

D's
ANT
8/9

"Marriage Patterns with special emphasis on Forced Marriage"

- A case study of village Sirsinai, Kabal district Swat

A thesis submitted to the department of Anthropology, Quaid-I-Azam
University, Islamabad in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the
degree of M.Sc in Anthropology.



BY

Iftikhar Ahmad

Department of Anthropology
Quaid-I-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan

2006

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ مِنَ
النَّارِ سَمُوكًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلنَّجْمِ أَشْرَافًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلْقَمَرِ نُجُومًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلشَّمْسِ كُرُوفًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلنَّجْمِ أَشْرَافًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلْقَمَرِ نُجُومًا
وَالَّذِي جَعَلَ
لِلشَّمْسِ كُرُوفًا

Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Final Approval of Thesis

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

Committee

1. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman
Supervisor



2. Prof. Dr. Muhammad Saif
External Examiner



3. Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman
Chairman



Dedicated to . . .

My Parents and
Respected teachers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Most humbly Allah mighty best owed me ability and potential to complete this thesis work. I have no words to express my deposit sense of gratitude to Allah almighty. It is really a pleasure for me to acknowledge this cooperation.

First of all, I am greatly thankful to my thesis supervisor Dr. Hafeez-Ur-Rehman, chairman of the department for his healthy suggestions and constant encouragement to complete this thesis. His constant help advice and expert opinion helped me to complete the thesis. I greatly appreciate his caring and friendly attitude to me.

Secondly and foremost my parents and my other Family Members who practically freed me from all responsibilities and who constantly prayed for me through out my academic career.

I wish to express my thanks to the authorities of the department, and to all the teachers for providing me a lot of anthropological information.

I am also thankful to the people of Sirsinai village who were nice and cooperative during my research with special thanks to Abdul Qayoom Balala and Dr. Sultan-I-Rome, Aimal Khan my key informants.

I would like to pay special thanks to, Ikramullah, Tariq Zada, Sher Zada, Sayed Abdul Akbar Shah, M. Shakir, Aurangzeb, Abdul Salam, Ayaz, for their sincere cooperation in my M. Sc degree. I am thankful to my sweet senior Nadia, for his special cooperation during my M. Sc degree. I am also thankful to my sweet

brothers who regularly encourage and support me through out my academic career.

My gratitude and thanks also goes to my friends Khurram Khan Sial, Umar Hayat, Asmat, Bahruddin, Adanan Khan, Hayat Khan, Bahrobar Khan, Sajid, Sanullah, Danish, Natasha, Arif, Madeha, Shafiq, Samiullah Qari, Safyan Munnawar, Inayat, Ihtisham, Siraj, Aftab Hussain, Waqas Mehmood, Hafiz Qasim, and Naveed Swati) for blessing me their nice company at QAU.

I am thankful to my seniors Madam Aneela, Inam, Saima, and Nadia for their guideline and moral support. I am also thankful to my entire class fellow for their cooperation and nice company during my M. Sc.

I am grateful to all the above mentioned and to those who took interest in the study and facilitated me anyway but whose names remained unmentioned, though not willfully; and also to all those, quoted or not, who gave me their precious time and provides valuable information.

Iftikhar Ahmad, Swati

Table of Contents:

Title	Page No.
CHAPTER NO: 01	
1.1. INTRODUCTION	01
1.2. PROBLEM	01
1.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	02
1.4. HYPOTHESIS	03
1.5. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	03
1.6. METHODOLOGY	04
1.6.1. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	04
1.6.2. KEY INFORMANT	05
1.6.3. SAMPLING	05
1.6.4. INTERVIEW	06
A) Informal or unstructured interviews	06
1.6.5. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	07
1.6.6. CASE STUDY	07
1.6.7. PHOTOGRAPHY	07
1.6.8. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CENSUS AND SURVEY FORMS	08
1.7. LOCALE OF THE STUDY	09
1.8. SIGNIFICANCE	09
1.9. LITERATURE REVIEW	10

CHAPTER NO: 02		
(VILLAGE PROFILE)		
2.1. HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE		22
	2.1.2. Locale of the Area	22
	2.1.3. Flora and Fauna	23
	2.1.4. Climate	23
	2.1.5. Structure of Houses (Dwellings)	24
	2.1.6. Graveyards	25
2.2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE		25
	2.2.1. Ethnic Composition (Whole District and Village)	25
	2.2.2. Languages	27
	2.2.3 Religion	27
	2.2.4. Dress pattern	28
	2.2.5. Occupation	28
	2.2.6. Food habits	30
	2.2.7. Agriculture	30
	2.2.8. Agricultural Activities	33
	2.2.8.1. Rabi Crops (Ghanam)	33
	2.2.8.2. Kharif Crops	33
	2.2.9. Livestock	34
2.3. SOURCES OF INCOME		34
	2.3.1. Horticulture	34
	2.3.2. Bee and Honey	35
	2.3.3. Fishery	35
	2.3.4. Medicinal plants	35
2.4. CIVIL AMENITIES/FACILITIES		36

	2.4.1. Education	36
	2.4.2. Health	37
	1) Allopathy	37
	2) Herbal medicines and Homeopathy	38
	3) Spiritual or Religious Healing	38
	2.4.3. Transport	39
	2.4.4. Electricity	40
	2.4.5. Water Supply and Sanitation	40
	2.5. TRADE	41
CHAPTER NO: 03		
(SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS)		
	3.1. INTRODUCTION	42
	3.2. KINSHIP	44
	3.2.1. Levels of kinship recognition	46
	3.2.2. Khel (clan)	46
	3.2.3. Khanadan	47
	3.2.4. Kor/family	47
	3.2.5. Nuclear family	48
	3.2.6. Joint family	48
	3.2.7. Extended family	48
	3.3. TERRITORIAL RECOGNITION	49
	3.3.1. Village	49
	3.3.2. Cham (ward)	49
	3.3.3. Kalay/Kalweghe	50
	3.3.4. Gawandetob (Rights of neighbors)	51
	3.3.5. Dhera	51

	3.3.6. Hujra	52
	3.3.7. Bethak	53
3.4. ASHER		53
3.5. ASHERGANI		53
3.6. GHAI RAT		53
3.7. JIRGA		54
3.8. RIWAJ		54
3.9. SHARM		55
3.10. PAIGHAUR		55
3.11. MATALOONA (PROVERBS)		56
3.12. MELMASTIA (HOSPITALITY)		56
3.13. OCCASIONS OF SOCIAL GATHERING		58
	3.13.1. Birth	58
	3.13.2. Marriage (Wadah)	59
	3.13.3. Death (Marg)	59
	3.13.4. Jirga	59
3.14. OTHER OCCASIONS		60
3.15. MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN THE VILLAGE SIRSINAI		60
	3.15.1. Kwezhdan (Betrothal)	61
	3.15.2. Wadah (Marriage)	62
	3.15.3. Janj (Marriage Party)	63
	3.15.4. Nikah (Wedlock)	64
	3.15.5. Rukhsati	64
	3.15.6. Pa khpalo ke wada (kin exogamy)	67
	3.15.7. Da tror and traai zuwai/Lor marriage (Parilateral parallel cousin marriage)	67
	3.15.8. Da tror and mama zwai/Lor marriage (Cross Cousin marriage)	68

	3.15.9. Da levar sara wada (levirate marriage)	70
	3.15.10. Da kheney sara wada (sororate marriage)	71
	3.15.11. Pa prado ke wada (kin exogamy)	71
3.16. MATEEZA		72
3.17. ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMAN		72
CHAPTER NO: 04		
(FORCED MARRIAGES)		
4.1. INTRODUCTION		74
4.2. TYPES OF FORCED MARRIAGES		77
	4.2.1. Badal Wada (exchange marriage)	78
	4.2.1.1. Case study	79
	4.2.2. Walwar wada (bride price marriage)	79
	4.2.2.1. Case study	83
	4.2.2.2. Case study	84
	4.2.3. Swarah	85
	4.2.3.1. Case study	86
	4.2.4. Newaka	87
	4.2.4.1. Case study	88
	4.2.4.2. Case study	89
	4.2.5. Child marriage	90
	4.2.5.1. Case study	91
4.3. FORCED MARRIAGES LEAD TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS		92
	4.3.1. Forced marriages causing Honor killing	93
	4.3.1.1. Case Study	95
	4.3.2. Forced marriage causing female trafficking	96
	4.3.2.1. Case study	99

	4.3.3. Forced marriages lead to suicides	99
	4.3.3.1. Case study	100
	4.3.4. Forced marriages lead to psychological problems	102
	4.3.4.1. Case study	102
	4.3.5. Forced marriages lead to Divorce	103
	4.3.5.1. Case study	105
CHAPTER NO: 05		
(CONCLUSION, SUGGESTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS)		
5.1 INTRODUCTION		
		106
5.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION		
		106
5.3. SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS		
		110
LIST OF TABLES		
Table 01	Showing percentage of house type	
Table 02	Ethnic Compositions	
Table 03	Major sub tribes of Yousafzai in the village	
Table 04	languages spoken and understand by sample population	
Table 05	State of occupation	
Table 06	Education systems in the village	
Table 07	Marriage patterns in the Village	
Table 08	Consent in selection of the marriage partner	
Table 09	The types of force marriages solemnized in the village	
Table 10	Economic status of the respondent and their response to Walwar marriage	

Table 11	Social problems created by force marriages	
LIST OF FIGURE		
Figure 01	Rate of forced marriages in the village	
Glossary		
Bibliography		
Webliography		

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage is the basic universal social institution admitting men and women to family life. Marriage is ubiquitous feature of human social organization and probably developed very early in the course of human social history. There are many functions of marriage to fulfill parental responsibility for long term infant nurturing and education, social regulation of sexual competition, organization of sexual division of labor, assessment of individual to social group and status, and the formation of inter-group alliances and exchanges.

There are different types of marriage patterns, but current research study emphasis on the forced marriages and the factors related to these patterns of marriage as well as the reasons behind it. A general impression have taken that a Muslim women can not object in matrimonial affairs but this is not true, because in Islam marriage is a contract. In celebrating this consent of both the men and women is essential. As Allah say in Qura'n "Place not difficulties in the way of their marrying their husband if it is agreed between them and kindness" (Al-Qura'n, II. 232). This study deals with different patterns of marriages like marriage (without consent) Swarah, Walwar, Child Marriage, Exchange Marriage and marriages which leads to female trafficking. This study also focuses on the psychological effects on the spouse as well as on the life of their children.

1.2 PROBLEM

The problem of the present research revolves around the patterns of marriages and especially emphasis on the forced marriages in the Kabal (Swat). The focus of the present study is to know the marriage patterns, types

of forced marriages, and the effects of forced marriages on the society and the social life of the spouse.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Marriage is the union between a male and female to legitimate their sexual relations and children born to them to recognize by legitimate status in the society. Marriage is the way to reinforce family ties and the way marriage is arranged. It reflects the cultural norms and values of the family and society.

Anthropologists have tried to give definition of marriage which sufficiently encompasses its various manifestations. Social scientist define it from the point of view of the legitimate status that marriage accords to the children e.g. "Marriages is social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society, determine by parenthood in the social sense"

(Brown; 1950:5)

The aim of my research was not only to describe certain general aspects of marriage by outlining the patterns and preferences, but I also tried to explain what generates these patterns. The traditional marriage patterns with special emphasis on factors relating to these patterns. More over my aim was to trace forced marriages in the village Sirsinai. Almost in all societies traditions have been followed and preferences in marriage practices are given due consideration. All societies have norms and rules governing who may marry whom and where the newly wedded couple should live. Almost all societies have two kinds of norm or rules namely endogamy and exogamy. Endogamy limits the social categories from which one can choose a life partner. I have also tried to sort out how forced marriages occur in the village, who exercises major authority roles to arrange these marriages.

Villager viewpoint about kin marriages and forced marriages also feeling of couples about forced marriages. Every individual has its own likings and disliking and the ideals for his or her life partners. But due to traditional and complex kinship system, individuals are enforced to select the spouse without their will. So current research focused on various types of marriage patterns and the pushing factors which greatly affected the marriage patterns especially directly and indirectly about the forced marriages.

I analyzed the clash of ideas among the authorities and the generations to come about the forced marriages and their strategies to resist the old traditions.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

1. In the rural areas of Pakistan, People sacrifice their daughters to solve the blood feuds cases
2. Both of the boys and girls often follow the tradition because of strong patriarchal relationships
3. Forced marriages causing most of the social problems

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of the study were to;

1. Examine Community perception about marriage patterns
2. Determine reasons behind the forced marriages
3. Access affects of forced marriage on the society
4. Know effects of forced marriage on the spouses
5. Determine the reasons behind these unions and

Examine the various ceremonies and which constitute the whole marriage process in Sirsinai Kabal (Swat).

1.6 METHODOLOGY

There are many techniques for collecting data in Anthropological research. The researcher used multiple techniques, so that to collect more reliable and qualitative data. Some of the techniques which were used during the field work to collect data are as follows.

1.6.1 Participant observation

Participant observation, which is used in informal setting, is an important method in anthropology. This method given me an opportunity to collect qualitative data of descriptive nature. Once the local barrier against outsiders is lowered the researcher can get more qualitative and valid data.

“Living with the people as people live” is the fundamental method of field work. Also this technique not only helped in the rapport establishment, making interview questions and data collection but also to evaluate and analyze the data collected by other methods. I used this technique throughout my research. It not only helped me to get native’s point of view, and evaluate information’s collected by other method’s but also in preparing interview guide for in-depth interviews. I observed their housing patterns, dress patterns, forced marriage and people’s behavior towards forced marriage etc.

It also helped me in evaluating and cross checking of data gathered by other techniques.

1.6.2 Key Informant

A key informant is another major source of information especially regarding various institutions of the community. Key informants are the people who are better aware of the culture they are living in and they are willing to share their experiences. As, Bernard defined as "More than some one who controlled a lot of information about a culture and willing to talk to you."

Key informants are persons who are capable for verbally expressing cultural information. Selection of key informants is important, so I took enough time in choosing key informants carefully. I have explained the objective of the study to the key informants, so they helped me to obtain reliable and valid data. I took key informants both from the community members and the member involved in this problem.

1.6.3 Sampling

It is one of the most important techniques used during any anthropological research, as one cannot collect data from each and every individual living in the community. This method is applied for in-depth study of the research area. I used stratified random sampling in my research.

I selected people in my sample from all the Mohallas and different castes of the village so that to select a representative sample of the community. For this I used random stratified sampling method to provide an equal opportunity to each and every member of the society. There are seven different castes in Sirsinai and the total population of the village Sirsinai is 9,200 persons. I selected 100 respondents on the basis of Caste population, their education, and economic status and on the basis of their occupational differentiation.

1.6.4 Interview

Interview is another important technique (tool), which is used in fieldwork to collect detailed information. "Interview is a conversation with purpose especially to get information"

(Cornell and Kahn, 1968: 530)

"The interview is not simply a conversation; it is rather, a pseudo conversation. In order to be successful, it must have all the warmth and personality exchange of conversation, with clarity and guidelines of scientific searching". It is done to know that what the particular person think about the topic under research. I took in-depth interviews from the community.

A) Informal or unstructured interviews

In-depth informal interviews proved very effective and useful in collecting the information's did not use copy pencil to write down the answers of the respondents it the time of interview because the area of my research is gender sensitive and this act of writing in front of the people makes them conscious to answer my questions. These discussions helped to have the data about the custom and tradition. I conducted in depth interview to get required information. For this purpose I selected some well informed and serious persons of the village representing every caste and Khels (clans) of the village. I interviewed then asked questions about various topics especially on marriage patterns and forced marriages. I asked them to tell their views about these varying patterns. Some of them were old persons who gave valuable information about the history of the village and gave their opinion about forced marriages.

I also got information by in depth interviews about the problems and conflicts created by forced marriages.

1.6.5 Focus Group Discussions

I discussed many issues with many people and through group discussion. I collected much information about their internal and external Patterns of marriages. During my stay in Sirsinai I attended some of their marriage ceremonies. I had particular group discussion on marriages with old male peoples in the Hujra. I investigated about the types of forced marriages. Through discussions I became aware of about kin marriages. I also came to know about the forced marriages and the problems created by these forced marriages.

Group discussions were made at shops, playgrounds, and meetings of the peoples in the Hujras (place where villagers get to gathers and discuss their social problems.

1.6.6 Case Study

Case study is another tool, which helped me together in depth and detailed data about certain individuals, actions or phenomena. Main advantage of the case study lie in the richness of its description as the subject is deeply studied and all data are detailed. Due to its detailed nature there is opportunity to get reliable data, which would be crosschecked by the researcher again and again.

The researcher dealt with various case studies during the research so as to probe the details of some cases.

1.6.7 Photography

In modern times anthropologists are making use of many available techniques and various devices like camera. Photography can facilitate the cultural facts; capture the visual effects and real life scenes in the local as

visual insight is more convincing; giving true insight of the culture, living patterns, housing styles and physical environment.

It is a very helpful and reliable source of information. This is a technical tool, which improves efficiency of the evidential data presented; it demands heavy emphases on image representation, use of photography aims at acquainting the readers with the styles of marriages and other institutions of the village discussed in the study in concrete forms. I used photography where it was possible for me because the area is very gender sensitive and it was not easy to capture photo of every aspect of the village.

1.6.8 Socio Economic Census and Survey Forms

“The field worker should try to make an enumeration of family units and their membership near beginning of the field work”

(Pelto & Pelto, 1978: 193)

Bernard also states the benefits of taking a census,

“Taking a census can be a way to gain rapport in a community, walking around and visiting every house can have the effect of giving you credibility”

(Bernard, 1994: 142)

The qualitative study was accompanied by a quantitative research method for which social economic census and survey forms were filled from every household. This method is helpful for building rapport in the community in the initial stages. It also helped me to get an access into households and get the basic information about the total population, average family size, their economic conditions and lifestyles.

1.7 LOCALE OF THE STUDY

I conducted fieldwork in the village "Sirsinai" District Swat, N.W.F.P. It is approximately at the distance of 167 km from Peshawar. The research area was selected for the following reasons;

1. I was familiar with the local language and I know about the marriage patterns.
2. This research area was selected because it has the same tradition and customs with most areas of Swat.
3. Most of the people were affected by marriages with out consent.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE

At present, one of the challenges facing Pakistan has been the alarming rate of forced marriages being experienced in many parts of the country. Yet the rates and extent of the problem are still debatable due to paucity of reliable data and the processes involved are not clearly understood. As far as village Kabal District Swat is concerned, not many people are even aware that forced marriages have become and continues to be a serious threat to the life of both spouses. It is hoped that this study will highlight the illegal marriage patterns which creates problems in our society. This study helps some government and non government organizations to take some positive steps toward this problem. The study improve the quantum of available literature in Pakistan .It provide another aspect of marriage patterns in Swati village Sirsinai Kabal and will create awareness among the people about forced marriages and its negative impacts on the society. The study must further be used for a comparative analysis of the other prevalent institutions of marriages in Pakistan. This study also concerns with different marriage patterns of village Sirsinai Swat.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

Anthropologists have tried to give definitions of marriage sufficiently general to encompass its various manifestations. Many define it from the point of view of the legitimate status that marriage accords to the children.

"Marriage is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society, determined by parenthood in the social sense".

(Radcliff Brown, 1950: 5)

On the basis of his work among the Sunni Surati Vohras, Lambat Says:

"Like in most Indian communities, marriage among the Surati Vohras is looked upon as essential for both males and females. Parents are said to be 'not free' unless they see their daughters and sons happily married. Marriage is also looked upon as Sunnah and therefore it is regarded as an obligation which must be fulfilled".

(Lambat 1976: 53)

Marriage leads to the emergence of a nuclear family which itself may be a unit of a larger family setup. While discussing the relationship between kinship, marriage and family in Burma, Spiro Says;

"Marriage is the point of intersection between kinship and the basic unit of Burmese society, the domestic group. In the first place the conjugal family is incipiently created by marriage which serves to legitimize the offspring of the married couple. Second, the domestic group in itself comprises both consanguineal and affinal kinsmen".

(Spiro 1977: 146)

According to Stephens,

"Marriage is a socially legitimate sexual union, begun with a public announcement m, undertaken with some idea of permanence, and assuming a more or less explicit contract that spells out reciprocal rights and obligations between spouses and any children they may have".

(Stephens 1963: 5)

The definition of marriage also leads to the function and nature of this important institution. Marriage is a religious obligation. It gives legitimacy to the sexual relations of the husband and wife. It creates a parent -child bond which is significant since children are responsible for carrying forward the name of the family Gupta, thus mentions the following functions of marriage

"To the villagers the institution of marriage fulfills four functions; first it is a religious performance with out which individual is incomplete. Second marriage implies children who will carry the name of father. Third children are also necessary to assure a happy after life for the sexual desires of a partner in a socially acceptable manner"

(Gupta 1974: 86)

An important aspect regarding marriage is mate selection. Where joint and extended families exist parents or other elders will choose a spouse for the individual. This is so because marriage not only inter relates two individuals, but also constitutes a wider network of relationships between their families;

"Every man learns sooner or later that when he marries the "one and only" he marries not only her but all her relatives as well. Brides of course have the same experience"

(Hobble, 1958: 344)

An important aspect relating to marriage is mate selection. But it selects the parents and elders of the spouse for the purpose strengthen there relationships and to bring the two families more closely. Donnan has conducted a study of the marriage preferences among the Dhund of Muree Hills. Thus according to him;

“One of the main responsibilities of the household head is to arrange the marriage of all unmarried members, since Dhund spouses generally do not choose each other”

(Donnan 1988: 84)

Speaking of the Gujar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir, Khatana says.

“The Gujar Bakarwal ideally holds that the marriage of an individual should be arranged by his parents or by his senior relatives in case his or her parents are not alive”

(Khatana: 1976: 83)

Marriage is an institution which people adhere to for happiness in there life. According to Campbell

“Married people see their lives more positively than unmarried people. Despite the fact attitudes toward marriage are changing in this country, especially among young people, the marriage pattern continues to contribute something uniquely important to the feelings of wellbeing of the average man and woman”.

(Campbell 1981: 226-227)

Several of the highly acclaimed recent Hollywood movies and also most of the Pakistani dramas are focusing powerfully on the marriages and also on marriages without consent in Hollywood we can take example of (good bye

girl) in Pakistani dramas we can take example of (DASTAR) in which a kind of forced marriage (SWARAH) is portrayed.

J.J .Nasir defined marriage as "a contract law fully concluded between a man and women, the ends of which are, inter alliance the formation of a family based on love, co-operation, and chastity of the two spouses and the preservation of legitimate lineage"

(J.J Nasir. 1990: 3)

Another social scientist Zakia Eagler who has conducted extensive work on the institution of marriage in Pakistan opined: "Marriage within the kin group is the most favored form of marriage. In connection with marriage people would say," A half from ones owns home is better than a whole from outside; in other words it is better to marry ones sons and daughters to relative then to bring in outsiders"

(Eagler, 1964: 207)

Whereas Phillip Kottak in Cultural Anthropology has opined:

"Marriage is a union between a man and women such that children born to the women are recognized as legitimate offspring of both partners".

(Phillip Kottak, 2001: 213)

The above definition may not be valid for many communities however this definition is fitting a little bit in the researcher's focus area.

Mate selection operates rather like a market, and the rules of selection determine the forms of exchange between partners and their households. These rules in human society are extremely complex but they may be regarded as a continuum from arranged to formally free marriages. In closed market, selection is made by parents to consolidate property and form family

alliances. Parental choice is more important than affection, because marriages are based on prudence and calculation. In open markets, romantic attachment becomes the basis of marriage, parental wishes are minimized and, in principle partners select from an infinite range of eligible. According to dictionary of sociology marriage can be defined as

“Marriage is a cultural phenomenon which sanctions a more or less permanent union between partners, conferring legitimacy on their offspring”.

(Dictionary of Sociology, 1988: 75)

Due to strong patriarchal or matriarchal bonds marriage in Pukhtoons society has different patterns and terminologies in the area. Azim Afridi in magazine entitled monthly diplomat states as.

“Marriage (Wada) as a general rule, is arranged by parents in Pukhtoon society and the boy and the girl themselves do not play any role in the negotiations. This is because of the fact that Pukhtoons are conservative by nature. Their conservatism coupled with strict segregation of sexes makes it impossible for a suitor to select a girl of his own choice even though they may have soft feelings for each other. The Pathan, in sentiment, will sympathize with lovers in poetry and fiction, but lovers in real life pay for it with their lives. The Pukhtoon society frowns upon any one, who expresses his likeness for any particular girl. But now this trend is gradually undergoing a change.”

(Afridi, 2005)

About the kind of forced marriage (SWARAH) Nilofar Qasim Mahdi commented as:

“Nanawatay is also used as a tool of conciliation. Amongst the Pukhtoon tribes, if a man has inadvertently wounded or killed another, he can demonstrate his contrition by going in with a Jirga to the aggrieved kin in

order to make restitution. The Jirga decides on the compensation to be given by the offender. He may have to pay "Khoon baha" (blood money), give cattle, or in the last resort, offer women of his household. As a gesture of conciliation, Nanawatay cannot be spurned. The refusal to accept Nanawatay is punished to the extent that the homes of those who refuse may be ordered burned by the Jirga".

(Mahdi, 2005)

The last seven months report given by, SHAH NAWAZ KHAN, in daily newspaper (DAILY TIME) about burnt cases in which three cases were there in my research area and cause of the two cases was that the girl were enforced by their family for marriage against their will.

"LAHORE: Over 100 women were burnt by their family, husbands or in-laws in Pakistan over the first seven months of 2005, (Source: Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA)). According to LHRLA's data, there were 107 cases reported, two from Balochistan, and five from the NWFP and 50 each from Punjab and Sindh. The city with the highest number of reported incidents was Karachi, with 41 cases, while 26 cases were reported in Lahore. Out of the 107 victims, 70 were married; two were single, while the marital status of the rest was unknown.

(Khan, 2005)

Forced marriages are also a serious issue in other parts of the country, as a column written by TARIQ NAQASH in daily DAWN on Saturday 10/09/2005.

MUZAFFARABAD, May 10: A Britain-based Kashmiri leader has said that the issue of forced marriages is a serious problem, particularly for the Kashmiri community, bringing it into disrepute.

"I must admit that it is a serious issue and earns us a lot of embarrassment and disrepute," said Dr Riaz Mahmood, president of the United Kingdom chapter of the Muslim Conference on Saturday.

Talking to Dawn, Dr Mahmood who is currently touring Azad Kashmir said the problem had ravaged the future of a number of youth mainly because most of such marriages remained unsuccessful.

"Lack of understanding between the spouses is the main reason for the failure of such marriages. The wedlock is rendered unsuccessful when you marry a highly educated girl brought up in a different atmosphere with an illiterate or less educated boy from Pakistan against her will and consent," he said.

Dr Mahmood stressed that the parents should not ruin the lives of their children by arranging such marriages out of egoism or family pride.

"There is nothing wrong with an arranged marriage, but at least the parents must ensure that the mental level of the children who they want to turn into husband and wife matches," he said.

He said a bad impression about the state of women in Pakistan had been prevailing in the West, which needed to be addressed.

"I have also suggested to National Assembly Speaker Chaudhry Amir Hussain to send a delegation of women parliamentarians to the UK so that the people there know that women enjoy appropriate representation in the democratic institutions in Pakistan and the situation is not like what they think or has been conveyed to them,"

(NAQASH, 2005)

Khalid Khan gives the views of Dr. Farooq, well known Pakistani psychiatrist about forced marriages and its psychological effects on both the spouses as;

"The depression-trauma, caused by the Middle East syndrome is so common that a significant proportion of women who turn up at my clinic are victims of this vicious circle," comments Dr. Farooq. "These women are not getting human care; rather they have been meted out the treatment of 'untouchables', especially at the hands of their mothers-in-law. They are not even allowed to talk by phone or to write to their husbands. The in-laws are very possessive of their overseas earning relations, and they are fearful of letting the fortune slip out of their hands. They resort to inhuman tactics by keeping a distance between the couples and barring them from direct communications," says Dr. Farooq. "At the very first glance we can easily identify these women are suffering from 'Middle East syndrome', and simply ask them one question: 'Since how long have their husbands not visited home?' We don't even conduct any tests. Every thing is so clear. The problem is so common. But the society is too insensitive,"

(Khan, 2003: 2)

Another unfortunate angle of the entire episode is that these marriages are only producing psychopaths, as the lacking of the paternal care creates an emotional void in the personalities of the youth. They find solace in the use of drugs and adopt other anti-social behaviors.

"The money that is pouring in from abroad has replaced the basic institutions of 'Pukhtoon' with the non-synchronizing ones that have accelerated the moral decline of 'Pukhtoons' manifolds by converting them into marginal men," comments Yousufzai, hailing from Swat, where a sizeable chunk of people are in foreign lands. "The men left behind, form close relations with the abandoned women folk. They take them to hospitals, markets and accompany them to family ceremonies. They share weathers and feelings due

to close proximity. In the process, they develop illegitimate relations that lead to heartaches and blood feuds,"

(Khan, 2003: 2)

The 'Middle East syndrome' also violates human and child rights as granted by the United Nations through its various resolutions to which Pakistan is also a signatory. A person below the age of 18 years is considered as a child. Whereas in NWFP, majority of the girls that are being married to the foreign exchange earners are under the age of 18 years. Furthermore, their consent is never bothered about since it is considered as something against Pukhtoonwali - the code of Pukhtoon society"

(Khan, February: 2003)

Most of the social scientists work on the illegal kinds of marriages and they prove it. Through valid example and giving the suggestions as;

"Historians believe that the practice has been in vogue since the time immemorial. When the feuding tribes failed to find a solution to their bloody disputes, women were exchanged as compensation in such cases. It was generally believed that women would be able to bridge the gap between the rival groups with the help of their love and affection. But with the degradation of the true society and culture, the custom has now become a blot on the face of the society.

The Swarah girl is given to the rival group without solemnizing a proper marriage through nikah and it is left to the mercy of the enemy to decide about her fate.

Secondly the girl has to walk on foot to the rival's house in front of the entire village instead of being carried in the traditional dholi, which is always the dream of a Pukhtoon girl. Such a humiliating treatment meted out to the womenfolk is not only a serious violation of the Islamic injunctions but also

against section 310 and 338-E of the Pakistan Penal Code which clearly and categorically prohibit the giving of a female as a valid *badal-e-sulh* or compensation for a compromise. Mostly the girl given as *Swarah* is not consulted about the most important decision of her life and she is exchanged like a commodity, which is also un-Islamic, as the religion has described that marriage as invalid in which the female's consent is not obtained. In most cases, even minor girls are given as *swarah* and if there is no female member in the family, it compensates the aggrieved group in the next generation or even in the next two or three generations till a girl child is born".

(Sherazi, 2005)

On another place Zahir Shah writes in his article as:

"Child marriages are also frequent in the rural districts of the province, which are not only unlawful but also against the religious norms. Parents engage their minors keeping in view monetary benefits and property concerns without their consent. Such unrealistic decisions not only have negative impacts on both the families but they also affect the society as a whole. Though the Child marriage Restraint Act, 1929, strictly prohibits the marriages of minors and prescribes punishments for those who organize, solemnize or promote the solemnization of such marriages, the custom is still being practiced unabated."

(Sharazi, 2005)

In the union council *Kabal* kinship ties occupy a central position in marriage considerations. In order to bring stability and unity in the relationships, mostly people do marry within close kin's. As Donnan says:

"In the case of preference for *FBS/FBD* therefore prior knowledge of the spouse and his or her kin is thought not only to guard ones reputation against deception and promote good relations between the two sides, but it is also thought to add to the possibility of good future relations between the couples

themselves .in short, FBD marriage is favored, say Dhund, because it averts trouble of various kinds”.

(Donnan 1988: 127)

According to Islamic law of inheritance daughters receive a share from their father’s property which is half the share of their brothers. However, this practice is totally not followed in the union council Kabal Swat .all the members of the said community are will aware of this rule that daughters have the right of inheritance in Islam which is the religion of the area, but here the parents do social boycott with there daughters when they demand for there right of inheritance. Hence most of the rich families not giving there daughters from outside the kin’s, thus main purpose behind the patrilateral cross cousin marriage is to maintain property intact and within the family. Similar idea is expressed by the Dhund.

“FBD marriage will tend to prevent encroachment on a brothers share of the patrimony since any attempt at such encroachment would ultimately injure the livelihood of ones own daughter as the wife of the brothers son .Dhund see FBD marriage as tactic directed towards ensuring that the patrimony does not pass into the possession of an outsider”.

(DONNAN, 1988:128)

According to J .Richard in his book “the social context of marriage” about the Americans people concept of marriage as:

“In Americans the goals of marriage seem crystal clear as: marriage should make the spouses happy, provide them their basic source of emotional gratification and security, and give them love and companionship”.

(J .Richard, 1971: 2)

For my research I define marriage as a socially recognized and culturally approved union of a man and a woman involving sexual privilege, cohabitation ,economic cooperation ,procreation ,responsibility for the children ,their care and socialization as per consent of the couple.

The present study is thus another contribution to the preexisting anthropological literature on forced marriages.

VILLAGE PROFILE**2.1 HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE**

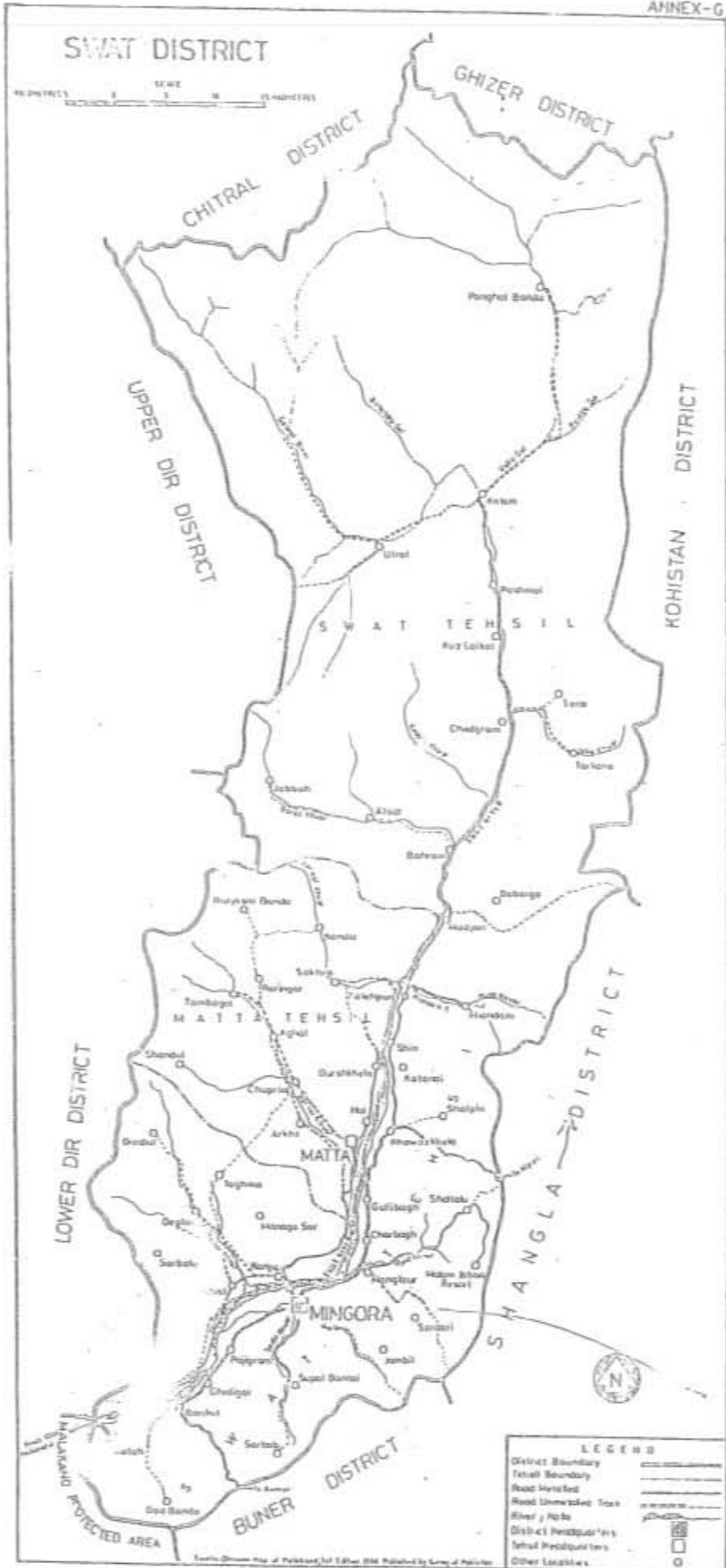
Sirsinai is one of the oldest villages in district Swat. History of village is quite interesting but it is also fact that there is no official historical record of the village. Natives attach its history with numerous kinds of myths like all the regions including surrounding were under the roof of Hindus and it was the time when Mehmood Ghaznavi attacked of this region. Such myths transmitted among natives from generation to generation form their forefathers.

According to one of the natives, Mr. Abdul Qayoom Balala; the word Sirsinai is derived from the Hindi language, which means 'Not exists from the beginning'. Another believed regarding village name is; the Sirsinai was the name Hindu women of that era. Natives also believed that the present locale of village was situated somewhere else. Early village was divided into two portion; Tazzagram and Samsel.

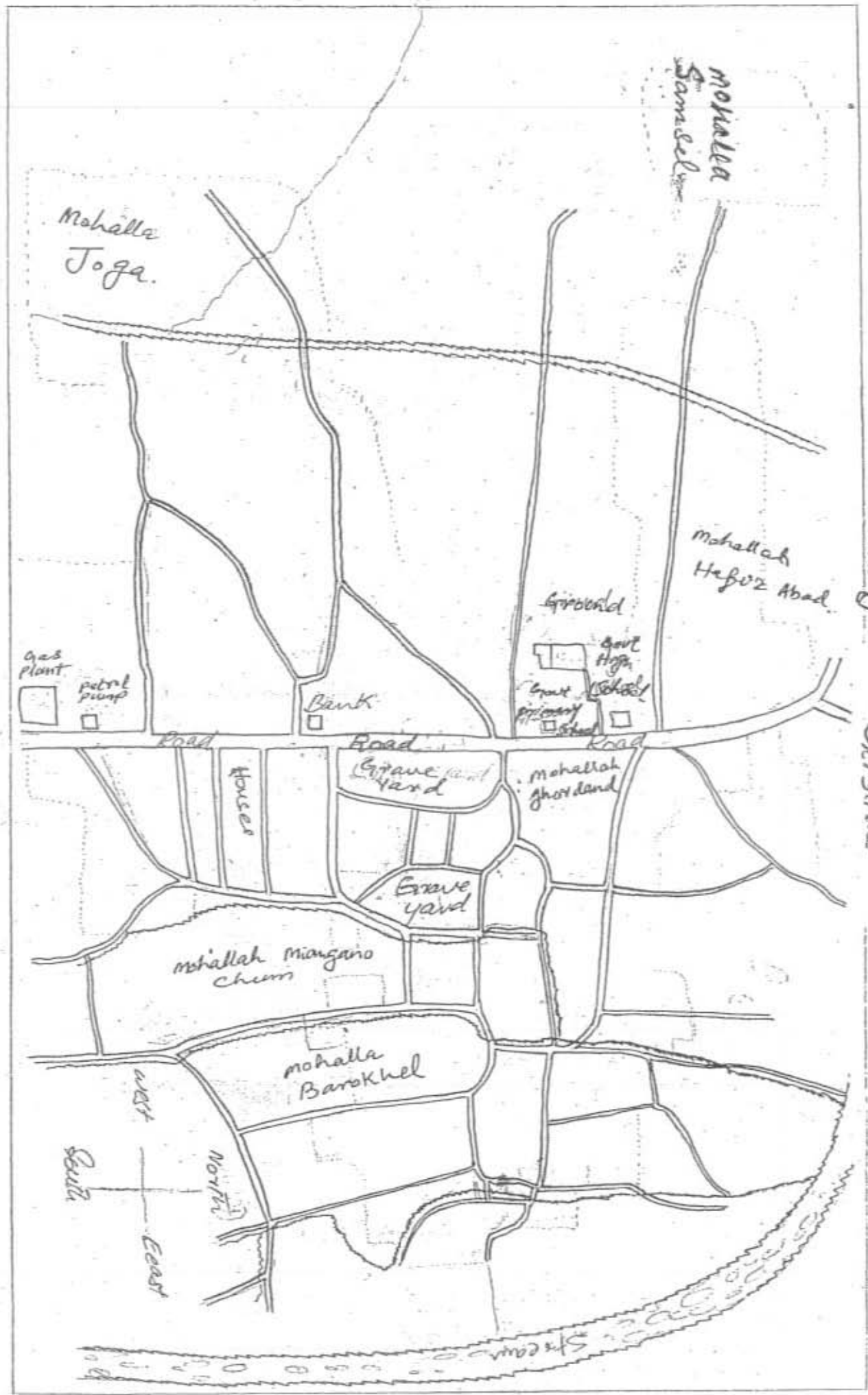
After some period of time; both portion co joint and these village named Sirsinai. Whatever would be the history of village but it is fact that, Sirsinai is the oldest village which gets its name from Hindi language, as Hindus remains shows that they ruled a long time on this village.

2.1.1 Locale of the Area

The village Sirsinai is situated at some 16 kilometers to the north-west of the Swat capital Saidu Sharif and some two kilometers from tehsil Kabal. Following are the main tribes in the village; Yousafzai, Sayyeds, Gujars and Ajars. Yousafzai are further divided in Khel sub tribes which are Hasan Ali



South-Asian map of Pakistan (3rd Edition) Published by Survey of Pakistan



Village Sarsinal

Mohalla Samseleh

Mohalla Joga

Mohallah Hafuz Abad

Gravel

Gas plant

petrol pump

Bank

Govt High School

Govt Primary School

Road

Road

Road

Houses

Grave yard

Mohallah Ghori dand

Grave yard

Mohallah Miangano Chum

Mohalla Barokhel

South

North

East

Stream

Khel, Baba Khel, Baro Khel, Hafez Khel and Niamat Khel. I focused my especial concentrate on above sub tribes and their Khels (clans).

The village is covered by mountains from all sides. North South Mountains have on some distance as compared to East and West mountains. The west, east, north and south mountains are 1000, 1500, 10 and 15 kilometers far from the area of the village respectively.

The village is divided into numerous chums (a specific area where the natives of same or others tribe live). In other words, chums can be known as Mohallahs or Wards. Following are the name of different chums: Barokhel chum, Hasan Ali Khel, Hafez Khel, Samsel, Shahi Bagh, Miangano chum, Mian Baba, and Khat chum.

2.1.2 Flora and Fauna

Natives believed that there were dense forests in the village Sirsinai but due to the rapid increase in population and other means of communications, the forests destroyed and tress diminish. The foremost trees found in the village are: Bakyan, Sperdar, Kharawa, and Ghwaraskay. The fauna of the villages consist of brown jackal, porcupine, pheasant and other migratory birds. Deforestation affects both the flora and fauna of this village. The villagers use wood and wild bushes in order to fulfill their domestic needs while collecting the bushes or cutting the trees, but these people even do not take care newly cultivated small trees and plants.

2.1.3 Climate

This village has distinct seasons marked by wide variation in temperature. The area has extreme climate. The winter season begins in November and lasts up to March. The winters are extremely chill and cold and sometimes

temperatures plunges below freezing point. December, January and February are the coldest months. The mean maximum and minimum temperature in these months are in the range of 0 to -5 degree Celsius and the area is fully covered by snow fall with a high range from 3 to 5 feet's. The summer season lasts from May to October. June, July and August are the hottest months. The mean maximum and minimum temperature in this period is in the range of 20 to 33 degree Celsius (District Census Report, 1998, p- 3). Through out the year, the winds blow pre-dominantly from the north or south east. But in summer, there are short spells of wind from north or south east.

2.1.4 Structure of Houses (Dwellings)

The physical layout of village does not follow any symmetry or arrangement rather it entails a scattered and haphazard pattern. There are hardly any proper streets and drainage system in the village. There are three types of houses in the village, Kacha, Kacha Pacca and Pacca (stone and cement). Majority of the houses are Kacha or Kacha Pacca (stone, cement and mud roof). Pacca houses are only 16.25% and are very rare. Kacha houses are constructed with mud. Houses are built in a straight horizontal line, stone extracted from the nearby hills or lands. A house generally consists of two or three rooms with a verandah in the rear and front. Normally joint family system is in vogue in the area. Every cluster of houses has a common sitting place called 'Hujra' where the male members daily meet, discuss and share views on a variety of local, national and international issues. It is a common place and is also used as a guestroom. The young people spend winter nights or on the occasions of happiness specially marriage in Hujra and arrange music programs or dishes as a pass time activity. It is important part of Pukhtoon culture which is changing with passage of time as people have begun to prefer using personal guest-room. The following table shows the percentage of the structure of the houses.

Table No 2.1 showing percentage of house type

S. No:	Type of houses	No. of houses	Percentages
01	Pacca	130	16.25 %
02	Kacha Pacca	370	46.25 %
03	Kacha	300	37.5 %
	Total	800	100 %

(Socio-Economic senses survey form)

2.1.5 Graveyards

There are 5 graveyards in this village. People bury their deceased in these graveyards. Some people also buried their deceased in fields or land near to the house. Most of the graves are Kacha type while some are of Pacca type (cement and bricks). People visit the grave of their relatives especially on Eid morning. Women visit before Eid prayer while men after the Eid prayer.

2.2 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

2.2.1 Ethnic Composition (Whole District and Village)

In Swat district there are four main tribes, the Yousafzai Pathans, Kohistanis, Gujars and Ajars. The Pashto speaking Yousafzai Pathans are the direct descendants of Afghans of Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi. However Yousafzais occupy a large territorial area i.e. the area of lower Swat. The other Pathans of lower Swat are composed of the Mulan, Pukhtana, Sayyed, Paracha etc. The Kohistanis and Gujars who speak their dialects Gujru and Kohistani inhabit the mountainous areas of up north. These people are settled in and around Kalam, Ushu, Utror, and Gabral valleys. While the Ajar are the nomads who live in the mountainous area in the summer season while living in the plain

areas of Swat in the winter season. These people can speak and understand Pashto language also.

Following table indicates the ethnic composition in Swat.

Table 2.2. Ethnic Composition in Swat				
Yousafzai	Gujars	Ajars	Kohistani	Others

Swat district is geographically divided into three valleys. Lower Swat, Upper Swat and Swat Kohistan.

The area (village) under research falls under the Tehsil of Kabal. Kabal Tehsil and village Sirsinai are occupied by the Yousafzais, Syeds, Mulans, Parachas, Gujars, Ajars and Pukhtanas. These Khels/people can speak and understand the Pashto language as it is their maternal tongue. The Gujars and Ajars speak Gujru language but they also converse in Pushtoo language. However most of the people of the study area are Yousafzais. Yousafzais are further divided into the following sub Khels.

Table 2.3. Major sub tribes of Yousafzai in the village

<u>Yousafzais and their sub Khels</u>						
Hasanali Khel	Barokhel	Niamat Khel	Baba Khel	Hafiz Khel	Shabur Khel	Other s

The local elders provided the details for the above table. According to these elders all Khels hailed came from different areas and subsequently settled here since long time.

2.2.2 Languages

Pashto is the lingua franca and predominantly spoken in this village. Gujars and Ajars converse in their own language locally known as Gujru. Those people who work as daily-wages labor in big cities like Karachi, Rawalpindi, and Lahore etc. can understand and speak Urdu and Punjabi because of their exposure to these cities and frequent interaction with the people of these cities. Locals prefer to listen songs in Pashto language on various occasions (Marriages and festive occasions, etc). The following table shows the percentage of sample population who can speak and understand different languages.

Table: 2.4 Languages speak and understand by the sample population

Languages	Pashto		Gujru		Urdu		Punjabi	
	Speak	Und *	Speak	Und *	Speak	Und *	Speak	Und *
Percentage of sample population	100%	100%	20%	30%	30%	50%	05%	20%

Source: survey conducted during field work

* Und: understand

2.2.3 Religion

The total population of the village is Muslim and people follow the traditions of Sunni sect. The people of the area are staunch followers of Islam, thus religion has promoted solidarity among the people. Majority of the people perform five times pray a day. There are two religious Madrasa's (schools) in this village. For Dinni Taleem (religious education) children are sent to village

mosque which also serves as a Madrasa. Here is Mulvi sahib or Qari (religious preachers) who teaches the Holy Qur'an to the children. Parents in this village prefer the religious education on modern education for their daughters. That is why the literacy rate of female in the area is very low. These people follow Islam in their life patterns but some of their customs comes in collision with religion but they follow these customs due to their code of life i.e. Pukhtoon wali. For example in some cases the marriage is not taking place according to their religion Islam but according to their own customs (Riwaj's).

2.2.4 Dress Pattern

Dress is an important indicator that manifests every pattern. Dresses like the language and dialects also differ from area to area depending upon the environmental condition. In this village, the inhabitants wear the traditional Pukhtoon dress consisting of Shalwar Kamees and head wear. Generally the people of this village during summer wear hand made Swati Toopi (cap) while in winter people wear Pakol (a woolen cap) also made in Salam Pur Swat. People also wear Sadder (piece of cloth) in thickness of which differ in winter and summer. Women folk wear Shalwar Kamees and Sadder /veil and for Purdah, they use shuttle-cock Burqaus (veil).

2.2.5 Occupation

Male population (Adult) both within and outside the village is involved in the following occupations. Major occupations pursued by village men are:

1. Over Seas employment
2. Agriculture
3. Government contractor

4. Fishery
5. Wage labor
6. Shop-keeping
7. Business/Shop/Transport
8. Driving/Conducting
9. Teaching
10. Others

There are many people in the village who practice more than one occupation. Agriculture and land cultivation is not the only occupation. These people do many other jobs besides agriculture like some are shopkeepers, other are Taxi driver and yet others, working as daily wage labors in big cities like Karachi, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar etc. Some are also working as part time employees in nearby villages in Construction, Cosmetic and Gas companies.

Table 2.5: State of occupation

S. No.	Gender	State of occupation	No. of Participants	%
01.	Male	Fishery/Fishing activities	03	03%
02.	Male	Students (Religious & Modern)	10	10%
03.	Male	Farming	15	15%
04.	Male	Over seas employs	15	15%
05.	Male	Tailoring/Shop-keeping/own business	07	07%
06.	Female	Household wives/Unmarried Females /Farming in fields/Dependent female /Dini Taleem etc.	50	50%
		Total	100	100%

The above table shows that 15% of the total population is involved in overseas employment activities and 15% are/were doing farming. Thus it means that a

large number of the total population is involved in over seas and Agricultural activities.

2.2.6 Food Habits

Simplicity is the hall mark of the food of the people of this village. The food is served on "Daster Kawan" and eating habits are very simple. Mostly two meals are taken a day in an average household. Men may also take some food (Tea and Parathey) at noon in the agricultural fields, which in the local terminology is called as "Sakhti" the traditional food of the village is "Sag (shautal, sharsham saba), Desi ghee, and butter" with maize and wheat loaves and Lassi; whenever some one of family visits nearby town, he brings beef which is eaten occasionally. Guests are usually served with rice and chicken. Special meat is taken as a delicacy. The people also take "Qahwa" (green tea) as a routine after dinner.

2.2.7 Agriculture

The village is situated in arid area, (mountainous and hilly area). In the last agriculture was totally dependent on rainfall but now nekpekhel canal is irrigating 60 % of fields of the area. Some fields are irrigated with stream water but stream water is dependent on rain fall. The crops that are being grown in the area are Rabi crops (wheat) and Kharif crops (Maize, Jawar etc). In the past poppy was also cultivated but nowadays government has totally banned the cultivation of poppy in the whole area. The above crops are cultivated at the subsistence level in the village and thus are consumed locally.

Almost 70% of the population of the area has agriculture as their main source of income. Rice is also cultivated but due to specific weather conditions of the village its production has no match with other areas of the district.

Plate # 2.1 View of the Village

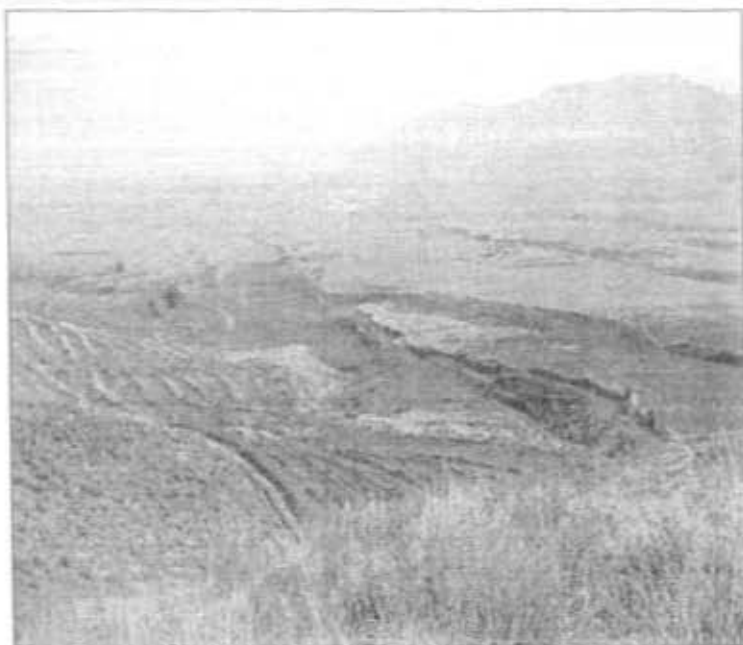


Plate # 2.2 View of Agricultural fields of the village



Plate # 2.3 Spring Season in the Village



2.2.8 Agricultural Activities

The whole area is male dominated. That is why male members of the community are engaged in agricultural activities i.e. the initial land preparation, ploughing, sowing harvesting and lost post harvesting. The female members of Gujar and Ajar work in fields in agricultural activities along with their male members while other tribe's female members only do the household work. In harvesting the household may call the relatives and other villagers on reciprocal basis. It is called Ashar.

2.2.8.1 Rabi Crops (Ghanam)

Rabi crops include wheat and other seasonal vegetables grown by the people. Wheat or Rabi crops are grown in month of November and harvested in May (Haar). Before sowing the wheat seed the land is tilled and then deeply ploughed. The villagers generally get the land ploughed by tractors. Some people get the land ploughed by ox, normally those lands which are hilly and not plains. After the ploughing, then the time comes for seed sowing. During the conception period fertilizers are also applied largely Desi fertilizer locally known as Deeran is used.

2.2.8.2 Kharif Crops

Kharif crops generally include Jowar, Rice and maize but the main crop in the area is maize. Kharif crops are sown in the month of June, July and harvested in the month of September, October (manay). All these crops are also grown at a subsistence level. Before the cultivation of these crops the method of ploughing and preparation is same like Rabi crop. After this the seed is sown in to the land. In Rabi crops too farmers use Desi fertilizer (Deeran) but some times they also use chemical fertilizers in order to get more produce. Farmers

count the production of crops on the basis of Dari (5kg) and Mun a local terminology meaning 10 Daris (50 kg).

2.2.9 Livestock

In this village livestock's is considered the main and major economic asset after agricultural produce. The village people own different types of livestock for household consumption, e.g. Cow, buffalo, goat, and sheep. As the bulls plough the fields, the buffaloes, cow, and goat give milk, curd, ghee, and meat. The sheep provide wool for blankets. The skin of these animals is used for leather craft. Milk, ghee, butter etc are used as a food especially to serve the guests. The commercial sale of these products is limited but some household sell these products specially Desi ghee. This also helps in the household economy and to cover the financial burden of the household. During my research I observed that these people used meat of their livestock as a favorite dish in marriages and other traditional ceremonies.

2.3 SOURCES OF INCOME

2.3.1 Horticulture

Horticulture is yet another main source of their income. The main fruits grown in the area are peaches, apples, walnuts, plums, apricots, Amlok (Japanese fruit). The area under orchard cultivation is small because the people are cutting the trees to use the land for agriculture. The fruits are sold to generate income but their commercial value in the market as compared to the agriculture products, an i.e. vegetable etc is much lower. The main vegetables of the area include tomatoes, potatoes, cabbage, ladyfinger, onions. All have great commercial value in the market. Therefore farmers are involved in cutting of the orchard trees which has much lowered in the

percentage of trees. According to the socio economic survey form 50 to 60 percent decrease in orchard trees in the last decade was observed. Thus 50 % to 60 % orchard land has been converted into agricultural land.

2.3.2 Bee and Honey

Farmers make holes in the trees and walls of their houses or put the mud made pottery in the trees for the bees to get honey. This practice is very common in the area. The honey of Swat is very famous all over the country. The honey thus gathered is sold in other parts of the area and out side Swat.

2.3.3 Fishery

There are some private farms in the area. In these forms the most prized 'trout' fishes are being reared. Swat River too serves as a permanent abode of fishes throughout the year. The tourists are mostly served with the trout fish as it is considered a delicacy of Swat valley.

2.3.4 Medicinal Plants

Medicinal plants continue to be an important source for the treatment of various ailments of human kind as well as livestock. People of various areas came up with a number of medicinal plants which they were using for curing malaria, pneumonia, cough cold other diseases. Locals also export these medicinal plants to other areas of Swat district. Upper Swat Areas are rich in biological resources and house a large number of plants of medicinal value.

However all these plants are collected invariably without considering for their conservation and biodiversity problems? At present all these plants face a number of threats including that of loss of proper habitat either due to climate change or due to increased human encroachments.

2.4 CIVIL AMENITIES/FACILITIES

These include either provided by government or those, which are naturally available to the inhabitants.

2.4.1 Education

In the village Sirsinai, there is two government primary school and government high school for boys but girls have only primary school. No high school for girls in the village. There are two private coeducation primary schools and three boys' private high schools. The condition of these schools is awful because there is shortage of facilities like they are mostly closed from the month of December to March because of the winter cold. Very few children get high school education. My informants were the view that only male get education up to the high school level and the girls are not allowed to go to the high school.

Natives believed that there is no need for female to get modern education. For them, parents prefer religious education in their houses or Madarasas. There are three Madarasas in the study area. According to local people it is necessary that female should stay inside their household. Due to this reason the female literacy ratio is very low that is 5% in this village.

TABLE NO. 2.6. EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN THE VILLAGE

Gender	Formal			Religious	
	Schools			Madrasas	
	High	Middle	Primary	Tajweed	Uloom-e-Islam
Male	01	00	02	03	01
Female	00	00	01	01	0

Plate: 2.4 Boys going to a School of the Village



2.4.2 Health

Following three system of medicine are prevalent in the village for health seeking. Allopathy, Herbal medicines and Homeopathy, and Spiritual or religious healing.

1) Allopathy

In this village there are governmental and private health treatment facilities available where reasonable allopathic treatments are available. The village market has small medical stores where villagers but allopathic medicines. In

minor health problems villagers use to visit the village dispensary for first aid treatment, but in major cases or emergency they move to tehsil hospital Kabal two kilometers away from the area or district headquarter hospital in Saidu Sharif which is 16 kilometers from this village.

In most of the delivery case people follow the traditional methods i.e. midwife looks after the pregnant women till delivery. Otherwise, if not available the eldest lady of the family or in neighbors (women) who have some experience in dealing such cases play the role of midwife.

Some twenty years before the villager's used mostly other traditional medicines but nowadays they are using allopathic medicine. During my survey I observed that 50% people were using allopathic medicine to treat their health problems.

2) Herbal medicines and Homeopathy

Since the area is rich in variety of medicinal plants therefore along with allopathy people of the area also use homeopathic treatment (medicine) for certain disease like aching tooth, sore throat, wounds, joint ache, cholera, diarrhea, skin irritation, etc .Because various plants and herbs are considered to be the affective treatment of the above mentioned diseases. I observed that 30% of the populations still using Herbal medicines. Homeopathy is still another popular health seeking behavior because people believe that this kind of treatment is easy and also their is no side effect of this treatment.

3) Spiritual or Religious Healing

People are also used to religious treatment for the treatment of certain diseases as the influence of religion is deep rooted in the village. As a consequence people consult Maulvis and the people with religious fame to

find out religious treatment for their diseases. They treat their patients with Taveez (amulet) and recitation of the verses from Holy Qur'an. Only 20% of the population was using hikmat or spiritual method of treatment.

Table no 2.7: Treatment methods in the village Sirsinai

S.No	Methods	No of Respondents	Percentage
1	Allopathy	50	50 %
2	Herbal and Homeopathy	30	30 %
3	Spiritual or Religious Healing	20	20 %
4	Total	100	100 %

Source: Survey conducted during field work

2.4.3 Transport

Here in this village Sir Sinai there is a road the in west of the village. The people of this village are dependent on this road to avail the basic facilities of life. The road from village sir Sinai to Mingora Swat (connecting point) is metallic (carpeted) but not in a good condition. From sir Sinai to Mingora every type of transport is available from dawn to dusk. The villagers use this transport in marriage ceremonies as well where as, some thirty years ago the people used bullock carts and horse carts in marriage ceremonies. Most of the people having their own transport which they are using for different purposes according to the need. Every one from the middle class in the village is able to buy some type of vehicles for his personal use as there is no tax on the vehicles and all the transport available in the village is non custom paid (NCP).

These people use it for pick and drop service of the tourist during the summer season. They also use it for transporting their agriculture produce from their

fields. The area is partly hilly and partly plain, in the hilly areas the roads are hard to drive, while the plain area roads are easy to drive.

2.4.4 Electricity

According to local people these two villages were electrified some 25 years back. Supply duration of electricity is 18 to 20 hours per 24 hours. The voltage is also very low just like the candle light (Laltain). Majority of people have no T.V. and other electric appliances i.e. washing machines, Refrigerator etc. However they use fans, electric Iron, heater etc. on festive occasions and marriages.

Electricity also plays an important role and is used fervently.

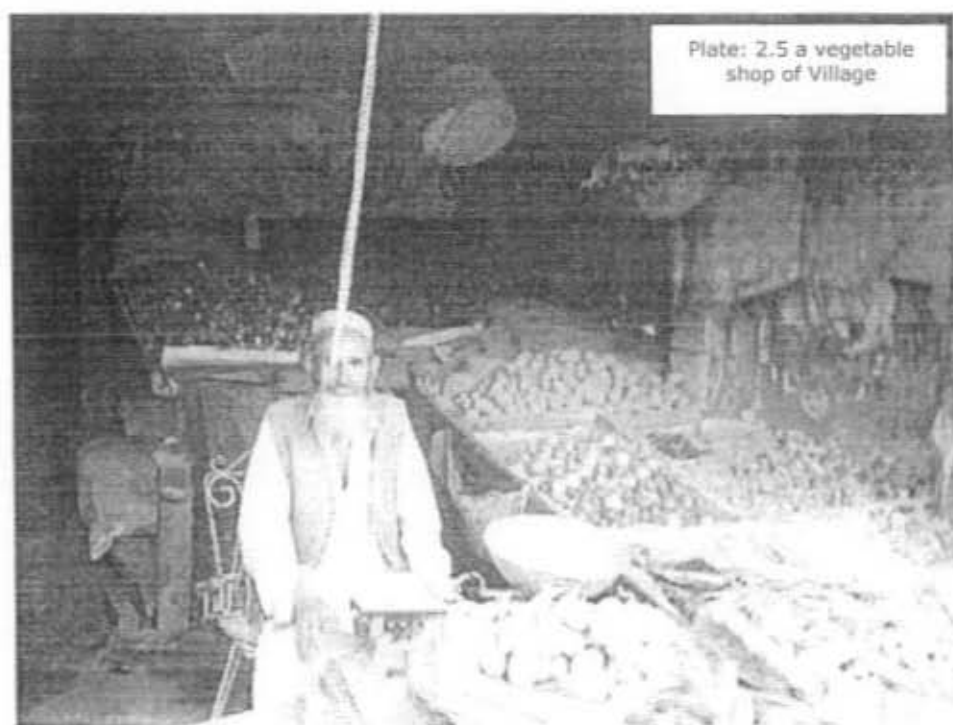
2.4.5 Water Supply and Sanitation

The inhabitants of the village use stream water, spring and well water for drinking purpose. In case of spring and stream water women have to walk some distance with earthen vessels (gaggers) to fetch water as there is no water supply scheme in the village. In rainy season people face difficulty to bring or fetch water. Women also clean and wash the cloths in the nearby stream or in spring. In few households electric water pumps are available. Thus the main source for drinking water and for other purposes are the stream, spring and well inside or outside the household. Men never do water fetching. All the burden of water fetching is on the shoulders of women. On marriage ceremonies large quantity of water is needed, therefore water is fetched through electric motors and also some time pulleys are used.

2.5 TRADE

The largest element of the external trade from Sirsinai includes potatoes; tomatoes, turnips, onions, and some vegetables are sold in large quantity in the Swat market. The fruits of various kinds including apples oranges apricot, peaches, are exported to nearly all big cities of the country.

Among the food delicacies, there are three items which are more precious than any other. These are honey, butter, and mushrooms .Honey has much importance in the external trade from the economic point of view.



SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I have focused on different social institutions of the village. The importance of social institution in no way can be denied the anthropological usage is a bit different from the common parlance. In anthropology Rather it is an organization made to achieve some goals or activities that people feel important. Thus Institutions are the structured processes through which groups and individuals strive to carry on their activities.

These govern the behavior of two or more individuals. specifically institutions are identified with a social purpose and permanence, transcending individual human lives and intentions, and with the making and enforcing of rules governing cooperative human behavior.

The term, institution, is commonly applied to customs and behavior patterns important to a social community, as well as to particular formal organizations of government and public service. As structures and mechanisms of social order among humans, institutions are one of the principal objects of study in the social sciences including sociology, political science and economics. Institutions are a central concern for law, the formal regime for political rule-making and enforcement. The creation and evolution of institutions is a primary topic for history.

(Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)

According to Bersted,

"An institution in short is a definite formal and regular way of doing something".

The Broon and Seizneik include both process and group;

All the above definitions of institution imply both a set of behaviors, norms and system of social relationships through which these norms are practiced; let us have a formal definition, which clearly includes certain basic needs of community. In this definition "common values" refers to shared ideas and goals; the "common procedures" are the standardized behavior patterns the groups follows; and the "system of relationships" is the network of roles and status through which this behavior is carried out.

Thus the family includes a set of common values e.g. (love for children) a set of common procedures (children care, parents respect, love for each other etc and a network of roles and status (husband, wife, children and family income) that form the system of social relationships through which family life is carried out.

Now the question is that that how an institution develops? Answer is that it is a long process spread over centuries. Here, we try to analyze the process of Pukhtoons and Pukhtoonwali in terms of historical and cultural passage over different periods. Institution emerges as the largely unplanned products of social living.

People make groups for practical achievement of their needs; they find some workable patterns, which harden through repetition into standardized customs. As time passes, these patterns acquire a body of folklore, which

justifies and sanctions the bank gradually as the need for storing, transferring, borrowing, and lending money gave rise to series of practices for accomplishing these purposes from time to time. Men might gather to codify and give legal endorsement to these practices as they continued to develop and change.

In this chapter marriage patterns are also discussed, Pattern may be defined as a peculiar way of doing something. Thus marriage pattern here mean the way through which marriages are solemnized in this village. Further the term pattern implies the categories in to which people like to marry their sons or daughters and that what are the most preferred marriages types in the village.

Like other societies of the world in this community marriage is thought a social necessity and is the first step of the formation of the family. The legal and social aspect of marriage is fully observed in the village Sirsinai, and marriage is performed with the consent of parents and in the presence of whole village. However no consent of the boy and girl is sought in most of the cases. The individuals who are getting married are simply informed of the decision of elders. Though with the sharp spread of education and due to the influence of media, some families have now started asking the will of both the boy and girl. However it is in rare cases. This chapter also deals with the marriage ceremonies traditions followed, and marriage customs, as well as different social institution regarding marriages.

3.2 KINSHIP

Kinship and family is the basic unit of any society, without understanding these social institutions, we as anthropologists are unable to do any anthropological research. By studying kinship institutions we would be able to understand social and economic ideas of the members of the society. Kinship is anthropologically defined "as the connection or relationship

between persons by blood or marriage". If the kin are related by blood it is called consanguineal kinship relation for example father son relationship. Similarly when the kin are related by marriage or affinal relationship the kinship is called affinal relationship, for example husband and wife relationship. Kinship is one of the important universals in human society and therefore, plays an important role in the regulation of behavior and the formation of the social group. The system of kinship and marriage plays an important role in maintaining cohesion and solidarity of the society.

In the community, where I did my field work, there are patrilineal/agnatic kinship institutions. Patrilineal/agnatic kinship is that kinship institution in which the individual traces his/her ancestry through the male member of the family. The right to have power of control and transfer of property lies in the hands of male members of the family. If we compare the ethnographic data about the alliances and unity of the kin, it is clear that there are more strong relations between blood relatives than affinal kin. The consanguineal kin help each other in various social issues like quarrels, Dushmani (enmity), Wada (marriage) and other problems and events of happiness. It does not mean that all the blood relations are stronger than affinal relations.

There are also examples of divided blood relatives and united affinal relatives. Blood relative mostly divide on the issues of property division, Tarborwali etc.

Due to the vital role of kinship terminology in structuring the human relationships, anthropologists are always interested in the analysis of kinship terms. Kinship terminology, here in this study helped to understand the factors of Siali and Tarborwali. It helped me to understand who is called Tarbor and up to what extent kin recognition is done. Who help each other more and who are against each other in family or Khanadan?

Following are the terms used to refer the kin relations.

3.2.1 Levels of kinship recognition

By the level of recognition, I mean how they recognize and identify themselves or what kinds of kin groups prevail in the area. This level of recognition, affect the level of unity and cooperation in marriages and other social and economic issues. The village as a unit is recognized as one outside. There are following bonds of kinship recognition. They are *Khel*, *Khanadan* and *Kor* (family).

3.2.2 Khel (clan)

Khel is an ethnographic unit forming the central point around which the tribe moves. Khel is a unit of tabar and cluster of khanadan which is composed of kor. In the area term Khel is used as suffixed to the name indicating the ethnographic unit.

Cham (Mohalla) is divided into numbers of groups which is known as Khel(s). In Khel, all the members trace their lineage to the common ancestor. All the members in a Khel are blood relatives. In the cham (Mohalla) every individual is recognized by the name of his Khel. It is the unit of identification and identification. In the cham Mohalla, Khels are the co-operative groups. Members of a Khel, most of the time work together to solve problems, but there are examples of disunited or divided Khels, like Mulan (a Khel) in Mohalla Mulano cham.

In cham (Mohalla), Khels get together, to solve the common problems of the cham. Khel serves as a group for the interests of the cham. Khel is the combination of various Khanadans.

3.2.3 Khanadan

Khanadan is the practical level of recognition and participation in the village. It comes first than Khel and second to Kor/family. For the most time it is considered till the third or fourth generations. Khanadan name is given by the name of the eldest (father) in the group. In this group the acts and deals of any member are considered, the action from the whole group. This group is the actual tied group, and the members of this group stand together in every field of life. Khanadan consist of Kor(s)/families.

3.2.4 Kor/family

Kor is the subdivision of Khel. Kor or family is the basic socio-economic unit among the village. Kor may be defined as a joint or extended family living on the one or the same hearth, pooling their economic necessities and spending on their family members. It is the smallest unit of the social organization in the village and consists of all those "individuals" or relatives who are living in a single household. As discussed by Akber S Ahmad. *"Kor (house) lineally related kinfolk occupying a single settlement and jointly subjects to the authority of a living male ancestor"*.

(Ahmad 1980:25)

After marriage the newly married couple lives among or near the parents of the bride. But usually they live with the parents of the bride; they live till the time when there is no major problem with the father or with the brothers of the bride.

Representation and participation in Khel's ceremonies is the participation of whole of the Kor members but ceremonies of Mohalla and village are attained by one or more members of the Kor, depending on the intensity of relations of the parties. As pashtoon society is a patrilineal and patriarchal society so, at all

levels of kin grouping (cham, Khel, Khanadan, Kor) the family is represented by the male member.

There are following types of kor/family in the area.

3.2.5 Nuclear Family

It is defined as a unit consisting of man his wife and their children. In the McMillan dictionary of anthropology, Murdock defines nuclear family as *"Composed of mother, mother's husband and their children"*

(McMillan dictionary of anthropology, pp111)

This group follows the order of the male member and serves as the basic unit of interests for the local politicians. In the village there are large numbers of nuclear families. Most of the people live in joint families. The head of the type of family is always the eldest male, father or eldest brother.

3.2.6 Joint Family

Joint family is such type of family in which two or more than two brothers or sisters live with their families. In the village there are a big number of joint families of the brothers living in a house, who share their resources of income and make decisions jointly in other affairs.

3.2.7 Extended Family

In the family, where two or more brothers, along with their married sons and their children live together, is called extended family. In the village there are few families which have such type of system.

3.3 TERRITORIAL RECOGNITION

With the kinship, territorial affiliations always remained an important element in group's formation, and identity for various purposes like marriages, feuds, economic unions, exchanges, and for political groups also people from various, caste color and creed unite together on the basis of territorial unions.

3.3.1 Village

Village is one unit in the Union Council, village is considered to be the most important factor, socially and politically. Village usually consists of various (chams)Mohallas (wards) in the area. Sirsinai Consists of five main (chams)Mohallas. People introduced themselves by the name of their village out side. On the basis of being from the same village people help each other in various issues, both inside and outside the area.

3.3.2 Cham (ward)

Cham is a communal block, where the people live. They may be from the same caste or may not be, but they have close relationships and share their sorrows and happiness. Thus, cham is the specific block where the people live communally, we can say it in Urdu term Mohallah (ward).

Cham is the unit of identification in the village. It consists of Khels, Khanadan and Kor/ families. It is not necessary that all the people in a Cham would be relatives. In most of the time cham is a geographic settlement, it could be called a 'ward'. The member of a cham is identified by the name of the Cham in the village. People; help each other being a member of the village but chamwala (member of Mohalla) is the first who come to help.

Marriages are preferred inside cham and chamwala is given importance over people of other chams. For the most time members of a cham are relatives/kin, if their genealogy is traced back to fifth or sixth generations.

The relation of one cham with others chams is very peaceful and there is no conflict between chams. The members of one cham interact with the member of other cham, personally and no one can/have objection on his relations. There is friendship and even marriages between the chams. Village is divided into chams inside but from outside it works as one unit. chams set together, to resolve their issues. Each cham is divided into various Khels.

3.3.3 Kalay/Kalweghe

It is a communal relationship among the people here. It is the relationship between the people where member participate in every kind of activity and do help each other. That may be death, or may be the moment of happiness.

Before the state of Walis and during the role of walis it was different from today. The people works were bound to tall or palao. The Kalweghe were bound to the cham also, but today here this institution is limited to the specific cham or kinship of the area.

According to this custom Kalweghe, the people help communally each other in different events; for example, when some one died in the specific communal block, the other people helped the affected person. They arranged food for households that are suffered. Similarly when there is a wedding matrimonial, the people do help each other.

We can say in other words Kalay Kalweghe is a significant aspect of pukhtoo, it is related to vital social activities of communal life.

For example, "Participating the Betrothal, wedding, funerals and other affairs of sorrows and joys, visiting the sick persons (Da mareez tapoos) providing the required assistance to the fellow villagers (Ashar, gubal) or to co-operate each other in harvesting, threshing, cutting grassing and various other personal activities which can not be done individually. It is also the part of Kalay Kalweghe. Thus Kalay Kalweghe is an important code of conduct and commandment of pukhtu and pukhtoos in rural setup.

In today's social setup of the area, some changes have occurred. In Kalay Kalweghe it is bounded up-to chum, but still exists. Its prevalence is in large area like before but due to modernization some changes have occurred.

3.3.4 Gawandetob (Rights of neighbors)

In local language neighbors are called gawandian. All neighboring houses are considered as one in all festivals and social functions. Pukhtoos even die for their guests and neighbors. Islam the religion of the area also ordained rights of neighbors in very strong words. The people of the focused area are very cooperative and help each other in every movement of sorrows and joys. As far as marriages are concerned the gawandian (neighbors) Hujra and crockery, cots, and other things are used for the guests who participate in the ceremony, because there exists reciprocity among the people.

3.3.5 Dhera

It is the personal place where the people sit to discuss their different issues and it is also the place where outside guests are received and entertained. This is place, which has a room and baramda (varanda).

This particular place is used for jirga conducting and other political and social celebrations. For example, wedding and other ceremonies, the males gather here for different activities.

3.3.6 Hujra

In the traditional Pukhtoons society, the Hujra's are not personal but communal property of all the People in a block of village or of the whole village. They jointly hold the proprietorship rights and are collectively responsible for its maintenance. Hujras plays a vital role in Pukhtoon society, for these are not merely men houses but also served as the visitors and guest houses are focal point for community actions and opinions, are the places for sleeping of unmarried males, and so forth. These Hujras are been multi purpose community centers. As such Hujras are used for celebrating marriage ceremonies and other social activities. As compared to the Dehra and Bethak the Hujras covered more area.

Plate # 4.1. A Hujra of the Village



3.3.7 Bethak

It consists of a room, which people use for their guests and for general discussion. In English term, we can call it "Guest Room". It may be attached to home, but in some houses it is a separate place.

3.4 ASHER

To do collectively any tribal public work is known as "Ashar". Some say it is an Aryan word; some say Arabic. All workingmen of the cham or Mohallah participate in Ashar if one refuses to participate in Ashar; the person is criticized and will be kicked out from the Kalweghe. The custom can be traced down from ancient tribes where all the activities were performed through Ashar. Due to modernization now it is changed to some extent but still alive.

3.5 ASHERGANI

Ashargani means the persons chosen or demanded for ashar. The animals, which are used for it, are called Asherbani. The persons participating Ashar are called Ashar gani. Food is arranged for the Ashergani by the concern person for whom they are working.

3.6 GHAI RAT

Ghairat means zeal or self honor. To keep on ones own and his tribe or family prestige, one has to be zealous, courageous and some what heedless. The one who is not zealous and courageous may come under the subjugation of others. Calling one Beghairat (unzealous) is an abuse equal to calling names. No body has the right to call another one as Beghairat. Ghairat does not imply for only men; women also must have Gharirat. Ghairat often tinged with

fanaticism yet it helps to preserve the tribal and family system and as an integral component of Pukhtoos.

3.7 JIRGA

Jirga is a meeting of a group of tribal elders who have the authority to settle a dispute acceptable to all sides. In common usage any meeting convened to investigate and settle tribal matters is called Jirga.

Jirga is a large meeting in which the masharan (elders of the families) take part to investigate and settle the important tribal problems. The mullahs, spiritual and religious leaders also participate in Jirga and pray for its success. Jirga is held in an open place or in Hujras. In Jirga, all the members are equal. Some times Jirga is held in a secret place, if it is deemed so, e.g. if the matter is complicated and against the public morality, then it is held in a secret place. Decisions are taken and the matters are resolved in it. When the decision is reached to solution, the Jirga will take oath on Holy Qur'an. The contributors of the jirga put hands on the Holy Qur'an and pledge to carry out the decision solemnly.

3.8 RIWAJ

Riwaj, in the prevalent context means custom or customary law. In Pashto Riwaj governs in all matters like conduct of life and behavior of the Pukhtoos to a greater extent. It is more in use than Islamic law, which is the basic religion of this area. For example, the eldest receives greater share of property i.e. called "tha mashari hisa".

The daughters do not inherit in property here and when she claims to take her share, her minimum punishment is social boycott of the father's family.

One aspect of the various matters abiding by Riway is considered obligatory that is why Pukhtoons saying is that "da kale woza kho da narkha ma woza" Meaning: "leave the village, if you are not happy, but abide by its prevalent custom, whether you like or not.

About Riway, which generate much kind of social and family problems, due to specific custom of area. No marriage under common law has been recognized but they do it according to their own Pukhtoon customs.

3.9 SHARM

Sharm is the term used for disgrace or defamation caused to the girls parents/brothers etc on account of her sexual or love involvement with her boy friend against the tribal norms .if the pair is caught red handed, they are killed instantly by the members of the women side . Similarly the woman put to rape or adultery whenever returns to her home, shall be put to immediate death. To avoid her death, she is at liberty to go anywhere she wants other than her homeland. No body in the tribe can take the risk of granting her asylum and she has to bid farewell permanently goodbye to her clan homeland. According to the local people, selection of spouse for marriage is discouraged here and is considered sign of sharm. In most families it is strictly disliked when some boy or girl do love marriage. Girls can't express her consent due to sharm.

3.10 PAIGHAUR

Paighaur, or taunt, is yet another well recognized manifest perspective of Pukhtoon behavior. A sarcastic remark by peers can drive a person blindly to follow the tenants of Pukhtoonwali, leading to violence and bloodshed. Apprehension of possible Paighaur can generate internal social controls on people limiting their actions and forcing them to conform to the ethics of

Pukhtoonwali. This also helps people to maintain a character worthy of a good Pukhtoon. As such, a Paighaur can come from one's own relative, like a father or mother, or even a friend, and the person receiving a Paighaur is not blamed much for the upcoming violence as a result of this instigation. Paighaur on a women or public talk about women can cause trouble for the Ghairat (honor) of Pukhtoon man.

3.11 MATALOONA (PROVERBS)

Mataloona or proverbs are very popular among Sirsinai Pukhtoons. They are transmitted from one generation to another. Mataloona were developed centuries ago but were compiled in book form after 20th century. Mataloona in fact is depicting the mental and social levels of Pukhtoons. These are instruments for conveying useful message in a musical and convincing style. Almost every matal indicates one element of Pukhtoonwali. You will often see a Pukhtoon using a "matal" or "mataloona" that suits the occasion or scene. Matal is a phrase with poetical style. These are widely spoken and generally loved by Pukhtoon. Lot many books have been written on and about it. These "mataloona" convey a long desired message in a very simple, convincing manner. The language and terminology in a matal is brief, simple and, straight. Every Pukhtoon remembers multitude of "mataloona". The main learning institutions are homes, Hujras and friends. These are all informal institutions. As such mataloona are so dear to Pukhtoons. These are learnt by heart quickly.

3.12 MELMASTIA (HOSPITALITY)

The most famous of Pukhtoonwali code is Melmastia (Hospitality). Melma means a guest. A Pathan does not care of color, race, or religion in respect of Melmastia. Melmastia (Hospitality) is an obligation, which could not be avoided. Melmastia (Hospitality) is not only offered to guests, who are

relatives, friends and acquaintances of the host but also to strangers and those who ask for it.

J.W. Spain observes Melmastia is exercised by the tribe's men to a degree frequently embracing to the guest whether he may be foreigner who knows he will never be in position to return it, or fellow, tribesmen, who may fear that he will not be in a position to return it adequately when the occasion demands.

(Spain: 64)

It also means the expectation of reciprocity; we can see it in this perspective.

"Pukhtoon khpalah dodai da bal pah kor khwri", meaning that Pukhtoon eats his own food at others home. If a person does not behave in the expected manner, he is not considered true Pukhtoon and generally is looked down upon. The guests had been of two types, i.e. who have to reciprocate the melmastya, and those who are not likely to return it tomorrow. The guests who are not known and are poor wayfarers are called khudayi malmana meaning the guests served for Almighty's sake.

Another thing connected with malmastya is protection of the guest. If the guest had enmity or he needs protection due to some other reason, his protection is regarded responsibility of the host till the time he remains guest with him or in the limits of his house or his territorial limits. The protection of a guest is considered obligatory to such an extent by the Pukhtoons that a British administrator, who had no good opinion about the Pukhtoons, had stated in his report that "for gold, they will do almost anything except betray a guest.

The significant aspect of Melmastia is that due to Melmastia that the Pukhtoons did not have to bother about their food and boarding etc at the

time of their journey or going outside of their homes in the absence of modern means of communication and hostels etc. They had only to go for food to the nearby or roadside settlements at the time of meal or at night both for food and stay and receive needed things and also the protection.

3.13 OCCASIONS OF SOCIAL GATHERING

There are various ceremonies and events of social gathering in every society. In these social gathering the degree of integrity and solidarity of the society could be observed. In the village where I conducted my field work, there also were many events of social gathering. These meeting were of varying types and the participation of the community members was different in degree. Some of the occasions of social gathering in the village are as follows:

3.13.1 Birth

In the community due to its patriarchal nature, the birth of boy is celebrated and the birth of girl is not considered that good. Any how, there is gathering on both the birth of boy and girl but there is difference in degree of participation. On the birth of a girl, all the members of the Khanadan go to the house where baby is born. On the birth of boy, nearly all the members of the Mohalla and friends out side the Mohalla come to the *Hujra* of the person, in whose home boy is born.

All the women go to the house and nearly all the visitors give some money to the baby born. This money is considered as a proof of the sharing of happiness with the family where baby is born.

It is minded, if some relative do not come to congratulate the birth, is regarded a disgrace to the family.

3.13.2 Marriage (Wadah)

Marriage is another occasion of social gathering and it is also the occasion of biggest gathering in the village. Nearly the whole village participates in the marriage ceremony. Lavish expenses on marriage are considered as a symbol of social status. In the marriage party all the relative, friends and nearly all other people are invited. All the males who come to the marriage are given food (*worejay*) rice in the Hujra, women are served at home of the bride or groom. The entire relatives and *Mohalladars*, help in the arrangements of marriage and in serving the guests. Marriage is a means of strengthen the relations and for making new relations with the people.

3.13.3 Death (Marg)

On the occasion of death of any member of the family all the people go to the family of deceased for condolence. Village people prepare grave (*Qabar*) for the deceased, and they take cooked meal for the Hujra and home of the deceased for three days. They also come for many days to the deceased family to share their sorrows and grief.

3.13.4 Jirga

Jirga is the council of the village elders. It solves the various problems arising in the village. There are mainly two types of Jirgas, private and public Jirga. In the private Jirga all the member of a Khanadan participate and they have the right to have a say in it.

In public Jirga all the people of the village come and they have their representatives in the form of *Maliks* for each Mohalla.

3.14 Other Occasions

Among the other occasions of social gathering sports competitions, *Eids* and *Juma* prayers are prominent. Young people like to participate in sports competitions and other people also go there to get entertained.

People of the Mohalla get together in Juma prayer in the mosque and have chat with each other on the issues of common interests and also personal issues. Eid is another big occasion of social gathering and people go to each other house to congratulate Eid and share their happiness.

People also rush to the place, where, they heard of any conflict and disturbance. They get together in Hujras to discuss daily issues and to listen to music.

3.15 Marriage patterns in the village Sirsinai

Kin marriages are preferred in the village, but also non kin marriages are also in large numbers in the village. Few cases of levirate and sororate marriage were also observed in the area.

Marriage within the family is called endogamy. Natives use the term "khpalo ke wada" for kin marriage or endogamous marriages and use the term "pa Prado ke wada" for non kin marriages or exogamous marriages.

The following table shows the marriage patterns and percentage in the village.

Table 3.1: Marriage patterns in the Village

S.No.	Pattern of marriages in the village Sirsinai	Percentage
01.	Pa khpalo ke wada(kin marriage)	
	A. marriage with traa zuwai/Lor or tarbor's (father brother children's	35.5%
	B. marriage with mama-zuwai/Lor and tror zuwai/Lor (mother brother children and fathers sister children)	30.5%
02.	Da lever sara wada (levirate marriage)	4%
03.	Da khenev sara wada (sororate marriage)	1%
04.	Da prado sara wada (kin exogamy)	29%

3.15.1 Kwezhdan (Betrothal)

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

Customary opining for betrothal commence with a visit by the mother or sisters of the boy, to the girl's parents. Negotiations for matrimony are undertaken either by the parents themselves or by friends and relatives. As a precautionary measure the girl's parents make searching enquiries about the character, education, occupation and other traits of the prospective son-in-law. After an informal agreement has been reached, the boy's parents approach the girl's parents in a formal way i.e. a *jirga* consisting of relatives

and village elder's calls on the father or elder member of the girl's family. Similarly a female party calls on her mother on the day of public proposal. The *Jirga* settles terms and conditions regarding ornaments, clothes, *Mehr* (dowry) and *Sar* (bride's price or head money). The ceremony is rounded off with distribution of sweets among the people in the *Hujra*.

3.15.2 Wadah (Marriage)

Marriage ceremonies usually take place on Thursday Fridays and Sundays. Marriage festivals commence three days before the scheduled date of the actual marriage. At night village maidens assemble in the bridegroom's house and sing epithalamia called *Sandaras* to the beat of drums and tambourine. Three or four respectable but elderly women visit the house of the bride a night before the marriage for dying her hands and feet with henna and for braiding her hair into three or more plaits. The braiding of hair is generally entrusted to a woman with several male children. The bride's *Jorra* or special bridal dress and ornaments etc are normally sent a day before the marriage. The bridegroom serves two meals to his own guests as well as the bride's villagers. Usually the feast is given on the wedding day.

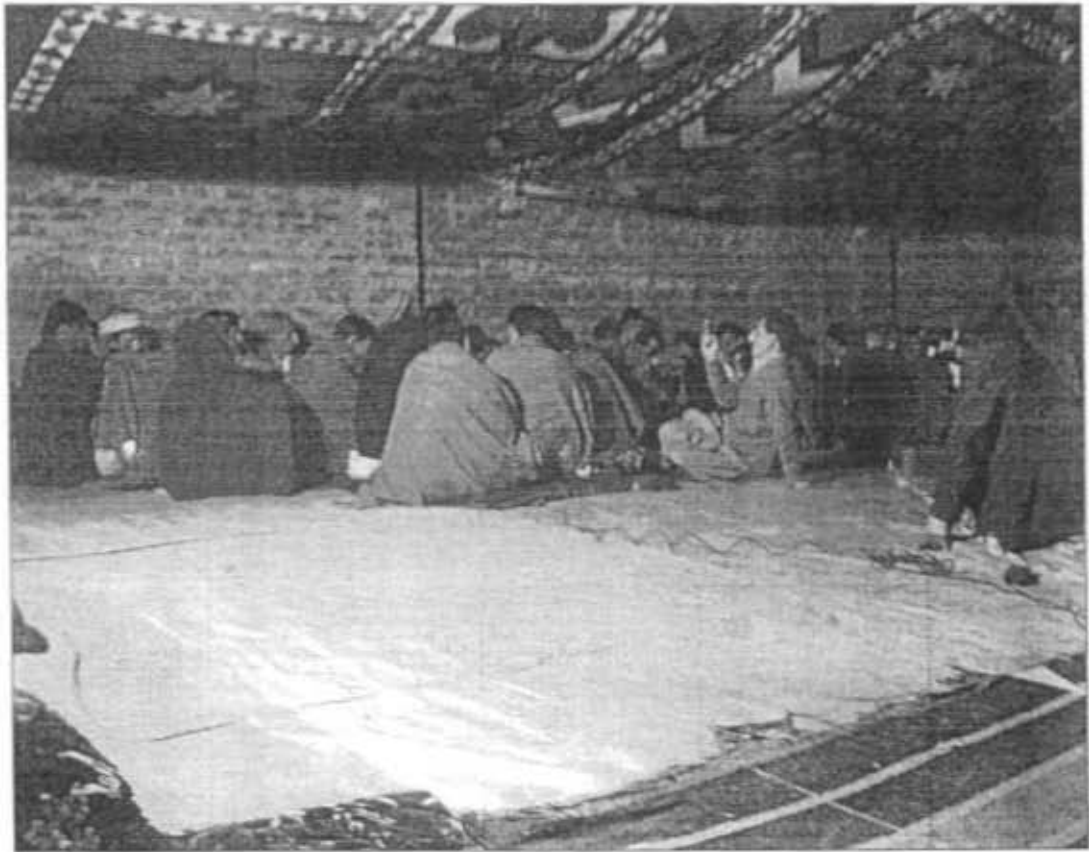
Plate# 4.2: A groom is in wedding room



3.15.3 Janj (Marriage Party)

The bridal procession is called *Janj*. On the day of a marriage, the village of the bridegroom wears a happy look. Old and young alike, wear their best clothes. The marriage party or *Janj* generally starts from the bride's village at noon with musicians leading the procession. The *Wra* or female marriage party starts from the village to the sound of drums. This custom is changing now with the passage of time now the bride is brought through vehicles to the groom's house.

Plate # 4.3. The Janj party enjoying music in bride Hujra.



3.15.4 Nikah (Wedlock)

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

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

3.15.5 Rukhsati

While men remain busy in works female party gives a display of its skill in singing and folk dances. 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.

Few years ago the custom was that the bride is handed over to relatives of bride groom. One of her younger brothers conducts her to a *doli* or a palanquin and a handful of money is showered over the *doli*. 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 way back home, one can witness scenes of merry making. The female party sings happy songs and men fire crackers and volleys of shots in the air. On arrival at the village, the village youths carry the *doli* to the bridegroom's house. They do not place the *doli* on the ground till they are rewarded. After this the bride is made to sit on a decorated cot. All the women hasten to see her face.

The mother-in-law or sister-in-law take the lead in un-veiling her face and other female relatives follow the 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 house. Sweats are distributed both in the *Hujm* and the house.

Wealthy people make a display of pomp and show at the time of marriage. The services of dancing girls and musicians are acquired to entertain the guests. However, such a display of extravagance is now disappearing. While today this custom is changed and in rukhsati only vehicles are used as a doli, if the bride groom house is near then the bride groom relatives take her hand and go through way by foot.

The Pukhtoons, in general, feel reluctant to give their daughters in marriage to non-Pukhtoons but they are not averse to marrying girls of respectable non-Pukhtoon families. It is not usual for a Pukhtoon to take spouse from another tribe. They were also disapproved of overtures for the hand of a younger daughter in the presence of an un-betrothed elder daughter but this custom has now vanished due to education and modernization.

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

Child marriages are common. Polygamy is practiced on a limited scale. A Pukhtoon takes a second wife only when the first one is issueless or differences between the husband and wife assume proportions beyond compromise. Divorces are not common as the Pukhtoons abhor the very idea of a *Talaq* or divorce. The word *Zantalaq* (one who has divorced his wife) is

considered an abuse and against the Pukhtoon's sense of honour. Such an abuse sometimes results in murders and blood feuds.

Plate#4.4.A bride vehicle is ready to move from groom's house



3.15.6 Pa khpal ke wada (kin exogamy)

Villagers use the word 'khpal' for their own relatives. They mention only two categories of relatives and take their 'traa-bachey' or 'Tarbor's' (Father's brother children) as their own blood relatives and term them as their 'Da weni rishtadar'. Their tror, and mama-bachey (children of father's sister and mother's sister and brother) are taken as their close kin's, but are not considered as their blood relatives.

Villagers differentiate between 'da larey rishtadar' (distant kin's) and 'nezdey rishtadar' (close kin's). In the category of da larey rishtadar, (distant kin's), they include those relatives with whom they are related through their close kin's or through affinal links. The categories of 'nezdey rishtadar' include traa-zuwai/Lor, tror-zuwai/Lor, mama-zuwai/Lor and their children (patrilineal matriateral parallel cousins and patrilineal matriateral cross cousins). Data and observation revealed that the percentage of marriages held with in traa-zuwai/Lor(tarbor) and tror-zuwai/Lor (patrilateral parallel cousin) is higher than that of others. In selection of spouses villagers give first preference to their close kin's. In case of non availability of spouses with in close kin's, they prefer their distant kin's and then khpalwan and village.

3.15.7 Da tror and traa zuwai/Lor marriage (parilateral parallel cousin marriage)

According to my research 35.5% marriages in the village were of this category. Locally they called it 'Traa kara wada' (marriage at the house of fathers brother).

It was observed that in extended families; where brothers live with their families' marriages did not create any adjustment problem after marriage.

The property of the brothers remained intact and it provided safety against the division of land. However if the girl was given to outsiders they may claim share in property.

The kinship ties are very strong in the village sirsinai, due to which patrilateral parallel cousin marriage has been flourishing. According to the villagers, close relatives can take better care of their children, especially the females. It is accepted in the village that father's brother has the first right over, his children. If 'traa' (father's brother) asks for a rishta, his brother usually gives him a positive response.

3.15.8 Da tror and mama zuwai/Lor marriage (Cross Cousin Marriage)

Trend of marriages with mama-zuwai/Lor (matrilateral cross cousin) and tror-zuwai/Lor (patrilateral cross cousin) is second most preferred marriages. However there is no specific term used for this form of marriage. According to my research 30.5 % of this type of marriages solemnized in Sirsinai. When an elder child has been married to traa-zuwai/Lor (patrilateral parallel cousin), mother's take the privilege of marrying at least one to her brothers house.

According to Fox, 'Cross cousins have the advantage of being outside ego's lineage/clan under either unilineal descent. They are therefore ideal mate if ego wants to marry a close relative.' (Fox, 1967:185)

Fox is of the opinion that it is advantageous because it provides to ego an ideal mate, if he or she wants to marry close relatives. The cross cousin marriage provides a strong bond for already related families. But observation revealed that all considerations for cross cousin marriages depend to a great extent, on the previous relationship of the two families. The reason given by one of the respondent sultana Bibi (whose daughter Fatima was engaged with

her brother's son zamin khan) is, 'I want to marry my daughter with my brother's son because he is my brother. When asked, whether she enjoys good relations with her brother her reply was, 'Although we do not have good relations for the last five years yet I am confident that my daughter is happy in his uncle's home because we are from one parents and my brother will definitely take care of his niece and this helps in providing understanding amongst us'. Such feelings appear sentimental but notable thing is that they reflect the attitude of a great number of individuals in the society. It is because of the sense of respect for their relatives and feelings of security with the close relatives.

It is a general notion in village that the girl will be treated well in father's sister's home or at mother's brother's home because of their affiliations. Majority of the respondent said:

'khpal,khpal we awo pradey pradey' (mean that our own relatives cannot abuse the blood of their own).

Another important aspect is that maternal and paternal uncle is bound to play an important role in his sister's or brother's daughter marriage. As per tradition he is one who presents items of dowry. Locally termed as mama Wali (gift given by mother's brother) and tarbor wali (gift given by father's brother).

He is also given importance in family decision on marriages. The strong kinship ties forces him to ask for his sister's daughter's hand for his son.

However, it should be noted that cross cousin marriages are considered and arranged when there is no traa-zuwai/Lor (patrilateral parallel cousin) for ego as a marriage partner.

3.15.9 Da levar sara wada (levirate marriage)

Marriages are also arranged with 'Levars' (Husband's younger brother) in which a man marries with the wife of the deceased brother. In local language it is known as 'levar sara wada' (to marry with husband's brother). No specific term is used for such marriages. However such marriage is not performed as a rule but under compulsion in unavoidable circumstances. Only 6 out of 130 levirate marriages are reported to have been performed in the village of these only one was in Barokhel other three were in Babakhel and two in gujjars.

If the husband dies, widow remains in the household of the late husband and it becomes the responsibility of her 'khwakhe' (in law) to take care of her as she is considered the honor of the whole family. She lives there till her death and the chance of going back to her parents is only remote.

About explaining the duties of the husband's family, fox says in his book,

"If she was widowed young, then her remarriage was a matter of her husband's agnates to settle. She did not return home, after marriage. Her home was where her husband was, and his 'kin' were her 'kin'".

(Fox, 1967: 117)

According to Pukhtoos codes of life the affine of the widow don't like that the wife of their son or brother goes out of their family and marries another person. So the most convenient solution they have to keep her within their family is to marry her with the younger or unmarried brother of her late husband.

It is also observed that levirate marriage is that the offspring born from the first husband are closer to their uncle and grand mother and grand father, so

it becomes easier to settle them psychologically, physically and emotionally. It provides social and economic relief as well as protection to the women and her offspring. On other hand widowed in laws get the advantage of keeping their honor and their property within the family. The main reason behind levirate marriage is to protect social and economic interests of individuals in a certain social group.

3.15.10 Da kheney sara wada (sororate marriage)

Sororate marriage is not a common feature in the village. I observed only 1% of the population of the village who were engaged in this type of marriage pattern. Marriages are arranged with 'khena' (wife's sister). This is done when the wife deceased and has left children. The only feasible course is to take such a wife who can take care of their children and parents. So sororate marriage is preferred because sister of the wife is much closer to husband children and she can take care of his children's in a good manner.

3.15.11 Pa prado ke wada (kin exogamy)

Though most of the marriages in the village Sirsinai are within the family (exogamy) yet there are some marriages observed outside the kin group which is called (pa prado ke wada) in local terms. Ember mentioned exogamy as,

"Exogamy can take many forms. It may mean marrying outside a particular group of kinsmen or outside a particular village of group of villagers".

There are two categories of the "pradey" (outsiders) as defined by the villagers. In one the members are belonging to their own Khel (clan) but not their blood relatives, where as in second category is from other Khels (clans). From data researcher recorded 29% of marriages in "pradey" non kin's.

Marriages outside are disliked in this village because they create different problems like trafficking in which girl is married out side of the kin's as well as out side of the district. Marriage with in Khel (clan) is strictly followed specially in middle and upper class people. Most of the marriages outside the Khel (clan) are arranged in poor families of the village because of poverty their parents can't afford to fulfill their in laws demands of dowry. It is the main reason that these poor peoples marry their daughter outside of the district and province where they are trafficked and used for illegal activities.

3.16 MATEEZA

A girl, who leaves her father's home and marries with a man without the consent of her parents and family-members, is called "Mateeza". In local language, when she elopes with her fiancé before marriage, she is considered a bad woman and a vagrant in this society. The punishment is death for both the male and female in most of the cases.

3.17 ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMAN

As far as, the role of women is concerned, they ordinarily take no part in social or public affairs. However they are very active in the family affairs. In the family, women could be seen as the strongest pillar. They play a vital role part in arranging marriages and family alliances, sometime directly through negotiations with female members of the other family and some time through the intermediary of go-between. They do all the household tasks like washing clothes and dishes, preparing food, cleaning the house and the most difficult taking care of the children. Along all these household jobs women is also responsible for taking woods from the jangle, because wood is used as fuel in the village. Women help in most of the agricultural tasks. Women also participate actively than the men in marriages, death and other ceremonies.

The women of the village do more work in all the fields than the male in the village.

As far as, the status of women is concerned, it is not equal to men. They are considered low than men. Pukhtoon society is a strong patriarchal and patrilineal society so the right of decision in all the family affairs lies with the male of the family. Purdah is not observed by the elderly women in the village, young girls who do outdoor tasks like bringing woods, and going to fields also do not do Purdah, but majority of the young girl do Purdah. All the women whether they do Purdah or not, are not allowed going outside the village alone. They mostly accompany a male of their family, no matter of what age he is. They can not go to the village shops for shopping or household amenities. Women are not given any shares in the property of the family. In some of the chum (mohallahs) they even not send their girls to school, they consider females education as a futile and nonsense. Over all the status of women is low and they are considered inferior to men.

FORCED MARRIAGES**4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter researcher focused on different types of forced marriages in the village Sirsinai. Researcher also focused on different problems which are created by these forced marriages like suicide, female trafficking, honor killing and other psychological problems.

There are different definitions of marriage, because the cross-cultural variability in social organization of gender relations and the existence of rare forms of marriages in the specific societies render such definitions invalid. Some of the anthropologists tried to define the marriage, keeping in view the core functions of this institution, which are usually related to the regulation of sexuality and the reproduction of children.

No society in the world exist which deny the publicly recognized and culturally approved union between the male and female. Marriage is a universal institution in social organization. Marriage is a social union between man and woman, which is approved by society and religion. Thus union which promotes economic sharing and procreation is known as marriage.

Leech defines marriage as "*Marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that children to the woman are the recognized, legitimate offspring of both the parents*" (Leech 1962: 180). Marriage in the village is a well-defined social institution. Marriage, both as a relationship and as an event is considered to be the most eye-catching, expensive and elaborate ritual in the village ideally. However due to the low income, marriages also take place in a simple way.

Decision of marriage is taken by the parents of the couple going to marry. There is monogamous marriage in the village; only short numbers of people do second marriages. It is because they consider it as a life long bond; it is also that second marriage is socially not considered as a good act, if there is no valid reason for it. A woman is considered as the honor. The ideal marriage spouse is patrilineal parallel cousins. The following table shows the role of family members in selection of marriage partner.

Table: 4.1 consent in selection of the marriage partner

Girl consent	Boy consent	Parents consent	Only parents and boy consent	Only Girl and her parents consent	Total
0 %	05 %	70 %	15 %	10 %	100 %

Source: Survey conducted during Fieldwork

There is no specific definition of forced marriages but according to Muslim family ordinance 1961 the basic elements for marriage are that, there should be mutual agreement between both male and female also there should be presence of witnesses from both the parties and also the nikah should be registered. According to the same act there is no need of parents consent if the boy and girl agree to solemnize marriage.

(Muslim family laws ordinance 1961: 73,160)

A forced marriage is a marriage that is performed under duress and without the full and informed consent or free will of both parties. Being under duress includes feeling both physical and emotional pressure. Some victims of forced marriage are tricked into going to another country by their families. Victims fall prey to forced marriage through deception, abduction, coercion, fear, and

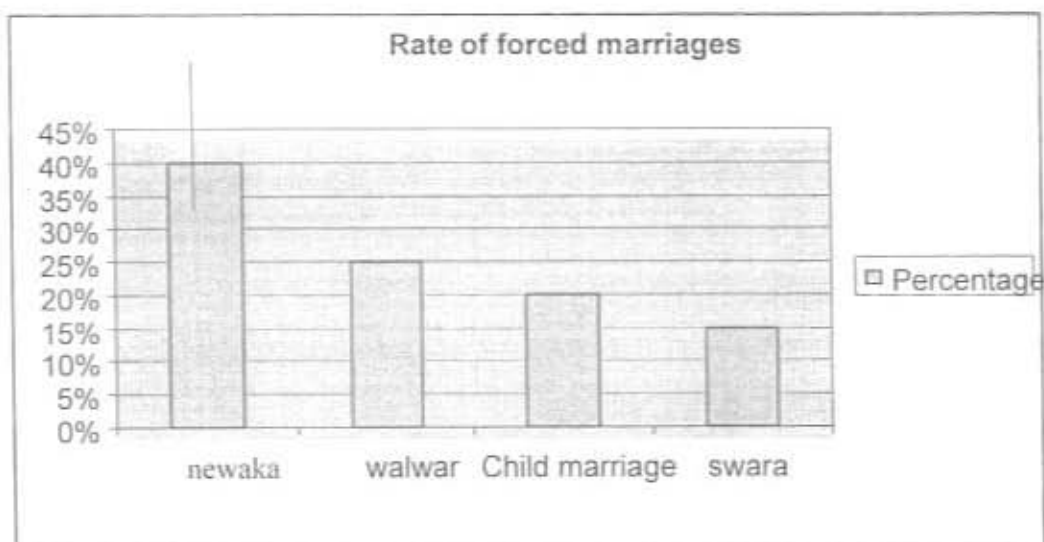
inducements. A forced marriage may be between children, a child and an adult, or between adults. Forced marriages are not limited to women and girls, as boys and men are also forced to marry against their will.

A forced marriage is considered to be domestic violence and an abuse of human rights. Victims of forced marriages often experience physical violence, rape, abduction, false imprisonment and enslavement, sexual abuse, mental and emotional abuse, and at times, murder.

So one can say from above discussion that forced marriage may vary according to every culture and in which individuals are facing different problems. In the view of Pukhtoon (Pathan) conservation coupled with strict segregation of sexes, it is very difficult for a suitor to select a girl of his own choice. For a girl it is impossible to select her choice, so both boy and girls do not play any role in the selection of life partners and the whole authority is with their parents. Boys and girls have little consent, in this matter.

The data collected by researcher shows that the rate of Newaka marriage is high as compared to other forced marriages. There are 40% marriages arranged through Newaka custom, the rate of walwar in percentage is 25%, the rate of child marriage is 20% while the rate of swarah is 15%. The following graph shows the rate of forced marriages in the village.

Figure 4.1 Rate of forced marriages in the village



4.2 TYPES OF FORCED MARRIAGES

There are different types of forced marriages which the researcher observed in the village. These include

- 1) Badal (exchange) marriage
- 2) Walwar or bride price marriage
- 3) Swarah
- 4) Marriage through newaka
- 5) Child Marriage

The following table indicates the types of forced marriages in the village Sirsinai.

Table: 4.2 the types of forced marriages solemnized in the village.

Total marriages (in percentage)	walwar	Neewaka	swarah	Exchange marriage	Child marriage
100	20 %	30 %	10%	20 %	20%

Source: Survey conducted during field work

4.2.1 Badal Wada (exchange marriage)

“Badal” means exchange, in this type of marriage, the sister of one marry the brother of the other and vice versa. In this type of marriage direct exchange of woman take place. If two persons have daughter and son both will respectively exchange. This type of marriage takes place both inside the Khanadan or Khel and also out side with other people.

These marriages according to the people of the village give security to the girl in the house of the husband. Because, if one man treat his wife badly, in return his sister will be treated in the same way, by the brother of his wife i.e. the husband of his sister.

Researcher observed that these marriages were creating different problems in the area. It gave rise to many family feuds and conflicts. *Badal (exchange)* marriages, which involve exchange of siblings, put an additional burden on women to abide by their father's marriage arrangements.

4.2.1.1 CASE STUDY

Name: G-A
Age: 18 years
D/O: G-k
Caste: Afghan Refugee

Mina allegedly set on fire by her husband Gul Aka in December 2002 in Badal (exchange) marriage context. Their marriage had run into trouble. Gul Aka wanted to send Mina back to her parents, Mina brother, married to Gul Akas sister through Badal (exchange) marriage systems and he refused to send his wife home as well. Gul Aka found no other way to remove his shame than to kill his wife because their parents arranged their marriage through Badal (exchange) marriage custom. Gul aka was not satisfied with this marriage. He portrayed the murder as an accident, Mina brother did not kill Gul Aka's sister but he given divorced to Gul aka's sister and sends her home.

4.2.2 Walwar wada (bride price marriage)

Among the Pukhtoon beside the Badal marriage there is another type of marriage in which money is taken for Bride. This money is called Walwar or bride price. This bride price or walwar system constitutes another way of integrating social groups through inter marriages. This type of marriage specifies that a prospective husband usually with the help of his relatives must provide a substantial sum of money to his future wife family before a marriage can be contracted. When a girl is married to the other Khel or sub tribe then mostly bride price or walwar marriages are preferred.

In this marriage the marriage take place from one side and are thus unilateral. The boy family has to bear all the expanses of marriage. They have to take jewelry for the girl and to arrange a lot of other things for the girl's family. An

agreement is reached between the parties in the presence of some other members of both the families. This type of marriage was found in the village and it was also preferred over the Badal marriage.

The walwar or bride price may also be seen in many societies of the world. They involve a variety of bride wealth forms, in many instances special items are used exclusively for marriage payments. In some areas special variable shells or stones are used. In some societies cattle are given in the bride price. It was *Evans Pritchard*, who coined the term bride price and the phenomenon as buying and selling.

Among the Pukhtoos this practice is there, they take some amount for their girls. This price depends upon the variety of factors such as the beauty, age, lineage status and whether she has been married earlier or not. In the rare cases the remarriages of widow involves the walwar or the bride price. These type of marriages are taking place mostly in Gujars, Ajars, kohistanis, afghan refugees and very rare among the other Swat Pukhtoos. According to Fredrick Barth among the

Swat Pukhtoon the bride price is spent in three such occasions.

- 1) Money spent on the Dowry and Jewelry of the bride.
- 2) Money spent on marriage arrangements.
- 3) Money given to the Father of the bride.

The father of the bride is supposed to re-invest the money as a part of the dowry but rarely does so

(Barth, 1975: 37)

My focus here is on the third condition which is an inhuman action and a stigma for the society in which women is exploited. Here I have taken the

cases where the money is not spent on marriage arrangements of the bride but money given to father of the bride and girl was sold like commodity which can be purchased and bought. Walwar or bride price, which forms part of the negotiation, is also determined at the time of engagement. The bride price ranges from Rs.20,000/- to Rs.300,000/- and above which depends on the agreement between the two parties or the decision of Jirga and the suitor parents agree to pay and cash the stipulated amount to the girls parents on the day of marriage. A part of the payment is paid on the spot and the rest of the money is paid on the marriage day.

In my locale I observed that walwar (bride price) is much more than that which is given by the local people. The guardian has started accepting bride price on their daughters as high as Rupees three lacks in some cases. It is observed that a portion of this money is spent on the marriage procession called (Gana) in the Pashto language and on the wedding expenditure of girl. This custom of accepting cash money over daughter is running quite contrary to the days gone by where nothing was taken from girl side. Some of the greybeard key informants told me that they married their wives by giving only a few dug animals but that was an old paradigm. The practice of head money or bride price is adapting a critical situation in the area because this is also true that in few cases the girl is not sold out like a marketable commodity as she is an economic asset but the idea underlying is to provide some financial relief to girls parents while purchasing gold or ornaments, clothes, house hold utensils for their daughter. It is consider that bride price is a matter of honor for them, the more will be the bride price the more will be the respect of the girl in her husband family.

According to local people even wealthy and prosperous parents, who otherwise don't stand in need of the bride price, reluctantly have to accept this for preservation of honor of their daughters is her laws. This notion has now adapted a new direction as observed in some cases, which leads much

more negative effects as compared to its positive effects. I observed it true in few families in the above situation. However in this area this kind of situation is very rare. Overall speaking the bride price custom is found in most of poor families. As per natives perception it is an old system but the case studies which I dealt with show that this custom in this area has repercussions leading to female trafficking and many other social problems.

The following table shows the economic status of respondent and their response to walwar marriage in the village.

Table: 4.3. Economic status of the respondents and their responses to walwar marriage

Response	Number of respondents	Economic status	Involvement in walwar marriage
We do it because of poverty and we can not fulfill daughter's needs.	35	Poor class	70 %
We do it because we expend it on girl wedding ceremony	35	Middle class	30 %
Total	70		100 %

4.2.2.1 Case study

Name:	Ahmad Jan
Age:	35 years,
Relation to the family:	Head of the family
Marital status:	Married

Ahmad Jan belongs to Shabur Khel of Yusafzai tribe, his age is 40 years. Before year 2000 he was a factory labor in city factory, he came here in 2001 because this village was his ancestral place. He has three daughters and one son; he became drug addicted in Karachi. His earning was from factory so he afforded his cost then, but when he came here all his expenditures were depended on land only, where as the land production was not enough to fulfill both his family and his drug needs. For this purpose he fixed his daughter bride price named shaheen with Asel khans who was belongs to Gujar Katan Khel family. Shaheen price was fixed Rs. ten thousand only Asel khan purchased her for his son. Shaheen at that time of eighteen years age.

The second daughter nizakats bride price was Rs. 20000 she was married with Ajmal son of Fayoon khan. He did this six month later of his elder daughter. Her age, at that time was not more than fifteen years.

The third daughter khalida was eight year old. Her price was fixed with shah naseem khan. He purchased her at low price because she was a child. Then Shah naseem purchased her for his young son 12 years of age, and she was married one year later. The main underlying factor was Ahmed Jan's poverty. Another compelling factor was drug addiction of the father.

4.2.2.2 Case study

Name:	Noorena
Father:	Badshah khan
Age:	18 yrs
Caste:	Gujar

Badshah is from a poor family of the village. He has eleven children among them seven are boys and four are daughters. Noreena is on second position. Badshah khan wife Shaheena worked in different houses as a servant. Her father was unable to send his children to school as well as to provide them good clothes, foods and medicines etc. Therefore his wife use to, collect old shoes and clothes from houses where she is working. One day members of the local gangs of female's traffickers came to khan's home for Noorena marriage. They convinced the khan that they are wealthy people and they will keep Noorena happy in their house and will also solve his family's economic problems. The person who brought by these gangs were from Gujrat Punjab. The boy shown by the local gangue as groom was Muhammad yousaf. The Noorena father Khan agreed with them on one lack twenty thousands rupees. The wedlock ceremony was solemnized in researcher's key informant hujra.

After few days later her father went to his daughter home to see whether She is happy and peaceful their. However after one month of her marriage the situation totally changed. One day noorena's husband went to Lahore for few a days, and on that very night another man came to her room to sexually exploit her, This person was introduced to her as brother in law according to her husband .on next day another person stated as father in law of noorena, molested her. After a few days when her husband came back to home she told the whole story to her husband, her husband told her that you have to tolerate these things because we had paid money to your father.

Thus the other persons who are coming to you for sex have share with me and you have to do every thing what they want to do. According to noorena after that every day a new person came to do sex with her and whenever she refused to do so they brutally punished her. She tried to leave her husband home as soon possible but she failed. After one year she got pregnant but her husband brought her to hospital where he done her abortion, because her husband told her I have no need of children. After two year she came to her father home for few days promising her husband that she will come back very soon. Few days later her came husband came to bring her back .she refused to go back and she told the whole story. When her husband yusaf came to know that noorena has told the whole story to her parents he ran away to Gujrat. When noorena's family and local police tried to book yusaf for his misdeeds, he moved away some where.

Nowadays noorena is a student of village Madrassa (religious school because no one is accepting her for marriage).

4.2.3 Swarah

Swarah is another type of forced marriage prevalent in Pukhtoon society. According to key informant this is an accepted rule in Pukhtoons through which they solve their blood feuds peacefully .In one of these rules, if the aggrieved party agrees to settle the issue amicably, the party who had done the wrong gives a girl in marriage to a male member of the aggrieved party. Betrothal and marriage of the girl of the party on the wrong with a male member of the aggrieved party, in such a manner, is called swarah.

The most negative part of the swarah is that the poor soul (the girl) is so married is without solemnizing soul remains at the mercy of the enemy of her in laws.

Swarah literally means the female who is riding. As in absence of modern means of communication the people generally traveled by foot but the females of the well up families were brought to and from the houses of the father and the husband on horses etc.

This is significant aspect of this kind of marriage. By swarah both the families cement their settlement by matrimonial relations. The marriage becomes a bond to the effect that both sides would not resort to blood shed in future. The offspring's of the couple married in the swarah case becomes a source of further strengthening of the relations. This is one of the positive aspects of this type of marriage. However there are some negative aspects of this kind of marriage too, that the brides who are married through swarah marriage are not treated well as compared to a common house wife. They have no respect and prestige. Researcher has come across the following case study swarah marriage.

4.2.3.1 Case study

Name:	Rehmat Ali
Father name:	Tota khan
Age:	25 years
Caste:	Zargaran (Gold smith)

Rehmat Ali is the son of the tota khan of yusafzai caste, done education up to primary level. He was factory labor in the Swat city 2 years before. Near to his factory their was a girl's high school. He fell in love with a girl who was in her matriculation. Her name was fouzia her age was just fourteen years at that time. Both agreed for marriage. The boy told his parents to arrange his marriage with this girl. The boy's family talked about this matter with boy's family but the boy family was poor and also the family status of girl was high as compared to boy's family.

The parent's of girl refused the boy's parent's proposal. As a reaction both the boy and girl both ran away (MATEZ LARAL). The news spread in the village very sharply. As it is the custom of the village that when boy and girl run away against the will of their parents the family prestige demands that the both be killed when ever caught. Thus both the families were in search of boy and girl. The elders (masharan) of the people called jirga to solve this problem. They gave a proposal to girl's family to take girl through the custom of swarah. The girl family accepted this proposal but they put some conditions in this agreement which were that the girl and boy will not come to girl family village and also the girl who is given to aggrieved party is not allowed to come her parents home. By this way, the sister of Rehmat Ali was married to one of the family member of fouzia, the name of the girl which is married through swarah custom is Akhtar Begum. Her age at the time of her marriage was 13 years.

My key informant asked Rehmat Ali to comment about this matter. He told that he took it as violation of his sister's right but there was no other way to solve this conflict. Few months later I asked from my key informants about the married life of the swarah girl in her husband's home. He told that she is not happy in her husband home because her age was not enough for marriage; also her consent was not taken in the matter.

4.2.4 Newaka

Literally to catch or lay claim can be interpreted as an acceptance of claims. This is another custom under which marriage can be solemnized against the wishes of the couple and also that of the girl's parents.

Public claim through "Newaka" debar others from making overtures to the girl's family for her hand. Marriage under neewaka is often taken place among relatives, especially the first cousins. This custom is vanishing with

passage of time because it creates a lot of social problems. The main cause of social problem is that there hardly exists consent between the boy and girl and later it creates divorce problem and other family conflicts.

4.2.4.1 Case study

Some cases which are studied by the researcher about neewaka are listed below.

Name: A- Z
Sex: Male
Caste: Hafiz Khel
Age: 28years

Mr.A-z is the son of Mr. G -R. His mother is sister of Mr. M-T, once she visited the brother's house to give cog rates on the birth of their female child. Their at the occasion she claimed that this girl will be the wife of her son Mr. A-Z.

They were both first cousins to each other. After some time when the girl reached puberty age, the other parties in the village brought offers for the relation but her mother refused that she had got engaged in her childhood age. When their marriage ceremony was announced by their parents, the girl refused to get marry with that boy. Her reason was that she was not told at any stage that you are engaged. The boy however was aware of the fact and was willing to marry her according to his parents. When she refused to marry, her grandfather threatened her of killing.

Any how she got married with that boy, but unwillingly. After passing three months with the husband she got back to the father's home. The parents told the acquaintances that she is a psycho case. They tried to cure her but every Doctor refused, because she was not so. In the husband's house she also got

pregnant. After some time in the parent's house she gave birth to a male child. She looked after the child for six months which was then taken away by the husband's family from there. Both the families tried to resolve the matter but in vain. Thus both the families decided to arrange another marriage for the boy and let her live under his Nikah (wedlock). Thus another fact which makes me much unhappy is that she was uneducated and unaware of her lawful rights demand of khulah.

Now she is living in her parent's house under some restrictions. While taking interviews i also asked that child that where is his mother, he answered while weeping "My mother died when I was of six months". He was told by the father and other family members that his mother had died. The child is now of 5 years of age and is without mothers love, and thus is prone psychological problems.

4.2.4.2 Case study

Name: Ilyas khan
Caste: Baro Khel
Age: 23years

Mr. Ilyas khan is the son of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jan. His mother and father had made neewaka of his patrilateral parallel cousin in the childhood. The age of girl was 6years less than that of the boy. In the start of 2006, the parents of boy were intended to make the relation strong by making a nikah. But the boy refused to do so. He was unwilling to marry that girl, and proposed to marry of an other matrilineal parallel cousin. The father of boy tried much but in vain. The parents of the girl also got angry as to why he initiated the relations if he was unwilling, because in the Pukhtoon (Pathan) society such girls are not taken into marriage by others. The conflict continued up to the end of April; when the boy got engaged with her own choice and let the

Newaka girl live in the father's house. This is now the major reason of the two families to hate each other.

4.2.5 Child marriage

Child means a person who is in case of male is under 18 years of age and in case of female is under 16 years of age according to Pakistan panel act 1929 and 1961. According to this law child marriage means a marriage to which either of the parties whose marriage is or is about to there by solemnized, omitted by Muslim family laws ordinance 1961. According to this law this kind of marriage is punishable when solemnized.

(Malik, 2004: 181)

Though according to Islamic law the age limit is less than that given by Pakistan panel code but now due to the drastic change in the world which has changed it to global a village also affected culture, norms and values. Thus now a days most of the customs which creating different social problems is now diminishing with the passage of time. Child marriage is also one of the kind of marriages which creating certain problem in the village.

According to constitution of Pakistan article 17 and 19 every citizen has the right of freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly respectively.

According to clause of CRC article 13 the child shall have the right to freedom of expression, the right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impact information and ideas of all kinds regardless of frontiers either orally in writings or in print, in the form of art or through any media of the child choice. Article 14 says "states parties shall respect the right of the child freedom of thought conscience and religion".

The above discussion shows that their child care is the parental responsibility of the parents of the child according to both Islamic law and English law but it

does not mean that they debar the consent of the child in their choice. I observed in my locale that child marriage is common in some families especially female is effected by this custom which creates certain problems. Case study given below is representative this kind of marriage.

4.2.5.1 Case study

Name: R-B
Sex: Female
Caste: Shabur Khel
Age: 15year
D/o: G-b

Two years ago when R-B age was thirteen years her hand was given by her mother to an old man whose wife had died. At the time of her engagement she told her mother that I am not going to marry with this man because he is four times elder than me. He has daughters, sons and daughters in laws and I cant spent time with such an old man. Her mother however engaged her with that old man without her consent.

After few months of marriage with that person she left her husband house and ran away to Mingora city. Here in city she resided with people who were involved in female trafficking activities so they sold her to a man who was from Lahore (Punjab). Her old husband and her mother were in search of her.

A few months later the Punjab police arrested her with that person who purchased her from mingora. Both were in jail but local NGO released her and now she is living in a hidden place due to fear of death because her old husband is in search to kill her.

4.3 FORCED MARRIAGES LEAD TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

With the beginning of the processes of industrialization and its technological underpinnings our social system has been in a state of rising disequilibrium. The growth of industry and the development of media tools, transportation, communication and recently the globalization phenomenon, have led to disruption of the agriculturally conditioned social and moral order of yesterday. Consequently changes demand a redefinition of social welfare and morality, resulting in concern for human rights violations and related issues.

A social problem implies the undesirable social conditions which are a source of menace to social well-being. Thus a social problem may be viewed as mass phenomena subject to statistical analysis and depiction. The victim of a social problem possesses attributes in common with others in his group or class. M. Khalid quotes the definition of Frank L, K, who defines social problem as "a social problem then appears to be any difficulty or misbehavior of a fairly large number of persons which we wish to remove or correct".

(M. Khalid, 2003: 1)

H.A Phelps gives a more comprehensive definition of social problem as "social problems are abnormalities in social relationship which manifest themselves when people live in groups, which are considered dangerous and intolerable and which must be eliminated to safeguard the society".

(Phelps, 2003: 2)

Anthropologists usually consider a social problem to be an alleged situation that is incompatible with the values of a significant number of people who agree that action is needed to alter the situation. Social problem causes dissatisfaction, suffering or misery. Communities are not always harmonious. They face one another with hostility and suspicion. Therefore, several cases of maladjustment present themselves to study and discover underlying causes

which is the main purpose of anthropology. There are some social problems which researcher observed in the village the, main cause of which was forced marriages. These social problems are discussed in detail here.

Table: 4.4 social problems created by forced marriages

Psychological problems	Family conflicts	divorce	Honor killing	Female trafficking	Total
40 %	20 %	10 %	10 %	20 %	100 %

Source: survey conducted during fieldwork

4.3.1 Forced marriages causing Honor killing

Expressing a desire to choose a spouse and marrying a partner of one's choice are seen as major acts of defiance in a society where most marriages are arranged by fathers. They are seen to damage the honor of the man who negotiates the marriage and who can expect a bride price in return for handing her over to a spouse.

According to human rights law:

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16

Women and behind her dignity and position and honor is to be raised is a big challenge in Pukhtoon society. When women broke social constraints and leave her home and marry with a person of her own choice, it creates a great problem for her life in Pukhtoon society. When she commits this act, her relatives and family members decide to kill her. This crime in Pukhtoon society is rising due to ignorance. According to Quranic verses, there is punishment for zana (Adultery) and other illegal relationship regarding sex, but there should be four eye witnesses for these crimes.

(Surah Noor 04, Quran)

However here the situation is totally different, no one considers the rules of Islam and mostly people take decision on the basis of doubt or verbal hearing. This however does not mean that couple is caught in compromising position before being slaughtered.

Mere suspicion, slightest doubt or even hear say about the reputation of close female family members, qualifies certain members to act to restore perceived damage. When they load their guns, they commit of pride and in local terms this called Ghairat.

STATISTICS on honour killings are rare, as the murders often occur in a family home and go unreported. However, researcher observed 16 honour killings in alone in field work duration.

Women who refuse forced marriages or marry for love are the most common victim of honour killings - so-called because the perpetrators believed they are protecting the "honour" of their family. The practice is most common in countries following strict Islamic law. Even women who are raped may not be spared as it is most commonly they, not the rapists, who are punished for violating family "honour". Many women are condemned to death by so-

called family courts. Often the woman is given no chance to explain or defend herself.

4.3.1.1 Case Study

Name: S B
Sex: Female
Daughter of: K J
Age: 13 Years

S B was the daughter of K J, she got engaged with her cross cousin two year before. There was another relative of her who was interested in her. They were agreeing for marriage. Her cousin compelled girl's family for engagement as he was related to a rich family. So they were engaged. A Few days before, on their marriage ceremony, her other relative expressed her emotions and love with the girl to her fiancé and requested and convinced him that he loved this girl from very before. After marriage all the family of her husband became suspicious about her character and they treated her very badly.

As this was a joint family and they treated her discriminately. Her mother in law was very cruel and every time blamed her daughter in law telling her husband that she has telephonic links with her lover. The fact was that she had totally unaware from the situation and she was just reached to puberty. So boy's family members decided to kill her. One night her mother in law asked her husband to sleep separately in bathak. Her husband older brother, her mother in law, with help of other well trained agents killed her.

On the next day they spread the news that she committed suicide with help of pistol which was lying near to her dead body. According to the postmortem report she was killed and after that they fired her. Her father tried much to

punish them through judiciary, but he failed because the murderer party was politically and economically much powerful as compared to her family. Murderer party spent a lot of money and changed the situation totally. Murderer party was released from jail just after three months. They were proud of their act. They protected their so called honor and killed an innocent girl.

4.3.2 Forced marriage causing female trafficking

Illegal trafficking of women and children is an international scourge and there are hundreds of networks of traffickers who are running and controlling this heinous business world over. The practice is, unfortunately, prevalent in Pakistan as well.

Female trafficking exists in all the four provinces of Pakistan but its nature and scope is different in Swat. Female trafficking is very prevalent as compared to male trafficking. Female trafficking, including that of girls under the age of 18, is carried out under the cover of walwar a primitive custom of 'selling' brides for a price, in some areas of Swat. A few decades ago this custom was confined only to some districts and tribal areas of the NWFP, but presently it is gradually encroaching upon mainstream settled districts and areas like Swat. The most alarming dimension of this trend is that walwar is gradually turning into a business in the village particularly and also in other parts of the district as a whole.

The leading cause of female trafficking is the extreme poverty. Other major causes include illiteracy, particularly in the lower socio economic strata in the village, unemployment lack of sex and health education in curriculum, large size of average family size within the illiterate population; lack of welfare for the poor an extreme anarchic judicial system in the area, lack of access to print and electronic media ,lack of advocacy and awareness campaigns by both the

government against such practices and the disinterest of police and other government agencies to watch and punish traffickers.

The most vulnerable families are those who are the poorest, occupying the lowest social rung. They are people without property, who can not make both ends meet due to the scarcity of work as well as rampant inflation. Among them, the Gujars, Kohistanis , and afghan refugees which migrated here are the vulnerable groups. The parents of the bride who is trafficked on the name of marriage believe genuinely that their daughters will lead a prosperous life , but they are totally unaware of the fact that their daughter's marriage is fake and they are to be used for other purposes. This custom spreads particularly from a social group that is called in local language DUMAN (DANCERS) which are living in another village near the researcher focus area. The female victims do not belong to a particular age group because there is no law or custom fixing a minimum age limit for marriage and its enforcement. Only a segment of the family laws is in place which is not activated as compared to victim so the criminals who are involved in the trafficking business find a congenial legal environment to operate from and in.

Two kinds of gangs are involved in this business that is locals who operate in the district of Swat and the ones who act as partners in Punjab. The Punjab gangs seldom cross provincial boundaries due to their ethnic background, linguistic constraints, and constraints of distance and costs of travel. So the out side gangs are totally dependent on the local gangs.

Local gangs operate everywhere in Swat. Usually their targets are poor and vulnerable families. They arrange marriages within the area, but majority of their clients are from Punjab. There are many other stake holders who are directly or indirectly involved in this business. They include imams of

mosques or the nikah khawans, lawyers, munshis, or assistants of lawyers in courts, and local police staff.

The local gangs usually consist of three to five members, including men and women. They obtain information about unmarried and pretty girls from the streets, hujras, and other working places and the women then visit the houses in search of fair skinned and beautiful girl. The women gang members are well dressed and wear gold jewelry to look rich and impress the poor and needy families. They enter the house like MELMA (guest) and demands the girl for kwezdhan (betrothal) , Their usual way of motivating, convincing and finally baiting the family are by telling stories about the wealth of the bridegrooms family, who could also be a helping hand to them, and that their daughter would live like a queen.

The male members of the gang eventually sit with male members of the family of the bride in hujra, mosque and finalize the deal. The nikah or marriage is arranged through a friendly nikah khawan who also gets share. The deal given legal cover by hiring the services of a lawyer, so that the girl's family can not bring the girl back if she is mistreated. These girls are used for other purposes e.g Prostitution and modeling etc, when brought to Punjab. There are no fixed rates for this custom but researcher observed here in majority of cases that, the price ranges from one lack to three lack Pakistani rupees. However, not all this money goes to the family of the girl and they distribute it according to the role and influence of the stakeholder.

4.3.2.1 Case study

Name: B-Z
Sex: Female
D/O: Salar
Caste: Gujars
Age: 18 year

B-Z is the daughter of Salar. She is one of the victims of female trafficking. She was trafficked from the village on 2005. Her marriage was arranged through a local gang, which was involved in female trafficking. According to well planned game, they came her home with pump and show wearing beautiful jewelry as to influence her parents showing that they belong to a rich family. One of them was a relative of her father, so she compelled her parents for agreement of engagement. They arranged the marriage through Walwar (Bride Price) and fixed the rate Rs.1, 20,000. At last her marriage ceremony was solemnized with pump and show. After three months she called her father to come and take her back to his home. Father asked the reasons. She told the entire story that every night a new person come to my bed room and uses me like prostitute. She threatened her father; if he would not bring her back she would have committed suicide. So her father called his relative, who played the role of broker. Her father sent his other relatives to bring her back to home. Her father also registered an F I R in police station. After a few days, police investigated the case and the real facts came in front of people. The relative who played the role of broker was the real culprit.

4.3.3 Forced marriages lead to suicides

The term suicide is defined and explained by different anthropologists in different ways. Emile Durkheim work on suicide is one of the great effort of

his times "Durkheim derives from the study of marriage, religion, and political and national communities. Durkheim gives three categories of suicide, one is anomic suicide, which is more severely reflected among divorced men than women further and that it is profited more from the regulative influence of marriage".

The term suicide applied to death which is the direct or indirect result or negative act accomplished by the victim him/her self.

(Suicide, George Simpson)

Durkheim argues further, "that although suicide appears to be purely and individual phenomena. Suicides are heterogeneous to individuals and give rise to phenomena which can only be explained when taken as a whole. There are different social forces which drive individuals to deaths". (Durkheim and study of suicide by Stave Taylor: 21 chapt.1).

From above discussion one can say that suicide is the act of intentional ending one's own life. The researcher has observed few cases in the said village the main cause of which is forced marriages.

4.3.3.1 Case study

Name: S-B
Sex: Female
D/O: F-K
Caste: Baba Khel

During field work one day researcher heard about a bad news. One of my friends in the Sirsinai married a 14 year girl and she committed suicide just after three days of her marriage. Researcher reached the area and shared grieves with the family.

According to key informant and judgment of researcher it was revealed that this girl was engaged to Mr. S-S one year before her suicide. She was totally unwilling with this engagement. She requested her parents to dissolve this agreement because she doesn't like this person, but her parents refused to do so because it was the matter of the honor of the family. Her brothers threatened her not to talk about this issue again otherwise they would kill her. Few days later she called her fiancé requesting him as well to refuse this relation but he told that my parents have selected you I can't do because it's the matter of honor of my parents he added. She told her parents again and again to finish this agreement because she don't like this person, but no one was agree to do so because of people's paighaure (taunt) ,and also it was the matter of Ghairat (honor).

However the marriage ceremony was declared by the parents of male party. At the janj time the girl refused to go to her husband home, her brother brought pistol and threatened her again if she is refusing, she will be killed. Thus she was forced to accept this marriage, she temporarily agreed for this marriage. On 3rd day of wedding she committed suicide when her husband and she were in their bed room. According to her husband she talked very little with him on that day, she entered the bathroom and there she let her on fire. Her husband tried to save her life by throwing blanket on her body to control fire. By doing this he controlled fire but she could not sustain the burns and after a few hours she died.

Researcher observed that the main cause of her suicide was that she was forced by her parents and brothers to marry a person she did not like. All her family members were well aware of the facts yet they insisted her to do so that ultimately culminated to a tragic end.

4.3.4 Forced marriages lead to psychological problems

Human beings living in a particular society face multifarious problems. These problems range from ones own self to the members of his/her family and relatives. In this kind of situation, when the intensity of the problem rises, an individual loses her/his patience and deviates from her/his normal behavior. In such a condition individual is considered psychologically ill. This illness is a social problem because psychologically ill persons can't perform their usual and normal role confirming to the expectation of the society so psychological problem is a state of mind in which an individual is mentally and socially unable to cope with the expectations and values of the members of his/her family and society. Psychological problems have different types and have many reasons and causes. Researcher observed one of the causes of these problems is forced marriages which mostly affects females and children as compared to male spouse.

4.3.4.1 Case study

Name: A-B
D/O: S-K
Caste: Barokhel
Age: 14 years

A-B married to Mr. F K one year before. Her age was just 14 and she was reaching to her puberty. Her husband's family was a joint family, so she was unable to manage house hold activities, after few a days she became a seriously ill. The main cause of her sickness was that her age was less which affected her mental health. Her family members and in laws blamed her that she was pretending so to avoid that house hold activities.

Thus her husband sent her to parent's house. Her parents brought her to Peshawar to psychiatrist for check up. After investigation doctor advised to

keep her in parent's home, he suggested few drugs and told her parents that she was suffering from schizophrenia and the other main cause is that her age is below puberty. Her maternal uncle told me that "doctor advised that not to solemnized child marriages again other wise it will bring such disastrous consequences.

4.3.5 Forced marriages lead to Divorce

Divorce or dissolution of marriage is the ending of a marriage, which can be contrasted with an annulment. It is a declaration that a marriage is void, though the effects of marriage may be recognized in such unions, such as spousal support, child custody and distribution of property.

In developed countries, divorce rates have increased markedly during the twentieth century. This boom in divorce developed in the last half of the twentieth century. In addition, acceptance of the single-parent family has resulted in many women deciding to have children outside marriage as there is little remaining social stigma attached to unwed mothers. The subject of divorce as a social phenomenon is an important research topic in anthropology. Some researchers argue that divorce rates do not always reflect actual interactions among people; that is, some countries may show a low divorce rate because, in such countries, people rarely get married in the first place.

The term between divorce and remarriage varies depending on the country and the sex of the divorcee. In some countries, women need to wait longer than men before remarrying to avoid confusion about paternity. Children born after divorce may or may not be recognized as children of their father depending on the period between divorce and birth, although recognition of maternity is usually automatic. In most common law jurisdictions there is a presumption that the child born during the marriage is the husband's child,

however this presumption can be overcome by identifying the putative father and bringing a paternity or affiliation proceeding. If the child was conceived before the divorce but born afterward this may involve litigation. If a man accepts the child as his own he may be declared the father and may in many jurisdictions incur obligations towards the child.

If we see in religious perspective Islam allows divorce, although it is discouraged. Theoretically, either partner can decide to have a no-fault divorce. Under Sharia law, theoretically either spouse may repeat a declaration of divorce three times. Also, for husbands, plural marriage is sometimes allowed under Sharia, but he can be refused permission. In Sharia, the custody of the children would normally go to the mother, but the father will have to pay child support. In some societies, divorced men and women have no right to alimony. Sharia law forbids arranged marriage or any marriage that is forced or false in any way.

Islam, unlike Christianity, considers marriage to be a legal contract; and the act of obtaining a divorce is essentially the act of legally dissolving the contract. If a man pronounces three divorces against a free woman, or two against a slave, he can lawfully wed neither of them again, unless they have been espoused by another, and this second husband dies, or shall divorce them. When it happens that a husband wishes to recover his wife, whom he had divorced in a passion, a convenient husband is sought; but the law forbids a mockery being made of such marriages. They may be short in duration, but the parties must live, during the period they are united, as husband and wife.

4.3.5.1 Case study

Name: S - B
D/O: A - S
Sex: Female
Age: 19
Caste: Barokhel

S-B is the daughter of A-S. She was engaged to her patrilineal parallel cousin five years before when her age was just fourteen then her marriage arranged in 2006. She refused this agreement and she told her parents that she was child at the time of her engagement which was fixed through Newaka by her parents and there was no consent of her in this agreement. Her parents refused to dissolve marriage because it was the matter of family honor. After few days of her marriage, her husband sent her back to her parent's home, because she was not fulfilling her husband's sexual desires. Husband added that when I enter my room she hides herself in wash room. When she got back to her parents home, she told her parents that she would never accept him as her husband. The guy married another girl in the village and made her free after one year by giving divorce. In Pukhtoon society a divorced woman has no status like the others. Now she is living with her parents and no one is asking her for being to be a wife, because she was divorced and divorced girl is not acceptable in that society.

CONCLUSION, SUGGESTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Different marriage patterns and types of forced marriages have been described in previous chapters. Here in this chapter summary and conclusion along with some suggestions about forced marriages has been given.

5.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The methodology which I used in my research was participant observation; "living with the people as people live" is the fundamental method of anthropological field work. Key informant is another source of information to collect reliable data. I took key informants both from the community members and from the persons who were involved in forced marriages. I used informal or unstructured interviews during my field work because it was difficult for me to use structured interview due to gender sensitivity of the community.

Case study is yet another useful tool, which helped me in depth analysis and detail data about certain individuals, actions or phenomena. Through focus group discussions I made possible to know about some marriage patterns of the community which was difficult through were observation.

I conducted fieldwork in the village "Sirsinai" District Swat, N.W.F.P. It is approximately at a distance of 167 km from Peshawar. The research area which I selected was familiar to me. Being a Pukhtoon my self language was not barrier to me. I Farley conserved with the natives in their own language.

Marriage is ubiquitous feature of human social organization and probably developed very early in the course of human social history. There are many functions of marriage to fulfill parental responsibility for long term in infant nurturing and education, social regulation of sexual competition, organization of sexual division of labor, assessment of individual to social group and status, and the formation of inter group alliances and exchanges etc.

No society in the world exist which deny the publicly recognized and culturally sanctioned union between the male and female. Marriage is a universal institution in social organization. Marriage is a social union between man and woman, which is approved by society and religion. The union which promotes economic sharing and procreation is thus known as marriage.

A forced marriage is a marriage that is performed under duress and without the full and informed consent or free will of both parties. Being under duress includes feeling both physical and emotional pressure.

The Sirsinai case study as presented in this research report is a vivid example of how rapidly the forced marriages are increasing in Swat. A forced marriage is considered to be domestic violence and an abuse of human rights. Victims of forced marriages often experience physical violence, rape, abduction, false imprisonment and enslavement, sexual abuse, mental and emotional abuse, and at times, murder. Decision of marriage is done by the parents of the couple going to marry. There is monogamous marriage in the village; only short number of people did second marriages. Woman is considered as the honor. The ideal marriage spouse is patrilineal parallel cousins.

Forced marriages, which involve exchange of siblings, put an additional burden on women to abide by their father's marriage arrangements.

I observed during my research that these kinds of marriages are creating different social problems in the area. It results with many family conflicts. These marriages according to the people of the village give security to the girl in the house of the husband. As in Badal marriage, if one man treats his wife indecently, in return his sister will be treated in same way, by the brother of his wife i.e. the husband of his sister but that is the main bad consequence of this kind of marriage.

The Pukhtoos are often branded as extremists and fundamentalists due to their strict adherence to religion but unfortunately when it comes to women's rights, their so-called ghairat dominate the Islamic principles. Despite clear-cut directives, they are not ready to give their women the rights to which they have been entitled by the Islam and the country law.

The traditional Jirga system, which has lost its authenticity along with the degradation of a true Pukhtoon culture, has always been used as a tool to give a legal cover to a number of illegal and un-Islamic customary practices.

The tradition of the exchange of a female as compensation for resolving compounded disputes and offences swarah is still been practiced in Swat. It was generally believed that women would be able to bridge the gap between the rival groups with the help of their love and affection. But with the degradation of the true society and culture, the custom has now become a blot on the face of the society.

The swarah girl is given to the rival group without solemnizing a proper festive marriage through nikah and it is left to the mercy of the enemy to decide about her fate.

Such a humiliating treatment meted out to the womenfolk is not only a serious violation of the Islamic injunctions but also against section 310 and

338-E of the Pakistan Penal Code which clearly and categorically prohibit the giving of a female as a valid badal-e-sulh or compensation for a compromise.

Mostly the girl given as swarah is not consulted about the most important decision of her life and she is exchanged like a commodity, which is also un-Islamic, as the religion has described that marriage as invalid in which the female's consent is not obtained.

The demand for bridal price is also a bad custom prevailing here, which needs to be discouraged. The parents usually stress for money on the pretext to meet the wedding expenses of their daughter. Child marriages are also frequent in the area, which are not only unlawful but also against the religious norms.

Parents engage their minors keeping in view monetary benefits and property concerns without their consent. Such unrealistic decisions not only have negative impacts on both the families but they also affect the society as a whole. Though the Child marriage Restraint Act, 1929, 1961 strictly prohibits the marriages of minors and prescribes punishments for those who organize, solemnize or promote the solemnization of such marriages, the custom is still being practiced unabated.

Newaka is literally to catch or lay claim. It can be interpreted as an ascertain of claims. This is another custom under which marriage can be solemnized against the wishes of the couple and also may be the girl's parents. The cause of social problem is that there is no consent between the boy and girl and later it creates divorce problem and other family conflicts.

The forced marriages create a lot of problems such as female trafficking, honor killing, suicide, divorce and some other psychological problems.

The hypothesis of my research was that in most of the rural areas of the NWFP, people sacrifice their daughters to solve the blood feuds; I checked this during my field work revealed that in some conflicts the people sacrifice their daughters but most of the people of the area now considering this a disgusting act.

Another hypothesis which I checked during my field work was that both the boys and girls follow the tradition due to strong patriarchal relationships which partially accepted. My third hypothesis was that forced marriages are causing different social problems like honor killing, female trafficking, and divorce problems. This too was completely proved in my field work.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Forced marriage is an issue which we still know too little about, but it is likely that many more go unreported. It is in response to this, awareness that researcher intends to study this issue. On the basis of my research I would like to give the following suggestions and recommendations to aware the people from the consequences of forced marriages and to stop the custom of forced marriages in village Sirsinai Kabal Swat.

- There is a dire need for an awareness campaign to educate the masses and strictly implement the existing laws to discourage these customary practices, which have earned a bad name for the society.
- Heighten awareness of the existence of forced marriage, and of the issues surrounding it.
- Increase understanding of what constitutes forced marriage.
- Provide practical information on what to do if you or someone you know (be it colleague, partner or friend) is fearful of being made to marry against their will or has already been forced into marriage.

- Saudi Arabia's highest religious authority banned the practice of forcing women to marry against their will, so Pakistani religious authority also have to banned this custom of forced marriages. Local religious leader too need to be encouraged and educated to voice against these various practices.
- The consent of both the spouses should strictly be followed during the Nikah.
- This issue need a thorough field research for months if not for years, focusing on all dimensions and types of forced marriages.
- The gangs involved in force marriages like walwar need to be identified.
- The existing legal system need to be replaced with the laws in effect in the settled area of Swat.
- Strict enforcement, rigorous imprisonment and fines should be imposed on all partners of the forced marriages.
- Marriages under 18 years should be declared illegal and the government should enforce strict laws to stop child marriage.
- There is a dire need to identify and interviewed the victims if possible, this will help in understanding the suffering they face and will also help in getting first hand information's about the routes of forced marriages.
- The government needs to launch a very comprehensive campaign against forced marriages especially against Walwar, Swarah, Badal, child marriage through electronic and print media by organizing seminars, meetings, Jirgas and distribution of literatures at the local level.
- NGO's and others civil society organizations can play a vital role in organizing awareness and campaigns and restricting the movement of forced marriages.
- However the most important remedial measure is eradication of poverty because it is the main problem of the area.

GLOSSARY

- **Ashar, gubal:** To co-operate each other in harvesting, threshing, Cutting grassing.
- **Ashergani:** The persons chosen or demanded for Ashar.
- **Badal:**Revenge
- **Badal Wada:**Exchange Marriage
- **Baramda:** Veranda
- **Bethak:** Guest Room
- **Burqa:** Veil used by women for seclusion
- **Cham:** Ward
- **Marg:** Death
- **Dastarkhwan:** Dinning Mate
- **Dinni Taleem:** Religious education
- **Desi:** Local, native
- **Da weni reshtadar:** Blood relatives
- **Da larey rishtadar:** Distant Kin's
- **Da tror and mama zwai/ Lor marriage:** Cross Cousin marriage

- **Da kheney sara wada:** Sororate marriage
- **Duman:** Dancers
- **Gabin:** Honey
- **Gawandetob:** Rights of neighbors
- **Gawandian:** Neighbors
- **Gham:** Sorrow
- **Ghairat:** Honor
- **Hujra:** Man's House
- **Jirga:** Council of village elders and respectable
- **Jumat:** Mosque
- **Jwar:** Maize
- **Janj:** Marriage Party
- **Kwezhdan:** Betrothal
- **Khaudi:** Happiness
- **Kalay/Kalweghe:** Villager and their relationship
- **Kor:** House/family
- **Khanadan:** Sub-clan

- **Khel:** Clan
- **Kacha:** Mud/squatter settlement
- **Khpalo ke wada:** Kin marriage
- **Khpal:** Own relatives
- **Khwakhe:** Mother in law
- **Khpal, khpal we awo pradey pradey we:** Mean that our own relatives cannot abuse the blood of their own.
- **Laltain:** Candle
- **Levar:** Husband's younger brother
- **Levar sara wada:** To marry with husband's brother
- **Lor:** Daughter
- **Malgari:** Friends
- **Mailmastia:** Hospitality
- **Malik:** Chief/ Head man
- **Makh Katal:** un-veiling
- **Masher:** Elder
- **Madrasa:** Religious school
- **Markhor:** Wild mountains sheep

- **Moqbara:** Graveyard
- **Mal:** Domesticated Animals
- **Mateeza:** When girl elopes with her fiancé before marriage
- **Mataloona:** Proverbs
- **Mingora:** City of Swat
- **Mama-zuwai/Lor and tror-zuwai/Lor:** Patrilineal matrilateral cross cousins
- **Nikah:** Wedlock
- **Nikah khawn:** The person who recite wedlock
- **Neewaka:** Literally to catch or lay claim
- **NCP:** Non custom paid
- **Nezdey rishtadar:** Close kin's
- **Paighaur:** taunt
- **Pakool:** Woolen cap
- **Pukhtoon:** The Pathans
- **Pukka:** Melted or Cemented
- **Pashtunwali:** Pukhtoons code of life
- **Pa prado ke wada:** Non kin marriages

- **Pa prado ke wada:** Kin exogamy
- **Pradey:** Non kin's
- **Qahwa:** Green tea
- **Qamiz:** Shirt
- **Qabar:** Grave
- **Rukhsati:** When the Bride is handed over to relatives of Groom
- **Riwaj:** Custom and customary law in Pashto
- **Shadar:** Light Blanket
- **Swarah:** The party who had done the wrong gives a girl in marriage to a male member of the aggrieved Party.
- **Sharm:** Disgrace or defamation
- **Taveez:** Amulets
- **Tha mashari hisa:** Greater share of property i.e. called
- **Traa:** Father's brother
- **Tha traa zway/tarbor:** Father's brother children
- **Traa-zuwai, tror-zuwai/Lor:** Patrilineal matriateral parallel cousins
- **Wada:** Marriage
- **Walwar Wada:** Bride price marriage ;

- **Wali:** Ruler/ King

:

- **Worejay:** Rice

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul Qayum Balala, 2000. The charming Swat. Urdu bazaar Lahore. Maqsood publishers.
- Alvi, Hamza, 1995: A Muslim Community of South Asia, Culture, Society and Power (Ed) Madan T. N. New Delhi
- Azim Afridi, monthly diplomat.
- Conrad Phillip Kottak, 2002. Cultural anthropology. McGraw hill publishers New York NY. 10020.
- Daily Dawn. Saturday 09 September, 2005
- Donand, has tings. 1965 "Marriage among Muslims preference and choice in northern Pakistan" Ledin; E.J. Brill.
- Eglar, Zekiyea. 1960 "a Punjabi village in Pakistan" New York: Colombia University press.
- Ember, R. Caral and ember, Melvin 1993, "anthropology" 6th (Ed). New Delhi: prentice Hall of India.
- Fox, Robin 1967 "Kinship and marriage an anthropological prospective", Landon: Cambridge University Press.
- Goerge Simpson. 1966, "suicide". The free press division of McMillan Company New York 1022.

- Gupta, G. Raj. 1874 "marriage religion and society" India: Gurozon Press.
- Hobel, E. Adam son. 1966 "Anthropology the study of man". 6th (Ed). New York: McGraw-hill Book Company.
- Jamal, J. Nasir and Dr Marks, W. Hoyle (Ed). 1990 "the status of women under Islamic law and under modern Islamic legislation". London: Graham and Tortman.
- James W. Spain, 1972. The way of Pathan. Oxford University Press, publishers Karachi.
- Khalid Khan, P: 1, Women magazine. February (2003)
- Malik Khalid Shafique. "Muslim family laws". (Ed). 2005. Lahore allied publishers Urdu bazaar.
- Muhammad Khalid, 2003. "Social problems of Pakistan". Kifayat academy publishers, Karachi.
- Niloufer Qasim Mahdi, Anthony College Oxford University
- Pelto & Pelto, Anthropological Research, the structure of inquiry, (Second Edition), London Cambridge University Press
- Richard. J, 1971. "The social context of marriage". Publisher J. B. Lippincott company United State of America.

- Sultan-I-Rome, lecturer government degree college matta Swat, email: rome@brain.net.pk

- Shah Nawaz khan, 2005, Daily Time 10/09/2005

- She Muhammad Mohmand. 1992 "the Pathan customs"

- Stephen hill and Bryan s. turner, 1988. Dictionary of sociology. Allen lane and penguin books London publishers

- Syed Zaher Shah Sharazi, 2003, Vol. 1, Issue. 6, AGEHI News Letter, 2003, Volume 1, Issue 6)

- TARIQ NAQASH, May10, 2005, Daily Dawn

WEBLIOGRAPHY

- [Http://www.google.com](http://www.google.com)
- [Http://www.easyfinder.com](http://www.easyfinder.com)
- [Http://www.ask.com](http://www.ask.com)
- [Http://www.khyber.com](http://www.khyber.com)
- [Http://www.answers.com](http://www.answers.com)
- [Http://www.yahoo.com](http://www.yahoo.com) :
- [Http://www.dawn.com](http://www.dawn.com)
- [Http://www.nation.com.pk](http://www.nation.com.pk)
- [Http://www.dailytimes.com](http://www.dailytimes.com)
- [Http://www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com)
- [Http://www.oup.com/pk](http://www.oup.com/pk)

