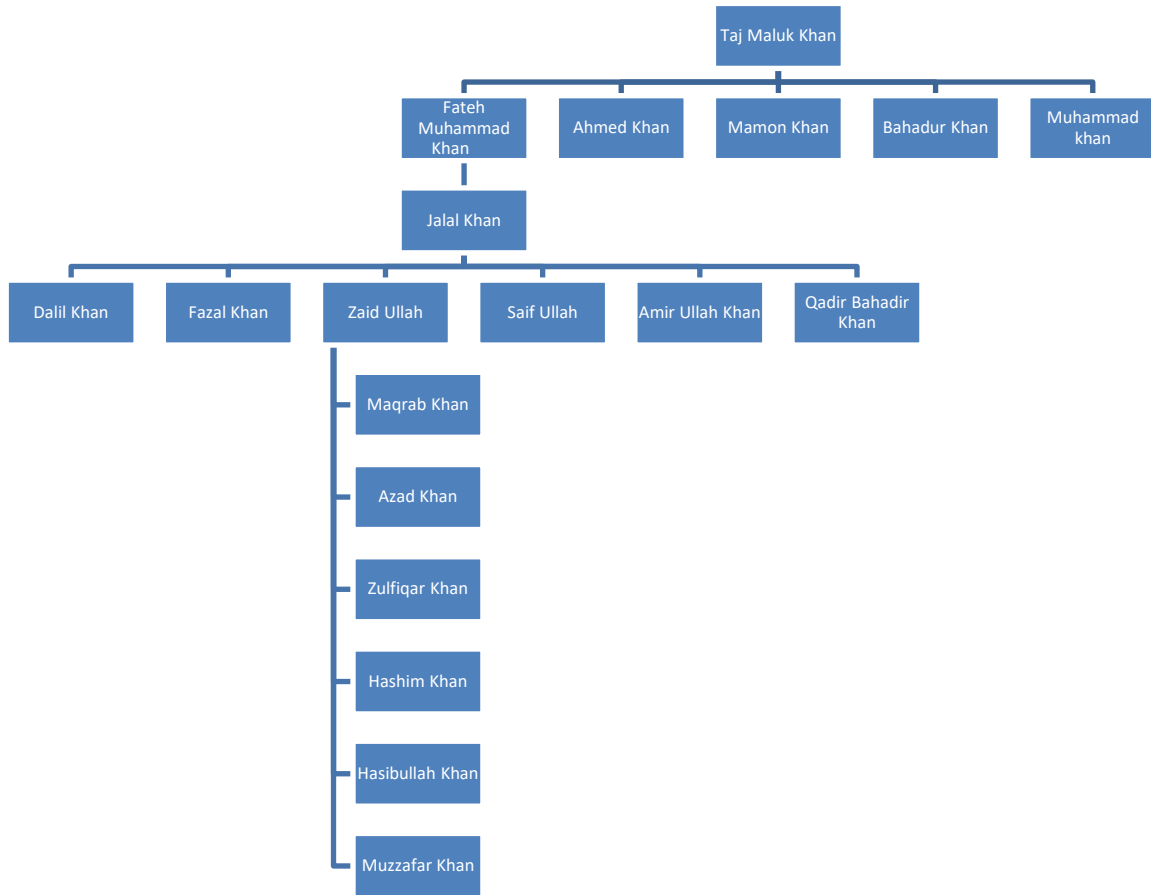




Figure 6: The Mausoleum of Hasan Khan Baba, the forefather of *Khankhel* (Source Author)

3.10.7.2. Syeds

In the village there were a total of nine households belonging to Syeds, the descendants of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). The Syeds of this area are the grandchildren of famous saint Hazrat Shiekh Rahamkar aka Kaka sahib RA of district Nowshera. The people of this area were famous for inter feuds and factionalism in order to establish law an order and peace in the area the elders invited Syeds to settled in their area. As the people revered the Syeds it was taken as granted the inter feuds would find a quick resolution or will hesitate in fighting with each other in the presence of Syeds.

3.10.7.3. *Mohmand and Dirogi*

Mohmand tribesmen migrated from Mohmand agency to settled areas of Mardan for the purpose of cultivation and as a daily wagers. Similarly a sizeable number of

*Derogi*²⁷ from the district Dir have also settled in the locale. They are actually doing farming on sharing or on daily wages basis. They also look after the cows and buffaloes of Khankhels in their fields and *Dera*.

3.10.8. Dress Pattern

The most popular traditional dresses are *Shalwar qameez*²⁸, *Charsadwali saplay*²⁹ waistcoat and all season caps which cover their heads. Majority of the population wear *Shalwar qameez* which is neat and pressed usually. Leather shoes made by the local cobbler are also a common wear. Wearing pants, jeans and shirt are considered very awkward and youngsters also don't put on it due to social pressure.

Most interestingly the men wear *saddar*³⁰ in both summer and winter. In summer it is of thin material while in winter it is some sort of woolen stuff. The men don't like to wear jewelry but prefer adorning. Wrist watches and finger rings made from silver with some stone embedded in it. The *Pakhtun* culture does not recommend jewelry for men. It is considered the prerogative of women to wear jewelry and other ornaments. The famous phrase in the village is "*aslaha da saro zawar de*" [The jewelry of men is weapons] is a common quotation in the village.

3.10.9. Education

People are well educated as compared to other surrounding villages. As the economic condition of the people is better as being landed gentry, so they spent a handsome amount on the education of their children. Second due to *Tarboorwali* phenomenon the people compete with their agnates for the acquiring of higher grade and providing quality education to their children. The young generation of *Khankhel* is mostly enrolled in Toru Degree College and government post graduate college Mardan, while some are enrolled in Peshawar University and other are in Abdul Wali Khan

²⁷ *Diropi* is a common term used for all those people who migrated from district Dir into *Toru* village.

²⁸ A traditional shirt and loose trouser used by the *Pakhtun* as a dress.

²⁹ A sandal type of men footwear made in district Charsadda, is a common men footwear in the *Pakhtun* society.

³⁰ *Saddar* is two meter of unstitched cloth; kept by the men on their shoulder. It is considered an inseparable part of manly dress in the *Pakhtun* society.

University Mardan respectively. The girls' education is also gaining momentum and with the establishment of high school and Intermediate College the enrollment of the girls is increasing.

Table 2 Educational institutions at Union Council level

Educational institution	Boys	No of students	Girls	No of students
Primary	10	900	14	1100
Govt High School (SSC Level)	2	2300	2	1900
Private High School (SSC Level)	1	1500	--	--
Private Intermediate	1	100	1	220
Degree college	1	500	--	--

The educational facilities are considerable. In union council *Toru* there are 27 primary schools 10 for the boys and 14 for the girls. The numbers of student enrolled in boys' schools are 900 and in the girls' schools the enrollment stands 1100. There are two government high school for the boys and two girls' high school. The number of enrolled students in government high schools is 2300 while in private high school the number of enrolled students is 1900. Majority of the well to do families send their children to Mardan city for higher quality of education.

There is one intermediate collage for the girls but no degree collage for the girls in the locale where they can continue their higher studies. The only degree college of the union council is located in the study locale where 500 students are enrolled in various classes.

Apart from that there is one public intermediate college and five madrassas in the union council premises.



Figure 7: Government high School *Toru* (Source Author)

Table 3 Respondent's education level

Education of respondents	No of respondents	Percentage
Illiterate	8	12.12
Upto primary	3	4.55
Upto middle	4	6.06
Upto Matric	24	36.36
Upto intermediate	12	18.18
Upto Graduation	10	15.15
M.A/ professional	5	7.58
Total	66	100

All illiterate respondents were mostly 50 or more than 50 years old and all of them were either tenants or presents.

3.10.10. Basic Facilities

The village enjoyed all kinds of amenities though these were not common in past. To start with for example the telephone facility has been introduced long ago in the village. Electricity had been provided to the village way back in 1930. Now there is no single household which has not installed an electricity meter. The *Sui* gas facility had recently been given to the village. Now this facility is almost extended every household who can afford to pay the utility bill. The village had a hospital, post office, internet café and water supply scheme.

The village is connected to city *Mardan* through main road. The local transportation facilities include rickshaws, pickups and Datsons cars. There is no government owned transportation system. A considerable number of landed gentry had their own cars for travel.

In nutshell we can say that the village had all basic civic facilities such as gas, electricity, water supply, hospital, post office, telephone exchange, internet café, transport and play grounds. There was no notable industry except one carpet center.

3.10.10.1. Food Habits

Food is consumed three times a day and the timings are fixed. The breakfast is served early in the morning right after the fajr prayer to the male members who then go out for their routine work. Lunch (*da garmi doday*) is taken at 12 noon (*dolas baji*) mostly, and dinner immediately after sunset. Cooking and kitchen is totally a female domain. Simple food is preferred and most people are fond of mutton and beef. In summers, *lassi* is taken as a cold drink. People used curd and bread commonly. *Saag* (spinach), pulse and vegetables were most liked dishes for lunch and dinner. Guests are treated very ceremoniously. They are offered mutton, chicken and salad mostly coupled

with sweet dish at the end. *Manchay*³¹ and *Halva*³² are common sweet dishes. The bread is prepared in homes and relatively thick flat *naan* is made from wheat. Fast food is rare in the village. Tea is the most common drink and is compulsory item with every meal. Besides this tea is most common hot drink in family or other meetings or during visit to *bazaar* or in a gathering. Usually people take tea after every two or three hours especially if they are sitting outside in bazar or in a *Hujra*. Smoking is also common among males.

3.10.10.2. Economic condition

Most of the people the village serve in education department as teachers, technical staff and peons, as in health department as doctor, medical technician and clerks in health department, and supervisory staff in the local government department. Some of the educated class of the village found jobs in NGOs as well. The other majour source of income is the agriculture sector. All most all *Khankhels* own a little or large amount of land that makes agriculture as their most common source of income from its cultivation. People also have their own business and shops etc. Some are salaried and other are daily wagers. The salaried class constructs their new homes after retirement usually from the service benefits. Some people of the locale are in Gulf and other countries and they sent remittances to the families left behind.

Table 4 Household income of respondents per month

Monthly income	Frequency N 66	Percentage
10,000-20,000	18	27.28
20001-30000	18	27.28
30001-40000	12	18.18
40001-50000	06	9.09
50001-60000	12	18.18
Total	66	100

³¹ Locally made noddle's of wheat, which are usually served the guests in the village.

³² A sweet dish made of flour and sugar.

The table indicates that more than 50 % of respondents had their monthly income ranges from 10,000-30000, while 18.18 % had 50001-60000 income, which shows that a pretty good number of people incomes are between 50000 to 60000 per month.

3.10.10.3. Profession

More than 50 % population of village is directly related to agriculture. The government jobs are most preferred after agriculture. Many of the villagers are shopkeepers while others have commonly adopted driving of vans, rickshaws, Datsun cars and buses as their profession. Besides the less literate or not so well off are engaged in trades like manual labour people have other profession of manual like labour, tailoring, vegetables growers, cobblers, barbers, artisans and musicians. These tasks are done by occupational castes as a result of social stratification and division of labour.

3.10.11. Agriculture

Khankhel is the only landed gentry of the village so they are strongly attached to agriculture since generations. They occupied the area in the outskirts of *Toru* because of fertile land. Since the land is capable of sustaining abundant plant growth coupled with well-developed irrigation system, the result is that the area is known for the high quality wheat, sugarcane, tobacco, potato, tomato, carrots, onions, cauliflower yield and a great variety of green chilies. The *Gur*³³ of the village is very popular for its purity in the entire region. There are many *Gur* making factories in the village. The main portion of the agricultural land is canal irrigated and is ideal of cash and food crops. However there are some areas rain fed.

³³ Raw form of sugar, made at local level, used in black tea and green tea.

3.10.11.1. Occupation

Agriculture is the largest employer of the village as shown in the following table;

Table 5 Respondents Occupation Status

Occupation	Qoom				Frequency	Percentage
	Khankhel	Mohmand	Syed	Diroji		
G.S	14	1	1	0	16	24.24
DWI	0	4	4	2	10	15.15
Self-employed	3	2	3	3	11	16.67
Agriculturist	25	0	0	0	25	37.88
Abroad	0	2	0	2	4	6.06
Total	42	9	8	7	66	100

As *Khankhels* are the landed gentry of the area so majority of them (38 %) are associated with profession of agriculture. Being politically and economically stronger, they are more educated as compared to other castes or tribes, such are serve in government departments in various cadres. The Syeds, Mohmmnad and *Deroji* are landless class so mostly the daily wagers or shopkeepers. A very small fraction of the people have adopted politics as their profession.

3.10.11.2. Livestock

Possession and rearing of livestock at homes is specialty of the people in the village. Most common animals kept at homes are cows, buffalos, goats and donkeys. The milk of cows and buffalos is in abundance and usually used for preparing the tea, the most common drink at the *Hujra* without break. The land lords and respectable of the villages are expected to serve tea to everyone who visit their *Hujra*. *Hujra* without tea is considered a *kandar* (deserted place). It is important that well to do and landlords are bound to have their own cows and *buffaloes* for that purpose. The selling and purchasing of milk by such landlords are considered as a stigma. So keeping cows and buffaloes to

service tea to all the visitors of the *Hujra* is considered a symbol of social status in the village.

3.10.12. Levels of Kinship

Kinship plays a pivotal role in the society and without understanding the kinship system of the society we cannot understand the worldview and social outlook of the people. Without apprehending the nature and extent of kinship system we cannot understand the nature of the society. The same is true for the *Toru's Pakhtuns* society. The kinship pattern in the village has been visualized in the following context

3.10.12.1. Family Structure

Family and *Khel* are occupy the center stage of village life. Being a member of a particular *khanadan* and *Khel* determines one's identity as being male or female in the society. An ideal behavoiur is expected both from men and women in *Gham Khadi* relationship (joy and sorrow) and would be strictly applied on the family head while determine the network of family relationship. Internal relations of the parents with sons and daughters among *Pakhtuns* are highly emotional. The family structure in *Toru* consists of joint families and nuclear families in the rural settings. All the family members are fiercely united in the bond of blood relations and in the division of the labour on the basis of sex and gender. The female members of the family perform the defined indoor duties according to the prescribed rules of *Pakhtunwali*³⁴ while the male members are largely responsible for the outdoor activities. The universal rules of incest taboos are also applicable here harshly on the family members. The most preferred form of marriage is consanguineous marriages, but there are many cases of exogamous marriages as well. The affinal relationship are not that much important as relationship with patriclan as your blood relatives.

³⁴ *Pakhtun* code of conducts

Table 6 Respondents existing Family Structure

Family System	No	Percentage
Nuclear	28	42.42
Joint	38	57.58
Extended	0	0.0
Total	66	100.00

The above table indicates the existing family system in which the respondents were living. It was found that majority of the respondents (57.58%) lived in joint families while 42.42 % lived in their immediate or nuclear families. Interestingly not a single family was living as an extended family which shows the influence of modernity and change in the *Pakhtun* society.

The interesting thing is that there is not a single extended family. In the past *Pakhtuns* used to live in extended families but due to modernization and urbanization they now prefer nuclear family set up.

3.10.12.2. Clan or *Khel* or *Tabardari*

The conglomerate of different families of the same ancestor is called *Khel* or *Tabardari*. Different families of the same stock proclaim themselves as *Azzizaan*. They measure kinship under these principles, that he is my *Azziz* or *rishtadar*. This is the basic features of the segmentary lineage system in the village. Apart from the single family, different families constitute alliance with in the *khel* and are called *Tul* or *Tulgari*.

3.10.13. Culture and Customs

3.10.13.1. Birth Customs

The society is completely patriarchal and a boy's birth is more welcomed than a girl's. The birth of the son is celebrated with volleys of firing in the air to express jubilation and joy. On the seventh day the aqeeqa (celebrating boy birth in *Pakhtun* society as an Islamic tradition) ceremony is done in which any animal is sacrificed in the

name of God to please and thank Him for the blessing the family with a male child, and a feast is arranged for the relatives and friends. The circumcision ceremony of the boy is held on the same day most of the times or after a few days. But on the birth of girl, no special ceremony is organized. Men mostly go for the second marriage if they have two or more daughters from the first wedlock.

3.10.13.2. Marriage Customs

The conservative practices of people come into sharp focus when some serious issues are encountered in a marriage. Endogamy is practiced quite strictly. The socially well placed families do not go outside their families in the selection of mates. Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage or materilateral parallel cousin marriage is the most common practice. Most of the marriages take place in near relatives or in the *Khel*. Marriage is considered a very important function in one's life cycle.

Marriages are celebrated with traditional fervor and fanfare. Guests are invited from far and wide and money is spent lavishly on the marriage rituals, pomp and show and dowry. A big feast is arranged and a big male gathering is organized for the feast. The feast continues for three days and second day's feast is specially organized in which maximum people are invited.

3.10.13.3. Religion

All people of the village are Muslims by religion and strictly abide by the tenants of Islam as *Sunnah*³⁵. *Sunni* sect is predominant with its two major sub division sects; *Brailvi*³⁶ and *Deobandi*³⁷. Since last two decades people are converting from *Brailve* to *Deobabdi* sect. *Tabllegi Jammats*³⁸ and preachers of *Deobabdi* are actively working in

³⁵ To follow the traditions of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in true spirit is called *Sunnah* in Islamic law.

³⁶ Ahmed Raza Khan Brailvi laid the foundation of this sub set of *Sunni* Muslim, who believed in the omnipresence of Prophet Mohammad and supremacy of saints.

³⁷ A sub sect of *Sunni* Muslims who believed in the political Islam, and who encourages the role of religion in state affairs.

³⁸ A sub sect of *Sunni* Muslim who propagates the oneness of God and invited people of other religions to convert into Islam, as the same time this group also emphasized the Muslims to spend their lives according Quran and Prophet traditions.

the village. Religious textual orders and practices are strictly followed in the *Deobandis* compared to *Brailvis*.

3.10.13.4. Death customs

Death is perceived as a tragedy and will of God. Most of the people participate in the funeral processions of any Muslim and as it is considered a religious as well as cultural obligation. *Pakhtuns* rely on their sharp memory and never forget the participants in the funeral ceremony of their dead one. This is because they reciprocate in equal religious obligation and participate in the funeral proceeding likewise. At the end of the funeral prayer, one person from the bereaved family stands up and addressing the gathering, enquires from the solemnly crowd if the deceased own any money to any one that remained to be paid. This is normal practice of getting clearance from everyone assembled at for the burial. After this the religious leader offers final funeral prayer according to the Islamic *Sunnah* and at the end of the prayer the mourners says in one loud voice, “*Allah de vobakhi*” (may God forgive the deceased). Then if the dead person resting on a wooden charpoy is a male, the cloth is removed from his face and the people make a queue and walk past slowly to have final glimpse of the deceased, reciting in the process, and Uranic verses for the blessing. The deceased who is wrapped in white shroud is then lower down in the grave. The Islamic injunctions do not allow any male to see the female’s face before the burial.

The grave of the dead is dug voluntarily. It is mandatory on the part of every household related to the deceased person family directly or indirectly to provide one member for digging of the grave. Those who do not participate in such an event are looked down upon by all the people of the clan. People assembled at dead person’s home for three days for condolence and offering *dua* (prayer for the departed soul).

3.10.13.5. Graveyard

There are two graveyards in the village, one situated on the left side of road a few kilometers toward Shiekh Malton town, and the other, which is the oldest of all graveyards in the surrounding village, is situated in *Dehray*. The Mausoleums of ape

ancestor of *Khankhel*, *Jalal khan* and *Hasan Khan* are situated in the old graveyard. There is one *Janaz gah*³⁹ where funeral prayer is held. After that the people pick the dead body placed on a wooden cot on their shoulders and carried to nearby graveyard. The participation in such processions leading to the graveyard is mandatory on all the people.



Figure 8: The centuries old graveyard in the outskirts of the village (Source Author)

Sports are important hobby for the people. Volley ball and Cricket are the most popular games of the area. Traditional games such as *Kabadi* (wrestling) and *gulli danda*⁴⁰ also played seasonally but normally by the boys. Young girls usually played *chindro*⁴¹ and *pat patoni* (hide and seek), skipping and are celebration of dolls's marriages. There is one newly constructed sports ground in union council, but apart from that sports enthusiasts play volley ball and cricket where ample spaces are available and these are mostly in the surrounding of the streams and small canals.

³⁹ A religious place where funeral prayer is held for the dead.

⁴⁰ Rural game played with two sticks: a large one called *danda* which is used to hit a smaller one, *gulli*.

⁴¹ A children game in which a player tosses a small flat stone into one of several numbered section of a diagram marked on the ground hops on one foot and picks up the stone while standing in one foot in an adjacent section.

3.10.13.6. Music

Great poet of *Pakhto* Ghani Khan Baba said that “*Pakhtun* love music but hate musician”. People do not necessarily follow the dictum of religious clergy and love to have *malas* (music party) in their *Hujras*. In marriage ceremonies too special arrangement are made for the music party. Young ones from the surrounding areas participate in such musical party and provide sufficient entertainment to the gathering.

The *Hujra* is one of the finest social products of *Pashto* culture heritage. *Hujra* played a pivotal role in the promotion of art and culture. It was the *Hujra* which patronized music and other festivities. The *Rabab*⁴² and *Mangay*⁴³ are two old *Pakhtun* musical instruments, were supposed to be indispensable part of *Hujra* and arranging of the *Malas*⁴⁴ the real ornaments of *Hujra* and it is a well-established custom among the *Pakhtun* to welcome guests with music. It is a common sitting or sleeping place for men in the villages, as *Pakhtuns* are basically people of villages rather than cities, and guests and unmarried young men (bachelors) would sleep there. . Due to the rapid process of modernization and urbanization this beautiful tradition of the *Hujra* tradition is on the declining mode and there is likelihood that it will become extinct in the coming time. Although one can still see *Hujra* in some parts of *Pakhtun* society, but its traditional vigor and modalities died out in the true spirit of ideal *Pakhtun* code of conduct. Due to the dominance of the preaching of *Mullah*⁴⁵, *Hujra* has lost its significance and the decision making process now takes place in the masjid (mosque) instead. The mosque and the clergy’s are at full swing to grab away the powers of *Hujra*.

Now a day due to the availability of modern music gadgets every household has a new television and CD player the educated class listens to Indian songs, and as a result the traditional music, and music party is slowly dying its own death.

⁴² A traditional stringed musical instrument like gutter.

⁴³ Earthen pot which keeps water cool. In *Hujra* the musician put rubber on the open part of the pot to convert it into a mini drum.

⁴⁴ A musical party arranged at open yard of the *hujra* without any commercial interest is called *Malas* in *Pashto* language

⁴⁵ A religious clergy who lead prayer in the mosque.

3.10.13.7. Administration

The village is relatively developed compared to the other villages in the vicinity. The union council headquarter is also situated in the village. The village has one of the largest and modern police stations of district Mardan. Those who has any connections in the police station, by the way of acquaintance with the police officials are considered much esteemed and influential in the area. Most of the times the notorious people get arrested in gambling, murders or feuds cases. They are released on the bail due to the politically or socially links of the influential people. Having closes connections with the police station is considered as an indicator of powerful, affluence and resourcefulness.

Chapter 4: RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF COUSIN MARRIAGES

Consanguineous marriage remains the choice of an estimated 10.4 % of the global population, although there has been an overall decline in the prevalence of such marriages in the industrialized and developed counties, while in some regions a considerable increase is noticed from the preceding generation (Bittles & Black, 2010).

4.1. Religious Regulation of First Cousin Marriage

Table 7 Cousin Marriage among World Religions

Religion	Branch	Regulation
Judaism	Ashkenazi	Permissive
	Sephardi	Permissive
Christianity	Greek and Russian	Permissive
	Orthodox	
	Coptic Orthodox	Permissive
	Roman Catholic	Diocesan dispensation required
	Protestant	Permissive
Islam	Sunni	Permissive
	Shia	Permissive
	Ibadi	Permissive
Hinduism	Indo-European	Proscribed
	Dravidian	Permissive
Buddhism		Permissive
Sikhism		Proscribe
Confucianism/Taoism		Partially permissive
Zoroastrian/Parsi		Permissive

(Source: Bittles & Black, 2010)

Almost main religion permitted cousin marriages except a few one. First cousin marriage is generally allowed and acceptable within Buddhism and in the Zoroastrian/

Parsi religion. The marriages conventions prevail in consanguineous unions within Hinduism are considerably more complex and multifaceted. There is variation observed from culture to culture and from society to society in different regions of the world. Different regions of the world interpret Hinduism teaching regarding cousin marriage differently. Under the Indo-European tradition that prevails in North India, prior to parental approval of marriage, the family ancestries and histories of both parents are examined over an average of seven generations on the male side and five generations on the female side are strictly prohibited for marriage, so this is a cultural constraints on endogamy and incest marriages in such groups is a taboo in the society (Bittles and Black cited Kapadia 1958).

Interestingly no such prohibition is present in the Dravidian Hindu population of Southern India. Contrary to that some type of cousin marriages such as marriage with mother's brother's daughter as well as uncle-niece are preferred form of marriages in Hindu caste as well as among Christians. In the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, and to a lesser extent neighboring Kerala, Goa, and southern Maharashtra, cousin marriages are the preferred form of marriage (Bittles 2002).

Confucian teaching is strictly against the marriage of person sharing the same family name, thus marriage with the father's brother's daughter is prohibited. Contrary to that father's brother's daughter marriage is permissible in South Indian Dravidian societies. So there is no universal prohibition is observed by all rather territorial variation and fluidity is always a norm there. It means that in every region Confucian teaching is interpreted in its respective cultural context (Cooper& Zhang 1993).

Similarly in Sikh religion, consanguinity and cousin marriages are prohibited, but exception to the rule are always there and vary from culture to culture and from society to society. Most Sikh community in the world proscribes cousin marriages but Sikhs in Pakistan practice and prefer a cousin marriage which is a common norm in local culture (Bittles & Black, 2010).

The popularity and prevalence of consanguineous marriage worldwide is declining, and industrialized world of the West, North America and Japan experienced a considerable decline in the consanguinity. Another reason responsible for the drastic decline of such marriages; is state prohibition of consanguinity by Republic of China that

already has walloping population of 1.3 billion. The demography of china has had an impact on the whole world so ban on such marriage also impacted the global market of consanguinity. But this trend is not in unilineal direction, there are some countries in the world where the rate of such marriage in present generation is more than the preceding generation. There may be multiple reasons for such increase; first due to the advancement of biomedical sphere the number of surviving to marriageable age increase, second the emigration of such people where consanguinity was a preferred form of marriage; they also import their values of consanguinity with them, as a result of the rate of consanguinity increases in such countries (Bittles 2008).

There has been large scale emigration of people from countries, where consanguinity is preferred to North America, Western Europe and Oceania. In migrant community of UK origin Pakistani population, Turkish or Moroccan communities in Belgium still think that cousin marriage is the preferred form of marriage because such marriage is an indispensable part of their native cultures in their respective mother countries. In summary emigrants of all countries do not having the same rate of consanguinity rather there are some countries where a considerable reduction are observed for instance Pakistani migrants. Norway is one example where reduction is observed in cousin marriage of small Norwegian Pakistani community (Bittles & Black, 2010).

The preference for first cousin marriages in most Muslim countries, primarily of the parallel paternal subtype between a man and his father's brother's daughter, is possibly a replication of both pre-Islamic Arab tradition and the rules introduced in the Quran to enable female inheritance of wealth (ibid,2010).

Within the Omayyid Khalafat there was strong informal stress on the Islamized non-Arab groups to adopt Arab norms and practices, irrespective of its direct elation with Islam or not. As preferential parallel cousin marriage was the most preferred form of marriage among the Arab before Islam, so this trait of Arab along with other cultural traits was borrowed by the non-Arab to look like Arabs. As Arabs were the master so the local people borrowed all norms and values of the Arabs to look like their master for higher status in the colonized country. So in the due process the FBD marriage pattern

was also borrowed by the non-Arabs to look like them, so Islamization occurred together with Arabization (Korotayev, 2000).

The parallel cousin marriage also prevails among Muslims such as in North Africa and West and Central Asia. As these countries were colonized by the Arabs all the Arab culture traits were adopted by the colonized people. So was the trait of cousin marriage adopted by them (Ibid, 2000).

In the early period of Christianity, there used to be social and legal variance regarding cousin marriages. In Athens and Sparta the first cousin and uncle-niece marriages were given preference. These marriage practices were prevailing in Lower Egypt during first and the third centuries. While the people of Rome had an opposite notion as compared to Egypt, as in Rome there was no acceptance for the first cousin marriages (Bittles, 2009).

In Chinese traditional era, the first cousin marriages were given much value, but after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and later on the promulgation of new laws in early 1950s ban took place upon first cousin marriages so it was considered no longer to be legal (Cooper& Zhang, 1993).

In Israel in the Muslim village the most preferred type of consanguineous marriage was paternal parallel cousin marriage. But with the passage of time decrease took place due to the rise of modernization in the practice of cousin marriages (Zlotogora et al. 2002).

4.2.Marriage in Islam

Islam discourages celibacy and promotes marriage for healthy and happy life. The celebration of the marriage contract is called *nikah*. Marriage is commanded from God upon every Muslim, and Prophet Mohammad condemned act of being unmarried. It is related in the traditions that Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) said ``when the servant of God marries, he perfects half of his religion''. So in religion Islam it is one of the basic responsibilities of the believer to get married (Hughes, 1995).

It is related that one of the companions of the messenger of God named Usman ibn Magun wished to lead a life of celibacy, but Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) prohibited him from celibacy, and encouraged him to get married.

There is a verse of Holy Quran in the support of marriage:

“And among His signs is that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that ye may dwell in tranquility with them, and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts). Verily in that are signs for those who reflect” (Alquran 30: 21)

Hughes quoted another Hadith where Muslims are forbidden to celebrate marriage in simple way.

“The best wedding is that upon which the least trouble and expense is bestowed” (Ibid 1995)

Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) discusses the qualities of a marriageable woman as;

“ A woman may be married either for her money, her reputation, her beauty, or her religion; then look out for a religious woman, for if you do marry other than a religious woman, may your hands be rubbed with dirt”.

There is another Hadith in the favour of marriage:

“All young men who have arrived at the age of puberty should marry, for marriage prevents sins. He who cannot marry should fast”.

Seeking of consent from male and female is mandatory before the commencement of marriage:

“A woman ripe in years shall have her consent asked in marriage, and if she remains silence it is her consent, and if she refuses she shall not be married by force”.

Islam gives a complete liberty to woman of a certain age to marry a particular person of a marriageable pool or she can refuse and no one can impose his will on her.

When a woman, adult and sane, elects to be married through an agent (*wakil*), she empowers him, in presence of competent witnesses, to convey her consent to the bride groom.

4.2.1. Expenses on Marriage

As Islam encourages marriage so to make it common, spending lavishly on marriages is against the teachings of Islam.

“The best wedding is that upon which the least trouble and expense is bestowed, the worst of feasts are marriage feasts, to which the rich one invited and the poor left out, and he who abandons the acceptance of an invitation, then verily disobeys God and his prophet”.

So Islam strictly discourages excessive spending on marriage and always emphasizes simple and economic spending on marriage related festivity.

4.2.2. Cousin Marriage in Islam

There is no specific mention of cousin marriage that in the Holy Quran and Hadith of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him), but some people took the cousin marriage of Ali the fourth caliph and companion of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) with his daughter Hazrat Fatima, as an ideal marriage, so basic justification of cousin marriage is derived from that marriage of Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Fatima. Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him) was also married to one of His cousin. Another reason of cousin marriage justification is derived from the saying of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) which emphasis helping your relatives and cousin marriage is considered as one type of help towards the person who is having many daughters. Over all there is no hadith or verse of the Quran which clearly encourage or discourage cousin marriage directly.

4.3. Cousin Marriage in Pakistan

Cousin marriage has been common trend in many countries and many cultures of the world. Pakistan is the only country where the current rate of cousin marriage is the highest among all countries. Presently 60% of all marriages are claimed to be cousin marriages (Institute of Population studies, 1992).

In Pakistan the cousin marriages is given considerable importance. The majority of the people practice cousin marriage. The most favored type of marriage is paternal parallel cousin marriage. The other type of cousin marriages such paternal cross cousin, maternal parallel cousin and maternal cross cousin marriages are also proffered by the majority people in the rural areas. This phenomenon of cousin marriages equally found in all provinces of Pakistan alike, i-e Baluchistan, Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh.

The economic and social determinants are responsible for the prevalence of consanguineous marriages in the above societies (Afzal et al. 1994).

In the beginning the core motive for cousin marriage was to keep intact the property in the family. However, with the passage of time, views of the people changed regarding cousin marriage practices, but the trend continued among all strata of rural as well as urban areas. The rate of cousin marriage fluctuate from culture to culture and ethnicity to ethnicity, but overall all the dominant ethnicities of provinces such *Punjabis*, *Pakhtun* and *Baloch* practiced cousin marriage as one of the preferred form of marriage.

The *Zikri Baloch* (in Karachi) gave more worth to parental parallel cousin marriages. The fishing communities in *Zikri Baloch* preferably gave more importance to paternal parallel cousin marriages as compare to nomadic *Mari Baloch* of North Western Baluchistan.

4.4. Cousin Marriage in Saudi Arabia

Marriage between cousins has been part of the culture in Saudi Arabia for centuries and it is still a common place. The Saudi Arabian society does not allow for the mixing of young men and women, and social lives are so restricted so mostly love making are confine to extended family only.

A study was conducted in the Dammam a famous city of Saudi Arabia, which is famous for diversity and urban life style, reveal an astonishing results. Out of all marriages 52% of them were consanguineous marriages, and out that 52% consanguineous marriages 20.4 % being first cousin and 12.5 % were double cousin marriages. The rate of consanguineous marriages was relatively constant from 1950 to the present (Al-Abdullalkarim, et al, 1998). Even with economic boom of oil industry the cousin marriages experienced an upward mobility in royal and affluent families.

4.5. Cousin Marriages in Yemen

Consanguineous marriages are quite common in Yemen. Among the survey sample ever-married women under 50 years of age, 40 % of them were blood relatives of their husbands while out of the 40 % married women 33 % of them were first cousins. Among

all cousin marriages 23.9 % of them were paternal first cousin marriages while 9.4 % were maternal first cousin marriage. The rest, 6.6%, were consanguineous unions related through more distant forms of blood relationship. This is the highest ratio of cousin marriages among all Arabs countries. After Yemen, Egypt has 39 % Syria 38 %, Algeria 36.4 %, Kuwait 36 and many other Arabs and Muslims countries has sizable number of people are married with their respective cousins (Jurdi & Saxena, 1991).

As some of the social scientists predicted that with the advent of modernization and urbanization this phenomena of cousin marriages will decline but interestingly in some Arabs countries including Yemen the ratio of consanguineous marriage is increasing. This rising trend can be attributed to high fertility coupled with low socio-economic characteristics of individuals (Ibid, 1991).

4.6. Cousin Marriage in Iran

Marrying a close relative especially with a first cousin has been considered preferred form of marriage in the Iranian culture. Such marriages are embedded in the culture in such a way that it becomes an indispensable part of the cognition of the people, and such cousin marriage is considered to have been "sealed in Heaven" (Fischer, 1978).

In the ancient time, in most part of Iran, a girl was nominated for a boy as soon as she was born this ritual is called "Naf Bor" meaning they are couple since their birth. The same custom was practiced in *Pakhtun* society. Although arrange marriages were very common in the recent past. Due to prevalence and acceptance of modern norms and values though the trend is declining but still this phenomenon exists in many parts of the Iran (Hossieni & Erfani, 2014).

Another study was conducted in 2002 to find out the actual trend of consanguineous marriage in Iran. Interesting the finding to the study revealed that the rate of first cousin marriages fluctuates around 22%. The findings also reveal this in urban areas and among highly educated women the trend is declining while in the rural areas no such decrease is witnessed by the scientist (Abbasi et al, 2008).

Culture and Religion are the two main factors which regulate marriage practices in Iran. As far the religious factor is concerned a considerable decline was observed in the

rein of Shah, but cultural factor remains strong and static. As Shah was the proponent of modern values and norms, so he discouraged traditional values along with religious laws which supported consanguineous marriages in the past. He also wanted to reduce the population, so to make successful family planning he encouraged and empower women. (Tashakkori & Thompson, 1988).

Theoretically, the people attitudes are always guided and manipulated by the belief structure of the individuals. No change will penetrate into the culture if it is against the belief structure of the people, so to change the attitude of such people to get a desired change is contradictory to each other. If change is imposed on such people there will be always a resistance from inside and it will make the people more traditional and cultural oriented. Such changes desired by the ruler were against the basic belief system of the people. So in Iran religion was one of the basic impediment in way of change especially changes in marriage pattern. However, within limits, the greater the disagreement of the position advocated from the individual's position, the more prevalent will be the attitude/belief change (Tashakkori, 1986).

Education is one of the main factors, which can change the norms and values of the society. For example the Father's education increase chances of a job bring material modernity and change such as the number of children, number of rooms available to the family, children's allowances, and so on. To provide privacy and separate space for personality development and growth, as a result it has an effect on the children's attitudes, behaviour, desires, personality, intelligence, and achievements (Tashakkori et al. 1987)

Changing pattern of marriage is caused by modernity, industrialization, and globalization. The establishment of industries in the urban areas motivated a great number of people for mobility in the search of jobs, better educational opportunities especially for the girls. This physical and social mobility transformed the gendered relations in the society, as result the structure of family also changed from the joint to the nuclear family. This emergence of nuclear family system shattered the large family network; now large family is no more looked at to fulfill the needs of all family members including marriages. As new avenue of jobs were available to the people who further reduced the dependency on family. The modern norms and values change the traditional

outlook of the people towards marriage, family planning and employment (Tashakkori & Thomson, 1988).

4.7. Cousin Marriage in Bangladesh

Arranged marriage is dominant in most African and Asian countries. The proportion of marriages which are arranged nevertheless varies across nations. South Asian countries, except Sri Lanka, will probably be the highest in terms of the percentage of arranged marriages. The benefits of this system should be perceived within the social framework of the society where the system is in existence (Ahmed, 1986).

In Bangladesh the socio-economic characteristics of the potential marriage partners play a much stronger role in mating process. The situation in general is not simple. Among the factors considered as important determinants in mating, education appears to have a stronger influence in the marriage market. Education increases the chances for hyper gamy. If a man with a good education reduces his expectation for dowry and increases his willingness to make bridal gifts, he might be able to marry into a higher social class than his own although this is forbidden in Islam. Education still has a strong influence in the marriage market, but it may not remain the same in future if the employment situation in the non-agricultural sector does not improve (Ibid, 1986).

A business profession and occupation, which has strong relation with education, is another important factor for men in the selection process in Bangladesh. Employment in urban areas plus education has more demand in the marriage market. Of course, it depends on the type of occupation. Recently, men working in the Middle-East or in any foreign country have been preferred by the bride's parents. Parents generally think to marry off their daughters to economically solvent and socially well-placed mates. Economic solvency very often gets the highest priority among the factors. On the other hand, when parents look for a mate for their sons, they mostly place greater importance on the 'social status of the bride's family in addition to the economic factor. This is probably common in all patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal societies. With some education is gradually overriding the value of an educated bridegroom (Ibid, 1986).

4.8. Cousin Marriage in Kuwait

Kuwait is another country where the prevalence of consanguinity and cousin marriage is very high. Due to the preference for consanguinity as a core cultural trait, the parents socialized their children in such a way where consanguinity is presented as an ideal and the most successful type of marriage.

Traditionally, Kuwaiti parents have played a primary role in their children's decision to marry. Traditionally children were dependent on their parents for all their social and economic needs, but with the change of economic sphere the children are no more dependent on their parents, so this change in capitalist form of economy changed the traditional role of parents including the decision making ability of the parents for their children's marriages. The selection criteria of young's are guided by the level of education, social and economic positions, the age set and sex and gender particularly.

This freedom of selection is more exercised by men as compare to the women. Similarly the upper and upper- middle-class individuals, the educated, and the young enjoy greater freedom in this regard, and they have curtailed parents' role only to consultation. The son has full liberty to select his spouse with parents approval, while in the daughter marriage still it is the prerogative of the parents to decide the partner for their daughter. In many cases the daughters did not see their future spouse suitable but they have no other option. Now there are those who feel that a future son- in-law should be chosen either by the parents with the daughter's approval or by the daughter with the parents' approval (Al. Thakeb, 1985).

As Kuwait is no exception to influence of modernity and urbanization a significant change has been observed in the marriage pattern and the associated selection criteria. Now the joint family is replaced by the nuclear family and this form of family is in majority now. The nuclear family is not only in the majority but also preferred. The ideology of the Western nuclear family has influenced some segments of the population, namely, the upper upper-middle socioeconomic strata, the educated, and the young (Ibid, 1985).

4.9. Cousin Marriage in Libya

Al Nouri conducted a research on cousin marriage and the role of education in Libya. The study showed that Education was becoming an important factor affecting marriage prospects. This is particularly so in the case of males where education level among other things, played an important part in determining the kind of families from whom they could marry. It was becoming fashionable for urban families to discourage illiterate males from asking for their girls' hand in marriage. On the other hand, college-educated girls appealed less to wife seekers than those with modest education, namely high school. This seemed to derive from the social notion that women going that far in their advanced schooling were relatively old. Incidentally, the typical age for marriageable girls was between the 16-18 years. Highly educated women, people also argued, tend to be too domineering and independent, a quality still somewhat feared by Libyan males. For their part, highly educated girls were extremely cautious when it comes to their marriage. They scarcely accept to marry someone less educated than they are. In most of the marriages involving educated couples, therefore, husbands were better educated (Al. Nouri 1980).

4.10. Cousin Marriage in Syria

Just like other Arab countries, cousin marriages and consanguineous marriage is considered as the preferred form of marriage in Syria. In 2008 a study was conducted to understand the nature and extent of consanguineous marriage in Syria. Even in the urban areas 30.3% of marriages were found cousin marriages. First cousin marriages were the most popular form of consanguineous marriage representing 20.9 of all consanguineous marriages. Out of all cousin marriages paternal parallel cousin (FBD) was most popular followed by maternall parallel cousin marriage and finally cross-cousin marriages (Othman & Sadat).

4.11. Cousin Marriage in China

Traditional Chinese marriage system was defined by the relationship of the individual with the family. Anthropologist Francis Hsu described mother's brother's daughter marriage as being the most preferred form of marriage, and interestingly father's brother's daughter was strictly discouraged by the prevalent norms and values of that time (Francis, 1945).

In Rural China consanguinity was the most preferred form of marriage but the emergence of communist China the country totally changed the traditional set up including marriage system. In the contemporary China the communist government declared consanguineous and arrange marriages as invalid in 1950 and hence abolished traditional norms and values which supported such marriages. All the people of marriageable age were encouraged to select their own mates irrespective of their ethnicity, family background and even without parental consent, thus infused greater sense of loyalty to the state than to the family (Magill, 2003).

4.12. Cousin Marriage in American society

In the modern Western society, including United States of America marrying your cousin is not well accepted. There are multiple reasons of that one of the most important reason is the genetic abnormalities associated with such marriages. Other is people are prejudice towards such marriages and attach negative connotations with them and putting such marriages in category of incest and unacceptable pattern of marriage. In USA cousin marriage is completely banned in 24 states and in 7 states it's partially allowed while in 19 states first cousin marriage is allowed without restriction (Jamie, 2014).

In American society arranged marriages were common before the twentieth century. As society was traditional one so parents were having more authority in their children, and marriages involved more practical considerations than they do today. Due to modernization, urbanization, increasing job opportunities for girls and new means of communication and transportation facilitates came into being in American society, it empowered young men and women to make their own choices in mate selection. "Becoming popular in the 1920s, dating replaced the earlier custom of a man " calling"

on a young woman at her home and under the watchful eyes of her parents. A number of factors—the automobile, the telephone, and the existence of coeducational schools and colleges, for example gave young men and women greater mobility and more opportunities to meet and communicate on their own” (Magill, 2003).

Although the overwhelming majority of American parents do not, strictly speaking, arrange marriages for their children, both parents and society at large influence the choices that young people make in selecting partners in a number of subtle ways. For one thing, they influence the opportunities available for mate selection. Individuals within the same social class are more likely to attend similar social functions and the same schools, and to live in the same neighborhoods. In general, the control of parents is likely to be stronger the higher the social class of the family and the more traditional the ethnic culture is. The fact that between 50 and 80 percent of all American marriages between people of similar religious and class groups indicates that some sort of “arrangement” is involved in marriage of all cultures.

4.13. Cousin Marriage in Great Britain

A large number of Pakistani emigrants especially from Kashmir and Gujrat are living in Great Britain. They always kept and preferred their relatives living back in Pakistan when it came to arranging marriages. There is a preference for endogamous marriages within among people from Mirpuris (term used for people belonging to Mirpur, Azad Kashmir). Endogamy generally refers to clan-oriented marriages which in local terminology are called *Biradari*⁴⁶ marriages or *Zaat mein Shadi karna* (to marry in the same social group). A survey was conducted among Pakistani Mirpuris and British Mirpuris to find out the worldviews and tendencies of them toward endogamous and consanguineous marriages. Interestingly majority of both of them still considered consanguineous and endogamous as a preferred and superior form of marriage. They believe that traditions, customs and rituals are caste specific and should remain intact by tying the marital knot within the family (Rehman, 2013).

⁴⁶ An association and emotional linkage by members of particular group having common ancestor.

Chapter 5: MARRIAGE RITUALS IN PAKHTUN SOCIETY

This chapter deals with the institution of marriage and cousin marriage in particular in *Pakhtun* society, its meaning and significance as well as the rules and ceremonies associated with it.

5.1. Marriage: A Moral and Social Necessity

Marriage is not only a religious duty; it is a social obligation further it is the main medium for sexual relationship and producing of offspring's. Marriages in all societies are largely arranged through family's elders according to the family norms and values, friends or by a growing sector of matchmakers. In the villages, the people hire the services of either elderly relatives or women from barber families seek out potential partners for young people (Malik, 2008).

The prestige, property and character of the individual and family reputation are always investigated properly through barber's wife or someone else as a go-between. In the past family background were given importance but in this modern time people now give importance to education, employment along with family prestige and background.

In Pakistan marriage is preceded by an engagement where rings, clothes and sweets are exchanged and feasts are arranged for all the guests from both sides by the groom's family. The nuptial knot is tied by the local clergy of a mosque in the presence of witnesses from both families. At the same time the nikah is registered by the clergy in the register for future official purposes. After *nikah* the groom is taken to the bride's home along with his family and friends, where they are received with courtesy and hospitality and some amusing rituals are played out on the groom and his friends (Ibid, 2008).

5.2. Marriage in the Locale

Prevailing and favoured form of marriage in the locale is consanguineous or kin marriage. Marriages in the *Toru* are endogamous. The natives use the term of "*khpallo ke wada*" [marriage in ones kin and relatives] and "*prado ke wada*" [marriage in who are

not from the same kin and who have no blood relation]. It is considered an insult if someone marries his daughter outside of *Khanadan* or *Khel*. This is ensued because they want to keep their natal lineage uncontaminated. All the *Khel* members are believed to share same blood being descendent of common forefather.

5.3. Marriage process

In *Pakhtun* society the marriage process starts at early age, among close relatives, preferably cousins. There is a unique tradition that some time *rishta* is planned from the day of birth and sometime even before the birth of a child. *Ezzat* (honour), *sharam* (shame) *bezati* (insult), *da khanadan waqar ao nomm* (family's status, standard and name), *ghairat* (prestige) are some of the prevailing values that determine marriage processes, and are attributed to either family in accordance with their actions and reactions.

Marriage is considered not merely the issue of a couple but is also the corporate responsibility of two families. As such marriage is going to effect the relation of the whole *Khanadan* that is why marriage is considered a collective responsibility.

In *Pakhtun* society marriage is not that much simple, complex rituals and traditions are integral part of it. Now in the proceeding chapter we will discuss the some historical and mentionable cousin marriages in *Pakhtun* society. We will also discuss marriage rituals and traditions in detail one by one.

5.4. Customs and Tradition Related to Marriage

5.4.1. Marriage Promises Made at Birth of Children

In *Pakhtun* society marriage is always treated as a deal between two families not two individuals. In the past it was a general practice to associate a girl with a boy at the time of her birth even before the birth of a girl. This custom is called *Newal*⁴⁷ (to catch up) in the local dialect, can be interpreted as an assertion of claims. This is a custom

⁴⁷ It frequently occurs among brothers and sisters and this is also extends to friends. Such claims used be binding on each other even against the wishes of the grown up children latter on. Due to education and urbanization this custom ceased to exist now in the *Pakhtun* society.

under which marriage can be honored even against the wishes of the girl's parents or her grandparents in the name of family honour and integrity. Public claim through *Newal* excludes others from making proposals to the girl's family for her hand. Marriages under '*Newal*' often take place among relatives, especially the first cousins. Due to modernistic patterns and education this custom is died out its natural death and now people abhor and discouraged such custom.

Like some other tribes Yousafzai tribe also had the tradition of marriage promises made between brothers, sisters and sisters in law etc. at the birth of their sons and daughters. Due to such promises and commitments the conflicts between the close relatives is evident. Girls are deprived of marriage proposals throughout their lives due to such prior commitments. The scholars and nobles of Yousazai tribe had opposed this tradition and declared that it is against the condition of reaching adulthood and free choice for selection of the partner. A poet highlighted his views through these lines:

Aleman wai che tadi ma kawa

Dwaro kawali ta khadi ma kawa

Intizar boy ache warah de loei ba she

Kara, kota, khokha che okati she

[Religious scholars suggest avoiding hastiness, and emphasizes avoiding marriages in childhood. One should wait until children become mature enough to distinguish good and bad of their lives].

5.4.2. Pre-Marriage Activity

Determination and Investigation of Caste in Marriage affairs:

Like other Afghan and non-Afghan tribes, Yousafzai tribe also has this tradition of arranging the marriage in the tribes of equal higher status. Arranging the marriage in the low status castes is avoided. Upon the insisting tendency of the sons, such marriages are arranged but once in a blue moon.

Generally people with high status and caste such as *Khans* (respectable of the area especially landlord) and higher pedigree prefer intera-caste marriages and so do the

*Mians*⁴⁸, *Mullas*, *Sayyids* and *Sahabzadas* (all are the descendent of prophet Muhammad (PBUH) or holy saints). *Sadats* do not get their girls married outside of the caste. But due to the spread of education there have been some contradictory cases. Castes belonging to the working class such as Cobblers, Julahas, Potters, Peasants and *Lohars* (blacksmith) prefer to arrange marriages within these clans⁴⁹. People belonging to the castes with lowest status such as *Dum* (drummer), Barber (*Naai*) and *Shah Khails* (makers of musical instruments) get their children married within their castes.

5.4.3. Marriages in Relatives / Non Relatives

Two major factors are always considered while searching for a perfect match. Priority is given to the closest relatives such as first cousins (both paternal and maternal). They are always considered as the first choice. If that is not successful then other close relatives are considered. The second factor is associated with the non-relatives. In such case the priority is given to the girl with noble manners, beauty and exemplary conduct.

5.4.4. Matrimony Asking in Relatives

In order to offer the proposal to the relatives, the elder members both male and female visit the girl's elders and request for their acceptance. Traditionally this is known as '*Paroney*'⁵⁰. In this way it becomes clear that they have come to ask for the marriage. There are some other ways also to ask for the marriage. For instance people say that they have come empty handed. If the girl's elders show their consent they offer some sweets to their guests. Then the women from the boy's house take some sweets and fruits to the girl's house. It signifies that the agreement is endorsed by both sides.

⁴⁸ *Mians* the descendent of saintly figure.

⁴⁹ The Bard community which is considered as mean and inferior and marriage in their families is a social taboo for the *Pakhtuns*.

⁵⁰ *Paroney* (shawl) is a symbol of honour for females in *Pakhtun* society. When one accepts marriage proposal then they exchange shawl with each other which symbolizes that now both share the same honour and now it's obligatory to protect the honour of females from both sides.

5.4.5. Matrimony Asking in Non-Relatives

The services of a Go-Between or intermediary lady are required in order to send the proposal to the non-relatives. Such services are mostly provided by the women of lower castes such as the mother or wife of a *Dum*⁵¹.

5.4.6. Go-Between

This character could be found in every village and city. This lady is humorous and talkative. She is clever and understands the matters well. She is generally called as '*Massi*'. This lady is useful for getting inside information and the perceptions of both families are interchanged through her.

If a Go-Between does not appear to be a fair option then some ladies from the boy's family visit the girl's family pretending to be paying the visit for a different reason. Generally they enter the house by pretending that they are thirsty and they seek for some water. In this way they get the chance to see the house and examine it from a close range. And more importantly they are successful in seeing the girl. They can also get an idea about the family from their neighbor which allows them to have an insight of the background of the family of the girl. If these women like the girl then they re-visit.

5.4.7. Public Declaration

The ladies pay a return visit and explain their purpose to the girl's family. They also present some money and gifts to the girl. If there is a positive reaction from the girl's family then some elders from the boy's family pay the formal visit and they offer the proposal to the male members from the girl's family and also bring some sweets with them. Upon the formal agreement or acceptance, the members from the girl's family put forward their conditions which are discussed orally. If the conditions are acceptable to the other side then they jointly pray for Allah's blessings and the engagement date is fixed after selecting a suitable day.

⁵¹ *Dum* means drummer, who used to beat drums in different festivities in *Pakhtun* society. The wife of *Dum* is considered as shameless woman who observed no traditional purdah so she can move freely in every house of the village.

5.4.8. Engagement (*Kwezhdan*)

The old traditions suggest that the girl used to go and live with some close relatives such as uncle or aunt just before the day of engagement or a few days prior to the engagement. The ring prepared for the girl was presented to the girl's parents. But nowadays the girl stays home and when the engagement date is declared then the arrangement for musical merriments are made at the boy's home. The musical instruments are brought from the 'Naais' or Barbers. Girls sing in gaiety till mid night and they are accompanied by the women from the boy's family and neighbors too. This merry making continues for many days and is repeated even after the engagement ceremony. The songs include the traditional folk songs associated with the wedding and love. They also include hilarious songs and the lyrics praising the girl's character.

The girl's family members invite their relatives on the day of the engagement. Also included are the nobles from the village. These guests include both men and women. They bring a hug container with different household items or utensils. The guests also carry some sweets and tea-making ingredients. The boy's family arranges drummers and 'Dhol' at the eve of engagement. Professional female singers accompany the boy's party. The boys dance following the rhythm of dhal-beat in a separate guest room 'Hurrah'. Girls dance within the premises of the house and the women sing songs with various musical instruments. The singing competition among the boys and the girls could be witnessed few and far between. These songs contain the lyrics such as:

Khadiya: sang de khan okra

Chef de khushal kral bitana zapaly zarona

Jinko waye lobay waye

Daga da jee ba darla gad halavena

[O Allah! It is nothing less than a blessing that you combined

The hearts that suffered from isolation.

Come Girls! And sing songs.

The grandfather will sacrifice the sheep for you].

These lines are also common:

Da mama kara yawa vona

Da zalmi thri tha weda mayan ba shona

[There used to be a tree in maternal uncle's house

The young boy moved around it and eventually he fell in love].

The above stanza eluding the significance of marriage with maternal uncle's daughter, which are preferred and desired by the young ones.

The suitable time for engagement was taken to be the time of '*Isha*' prayer. Nowadays the time is fixed depending upon the travel schedule and convenience of the guests. Once the song session is complete, the large box is opened. The girl's relatives eagerly wait to see what the boy's relatives have brought with them for this special occasion. This box would normally contain jewelry, some dresses and cosmetics. Traditionally, the girl is helped to wear the engagement ring. Occasionally the '*Nikah*' is also performed at the time of engagement.

At this occasion a lady from '*Naai*'⁵² family burns some seeds (now a fragrant-stick is burnt) and she receives some money from the ladies present there. Each lady gives some money depending upon her capacity. She receives comparatively more money from the mother and sisters of the boy. Outside among the male members, a '*Naai*' receives money from the men by distributing sugar and burning the fragrant-stick (*Agarbatti*). People also amuse themselves with fireworks, crackers and gun fires at the event of engagement.

According to the traditions in Swat, *Nikah* is registered after completing the engagement rituals. If *Nikah* is not registered, then the family members from girl's side ask for the '*Gull*' from the family members of the boy. '*Gull*' is paid in the form of money. It signifies the confirmation of the engagement. The sweets that are brought by the boy's family members are distributed among the guests and whatever is left is given to the girl's family which is then distributed among the close relatives. Rich people try to show off more during the engagement by suggesting to hold ceremonies in hotel and marriage halls, and other expenses are opted according to the capacity of the middle-class families. Poor families spend according to their ease and affordability.

⁵² Barbar in rural area not only trim the hairs of local people but he also plays a role of messenger

5.4.9. Pkhay Artha

This term refers to free visits between the family of fiancée and the family of fiancé. These visits usually start after a few days of a formal announcement of engagement. The boy's parents pay a visit to the girl's home and present her with a gold ring and some gifts for the bride. The boy's parents sent gifts to her on every event of social importance such as *Akhtar*⁵³, *Safar*⁵⁴ and *Shabi Qadar*⁵⁵. This is called *Barkha* or the girl's share. Once the girl is engaged, she starts observing purdah from her would be in-laws, both men and women.

5.4.10. Customs of Engagement Congratulations

Dresses are gifted to extent felicitation on the successful engagement. The boy's relatives bring these suits to his mothers and she preserves them in the suitcase which is meant for the bride. They also bring sweets or sugar with them.

5.4.11. Post Engagement

In *Pakhtun* society, traditionally the bride's relatives bring dresses, milk (milk-bread), fruit and sweets at the very next day after the engagement. The boy's family arranges for a dinner or lunch for the guests.

5.4.12. Milk and Flowers

According to the traditions in *Swabi*, another adjacent district to *Mardan*, boy's sisters, close relatives and neighboring girls and women along with some older ladies pay their visit to the bride. They take some milk, flowers (depending upon the season), fruit and sweets with them. Flowers are decorated in a basket. A 'Naai' lady who works in other houses as maid carries these things. The bride greets the elder ladies in the

⁵³ A religious festivity after the observation of one month of fasting according to Islamic tradition.

⁵⁴ The second month of Islamic calendar, this month has also got social significance in the *Pakhtun* society.

⁵⁵ On 27th night of Ramadan, Quran was sent by God to earth. In *Pakhtun* society the observation and related ritual of this night is a common practice. So during the time of engagement the women of boy's family send some gift to the bride's family.

traditional Islamic way and the ladies kiss her forehead. Bride's family entertains them with tea refreshment.

5.4.13. 7th Day-Sweet Drink

This 7th Day ritual (*Oma*) is observed in the various areas of *Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa*. On this occasion the bride's family pays their visit to the boy's family and they are served with the sweet-drink or sweet-milk. This drink is termed as '*Goot*'⁵⁶. After drinking the milk or sweet drink, some money is placed in the same utensil. Bride's mother and sisters offer more money. Other relatives offer the amount of money depending upon their ease. This is a ritual purely for women, and men are not supposed to participate. A lavishly arranged tea and lunch is offered at this occasion. Before the departure, the boy's family gifts suits (to bride's close relatives) and veils '*Dopatta*' (to the other relatives).

5.4.14. Sending Gifts on Religious Festivals

Between the times of engagement to the marriage, whenever there is the event of *Eid-ul-Fitr*, *Eid-ul-Azha*, 15th of *Shabaan (shab-e-Qadar)* and last four days of *Safar*, the women from boy's family send some gifts to the bride's family. These gifts include:

- i. Clothes
- ii. Henna
- iii. Bangles, Hair laces and Clips
- iv. '*Choori*' especially on the event of last days of the month of *Safar*. It is made from the wheat, corn, ghee, and the bread is then mashed into smaller pieces.

5.4.15. Fixing the Date of Marriage

Often the marriage date is fixed at the event of engagement. (In terms of days, months or years) Both parties share their views according to their respective circumstances. Historically this time period used to be quite long but now this gap has

⁵⁶ It is a tradition in *Pakhtun* society, where all the participants in the engagement take a sip from sweet drinks and put some money in the tray in which drink is presented to them.

been narrowed down. Different aspects and factors are taken into consideration in this regard. People with greater resources arrange the marriages earlier. But if the ages of the boy and the girl are low then they have to wait for a sufficient time period before they get married. The completion of the education of the would be couple also taken as a key factor.

A person is sent by the boy's family to fix the date or sometimes just a telephone call is enough for this purpose. The girl's parents in return either confirm the date of marriage ask the boy's family to inform the date of visit to latter home to fix the weeding date. Later the girl's family sends a person or make a phone in this respect. This process continues for few days so that the girl's family has enough time to consult with their close relatives and then select the date after proper consideration. When the girl's family gives the green signal then some elder males and females from the boy's family, visit the girl's family after *Isha* prayer (or any suitable selected time). They take some sweets with them as well. After mutual consultation the date is fixed with some conditions. These conditions may be the following:

- Number of people who are expected to come with *Baraat*.
- How should they be served with refreshment and food?

In some cases the middle class and the poor families also ask for the cooked food for the bride's girlfriends (if they live nearby). Otherwise some money in cash is taken from them. Moreover they also demand some money to prepare the necessary items for the bride. Very poor families still follow this tradition.

It should never be mistaken that *Yousafzai* tribe asks for money for their girl from the boy's family. It is taken as an immoral act and people used to severely criticize such practices. Yet due to meager resources, very poor families demand some money to prepare something for their girl and offer lunch or dinner to her girl's friends.

5.5.Marriage Activities

After the fixation of marriage date the marriage activities begin at both ends.

5.5.1. Activity at Boy's House

Boy's family arranges a gathering first it is arranged usually after *Isha* prayer. Men and older women from the boy's family gather at the boy's home. The oldest person in the family is requested to begin the proceedings. This person begins the proceedings with some verses of the Holy Quran and inaugural prayers for the prosperity and wellbeing of would be couple and both families. He then communicates the purpose of gathering. He informs about the fixation of marriage date and asks others for their agreement. Upon the confirmation other issues are also concluded with mutual consultation. Some important aspects which become the part of the discussion are follows:

- The day for the slaughter of animal is fixed
- If the family is poor then they remain contented with simple dish of rice rather than slaughter an animal.
- If the family is too poor to afford meat with rice then they prefer to offer rice and cereals.
- Family members are assigned their respective duties to which everyone readily agrees.
- The place for sitting arrangement for guests on Baraat is also selected (erecting tents on an empty plot, offering space at homes, hotel or marriage hall).
- Similarly the decision on Waleema is also confirmed.
- Duties are distributed and different individuals perform different tasks such as:
 - i. Arrangement of lighting
 - ii. Arrangement of bedsteads and pillows
 - iii. Arrangement of tents
 - iv. Arrangement of cutlery and cooks
 - v. Purchasing of different things from the market
 - vi. Sending invitations and distribution of invitation cards
 - vii. In the villages of *Yousafzai* tribe all the people contribute in the marriage activities both with work and material such as rice, dishes, pillows, mattresses, cloth coverings and bedsteads. Each and everything has the name of the owner carved on it to avoid the confusion later on.

5.5.2. Slaughtering of Animals

It is mandatory for the family to gather one or two days prior to *Waleema*, at the event of slaughtering of animals to perform a congregational prayer for seeking the blessings from Allah to carry out the activities successfully.

In some areas of *Yousafzai* tribe people follow a local custom that induces each and every family member and the guests to bring with them milk, prepared tea and biscuits etc. and enough to be served to the guests throughout the night. Steel teapots remain on the low flames of stoves and irresistible conversations and gossip continue and it becomes easy to stay awake through the night.

5.5.3. Musical Activity at Bride-Groom's Place

Girls gather at the boy's house right after the fixation of the marriage date. Musical instruments especially the drums are rented, decks and tape recorders, and loud speakers are also used these days which adds to the festive mood.

5.5.4. Measuring, Cutting and Sewing of Bridal Dress

For this purpose some elderly ladies assemble some day in one of the houses and they decide the day for measuring, cutting and sewing of the bridal dress. Similarly day of filtration and cleaning of rice is also decided as rice dishes are main and most likable menu. Along with the marriage invitation, some people are invited at the day of dress selection. This invitation is locally termed as 'Sadda', 'Veena' or 'Satt'.

5.5.5. Cutting and Tearing of Bridal Dress

On this occasion elderly ladies and all the girls gather along with quite a number of kids. This occasion includes close relatives and sisters of the bride.

5.5.6. Everybody Prepares

For the preparation of this happy event, all the family members spend most of their time in the purchasing of dresses, coats, waistcoats, jackets, bangles, hair lacers and shoes etc. The shopping continues till the day of marriage arrives.

Music is arranged every night unabated. Close relatives bring ‘*Nakrizi*⁵⁷’ on distinct days after the *Isha* prayer. The boy’s palms are greased with wet ‘*Nakrizi*’. The boy’s friends and cousins are provided small handkerchiefs as sheath for placing on palms of the hands and a small amount of ‘*Nakrizi*’ is placed over it. Girls from the host family place offer ‘*Nakrizi*’ to the groom and other their family members. They receive some money from the boys as a sweet bargain and sing lyrics along with ‘Duff’ such as:

Wa da zalmo khokoli zalmiya

Sata pa qismat de da gulonu baranona

Da bakhtavori wrazi shemira

Da zra na ma basa rangeen kholi khyalona

Da intizar da khwago dak de

Da kho da sato hum ziat khwaga raorena

Da sakhawat na lag kar wakhala

Da genakay ba keru pa makha sefatona

[O beautiful prince! Your destiny brings you showering flowers

Keep counting these lucky days

Don’t allow these colourful imaginations escape from your mind

This wait is full of sweetness; even sweeter than the honey

Show some generosity as these girls are never going to praise you].

5.5.7. Cleaning of Rice

A day is specified for this purpose. Boy’s family members send the ‘*Naai*’ lady to invite their relatives so that the rice is cleaned before the parities such as ‘*Waleema*’ and

⁵⁷ Henna is adoring art which is used for decoration of bride hands. It is one of the South Asian traditions, and is one of the important parts of marriage rituals.

they clean off the rice from other seeds and pieces of small stones. This ritual is termed as ‘*Rojay Acha Kol*’ (the cleaning of rice). Girls sing some lyrics on this occasion:

Roje pakegi zanana rajama dena

Da sha zalmi wada tha keli khoshalegi

Juni ratoli kegi pa erara

Da sha zalmi da wada roje acha kegi

Dukhmana sar de angari sha

Che me da jee darbandi bandi kri degona

[The rice is being cleaned and women are gathering

All the villagers are happy at the marriage of our beautiful and brave prince

Call for the girls to come and clean the rice for the marriage of the prince

O our enemy! May God turn your head into a stove

And my father cooks the rice on it].

Here the writer is citing to the old enmity of village fellow with each other.

The enemy is never happy at the marriage.

5.5.8. Invitation Cards

Traditionally the guests are divided on the bases of locality, i.e. those come from outside the village and those who are from the same village. For distant places people use transportation facility and if they do not have their own, then it is rented and they visit three or four places a day to invite the guests and distribute the cards.

Usually the women from the boy’s house personally go to the relatives to invite them to the marriage and the relatives offer them ‘Sadda’. ‘Sadda’ is basically some sort of gift such as veils, hair catchers, flowers, sugar or some money. In some areas this custom does not exist.

5.6. Activities at Bride’s Place

Usually there is no arrangement made for gathering on every night at the bride’s house, in Yousafzai tribe. These days we can see some deviations. These are the visible impacts of open mindedness and progressive approach. These days we can also listen to

light music as well. It signifies that at girl's house this is also considered as a happy festival and celebration.

5.6.1. Embroidery on Bride's Dresses

It used to be a tradition in the Yousafzai tribe that before the departure of the bride, girls gathered at her home and assisted in the stitching, embroidery and designs on the bride's dresses. Bed sheets are also decorated with different types of attractive strings and designs along with many other applications. Shopping of any missed essential items for the bride continues amongs other tasks.

All the things included in the dowry are properly arranged. Most of the items for domestic use are bought from the market. Every person and every family contribute to the dowry according to their capacity. In older times, bedsteads with coloured paws, bed sheets, cloth coverings, mattresses and some utensils where included in the dowry. The magnitude of dowry depended upon the capacity of the girl's family. Cloth coverings were prepared with different types of luxurious sheets including the brands such as *Chinghai*, *Bakhmil*, *Shaneel* and *Mughl e Azam*. These days such things are including in the dowry in abundance. Dinner sets, water and tea sets, radio, television, washing machine, furniture, bed sheets, a number of dresses, blankets, Chinghai, Shaneel and other coverings are included in the dowry.

5.6.2. Gifts from Friends and relatives

Friends and relatives purchase and present their gifts on the day of marriage. These gifts are included in the '*Daaj*'⁵⁸ or dowry of the bride. The girl's family is formally asked for their choice of gifts and their liking or disliking. Relatives and the whole family help a lot in this regard as the burden is shared.

⁵⁸ In *Pakhtun* society the parents give furniture, home appliances etc. as a dowry to the daughter as a social support.

5.6.3. *Nakrizi* (Henna) Colouring of Hands and hair Grooming

Traditionally when the henna was taken to the bride's home then both colouring of hands and *Nakrizi* rituals were done simultaneously. Now a special day is reserved for the celebration ritual of *Nakrizi*. Special guests including the women from the family and friends are especially invited. In *Bannu* this ritual is known as '*Loosera*'.

At the boy's home a special gathering is arranged and the guests exclusively include boy's friends. The musical instruments are also played on this occasion. Girls place the henna plate on their heads and dance one by one. The plate contains henna and lighted candles. These lyrics are specially sung at this occasion:

Shapa da da nakrizo jinakay tambal wahina
Khalaq la har khwana pa khaday ragali dena
Ya zama malgaro, dad khund ao gada shapa da
Juni speen wagovi pa nakrizo rangavina
Ogori de navi tha sa khukali sra manra da
Shundi ye mekhrini de ya yaqot de paraq wahina
Pegla malgarala ya da sro gulono lakhta da
Har taraf shugli de khusbuei de rakhorigi na

[This is the henna night and girls are playing 'Duff'
People from everywhere have come to celebrate
My friends! This is the night of happiness and dance
Fair palms of the girls are wearing henna colour
Look! This bride glows like fresh apple
And her lips twinkle as a pearl
Either she is a pearl or a branch bearing red flowers
her sparkles and fragrances have spread all around].

Girls in the village place the henna plate on their hair and dance and sing turn after turn in a close circle.

5.6.4. Boy's Hand-Colouring

Nakrizi has now become an exclusive event. It is now celebrated as an integral part of the marriage. Modern social changes have been very effective and it means that, even close relative boys also participate in this event by singing and dancing. Henna not only adorns the girl but it also graces her hand of the boy as the girls and boys from the bride's family visit to the boy's house and carry out this customary ritual. Ear splitting music is played consistently and nowadays modern instruments are frequently used. There is a singing competition between girls and boys of both families. This kind of festive mood is mostly found in bigger towns and well to do families but is hardly practiced in the village level.

5.6.5. Warbal (Grooming of Bride's Hair)

Boy's relatives gather for the grooming of boy's hair and traditionally women visit the bride after *Isha* prayer to dress the girl's hair. They depart after doing their work and then return early in the morning before the Fajr prayer brings '*Dolay*' (Bride's ride) with them. As a custom *Baarat* used to arrive in time and the bride taken to the new house before dawn. Historically, women from boy's home used to come at the time of *Isha*, beating '*Duff*' and singing. Girls at the bride's home closed the main entrance to the house. The boy's relatives would then enter the house somehow either by offering some money or making someone to climb the wall and jump inside and open the door from the inside. The perceptions have changed with time as nowadays the bride gets her hairdo and makeup from the beauty parlor and people with sufficient resources use this facility.

5.7. Marriage Procession (*Janj*)

The guests, friends and the relatives of the boy gather in the form of a procession in the company of plenty of musicians and musical instruments. The people in the procession normally reach the destination on foot if the destination is nearby. They also take a '*Dolay*' and a camel along with them. The camel is draped with expensive cloth covering on its hump. If the place is at a sufficient distance then the procession commutes

to the destination by own or hired transport. The people without personal transport are offered buses, carts, cars and boats etc. It all depends upon the road, condition and the distance. Carts are abundant in some villages. Now they have been replaced by Suzukis' and Datsuns pickups. People with personal cars are especially invited in the *baraat*. The purpose of this exclusive invitation is just to satisfy their hunger for showing off.

According to the rituals in Yousafzai tribe, the boy rides the horse during the *baraat*. The groom adorns shiny new dress while the horse is well decorated with colorful tassel. All of them walk in company of cars, and continue to sing throughout the journey and young boys dance to the tune of popular songs and with the rhythm of dhol-beat and other musical instruments. Wearing gaudy dresses the women and girls travel in buses, brimming with mirth sing in high pitch to demonstrate their due contribution in the merry making. Boys, girls and women continue to sing along with the *baraat* walking all the way and continuously beating the 'Duff' as well.

Da sro ien pa las khe warkaray

Da sangoray warbal pa khapala khwaravina

Ien ke zan tha pa khair gora

Che khushali da zra bhar ratoop wahina

Ao de wekhto tha de hum gora

Che da mastai na pa hawa gada kavina

[What a pleasing moment that will be to follow the red bride-ride

We shall all on our way with joy in anticipation of taking the red bride-ride on its way

Friends! Take red flowers with you and shower them over her ride

The ride will become red with flowers

And the red rose Patel will be sitting inside with all her pride

A lot of kids enjoy the cracking sounds of the countless crackers they lit up all the way].

5.7.1. Reception of the Marriage Procession

The *baraat* is greeted at the selected place on arrival. People shake hands and some of them hug each other. They are made to sit with complete honour and respect. The tents, chairs and bedsteads are arranged according to the capacity. The local musicians play their instruments in one corner.

Women go to the place reserved for the ladies and offer gifts to the bride such as dresses and shoes. In another case they also leave their gifts at the event of hair grooming at the night.

5.7.2. *Nakha Wishtal* (Target Shooting)

Pakhtun culture revolves around bravery and carrying of weapons. The *Pakhtun* loves to keep sophisticated weapons and they always display such weapons at the time of marriage and other festivities. The bride's village fellows invite the bride groom's party to a target shooting competition to check the manliness of the bride groom's village fellows. A certain target is set up on the top of a mount or tree well whiting the rage of the shooter. The person who hits the target receives words of appreciation from bride's villagers and only after that they are allowed to take bride with them in the procession. It is also one of the tribal customs that *Janj* does leave the village without hitting the target. The man who hits the target first receives a *lungay*⁵⁹. Targets were practiced with bows and arrows in past and with sophisticated guns in the modern time.

5.7.3. Time for Marriage Procession

The conventional approach which is still scarcely used suggests that the procession arrives at the bride's house before the dawn. The dawn is thought to be the lucky time and it is anticipated that preparation and departure of the bride at this time will bring her prosperity and happiness.

Da ronre sahar de dolay lara

Jenay da zan sara ranra pa makha worina

[The dawn is brightening up and look the ride is on its way

The bride is taking with her the light of the dawn].

According to this tradition if the *Nikah* has not been registered then it is registered during the second or third night at the boy's house. It normally happens when the houses of both sides are close to each other.

⁵⁹ *Lungay* or Turban is sign of respect and manhood, so *lungay* is given as prize of acknowledgement and accomplishment in the tribal areas.

5.7.4. Adornment and Dressing of bride

At the one corner of the house the preparation of the *Nikah* takes place and in the meanwhile the bride is made to go through the final phase of adornment and dressing. This process also features following stages.

- i. Any obstacles in the way to the bride's room are removed.
The girlfriends of the bride receive some amount in the form of money.
- ii. The bridal dress which has already been prepared and sewed is presented to the bride and she wears it. The dress also includes red socks, red blouse and red hair laces. Then she is made to sit at the door.
- iii. The girl wears a white veil (blanket). This blanket is then removed and the groom hair is now decorated with the fragrant solution which is called 'Chhalera'. This solution is basically a powder made of different fragrant seeds. It is dissolved in water and the thick solution is applied to the hair.
- iv. 'Pandra' is basically composed of fourteen red silk strings. According to the rituals, seven mothers of sons, (not widowers) split the bride's hair in the locks from the right side in seven different segments. It is then repeated at the left side of the hair. Then those fourteen silk strings are knit one by one to each lock. Then these separate locks are tied into one red lock which is then tied up with red hair laces. Remember that this lock is untied on the third, fifth or seventh day of the marriage. For this purpose women are invited through a maid and a small celebration is conducted.

The above trend has changed in most of the area. Now the bride purchases readymade expensive suit from famous branded boutique.

5.8. Naindara

At the time of *Nikah*, friends and relatives of the bridegroom contribute money to lessen his financial burden. This is called *Naindara or Makh katal*⁶⁰. *Nandara* is a custom in which every onlooker will give some money for seeing the face of the bride for first

⁶⁰ *Nandara* means to get a glimpse of some one. The onlooker will give some amount of money to the bride by seeing her face for the first time.

time. After seeing the face of the bride he or she will become the member of the club from whom bride will not observe *pardah*. Such custom lessen the financial burden of the family second the bride is invited by the close relatives for lunch and dinner in the initial month of the marriage regularly. Such money will help the newlywed in fulfilling their day to day needs. The bride is bound to repay the amount to the giver on some proper and similar occasion of which she or her mother in law have kept a record.

5.9. Rukhsati

Traditionally when men remain busy in target shooting to establish the reputation of bride groom's family and village, the females of the bridegroom's family are busy in establishing their worth through singing and dancing competition with bride's family. Sometimes they make a circle where they perform *Attan*⁶¹. Divided into two groups they sing in the form of a duet. Sometimes they form a circle and dance and sing in a chorus. This is called *Balbala*. After this the parents bid farewell to the bride. The bride is handed over to the bridegroom's relatives in a solemn ceremony. One of her younger brothers takes her to a *Dolay* or a palanquin and a handful of money is showered over the *Dolay*. The bride accompanied by the marriage party is led to a car or bus. The *Doli* is carried on the shoulders if the distance is less than a mile on the back of a camel. On the way back home one can witness scenes of merry making. The female party sings happy songs and men fire crackers and volleys of shots in the air.

On reaching the village, the village youths carry the *Doli* to the bridegroom's house. They do not place the *Doli* on the ground till they are financially rewarded. After this the bride is made to sit on a decorated cot. All the women hasten to see her face. The mother-in-law or sister-in-law take the lead in un-veiling her face and other female relatives follow suit. This is called *Makh Katal*. The bride is presented with some money on this occasion. The record of such donations is also kept for re-payment on a similar occasion. Thus the marriage ceremony comes to an end with the transfer of the bride from her natal to marital home and distribution of sweets both in the *Hujra* and the house. Wealthy people make a display of pomp and show at the time of marriage by acquiring

⁶¹ *Attan* is a traditional dance of *Pakhtun* in which all the participants dance in a circle with beats of drum.

the services of dancing girls and musicians to entertain the guests. The Pakhtuns in general feel reluctant to give their daughters in marriage to non-Pakhtuns but they are not averse to marrying girls of respectable non-Pakhtun families. It is not usual for a Pakhtun to take spouse from another tribe.

5.10. *Rotay Ao Dawat (Invitations) for Newly Wed Couple*

Very close relatives arrange dinner for the bride one by one. These invitations for the newlywed couple continue for many months. In this way the bride is introduced with her husband's family and husband with bride's family.

The present study aims to describe the family and kinship structures and the dependency of individual on his family and member of his *Qaum* (people who trace his lineage from common descendent). This includes the relation of one *kor* (household) with another *kor* in a particular proximity and how customs and traditions are interlinked. The family has strong control over person, prompting him/ her to abide by family norms, values and mores.

Chapter 6: COUSIN MARRIAGE IN PAKHTUN SOCIETY

6.1. First Mentionable Cousin Marriage in *Yousafzai*

Yousafzai tribe's first marriage mentioned by the historians involves the two major branches of the tribe. They were known as 'Yousafs' and 'Manders'. According to the genealogists, both of them were decedents of Maanday's sons Omar and Yousaf. Initially when they lived between Kandhar and Baluchistan, Omar entered India and after crossing the Indus River he settled in Hassan Abdaal. Here his son *Mandar* was born. Omar died in Hassan Abdaal and was buried there on a nearby hill in *Wah*. When Yousaf came to know about the death of his brother, he took *Mandar* and Omar's wife back to Afghanistan. He got *Mandar* married with his daughter. It is a noteworthy fact that Omar's decedents are also known as *Yousafzai* and the great *Yousafzai* tribe traces its roots back to these two major branches. And this marriage played the major role in tying them up as a single tribe.

Yousaf played a vital role by travelling hundreds of miles and bringing his nephew and brother's wife back with him and blessed *Mandar* with a status of his own son. In this way he also played the integral role in establishing the *Yousafzai* tribe.

6.2. Second Mentionable Historical Marriage

History tells us that Mirza Algh, Taimoor's grandson restored his ever diminishing influence with the help of the great tribal power of *Yousafzais* from Afghanistan and *Kharasaan*. It obviously increased the influence of *Yousafzais*. Some young representatives from *Yousafzai* tribe boosted this fact in a mutual sitting while drinking. It alarmed Mirza Algh and he set the trap to eliminate them. According to the plan a party was arranged under the supervision of Mughal nobles and *Yousafzai* nobles and tribal leaders were invited. When they arrived at the party, the Mughals chained the *Yousafzai* leaders and beheaded hundreds of their lead companions including the main leader Malik Suleiman Shah. Malik Ahmad, who somehow survived this assassination, fled from Afghanistan along with his tribe, sensibly led his men to form a formidable

force and eventually settled in Swat, Malakand, Bajor, Bunir, Mardan, Sawabi and Hazara etc.

Zaheer Uddin Babar became the king after the death of Mirza Algh Baig who met his death after suffering from a painful infectious disease. Some hypocrites talked ill of Yousafzais in front of Babar and later decided to eliminate them but it seems better sense prevailed and tried to build friendly relationship with them because he wanted to rule over India with the help of Yousafzais. Yousafzais had been known for their valour since the reigns of Mehmood Ghaznavi and Mohammad Ghauri.

Babar decided to survey the strongholds of Yousafzais. He camouflaged himself to carry out this mission. There was a big house on the peak of a hill called '*Mora*'. Mansoor, the kinship brother of Malik Ahmad used to live there. This place was known as the '*Throne of Shah Mansoor*'. Babar visited the house and by chance it was the day of Eid ul Azha. Shah Mansoor had sacrificed several cows. Both cooked and raw meat was being distributed. Babar climbed closer to witness the scene. The place where Babar was sitting was exactly opposite to the Throne of Shah Mansoor. Right at the front door, Shah Mansoor's daughter '*Bibi Mubarika*' was sitting who was extremely beautiful, wise and sharp girl. She took Babar as a common person and sent for him some cooked meat with some bread. When Babar realized that the girl sent the meat he was highly impressed and almost fell in love at the first sight. He placed the meat and bread over a huge rock beside the house and placed a stone over it.

Later he sent a letter to Malik Ahmad and Shah Mansoor that included a marriage proposal for Bibi Mubarika. He ensured them of good deal and cooperation. Malik Ahmad and Shah Masoor replied that they had no daughter and they do not have any relationship with the Mughals. Babar again sent the letter stating that he is their well-wisher and seeks friendly relationships. He added that he saw the girl himself and sent the evidence in writing as well. The evidence was accurate and Yousafzai leaders were indulged in an intense discussion upon the issue. Eventually, Shiekh Milli, Malik Qurah and other leaders reached the conclusion that it was not wise to be at a head to head situation against the kings. After all Babar was the Taimoor's grandson so the proposal was accepted. The whole Yousafzai tribe contributed in the dowry and all of them collected the gold. 28 Moharran 915 Hijra was fixed as date for the marriage. Dowry of a

royal standard was prepared including jewelry, priceless dresses, gifts, horses, tents, bronze utensils, maids and other things of daily use. The king was informed and he presented his sword as a gift. So Bibi Mubarika was made to sit in the bride's ride and Malik Ahmad and Shah Mansoor descended from the Mora Hill along with their troops. They crossed the River Swat after passing through *Thana* and *Chakdara*. They passed from Chakdara Och, Kat Galla and Talash and then stopped after reaching the Tarri Hill.

The Tarri Hill and Babar's troops were one mile apart. The King's court men were standing to welcome them. The Kings Courtiers accepted the bride's ride and took it to the King's troops. A resting place was prepared for the bride by the King's camp. The daughter of *Pakhtun* surprised the King with her manners, noble upbringing and command over Persian language. She told the King that it was due to Malik Ahmad's teachings. Bibi Mubarika was taken to Kabul with all due respect and honour. She was the most beloved and young wife of the King. All the members of the palace developed a feeling of jealousy and they tricked Bibi Mubarika with a medicine dissolved in some drink which ceased her fertility. All these accounts are preserved in the historical references from Hafiz Rehmat Khawani book and orally shared by one of the respondent in the local.

Gulbadan Begum writes about Bibi Mubarika in 'Humaiyyun Namma' that she was called by the name of '*Afghani Aghacha*'. She went to Iran with King Humaiyyun. Bibi Mubarika's brother Mir Jamal Malik Zai had huge influence in the Mughal court. His sons and grandsons were notable landlords and officials during the reign of Akbar. Bibi Mubarika died during the reign of Akbar at a quite ripe age.

6.3. Nature and Structure of Family

6.3.1. Kor (Household)

Kor is generally consists of social group of parents, their brothers and sisters their married and unmarried children and their grandchildren. They share common values and shame (honour), have a long term commitment to each other and reside in the same house.

A *Kor* in *Pakhtun* society is similar to what it is in the Indian sub-continent “a unit of economic production, distribution and consumption. It also shares some characteristics such as dependency, welfare and solidarity with other South Asian family systems”. The family system in *Pakhtun* society causes rivalry as well as alliances at the same time. As Pakistan is a Muslim society, kinship and family are also influenced by Islamic traditions and Islamic norms of marriage and family formation. A person could get married only with parental consent and their decision is binding on all irrespective of age and sex. However in *Pakhtun* society *Pakhtunwali* has a strong influence than the Islamic traditions.

6.3.2. The Structure of a Family

In *Pakhtun* society the household head, grandfather or father enjoy the absolute authority in all matter of the *Kor*. Grand fathers are mostly respected because of their age and experiences and are considered as blessing for the family members. The land is distributed after the death of grandfather and such is the distribution of authority in the same line.

6.3.3. Role of the Family in Mate Selection

Elders of a family take marriage decisions keeping in view the pros and cons of perspective spouses. Parents especially the father mostly decides the matter of marriage and no body dare to challenge the elders’ decisions. The justification lies in the fact that parents are more experienced that’s why their decision is preferred and binding on their children. Kinship network social capital (Bourdieu 1998) and moral economy, is based on loyalty, gratitude, reciprocity, liability, obligation, and honour. These moral values play a key role in spouse selection and in the maintenance of the exchange system. They are not limited to a person or family, but extended to the kinship organization as such. The actor within the kinship network is a consumer as well as producer of social capital (Bourdieu, 1998).

6.3.4. *Tabidari* (reverence and obedience)

Every individual is supposed to be *tabidar* (obedient) to their elders. A person is required not only to be submissive before his elder and remain silent in the front of them. *Tabidari* is obligatory on all matters relating to marriage decision. In *Pakhtun* society children are socialized to show undisputable *tabidari* toward their elders in every important decision of their lives including marriage decision.

6.3.5. *Khpalwali* (dealing and treating of all family members as one Unite)

One of the most important components of the *Pakhtun* ideal type is *Khpalwali*. It is a kind of expression of a relationship, solidarity, closeness, cooperation and alliance among blood relatives and members of a lineage, and within an ethnic group, among friends and allies. In *Pakhtun* society, it can be observed in everyday life that the concept of *khpalwi* is more significant than the concept of *Tarboorwali*. The former is more egalitarian and democratic than the latter. If we translate the word of '*Tarboorwali*' as an agnatic rivalry or enmity, the meaning attributed by the colonial writers, then *khpalwi* is the antonym of it.

In fact, conceptualizing *Tarboorwali* as an agnatic rivalry is no more than a stereotype. In this course, agnatic rivalry may be a situational case but not the whole practice. It is also an agnatic solidarity, closeness and alliance. It is the everyday life of *Pakhtuns* in a small village, not in an urban setting. *Tarboorwali* is not all about competition, conflict, revenge and violence. It is about a particular kind of social relationship.

The one who is considered as someone's '*khaple*', someone's 'own', she / he is accepted as an equal member of the given 'collective'.

6.3.6. Forms of Marriage

In the village endogamy was the preferred form of marriage, while exogamy was least preferred by the people. Through socio-economic census form the researcher found the following basic pattern of marriage including cousin marriages.

Table 8 Marriage Pattern in the Village

Qoom	PPC	PCC	MPC	MCC	Other endogamous	Exogamous	Total
Khankhel	9	3	9	6	10	2	39
Mohmand	2	1	1	4	1	1	10
Syed	4		2	1	1	1	9
Diroji	2	2	1	1	1	1	8
Total	17	6	13	12	13	5	66

The above table highlights the marriage pattern thriving among the people living in the village. It was found that an extremely large number i.e. 61 out of 66 were married within their lineage (Endogamy) and only 5 out of 66 were married outside their families. Out of the 61 endogamous marriages 17 were with patrilineal parallel cousin, 13 with matrilineal parallel cousin, 6 with patrilineal cross cousin, 12 matrilineal cross cousin and 13 other endogamous marriages. Only 7.60% marriages were exogamous.

6.4. Causes and Consequences of Cousin Marriage in the Village

6.4.1. Ideological Reason

In the village some strong ideology of social system prevailed and people sought guidance from it and perpetuate such ideological notions from generation to generation since centuries. Due to such dominant system of ideology weave with blood purity the people of the village preferred cousin marriages. Most social relationships are viewed through the lens of patriclan. There is an emphasis on the unity of siblings as it carries

ones identity. On all occasions solitary member can represent his *Khanadan* in marriage, funeral or any matter of public interest.

In the society there are some proverbs which propagate the importance and significance of kinship system especially patrilineal. One of the important proverbs is “*Da Pagray Khaple ao da Pansi khaple*” [*da pagray khaple* means the person from your father’s side which share honour and integrity of family]. Turban (*pagray*) represents honour in *Pakhtun* society, and *da Pansi khaple* means person from your mother’s sides with no family honour for you, because *Pansi* means the lower part of *Shalwar* and trouser, in other words insignificant or inferior. So your father’s family is a source of your honour and identity, that’s why the people of the community prefer their patrilineal for the marriage.

Kin were motivated to strengthen their relationships, and their identity is based on the family network. In the community the saying “blood is thicker than water” expressed identity and belongingness. Kin were considered to have common values, shared interests and similar cultural frame.

Cousin marriages represent the level of emotional involvement among siblings. This involvement shows kin solidarity and forms social capital. The more the cousins are united through marriages, the more the group solidarity and social cohesion will increase, and the more social capital and emotional capital will grow (Zaman, 2011).

6.4.2. Blood Purity

Women in village are considered to be the symbol of purity for their families, *Khanadan* and village. As representatives of honour, their protection is the responsibility of their kinfolk. The important way to do this is to keep the women within their group even after marriage. There is a general perception in the society that the *Khanadan* who preferred their own girls are considered prestigious and trustworthy.

Relatives on the father’s side are agnatic kin and they share more mutual duties, obligations, and the property also possessed on patrilineally. There is a general perception that “*kha khalak sirf khaple khalak ve*” [only good people are the kin]. Thus the preferential marriages are those which have and inbuilt for effect to renew or reinforce the already existing relationship.

Purity of blood and being the original inhabitants of the land are the main factor responsible for the perpetuation of cousin marriages. *Aziz Khan* a respondent is of the view that if you get married in other caste your wife will face a lot of problems and other females' members of your family will taunt her for being inferior to them. In *Gham khadi* she will not get due respect being an outsider and all the time she will complaint all that to her husband. Her husband will react angrily to that and in this way conflict and discord will erupt in the family.

The kinship organization engages the actor and creates dependency on the network in various ways. This network dependency is based on different factors and is a form of legitimation; genetically related to ideologies based on this relatedness (purity of blood) which plays an important role for the creation of mutual commitment and for the legitimation of network dependency (Ibid, 2011).

6.4.3. Role of Norms and Values

Throughout the process of the socialization the children are trained to be obedient and *tabidar* to their elders especially grandfather and father. Even they are trained to remain silent whenever elders are sitting in the *Hujras* with other notables and elders. Children and youngster should sit on the lower part of the cot and leave the upper part of the cot for the elders as way of respect. Elders of the family take marriage decisions keeping in view the pros and cons of perspective spouses. Parents especially the father mostly decides the matters related to marriage and no body dare challenge their decisions. The justification lies in the fact that parents are more experienced and they know better about the future perspective and good and bad for their son more than the son himself.

6.4.4. Role of *Gham Khadi* in Consanguineous Marriages

Village identity and *Gham Khadi*⁶² are the two important variables in *Pakhtun* society which always resist change and modernity. With a passage of time a change had

⁶² The death, sorrow, sickness and marriage related ceremonies, which required a typical behaviour to participate in such ceremonies. An outsider cannot understand the nature and extent of such ceremonies. Village life identity revolves around *Gham Khadi*. The person who doesn't participate in *Gham Khadi* has no indemnity in the social set of village life.

occurred in every aspect of *Pakhtun* society but still they follow the traditional *Gham khadi* to show their commitment with old way of life.

“*Khadi pa Khanda kha khakari ao mari pa jhara*”

[Laughter looks good at a wedding and tears at a death].

According to Benedict Grima “Paxtuns divide events and rituals into two categories: *Gham* (sadness, sorrow, loss, grief) and *xadi* (joy, festivity). *Gham* events usually consist of deaths, illnesses, and important losses, while *xadi* events include weddings, births, circumcisions, and other minor events deserving of visits, gifts, and congratulations” (Grima, 2007).

Pakhtun society revolves around *Gham Khadi*. An appropriate emotional behavior is required to participate in the celebrations. Women’s lives are based on reciprocal visits of *Gham Khadi* which is an obligation and binding on them. Participation in *Gham khadi* events is a measure of social prestige, political influence, and authority. The behavior at *Pakhtun Gham Khadi* events follow by strict rules for the performers and performance of the expression (Ibid, 2007).

So *Gham khadi* is also an important variable in cousin marriage. As certain behavior is required to participate in *Gham Khadi* and every family socialize their children accordingly. When one has cousin marriage the circle of *Gham Khadi* will remain the same and one’s wife will face no difficulty in performing that duty of *Gham Khadi*. *Pakhtun* showing that one’s identity still has roots in village life and it is all about *Gham Khadi* (Ahmed, 2005)⁶³. It means that *Pakhtuns* derive their prestige and honour from how one contributes toward *Gham Khadi* and the number of people involved in *Gham Khadi*. A prominent person has a vast circle of *Gham khadi* so does his wife. It can be said that it is ones wife who enhances the status of her husband in society by participating in every event of *Gham Khadi*. **“*Pa gham khadi ke takra kheza da insan shamla ochatai, ao da kar sirf da khaple khanadan kheza koli she, Zakir Khan*”** [It is an active and willing wife who participates in ceremonies related to marriage and death enhances spouse’s status in the society. Such duty can be performed vigorously by a woman from her own *Khanadan*].

⁶³ Ahmed, Amineh. 2005. Death and Celebration among Muslim Women: A Case Study from Pakistan: *Modern Asian Studies*, 39(4), 929-980.

*Badal*⁶⁴ is to maintain relations through appropriate and moral behaviour, especially the manifestation of reciprocity of gifts and visits for *Gham Khadi*. *Badal* dominates the entirety of the system of social presentations. The individual *Pakhtun* perform *Pakhto* and calls it *gherat*, or honour. But each performed act comes under the larger rubric of *badal*. For men this means the exchange of blood or women, while for women “it means the exchange of visits and gifts among themselves. Thus we have two different standards for doing *pakhto*, one for men and one for women. Reciprocity among *Pakhtuns* is a key cultural concept that lies at the heart of most communication and social interaction (Grimma, 2004). It is the women from one’s own family who aptly can perform such duties of *badal* on every important event in the village.

6.4.5. Role of *Purdah* in Cousin Marriage

*Purdah*⁶⁵ plays an important role in consanguineous marriages in *Pakhtun* society. If you are married to an outsider then your family women will observe *purdah* from the male members of your in-laws. But if you are married in *Khanadan* you are sharing same norms and values and there will be no such problem of observing *purdah*. You can enter home of your in-laws or your in-laws can enter your home without seeking prior permission shared by one of the respondent in the village.

Most of the time quarrel erupted in families on *Purdah* issues. “*Ko chari sata wrandar da bahar ye ao da kor nur khazi da hagi da lor ya plar na purdah oki nu da die ziat bezathi garanri she*” [If the female members observed *purdah* from father or brothers of a woman married outside, this is considered as worst insult and most serious quarrels erupted in the families due to this reason]. To avoid such type of situation the people preferred consanguineous and cousin marriages.

6.4.6. Economic Reason

The literature is replete with arguments and findings that consanguineous and cousin marriages are economical and suit people from poor and middle class for that

⁶⁴ Reciprocity in social relationship in events of social importance is the domain of women.

⁶⁵ Strict segregation of unrelated males and females from each other comes under the domain of observing *Purdah*. The word *Purdah* is also used in veil context where the females hide their face from non-relatives.

matter. Such views were also augmented by some of the respondents. A considerable number of the respondents were of the view that cousin marriage is less expensive and economical where no specific dowry is demanded and no difficult and hard conditionality is involved in consanguineous marriages. They know social and economic conditions of each other so do not demand anything which is beyond their capacity.

One of the main reasons and advantage of cousin marriage is that you will get the extensive social capital from the both sides, which will enhance your chances of progress and respect in the society. The already established political alliance gets strengthened further. Unity is strength and draws respect from all corners of society. This will give a message to the outsider that family honour is supreme and the members never compromise on family's integrity. So cousin marriage is considering as one of the main sources of family integrity and solidarity.

Such is not the case with every cousin marriage; there are some exceptions to that. Some cousin marriages are more expensive than marriage with non-relatives. The *Pakhtun* always exhibit his status through marriage expenditure. *Tarbooran* always compete with each other in this manner as well. To prove oneself superior in status from agnates they always spend beyond their capacity. It is wrong that in every case of cousin marriage is supposed to be economical. In some cases *Tarboor* sell their land to spend lavishly on their marriage to compete with their agnates.

One of the respondents Asid Ullah Khan challenged the prevailing perception that cousin marriage is less expensive than the exogamous marriage. He was of the view the expenses are great in such marriage. To show one's superiority to *Tarboors* and *Khanadan* one's is bound to spend beyond means. Through such expenses and pomp and show the message being conveyed to *Tarbooran* that you are not less superior in every aspect and challenging them to compete if they can. Even in case of a daughter's marriage one is bound to spend heavily because at her in-laws home there are many other married relatives who may have already made substantial expenditures so the dowry for the daughter has to either or surpass in order to keep her status elevated. In case of son's marriage one's need to arrange a big feast even a bigger and better than your other relatives so that one does not led down oneself in *Tarbooran* (agnates).

Another respondent Alamgir Khan narrated the story of his brother's marriage, in which because of competition with his cousins he made prodigal use of money out of proportion to give message to the agnates to compete him if they could. This view was further augmented by landlord Gohar Khan; he confirmed that cousin marriages were more expensive than exogamous marriages. To show one's superiority in *Tarboor* and *Khanadan* one spends in abundance on such marriages. Even in case of a daughter marriage one is bound to spend a lot because in her in-laws home other relative are also married, so to keep her status high we spend a lot on her dowry.

So cousin marriage was an economically viable marriage for ordinary people while for landlords' families, the *Tarboorwali* enhanced the expenditure of cousin marriages many-fold as compared to other consanguineous marriages.

6.4.7. Role of Joint Family Structure

In *Pakhtun* society joint family structure is considered a symbol of unity and integrity. When a joint family divides itself, the several components of individual families as a rule disperse into different blocks, and construct their own homes on their ancestral land in the village. If separate houses are not available to accommodate the individual families it is customary for the latter to reside in different sections of the house, each encircling its own part of the house with hastily constructed walls and a separate entrance. Later, one brother, as his family grew larger, might sell his part to another brother, and move elsewhere. Finally none except one brother remained under the original ancestral roof. Social disapproval of breaking up the joint family, even after the death of parents, was great, and the more respectable the family, the less likelihood of its breaking up.

Alternatively, the family property may remain a joint enterprise under joint management for many years, but each individual family would take a share of the annual or monthly income thus produced. There is no definite rule as to who will do the management at latter stage. The brothers may take turns or he who has had most to do with the matter prior to family division may continue to take most responsibility.

In the village the people who loved joint family system preferred consanguineous marriages. So the structure of the family plays an important role in the perpetuation of cousin marriage in the village.

One of the respondents was of the view that *“Pa khaplo ke wada yao faida da hum da che stata da bachi khyal ba da khandan noor khezi laka da khple bacho satae”* [In consanguineous marriage your children are treated by other female members of family as their own children having the same family roots].

They can also play an important role in the socialization of your children. They treat and guide your children as their own. Second your wife is already a relative so they live in harmony with each other. So for the peaceful environment of the family such marriage plays an important role.

6.4.8. Propinquity

Another major reason of cousin marriage is the propinquity in the village. The people know each other and interact on various occasions. So they have prior knowledge about each other which paves way for their marriage. No mobility is involved in such marriages, so doing *Gham Khadi* is easy in such cases. Second the existing circles where one already participates in each other *Gham Khadi* remain the same. If one marries outside of the family or area then that circle of *Gham khadi* is extended to one's in-laws and their relatives who are not the part of one's existing circle of *Gham Khadi* as narrated by one of the respondent in the village. So doing *Gham Khadi* in such relation requires extra time and money to participate.

6.4.9. Role of Land in Cousin Marriage

There were a considerable number of girls who remain in the state of celibacy to keep intact the ancestral land and property. Seven such families were reported in *Khankhel* the landed gentry of the village whose one or two daughters remained away from marriage due to fear of land fragmentation. In the above seven cases no suitable partner were available in the family, so they were preferred celibacy than to marry outside of the family. To avoid the fragmentation of land the landlord of the area

practiced cousin marriages. To let down their *Tarbooran* the respondents shared such information out of enmity with *Tarbooran* to the researcher.

6.4.10. Cousin Marriage and Support Mechanism

Marriage in one's own family is beneficial as one has prior knowledge of family and its members that is why success ratio of such marriages is high. The conflict resolution mechanism is strong and divorce is very rare in such marriages, because people attached negative connotations with divorce and the stigma is shared by the whole family. A member of the *Khanadan* will always be available for help and if he did injustice with it will be comparative less in intensity to that of outsider.

One of the respondent was of the view "I am in favour of marriages in own *Khanadan* as you know everything about them and you share blood, *purdah* (shame) *gham khadi* (to participate in marriage and death of one another) even everything about their social life".

6.4.11. Cousin Marriage and Feud Resolution

In the village cousin marriages are practiced to convert *Tarboorwali* into *Rorwali*⁶⁶ or *azizwali*⁶⁷. To further establish and strengthen a cordial relation between brothers, they sometime arrange marriage of their daughter and son with each other.

It is the very custom which encourages conflict and enmity between the *Tarboors*, but the same custom puts a constraint on such competition and enmity, through marriage rule. If one is not willing to marry with ones cousin the society will question the honour and integrity of ones *Khanadan* as a whole. So cousin marriage is exercised to avoid fragmentation of social structure and to avoid the stigma of society. Sometime such marriages are exercised to appease the already existing enmity of agnates with each other as well.

⁶⁶ Fraternity relationship, the social setting in which all brothers and their children are living in a joint family system, all are treated equally without any discrimination. In such social setting elder brother enjoys special reverence among all other brothers.

⁶⁷ Treating all relatives as a one unit, it is obligatory on all relatives to come forward for the help of troubled relatives.

Case Study 1: Case Study of Afandiyar Khan

My father was killed when he was fighting along with his agnates with fellow villagers. He killed a man to protect the honour of his agnates during that fight. Now we developed enmity due to our agnates. Our father was killed by the aggrieved party as retaliation. Our agnates for whom my father killed the person did not come forward to help us during the crisis. This story reveals that your agnates will always harm you. My father was an influential person who bore the expenses of education of their all agnates. Now we are orphans and our agnates are very influential and active in politics but they never come forward to resolve our enmity.

Again my agnate poisoned my then teenage brother that his uncle is scheming to deprive you people from your share of inheritance. One of my agnate provided pistol to my elder brother, who was studying in 8th grade being immature to know that at that time to know that his agnate is using him to kill his uncle. There was hot altercation between my brother and uncle and my brother killed my uncle. This time again our agnates stabbed our back to weaken us further. As my brother was underage he was forgiven by my deceased's uncle wife.

To convert out accidental enmity with deceased uncle's, family I contracted marriage with that diseased uncle daughter to bridge the mistrust and to extend cooperation and unity. According to the respondent PPC marriage share blood and honour, this should be preferred over education, beauty, profession etc.

Agnates are committed to helping one another to wed their daughters and sisters endogenously as a necessary condition to enhance their common esteem (Kressel 1986).

6.4.12. *Tarboorwali* (Agnatic Rivalry)

Power struggle within the family are part of social structure, and such struggle is embedded in *Tarboorwali*. Struggles are mainly among the agnates who share common property. To appease the rivalry among agantes mostly such marriages are undertaken. Sometime such marriages smother feeling of enmity into *Khpalwali* and *azizwali*. But at other times such marriage further deteriorate the relation with agnates.

6.4.13. Cousin Marriage Role in Perpetuation of Family Business

Noor-ul- Bashir Naveed a prominent *Pashto* drama writer says that the famous *Rajjar methai walay*⁶⁸ did not marry their daughters; because they do not want that their daughters share that special recipe of that special *methai* with other people. In this way they keep the hegemony of their family on the sweets and bakery business in the district.

Such is the case with the famous *Badayuni pera*⁶⁹ of Mardan. *Badayuni pera walay* also preferred their daughters to exercise celibacy out of the fear of transferring of the recipe to the other families thus losing the trade secret. Both *Rajjar* sweet *walay* and *Badayuni Pera walay* prefer cousin marriages to keep their monopoly on their unique sweets business.

6.5. Perception of the People about Genetic Abnormality and Cousin Marriage

Majority of the respondents held the view that they are aware of genetic abnormalities associated with cousin marriages. However this biomedical discourse of genetic abnormalities did not affect their traditional method of mate selection. One of the respondents openly confessed the existence of vision abnormality in his family due to cousin marriages and said “*Zamung Khanadan ke da yao stergi nazar masala dira aam da, zama da yao lor ao dwa zamuno da masla da. Zama nya ao nick che dwara ristadar wo, da haghvi hum da yao stergi nazar kum yo*” [vision impair in one eye is a common abnormality in our family, and my daughter and two sons have the same eye sight problem. Even my grandparents who were cousin of each other shared the same problem of eye sight]. Eye sight related abnormalities are common genetic disorders in the village especially among the *Khankhel*, but in spite of that the people preferred cousin

⁶⁸ *Rajjar* is the name of a village in district Charsada, which is famous for indigenously made sweets. There is a unique recipe of the sweets and that specialty rest with a particular family of *Rajjar* village.

⁶⁹ *Badayuni* is name of a caste in India. The *Badayuni* of India migrated to Mardan after the partition of India and Pakistan. They do business in sweets, and they are famous for their unique sweets all over province.

marriage as individually strong bond and his or her welfare is not important rather it's the *Khanadan* name and honour which occupies superior standing.

Second, majority of the respondents were of the view that everything happens from God side, so does the genetic abnormality. One cannot change what is written in his destiny. The fatalistic nature of the people is also responsible for the perpetuation of cousin marriage in the village. The educated class of the village favour cousin marriage and they are of the view that the genetic abnormality can be avoided through prior medical tests before marriage.

Case Study 2: Case Study of Medical Doctor

Doctor Saleem the only medical doctor in the village was also in the favour of cousin marriage. He was of the view that cousin can understand the nature of the individual and family members and their needs and can prove an asset to the already established relation. If married outside of *Khanadan*, the wife will struggle a lot for adaptability to norms, values and *Ghama Khadi* pattern of the family. If she is a cousin then nobody will let her down in the social gatherings but will face petty issues that will make her life hell.

Other advantage of the cousin marriage is that children will be treated as children of the *Khanadan* from both side and they will get equal attention from them. So the burden of rearing and caring of children will also be shared by the other family members.

As for genetic abnormalities attached with consanguineous marriage is concern, he was of the view such abnormalities can be avoided by conducting tests prior to the marriage, and any doubtful situation can be overcome. There is a tremendous advancement in this regard so we can avoid all the diseases related with consanguineous marriages. At the end he concluded his remark by saying "*khaple khaple ve ao predi pradi ve*" [Blood is thicker than water].

6.6. Cousin Marriage in Different Castes of the village

The prevalence of cousin marriage in the village is very common but the causes and consequences of such marriages are different for different strata and people of different *Qaums*⁷⁰.

6.6.1. *Khankhel*

For example the *Khankhel* landed class and royal pedigree, land is the main reasons of such marriages. In the village there were a total of seven families where one or two daughters observed celibacy to avoid the fragmentation of land. This was due to the fear that the son in law would demand the share of his wife, therefore, the daughter of such landlord families never get married.

Another reason of cousin marriage among the *Khankhel* is that one has prior knowledge about the bride and her family. The girl is socialized in the same social setting and will face no difficulty in participating in the *Ghanm Khadi* of the family. Her acceptability by the in laws will be quite easy.

Support mechanism is another reason of cousin marriage in *Khankhels* of the village. Support of elders from both sides is easily available at the time of need. If any conflict arises between the husband and wife their respective elders' come forward for finding a solution. As the decision of the elders is binding in *Pakhtun* society so both husband and wife have no other option but to accept their decision.

Khankhels are also of the view if female cousin is not getting a groom in the family then the outsider questions the character of female that why she does not get married in that family. It also means one is sharing shame and honour with female cousins, so one is bound to protect the honour in form of cousin marriage. Individual choices are always preferred by family and community welfare.

⁷⁰ Qaum word was used in the village in the context of caste, not in the context of a nation.

6.6.2. Syed

Syeds another caste living in the village, believed in their religious superiority and preferred their own cousin as a bride. Hazrat Fatima the daughter of the prophet Mohammad (PBUH) was married to her paternal cousin Hazrat Ali the fourth caliph of Muslims. Being the descendant of Hazrat Fatima and Hazrat Ali they follow their footsteps. They are of the view that they need 100% Islamic environment in their homes so other girls are not trained according to the basic fundamental of Islam as their own girls are and that is why they preferred consanguineous marriages.

The Syed are also famous for endogamous marriages throughout province. When the researcher asked this question from Qazi sahib the local clergy why the Syed did not give their daughters in marriage to a non-Syed get marriage with non-Syed. He gave an Islamic justification for that the qufh⁷¹ should get married with the qufh. So Syed who are strict followers of Islamic injunction do not get their daughters married to non Syeds who according to Syeds are different people.

He further elaborated his vies as; according to saying of Prophet Mohammad for marriage following conditions are very important

I. religious reverence must be preferred ii self-righteousness iii. Get marriage with those with high fertility rate, IV. Keeping in view future perspective one should have the decision making ability. So according to him the Syed girls can only fulfill the above criteria.

6.6.3. Mohmand and Dirogi

As *Mohmand*⁷², who are migrated from *Mohmand Agency* and *Dirogi*⁷³ who migrated from District Dir, mostly prefer to marry their respective cousins. The reason is that they are mostly laborers and local landlords and Syeds look down upon them and never consider them for marriage as a result they have no other option but to get marriage in

⁷¹ People having same socio-economic and cultural background.

⁷² A prominent *Pakhtun* tribe from tribal area of Mohmand agency named after their ape ancestor Mohmand. During Late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, tenure of land reform were introduced as result of that they migrated to the settled areas including district Mardan.

⁷³ People who migrated from district Dir, another district of *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* and are named *dirogi* after the name of their native district in the study village.

their *Khanadan* in the village or if suitable person is not available for them than they get married with other family members in their native agency and district.

Chapter 7: *TARBOORWALI IN PAKHTUN SOCIETY*

7.1. Introduction

Tarboorwali (agnatic rivalry) plays an important role in the acephalous and segmentary lineage system of the *Pakhtun* society. It has been defined and elaborated by various anthropologists like Barth, Lindholm and Akber S. Ahmed in their anthropological literature. Some anthropologists are of the view that it has been working like an institution in the *Pakhtun* society and standardized their pattern of social behavior and ideal *Pakhtun* behavior in the society. Cousin rivalry very much exists in *Pakhtuns* society where people derive their identity from land. We cannot understand the nature and extent of agnatic rivalry without understanding the socio-cultural and political dynamics of society.

The term carries both positive as well as negative connotations and meanings among different *Pakhtun* tribes. *Khattaks* for example, always use this term in the positive context for their cousins in their daily conversation. While on other hand *Yousafzai*, another prominent tribe of *Pakhtuns* consider the term *Tarboor* for rival and enemy. If an agnate uses the word *tra zoi* for patrilineal parallel cousin; it show friendly relationship of the cousins and if he address his cousins with word *tarboor* it means he has feeling of enmity and distrust for them. So, it meant that *Tarboorwali* has different connotations and different contextual meanings in different situations and on different occasions.

7.2. Historical Background of *Tarboorwali*

We can't trace precisely the origin of *Tarboorwali* in *Pakhtun* society, but there are some prominent historical episodes in collective lives of *Pakhtuns* which they share with their young generation as a part of oral history.

The example of *Tarboorwali* has been commonly stressed in the collective history of the *Pakhtun*. The most practical example is of *Abraham Lodhi*, the last *Pakhtun* ruler of India. His cousin *Dawlat Khan Lodhi* joined hands with *Mughal* emperor Babur out of *Tarboorwali*, and defeated his cousin with the help of Babur and his army. Now this story

reveals that agnates never miss any opportunity what so ever that be to inflict a hard blow on his agnates and to ultimately eliminate their *tarbooran*⁷⁴ (Narrated by one of the respondents during interview with the researcher on 25th July 2014).

The Second important example in the same context is that of the *Khaadi Khan Hund* a prominent *Pakhtun* leader from district Swabi. *Khaadi Khan* had invited Syed Ahmad Barehvi Shaheed (a famous freedom fighter who fought against the *Sikh Raj*) for lunch to his village. When Syed Ahmed Shaheed was on the way to his *Hujra* for Lunch to village Hund, he came across *Khaadi Khan*'s cousin who welcomed him to his *Hujra* for lunch. Syed Ahmed Shaheed, being ignorant of *Pakhtun* customs, especially of *Tarboorwali*, unintentionally accepted his kind gesture; felt honoured and acceded to the request of his *Tarboor* first. Deemed as an act of betrayal by Syed Ahmed Shaheed, *Khaadi Khan* in retaliation declared himself against the movement of *Mujahedeen* (freedom fighters). The anti-*Mujahedeen* stance of *Khaadi Khan* was the result of just the *Tarboorwali*. Oral tradition was shared by an interviewee in the village.

Presently the concept of *Tarboorwali* is directly related to the land (*Dautar*). But interestingly it has been practiced much before the time of *Sheikh Mili*, the founder of the *Garzinda Vesh* (periodical land distribution) land tenure in the sixteenth century. The Ruler of the Swat also abused the concept of *Tarboorwali* by dividing the people into different *dalla* (groups) on the basis of genealogy and pitted them against each other and in this way rules them (Rome, 2007)⁷⁵.

7.3. Nature and Extent of *Tarboorwali*

Tarboorwali is a code of paternal cousins. *Tarbooran* which are commonly known as *tra zamun* are patrilineal cousins. The social code for them is based on opposition. The code of *Tarboorwali* is dominated by the value of opposition. They oppose one another for two reasons.

- a) The cousins are the heirs of inherited property. They have to express and maintain their sociopolitical image by creating an impression that none of them is weaker.

⁷⁴ *Tarbooran* means all those agnates who share common grandfather and common land. The enmity feelings and conflict of interest are always there due to common land and property. The loss of one is the gain of other.

⁷⁵ Rome, Sultani (2007). *Swate State from Genesis to Merger*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Hence, traditionally they are stronger opponents; therefore, cousins normally try to avoid land-border clashes

- b) The second important reason to oppose the cousins is to establish independent political identity. It is because if one of the cousins could not take stand against the opposing cousins, the earlier one could lose not only his independent political identity but also his status as independent decision-maker in the village affairs.

Tarboorwali, the agnatic rivalry, within *Pakhtuns* society is significant constituent of social organization. The literal meanings of *Tarboor* are patrilineal cousins and that of *Tarboorwali* are relationship with patrilineal cousins. But the social connotations of this classificatory term '*Tarboor*', in *Pakhtuns* kinship terminology, carrying the meaning of enemy (Barth, 1959). "As Freud man is charged with hostility towards his father and Malinowski man against avuncular authority, the object of hostility to the *Pakhtuns* is father's brother's son" (Ahmad, 1980). This can be seen as an analogous proverb which *Pakhtuns* frequently utter while dealing with each other. "***Kanry ba pos na she ow tarboor sary ba dost na she***" [This means that a stone cannot be softened; likewise a patrilineal cousin cannot be a friend]. The *Pakhtuns* compare the father's brother's son attitudes and actions to the hard nature of a stone. Just like a stone has no symptoms of softness and remain hard forever, similarly patrilineal cousin remains a rival and enemy as long as he alives. Thus the term '*Tarboor*' in *Pakhtuns* society has been equated with the term enemy.

Tarboorwali, an intangible and abstract concept, has numerous socio-economic manifestations in *Pakhtuns* society. In *Pakhtuns* society land is considered the most valuable resource. Being a *Pakhtun* is in sense synonymous with a being land owner. The *Pakhtuns* considered it a sacred symbol of their elders. The elders of the *Pakhtuns* said about the land, "***Da zama da plar neka hadoki de***" [land is the bones of my father and grandfather]. Rivalry and disputes among *Tarbooran* arise soon after their common grandfather's death, because they shared the land and each one claimed for better agricultural fields. In most of the times the cases are brought for settlement in the front of *jarga* or put in the court of *jargaez*⁷⁶ or who court decides the exact allotment of land to

⁷⁶ All the respectable members who constitute *Jarga* are called *Jargaez*.

the inheritors. But even after the resolving of the distribution and allotment of the land conflict over water for irrigation continues to persist since the water irrigation channels remain the same (Barth, 1959).

During the division of inherited land the greed for getting more and best part of land could worsen the situation between cousins. The tension can convert into an open fight. Whenever, the tension is created among cousins, the support is received from their *Tabar* (family) lineage. The members of a *Tabar* are divided, for supporting the quarrelling cousins, on the basis of affinal relations to side with one or the other because in terms of blood relation the members of one *Tabar* are equally important. The affinal relatives within a *Tabar* are well-armed in support of their affines if the situation converts into a war. The situation of division of inherited property is however remains very tense. Once the land is divided the situation is restored to normal condition (Taieb, 2008).

The first cousins descend from a shared grandfather and would often fight among themselves over land or inheritance, but they would join hands as members of same segment to fight more distant relatives from another segment (Banerjee, 2000). So the *Tarboorwali* show discrete spheres of hostility among the male agnate.

Pakhtuns attach both positive and negative connotation with the word. *Khattacks* a prominent *Pakhtun* tribe lives in district *Karak* used the word positively for their cousins, while the *Yuosafzai* another prominent *Pakhtun's* tribe used the word *Tarboor* for opponent and enemy. So it means that *Tarboorwali* has different connotations and contextual meanings in different times and space.

7.4. *Tarboorwali* as a Social Institution

Tarboorwali is working like an institution in *Pakhtun* society and standardized their patterns of social behavior. Cousin rivalry exists in *Pakhtuns*, but one could not make a sweeping statement and essentialise its presence everywhere and every time, without understanding socio-cultural dynamics of society.

The parents normally arrange marriages for their children. The sons live with their parents in a joint family after marriage. The father of married sons heads the joint family. When children are born to married sons, particularly the males are given hard training as they grow up to prepare them for survival in the competitive society. Strong values of

cooperation among brothers are inculcated to make them a cohesive and powerful group in as an opposition to face parental cousins. The mother does not want her children to be dictated mentally by their cousins. This is because in the longer run they are become rivals for their respective share in the inherited land. Therefore, if the children are subjugated from the beginning they would not be able strong opponents of their cousins when they grow up. However, the overall unity of cousins is also asserted in order to train them for facing any external threat, hence, at the same time the groups of cousins are also thought to remain united against the outsider (Taieb, 2008).

The actual root cause of the continuation of *Tarboorwali* in *Pakhtuns* maintains on the basis of quarrels over land, and struggle for power and status. These situations multiply the feelings of tough competition among the social fabric of *Pakhtuns*; especially the close agnatic kins are the primary competitors for the acquisition of power, and status that are attached with the land. As Akbar S. Ahmed quotes that “this perpetual competition for wealth, gives rise to the institution of *Tarboorwali* which shapes both tribal structure and character among *Pakhtuns*”.

The cousins are genealogically closer to one another and therefore coherent in opposition to threat from distant agnates. Opposition is the core idea upon which *Tarboorwali* rests. This sort of opposition is complementary and is considered essentials for cousin groups to remain in balance. During the time of peace the rival cousin groups try to win the loyalty of opposing political blocs.

Independent political identity is intimately related with independent *Hujra*. Therefore each of the cousin groups try to establish their own *Hujra*. In exclusively separate *Hujra* the owner can show generosity. He can invite the members of his own political bloc. He extends hospitality in order to enhance his influence. A person who lives in isolation shall have little influence and resultantly will not be able to mobilize effective support at the time of conflict. Everybody therefore tries to do to the best of his ability to be sociable and participate in activities of *gham khadi* (sorrow and happiness) (Ibid, 2008).

7.5. Birth of *Tarboorwali*

Case Study 3: Case Study of Zakar Khan

A very important dimension of *Tarboorwali* was discussed by one of the local landlord Zakir Khan during the interview with the respondent. While answering the question about the birth and origin of the *Tarboorwali* he narrated:

“Tarboorwali da mor da khati na shoro kegi”

[Mother tummy is the birth place of agnatic rivalry].

He further narrated: ***“Tarbborwali yoa na joda kedo wala hesa da da pakhtun da zhund. Khezi da bachpan na da aolad pa zehnono ke da tra and tra da bacho khelaf nafrat achai che dir pa mushli bi lerigi”*** “

[*Tarboorwali* is inseparable part of *Pakhtuns*' life, the mothers ingrain such hatred in the mind of their children against the agnates and husband's brother and his family through the process of socialization].

My son who is serving in Atomic Energy Commission is married to his paternal uncle's daughter; his wife tantrums did not allow married life. His wife would taunt him excessively and use abusive language.

But *Pakhtunwali* and *Tarboorwali* is very much part of *Pakhtun* society. *Tarboor* is *matai* (strength) and honour, respect and integrity are integral parts of the family and shared as such. One is bound to help ones *Tarboor* against the outsider. If someone insult *Tarboor*, it is considered the insult of entire family by all *Tarboors* that's why to take avenge is the responsibility of the family. So without the *Tarboorwali*, *Pakhtunwali* is incomplete without each other.

7.6. *Pakhtunwali*

We cannot understand the concept of *Tarboorwali* in isolation rather we should study the social system of *Pakhtun* society in entirety. *Pakhtun* is always compelled by his self-image of heroism. This is exhibited in exalted self-idolized authoritative statements like, why not me, I am not inferior but superior to him, do I not look a *Pakhtun* to you *“wali na za, za da cha na kum kho na yum, za darta pakhun na khakarum*

sa". *Pakhtun* never follows the order and guideline of another *Pakhtun* and that is why no *Pakhtun* emerges as a leader among the fellow *Pakhtuns* and therefore they always experience leadership vacuum, and that vacuum is always filled by the third person in shape of prominent religious figure such as a Syed the descendent of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) or saintly figures such *Miagan*⁷⁷ and *Akhund*⁷⁸ (Rome, 2009).

The *Pakhtuns* constitute the largest tribal society in the world. The *Pakhtun* is an ethnic group and a claim to being a *Pakhtun* is dependent on being the son of a *Pakhtun* father. The normative structure of *Pakhtuns* society, that connects *Pakhtuns* with another, consists of cluster of value called *Pakhtunwali*. *Pakhtunwali*, a mixture of Islamic principles and *riwaj*⁷⁹, serves as a code of conduct for an individual in *Pakhtun* society. *Pakhtuns* ideal- type social organization and behavior revolves around the concept of *Pakhtunwali*. Moreover, these concepts are unwritten and precisely undefined (Ahmad, 1980).

Pakhtunwali is central to their identity as *Pakhtuns* and is a male centered code of conduct. In *Pakhtun* society, if one follows the basic tenant of *Pakhtunwali* than one is a real *Pakhtun* otherwise not. This code is the idiom through which the *Pakhtun* expressed his prowess, *Pakhtuness* (ibid, 1980).

Pakhtunwali serves as an ideal-type of *Pakhtuns* society and not only consist of values such as hospitality, honor, valor, but also provides space for the valve such as competition over resources, jealousy, rivalry, conflict and revenge. *Pakhtunwali* demands that all those brothers and patrilineal cousins who share common blood should also share honor, name and property. A consequence of this sharing is that brothers and cousins protect and defend one another when an outsider or distant relative threaten or attack any of the group members. The other side of the picture, however, is that brothers and patrilineal cousins are also rivals of one another as they share property and wealth and one ones gain is the other's loss (BannerJee, 2000).

Sultan-i-Rome discusses the nature of *Tarboorwali* as political one and it is different from the traditional enmity and conflict in Swat society. "Cousin rivalry and

⁷⁷ *Miagan* means the descendent of *waliullah* (renown saintly figure), who was famous for miracles, prophecies and piousness of character.

⁷⁸ *Akhund* was a saintly figure in Swat who imposed sharia in Swat. The descendent of *Akhund* were the rulers of Swat state.

⁷⁹ *Pakhtun* code of conduct guided by custom and tradition.

opposition exists in *Pakhtun* but not as harsh as enmity and mutual chaos. The differences between segments of patrilineal parallel cousins would be of political nature, and the opposition so far based on difference of political ambitions. If one cousin joins any political party the other will always be in the opposite block” (Rome, 2009).

Sometimes a feud carried through its bitter conclusion ruins all the participants. *Tarboorwali* cannot be explained in terms of man-to-man duel after which the board is wiped clean and a new relationship may emerge. The fight of *Tarboor* is not a result of planned efforts that happens at a fix time and fix place with selected weapons and equal chances of victory but may be a shot in the back within no time. *Tarboor* is person who waits for the movements. At the conceptual levels there is a placidity, symmetry and equilibrium. Different concepts of *Pakhtunwali* are understood as *Tarboorwali* like *badal* (revenge) and *nang* (collective honour and shame) are associated with *Tarboorwali* (Ahmad, 1980).

Badal is generally used in the context of exchange. It is a type of tit-for-tat strategy that *Pakhtuns* strictly uphold. “He is not a *Pakhtun*, who does not give a blow for a punch” (Ahmed, 1975). Due to the norms of *badal*, *Tarboor* at height of their rivalry either sell their lands for weapons or migrate somewhere else. When he becomes wealthy and powerful he picks a fight with them and displays his own strength. These situations lead to the blood feud, some of which continue for generations.

Tarboor are not all the time fighting each other. The enmity with the agnates is situational and contextual one. They fight with each other but whenever an external force threat the integrity then they set aside all their difference and keeps united against the external force as a unit. As they shared a common name, honour, shame and identity and these are social forces which create unity and integrity against the aggression from outside. The *Nang* ((unity and shared honour by all family members) aspect of the *Pakhtunwali* always united all the *Pakhtuns* against a common enemy especially the outsiders and invaders.

The struggle and tug of war between the cousins is also called “*Syalli*” (competitiveness). *Tarboorwali* does not exist only among the first patrilineal parallel cousins but seems to extend to all males of the same generation belonging to same clan and tribe (David, 1996).

7.7. *Tarboorwali*, Migration and Remittances

Tarboorwali and *Syalli* (competition) are also the push factors giving rise to extensive out-migration from *Pakhtun* areas. As new avenue of jobs and money are available outside of the village and country so they are attracted to this aspect of their social lives. Cousins have always trying to enter into *Syalli* (competition) to take over each other. This continuous competition exerts tension on the overall societal level (Ahmed, 1980).

Now *Tarboorwali* is manifested in the construction of palatial houses and fort like *Hujras*. It's a fact that major chunk of their remittances are spent on unabating competition among agnates. Now agnates are spending lavishly on guests in their *Hujras* to prove themselves superior to their other agnates.

They are spending a lot on the education of their children. Out of *Syalli* they are admitting their children in the reputable educational institutions of the province to prove their superiority over their agnates. So now *Tarboorwali* and *Syalli* are there for educational achievement among the agnates.

Among the children who do not perform well in the study and fail to achieve good grades face the *peghor* (taunt) of parents as well as his father's brothers.

7.8. *Tarboorwali* and Politics

The actual root cause of the continuation of *Tarboorwali* in *Pakhtuns* continues on the basis of quarrels over land, and struggle for power and status. These situations multiply the feelings of tough competitions among the social fabric of *Pakhtuns*; especially the close agnatic kins are the primary competitors for the acquisition of power, and status that are attached with the land. As Akbar S. Ahmed quotes that "this perpetual competition for wealth, gives rise to the institution of *Tarboorwali* which shapes both tribal structure and character among *Pakhtuns*".

The *Tarbooran* remain chief rival for political leadership within lineage. This phenomenon can be seen in contestation of election. Election becomes a medium where *tarbooran* express their opposition. They support the person who is an outsider against their cousin. They express their resentment openly against the cousin and try to create

circumstances that ultimately lead to defeat of the cousin. They rejoice when they defeat their cousin in election. The fact is that, “that cousin is the bane of their existence and chief rival for power and status” (ibid, 1980).

In the village if one agnate is the member of one political party, his agnate will join the other political party as an opposition and to counter the political influence of his agnates.

Case Study 4: Case study of Raziq Khan and Safdar Khan agnatic rivalry

The recently held local body’s election provided an opportunity to Raziq Khan to settle his old score against his cousin Safdar Khan’s family. In 1970s Raziq Khan’s father was not supported by his agnate Safdar Khan’s father in the election, and he openly supported another candidate. Safdar Khan’s father actively canvassed against his agnate and succeeded in defeating his cousin in election.

Now in 2015 Safdar Khan’s elder son was contesting election from PTI platform, apparently Raziq Khan expressed his support to Ilyas Khan the elder son of Safdar Khan, but behind the scene he left no stone unturned to inflict defeat on his cousin’s son to take revenge of his father defeat in the 1970s. *Tarboor* never miss an opportunity to harm and to settle old scores against each other, wherever and whenever they get the chance. Raziq Khan got an opportunity after 40 years to avenge the defeat of his father from his agnate, because his agnate supported the political rival of his father.

7.8.1. *Tarboorwali* and Political Identity

Independent political identity is intimately related with independent *Hujra*. Therefore each of the cousin groups tries to establish their own *Hujra*. In exclusively separate *Hujra* the owner can show generosity. He can invite the members of his own political bloc. He extends hospitality in order to increase his influence. A person who lives in isolation shall have little influence and resultantly will not be able to mobilize effective support at the time of the conflict. Everybody therefore endeavours to show his capability to be sociable and participate in activities of *gham khadi* (sorrow and happiness) (Taieb, 2008).

In *Pakhtun* society male children are considered future guardians of family assets. One who does not possess male children is called '*merrat*'. *Merrat* is often the victim of murder by his patrilineal cousins called '*merrata*' since, he shares property with his patrilineal cousins and they want to remove him from the line of inheritance. The '*merrata*', has various socio-economic consequences. *Pakhtuns* prefer polygamy marriages for producing more and more male children. Sometimes they produce a large number of female children in hope of getting a male child which is matter of fortune. So these factors lead to population explosion in *Pakhtun* society.

7.9. Changing Dimension of *Tarboorwali*

Tarboorwali is not static phenomena rather it is changing one. It encompasses many new aspects of competition and jealousy as time passes. One of the recent trends in *Tarboorwali* is competition and jealousy in the education of the children. The agnates remain in competition and try their utmost to get their children educated in the most prestigious institutions. The children of agnates meanwhile also involve in constant competition and jealousy with each other for getting good grades. Among the children who do not perform well in study and fail to achieve good grades face the '*peghor*' (taunt) of parents as well as of father's brother's sons.

Tarboorwali generates intra-patrilineage hostility and jealousy and at the same time insists on intra-patrilineage faithfulness. Before the mechanization farming practices, the bond of loyalty and devotion among *tarbooran* was strong. There was no division of labor. They worked together as a single unit, called '*ashar*', in the most arduous seasons like sowing and harvesting. But after the introduction of modern farming machinery, the spirit of oneness and solidarity among them declined, and was gradually replaced by hostility and jealousy.

The tussle between the cousins is also called "*Syalli*" (competitiveness). *Tarboorwali* can and frequently does extend beyond the range of first cousins to include all males of the same generation belonging to a tribe or tribal lineage (Edwards, 1996).

The concept of *Syalli* is a check on the same descent member to be treated as same and equal irrespective of differences in wealth, property and any other criterion of status and prestige. This *syalli* element does not allow any member of the same descent to

be treated especially so this competition discourages the class formation in the same clan. The institution of *Tarboorwali* has always been motivating to encourage the continuation of the principles of egalitarianism and segmentation in the structure of the society among *Pakhtuns*. Agnatic rivalry and *Jirga* undermines the authority of such leaders and perpetuates de-centralization in *Pakhtun* social structure (Ahmed, 1980).

Tarbooran are not fighting and conflicting all the time. They abolished their rivalry in *Gham-Khadi*. They provided each other with every kind of support whether it is in the form of social services or financial support. During *Gham* they arrange meals for guests and provide services to the family members of deceased up to three days. They also participate in each other functions such as weddings and circumcision ceremonies. They provide services and support to each other. Both in *Gham-Khadi*, the norms of reciprocity equally apply, because, in return they expect same services and support from each other. Moreover, they protect and defend each other when an outsider or distant relatives threaten or attack any of the group members. So *Tarboor* is not only one's enemy but also in such circumstances a reliable partner.

Case Study 5: Case Study of Agnate Support

Alamgir is from landlord family and while sharing his experience with the researcher said “a few days ago i had a fight with one of my village fellow over irrigation water as a consequences, all my family members picked up weapons for me against that person. The interesting thing in that fight was that my agnate was the first person who came for my help in this crisis. So it is not right that one's *Tarboor* will always harm.

“*Las che mat she gari la lar she*”

[In fact during the trouble time it is always your family members who will come forward for your help]. I will sacrifice my life for my cousin next time if he needs my help in such type of situations.

7.10. Functionality of *Tarboorwali* in *Pakhtun* Society

First *Tarboorwali* provides diacritical social behavior distinguishing *Pakhtun* and non-*Pakhtun*. *Tarboorwali* separates non-*Pakhtun* from ideal *Pakhtun* behavior and confers superior and inferior status in society.

Second, *Pakhtunness* carries with it various social and political advantages and implications. Political authority and leadership in society are seen as a monopoly of *Pakhtun*. The goals and prize cannot be defined in material terms. Yet what are the compulsions that drive men with such intensity that they are prepared to kill each other. The answers lie in the concepts of the *Tarboorwali* cousin syndrome, mostly based on the notions of honour: *saritob*⁸⁰, *ghairat* and *sharm*.

According to Akber S. Ahmed the concept of *Syalli* maintains and keeps intact the egalitarian nature of the *Pakhtun* society and thus equalizes the status of all the fellows of the same descent and discourages class formation and harsh dichotomies in the society. The institution of *Tarboorwali* has always been endeavoring to reassure the continuation of the principles of egalitarianism and segmentation in the structure of the society among *Pakhtuns*. Jirga and agnatic rivalry balances the authority of such leaders and preserves de-centralization in *Pakhtun* social structure (Ahmed, 1980).

David B. Edwards has the view that “*Pakhtun* also follow the rules of fission and fusion in the society. He refers the *Nang* concept against the outsiders whenever they encroached upon them. The principles of revenge (*Badal*) and perpetual concept of agnatic rivalry (*Tarboorwali*) equalizes and frequently sustains the structure of egalitarianism”. The same argument has further augmented by Christine Noelle by saying that “*Tarboorwali* reconfirms their social cohesion against the outsiders under the trait of *Nang*. But on the other hand also limits the amount of wealth and power acquired by the tribesmen within the society. They consider wealth less important than the importance of honour” (Noelle, 2004).

The de-centralization of authority and power on the other hand exerts the vicious cycle of violence and feuds that continues from years to centuries. Every *Pakhtun* in *Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa*, FATA, and *Afghanistan* feel the same as I am not inferior to the

⁸⁰ The ideal *Pakhtun* behavior to deals with every member of the society in a respectable way

other fellow. These feelings of self-freedom and pride promote all the violence in terms of getting and availing honour, not wealth but wealth for honour. The same argument is further augmented by Lindholm that “*Tarboorwali* not only undermines centralization, but it also gives rise to destructive feuds between kin and the attendant pattern of betrayal from which the characterization of treacherousness is drawn. It creates an atmosphere in which honour lies in vengeance, not in keeping them” (Lindholm, 1982).

Tarboors do fight with each other, but would always fight together against the outside enemy. The concept of *Nang*⁸¹ also guides the pattern of behavior in *Pakhtuns*. Unfortunately, the intensity of societal vacuum and cleavages reached to its zenith because of the absence of internal social and cultural cohesion.

The relations of *Tarboor* are very dangerous in upper caste especially *Khankhel* because of land ownership and their rivalries since generation. In fact *Tarboor* cannot tolerate the success of other *Tarboor*, and they never hesitate to eliminate each other. A famous proverb that “**Da khple Zan Khair Gwara**” shows that thinks for your own self-interest and forgets about how others reflect *Tarboorwali*.

The principles of revenge (*badal*) and perpetuate concept of agnatic rivalry equalizes and frequently sustains the structure of egalitarianism. The same is further augmented by Christine Noelle by saying that *Tarboorwali* reconfirms their social cohesion against the outsiders under the trait of *Nang*. But on the other hand also limits the amount of wealth and power acquired by the tribesmen within the society. They consider wealth less important than the importance of honour (Noelle 2004).

The concept of *Rorwali* can be understood in opposition to *Tarboorwali*. *Rorwali* refers to *Pakhtu* code of conduct related to brothers’ relations and brotherhood. Brothers are very much cooperative and woven in the chain of *Rorwali*. They never desire to become rivals of each another. They usually resolve their matters of opposition among themselves because they know that outsider will make them weaker against their *Tarboors*.

Rorwali is a strong bond, which keeps brothers unite and when cross marriages occur among offspring of two brothers, this bond is further strengthened. The brothers

⁸¹ The person who protect honour and integrity of one’s family and never afraid of to sacrifice his life for its protection.

unite themselves and keep a lineage alive. They regularly visited another houses, as, to them, such visit make them nearer to one another. The people also spend much of their time in brother's house during *Gham & Khadi*, which reflects sense of brotherhood and unity. They also share expenses during marriage and funeral time and thus test their *Rorwali* (Arabnaz, 2011).

7.11. The Role of Women in Perpetuation of *Tarboorwali*

In the existing literature *Tarboorwali* is presented as a male domain and the role of female is totally negated in that regard. While conducting study in the village the researcher came to the conclusion that the role of women is very much pivotal in the perpetuation of *Tarboorwali*. It is the women folk who ingrain the seeds of *Tarboorwali* in children since childhood. They teach and train their children all the time to be more competitive, otherwise their *Tarboors* will make fun of them.

It is the women who instigate their husbands to use all fair and unfair means in doing *syalli* with the husbands' brothers' wives. It is the wife who always presents herself as a victim and neglected one and taunts the husband that brother's wives leading more luxurious lives and are having every facility of the household and that she has nothing at all.

This attitude of the wife compels husband to do more and more for his wife and children. This *peghor* (taunt) is the main cause of change in the family structure. In past extended family and joint family system was preferred form of living but now in this modern day every married brother has his own separate house. So sever are *Tarboorwali's* feelings that they have divided the hearth and joint family home.

The mother always boots up their brother's contribution for the welfare of the nephews and always blames her husband's brothers for the failure. Due to this constant feeding, children from their childhood develop hatred for the uncle and sons, and love for *mama* (maternal uncle) and his sons.

It is a general miss-perception that institution of *Tarboorwali* is purely men's domain and women have nothing to do with that. It is women who always ingrain the seeds of *Tarboorwali* in the mind of their children against their uncles and agnates.

Syally is instigating and this is done mostly by female folk, as they always compel their husbands by comparing them to the rest of their patriclan and how well the latter are fulfilling the needs of their women.

Married sisters always praise and boost up their brothers status and position over their husbands families.

According to Aziz khan that

“Da mama har wakht tareef kai ao tra har wakht landi kai”

[They always praise maternal uncle and use negative words for the paternal uncles].

And mother socializes their children in such a way to increase her influence in husband’s family.

Syally is instigation and this is mostly by female folk, they always compel their husbands by comparing them the rest of their patriclan and how they are fulfilling the needs of their women. Married sisters always praise and boost their brothers’ status and position over their husband’s families.

In sum the consequences of *Tarboorwali* are no more than creating disharmony and conflict in *Pakhtuns* society. But the *Pakhtuns* see it an affirmation and upholding of the *Pakhtuns* major values of *Pakhtunwali*. Because, the very concepts of *Pakhtunwali* such as *saritoob*, *ghariat* and *izzat* are involved in *Tarboorwali* which *Pakhtuns* strictly uphold.

In nutshell *Tarboorwali* is an important constituent of *Pakhtuns* social organization. The social connotations of *Tarboorwawli* are enmity, jealousy, competition and tussles. This hostility and enmity range from a mild expression of jealousy to killing. The main cause of enmity between agnates is the land. Moreover, the agnates are rivals and enemies of each other in each and every aspect of social life. However, in *Gham-khadi*, and in case of outsider attacks on any of the group members, they support, and protect each other.

Chapter 8: *TARBOORWALI, PAKHTUNWALI AND COUSIN* **MARRIAGE IN LIGHT OF *PASHTO* PROVERBS**

In *Pakhtun* society, proverbs have a distinct place in oral literature and are the most commonly used of all folklore (Tair & Edwards, 1975; Akhtar, 1997). Proverbs are not only relics of the past, but equally have practical utility in everyday lives of *Pakhtuns*. “They are found in textbooks, radio and television dramas, in conversation in bazaar and home, between and among men and women, and a wiser man is considered to be the one who speaks more proverbs” (Khattak & Bartlotti, 2006). Most proverbs are used as a social control mechanism to inculcate an ideal *Pakhtun* behavior and desirable moral values of the society, along with that every proverb carries a certain type of information and guideline and mention briefly all features of life and activities (Sanauddin 2015).

Proverbs are not folkloric remnants, verbal decorations, or collector’s items. They are very much alive and play an important role in the speech of *Pakhtuns*. *Pashto* proverb is the only tool through which we can understand every aspect of their lives. They are heard in political speeches and political commentaries, in situations of social conflict and in heated family arguments. This makes proverbs not only a clever form of verbal art, but also a potent tool of verbal combat (Enevoldsen, 2004).

According to Mieder: “a proverb is wisdom expressed in a sentence” (Mieder, 1985). Proverb can tell us a complete story in a single sentence. Without the shared code one cannot understand the meaning and message embedded in the proverb. So we can understand proverbs in *Pakhtun* code of conduct.

According to Milner (1969) a proverb has the following characteristics: “(a) it is pithy, concise and easily remembered by the use of rhyme, rhythm, repetition, or alliteration; (b) it is vivid, homely, sometimes coarse, deals with people’s primary interests; (c) it singles out something abstract and universal based on experience and observation which might be stated literally or figuratively; (d) it sums up a situation by appealing to humour; (e) it is often linked to another saying which appears to give it the life; and (f) its effect is to raise a statement from the ordinary to emphatic level in order to urge, teach, praise or convince, or alternatively, to warn, blame, restrain or discourage” (Milner, 1969).

The meanings of proverbs are contextual and depend on the intention of the speakers and perception of the listener. Men and women used proverb differently, even proverbs are interpret differently by different caste, class and strata, and always serves the interest of a certain class (Norrick, 1985).

Proverbs reflect ideological struggles between the rulers and ruled in a society and if wisely take out and analyzed, proverbs can provide some evidence of voices from below, i.e., the world-view of the dominated group. Schipper (2004) argues that proverbial messages are an excellent yardstick for finding out the extent to which people continue to accept sexist ideas about women, while Kerschen (2012:3) believes that —the nature of proverbs is such that, while they are brief, they are perhaps the best indicators of attitudes and belief (Sana Uddin, 2015).

Kenneth Burke calls proverbs “strategies for living” rhetorical devises for dealing with social situations. As such they also provide a kind of ethnographic record of tensions and conflicts in a society. They identify recurring situations in a culture and give such situations have occurred before, and have been handled in this or that way. (Burke, 1987) Proverb, if we take it as a vehicle for communication, is the impersonal or social vehicle in making or developing of interactions (Dunde, 1979). We can study and understand the people’s everyday life world through proverbs that have stored the stock of ‘interpretive patterns’. Pashto proverb is the representative of the *Pakhtun* life world. Through the study of *Pashto* proverbs, we can know about the *Pakhtun* behavior code, their everyday life communication, communicative actions and their social system.

Proverbs have stored the *Pakhtuns* worldviews and they can help us to know about the life experiences and everyday life world of *Pakhtuns*.

In *Pakhtun* society the blood relationship is still considered very important which provides a base for the organization of lineage members. Therefore there are a number of proverbs, which symbolize the importance of blood relations. For example “*oba pa dang na byalegi*”

[Blood relatives cannot be separated from one another].

Now we will understand *Pakhtun* society through proverbs directly or indirectly related with *Pakhtunwali*, *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriage.

8.1. *Pakhtunwali* or *Pakhto*

Pakhtun culture is governed by unwritten law and it is a code of life which is known as *Pakhtunwali*.

Pakhtun consider their society every bit as superior as Winston Churchill considered his. And it is defined by *Pakhtunwali*; there is no *Pakhtun* nation or, in fact ethnicity. A *Pakhtun* is simply someone who speaks Pakhtu and who follows the tribal code; *Pakhtunwali* literally means to “do *Pakhtu*” (Gardez, 2006).

Pakhtun feels proud on the very unique cultural traits they have, and they follow and promote it, and due to these characteristics of their culture they have grabbed the attention of the world toward themselves.

Pakhtunwali affects and regulates the social behavior and organization such as household settlements, marriage and its expenditure pattern. Its rules pertain to endogamy, exogamy and lineage politics (Safdar, 1997).

Toru being a traditional society, people of the village have belief in the traditional values and norms, and these are the driving force which always guide them and give them identity.

Proverbs are the guiding force and make their social life meaningful. They not only use the proverb in different context and situation, but they act and follow them in every activity of life unconsciously.

The interesting thing about the proverbs is that if you ask someone to share some proverbs, by telling few proverbs he will be unable to tell you more after reciting a few. But once the conversation starts and gets heated they will share proverbs in the running commentary to strengthen their arguments. This shows that proverb is basically live and has a running status.

The different ceremonies and occasions of get-together are best places for using proverbs. If you want to understand the perception of people, proverb is only tool one can understand them and their society.

“*Pakhto nim liwantob day*”

[*Pakhto* is half-madness]

To follow *Pakhtun* code of conduct in real sense is not an easy task in *Pakhtun* society. One faces a lot of hardship and sacrifices to fulfill the obligation of being a true *Pakhtun*. That one needs not be rational and sensible in *Pakhtun* society, rather one need to blindly follow *Pakhtunwali* what may be the consequences.

“*Pakhto ke Pokhtay matigi*”

[Upholding *Pakhto* will break your ribs]

It means that keeping and doing *Pakhto* is not easy. One must be hospitable, brave, must provide shelter whosoever seeks it. To adhere to values related to *Pakhtunwali* is not easy, one has to face a lot hardship and be ready for sacrifice on the name of *Pakhto*, *noom ao namoos* (name and honour).

“*Pakhto pinzam din de*”

[*Pashto or pakhto* is the fifth religion]

It means that *Pakhto* has a sacred status of its own and it is not derived from something. You cannot understand the tenant of *Pakhto*, without understanding the social structure of society and how it operates within that social structure. Outside of that anything is meaningless and difficult to understand by the prism of other social forces including religion.

In a descriptive metaphor a *Pakhtun* has said to his friend “to his friend he is a slaughtered chicken on a plate, to his enemy he is a raging tiger (Enevoldsen, 2004). In this chapter the researcher will not discuss every tenet of *Pakhtunwali*; but only those tenets which are directly or indirectly related to *Tarboorwali* and cousin marriage.

8.1.1. *Nang*

Nang means honour, although the English word honour does not have the same connotation as *Nang*. It is an important component of *Pakhto* and plays a vital role in the *Pakhtun* social system (Rome, 2013).

The *Pakhtun* is required to be *Nangyalay*⁸²; the one who has nang, and behave in the required manner in different circumstances and on different occasions (Ibid, 2013). *Nang* is the complex idea of honour and shame, dignity, courage and bravery. *Pakhtunwali* code is based on the need to maintain honour and reputation. Every *Pakhtun* is supposed to maintain and keep it supreme.

“Da pakhto kanri pa ubo ke na warstigi”

[The stone of *Pakhtunwali* cannot be dissolved in water]

The psychology of the *Pakhtun* requires that eventually he takes his revenge on an enemy even though outwardly he may appear friendly. Whatever may be circumstances and how hard may be the situation *Pakhtun* will stand firm in that, and will face the consequences bravely.

“Pa jihan da nangyalay de da dwa kara

Ya ba wokhri kakaray ya ba Kamran she”

[A *nangyalay* faces two ends in life

Either he will lose his life or will emerge successful]

A *nangyalay* is honoured and esteemed. Ignoring and keeping aside the *nang* is called *beynangi* and is looked down upon. One devoid of *nang* is considered worthless. (Rome, 2013). In *Pakhtun* society almost every person will share this verse of prominent *Pakhtun* poet *Khushal Khan Khattik*, which shows that how much *nang* is important in *Pakhtun* society. Even in the locale *Toru 17* respondent shared this verse with me whenever they were discussing the concepts of *Nang* and doing *Pakhto*, with me.

“Qayamat ba alta she che Pakhtun la nanga prewze”

[Dooms day will arrive when the *Pakhtun* says good bye to his *Nang*⁸³]

As *nang* is the indispensable part of *Pakhtun* nature and it is the only yardstick to differentiate *Pakhtun* from Non *Pakhtun*. If one does not follow *nang*, then one ceases to

⁸² *Nangyalay* means in *Pashto* a person who keeps honour and shame supreme and always follow *Pakhtunwali* in real sense and who never hesitate to sacrifice his life and property for the protection of one's honour and shame and upholding of *Pakhhto*.

⁸³ *Nang* means to keep intact ones honour and shame supreme at the expense of everything in *Pakhtun* society.

be *Pakhtun*. One's status and prestige is always judge in term of one's adherence to *Pakhtunwali* codes. Once the honour is lost your, the people will exclude one from their gatherings and ceremonies, if they invite you, people sitting around will always let you down in one or other pretext. The people will completely neglect you in the society. No one will congratulate on the birth of the child. No one will marry him and eventually he will be compelled to leave that area along with his family.

In *pakhtu* it is commonly believed that:

“Parthoog ka pa ghwaye we no bae akhle”

[How much the trouser is expensive you have to buy it]

*Parthoog*⁸⁴ is regarded as a symbol of honour among *Pakhtun*, you have to acquire and maintain it even if it is expensive as much as an ox. Now ox is an expensive animal which cannot be bought or kept by a common man, so it is highly valued in the society. If you will not be able to acquire or maintain it then you will be disgraced, and will be forced and kept out of the native area.

“Pakhtun na che Pakhtoo lara she nu zamaka da pri dhaka shee”

[When a *Pakhtun* has no *Pakhtoo* (Nang, honour); may he fill the hollows of the earth]

A person, who is *Pakhtun* but does not follow the code of *Pakhtunwali*, has no right to be called *Pakhtun*. *Pakhtun* should lead an honourable life otherwise death is better and preferred for dishonorable person. In *Pakhtun* society children are socialized from the very beginning of their lives that being *Pakhtun* is not the name of a race but the name of doing *Pakhto*. Doing *Pakhto* is the only criterion of being *Pakhtun*.

The great 17th century poet Khushall Khan Khattak further augmented his concept of *Nang* in his famous following verse;

“I despise the man who does not guide his life by *Nang*; the very word *Nang* drives me mad”.

⁸⁴ *Partoog* means loose trouser wear by men and women. In *Pakhtun* society, *Partoog* symbolises honour and shame.

If the *Pakhtun* will not follow the rule of *Nang* then along with losing his or her honour, status and value in that society, he will also bear the hate and ill-tempered villagers, and ultimately quit living among them.

Now the concept of honour (*Nang*) has two features and they are *sharm* (*shame*) and *namus* (privacy). These both concepts are attached to the sense of noble modesty. The word *sharm* is used in daily life and it denotes a strict ban on a person from wrong doings, by provocation and insult, and to arouse a sense of honour in them. *Sharm* is also related to the behavior of females, their ascendancy from men and the consequences on women's family and kin group. The other word the *namus* means privacy and the protection of the sanctity. It refers to the integrity, modesty, and respectability of women and the absolute duty of men to protect them.

A *Tapah* presented nang as,

***“Khudaya benanga zoye ra makri
Ke pa dedan pasi ye randa pa stargo shama”***

[O my God don't give me a son, who would have no *nang*
Even if may lose my eyesight in pining away to see him]

And another *Tapah* says

***“Pa Hindustan de sili jor sha
Da benangay awaz de ramasha maina”***

[O my beloved I will prefer you dead and be buried in India (used in a faraway sense), than you living dishonour and ignominious]

***“Soori soori pa golo rashe
Da benangi aqaz de ramasha mayan”***

[O' beloved! I should receive the bullet-ridden body of you, not any news of your *benangi* (without honour, shame)]

***“Ke da zalmona pura na shwa
Fakhr-e-Afghana⁸⁵ jenakie ba de gatie”***

[If the young lads don't succeed for you,
Fakhre-e-Afghana, the lasses shall carry the day]

⁸⁵ *Fakhr-e-Afghan* (proud of *Afghans* or *Pakhtuns*) was the title given to the great *Pakhtun* nationalist leader and freedom fighter Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan aka “Frontier Ghandi”.

The word *Fakhre-e-Afghan* is used for the great reformist *Pakhtun* leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan aka Bacha Khan. So from the above proverbs and *Tapahs* we can conclude that *nang* and doing *Pakhto* is an indispensable part of *Pakhtunwali* and *Pakhtun* society.

8.1.2. Bravery (*Tura*)

Tura the sword indicates the readiness to fight in self-defense and to uphold one's honour and integrity in the society. You are supposed to be brave enough, and be able to protect yourself, your family's honour and wealth.

“Tura (braveness) is supposed to be a dominant element of the ideal personality associated with young men. It validates hotheadedness and rashness in situations where provocation is answered with impetuous acts of violence (Oberson, 2002).”

In *Pakhtun* society it is commonly believed that every *Pakhtun* must be brave enough to face the adverse circumstances boldly. He is supposed to take revenge on the behalf of his fellow kinsmen and perpetuate the psychological dominancy over people through his sheer bravery and timely actions.

“Tura pa asal Ghosawal kawē”

[A sword cuts according to the quality]

It is believed that how much a person is brave, he has that much power of dominance, he will be acknowledged as a respectful person in the area on the basis of his bravery. Straight forwardness and bravery are the two main criteria in the *Pakhtun* society which attract followership and respect in the society. If you are a genuine and real *Pakhtun* then you must be brave and fearless.

“Tura pa kato da, ao ghashi pa weshto de”

[The proof of the sword is in the testing, and that of arrow is in its striking]

Until and unless you did not show your bravery, you will not be acknowledged as a brave person. You are expected to reveal your bravery through your actions not in words only. You have to face conflict and adversity with valour, otherwise a coward has no strength to strike.

“Merana da merro johar de”

[Bravery is the essence of the noble men]

When you show your undaunted courage then you are not supposed to step back whatever may be the consequences. Bravery and existence of *Pakhtun* are indispensable and inseparable parts of each other. So bravery is like a diamond in *Pakhtun* crown.

8.1.3. Badal (Tarboorwali: Revenge)

Badal means exchange, or to do something on somebody's turn against something done to somebody by someone else. *Badal* is believed as taking the revenge of some wrong done in *Pakhtun* society. It is a reaction of wrong act or the insult hurled at. And this reaction comes in force case of some wrong act or insult is spewed on *Pakhtun* in terms of *Zan* (woman), *Zar* (gold, wealth), and *Zamin* (land). Every *Pakhtun* is very sensitive in these three cases, because he owns these things and never hesitates to give up his life to protect *Zan*, *Zar* and *Zamin*.

“Badal pa badal khalasegi”

[Tit for tat]

If you do harm to any *Pakhtun* he will retaliate and pay you in the same coin no matter how mighty and powerful you are. He will take revenge at the expense of anything.

“Pakhtun na de che da nook jawab pa sook war na ki”

[He is not a *Pakhtun*, who does not strike a blow if punched]

It shows the retaliatory nature of *Pakhtun* whereby, he would always stick to his words, deeds or sayings, and retains the ill-feelings in his mind a long period, as long as he will takes revenge or carries out tit for tat, for what others have done to him or, even worse . There is no time period for taking revenge, if he failed to take revenge during his life time, his next generation will commit themselves to take revenge.

“Pakhtun che sal kala pas badal wakhli nu tadi ye okra”

[If a *Pakhtun* takes revenge after 100 years then he is deeded to have taken revenge in hurry]

It shows the vengeful nature of *Pakhtuns*. The *Pakhtuns* do not subject themselves to any particular time framework for taking revenge, even 100 years is considered a limited timeframe for revenge. In this concept *Badal* or revenge is very common when taken from near relatives especially your agnates, who always try to let you down and disgrace you in the society.

8.2. *Tarboorwali*

Now we will understand the nature and extent of *Tarboorwali* through the prevailing proverbs in *Pakhtun* society. *Pakhtuns* attach both positive and negative meaning to *Tarboor* as discussed in the previous chapter. Enmity with the agnates is contextual and situational. In one situation your agnate is your hardest enemy and in other he is your strength and staunch supporter.

8.3. Negative Connotations of *Tarboorwali*

“Tarboor khwar lara zoai pa kar lara”

[Keep your cousins poor, but use them to your own advantage]

The *Pakhtun* usually do not like their cousins to be superior to them. They always keep their agnates weak and dependent. If your *Tarboor* is getting strong socially, economically, and politically you will be the first person, he will use his power against that is why in *Pakhtun* society agnates are kept weak and dependent.

“Tarboor ko de khar ye lata prey ma awara”

[Even if your cousin be a donkey, don't ride him. (He may throw you down)]

According to *Pakhtun* tradition, *Tarboorwali* is considered to be the most dangerous form of enmity. If your *Tarboor* is willing to be friendly and cooperative with you, never trust him, his apparent good nature has something bad for you. So never expect any good from your *Tarboor*.

“Tarboor da berray bor”

[*Tarboor* is like berry bramble]

It means that your *Tarboor* is of no good use. Your *Tarboor* will never benefit you. He has no utility for you just like the bramble of berry is of no good use so are your agnates.

“Da tarboor pa las ba mar hum na wajni”

[Don't kill a snake with the help of your agnate]

Snake is poisonous dangerous reptile; do not seek the help of your agnates to kill the snake. It can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly there is possibility your agnate will pretend to help you in killing the snake. In relying on him, his help you may actually getting yourself into the possibility where the snake will bite you.

The other interpretation is that your agnate is more dangerous than the poisonous snake.

“Tarboor da shpay mogi dy”

[Cousin is the hurdle of night]

Cousin is the one who will be your well-wisher in public and face to face situation, but behind your back he will keep no stone unturned to harm you. *Pakhtun* is considered as not real if he does not have any *Tarboor*. Here *Tarboor* do not fear from another, but they do challenge each other.

“Tarboor Khwar sata kho istimalawa ye”

[Keep the cousin poor but used him against others]

If your *Tarboor* becomes powerful he will turn against you, that's why use your *Tarboor* always against other people so that he may not turn to you.

“Da Tarboor gakh pa Tarboor mategi”

[A cousin starts biting his cousin first]

It is always the *Tarboor* who will use his newly acquired force, identity and wealth against his agnates, to show and establish his superiority.

“Khaple ba de zharai ao pradi ba de khandai”

[Your relatives will make you weep, while a stranger will make you laugh]

Again this shows that whatever sort of rivalry brews among the relatives in *Pakhtun* society. Only the close relatives can dare put you in difficulties, and he will let you to face the music, and will make you to weep by their ill-conducts, while non-relatives are not like that, because you do not come into contact with them like you have keep contact with them too often like you do cousins and relatives.

“Mar wazhali kha de Tarboor wahali kha da”

[It is better to kill a snake and to humble a *Tarboor* (agnate)]

An enemy should be eliminated, but an agnate may be useful if kept in a subservient role.

8.4. Positive Connotations of *Tarboorwali*

The phenomenon of *Tarboorwali* and *Tarboor* is not always used negatively nor will your *Tarboor* always harm you. In some situation he will be your *matai* (strength) and he will never hesitate to sacrifice his life for your *izzat ao Sharam* (honour and shame).

“Khaple na pradekegi”

[One’s kin can never become stranger]

However unpleasant the attitude of one’s kinsmen, they can never turn into stranger.

Blood is thicker than water.

“Khaple pa azar she bezara na”

[Your own blood relation can never leave you]

He might get hurt but will never part his ways with you. There is a hidden emphasis on the importance of the blood relation which is considered as most reliable in the social relations.

“*Khaple khaple*⁸⁶ *ve ao pradi Mughal ve*”

[In this proverb, the one who does not fall in the category of ‘khopal’ has been equated with a *Mughal*]

In the communicative folklore of the *Pakhtuns*, *Mughal*⁸⁷ is the symbol of enemy and the reason behind it is that the *Pakhtuns* had been invaded and killed by the Mughal Empire in the past and this was now part of the history. A *Pakhtun* cannot trust a *Mughal* because; there is a permanent enmity between the two.

“*Khaple haga de che saba bega ye makh weenay*”

[Your *khaple* is the one who does not leave you even if at distance and can share his feelings, experiences, views, support and cooperation with you all the time]

Khpal is the one who lives in society with you and the one who fulfill the requirements of social life.

“*Tarboor wror dy, tarla khor da*”

[Cousin is a brother, and female cousin is a sister]

In *Pakhtun* society, patrilineal male cousins are treated as brothers and female cousins as sisters. Their kins ties are so strong that they cannot live alone or separate from each other. The people of the locale were of the belief that if the entire world is against you that time it would be your *Tarboor* who will help you in that difficult moment, as you share your honour and shame with them.

“*Bada rora pa bad zai pakara*”

[A brother might be a rival but it is he who would support in the time of crises]

It is an established fact that it is in the locale where harsh agnate live with whom you have severe enmity but will be the ones who would come forward to your help before any one else does.

⁸⁶ *Khaple* means relatives who shared same blood and honour.

⁸⁷ Mughal who ruled over India for many centuries and were the traditional enemy of *Pakhtun* as the first Mughal emperor Babar took the reign from *Pakhtun* king Abraham Lodhi.

“Khabara da Khudai dapara kotak da ror aziz da para”

[A word for the sake of God, a stick for the sake of your relatives]

When asked about justice one should speak the truth but when ones relatives are embroiled in a dispute, one should take up arms in their cause, whether their action is right or wrong. It is obligatory on you to take sides with your relatives otherwise the people will let you and your family down. So unity is strength and is indispensable for your survival in the society.

“Khaple de ka mar kri sueri ta ba de wachavi”

[If your own kin kills you, at least he will put your dead body in the shade as a mark of respect. If your relative kills you, at least they will not disgrace your dead body.]

“Khaple haga de che pa nangsiyal ke de pakar rashi”

[A true comrade is the one who comes to your aid in the time of trouble]

Alamgir Khan a local landlord was once fighting with a village fellow over water issue. The feud turned serious exchange of fire started out suddenly. His father's brother's son with whom he was not on talking terms due to some family issue, jumped in for his help and protection with a gun in his hand. As both were from same family and had a shared shame and honour, his cousin set aside the differences when it comes to a dispute with an outsider.

It is not only the blood which will determine your relation with your kinsmen at the time of dispute with an outsider, but ultimately protection of the honour and integrity of your fellow *Khanadan's* member that is at stake and has to be preserved at any cost. So you are not only sharing the blood but *izzat* and *namus* both with the relatives.

“Ror ba zoie maase ao dusman tha ba ror maase”

[May you not be without a son against a brother or without a brother without an enemy]

This proverb reflects the contradictory nature of *Pakhtun* society. The main bone of contention is land in *Pakhtun* society, that's why your sons and brother sons will always having conflicting interest and loyalties.

Cross sex relations within a lineage are the most affectionate and giving relationships within the society. A *Pakhtun* man if in financial trouble will first go to his elder sister, for both advice and financial help. The sister has been taught that the patrilineal lineage is all important and that its strength resides in her brothers. The sister will assist financially, even selling her wedding jewelry meet her brother's demand. Brothers in turn will give presents to their sisters, take them in their shelter if necessary, and sponsor and protect their children. In *Pakhtun* society the daughter are socialized in such a way that they will never hesitate to sacrifice everything for the honour of their brothers.

“Khaple bud da wolo mianze de”

[One's own weakness lies between the shoulder blades (that is, where one cannot see them)]

It means that a person never sees his own shortcomings. This proverb is used for those people who always see their family the only *Khanadani* (royal, from good pedigree) people and let down the other people.

“Pa zor kili na kegi”

[Community is not created by force]

8.5. Friendship

Friendship is a phenomenon which is considered very much honourable, but due to *Tarboorwali* you cannot have friendship with your agnates.

Because of tarboorwali and extremely atomized and antagonized nature of friendship with in Pakhtun society, Pakhtun men seek friendship with outsiders. (Tainter, 2011).

Because they are in much competition against each other, so in such scenario the men seek friendship with outsiders, and it is not so much influential, because the sphere of the friendship is limited to the business ventures.

“Khudai Dosti me da seyal sari sara oki”

[O God let me be a friend of my equal status]

As you need the help of a friend on every occasion so friend should be equal in strength and influence and he should be equally ready to be there for you at the time of need.

“Ashna neesa kor ye kassa”

[Before making a friend, see his home]

If you want to make a friend, first you have to know his values and customs, whether he is a man of his words or not and will he come forward for your help whenever you need.

“Ashnai pa asal sha da na pa be asal”

[Seek a noble not a base (mean) friend]

If you want a friend then he should be from noble pedigree, as a friend in need is a friend indeed and a man is known by the company he keeps. If you have a mean person as a friend it will affect your value and standing in the society. But if you make a friendship then it's a lifelong commitment and you should be ready to share good and bad times with your friend.

“Pa yarana ke tal bangri mategi”

[Bracelets are always broken in friendship]

The friendship has no place for bargain or compromise, you should ready to sacrifice everything in the way of friendship, as in *Pakhtun* society friendship is the most precious thing a person possesses in his life.

“Che sa tayar we haga da yar we”

[Whatever is ready is offered to friend]

It is common belief that when you have friendship then both know the social and economic status of each other. That means what you like for yourself; you should also choose the same for your friend. There should be no formality in friendship, as friendship loses its value if there are formalities among friends.

“Da cha che dosti dera we, haga ba dolat baeyli, ao da cha che dusmani dera we hag aba sar”

[If you have many friends then you are supposed to entertain them all the time, which will be a burden on you and one day you will shower all of your wealth on them and this can land you in financial straits. Likewise if you are having conflicts and enmity with many people then for sure one day you will lose your life]

So it is suicidal for a *Pakhtun* to have many friends and many enemies at the same time.

“Da ghal sepay zoye ko zal na ve khosan kho ve”

[At last the wolf’s cub becomes a wolf]

Family is the basic unit of socialization in Pashtun society. When a bad man’s son gets an opportunity, he will do the same what his father was engaged in. The character judgment of a son is done mostly by keeping in mind the history and status of his family. This is not only the case of *Pakhtun* society; in South Asia the concept of ‘*khanadan*’ (family) has been dominant to the extent that if you ask about someone’s personality and character, it is enough if he/she is called as ‘*khandani*’. If someone’s father is labeled as a bad person, and when his son does wrong, it is the latter who is held responsible for his unsound character but his father is blamed for unfavourable traits in the sons. According to *Pakhtun* life world, the reasons of right and wrong doings lie in socialization and family training.

This is about the originality and the fact that nature of a human being cannot be changed. Even if at first one changes or hides his demeanor or introduces himself differently but at last he shows his reality and that reality and true self would be that of his ancestors.

8.6. Nature of *Pakhtun*

8.6.1. Importance of Land in *Pakhtun* Society

People’s primary loyalty is respectively to their kin, village, tribe, or ethnic group, generally glossed as *qawm*. This fact influences their perceptions of, and approaches to, many aspects of society, politics, economy and relations with outsiders. (Tainter, 2011)

“Har sare zan tha khan de”

[Every man is Khan (landlord or influential self-sufficient person) in his personality]

In *Pakhtun* society no one accepts the superiority of any other person. Everyone tries to be independent and equal to other *Pakhtun*. So this egalitarianism and equality is the essence of every *Pakhtun*'s nature.

“Da zama da plar nekay hadoki de”

[Land is the bones of my father and grandfather]

This means that land is the bones of my father and grandfather which need to be preserved and not given away. Land is the only source of identity in the society. *Pakhtuns* have identity on the basis on the size of land he owns in the village. Once you sell out your land and property you also lose that identity.

“Pa ta ma was na rasi, mar ba de plar kum”

[I cannot hurt you, but I will kill your father]

It refers to a coward who is unable to take the revenge on his enemy, and seeks out someone weaker for revenge. Such revenge from weaker is looked down upon in *Pakhtun* society. Women, children and old enough are never targeted as it is consider a cowardice act.

“Sok che khawre kharsavi, khawre be khore”

[One, who sells soil, will obviously eat soil]

The person who will sell his land or orchard will lose identity and source of income in the society. So the loss of land for a *Pakhtun* is the loss of respect, prestige and identity in the society.

“Se yam, kho za ya yum”

[If there is any one, it is I]

“Pakhtun da zamari pa shan wayazi khushala ye”

[Pakhtun like lion, happy to be alone]

8.7. Understanding Cousin Marriage through Proverbs

There are various prevailing proverbs in the village which signifies the importance and significance of cousin marriage in the social lives of the people. One such proverb was quoted mostly by every second respondent as:

“Ka da tra lor de okra, che sra de okral, ao ko da mama lor de okra no spin de ao ko da bahar na de okra no hasi hesh khashak de”

[If you are married to patrilineal parallel cousin it means you have got the gold and if you are married to maternal uncle or daughter of mother’s sister, you have got the silver platter and if your wife is not from your family (*Khanadan*) then you get a straw which is good for nothing]

This thinking shows the importance of consanguineous marriage in the society. There is certain stratification in consanguineous marriage, the most important and preferred form of marriage is the one with the patriclan which is termed as gold in the village, than matriclan and other blood relatives as silver. Exogamous marriage is considered insignificant and less preferred one in the village.

“Da pagray khaple ao da pansi khaple ke farak ve”

[There is a hell of difference between the patriclan and matriclan].

This was the most frequent used proverb in the village; *pagray khaple* means the relatives with whom you share your turban. In *Pakhtun* society turban is a symbol of honour and prestige, so your patriclan is your identity in the society. *Pansa* means the lower part of trouser which represents something inferior and insignificant. So the matriclan in *Pakhtun* society has no importance in the context of one’s identity in the society. In the electioneering people look down upon the person who votes for the candidate from matriclan not patriclan. In the village the people look with scorn the person who preferred his matriclan over patriclan.

“Gwakha ao nook na sara juda kegi”

[Flesh and finger nail cannot be separated]

It is very difficult to keep distance with your close relatives, your agnates may be your enemy but they will be your strength against the outsider. So blood is thicker than water.

“Las chi mat shi no gharhi la razi”

[Finally the blood relatives would take care of]

It is obvious that *Pakhto* in terms of favours and opposition is constructed around the principle of segmentary lineage system that is regulated by complementary opposition. *Pakhto* is a sense of composition, which is utilized to retain *Azizwali*

“Speene pagre saro ta speen patkee khizo pa sar kare de”

[White turbans are given to men by their women]

The females are considered the *nang*, *namus* of the family, clan and tribe. The male members are known as respectable in the society if they do not have any sort of stigma attached to their females. In case if anything happens on the side of female the male members have to lose their dignity, status, honour and value in the society.

“Sare ghrona de ao khazi arramona de”

[The men are the mountain and the women are their support]

It is a general misperception that women have no role in *Pakhtun* society. It is the women who always back their husbands and sons in difficult time. When you face difficulty outside it is always women who encourage you to encounter the mishap or tribulation. It is the women folk that made a person triumphant in the most difficult and odd situations.

8.8. Family Relations

The family relations among the *Pakhtun* are constantly changing and demanding in time and space. On one side is your enemy the *Tarboors* and on the other side is the honour of your family that you are bound to protect. *Rorwali* (ideal relation of brothers) and *azizwali* (would be relation with your close relatives) is your strength in the society so that enables you to keep close to your brothers, sisters and other close relatives.

In *Pakhtun* the most acrimonious relations are among the individuals, not groups. The basic premise of society is struggle against patrilineal relatives and neighbours. Men struggle against their closest patrilineal relatives and are in perpetual competition with them. This struggle is typically over land held by the common grandfather.

“Setargi ba banro na dranigi”

[One’s own burden feels light]

This shows the importance of kinship relation in the society. Your kin are like parts of your body, their burden is not considered a burden rather their grief and sorrow are equally shared by the kinsmen.

“Wada asan de kho Tuk took ye gran de”

[Marrying is easy, but the preparation is difficult]

In *Pakhtun* society there are various expensive rituals attached with the marriage, and to perform all such rituals a lot of resources and wealth are required. One is supposed to spend a great deal on the dowry and one should be able to arrange a big feast for all the villagers irrespective of caste and family background.

“Mal de lar she, sar de lar she kho pat de na ze”

[A man may lose his wealth and life, but not his honor.]

“Las che mat she ghari la ze”

[When the arm is broken, it hangs in a string from the neck for support.]

When a person alienated from his family, gets into trouble he will return to his kin for help.

“Che ror de khaple ve kho che pa raz da bul ve dusmun thri kha de”

[An enemy would be better than a brother who has made an alliance against you with other.]

“Ke ze ze nu abazo la ba razi”

[No matter where you travel, you will always return to *Abazai*]

In *Pakhtun* society the man’s loyalties are always with his place of origin.

“Ko baran ao ko galay milma ghwari kha nwaray”

[Whether it rains or hails, the guest should be shown the hospitality he deserves.]

“Da kili oza kho da narkha ma oza”

[Leave the village if you are not happy with the prevalent situations but do not disobey it]

In sum we can say the proverbs provide a window of opportunity to the researchers and ethnographers to peep into socio-political lives of the people. The worldview and perception of the people can be deciphered by interpreting the proverbs in the social settings. So, proverb is one of the main variables through which one can understand people psyche and their patterns of thinking. Through proverbs one can understand people perception of marriage patterns including preferred and prescribed form of marriage in *Pakhtun* society. The values and the meaning the people are attaching with cousin marriage and *Tarboorwali* can be deciphered through the prevailing proverbs. Though proverbs have roots in the past one can understand the contemporary thinking patterns and behaviour of the *Pakhtuns* in a particular situation. In nutshell we can say, through proverbs we can understand *Pakhtun* society as a whole by applying analysis discourse and thick description (Badshah & Khan, 2015).

Chapter 9: MODERNITY IN PAKHTUN SOCIETY

In this chapter we will define modernity and the various aspects of modernity in the context of *Pakhtun* society.

9.1. History and Ontology of the Word Modern and Modernity

The word modern has many meanings in different contexts and different times. According to Raymond Williams, the word “modern” meaning just now, while the French word modern was derived from Latin word modernus in the 5th century to differentiate an officially Christian present from the a Roman historical pagan past (Smart 1990). Later on in the 16th century onward the word modern was used in a new comparative historical sense and this time it was used to distinguished present from the medieval past era. In 18th century the word modern was used for new architecture, new fashion and new behavior pattern of that time (Kahn, 2001).

In 19th century a new meaning was attached with the word modern and this time this word was used for refined, improved, satisfactory and efficient (Williams,1983). Till that time there was no used of the word modernize or modernist in the existing literature. It was in 1888 that the word modernism was first reported by Barry Smart in reference to work of Rube'n Darior who used the modernism to praise and acknowledged the work of a Mexican writer, Ricardo Contreras, and afterward in 1890 in references to *modernismo* as a movement in Latin America for cultural liberation and independence from Spain (Smart 1990).

There are no singular modernity rather multiple maternities” has been developed, often independently, in a wide range of anthropological accounts. While modernity was a singular phenomenon in the Western context, once it diffused and spread into the non-Western contexts by colonialism it was adopted by the indigenous people in a different way and now different meaning were attached with the word in local context apart from the Western context. The word modernity in the economic context in same way as it is used in the West but the economic system of both are totally different from each other, one is based on maximization of profit and the other is based on egalitarianism and welfare for all (Yang, 1994).

Both tradition and modernity are not static phenomena as tradition and the values and norms attached with that keep changing with an unnoticeable space and never remain static and the same. The same is the case with modernity it never carry a single meaning and single sense of direction rather it is full of ambiguities and different connotations and meanings are attached with the word modern and modernity by different people in different societies (Nguyen, 2005).

Modernity can be perceived as an "umbrella term" that covers a wide range of resources, behavior patterns, and attitudes. A modern society will typically be characterized by the following attributes: a high average of formal education, a low birth rate, a high rate of female employment, and a tendency toward equality in conjugal power.

9.2. Nature and Extent of Modernity

‘Modernity’ is objectification, rationalization and afresh way out of false dogmatism and exploitation of ecclesia and landlords, respectively. It traces back its origin to Industrial revolution. However our definition does not confine itself to a nutshell and reductionism. Modernity not only purports itself as saviors but also purports itself as a hero. It has been vying since the day first, to unshackle the world of the chains of Barbarism, Backwardness and Parasitic class. Moreover, it, seemingly, is the sole sympathizer of the world, which wage war with all other ‘Pre-modern’ structures, which also accredits its “heroism”. Modernity, has taken up almost all the bonuses, needed to serve the nations of the world. It endorses ethics, mannerism, tolerance and altruism, which ironically, are highly paradoxical and do not fall in a marriage with it, at least critically. Additionally, modernity has its own universality, known as globality, not very distant claim of it in the past. It speaks of expansionism of science, Progressivism and education. However, modernism has rhetoric of providing people with almost all cushions of life so as to ease them out, but inauspiciously it does not. Nevertheless, modernity is a metaphor, which itself presses for critical deliberation beyond the literal meaning.

It affirms itself at the cost of negation of other cultural modernities. It was not that there was only one modernity which spawned out of industrial revolution in Europe,

while all other societies were stagnant or waiting for the messiah “West” to descend miraculously and cater all other nations with a book of modernity, not very much unlike Prophecy. Howsoever, modernity was rather imposed upon others. This modern strategy of “Othering” under the guise of “Orientalism”, which Edward said has echoed as cultural imperialism, pushed the now “Global south” to an extent, where they were made to accept what was imposed upon under “Orientalism” commonly known as colonialism. Modernity was yet in embryonic phase, when the west was expanding, it took its maturity in post-colonial era.

As the current crisis of globalization intensifies and economic, material, social, and political conditions deteriorate for many in the global south comparisons with the era of colonial rule are inevitable. The idea of descent into chaos with the departure of the colonial power has been almost the guiding idea governing understandings of the neo-colonial era from the inception (Hintzen, 2005).

This very Universalization, named as modernity, is actually “Eurocentricism”. This cultural hegemony what Escobar calls, is in its nature anti-traditionalist, which plays the role of centripetal force and holds contempt for multiculturalism. We can, easily, reduce the example to that of nation-state (Modern). Nation state is an epitome of modernism and all those states once were subject to western colonization, are now nation states. States are apparatuses of repression in which one modern elite group, which has the skills and (western)modern education, hegemonies the traditionalist and deny them their cultural identity and try to internalize their culture or better to say devour their culture, so as to universalize, homogenize and rule them. Today the world map is an agglomeration of nation-states, which evinces as to how all other multiple-modernities are supplanted with single modernity of ‘nation-states’, that is to say “modernity of west” (Glatzer, 2002).

9.3.Modernity in *Pakhtun* Society

The *Pakhtun* holds distinct value-apparatus, for instance the *Pakhtun* romanticizes their tribal legacy and feels proud of having lived a tribal life. While the modernist, both the western and non-western, consider the word “tribe” as taboo.

Similarly the *Pakhtun* derives his identity and status from his roots in village life. No matter how far you go from the village ultimately you have to come back to the village “*che ze ze nu abazo la ba razi*”. It is this tribal and village identity inbuilt in tenacious bonding which always resists modern values system. Similarly modernity in *Pakhtun* society carries different meanings in relation to western society. The word modernity has been used in the context of change in the values and norms embedded and expressed through family relations in the village life. The change in values and norms changed the different dimension of the *Pakhtun's* institutions such as family, marriage pattern, *Pakhtunwali* and *Tarboorwali* in context of change in behavior, norms and values related to family, marriage and *Tarboorwali*. Similarly education has changed the marriage preferences and the meaning and significance of marriage in the *Pakhtun* society. Apparently no change has occurred in marriage ratio and preferences but the meaning the people attach with marriage is changing drastically due to education, social mobility and technology.

9.4. Modernity, Change and Social Institutions

People who respect the past and are engrossed in their respective traditions and ritual are least interested in the change that is why they transform slowly and unwillingly. Such transformation is so slow and gradual that the people do not notice that their culture is static and will remain same forever. They are ethnocentric in their approach and assume their customs and techniques as correct and are supreme entity and that will remain everlasting in its outlook and posture and other customs and techniques are inferior and unendeavoring.

Any change in such society is likely to be too slow to be perceived and noticed. A quickly changing society develops a different outlook and approach towards change. In such changing society the people develop a rational temperament to know the causes of such changes and the consequences of such changes on the society. Speedily changing societies are conscious of the social change. They do not follow every aspect of their culture rather are to a certain degree uncertain and critical of some parts of their traditional culture and will consider and experiment with innovations. Such attitudes

strongly encourage and motivate other also to accept something as viable and significant for the society.

Every individual in the society will not accept change. Rather the different groups within a particular locality or a society may receive and accept that in a different manner. The direction of social change is driven by the attitude and values that are inherent in the society. The educated people have a tendency to accept changes more willingly than the illiterate and uneducated.

Since the *Pakhtun* society and culture is presented as static and stable in the literature. Their customs and traditions are presented as centuries old one. On the other hand they could be centuries old but it does not mean that they remain stagnant or immovable throughout the centuries. *Pakhtun* culture and society too is no exception to change. New value system is permeating into the *Pakhtun* society due to modernization and higher social mobility. Education is rampant and new avenues in job market have opened up, as result of which joint family system is replaced by the nuclear family system.

Processes of urbanization and industrialization do not appear to have affected the *Pakhtun's* family system especially cousin marriages in the same manner as it affected such relation in other ethnicity.

In spite of urbanization and modernity the life in *Pakhtun* society still revolves around village life. Doing a *Gham Khadi* is still the main criterion and symbol of identity and being a true *Pakhtun*. Traditionally, it will be recalled, a person's status has been thought to depend on his family's reputation and social standing, not upon type of employment or any of the other indicators of personal status that have figured so significantly in Western societies.

The rural life for today's *Pakhtun* is significantly different from that of the few decades ago. These visible changes and trends, as a consequence to their enormous impact will make rural life of the future definitely distinct from the rural life as we know today. The material and technological advancement brings changes in the social life of the people.

9.4.1. Family System

Family is one of the most important and the oldest institution of the human society in the world. The family is the sub-system of the total system. The characteristics of family in Pakistan can be considered a traditionally patriarchal one. Family can be defined as “a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister and creating a common culture”. Similar the *Pakhtun* society which is based on patriarchal values system, which encourages and perpetuates joint family system as a viable and the only significant form of family system. The nuclear family system increasing now and soon it will replace joint family system. The elders however, still prefer joint family system as they uphold custom and traditions supreme.

Person’s reputation largely depends on his family's reputation. In turn, family authority more often than not proves decisive in controlling major decisions affecting the life of any individual family member. A person's sense of self generally develops within the family, and he or she feels a strong identification with it.

Family is a vital platform for the development of gender identities, and fathers, including other male elders and controls thoroughly life within and outside its domain. The process of socialization of children within the family stereotypically represents one way communication. Due to the pervasive influence of patriarchy, even the mothers support fathers and elders in enforcing the ideology of cousin marriage in *Pakhtun*.

A rapid change in the structure of family is taking place in the village. In the past, agriculture and animal husbandry were the key bases of subsistence and occupation, and this required more man power, therefore they preferred to live in the joint family. Factions and feuds was another cause of joint family system as unified approach was required to fight against your enemy.

Now the educated people are earning their livelihood in government and non-governmental organizations. Many of them have migrated to Gulf States for employment and are now sending remittances to their families, so the dependency on agriculture sector has decline, which also gave birth to nuclear family system. The trend of nuclear

family is composed of husband; wife and their dependents i.e. children are gradually gaining strength in the village. This change of family system is changing traditional authority system of the father and grandfather. This has led to the weakening of family ties, diminishing unity, dwindling solidarity and dubious integrity. But it is an established fact that unity and integrity of family members are necessary ingredients for social and political influence.

Most of the people who were educated and were having jobs in cities preferred to live in a nuclear family. They considered nuclear family system free from traditional stress, domestic conflict and feuds, which was quite common in the joint family system. Persistent domestic conflicts, migration to cities, attainment of education, settled in jobs, and media are some of the main reasons which break up traditional joint family system.

9.4.2. Women Role in Transition

Pakhtun society on the face of it is presented as a male dominated society; where every important decision is taken by the men. But in the opinion of the researcher it's a grossly sweeping generalization as women definitely play an equally important role in the decision making. She guides and encourages husband in taking important decision. The decision for son or daughter's marriage is always taken with consent of wife, she is the one who always discusses pros and cons of such marriage and then the husband takes final decision primarily on the basis of discussions with his wife.

In the past women were not allowed to poke their nose in family affairs especially the matters relating to brothers as, she was supposed to remain silent and neutral. Now a days the women do participate and intervene in such disputes, and at times even instigates her husband regarding conflict with the brothers demanding husband's share and independent house.

In perpetuation of *Tarboorwali* the role of the women is indispensable now. It is the women folk who ingrain the seed of *Tarboorwali* in the mind of their children through the process of socialization from childhood. In the past the women were strictly discouraged to do so but due the emergence of nuclear family now ample space and authority is available, so her role too has also changed and she is sharing power at par

with her husband in most cases. It was observed during the fieldwork, that the opinion of educated women in making family decisions has increased.

In case of male migration for employment, the authority falls in women's hands, which further increases her decision making authority of her children education, health seeking behaviour and her participation in *Gham Khadi*.

9.4.3. Migration

The trend of migration among people of the village from agricultural to non-agricultural occupation has been changing very rapidly. There is also an out flow of migration towards cities for pursuing better education of the children and leading good quality of life. The people prefer to migrate to Peshawar, Islamabad and even Mardan city for finding reasonable good jobs and better standard of living, and security and safety of their lives. However it is not the common case. The migration is confined to those male members who are serving in government offices such as teachers, doctors, engineers, and police and army officers, or in other capacities in different private organizations or doing business in the cities. Only they are in a position to take their families to the other cities to live together. Their parents however, continue to live in the village.

The people, who work in the gulf countries, leave their wives and children in the custody and guidance of their parents. If it is transnational migration or urban migration, *Pakhtuns* retain their ties with village, as it is the village that give them identity and status.

9.4.3.1. Modernity and Age of Marriage

The intended age of marriage has increased as compared to the past. Males from educated class prefer an educated wife. In the past husbands wanted their future wives to be below their age, family socioeconomic status and, education in order to maintain their social dominance. Due to modernity this dominant aspect of the society has undergone a change now. The typical age for marriageable girls was 16-18 years which has now

increased to 22-25 years because of higher literacy among females, while for males it is 25 to 30 years which in the past used to be 18 to 20 years.

9.4.4. Modernity and Number of Children

Modern education is also altering the pattern of number of children. Now educated couple prefers to have two or three children. So the number of children in educated families has declined significantly. Initially all the children were supposed to help father in the agriculture sector directly, so large family were considered an asset but now subsistence pattern has changed and children become a liability. At present the parents are bound to spend reasonable amount on their children's education without expecting their direct contribution for subsistence.

9.4.5. Changing Dynamics of Mate Selection

Presently cousin marriage is the most prevalent phenomenon in the village, but marriage is no more a parental domain at all; the educated son is supposed to select an educated cousin among the available cousins of marriageable age. Personal choice of individual is preferred now as compared to the past. In the past the son or daughter were only informed by their parents without seeking their consent. One of the respondents shared his experience in these words “*mata masher ror wovi che ta mu da tra da lor sara kwedan okra, ma ke dumra haya w ache ma tri da tapos hum wonoko che da kum tra da lor sara*”[I was informed by my elder brother about my engagement with my cousin. At that time I did not have courage to ask my brother which cousin I got engaged to]. I humbly accepted the decision of the elders, content that whatever they decided for me would be in my interest. Now due to modernity the parents know that the needs of their educated sons are different and that is why they ask the consent of their children for the marriage, and even in some cases entertains the request of their sons for personal liking as well.

9.4.6. Changing Rule of Residence

In the past the newly married couple used to reside in one of the old rooms of the house. Now every girl expects newly constructed and decorated room before her marriage. Now construction of new house or some of its portion is one of the prior conditions for the marriage, be it cousin marriage also. In the past family values and honour were preferred over individual likes and dis-likes. There was no concept of privacy for the newly married couple in the past but now everyone acknowledges the privacy of the couple and that is why they are provided seclusion in shape of newly constructed room in some portion of the house.

9.4.7. New Symbols of Status and Prestige

When parents look for a life partner for their sons, they mostly place greater importance on the 'social status of the bride's family (*Khanadan, nasal, nasab*) in addition to the economic factor. So *Khankhel* will prefer ordinary *Khankhel* for marriage rather than any affluent family which is less prestigious in terms of family identity, honour and status. This aspect of the mate selection is changing now and people give their daughters to the person who has good job in the government and who are economically well off without showing any concern for the family background.

In the past the newly married girl's status was judged on the basis of her beauty, good manners, piety, simplicity and obedience. Now the symbol of status is education and modern home appliances like TV, refrigerator, air-conditioner, and cooking range and other dowry related items.

In the past bold and courageous son in law who was ready to fight for family honour was preferred but now people prefer son in law with good education and a lucrative job. So the criterion of status and prestige has changed now.

9.4.8. Emergence of Nuclear Family Structure

Another influence of modernity is the emergence of nuclear family structure which is preferred by the educated professional class. The parents never object on the

immediate transfer of their son and his family to the city for the purpose of job. The ideology of the Western nuclear family has influenced some segments of the population, namely; the educated services class. Even in the village newly married couple is allowed to construct their own house on husband's father ancestral land. Such was a newly developed common trend in the village.

9.4.9. Education and Cousin Marriage

It is becoming a common practice that parents reject the proposal of uneducated or less educated close relative for their highly educated daughter. In the past parents hardly refused such proposal. In the past there was no concept of matching of couple in the context of similarity in education, aptitude and characteristics, the only criterion was to be from your own family. Now parents give importance to mental incompatibility of their educated children, and desire to have educated wife for an educated son or educated husband for an educated daughter.

9.4.10. Modern Gadgets and New Social Structure of Society

The use of mobile phone is very commonly used in the village, so it has also changed the norms and values related to marriage. Now boys do not hesitate to talk with their would be wives on phones. It has become an acceptable norm that a would be spouse can talk to each other even a boy can visit his in-laws house prior to his marriage. Such visit was considered a social taboo in the past.

9.4.11. New Norms and Values and Cousin Marriage

A respondent and famous writer of Pashto drama Noor Ul Bashar Naveed is of the view that modernization is affecting such marriages because the older generation is upholding *rewaj* (tradition) while the new generation is giving importance to the new values of freedom, personal like and dis-likes, education, jobs etc. The custom of *Swara* was common under which a girl, even at a very tender age, is married against her will into a rival family, whose member has been killed by the girl's family. The girls so

married under *Swara*, to settle the dispute, are usually destined to go through immense ordeal because they are not respected by their in-laws and are treated with disdain. Some of the victims even commit suicide in order to escape the wrath of their in-laws. Now this custom is dying out in the village. There is no case of *Swara* reported from the village since 2000. Majority of the respondents were of the view that due to social awareness and education people are now discouraging such marriage. People are also afraid of police action too; as such marriage is now an offence according to the law.

9.4.12. Commitment with Family and Modernity

The main value of strong families is an extraordinary amount of commitment. The family members are genuinely devoted in promoting each other's happiness and welfare. They are also very committed to the family group and capitalize much of their time and energy in the family. Commitment to the relationship involves wanting to stay married, feeling morally obliged to stay married, and feeling constrained to stay married.

Globalization and urbanization is facilitating the emergence of new trend of individualism and the concept of communal life is dying out with the passage of time. Such is not the trend in *Pakhtun* society. With advent of modernity, no change has occurred in commitment towards the family and *Khanadan* members. The identity is still rooted in village life. So it is binding on the educated members to support their family and create jobs opportunities for the family's members. The commitment with village life and job related commitment are mainly responsible for the depression and anxiety of the educated person.

9.4.12.1. Childhood Marriage

Like some other tribes *Yousafzai* tribe also has the tradition of marriage promises made between brothers, sisters and sisters in law etc. at the birth of their sons and daughters. Due to such advance promises and commitments the conflicts are certain to show up between the close relatives. Girls are deprived of marriage proposals throughout their lives in face of these prior commitments. Due to education and high level of awareness propagated by the *Pakhtun* scholars and media, people of the village had shed

off this practice of childhood marriage. Due to such guidance childhood marriages are not common nowadays. In the present generation there is no single reported case of such marriage.

9.4.13. Modernity and its Influence on Village Life and *Hujra*

Hujra (Men's guesthouse) is a big guest house shared by the village or some houses of the village. It is regarded as a social institution in the *Pakhtun* society, where people share their daily-life experiences and perceptions about different social and political issues. It is believed that *hujra* is the primary institution where people get socialized in accordance with their behavior code. They interact with elders, serve guests, play music and tell stories to each other.

In a traditional society, a *Hujra* is not a personal property, but is the communal property for all the *Pakhtuns* of the corresponding block of the village of the whole village. They hold the proprietorial rights jointly and are collectively responsible for its maintenance (Rome, 2013). The socio-political life of the village revolves around the *Hujra* and every events of social importance such as marriage, circumcision, other festivities and communicable expression of loss for the dressed family also held in the *Hujra* (Makhdum, 1962).

The *Hujra* was the important center of daily rituals and traditional functions. Every events of social importance as the function of *sunat* (circumcision), *Gham* (Death), or *Khadi* (Marriage function) all were executed in the village *Hujra*. Every member of the village considers *Hujra* as collective property. Those who had a high social status, especially *Khans* in *Toru* and *Hoti*, had big *Hujras*.

This rapid process of modernization has influenced the *Pakhtun* society at large. Majority of the new generation do not even know about the traditional village life. The institution of *Hujra* has been replaced by the *baitaks* (individual guesthouses) on the basis of nuclear family. The concept of communal life in the village has been threatened to some extent with the passage of time due to the process of globalization and growing trends of individualism. The supreme central village organization was traditionally regulated by the *Hujra* and *Jummat* (mosque). The institution of *Hujra* is almost falling prey to the changing attitudes of people in the village. Historically there were *Hujras* of

the prominent landlord in the village and they were bound to cater to all the basic needs of the people who slept and sat in their *Hujras*. The ordinary people of the village used the landlord *Hujra* for their marriage and funeral ceremonies. A certain prestige was attached to each *Hujra* and it was considered an insult if people stopped to visit and use landlord *Hujra*. Now due to changing dimension of the society such traditional *Hujras* have lost the socio-political importance in the eyes of the people. Now ordinary people whose fortunes have changed for better have constructed their own hujras and thus do not dependent on landlords any more.

The *Rabab* and *Mangay* in *Hujra* was portrayal of *Pakhtuns*' basic love for art, music and poetry but unfortunately the religious *Mullah* has declared it as profane in the name of Islam. With the banning of love, art and music in *Pakhtun* society, religious extremism has increased and the traditional and liberal society was converted into orthodox. This is not only a threat to all liberal *Pakhtuns* but also an attack on the cultures throughout the rest of the world as the religious extremism benefits *Mullahs* in the recruitment of *Mujahideen* (Jihadists). Yet there is a group of cultured and progressive-minded *Pakhtuns* who prefer *Pakhtunwali* – the *Pakhtun* code of life, to religious law 'Sharia' for the conduct of matters. Such liberal people strongly stated that they are *Pakhtuns* first and then, Muslims.

The institution of *Hujra* has been replaced by individual guesthouses (*Baituk*) on the basis of nuclear family. Now in every house you will see a *baituk*. A *baituk* is no substitute of *Hujra*; *Hujra* is not only a place of get together but an institution of socialization, where the young generation learns societal norms and values directly from their elders. There was a proper decorum of *Hujra*, sitting pattern, talking pattern and proper salutation but there is no such decorum associated with *baituk* as narrated by one of the respondents in the village as:

“Awal khalaq sirf da zamoko ghatay tha nast vo nur sa rozgar na vo, yao so sahibi jidad khalko ba hujra chalavola, os pasa dira shwa nur har tir top saray hujragoti jora kra. Hujra sirf emarat tha na wae, da melma khayal satal nishta bus sirf gup shup de”

[In the past the main source of subsistence was land, thus only landed class had functional *Hujra*. Now every *tir toop sari* (Dick and Harry) has money and has

constructed his own *baituk*. *Hujra* is not the name of a building rather it is a place of social gathering and selfless entertainment of the guests] narrated by Safdar Khan a respondent. Now this new change is of no good use. People have constructed palatial *Hujras* out of the remittances or ill-gotten money, but they do not entertain guests in their *Hujra*, which is the fundamental aspect of running and having a *Hujra*.

9.4.14. Changing Dynamics of Marriage Celebration and Festivities

In the past marriages were celebrated only in *Hujra*, and feasts were arranged for all the people in the *Hujra* only. But now with modern means of communications and modern infrastructure especially luxurious marriage halls, people now opt for these halls for marriage celebration. The marriage halls are considered symbol of status and prestige. With this all the festivities of marriage have changed now. The traditional musician has no role and it is replaced by modern musical instruments through blaring loud speakers.

In the past the elder members both males and females visited the girl's elders with a proposal. Traditionally this is known as '*Paroney*' (shwal: a symbol of honour in *Pakhtun* society). In this way it becomes clear that they have come to ask for the marriage. There are some other ways also to ask for the marriage. For instance people from boy's home would plead that they have come empty handed and would return with a positive nod. If the girl's elders agreed they would offer some sweets to their guests. Then the women from the boy's house bring some sweets and fruits to the girl's house. It signifies the existence of concurrence from both sides.

Now this concept of *Paroney* has totally changed now. Now parents first discuss the proposal with their son and in case of affirmation extend the proposal to the girl's parents. They visit the girl family with request of asking hand of the girl for their son. Keeping in view the match the parents of the girl inform the boy's parents to let them ponder over the proposal and then they will inform about their decision. In the meantime the parents consult with the girl to ask her consent and of her confirmation and as well as their own satisfaction about the social credibility of boy's family. In turn the boy's parents visit girl's family with some sweets formally declares the acceptance of the

proposal. In case of love marriage the boy and girl will first seek consent of the parents and then they will proceed for formal process of *rishta*.

In the Past the role of the go-between was played by the wife of *Nai* (village barber). No such system of traditional class exists and the family directly contacts the girl's family through some mutual friend or relative and request for *rishta* (asking of hand of girl). The role of the *Nai's* wife as go-between is history now. The new generation does not know the *Jajmani* system even, the traditional class system of working class.

The old traditions suggest that the girl used to go and live with some close relatives such as uncle or aunt just before the day of engagement or a few days prior to the engagement. The ring prepared for the girl was presented to the girl's parents. But nowadays the girl stays at her home and when the engagement date is finalized, the musical arrangements for festivities are arranged at the house of the boy. In the educated family the boy himself slips a ring on girl's finger, or the boy's sister does it on the behalf of her brother.

On the day of engagement sweets are distributed among all the participants and girl's family provides dinner or launch to all participants according their capacity. In the past there was no such concept of feast but now feasting has become a fashion and symbol of status in the village.

In the past it was mandatory for the family to gather one or two days prior to *Waleema*, at the ceremony of slaughtering of animals followed by a congregational prayer for seeking the blessings from Allah for success in all activities. Every family contributes one member as a representative. Slaughtering of the animals had social significance, now mostly marriages are celebrated in marriage halls so this tradition of get together and social belonging has died out naturally.

In the past there was no influence of the modernity and commercialism as every activity related to marriage were performed at village level including cutting and sewing of bridal dress. For this purpose some elderly ladies gathered on a day and decide measuring, cutting and sewing of the bridal dress. In the present times the modern boutiques has sprung up in nearby city with hug verities of dresses. All the brides and female relatives either purchase ready-made designer suits or order special designer suits for the festive occasion. The ceremony of cutting and sewing bridal dresses by the elderly

is becoming extinct. This new trend has changed the social fabric of the society where young girls were supposed to have special respect for such elderly women. Social significance of such women is replaced by the commercial entry of tailors and designers.

Similarly a specific date wed to be fixed for the cleaning of rice for the waleema, but now this practice has ceased to exist; now the cleaning of the rice is *Nai-cum-cook* responsibility if the function is to be held in the village *Hujra*.

Now this social activity is also influenced by the commercialism and modernity, the bride freely visits beauty parlor for bridal make up and henna on hands and feet. So do by all the young girls, order specially designed dresses in the famous boutique centers of the city.

In the past bride was brought in *Doli* on in procession atop the camel, but now mode of transportation has much improved a lot and new model car is specially decorated with flowers, expensive laces and colourful cords for the groom and bride. As an old custom the bride would sit in the *Doli* with one other relative to balance it but for the groom to sit next to the bride now in this modern age was beyond imagination for the conservative people.

9.4.15. *Tarboorwali* and Modernity

Tarboorwali or at least the spirit of competition among agnates and close relatives for material gains and status still exist in the village. In the past the amount of land would determine your prestige and status in the village. Now with modernity other avenues of power and prestige have emerged with urbanization and introduction of services sectors. People who have no land but quality of education can secure their money with relevant authority and this has enhanced their influence in the society.

The de-centralization of authority and power on the other hand speed up the malicious cycle of violence and feuds that continues for centuries. Every *Pakhtun* in *Khyber-Pakhtookhwa*, FATA, and Afghanistan feels himself on equal footing and the not inferior to the others.

These feelings of respect, freedom and pride promote the violence in vicious manner to grab honour, not wealth but wealth for honour. The same argument is further augmented by Lindholm that “*Tarboorwali* not only undermines centralization, but it also

gives rise to destructive feuds between kin and the attendant pattern of betrayal from which the characterization of treacherousness is drawn. It creates an atmosphere in which honour lies in vengeance, not in keeping a trust”.

9.4.16. *Tarboorwali* and Services Sector

In the past the basic source of subsistence was agriculture sector, and only landlords with substantially large land holdings were considered the prestigious members of the society. Land was the only source of identity and power in the area. But the services sector introduces of new avenues of power that has changed the criterion of status and prestige. People serving in the job sector especially army, police and bureaucracy are considered as prestigious and respectable members of the society. Now agnates compete with each other to secure more lucrative jobs with apparent authority, so they can use their official authority over their agnates.

9.4.17. *Tarboorwali* and Education

The land lords are aware of the new trend so they are spending a lot on the education of their children to boost their influence in government sectors. Mostly people of locale have respect for those who are influential and who can help them in *Thana* (police station) and *Tehsil* (court). The induction of the sons of landlords in services sector and especially in police and bureaucracy added weight and influence in the eyes of people.

Nawab and *Khankhel* represent a majour chunk of officers who are serving in various governmental organizations in various capacities. It's the brothers who are competing now with each other and with other close relatives to increase their share in the power fiefdom with the entry of opponents' sons in the job market, especially in army, police and bureaucracy.

A special type of *Syally* (competition) for the quality education of their children can be witnessed now. The agnates are competing with each other by displaying higher grades of their children and thus influencing others. Each family boosts up the scholastic

performance of their children, and they spend abundantly on the new avenue of competition.

The *paighor* (taunt) is used as instigating factor to encourage sons to hard work and land lucrative jobs that will enhance their worth and influence in the eyes of *Tarboors*. So every mother encourages her sons to excel in their respective area be it education or job, and if one shows less interest in studies he is taunted labeled with words such as *begharat* (having no honour), *na sari* (person lacking manly manner of courage and competition), *buzdal* (coward man) etc. one of the basic reason of high literacy and quality education in some families are due to seeds sown by *Tarboorwali* and *Sially*.

9.4.18. Tarboorwali and Health Services

Even the agnates are competing with each other for acquiring health services of their sick members of the society. If some cousin is treated in an expensive hospital of the country, his agnates will reciprocate with same coin to show that he too is no less than his adversary. When it comes to taking care of sons, the agnates show an equally complimentary mentality and try to keep ahead of other.

9.4.19. Tarboorwali and Remittances

Remittance from the abroad further instigates the spirit of *Tarboorwali*, and gives a new direction to competition among agnates. Now agnates compete with each other in the construction of palatial houses and fort like *Hujras*. Now *Tarboors* are competing with each other in that context also. In the past there used to be one big *Hujra*, it was used by all the people, no more now. Fresh avenues of access to money have motivated every prominent person to build his own *Hujra* to decrease their dependency on their agnates for use of *Hujra* for *Gham Khadi*. With the concentration of many forts like *Hujra*, the traditional hospitality aspect decline. Now *Hujra* are for pomp and show or for the entertainment of the guests, one of the respondents lamented this aspect of modernity in *Pakhtun* society.

9.4.20. *Tarboorwali* and Charity and Donation

Even *Tarboors* have rivalry with each other in donation of many or hand for the construction of mosque, *Janazgah* (the place where funeral prayer of dead are held), and school. Now mosques are mostly named after the persons who donated the land. The cousins also compete with each other and enthusiastically participate in the charitable activities not to lag behind from their *Tarboors*.

9.4.21. *Tarboorwali* and Competition for Modern Appliances

Now agnates are also compete with each other for the possession of modern gadgets such as laptops, smart phones, home appliances such as air conditioners and refrigerators, microwave oven, cooking range and above all the modern automobiles.

Politics is no exception to *Tarboorwali*. Agnates always support political party against their agnates. If one *Tarboor* supports one political party, the other will support another political party, to undermine the political influence of his agnates. So agnates drag their traditional enmity into political domain as well.

9.4.22. *Tarboorwali* and Women

Women are also competing with family members in purchase of modern and designer dressing. Every woman wants to be look attractive and unique from the women of the agnate's families by adoring sophisticated jewelry. So they also do *Sially* and participate in *Tarboorwali* from their own perspective. Even *Gham Khadi* is used as platform where competitions are observed among the women.

Chapter 10: Summary and Conclusion

As the research problem indicates, the purpose of this research was to examine the preferred form of cousin marriage, and its socio-cultural significance in the village. The village is situated at a distance of eight kilometers from Mardan city. The total population of the union council is 13000 where the researcher conducted the study in *Daftaroo* a small sub part of the village comprising of 66 households. The village has one of the most fertile lands in the district and its economy is largely based on agriculture. The village has all basic amenities such as electricity, gas, water supply, colleges for boys and girls, schools and markets which cater for all the basic needs of the people. The village is well connected with a network of concrete roads extending to all streets of the locale.

In village, kinship and *Khanadan* play an important role in the social organization. Kinship is based on both blood ties as well as affinal links, but people give importance to blood relatives (*Khanadan* members) only. The family is the basic social unit in *Toru*. It then gives rise to larger unit of *Khanadan* which consists of all families having a common ancestor and thus can be regarded as a patrilineage. The *Khanadan* members always unite against the outsider in case of conflict mostly and sometimes help each other at the time of economic stringencies. The concept of common honour, shame and observance of *Purdah* from outsiders and *Gham Khadi* do not allow the people to marry outside of the *Khanadan*.

Residence rule is patrilocal in which women from parents' house come into their husband's house, while authority is patriarchal, where the elder man has the authority over all the members of the family. Similarly, inheritance rule is patrilineal i.e. name and property is inherited from the father to the son.

The men overall have more authority in the decision making of marriages of their sons and brothers. In the rare cases individual choices are entertained but in case of love for one's own *Khanadan* member such personal choices are always entertained. Marriage, however, is not left to the discretion of individuals. They are considered immature and inexperienced to deal with matters as important as marriage. Thus it's the parents and elders who take such decisions, the reason being that marriage not only

combines two people in the marital knot, but it is a matter of family's honour, shame and *Khanadan's* integrity and name.

All types of cousin marriages prevailed in village but paternal parallel cousin marriage was the most preferred wedlock practice among the people especially the *Khankhel*. The notion regarding patrilineal parallel cousin was much the part of the cognitive history of the people that they always keep marriage supreme and the various prevailing proverbs in the area further strengthen this view such as "*Ka da tra lor de okra, che sra de okral, ao ko da mama ya tror lor de okra no spin de ao ko da bahar na de okra no hasi hesh khashak de*" [If you have married to patrilineal parallel cousin it means you have got the gold if you are married to maternal uncle or daughter of mother's sister, you have received the silver and if your wife is not from your family (*Khanadan*) then you get a straw which is good for nothing]. Another proverb which further augmented the view "*Gwakha ao nook na sara juda kegi*" [Flesh and finger nails cannot be separated]. Such notion and proverbs play an important role in the perpetuation of cousin marriages.

In order to intact the unity, integrity of the *Khanadan* and to avoid the fragmentation of *Khanadan's* land, the landed gentry *Khankhel* practiced patrilineal parallel cousin marriages. So in *Khankhel* the patrimony plays an important role in marriage with paternal parallel cousins. Giving daughters to outsiders means division and fragmentation of land. It also strengthens the solidarity of the family and no issue of *Purdah* observation from those who are not blood relatives arises in such marriages. Seven families were found where one or two daughters of marriageable age remain celibate due to the fear of share of inheritance and fragmentation of land.

Cousin marriage was an economically viable marriage for ordinary people while for landlords' families; the *Tarboorwali* enhanced the expenditure of cousin marriages many-fold as compared to other consanguineous marriages. So it is a sweeping generalization that every type of cousin marriage is economical, in patrilineal parallel cousin marriage the *sially* factor compelled them to spend more even beyond their capacity and resources on such marriage.

Along with paternal parallel cousin marriage the other patterns of cousin marriages, marriage with father's sister daughter (FZD), mother's sister daughter (MZD),

mother's brother daughter (MBD) and other endogamous marriages. If FBD is not available for marriage than patrilateral cross cousin marriage is also preferred. This act of brother shows his love for the sister. Such marriage also is a source of pride for the sisters. Paternal Parallel or cross cousin marriage strengthens the solidarity between brothers and sisters. Such marriages strengthen the father's lineage and unite his descent.

In maternal parallel and cross cousin marriages are arranged mostly on the mother's demand and she exercises more control on household affairs, and feels comfortable living with such daughter in-law. If mother is influential than she preferred her brother's daughter or sister daughter for her son to enhance the influence of her father's family in husband's *Khanadan*. If the mother did not secure marriage for her son, she feels isolated and distant from their paternal side. Such marriage strengthens her relation with her paternal side. Mothers feel that her own and her children security relies on the arrangement of marriages with their descent, which is a sign of combination of both, the formation and utilization of social and emotional capital in such marriage system.

In cousin marriage a support mechanism is available to the wife, her mother and father in-laws are maternal aunty / maternal uncle (*mami/mama*) or paternal uncle or aunty or other your blood relatives so she is treated as like their own daughter being a daughter of brother or sister. The children of such couple is also treated as owns children, so all the family members share the burden of rearing and caring of the children with them. So the already available social capital in shape of social support can benefit the married couple as well their children.

Due to the *Gham Khadi* circle people opted consanguineous marriages. One is bound to participate in every occasion of happiness and sadness of the people and families of a certain circle. Such participation always required time, energy and money, so in an effort not to further expand that circle of *Gham Khadi* the people of the village preferred consanguineous and cousin marriages. Secondly the more one has unity and integrity in the family and *Khanadan* the more one has prestige and respect in the eyes of people and the members of such *Khandan* are treated as a one unit and people are also afraid of people of such *Khanadan* due to unity. If a girl of such *Khanadan* could not find a suitable *rishta* in the *Khanadan* then the people question the character of the girl and

honour and integrity of the family. Here too to take advantage of the social capital of *Gham Khadi* circle and common name and honour of the *Khanadan* such marriages are preferred over exogamous marriages.

Though filter theory does not work in some cases of marriages in one clan or *Biradari*. Some of the filter variable may be helpful in the selection of mate but other may not have any practical applicability in *Pakhtun* society. For example no one gives importance to age and physical attractiveness in conservative landlords' families in the village. For them the most pertinent aspect is the family background and how a would be spouse help and support her husband in socio-political domains. *Gham Khadi*, observing of *Purdah* from those who are not blood relatives, family name and honour and blood purity are some of the main filter variables for marriage in the village.

To further strengthen and to take benefit of the social capital *Pakhtun* opted for cousin marriage. The support mechanism is one of the main sources of social capital which he takes advantage of during the time of crises especially intra block and intra village fighting's on common land, water, forest etc., and making of political alliances in the society.

As far as the other caste of the village are concern *Syeds* out of religious superiority preferred endogamous marriages, while *Mohmmand*, *Dirogi* and the lower castes have no other options but to marry in their respective families. The reasons of their consanguineous marriages are different from *Khankhel* and *Syeds*.

Majority of the respondents held the view that they are aware of genetic abnormalities associated with cousin marriage. However this biomedical discourse of genetic abnormalities did not change their traditional method of mate selection. One of the respondents openly confessed vision abnormality in his family due to cousin marriages. This vision abnormality is very common among *Khankhel* who prefer cousin marriage mostly as compared to other *Khels*. Second majority of the respondents were of the view that everything happens from God side, so genetic abnormality is no exception. Ones cannot change what is written in his or her destiny.

It is obvious that *Pakhto* in terms of favours and opposition is constructed around the principle of segmentary lineage system that is regulated by complementary opposition. *Pakhto* is a sense of composition, which is utilized to retain *Azizwali*. Cousin

marriages are practiced in the village to convert *Tarboorwali* into *rorwali* or *azizwali*. To establish and sustain a cordial relation, one brother sometime arranges the marriage of their daughter and son with other brother to further strengthen the existing relation. Sometime such marriages are exercised to appease the already existing enmity of agnates with each other. So the cousin marriages convert the enmity feelings of cousin into *roorwali* (brotherhood) feelings and *Tarboorwali* is replaced by *khpalewali* through such marriages.

It is very difficult to keep distance with your close relatives, your agnates may be your enemy but they will be your strength against the outsider. So blood is thicker *than* water. “*Las chi mat shi no gharhi la razi*” [Finally the blood relatives would take care of]” (Aziz Khan a respondent).

Growing urbanization and access to cities is reshaping the normative social structure, and the effects are being felt in the villages as well. Urbanization is also changing the pattern of cousin marriage in *Pakhtun* society. Professional educated class never blindly follows the decision of their parents for the marriage. The parents also know that illiterate wife will not serve the interest of their educated son, so they always give liberty to their son to choose educated and suitable partner from among the marriageable pool of their cousins. The emerging trend is the arranged-cum-love marriage, an indicator of social change, among educated rich families.

Due to modernization and increasing rate of education is transforming various customs related to marriage for example the practice of *merala* (to associate girl at the time of birth or even before the birth to someone) is no more in practice in the village. The *Swara* marriage another old custom of marriage in which a girl is married to one of the member of the aggrieved party to settle the dispute is no more exercised in the village. Such marriage is an offensible act and with wide spread education and awareness in the people; such marriages are now discouraged by all the people irrespective of caste and family. A considerable change occurred in marriage related rituals such as matrimony asking, engagement and marriage procession and celebrations. Old rituals and customs with social significance are replaced by the new emerging rituals accelerated by modernity in values and norms, education, urbanization, new means of communication and transportation.

Tarboorwali being an important social institution in *Pakhtun* society is still exists but the nature and dimension has changed. An old feeling of competition and enmity is still ripe in area where agnates compete with each other in the new avenues apart from land. The competition among the agnates has extended to the domain of education, health, social welfare, competition for lucrative jobs with ostensible authority and construction of palatial like houses and *Hujras*.

The opinions of the younger generation were contrary to those of the elders. The former of the view that elders narrated stories are of bygone days, and the society and needs of the young generation are totally different from the past. However the social structure of the society did not allow the young generation to freely exercise their personal likeness and dis-likeness always. In long run the emerging contemporary needs will affect the structure and dimension of marriage, according to the socio-cultural needs. In nutshell the young generation is attaching different meanings with marriage, *Pakhtunwali*, *Tarboorwali* and *Khpalwali* but they cannot altogether reject old norms and traditions once for all.

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Glossary

<i>Abazai</i>	<i>Abazai</i> is name of a small village in district Charsada
<i>Akhle</i>	to purchase something
<i>Aqeeqa</i>	celebration of boy birth in <i>Pakhtun</i> society according to Islamic tradition
<i>Asal</i>	being original and genuine
<i>Ashnai</i>	friendship
<i>Badal</i>	exchange, figuratively use for revenge in <i>Pakhtun</i> society
<i>Bangri</i>	bangles or bracelet
<i>Baitak</i>	a room reserve for the entertainment of the guests and get together
<i>Banra</i>	eyelashes
<i>Baran</i>	rain
<i>Baranda</i>	veranda
<i>Burqa</i>	Shuttle cock
<i>Charpoy</i>	cot
<i>Chindro</i>	stepo an all-time favorite traditional game of girls in villages
<i>Da garmi doday</i>	Lunch
<i>Dhaka</i>	to fill (earth)
<i>Dosti</i>	friendship
<i>Dushmani</i>	enmity
<i>Dwa</i>	two
<i>Ghalay</i>	hail storm
<i>Ghashi</i>	arrow
<i>Ghojalla</i>	<i>an adjacent shabby room for the domesticated animals and birds</i>
<i>Gholai</i>	court-yard
<i>Ghwaye</i>	Ox
<i>Gharona</i>	Mountains
<i>Ghosawal</i>	to cut with sharp edge
<i>Hadoki</i>	bones
<i>Hujrah</i>	it has an open ground verandah and guest room, here the male guests are entertained. It is a kind of community center, a male club where people get together for <i>Gham Khadi</i> funeral, marriage and other festivities

<i>Izzat</i>	honour and respect
<i>Kut</i>	cot
<i>Janj</i>	a procession of people to bring bride to bride groom home
<i>Jhara</i>	weeping
<i>Jihan</i>	World
<i>Jajmani system</i>	A professional caste based system
<i>Kabadi</i>	<i>Wrestling</i>
<i>Kakaray</i>	head, figuratively used for life in <i>Pakhto</i> poetry
<i>Kamran</i>	to declare or emerge successful
<i>Kandar</i>	deserted place no more in the use of human beings
<i>Kandi</i>	historical division of village into different blocks
<i>Kanri</i>	stone
<i>Kara</i>	work to be done
<i>Khabara</i>	words, talk, saying
<i>Khanadan</i>	family
<i>Khar</i>	donkey
<i>Khawar</i>	to keep someone weak and dependable
<i>Khazi</i>	women
<i>Khel</i>	The conglomerate of different families of the same ancestor is called <i>Khel</i> <i>or Tabardari</i>
<i>Khadi</i>	Marriage celebration
<i>Khanda</i>	Laughing
<i>Khaple</i>	<i>Khaple</i> means relatives who shared same blood and honour
<i>Kha khakari</i>	good looking
<i>Khor</i>	sister
<i>Khudai</i>	God almighty
<i>Kili</i>	<i>village</i>
<i>Kor</i>	house
<i>Las</i>	hand

Lungay	<i>Lungay</i> is turban and is a sign of respect and manhood, so <i>lungay</i> is given as prize of acknowledgement for bravery and accomplishment in the tribal areas of Pakistan.
<i>Lur</i>	daughter
<i>Mama</i>	maternal uncle
<i>Mami</i>	maternal aunty/ wife of maternal uncle
<i>Manath</i>	making of the vows
<i>Mar</i>	snake
<i>Masharan</i>	elders, respectable and notables of the area
<i>Matai</i>	arms, figuratively use for strength and support
<i>Mari</i>	death
<i>Mat</i>	hand fracture
<i>Mullah</i>	religious clergy
<i>Maulvi</i>	religious clegry
<i>Mehindi</i>	henna
<i>Milma</i>	guest
<i>Naan:</i>	Flat bread made of wheat flour
<i>Nai</i>	Barber
<i>Naindara</i>	<i>Nandara</i> means to get a glimpse of some one. The onlooker will give some amount of money to the bride by seeing her face for the first time, a custom in <i>Pakhtun</i> society.
<i>Nakrizi</i>	henna
<i>Nang</i>	<i>Nang</i> means to keep intact ones honour and shame supreme at the expense of everything in <i>Pakhtun</i> society.
<i>Nagyalay</i>	<i>Nangyalay</i> means in <i>Pashto</i> a person who keeps honour and shame supreme and always follow <i>Pakhtunwali</i> in real sense and who never hesitate to sacrifice his life and property for protection of one's honour and shame. A person upholding <i>Nang</i> (Honour, shame) at every cost.
<i>Namus</i>	Honour and Shame of a family
<i>Nook</i>	nail
<i>Nwaray</i>	meal, bread

<i>Num</i>	name
<i>Pagrai</i>	Turban, a symbol of honour and esteem in <i>Pakhtun</i> society
<i>Pakhto</i>	<i>Pakhto</i> it is not a name of a language only. It is the constitution of the life of the <i>Pakhtuns</i> as well. It is the name of unwritten rules which guides the lives and actions of <i>Pakhtun</i> in the society. It is the name of the code which governs the lives of those who speak it.
<i>Pakhtunwali</i>	the manners and customs of the <i>Pakhtun</i> tribe form the code of life as an unwritten constitution. It has been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.
<i>Paghoor</i>	<i>Paghoor</i> is taunt through which one letdown the other person who failed to protect the honour and shame of the family especially of females. It is the inability of retaliation of all those actions, which are socially humiliating because a person who cannot equally retaliate is considered as weaker.
<i>Parthoog</i>	loose trouser, symbolically used for honour and shame in <i>Pakhtun</i> society
<i>Pashakal</i>	<i>Pashakal</i> is a name of month normally starts from the 15 th of July and ends at 15 th of August. This month is famous for frequent raining and flood water
<i>Paroney</i>	<i>Paroney</i> is a veil used by females for covering body and head. It is a symbol of honour in <i>Pakhtun</i> society.
<i>Partoog</i>	<i>Partoog</i> means loose trouser wear by men and women. In <i>Pakhtun</i> society, <i>Partoog</i> symbolises honour and shame.
<i>Pat patoni</i>	hide and seek game
<i>Pat</i>	honour, valour
<i>Patki</i>	turban, it is a symbol of honour and respect in <i>Pakhtun</i> society
<i>Plarganay</i>	patriclan
<i>Pokhtay</i>	ribs
<i>Prewze</i>	fall down
<i>Qahwa</i>	traditional green tea
<i>Qaum or Qam</i>	caste, person having common ancestor
<i>Qayamat</i>	doomsday

<i>Rishta</i>	relationship
<i>Sharam</i>	shame
<i>Siyalli</i>	commitment of fulfillment, feelings of competition for ones agnates
<i>Rorwali</i>	feeling of brotherhood and oneness
<i>Shamla</i>	Turban, symbol of honour in <i>Pakhtun</i> society
<i>Speen</i>	White
<i>Stirgi</i>	eyes
<i>Tapaa</i>	<i>Tapaa</i> is a folk song of two lines (couplet) in twenty two syllables with the romantic emotional expressions dealing with common or most celebrated of human relations, that between lover and beloved
<i>Tabbar</i>	All married brothers and their respective children and their feeling of oneness for each other
<i>Tandoor</i>	a large indigenous oven made of mud used for cooking large bread
<i>Tarbooran</i>	agnatic cousins
<i>Tayar</i>	ready
<i>Tir Toop</i>	an useless person (Dick & Harry)
<i>Tra or tre</i>	paternal uncle
<i>Tror</i>	in <i>Pakhtun</i> society the word <i>tror</i> is used both for father's sister and mother's sister
<i>Tura</i>	Sword, figuratively use for bravery
<i>Ubo</i>	Water
<i>Warstigi</i>	to get dissolve in water
<i>Wata sata</i>	exchange marriage
<i>Yar</i>	friend
<i>Yarana</i>	friendship
<i>Zamaka</i>	land
<i>Zan</i>	woman
<i>Zar</i>	gold
<i>Zoai</i>	son

SEMI STRUCTURE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Respondent's Profile

Name: -----Age-----Sex-----Education-----

Occupation-----Marital status-----monthly income-----

General questions

- Narrate your marriage history?
- When did you get marry?
- What was your age when you get married?
- What is the best age for a girl or a boy to be get married?
- Do you think that marriage at early age is better?

Yes-----No-----

If yes how----- if no than specify

- Do you think still people believe in blood purity?
- Do you get marry out of clan/ caste or tribe?
- What type of marriage you think is better, a. parental cousin b. maternal cousin
- Does marriage play any role in family honour and integrity?

Yes-----No-----

If Yes than how-----if no than specify

Personal and psychological impact

- Who is preferred to marry in family/ community? Why?
- Who are you married to? Was she relative to you? If yes specify the relation?
- What are the reasons of your marriage with your cousin?
- Did your parents pressurize you for your marriage?
- Why you agreed for this marriage? Any specific reason?
- Who is more independent in choosing a spouse from cousins?

a. Boys b. girls

If boys than specify

- Who is more at disadvantage in cousin marriages?

a. Boys b. girls? Why?

- What is the ratio of cousin marriage among your relatives or your community?
- How cousin marriages affect the personal life of the husband and wife?
- Do you think that prior knowledge of family background is important for marriage?
- Do you think that cousin marriage play any role in family integrity?
- Do you think its play any role in harmony of families' relations?
- Is it beneficial to remain close to family of origin?
- How is cousin couple helpful for each other?
- Can cousin marriage play role at the time of need?
- Is there any relationship of cousin marriage with that of marital satisfaction?
- Are cousin marriages successful or not?
- What is the success ratio of such marriages?
- What are the main reasons of the failure of cousin marriages?
- What are the differences between cousin and non-cousin marriages?
- Would you prefer your children marriage with cousin? If yes then why if no then why?
- What is important for you, your choice or honour of family?
- Do you think that due to the cousin marriage, a person might be on the risk of genetic problems?
- Do you know any person from your family who has genetic problem due to cousin marriage?
- Despite of higher cases of genetic abnormality among cousin marriages but still it is common in our society, what is the basic reason?

Socio-economic aspect of cousin marriage

- What kind of girls is preferred by boys in the selection of a spouse?
- What do you think marriage in the *Qoom* or *Khanadan* is better or not?
- If you think that marriage in Khanadan is better then what are the reasons for it?
- How cousin marriages effect the relationship of two families?

- What are the impacts of cousin marriages on family dispute?
- What are the impact of cousin marriages on Khanadan and Qoom? Positive how do you evaluate it?
- What are the benefits of cousin marriages?
- Is there any dowry problem in cousin marriages?
- Do you think that marriage with cousin is economical one? If yes then how?
- Do you think that the residential propinquity play any role in mate selection?
- Do you think that cousin marriage common among landlords' and politically influential families? If yes, then what are the reasons?
- Is a cousin marriage intact land fragmentation?

Relationship of cousin marriage with that of *Tarboorwali* and *Pakhtunwali*

- What is Tarboorwali?
- What do you mean by *Tarboor*?
- What are the main characteristics of *Tarboorwali*?
- Why Tarboorwali prevails in Pakhtuns?
- Is segmentary lineage system responsible for the sustenance of Tarboorwali in Pakhtuns?
- What are its socio-political and economic dimensions?
- Is land factor contributes in its continuity?
- Do you think that Tarboorwali play any role in patrilineal parallel cousin marriages (*tra lor sara wada*)?
- Do you think cousin marriage keep intact land fragmentation?
- Do Tarboorwali play any role in family disputes?
- How can you correlate Tarboorwali with other code of Pakhtunwali?

Proverbs, Cousin Marriage and *Tarboorwali*

What is a proverb?

Do you know any proverb about *Tarboorwali*?

Do you know any proverb about cousin marriage?

Is a particular proverb is for all the time and for all the people?

Most of the proverbs are contradictory in nature, what is the significance of the contradiction?

Can you give any example of two contradictory proverbs?

How much it is important to know the background of proverb

In your view, do proverb has any significance in this modern time?

Do you think changing dynamics of Pakhtun society is also influencing the use and utility of proverb?

Changing pattern of cousin marriage

- Do you think that education has changed the traditional marriage pattern
- Do you think that exposure to the media play any role in the selection of the spouse
- Does employment play any role in selection of partner
- The relation of modern norms and ideas in late marriage
- Changing role of husband in cousin with that of non-cousin marriage.

Household Roster

S#	Name	Sex	Age	Relation with HH Head	Marital Status S=Single M=Married D=Divorced W=Widowed				Education (Years Completed)	Occupation*					Caste	Religion	Sect
					S	M	D	W		GS	SE	DWL	F	AO			
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	
6																	
7																	
8																	
9																	
10																	
11																	

* 1. Govt. Servant = GS, 2. Self employed = SE, 3. Daily wage labor = DWL, 4. Farmer = F , 5. Any Other

Marital Status / Marriage Type

S#	Name	Age	Sex	Qoom/Caste		Marital status		Marriage type						Other Endogamous	Remarks
				Main	Sub	Single	Married	Endogamous	Exogamous	Patrilneal Parallel cousin	Patrilneal cross cousin	Matrilneal parallel cousin	Matrilneal Cross cousin		

