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An Ethnographic Study of Cultural and Religious Influences on the Marriage Patterns in *Omzha*



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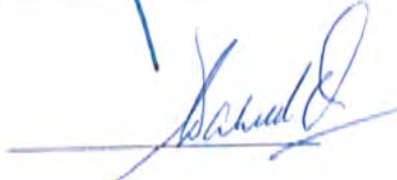
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To Pashtuns,
who are being suffered everywhere in the world
& still fighting for their survival

Luminosa,

The one who brightens my life as the
sun keeps the world brighten

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction:

In Pashtun society there are two major components prevalent that serve as guidelines for its people: the *Pashtunwala*¹ and the religion, the teachings of Islam. Both the *Pashtunwala* and the teachings of Islam manifest a particular kind of systematic pattern that direct and regulate Pashtun society in a specific way. Both forces transformed the society in a new and particular direction. They have effects on the personal life of Pashtuns as well as on their social institutions.

One important social institution where both are exerting considerable influence is that of marriage, *Waada*². *Waada* is the legal cum contractual relationship between a man and a woman to satisfy and fulfill their desire of legitimate children that would be a source of family support to them in their old age. Besides, marriage signifies a social status for male and female in their contribution to social life order.

Actually, both influences, that of Islam as well as that of *Pashtunwala* can be found in differing parts and differing capacities within the marriage system. The spheres of religion that affect the institution of marriage are *Nikkah*³, *Iddat*⁴ and *Swara*⁵. Whereas *Nikkah* and *Iddat* are religious traditions and are followed by Pashtuns, the practice of *Swara* disappeared through religious influence.

Apart from religious influences, the *Pashtunwala* has effects on the institution of marriage, too. Spouse selection, *Walwar*⁶ and *Attan*⁷ are important practices that derived from *Pashtunwala*. In spouse selection, Islam teaches that both, the male and female who want to marry, should be familiar with each other. They must select each other on the ground of their personal affection. In contrast to that, the lived practice of spouse selection in that culture developed in a way that the

¹ The code of life of Pashtuns/Alternative word for Pashtunwali

² Marriage in Pashto

³ Legal contract

⁴ The time spent by woman when her husband dies

⁵ Female given to other party to solve enmity

⁶ Bride wealth

⁷ Cultural dance

practice of spouse selection is perpetrated by parents rather than the bride and the bridegroom. This lived practice has derived from *Pashtunwala*.

Another example is *Mehr*⁸, given by the bridegroom to his bride. In Pashtun society, the cost of the *Mehr* has extended to a large extent. Moreover, this money does not go into the pocket of bride but her father and guardians. Another relevant part of the wedding event is *Attan*. *Attan*, being part of Pashtun culture, has acquired such an important role that without it the marriage is felt incomplete.

1.2 Statement of Problem:

As the above examples show, both Islam and *Pashtunwala* shape the institution and practice of marriage in Pashtun society. Neither *Pashtunwala* nor Islamic tenets can be alienated from the marriage system. In Pashtun society, the significance of both *Pashtunwala* and Islamic teachings are prevalent. Given the fact that both concepts co-exist in that society, it remains open how Pashtuns incorporate both guidelines in their practice of marriage.

The main focus of this study is to find out to which extent the *Pashtunwala* and the teachings of Islam have influenced the institution of marriage. Apart from that, it will be investigated to what extent Pashtuns cope with these two influences, the Islamic teachings and *Pashtunwala*, in their daily life and especially in their practice of marriage.

As a field of research, the village of *Omzha* in District Zhob of Province Balochistan was selected. *Omzha* is a small village located on the border-line of *Mandokhail* tribe.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

- To explore the differences between religious (Islamic) aspects of marriage and those that derived from *Pashtunwala*.
- To know to which extent people follow Islamic teachings or *Pashtunwala* in their practice of *Waada*.
- To explore the changes in marriage ceremonies in *Omzha* in both past and present.

⁸Gift in Islamic concept

1.4 Methodology:

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve research problems. Many other disciplines deal with humanity but anthropology's special role among the many disciplines concerned with people lies in its unique combination of holistic, historical and comparative methods.

"Methodology is the logic which use in any research project where by raw empirical observation are assembled and transformed into successively more abstract descriptive and analytical statement."

(Pestti and Gretel, 1990, p. 273)

The researcher has used the following methods during the field research for the collection of data.

1.4.1 Rapport Building:

Being familiar with the people of my locale, I faced no difficulty in the collection of data. I visited the locale before going to the field as a researcher and I told the people that I came there for conducting a research as part of my degree requirement. Apart from that, I stayed there for 10 days, before proceeding further. My key informant oriented me about the locale in those 10 days. He told me about the geography and the distribution of the people in the locale.

1.4.2 Questionnaire:

To have suitable information that does not derive from observations and routine field work I had developed a comprehensive questionnaire to cover all the aspects relevant to the research topic. It is regarded as the best tool to have standardized and relevant data from the scattered community.

1.4.3 Observation:

The reflection on the happening of surroundings in specific time and place is called observation.

Good observations in the field had helped me in becoming a good listener and fine observer. This also had helped me in understanding the overall environment of my locale.

1.4.4 Participant Observation:

According to Russell Bernard,

"Participant observation, or ethnographic field work, is the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives."

(Bernard, 2006, p. 136)

I participated with villagers in their local games like Football, Cricket, *Skhai*⁹, and other local games that were already known to me. Villagers play all the above mentioned games in winter and summer seasons on different times of the day. I also attended three marriages and death rituals in the village *Omzha*.

1.4.5 Key Informants:

Pelto and Pelto define key informant in the following words:

"A key informant interviewing is an integral part of ethnographic research. Good informants are people who you can talk too easily, who understand the information you need and who are glad to give it to you or get it for you."

(Pelto & Pelto, 1975, p.14)

Key informants are local people of the village whom I selected for exchange of ideas and conversation in order to develop a better insight into the viewpoint of the local people. Key informants are well informed and have sufficient knowledge about their community. In order to avoid any possibility of distortion in the collected information, a few reliable key informants had been selected and subsequently consulted for my research. I selected three key informants for my research. They had good and clear knowledge about my research topic as well as about the village and its people.

⁹ Local game in the village

1.4.6 In-depth Interviews:

“The interview is an important tool to collect detailed information. An interview helps respondent to be relaxed and feel comfortable especially when informal interviews are conducted. An informal interview especially gives an opportunity to the respondent to speak at ease and in a friendly atmosphere.”

(Bernard, 2006, p. 55)

It helps a person to get the inside story of an event which is experienced and observed by the respondent. During my field work I conducted in-depth interviews with men and women of different age groups. I used formal/structured interviews as well as informal/un-structured interviews. It helped me and also provided a polite atmosphere for the respondents. This positive aspect of the interview had helped me to get more detailed information. Usually, the people of that locale were very suspicious of my activities like collecting data. Consequently, in such type of atmosphere it is very tough to be able to collect authentic data. In such situations, in-depth interviews helped me to build trust and therefore collect valuable data.

1.4.7 Interview Guide:

This is an important anthropological tool for collecting both formal and informal interviews for the study. An interview guide consists of a list of basic points to be covered by the interviewer during the interview.

1.4.8 Case Studies:

Mitchell defines case study as:

“A Case Study is detailed examination of an event the operation of some identified general theoretical.”

(Mitchell, 1983, p.38)

In this research, case study has been recorded from the people of different age groups. The technique of case studies helped me to record relevant and related events and was an important

way of getting into the depth of the lives of the individuals. It elicits various hidden factors of the influence of culture over the religion.

1.4.9 Sampling:

"Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g. people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen."

(Bernard, 2006, p. 56)

During my field work, I used snow ball sampling, accidental and purposive sampling to ensure the maximum presentation of the sample size. It enabled me to cover all the aspects of marriage. A sample is a smaller representation of a whole. Thus it is very helpful in conducting a research in vast areas because it is less time consuming.

1.4.10 Socio Economic Survey:

In order to know about the composition and social standing of the locale, a socio economic survey of the village was taken. This method is useful in collecting important quantitative data. Socio economic survey has given me useful information about the total population of the village. I filled survey forms of all of my respondents and these forms made me able to know more about each household. I used census forms to collect data about the name of person, income, education, occupation, livestock, agriculture, number of males and number of children and, in addition, the type of family. The data that was collected in this way gave me basic and in-depth information about the community.

1.4.11 Group Discussion:

I conducted group discussions in order to know the contradictions among the views of the respondents. They revealed the truth more precisely and encouraged the participants to come up with their ideas, thoughts, experiences and arguments related to the research topic, and were there for a good source of data collection. I conducted five focus group discussions which helped me to get more data about my research and to have solid data for the objectives of the study.

1.4.12 Daily Diary:

Daily notes were taken at least about the scheduled details of the events and the records. For recording, the day-to-day events daily diary technique was used which helped me as a memorandum. It consists of the daily records, time and important events relevant to the field.

1.4.13 Photography:

I used a photo camera to capture the speaking events. I used this technique during the course of my research to keep the record of observation through the camera about the community. The visual images gave me more clarity about my research, about the people, the area and their way of living. I took pictures of the people in their marriages and different ceremonies.

1.5 Significance of the Study:

Being an anthropologist, it was my first research and I learned a lot from this research activity. I observed the way of life of the local people and deeply studied whether it is *Pashtunwala* or Islam that is followed in the marriage ceremonies in the village *Omzha*.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature Review:

2.2 Pashtunwala:

Every ethnic group in Pakistan has their own ways of norms and values, according to which they performed their activities. Every member of the society is bound to perform that norms and values by hook and crook, if the members of the ethnic group will not follow that, they will face criticism and punishment. Similarly the Pashtun having a separate identity and culture have their own norms and values, which they follow in thin and thick situation. These norms and values are being named as *Pashtunwala*. The members of the society are being trained in true sprite to follow the code of *Pashtunwala*, by following the *Pashtunwala*, the Pashtun get spiritual satisfaction and pride. Both educated and uneducated are well acknowledged about it, due to this *Pashtunwala* the Pashtun is being considered as brave and hospitable people. The members of Pashtun community sacrificed everything for the sanctity of *Pashtunwala*. Due to this code of conduct the Pashtun, even give asylum to their enemies, if the enemy will come in the time of crisis to seek refuge. In the domain of *Pashtunwala* both the rich and poor are equal and the code of *Pashtunwala* are being imposed equally on both of them.

Robert Ross, B.S. in his thesis defines *Pashtunwala* as:

"Pashtunwali describes the behavior of Pashtuns who live in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It can variously mean the "law, customs, manners, or mindset" of the people".

(Robert Ross, 2010, p. 1)

While, Akbar S. Ahmed, in his book "*Pukhtun Economy and Society*" defines "*Pashtunwala*" as,

"Pukhtun ideal-type social organization and behavior revolve around the concept of Pukhtunwali, translated as the Pukhtun code or the way of the Pukhtuns. Pukhtunwali is the core of Pukhtun social behavior. Although unwritten and precisely undefined it is the theme of song, proverb, metaphor and parable and never far from men's minds"

(Ahmed, 1980, p.89)

Due to “*Pashtunwala*”, the males and females are treated in different ways, due to this specific type of behavior that is predisposed, the females are confined to their home, and they are not allowed to play their role in generating the economy, because they consider that the best place for the women is their house. The women being the symbol of respect are strictly they are not allowed to participate in any type of economic activities. Similar behavior is being shown toward female from cultural, social and political point of view.

While Fredrik Barth says about *Pashtunwala* that:

“Pathan have an explicit saying: ‘He is Pathan who does Pashto, not (merely) who Speak Pashto’; and ‘doing’ Pashto in this sense means living by a rather exacting code, in terms of which some Pashto speakers consistently fall short.

(Barth, 1981, p.106)

As Fredrik Barth have described *Pashtunwala* in his words, quoting a proverb of Pashtun society that not only speaking Pashto language is enough for being a Pashtun but one has to follow the exact code of life of *Pashtunwala* than he will be known as Pashtun.

2.3 Features of Pashtunwala:

The “*Pashtunwala*” revolves around specific characteristics that are considered sacred, without these characteristics the life of Pashtun is incomplete. These are given below.

2.3.1 Badal (Revenge):

Those things that always remains with people directly affect the lives of human being, “*Badal*” being the code of conduct of “*Pashtunwala*” is wholeheartedly follows by Pashtun and it became the part of their instinct, without the concept of *Badal*, they considered their life paralyzed. The Pashtun being the follower of “*Pashtunwala*” takes revenge from their opponent by using every mean. Sometime the revenge continues from generation to generation until they did not succeed to achieve their aims. From the angle of *Badal*, only those people that are involved in any crime, face the revenged, other members of family are not harmed and the children, females and the aged men are free from the clutches of *Badal*.

Akbar S. Ahmed, in his book “*Pukhtun Economy and Society*” defines “*Badal*” as:

“translated as revenge, feud and vendetta forms the primary law of Pukhtunwali. It is to be wreaked regardless of time, space and cost. The Pukhtu concept of revenge emphasizes ends rather than means; the end overrides the means. That is how and why the system perpetuates itself”.

(Ahmed, 1980, p. 90)

As the revenge continues, until the red handed man is not killed the Pashtun used every source without looking to time and space. In the case of revenge, the criminal is killed by them, if they are not able to have access to kill the Pashtun use money as a tool to take revenge from the opposite group. This concept of revenge is not only present in the inter families but it also prevails in intra families, the members of same family takes revenge from each other.

2.3.2 Melmastia (Hospitality):

Pashtun, who considered hospitality as emblem of their respect always rendered their services for the guests, with taking into consideration their age and religion. Being the symbol of respect, the elders sit with the guest while the other services are being performed by their sons. The children are given task according to their age.

Akbar S. Ahmed in his book says about *Melmastia* that:

“Hospitality to guests. The custom of hospitality is still strong and even today the proudest of Maliks will personally serve his guest tea or meals. As a mark of deference he will rarely sit with his guest. His sons in any case will not sit with the father or guests but help serve the meal”.

(Ahmed, 1980, p. 90)

The hospitality that is considered as the source of respect, both poor and rich families left no stone unturned to render their services to the guests, they served them with their traditional meal “*Landi*” and meat. Those Pashtun that did not give respect to their guests, they lose their respects in the eyes of Pashtun community. Those guests who come from far off areas or belong from other ethnic group, they are given the gifts and their cultural dress or other cultural items, to keep the relation forever.

Fredrik Barth defines *Melmastiya* as:

Hospitality involves a set of conventions whereby the person who is on home ground has obligations towards the outsider to incorporate him into the local group, temporarily be responsible for his security, and provide for his needs. The obligation is brought into play by the visitor's presenting himself in the alien setting. Accordingly, a stranger on the road who passes close to someone who is having a meal will be offered food, someone coming to a village will be greeted and helped by residents, a friend making his appearance will promptly be made welcome. In return, the guest is obligated to recognize the authority and sovereignty of the host over property and persons present.

(Barth, 1981, p.106)

While Fredrik Barth opinion about *Melmastiya* is that the security and protection of the guest is upon the host and the guest is served with best food in the house. As hospitality is an important feature of *Pashtunwala*, the guest is honored and the best arrangements are done by the host regarding respect, security and services.

2.3.3 Nanawatee (Refuge seeker):

The “*Nanawatee*” is the basic code of conduct of “*Pashtunwala*”, in which the persons are given refuge in thin and thick situation. They not only sacrificed their material things but also sacrificed their lives for those people who take refuge at their home. During the time of refugee the people who take refuge are not hand over to any one at any cost until and unless the person did not voluntarily leave their home. Akbar S. Ahmed in his book says about “*Nanawatee*” says that:

“Nanawatee: from the verb ‘to go in’ and an extension of Melmastia. It is evoked when an enemy ‘goes in’ or ‘comes in’ to sue for peace, usually with the Holy Quran in hand”.

(Ahmed, 1980, p. 90)

The concept of “*Nanawatee*” that is being found in the Pashtun societies, even gives refugee to their enemies, the guilty people come to the home for refugee having holy Quran and knife in their hands. The Holy Quran being sacred to Muslims is used to dissolve the conflict or not to

damage them until they are at their enemy house, while the knife is used to assassinate the guilty person, in order to resolve the dispute.

2.3.4 Jirga (Council):

Jirga being the code of conduct of “*Pashtunwala*” plays very important role in the lives of Pashtun people. The *Jirga* is comprised of respected elders, who belong from different ethnic groups. They resolved the different issues ranging from micro to macro level. The Jirga is used to solve the conflicts prevailing among the different tribes, and the principle of Jirga that are not in written form is being imposed on the conflicting groups, in order to bring peace and stability in the society. The decision of *Jirga* that is taken through mutual consequences of different elders is not challenged by any one, and it must be obey at any cost. Without the permission of Jirga elders even no developmental work is being carried in the community.

Akbar S. Ahmed in his book says about *Jirga* says that:

“Assembly of elders who are called to decide specific issues and whose decisions are binding on parties in conflict. In a society where there is no written or formal law the importance of an assembly is crucial in ordering society and preventing it from collapsing into anarchy. The jirga regulates life through decisions ranging from the location of a mosque to the settling of conflict within sub-sections, to larger issues such as regulating foreign relations with other tribes and even conveying decisions of the tribe to government. Decisions are based on a combination of Islamic law and Pukhto custom”.

(Ahmed, 1980, p. 90)

The Pashtun give more priority to the decisions of *Jirga* as compared to the judicial system of the country, because the decision of *Jirga* is purely based on “*Pashtunwala*” and the people who make decision is free from biasness, and are not able to take unfair decision against anyone in the community. The elders of *Jirga* also play their role to solve the issues related to their community by having negotiations with governmental functionaries.

Fredrik Barth defining *Jirga* as:

“The council among Pathan is a meeting of men, called together by one or several of those present so as to arrive at a joint decision on a matter of common concern, and may thus refer to an ad hoc meeting or to an instituted tribunal. The matter of common interest may be a conflict between the parties present or the planning of a joint action. The relationship between members of a council is one of equals, with no speaker or leader; the equality is emphasized by circular seating on the ground and the equal right of all to speak.”

(Barth, 1981, p.107)

Barth has pointed out that the decision in *Jirga* is taken on mutual understanding of the elders. The relationship among the *Jirga* elders is on equal basis and all the elders in the *Jirga* are almost the elders of their own clan or tribe.

2.3.5 Parda (Seclusion):

It is also a feature of *Pashtunwala* which has an important role in the code of conduct of Pashtun people. It is *Parda* which plays an important role in the life of Pashtuns and those families which do not practice it in the society are thought as unrespectable and dishonor. It is *Parda* of females which sometimes give birth to the enmity in the society.

Fredrik Barth states *Parda* in such words:

“Seclusion establishes an organization of activities which allows a simultaneous emphasis on virility and the primacy of male society, and prevents the realities of performance in domestic life from affecting a man’s public image. Pathan value orientations contain a number of contradictions if they are to be made relevant simultaneously in behavior before mixed audiences.”

(Barth, 1981, p.108)

2.4 Waada (Marriage):

According to the C.C Harris in his book “The family: An introduction”, he put his assertion about the marriage in the following words;

"Marriage is the legal status, condition, or relationship that results from a contract by which one man and one woman, who have the capacity to enter into such an agreement, mutually promise to live together in the relationship of husband and wife in law for life or till the legal termination of the relation"

(Harris, 1969, p.49)

Same phenomenon is practiced in the Pashtun society as mentioned by the C.C Harris, that marriage is a legal contract which is fixed by the elders of the both male and female families and the new couple had to live together by their mutual understanding like a husband and wife. They are also allowed to make a nuclear family according to their wish in the society.

While Stephen is of the view that:

"Marriage is a socially legitimate sexual union, begun with a public announcement, undertaken with some idea of performance, 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, p. 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 without which individual is incomplete. Second marriage implies children who will carry the name of father. Third children are also necessary to assure a happy life for the parents. The fourth function of marriage is to satisfy sexual desire of a partner in a socially acceptable manner".

(Gupta, 1974, p.86)

Marriage has some important functions and those functions vary according to the nature of every society. But, if we look at those functions as stated by Gupta, the religious importance comes on

the top of the functions and the people of *Omzha* also consider marriage firstly as the religious duty and secondly they want their heirs to be in great numbers and for that they prefer marriage in young age to fulfill their aforementioned goal.

Ember and Ember give their views about the marriage in such words;

“Marriage is a socially approved sexual and economic union between men and women. It is presumed both by the couple and by the others, to be more or less permanent, and it subsumes reciprocal rights and obligations between the two spouses and between spouses and their future children”

According to this definition, marriage is the approved legal union or contract between the two spouses. No society in this world approves marriages which are not according to that society's norms.

According to Hunter:

“Marriage is a publically recognized and culturally sanctioned union between a male and a female, which is intended to be enduring, to give primary sexual rights to each other and to fulfill further social function, child rearing, economic partnership between husband and wife, and the formation for alliance between kin groups are characteristics of marriage.

This definition covers almost all aspects of marriage as publically recognized by the society and culturally sanctioned among the spouses which gives all the social rights and functions, and which causes the alliance of kin groups in the society.

“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”.

(Hoebel, 1949, p.344)

This definition of Hoebel clarifies that fact which is highly important in the Pashtun culture because a marriage between the two spouses in fact a bond between the two families. And this is the true meaning of marriage that through it a person should makes more relations with the world and it will establish a peaceful environment in the society and the human survival will become easy.

2.5 Types of Marriage (*Waada*):

There are five types of marriages which are famous in the village *Omzha*, which are described as follow:

2.5.1 Monogamy:

“Monogamy means taking of a single spouse is a form of marriage with which we are most familiar”.

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 75)

It is the simplest type of marriage which is practiced a lot in the village *Omzha*.

2.5.2 Endogamy:

“Endogamy is a form of marriage within a group of related individuals, if the group is defined just one immediate family”

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 183)

In this type of marriage, one has to marry within his/her own caste, sub-caste or family. Endogamy is also practiced in village *Omzha* and everyone here wants to select a spouse from his own caste or family. The major cause for practicing endogamy is that the bond should be stronger within the family that tends to purity and surety of relations.

2.5.3 Exogamy:

“Exogamy or marriage outside the group: The exogamous rule states that one has to marry outside one owns live / family”

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 203)

According to this type, the marriages are practiced outside the caste, sub-caste or family. During the research in the field, marriages outside the family were also observed, but those were very few in numbers.

2.5.4 Sarrai¹:

"Exchange marriage is a pair of sibling of opposite sex is married to another of sibling of opposite sex"

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p.219)

Exchange marriage is known as *Sarrai* in Pashto language. *Sarrai* is a word which is derived from the word *Sar* (head). So, *sarrai* means head is given in the exchange of head. This type of marriage was highly practiced in the community of *Omzha*. But now with the coming of consciousness among the people, they do not follow it with the same zeal as once they did.

2.5.5 Polygyny:

"Polygyny is a type of marriage in which a husband can take in marriage more than one wife."

(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 231)

In such marriages, a person has more than one wife. This type of marriages is also found in the research area. But it is not practiced in very number. Those persons which have no children or have no male child, they then practice polygyny to have children and their inheritance should have an heir by blood to claim it.

2.5.6 Conflict Resolving Marriage:

When there is any conflict or feud among the two groups or families, marriage plays a vital role in solving that conflict. After the bloodshed/ strife, the Jirga usually get in action to solve the enmity or conflict. Woman, which is considered the sign of honor and respect, is given in marriage to the other group in order to solve the problem. This type of marriage among Pashtuns is known as *Swara*².

¹ Exchange marriage

² When a girl is given to the other party to solve conflict

2.5.7 Re-Marriage:

When the wife of a person dies than he would remarries while if the husband of any women dies, she would also remarry, provided the strong influence of cultural cum religious restrictions. Male is fully allowed to marry where and whom he wants but woman has not given such freedom. She has to marry within the family of deceased husband and in most cases to her husband's brother. If she has no brother-in-law, then she has to marry any person of that family.

2.6 Marriage in Islam:

Marriage in Islam is a scared contrast which every Muslim must enter into, unless there are special reasons to the contrary.

Quran says:

“And among his signs in this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that you may dwell in tranquility with them, and He has put love and mercy between your hearts.

Undoubtedly in these are signs for those who reflect”

(Holy Quran, 30:21)

“and Allah has made for you, your mates of your own nature, and made for you, out of them, sons and daughters and grandchildren, and provided for you sustenance of the best”

(Holy Quran, 16:72)

These versus of the Quran show that marriage is an important and religious duty as prescribed by the Almighty Allah. The Prophet (Peace Be upon Him) said that:

“Marriage is my Sunna. Whosoever keeps away from it, is not from me”.

“O you young men! Whoever is able to marry should marry, for that will help him to lower his gaze and guard his modesty”

The Prophet (SAW) further said:

“The man who marries perfects half is religion”.

The institution of marriage is responsible for the development of those feelings of love and service which are the pride of society today.

Prophet Mohammad (Peace Be upon Him) once said:

“He is the most perfect Muslim whose disposition is best; and the best of you are they who behaves best to their wives”

This Hadith states that after the marriage to a woman, a good Muslim would be that who behaves well with his partner and makes her happy. It is because in Quran Allah says in Surah Nisaa:

“Men are the protectors and maintainers of women because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them from their means therefore the righteous women are obedient, and guardian (the husband’s) absence what Allah would have them guard.

(Bhatti & Jannat, 1996, p.34)

The above mention verses indicate the principles that should be followed by both male and female in their union of marriage. The physical superiority of men over women is also acknowledged in the above verses along with their responsibilities too. A Muslim faithful wife has the quality to be obedient to her husband and guard those things which are owned by the husband and given by Allah.

The *Walwar* (bride’s wealth), Spouse selection and marriage ceremonies are the main contents of my research along with an effort for finding a reason based answer for the questions like how Religion and Culture have affect these important aspects of Pashtun marriages and how people follow religion and culture side by side?

2.6. Walwar³:

The code of conduct which is associated with morals and thus with religion (Islam) is very important. Some scholars and people of knowledge relate the tradition of *Walwar* to Islam. Justice Mir Ahmed discusses Muslim marriage;

³ Bride wealth

“The first requirement of Muslim law is that both the bridegroom and bride should give their constant for marriages”.

(Qureshi, 1990, p. 60)

The writer has beautifully stated the importance of the willingness of both the spouses at the time of selection of spouse.

“Marriage then is a major problem for Pashtun who seeks exact reciprocity in all matters, concerning their equals. But a woman once given cannot be given back and bride price is not the equivalent of a woman. Some wealthy Khans ignore the woman altogether and give dowry to balance the bride price, though the match is not exact”.

(Lindholm, 1982, p. 148)

Bride wealth is the payment made by the groom or his kin to the kin of the wife in order to ratify marriage in certain primitive societies. It is common in all parts of the globe in one or another form, but as an instrument for conducting and legitimizing a marriage, bride wealth is most highly developed in Africa.

In many African societies the husband may not assume full rights over the sexual, economic or procreative powers of his marital relation until a standard portion of the bride's wealth has been transferred. Consistently, a marriage is not reckoned to have until the return of bride wealth has been acknowledged, signifying divorce.

Bride price or bride wealth, property transferred at marriage in different societies from the husbands to wife's family. Bride wealth is most often a matter of social and symbolic as well as economic reciprocity, being of a long series of exchanges between the two intermarrying families. It consolidates friendly relations between them if they are not already united by ties of kinship. Bride wealth is a kind of guarantee that the wife would be well treated; it is also in some sense a compensation for her loss.

In Islam there is “*Haq-mahr*⁴” (a particular amount of money or something else) to be paid by husband to wife only. The *Haq-mahr* paid by the husband is assigned by the Quran to the wife

⁴ An amount paid by groom to the bride according to Islam

and not to her father. It is usual for a half only, or possibly two-thirds, to be paid at the time of *Nikkah*⁵, the balance may not be exacted till after the consumption of marriage, and is still payable after a marriage has been broken. If the husband breaks the marriage before its communication, he must leave half the *Haq-mahr* in the possession of the wife. No limits have been specified on the amount of *Haq-mahr*. The lowest amount mentioned in Hadith is a ring of iron, and a man who could not procure even that, was told to teach the Holy Quran to his wife. (Sahih Bukhari)

(Bhatti & Jannat, p. 55)

In Quran it is said that:

And if you divorced them before consumption, but after the fixation of a dower for them than half of the dower (Is due to them), unless they remit it or (the man's half) is remitted by him on whose hands Is the marriage tie And the remission (of the man's half) is the nearest to righteousness and do not forget liberality between yourselves for Allah sees well all that you do.

(Surah Al Baqara: 237)

2.6.2 Spouse Selection:

"The first requirement of Muslim law is that both the bridegroom and bride should give their consent for marriages"

(Qureshi, 1990, p.60)

According to the above statement, it is the first step in the marriage that both the spouses should be asked whether they are willing for each other or not. And if they do not show an okay signal or clearly oppose it, then they should not be bonded in the act of marriage. According to the U.N's charter on the "universal declaration of human rights" in article no 16, says:

"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".

⁵ Legal contract

The U.N charter on human rights also permits to have marriage according to their own will and consent. The choice is given to every human being to select spouse according to his/ her own choice and wish. Every one above their race, nationality and religion are fully allowed to marry the one which they love and like.

In Islam, there are so many versus and Hadith that support the woman in this sensitive issue. Like the report which is quoted by *Imam Al-Bukhaari* from *Al-Khansa-bint Khidam*:

"My father married me to his nephew, and I did not like this match, so I complained to the Prophet (peace be upon him). He told me, "Accept what your father has arranged".

I said, *"I do not wish to accept what my father has arranged for me."*

He said, *"Then, this marriage is invalid. Go and marry whomever you wish."*

I said, *"I have accepted what my father has arranged, but I wanted women to know that fathers have no right in their daughter's matters (i.e. they have no right to force a marriage on them)."*

At first, the Prophet told al-Khansa' to obey her father will. But when he realized that her father wanted to force her into a marriage she did not want, Prophet (PBUH) gave her the freedom to choose who she wants, and saved her from the oppression of a father who wanted to force her into an unwanted marriage.

This hadith shows that the consent and will of spouses are very important in the matter of marriage. And without asking them, they cannot fix their marriage with anybody.

In another hadith, Prophet (PBUH) said:

"Three things make the son of Adam happy, and three make him miserable. Among the things that make the son of Adam happy are a good wife, a good home and a good means of transport; the things that make him miserable are a bad wife, a bad home and a bad means of transport."

In the above mentioned hadith, a virtuous and good wife is considered the best source and reason for happiness of human beings. And a good partner can be chosen only if both the male and female like each other and are willing to marry.

The fact that marriage is looked upon as a contract in Quran, shows that before marriage both parties should be obliged to the consent of both partners. In Pashtun culture, most of the girls are not asked at the time of the marriage. She is only informed that you are getting married and her passive silence at that crucial time of decision is translated as her willingness. In other words, she has to accept and submit her will before the will of her guardians/ parents.

2.6.3 Marriage Ceremonies:

"The rituals and ceremonies in a specific community are prescribed in that, their performance does not depend solely on the whim of an individual, but are expected by others under specific circumstances and in a specific manner".

(Hunter 1976, p.336)

This definition of Hunter beautifully explains the rituals and ceremonies in the marriages. There are different ceremonies and rituals in the Pashtun marriages (*Waada*) which are practiced at this special occasion since time long ago. Some ceremonies are held at the home of the bride and some are conducted at the groom's home. The marriage ceremonies continue for four to five days. Different cultural dances of men and women are performed at this occasion. And no other event in Pashtun culture is celebrated with such a great zeal as the marriage ceremony (*Waada*).

2.7 Religious Influences on Pashtunwali:

"Among the Pashtuns the word Pashtunwali implicates everything what ranks among the Roots and basics of their tribal spirit, historical greatness and national traditions Pashto is the name of their national language, Pashtun is the name of their tribe, Pashtunkhwa is the Name of their homeland; and from these words the meaningful word Pashtunwali was created".

(QiyuddinKhadim, Pashtunwali, Kabul, 1952)

As *Pashtunwala* is the un-written ethical code and traditional life-style of the Pashtuns. *Pashtunwala* serves as a manual for the Pashtun people's way of life, social order, rights and obligations, morals and code of honor. *Pashtunwala* regulates and guides almost all aspects of a Pashtun's life. The Pashtun lives by his own custom, which prescribes proper behavior.

Pashtunwala has core tenets including self-respect, independence, justice, hospitality, love, forgiveness, and tolerance especially to the stranger or guest. It is *Pashtunwala* that regulate the

life of a Pashtun while religion is so influential in our society that we (the Pashtun) look to everything through the prism of religion.

The *Parda* concept is much practiced in *Pashtunwala* from the yore time. But there were no specific principles for *Parda* to be practiced, while Islam specified its boundaries and standards to be followed. Same is the case with the marriage patterns of the Pashtun people. With the advent of Islam, so many changes were made on the ceremonies of marriage to put them according to the teachings of Islam. *Walwar* (bride wealth) was eaten by the bride's father and no luggage was given to her for her daily use but now people are well aware that it is not legal for the father to use bride wealth for his own purpose.

The religion also influences the *Pashtunwala* in the context of *purdah*. As there was physical mobility of women in the Pashtun society in ancient time, the *purdah* was not an important issue to be considered seriously. But religion strictly opposed the physical mobility of women in the society which had a great impact on the daily life of the people.

The rituals of marriage are also affected by the religious influence in the society. The cultural dance and music "*Dhol/Attan*" of Pashtun in the events of happiness like marriage was also criticized by the religion. The *Dhol/Attan* which is an important source of happiness in the marriages has been decrease to great extent by some traditional families.

Religious influence on *Pashtunwala* can also be seen through the system of *Jirga*. The *Jirga* system which was purely based on the *Pashtunwala*, later on amended on the religious thoughts. Before, some decisions of *Jirga* like the women given to the opposite party to solve the conflict were forbidden by religion and no such practice was allowed to *Jirga*, while solving any dispute. It totally changed the criteria of *Jirga* system.

In the selection of spouse and engagement at early age, the religion explicitly influenced *Pashtunwala*. In the Pashtun society, girls and boys engagement are fixed at very early age when they even don't know about marriage etc. They are not asked whether they like each other or not for partnership. But religion strictly rejected this and ordered not to practice this custom in the society which directly influenced the code of conduct of Pashtuns.

In the *Pashtunwala*, women were not allowed to get education because for that they had to go outside home which was not allowed in the Pashtun society. But religion allowed women to get

education especially in the field of teaching and medical because of increasing demand in gynecology. We can say that religion has influenced on almost every aspect of *Pashtunwala*.

2.8 Pashtunwala Connection with Marriage:

According to religious teachings, the boys and girls are both asked about their willingness of each other in the marriage but in the *Pashtunwala*, it is always the parents who selects spouse for their children. It is a general thought prevailed in the Pashtun society that parents always thinks the best for the welfare of their children. So, it would not be wrong to state that *Pashtunwala*, which is code of life, has its own way of selecting the spouse and perpetrating the marriage. According to *Pashtunwala*, when a women husband dies she is not allowed to marry the person to whom she wants but she is bound to marry her brother in law that may be elder or smaller than her. Because it is not considered honor for a family if the widow will marry outside husband's family. In *Pashtunwala*, bride wealth, in the early decades, was given in the shape of land, herd or crops but with the passage of time it was changed in the form of cash. Now in the *Pashtunwala* it is not consider good to take bride wealth in the shape of land or crops.

In *Pashtunwala*, one aspect is hospitality which has an important role in the society. Pashtuns in every aspect of life are known by their hospitality but on the sudden increase is being seen on specific events just like marriage. The rich people spend more and more money in order to show their status in the society. The expenses of the rich Pashtun is challenge in the form of *Syali*, a component of *Pashtunwala*, by his close relatives whether he is poor or rich. The poor relative takes loan to arrange hospitality in the marriage. If he will not spend much money in the marriage then he is not only criticized but also looked down upon.

Chivalry (*Ghairat*) is also an important code of conduct of *Pashtunwala*. When a couple get marriage, neither of them leave each other in any condition, because it becomes a thing of chivalry for both to leave the relation and also for their both blood relatives. In Pashtun society, the submissive role is being assigned to women and she is not equal in status to that of man. Their partnership is so entrenched that if the husband is not medically or psychologically normal, the women yet to obey her husband because of chivalry. If they will leave each other, it will become daunt and dishonor for the whole family in the society.

When a boy likes a girl and her parents are not in position to make blood alliance so in such situation, the male member fires in the air in front of her house and after fire he considers the girl as his wife and no one is allowed to extend ones hand of engagement toward that girl. In case of violation, the spirit of revenge arises against the person to whom she was being engaged. The person who fires in the air is always in position to take revenge of his insult from the opposite group. Revenge is an important feature of *Pashtunwala*, when the feelings and sentiments are hurt; the only way to satisfy his feeling is revenge.

In the Pashtun society exchange marriage "*Sarrai*" is practiced which is purely a traditional custom of *Pashtunwala*. In exchange marriage, if the girl of one party is smaller than other girl, than they will pay money to the elder girl party which is done according to *Pashtunwala*. Now if we look to the connection of *Pashtunwala* with marriage we can clearly point the connection between them. So, in nut shell it can be stated that *Pashtunwala* is whole and marriage is part. Both the *Pashtunwala* and marriage system are so entrenched in each other that their separation is next to impossible.

CHAPTER 3: VILLAGE PROFILE

3.1 Introduction:

The locale of my research study is *Omzha Mursenzai*, which is in the district Zhob of Balochistan. *Omzha* is 36km in North of Zhob and it is at the border of *Mandokhail*¹ tribal territory. In the east and south *Harifal*² tribe is our neighbor while other *Mandokhail* tribes are located on west and north. *Omzha* is a name stand for its epistemological meaning that is farming. In *Mandokhail* tribe, the people of *Omzha* are called as *Mursenzai*.

Picture 1: An Overview of *Omzha*



(Source: Author 2012)

Historically, in the tradition of this area, Meer Hassan is considered to be the father of the whole *Omzha* village. Meer Hassan had three sons. The first son was *Madu Nika*, whose sons are now called *Maduzai*. The second was *Ismail Nika*³, whose sons are now called *Ismelzai*. The third was *Shahab-u-ddinNika*, whose sons are now called *Baikhel*. *Madu*

¹ Name of the tribe living in the village where research has been conducted

² A tribe name living on the border of the village

³ Local name for grand-father

and Ismail were real brothers while *Shahab-u-ddin* was their step brother. The *Malaki (sardari)* of the village is with the Ismail Nika sons from the beginning. There are two qualified Malaks (*sardar*) of *Omzha*. The first one is *Malak*⁴ Niamat, whose father name is Malak Baatal and the second one is Malak Rahim khan, whose father name is Haji Lal Khan. While Haji Gul Baran and Haji Saddo Khan, are also the leaders from their own *Zai*.⁵

3.2 Family Structure:

Family is considered to be an essential unit of all human societies, where people live and share common ancestry, blood and legal relationships. Within the group there is usually a division of authority, privilege, responsibility, economic and sex roles. Family occupies the central place in social structure of a traditional society.

3.2.1 Family:

The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adult of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children own or adopted of the sexually cohabiting adults. Family is the basic unit of all social activities and social organization. It is a group of family members in which one male member earn and the rest of the family members depend on him. The family provides support to its members for reproduction, food, education and clothing. Family members have different rights, obligations and status in the family. At the time of marriage, the bride moves into the family of the groom parents and became its new member. After sometime due to the death of parent or due to conflict with the parents the bride groom and their children form a nuclear family. The society of the village is patriarchal in nature. The male head of the family exercises the authority. The male member of the family holds the right of decision within the family and outside the family.

Generally in the village three kinds of families are found. These families are nuclear families, joint families and extended families.

⁴ Head of the village

⁵ Head of their own lineage

3.2.2 Nuclear Families:

Nuclear family is the first and the basic form of the social organization. The nuclear family is a universal human social group, either as the most prevailing form of the family or the basic unit from which more complex families' forms are compounded. It exists as a distinct and strong social group in every known society. Simply the nuclear family consists of a married man and woman with their offspring. In the village, nuclear families are very rare just after marriage but after two or three years of joint residence, family divided into two or three nuclear families.

3.2.3 Joint Families:

Joint family is a group of people sharing same residence and economic pool. The joint family is a unit composed of two or more brothers and their wives; the bond of union in consanguine. In joint family the brothers lives as joint unit and share same economic earnings.

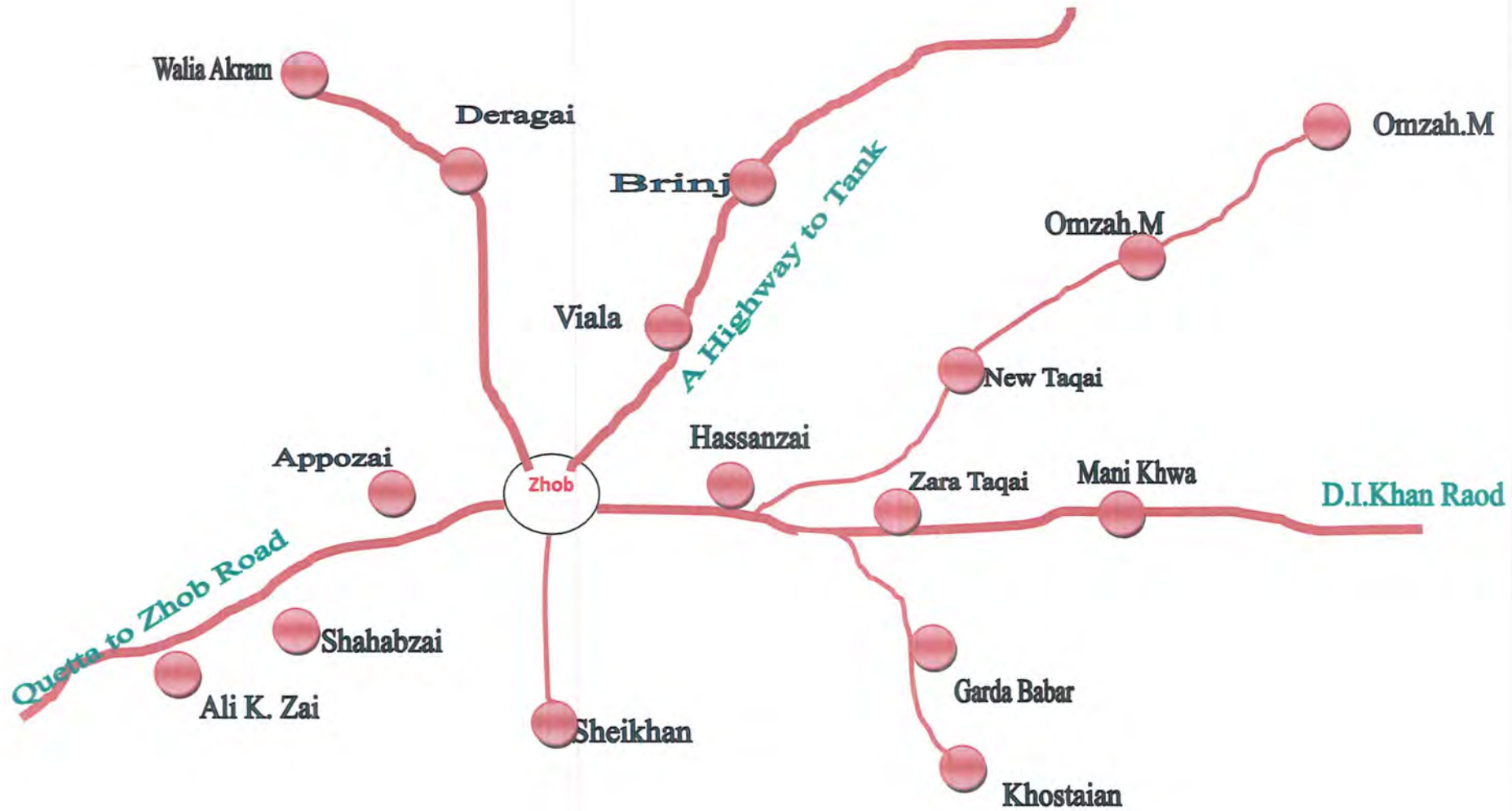
3.2.4 Extended Families:

An extended family consists of three consecutive generations living as family unit. The particular characteristics of this family unit are that on married child lives with the parental generation and sharing the same things of daily life.

3.3 Boundary:

The boundary of *Omzha* is highly surrounded by different villages. On its east, lie the following villages, *Branj*, *Babatezai* and *Hasanzai (Tor Nishpa)*. On its west, lie *Ibrahim Khel* and *Kamalzi* villages. On its south of west, *Zaibee* village lies. On its south *Narezai* is located. On its north a village *Bahlol* and on its Northern West, *Thraykhanzai* is located.

Boundaries of Village Omzha



District Zhob

36 km

**NARKHAIZAI
(RESERVE FOREST)**

JIZHA MOUNTAIN RANGE

SKETCH OF OMZHA MURSENZAI

LEGEND

ROAD



MOUNTAIN



LoyaKhwara(Nullah)



HOUSE



HOSPITAL



School



Graveyard



Fields



PRAKAR

Hospital



More than 70% of the village population resides ar



Mosque



Boys School

3.4 Climate of the Locale:

The climate of *Omzha* is warm summer and cool winter. It has two types of rainfall, monsoon (*Wasa Baran*¹) and winter winds rainfall (*Pasham Baran*²). The monsoon rainfall creates disturbance in the village like this areas has mountains and has a little plain area. In the mountains the rainfall cause floods and destroy trees and forests of the village. It also destroys fields because these fields are situated near the stream. Winter rain fall is low in magnitude but high in frequency. This is very beneficial for livestock.

Picture 2: Local Heater to Use in Cold Climate



3.5 Ethnic Groups, Castes & Sub-castes:

There is only one ethnic group and the people of the whole village are Pashtuns. No other ethnic groups are found in *Omzha*. The people belong to the *Mandokhail* caste and there are no sub castes in the village. There are no sub-castes but the people of village themselves are divided into followers of the three brothers of same family. Meer Hassan is the father of the whole *Omzha*

¹ Monsoon rain

² Winter rain

village. He had three sons. The first son was Madu Nika which sons are now called Maduzai. The second was Ismail Nika which sons are now called Ismelzai. The third was Shahab-u-ddin Nika which sons are now called Baikhel. Madu and Ismail were real brothers while Shahab-u-ddin was their step brother. No other castes or sub-castes are found there.

3.6 Transport:

The natives visit regularly to the city for different purposes like shopping, hospital and education etc. They use public transport to go to the city. There are coaches and their own vans for public transport. There are two vans from the village, which are being used for public transport from the village to the city. The rent from the village to the city was 80 rupees during research days. And there is no proper paved road to the city and people sometimes face difficulties at the time of rains.

Picture 3: Un-paved roads in the Village



3.7 Communication Facilities:

Radio /Transistors are to be found in a good number all over the locale. It is listening by the people of the locale. The people watch TV (PTV) as well and due to so much loud shedding in electricity they seldom find opportunity to watch TV. Two homes are in the villages that have kept the dish antennas and some have electric generator at home. Some youngsters go to these two homes and watch different channels through dish antennas. Telephone facility is available in the village. 10 households have the facility of telephone. Mobile coverage is not available in the village. Some people have got the Mobile and Sims whenever they go to the city; they use their mobile over there.

3.8 Forest:

The village was highly surrounded by forests. These forests were cut down by the local people for their domestic use.

Picture 4: Wood for domestic Use



Due to this usage of forests by the locale people minimize the number of trees that were surrounding village. Such forests were the source of dry fruit. The wood is used in the winter season to escape from cold. Currently only one forest named *Narkhezai*³ exists. Such forest is not used by the village people because all the people vowed on the Holy Quran. Their vowed led to the prohibition of forest cutting forever. The existing forest is the source of dry fruit collected by local people.

3.9 Dress Pattern:

3.9.1 Male:

The dress pattern for male in the village *Omzha* is *Partug*⁴ (trousers) and *Qamees*⁵ (shirt). And with that they took a blanket thrown over the shoulders. They wear “chapels” footwear of different designs. On heads commonly wear cap called “*Topai*⁶” and tie around it “*Patkai*⁷” or “*Lungai*⁸” Turban. On the *Qamees*, they wear waistcoat and in winter wear a thick hot “*Tikrai*⁹” along with sweaters.

3.9.2 Female:

Women wear simple dress consists of a “*Partug*” (trouser or shalwar) “*Qamees*” (shirt) and a “*Dupata*¹⁰” (*Chaddar*, *Tikrai* or scarf). Old women prefer loose and baggy trouser, long shirts with wider sleeves and colored cloths. In the research area, women use a variety of jewelry such as pendants, bracelets and necklaces. The pendants include “*Paizwan*¹¹” or “*Nathkai*¹²” (Large

³ Name of a forest in the village

⁴ Trouser

⁵ shirt

⁶ Local cap

⁷ Turban

⁸ Same like turban but it is more precious and valuable than Patkai

⁹ A special scarf for males, also known as Chaadar

¹⁰ Scarf for females

¹¹ A stud wearing in nose

¹² A large stud for nose

nose rings), “*Chargul*¹³” and “*Maikhak*¹⁴” (small nose ornaments), “*Gaantay*¹⁵” Large ear rings, and “*Tik*¹⁶” worn on the forehead.

3.10 Local Food and Style of Cooking:

The food in the locale is simple but people eat well. The breakfast is consisting of tea (milk tea) and simple “*Marrai*¹⁷”. The natives of *Omzha* are so much fond of tea, especially milk tea. In the morning, they sip milk tea and in the afternoon they again sip milk tea but those families which have no enough milk at home eat *Kava* tea. The dinner comprises meat and “*Marrai*”. Rice is not a normal or even a frequent item in their diet, they use it rarely. The meal when cooked for dinner is also eaten in lunch and some families cooks it freshly. The family normally eats together, sitting on a mat or blanket spread on the floor at home. In their food, they mostly eat meat and vegetables; children drink milk and have the same food, which their parents take. Elite and rich people eat meat regularly whereas middle class takes mostly potatoes and some vegetables.

The most popular and delicious meat cuisine of the village is named as “*Landi*¹⁸” in the local language. The way of preparing this cuisine is very interesting. After slaughtering the sheep, the hair of the sheep on its skin are removed by hand or with scissors. Its lungs, intestines, kidneys, heart are also removed. Then the sheep is put on fire for about 20 minutes. Then all the bones of the sheep are removed and only meat is left behind. Then this meat is cut into pieces of about 1 sq. ft. (0.093 m²) each. These pieces are then salted to protect the meat from germs and other microorganisms. Then these pieces of meat are hanged by a rope in the cold environment (this process is done only between mid-November and mid-December). After hanging approximately for one month, the meat is then served in the cold days and nights of December and January.

“*Kaddi Kabab*¹⁹” is another delicious cuisine. Moreover, *Rosh*, *Srekaray*²⁰, *Sajji*,²¹ *Ogra*²² are some other popular dishes of the area. *Kaddi Kabab* is usually served in picnics. Picnic of *Kaddi*

¹³ A kind of stud

¹⁴ A kind of stud found in the locale

¹⁵ Earring's

¹⁶ A form of stud

¹⁷ Bread

¹⁸ A special kind of meat which is dried in the cold weather and then it is cooked

¹⁹ A special kind of meat in which whole sheep/goat is roasted

Kabab is very expensive and it is decreasing now-a-days because of the economic inflation in the area.

Picture 5: Local way to Preserve Meat (*Landi*)



3.11 Language and Accent:

The language of the native people is Pashto, because there is no other ethnic group and other castes that is why they the people have same language and pure *Mandokhail* accent. The anthropologists have recognized the importance of language since long. It is not only a tool for more effective fieldwork, but also a critical element of the cultures fabric, which they study. As i have put earlier that 100% of the villagers speak Pashto language in the village. It is a traditional language of *Mandokhail* and since the time of their ancestors, they have been speaking this language.

²⁰ Meat is roasted on the fire

²¹ When only meat is cooked in fire

²² When rice is cooked in milk or water, a special dish in the locale

3.12 Religion and Sects:

The people, who are living in my locale, are all Muslims by religion. They are Sunni Muslims and no other sect is found in the locale.

Picture 6: Main Masjid in Centre of the Village



3.13 Shrines and Historical Building:

No shrine is found in the locale and there is no historical buildings either. But the grave of *Kaliwal Shaheed*²³ of *Omzha*, who belongs to the *Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami party*²⁴, is present in the village graveyard.

3.13.1 Graveyard

There is one main graveyard in the village which is used by all the members of the society. And some families have built their separate graveyards near their homes as they can afford accordingly.

²³ A Pashtun nationalist who were martyred

²⁴ A nationalist party of Pashtuns

Picture 7: Main Graveyard of the Village



3.14 Medical:

In the health facilities, hospital and dispensary is present in the *Omzha* that is well facilitated. A doctor is present all the time in the hospital and people from the nearby villages came to hospital for treatment.

Picture 8: The Only Hospital in the Village



3.14.1 The Major Diseases in the Village:

- 1) Upper and lower Respiratory tract infection.
- 2) Dysentery.
- 3) Anemia/Gastritis.
- 4) Tuberculosis.
- 5) Hepatitis

3.14.2 Major Diseases among Children:

- 1) Diarrhea
- 2) Upper and lower respiratory tract infection.
- 3) Malnutrition (Protein energy malnutrition).
- 4) Malaria.
- 5) Typhoid.

3.14.3 Self-Medication:

Self-medication consists of certain activities performed at the house hold level in the village. In local language it is called *Koranai Ilaaj*²⁵. This is mostly practiced by women for the treatment of minor illness like flu, cough, fever diarrhea etc. Village people are very much familiar about home remedies. Actually home remedies consist of preparation of certain food items and usage of herbs brought from city market or in some cases it is planted at homes. Food items used to prepare home remedies are easily available at home such as milk, eggs, nuts; tea etc. This type of treatment of home remedies is adopted for minor illnesses as mentioned above. As I have told that females play important role in home remedies because they are considered responsible and quite expert in the preparation of such medicines. In winter, milk and eggs are given to the people who are ill in order to provide them energy and develop immunity against their illness. The local people have the perception about home remedies that raw materials used in their preparation are pure and without any chemicals. Moreover, one remedy is effective for more than one illness. Natives have experienced of these home remedies since generations. It is considered that as these remedies purify the blood therefore they cure the illness from the root. Mostly old women are preferred in making home remedies.

3.15 Irrigation:

A *Karez*²⁶ system is present for our field and its water flows naturally. The water is distributed among the villagers and especially in summer season according to their fields. Everyone has his own turn for using *Karez* water for their fields. Water for the daily use of the people comes from the *Pangdoba*²⁷.

²⁵ Home treatment

²⁶ Construction of underground water tunnels through which water is provided to the fields

²⁷ A place where much quantity of water is present

Picture 9: Karez



3.16 Energy:

3.16.1 Electricity:

In 1996, the combs were located and the facility of electricity was given to the villagers. Till 2002, the proper light was available and the people paid bills on regular basis. But, when load shedding and dim light was given to the people, they become angry and from 2007 not a single person pay bill to *Wapda*²⁸. The *Wapda* has their own choice whether to give them light for a day, week or months. And the people are living most of the time without electricity.

3.16.2 Gas:

No natural Gas is available in the village except liquid petroleum gas (LPG) in cylinders by those who can afford buying them. Electricity and wood are used for the purpose of cooking and

²⁸ Water and power development authority

heating. The village has some forests and their wood is used for both heating and cooking purpose in the summer as well as in winter.

3.17 Radio and Television:

Radio and Television facilities are present in the village. T.V is not watch by the majority of the people but it is present only in few houses. Dish antenna facility is also present in some houses of the village and news channel is watch a lot by the people. Some people listen to the radio and people are interested a lot to know about the current situation of the country.

3.18 Education Facilities:

In the facilities of education, there is a middle school for the boys and a primary school for the girls in the village. The students attend the school regularly and those students who did their degree from the village school goes to the Zhob city and continue their studies there.

Picture 10: Middle School for Boys



Picture 11: Primary School for Girls



3.19 Profession:

In the early time, the profession of the people was agriculture and grazing cattle. People depend on these things and spend their lives likewise. With the time, these things were not fulfilling their daily needs and they had to find another way through which they can earn enough money for their better life. So they decided to go outside the village and went to different areas of Pakistan specially Quetta and Karachi. People have also started going abroad to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Arab Emirate. Some families have even shifted to Zhob district and started getting education.

It affected the profession of agriculture and grazing cattle, a lot. But with the passage of time, when people would become stable, they would again start agriculture and grazing cattle.

3.19.1 Handicrafts:

The embroidery work which is done by the women of the area with excellent skill and craft is very famous. It reflects both the culture and fashion taste of people. This embroidery work is sometimes sold out among the local women because it takes too much time and energy. Every girl learns all these skills at her father home and only few do it for the income purpose. This skill

is the specialty of every woman in the village and every girl learn it and then makes it for her own wedding according to her own choice.

The embroidery work has several varieties in the locale. They include "*Gulan*²⁹" which is the best, and represents a flower, "*Palamposh*³⁰", "*Khajur*³¹" or a date tree. The best known is "*Chakan*³²" which is worked on sleeves, front pieces of shirts, and on "*Laman*³³" or "*Paissa*³⁴".

3.19.2 Agriculture and Cattles:

In the early time people of *Omzha* were highly dependent on the livestock and agriculture.

Picture 12: Agricultural Field



To have sustained economy they migrated toward urban areas and went abroad especially to Middle Eastern countries. Before this, most of the people were highly bound to their culture. Awareness comes in the mind of those that were exposed to the other people and was get

²⁹ A form of embroidery in which flowers are made

³⁰ Bed sheet in which embroidery is done

³¹ A variety of embroidery in which dates tree is painted on the cloths

³² A form of embroidery

³³ The front piece of shirt

³⁴ The part of the trouser from where the foots are entered to wear the trouser

intermingled with urbanized culture. Due to this Urbanization people started getting education and become less dependent on cattle and agriculture. But still agriculture plays an important role in their lives, because there are so many people who are dependent only on agriculture. The flood has come several times in the village and has caused great loss for the agriculture.

3.20 Water System:

3.20.1 Rivers and Stream:

Omzha has no river it has three large streams and many small streams which flow these streams. These streams are very close to the village. These streams are named as *Loya Khwada*³⁵ (Big stream), *Thrai*³⁶ (small stream), *Badagha*³⁷ and *Nalai*³⁸. Big stream starts from the west of the *ShinGhar*³⁹. It crosses many other villages and it approximately flows from north to south. Its slope is not very smart. It has often destroyed the fields and water supply lines of the village.

Thrai has high slope and it is smaller than *Loya Khawada*. It also starts from *ShinGhar* Mountains and sometimes it turns to the village and then destroys many *Danga*⁴⁰ and houses along with cattle. It meets with to the *Loya Khwada* at the point *Prekadai*⁴¹ (discard juncture).

Nalai (stream) is not as large as *Loya Khwada* (Big Stream). It starts from *Lizai*⁴², which is in the territory of *Omzha*. It flows in the south of village and meets *Loya Khwada* (Big stream) at the end of the village.

Badagha (stream) is the third largest stream of the village and has normal slope. Its starts from the center of *ShinGhar* (mountain name) and flows from west to south.

³⁵ Loya mean big and Khwada mean river; big stream

³⁶ Name of a small stream in the village

³⁷ Name of a stream

³⁸ It's also a name of stream

³⁹ A large mountain on some distance from the village

⁴⁰ concrete wall around the field

⁴¹ A small mountain in the entrance of the village where homes are built

⁴² flowing point of water

Picture 13: Loya Khwaba



3.20.2 Rain Water Channels:

When the rain occurs in the village, the water of the rain flows into these channels, which are diverted by the farmers towards their land. And the people reserve the water of the rain water channel in a small dam type *Band*, and then use the water for arid lands as well as for then on-arid land. The farmers do not preserve water of the channel completely or neither can they stop the whole water of the channel because there is danger related to it that if it will break out, it will destroy the whole agriculture of the village.

3.20.3 Sanitation:

The majority and mostly all the houses have proper latrines and some have pit-latrines inside their house made separately for both male, and female and children. Enough water is available in mostly every home of the village and the sanitation situation is good among the villagers.

3.21 Crops:

3.21.1 Kharif Crops:

Kharif crops are sown in summer and harvested in late summer or early winter. The crops grown during *Kharif* are fruits, melons, vegetables, potato, fodder, onion etc. It is interesting to note that almost all the crops grown during *Kharif* season are cash crops, which reflect that the farmers are commercial, and mostly produce for the market. It is worth mentioning that melon is the crop which is sown both on irrigated and un-irrigated areas. It can be inferred that the farmers are rational. They use scarce resource (water) in an efficient and effective manner.

3.21.2 Rabbi Crops:

Rabi crops are sown in winter or early summer and are harvested accordingly. The important Rabi crops are wheat, barley, vegetable and fodder.

Picture 14: Wheat Crops



The cash crops are those, which are grown in *Kharif* like, wheat, chilies, carrots etc. and some other crops are cultivated for domestic use.

3.22 Livestock:

Livestock is an important source of income and employment in the village *Omzha*. Livestock plays vital role in the economy of the village and provide food with rich nutrition's such as milk, meat and also their by-products like wool, butter, oil, cheese, curd, skin and intestines. Beside men, small girls and boys are also involved in the grazing of their animals; nevertheless, being family workers, they are not paid for their activities. The women also look after the animals within their house. They also collect fodder for the animals and do other works such as milking etc.

Livestock is considered the basic element of economy of the locale. In the locale, natives keep livestock for household use, for *Landi* and most particularly keep herds of livestock for business and income. It is a major source of livelihood for people in the research area of the village. The main livestock includes goats and sheep. It was found during the field of the area that almost all households own livestock like sheep, goat and cow. Sheep is the favorite animal for the *Landi* and after that goat is preferred in the village.

Picture 15: Rearing Cattles



3.23 Minerals:

Reservoirs of Minerals such as Chromite's, Gypsum and lime stone are found in the village *Omzha*.

3.24 Local Games:

In the old time, a lot of games were played in the village like *Mosay*,⁴³ *Skhai*⁴⁴, *Nakhshay*⁴⁵, and *Badai*.⁴⁶ But now with the coming of modernization, Soccer and Cricket are played in the village while wrestling, target shooting, tent pegging, folk dances, archery and javelin throwing are the traditional games but the elder generation is no more able to play these and the young generation is not interested and only play football and cricket.

Picture 16: Boys Playing Football



⁴³ A local game played by stones

⁴⁴ Name of a local name which is played on one foot

⁴⁵ Target shooting

⁴⁶ Name of a game played by the bone of a goat/sheep

3.25 Political Parties:

Among the political parties, *Pashtoonkhwa Milla Awami party* and *Jamiat-ulma-Islam* are present in the village and people highly participate in it.

Picture 17: Grave of Raheem Kaliwal Shaheed, a Political Leader of *Pashtoonkhwa Milla Awami Party*



3.26 Local Months:

These are the local names for the months:-

	LOCAL NAMES FOR MONTHS	ARABIC MONTHS
1.	KhudaiMiasht	Rajab
2.	Asura	Shaban
3.	Roza	Ramzan
4.	Kamkae Id	Shwal
5.	Manzakai	ZiK'aad
6.	Loeday	Zul-Hajj
7.	Hassan Hussain	Muharram
8.	Sapara	Safar
9.	WarumbaiKhor	Rabi-ul-awal
10.	Doimakhor	Rabi-us-sani
11.	Dreamakhor	Jamadi-ul-awal
12.	Tsaloramakhor (or Ustraikhor)	Jamadi-us-sani

3.27 Jirga among Pashtuns:

According to the Pashto Dictionary, Jirga is an original Pashto word, which in its common usage refers to the gathering of a few, or a large number of people. The word Jirga is also used in Persian/Dari. Other scholars believe that the word Jirga has originated from Turkish where it has a very similar meaning to those in Pashto and Persian/Dari. These meanings strongly reflect the rituals and processes of the Pashtun traditional tribal *Jirga* where people gather and sit in a large circle in order to resolve disputes and make collective decisions about important social issues. It is argued that Jirga as a traditional Pashtun institution is closely bound up with the social and economic realities of everyday life in the Pashtun people and is deeply rooted in the culture and history of the people of the village. Jirga as a time-honored institution does not only resolve many local, tribal, and national conflicts efficiently in cost-effective ways, but also acts as a powerful channel of communication among the people. It is therefore plays an important and

central role in strengthening social solidarity among the people and contributes significantly to the maintenance of social order in society. However, the extent of the effectiveness of the Jirga as a mechanism of conflict resolution depends on the extent to which it is perceived as legitimate by the various segments of the Pashtun population.

Conflicts are as old as the human societies are themselves. In the history, individuals, social groups and societies have disputed and fought against one another over scarce commodities and resources like land, money, political power, and ideology. They have even fought one another in different ways in order to control these resources and commodities. But at the same time, the human societies and social groups have found their own ways and means for resolving these conflicts. The nature and causes of conflicts and the mechanisms for resolving them are deeply rooted in the culture and history of every society and they are in many important ways unique to them, like Panchayat in India, Mediation Committees in China, and Jirga in the Pashtun society. It has a strong potential to contribute to the culture and the concept of Jirga and examining its status as a national institution, also focuses on the analysis of *Maraka*⁴⁷, *Qomi Jirga*⁴⁸, and *Loya Jirga* as the main forms of traditional conflict resolution in the Pashtun society.

⁴⁷ To solve a conflict, people gather at one place and then take a collective decision

⁴⁸ The Jirga in which tribal leaders gather at one place to solve a conflict and loya Jirga is same like this

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

4.1 Introduction:

Richly Crapo gives his four characteristics about a social organization;

"The social organization of a society consists of; first is, the various groups from which the society is built, the second statuses that individuals may hold, third are the division of labor, the way in which the tasks of society are distributed among individuals and groups, and the fourth is the rank accorded to each group status."

(Crapo, 1990, p. 112)

4.2 Phyletic Lineage:

The society of the locale is a tribal one, where the organization and the interaction among the family members are a bit more than the families who are in the urban areas. Family is the basic unit in the society. The group in which children are raised is termed to be a family. Family is not only about the individuals who are tied in a note of marriage.

Richly Crapo defines family such as;

"The group consisting of married persons, their children, and other relatives who reside with them."

(Crapo, 1990, p. 361)

4.2.1 Nuclear Family:

Crapo defines it as;

"The form of family that consists only of married persons and their children."

(Crapo, 1990, p. 365)

The inhabitants of *Omzha* still perpetuated the practice of living to gather around single *Naghary* (*Chula* or fire hearth in a family consist of two to three generations that under the impacts of

modernization and education has gone through profound change such as the split of bonds and joint families into smaller units of nuclear families. However, such change can be observed in the case of newly wed educated couples who used to reside in major cities of the country under job requirements but they still retain affiliation with the larger structure of family without considering their family comprising of wife and husband and their children as an independent unit as it is understood in the definition of nuclear family but they share earnings and income as remittance at the micro level and being an individual member of family also shares responsibility and joins family at village on the occasion of sorrows and joys such as festivals and rituals where the couple resides in its own residing room and shares the same hearth (*Naghary* or *Chula*) like other members of joint family and they return back to their city house then they resume the form of nuclear family. Nevertheless, in few cases newly married couples immediately following their wedding break with the joint family and commence to live independently in the true sense of nuclear family both economically and socially dependent on its income and resources without pooling and sharing. Although, growing needs and demands, are such impacts causing the breakdown of joint family structure according to the most respondents, pooling of resources is not any more sustainable and efficient mechanism to sustain the structure the few earning hands could not meet the needs of near about 50 to 100 members within family ranging from basic life amenities to entertainment activities.

Overgrowth is also another major influencing factor that sped up over the last few decades and the assets under possession especially land and its distribution among many inheritors leads to scarcity of resources as well as the unjust and misappropriation of resources in joint family lead to conflicts that in most cases intensifies and causes inter and intra familial feuds and antagonism which in turn further breeds violence. Lack of institutional patronage and infrastructure and patriarchal cum religious fundamental dispositions of state juxtaposed instability and erosion of social order.

Young educated under insecurity of employment and career strives for job as his first priority that over the time is getting harder and harder that most of the time causes late marriage as this view expressed by many respondents they also viewed that opting for marriage with girls many years younger to expected husband, educated and employed is his second prime that is enhancing factor of exogamy that in some cases also involves premarital understanding between the

spouses as young men emphasize understanding prior to marriage, mutual cooperation in running family economy , matters and bringing up their children that relatively enhances the role of woman in decision making inside house . her such role also renders her with sanctified position inside house as she unlike educated daughter in law does have role and also breaches the traditional boundaries of *Parda* (Seclusion or veil) by going outside the walls of house under job requirements but still a woman is supposed to assume two profession of medical and teaching with limited options and those working in non-government organization are rhetorically devalued and derogated as lacking *Haya* (sanctity).

Respondent of old age regarded such kind development as moving away from the traditions and religious values characterizing features of our society which emphasize the *Haya* and *Parda* for women that she under these is supposed to remain within the premises of houses without stepping out the threshold of house and declared job holder women as *Behaya* lacking *Haya* (sanctity) in contradiction with our usages and practices under practice down the centuries but now these values erode due to such kind of behavior that indicates end of time predicted in our sacred scripture and sayings of ancestors.

However respondents of young age regarded such development is the need of hour that still its moving with slow paces as under the changing circumstances of media and information society does not comply like in other parts of the globe where change with escalation is taking place but in our society the traditions , fundamentalism and existing mind set up pose great threat to the progress and our self-sufficiency and dependence is possible in case of well trained and skilled community for that merit based decision , indiscrimination ,equity and equality are the prime motives we need to develop and the existing joint family system based on endogamy, ascribed statuses ,traditional and organic values and their retention hinders progress rather augment.

Few highly qualified scholars were of the view that the development is always directional and situated under the whim of state that under its authority determines and directs change but unfortunately state with its patriarchal cum religious characteristics augments the traditions and widened the schism of difference and discrimination resultantly augmented stagnancy and withholding of traditional system of *Pashtunwala* without going through transformation of change. Women education under economic and social and limited job option for does not yield the fact she is achieving autonomy and getting emancipation but rather further entraps in

changing form of patriarchy changes in modern time is taken place under the authority of state power and the emancipation and empowerment within family and outside requires institutional umbrella. Definitely it becomes hard and difficult for educated and economically independent daughter in law having and possessing multi roles together in one time to perform inside and outside therefore external factors exerting pressure and retention and lack of institutional patronage caused instability and abrupt change directionless and aimless.

4.2.2 Joint Family (Gadda Korani):

A family structure which comprises of grandparents, their sons, along with their nuclear family. Joint family system is prevalent in the locale. Joint family is the basic unit of identification for ego in the kinship of community that ascends from family known as *Kahol* that moves up the second rung to *Pusha* (combination of at least extended families) on the ladder of kinship system and on third step two or more than two *Pushas* combine to form *Zai* that means Son of: or which two or more than it on forward step together form *Khail* that goes up and reaches the atop the imaginary ancestor of Kais Bin Rashid.

4.2.3 Extended Family:

Richly explains the extended family in these words;

"Extended families usually include three generations: either a pair of grandparents, their sons, the wives of their sons, and all the children of their sons, or a pair of grandparents, all their sons and daughters, all the children of their daughters."

(Crapo, 1990, p. 172)

There are families in the locale which have mixed and complex structures. These families are comprised of father's father generation and the ego generation. More complex is comprised of father's cousins or father father's brothers.

4.3 Marriage System and Concept of Bride Wealth:

Russell defines marriage as;

"Marriage is the basic universal social installation admitting men and women to formerly life."

Marriage is a ubiquitous feature of human social organization and probably very easily evolved in the course of human social history. There are many functions of marriage: to fulfill parental responsibility for long term, infant maturing and education, social regulation of sexual competition, organization of sexual decision, of labor assessment, of inclusion to social group and status, and the formation of inter group alliance and exchange.

There is one side marriage, exchange marriage, conflict resolving marriage and remarriage. All these types of marriage are further divided on the basis into two endogamy and exogamy.

Endogamy locally known as '*Koranai K Waada*' is again divided into two types in the area of research, one is paternal relatives which are considered the real endogamy and the other is maternal relatives which are not considered endogamy because they were not relatives from the beginning but the paternal relatives are relatives from the very beginning. Although in the village, people refer formal kind of marriage in which the boy family proposes for the marriage and then their relation is developed if the girl parents accept their proposal.

At the time of marriage, mothers try to marry her daughter in *Mamma-Ganai* or the maternal relatives of the daughter but the authority is with father that is why in rare cases maternal relatives are preferred for marriage because the first priority is always paternal relatives. Endogamy is related with the concept that it promotes strengthening and unity. Strength and integrity inside the family reduces the size of bride wealth but mostly that involves exchange system (*Sarrai*) head in exchanged of head then exchange system assumes the dowry instead bride wealth. At the reduction of many conflicts through *Jirga* or *Marakah*, women are exchanged along with other penalties and compensation that is known *Rag* (Vein). The people perception about the marriage, a decision keeping in view all dimensions of family and kinship as well as the phenomenon is religion.

4.4 Head of the Household:

Society is patriarchal and head of the household is father or male. Males do not give the right to the females to speak in household matters. Females just have the right to take part in the activities with other females. It is not considered good for a male to give the female the right in

family matters. The only issue in which they are being asked is the marriage of their female child. The females even cannot go to attend marriages without asking their husbands.

4.5 Tarboor:

Tarboor is a Pashto term literally refers to FaBrSo. The people who fall in the category of *Tarboor* are the male blood relatives of father. The word *Tarboor* connotes a kind of negative impression. Most of the conflicts present in the locale are among the *Tarboors*.

5.5.1 Tarboorwali:

Akbar S Ahmed defines *Tarboorwali* as:

“Tarboorwali thus carries the meaning of agnatic rivalry. The network of consanguineal and affinal relationships within which ego functions is visualized; it depicts a discrete sphere of hostility regarding male agnates which also invariably involves female kin. Although the tarboor may grow up as the childhood companion, in time he becomes the chief rival for status and political leadership within the lineage”.

(Ahmed, 1980, p. 182)

Tarboorwali is an important component of *Pashtunwala*.

Tarboorwali, institutionalized opposition between paternal cousins, is a consequence of a land tenure system structured genealogically.

Ibbotson says that:

When he is little play with him: when he is grown up he is a cousin; fight him.

(Ibbotson, 1883, p. 219)

Tarboorwali concept is so strong among Pashtuns that when they are little they are friends and when they grow, they fight with each other and have always competition with each other.

“In ordinary life, a man's daily opponent is his most powerful cousin, and he allies with others against him on the ancient political principle that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'.

(Lindholm & Michael E. Meeker, 1981, p. 463-468)

Akbar S. Ahmed argues that agnate rivalry rises due to problems of leadership and inheritance of land. *Pathan* tribal societies have codified cousins' rivalry, and numerals act of normative behavior may be understood in the light of *Tarboor* or cousins (fathers brothers son commonly careers a meaning of enmity). In short, *Tarboorwali* is a competition with father's brother's sons or father's cousins in any aspect of life. *Tarboorwali* is a kind of motivation to work for competition with *Tarboor* which may lead you to success in comparison to other people as well.

The following are some sayings about *Tarboor* in the locale.

"Wroor tha bay zoya Masay"

My son on my side against my brother

"Tharbur tha Bay Wroora Masay"

My brother on my side against my cousin

4.6 Sub Tribes or Khail:

The larger unit of concentric circle is "*Khail*". It may be called extension of many families of the same caste. On the other hand, it may be called as extension of "*Tarboor*", *Khail* is actually the unit in which people participate in the primary and secondary group relationships. This means that whenever there is any event of common happiness and sorrow they will participate with each other. Also in some occasion e.g. during fight with other the members of one *Khail* is with one another and they fight against anyone together. The tribe *Mandokhail* is further divided into sub tribe or *Khail*. The *Khails* in the *Omzha* is *DawudKhail* and all the people belong to only this *Khail*.

4.6.1 Kaum:

It has been observed during the fieldwork that a majority of people having common *Khail* when they were combined together form a larger circle which is termed as *Kaum*. The basic difference between *Kaum* and *Khaili* is that *Khail* is the unit of participation while *Kaum* is the unit of

identification. People identify themselves with each other by a common surname, which provides a sense of identification of its members. The *Kaum* of the natives is *Mandokhail*.

4.7 Interaction among Lineages:

The interaction among the lineages of the village is very good. They participate and help each other in every matter of the daily life. If there is any issue or fight among the people of village, the elders sit at one place and then took decision at the issue. If the issue is with another village then they took decision in it.

4.8 Tribal Leadership:

All the members of the family from which the *Malak* (head of the village) belongs are called by the natives as *Malaks*. Therefore, here I will use the plural of the word *Malak*. The *Malak* of the village is Malak Niamat and Malak Rahim Khan, while the *Sardar* of the whole *Mandokhail* tribe is Sardar Ayub from DawudKhail, a sub-tribe of *Mandokhail*. The *Malaks* are the tribal leaders of the village. It is not necessary to follow the Malaks in every decision on the tribal level. From the village, the vote goes to *Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party*, while other vote goes to *Jamiat-Ul-ullama-Islam*.

The *Malak* of the locale also help the natives in acquiring jobs. The support of the natives to the *Malak* is always there in any kind of dispute with other village.

4.9 Wealth:

The *Malaks* are not necessary to be the wealthiest person of the village but he has matrimonial alliances with other wealthy people of the district as well of the province. Within the locale, the *Malaks* have matrimonial alliances with other strong and wealthy natives of the village, which has created a kind of strong holding bond to all the people of the village.

4.10 Conflict Resolution

4.10.1 Jirga or Marakka:

All conflicts are settled down through the involvement of local council known as Jirga or *Marakah* that is composed of elders from each sub section known as *Malak*, along with the religious person who is Mullah who determines the decision in reference with Islamic law. So, under the presence of *Malak* or *Sardar*, the whole session is proceeded who after hearing the both sides renders the verdict, according to the established *Pashtunwala*, in the words of Akbar S. Ahmed;

"A prescribed code of life it is the underlined theme of Pashtun society".

(Ahmed, 1976, p. 567)

Jirga in the locale implies an informal council which has judicial function whenever there is problem in the community or a dispute between the lineages of the tribe or among different tribes, the matter is taken to Jirga. People are not educated and they do not know about legal laws, legal procedure that is followed in Thana and courts. And secondly, people believe more on the decision of Jirga or *Maraka* as compared to the courts. Therefore, in most of the cases disputes is solved through Jirga system. The membership of the Jirga is not permanent and everybody has the right of membership of Jirga. But the decision makers in the Jirga are some specific people. It is up to both the parties involved in the dispute to suggest names of two or three people who will participate on their behalf. Hearing may last for three days till the Jirga members reach at any decision. In the area it is not obligatory to abide by the decisions of Jirga.

4.10.2 Role of Levies and Police:

In the locale, when a conflict took place among the lineages or between two families, the levies and police take part by arresting the people or by seizing the fire. Whatever the decision of the court is, the two parties decide the matter in Jirga as well. The level of the Jirga depends upon the nature of the conflict whether it is a great conflict or an ordinary one. In all the conflict resolution, the Jirga is not that much formal one as in cases of the great conflict levels like conflicts between the tribes or between the villages.

4.11 Pashtunwala:

Pashtunwala is the code of life of the Pashtuns of the locale. The natives who do not follow the code of *Pashtunwala* are considered weak and they do not have the same place in the society as that of the Pashtuns who are obeying and following the rules of the *Pashtunwala*.

Pashtunwala has four components. These rules are universal among the Pashtuns of every region. But there may be slight differences among these components. A native who follow all these rules is considered *Ghairatmand Pashtun* (Brave Pashtun), in comparison to a Pashtun who do not follow all the rules. The components are discussed below.

4.11.1 Melmastia:

Among the members of the community, *Melmastia* is a major characterizing feature of community's life component in which host is supposed to serve guest with food and all efforts are made to keep pleasant. When a passenger come to the Masjid the locale it becomes the obligation of the natives to take the passenger to home and provide the guest or the passenger with all those things which the guest requires. There is a bit difference between the invited and the passenger guests. The natives do not give that much attention or care as much they give to the invited guests.

When a person kills someone in some other village or area and come to the locale or to a specific person for refuge, then it is the responsibility of the natives to serve him as their most precious guest and the native feel proud for giving refuge to such guests.

4.11.2 Nang:

Nang means honor and it is essential part of the self-image. To male Pashtuns, honor is dually connected with man's control or their households, women and everything inside the home. According to the Pashtuns, the honor of the family is embedded in the honor of their women.

4.11.3 Badal:

Badal means revenge. It is an important component of *Pashtunwala*. It traditionally means the right of every man to take the revenge of harm done to him. There is rigid concept of *Badal* in

the community and the people of the area. In most cases his sons or other close agnate has the right to take the revenge by killing his murderers. In some cases grandsons have taken the revenge of their grandfathers. If someone does not take the revenge of the harm done to him especially in cases related to honor or dignity, he is considered inferior.

4.11.4 Nanawati:

There is a concept of *Kaffan* and *Chaara*, in which the accused is accompanied by *Kaffan* (strand) and *Chaara* (knife) along with women or in some cases Holy Quran is also brought to the home, the murdered under the guidance of influential personalities including political, social and religious ones. The murderer is then handed over to the people from whom the person was murdered and then it's up to them whether they forgive the murderer or kill him. In most of the cases the murderer is forgave.

In most cases Quran and women are rendered much sanctity and reverence, women at the end are given shawls while Holy Quran are wrapped in the *Poshes* (cloths). Mullah is mostly given much respect and in extreme cases, the *Marakah* is participated by the *Sardar* or *Nawab*. Therefore, *Jirga* is the main principle of *Pashtunwala*.

4.12 Child Rearing:

Due to lack of awareness especially in child rearing, the child up bringing is not one of the important functions of the parents in the village. Young girls of six to seven years of age take care of their younger brothers and sisters. The boys of the same age do not take responsibility of their younger brothers and sisters. They attend school or just pass the time with their friends outside the home. Old people like grandfathers, maternal or paternal, could also be seen looking after the children, holding and taking them to the orchards. Babies are not given any special care from father until the age of a year after their birth. When they attain the age of one year and start crawling, they are given a piece of bread at different times. Girls of nine to ten years of age help their mothers and elder sisters in looking after the livestock and other household work.

4.13 Parda or Namus:

Fredrick Barth defined *Parda* in these words:

"That is defended for honor to be upheld, instead of acted upon to achieve honor (such as hospitality)."

(Barth, 1965, p. 82)

If someone offends the rules of the gendered order, then there is reason to act in defense of one's *Namus*. *Namus* is thus an important institution for maintaining the gender segregated order of the society, which is often called *Parda* or "veil" in Urdu. The veil or a curtain is often being the boundary between men and women's physical space. In the native's expressions, it is recommended that both men and women conceptually apply *Parda*, and doing so is a sign of dignity for both men and women. Despite its applying to both genders, however, anthropologists have found that Pashtuns commonly identify *Namus* as "defense of the honor of women", and men often think of *Parda* as a way of controlling women, even though it also controls men. In other words, men are as bound by the rules of *Namus* as restricted from stepping into space reserved for women, as women are restrained from entry into men's space. For example, if a man who is unrelated to any of the women present walks into a woman's compound, he will be beaten, accused of dishonor, and even perhaps expelled from the community. Physical space is highly segregated. Only the elderly men and women, as well as male and female children are allowed to move freely between the highly segregated spaces. A daughter-in-law must cover her face for her father-in-law and brother-in-laws and these men must be careful to give ample warning when about to walk through the women's space of their own compound.

4.14 Ceremonies

4.14.1 Birth Celebration:

When male children is born in some one's home, it is thought to be the source of joy on this occasion and firings are made and animals are slaughtered, sweets are distributed among the people . In such male dominant society, the birth of child is considered an addition to the individual power of that family and heir of property. Any relative or familiar one can come and fire in the celebration and they are then offered with sweets and *Dusmal* (handkerchief) especially different from the others.

4.14.2 Marriage Ceremony:

Society is egalitarian and characterized by the bride wealth in the form of animals, land or cash economy given the grooms family descent to the bride's family and descents groups. Before morning, the marriage is conformed through the engagement in which the family specially brother, father and other relatives determine the price in the presence of Jirga in which a small piece of Turban of groom's father is rapture and a red piece of cloth (slew) along with the salt to the father of groom. The father, family and descent group of the groom pay the bride wealth that varies from 1.5 lakhs to 2.5 lakhs. Whatever the form of the bride wealth may be, the family of the bride buys items which are needed for home of the bride from the bride's price and that items are shown during marriage among presenters from both the sides that are known as bride wealth items. And show off is also important so that the bride father has not eaten the money of bride wealth.

4.14.3 Death Ceremony:

The village natives show unity at death occasion and gather to perform prayer and console the particular family on their loss. The household who bear the loss of their dear ones do not cook for three days and the natives provide them with food. On the fortieth, the Fateha and Quran recitation takes place. When the dead is buried after a little meanwhile the people sits in a circle and prayer for the dead one and for his or her family.

A bunch of money is circulated among the people, this is because if there is any needy person may take this money or if the dead is in debt of any individual sitting around here may take the money silently so that the soul of the dead may rests in peace as soon as possible. But now, this practice is prohibited because Islam does not allow this and people also do not like it.

4.15 Gift Exchange:

The gift exchange among the villagers is not a common thing. It just occurs among the villagers on the death and the birth ceremonies. In the marriage of one family, the other family gives those sheep or money, one or two days before the ceremony. Then when there will be marriage or the death ceremony in the home of those who have given the money, the money takers will also give the money or the sheep. The same thing happens in death ceremony as well, but the money

takers are not bound to do so. In the marriage ceremony of the girl, every invited guest from the girl side offers the girl with dress and other gift like cosmetics heels and etc. The more the one is close to the girl's family the precious gift will he give to the girl.

4.16 Division of Labor:

Crapo explains division of labor in such a way;

"The rules that governs how the day-to-day work of life is divided among the holders of various Statuses".

(Crapo, 1990, p. 360)

Among the natives, men do work in the fields and the women work within the household. They fetch water, milk of cows and cooks food for lunch and for the dinner. Males in the locale graze the livestock as well. They move to the city for bringing household goods, which also include women dress etc. as well.

4.17 Nikkah (Wedlock):

The friends and relatives of the bridegroom assemble in his home for "*Nikkah*" by the "*Mulla*" or the religious leader. On this occasion, the bride proposes the name of bridegroom's brother, uncle or any other near relative as her *Nikkah* Father (Attorney). It becomes the moral duty of *Nikkah* father to give paternal love and affection to the bride and treat her at par with his own children. The "*Mulla*" repeats the names of the bride and bridegroom two 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.

4.18 Nakhsha (Target Shooting):

The natives are fine shooters. Target shooting is one of their favorite games and a fascinating feature of the marriage ceremonies. The bride family invites other villagers for target shooting. The challenge is accepted by others to show their mettle. The target is generally placed in a cliff,

a rocky defile or at a place where it hardly comes in the range of the bullet. The man who hits the target first receives a "*Lungi*" (turban) as a prize for his accurate marksmanship.

4.19 Rites of Passage:

When a male child is born in some one's house, it is thought to be the source of joy. On this occasion, firings are made and animals are slaughtered, sweets are distributed among the people. In such male dominant society the birth of child is considered an addition to the individual power of that family and heir of property.

4.20 Celebration of Circumcision:

During circumcision, that is celebrated with the great judgment expectably women are singing on this occasion and sweet, shawl are distributed among the relatives and other people know come to join with the family where the child born.

4.21 Economic Organizations

4.21.1 Ashar:

Ashar means the collective work. It is performed in harvesting in the fields and in the construction of some rooms or the whole house. The people are told to come for the work before or at the time of work for *Ashar*. Every household should have a representative in the *Ashar*. It is considered good for the people who come for *Ashar*.

4.21.2 Shkawal (Fur cutting):

The collective participation of the people in cutting animal fur during the season spring and autumn and on this occasions animals are slaughtered by the owing herd are feel to yield the participant with food. This is done for the sake of the good growth of the animals.

Both the above organizations help the natives in saving their money. Otherwise for such a work more hired labor is required.

4.22 Nauroz:

It is also a premature ritual that is being followed over centuries. It is said, in past people would celebrate with new clothes but now people just express the feelings of joy over the New Year.

CHAPTER 5: SPOUSE SELECTION

5.1 Introduction:

Spouse selection is one of the most serious matters in the life of male and a female; for it is the matter that would affect the future of their whole lives. The research reached the conclusion that spouse selection falls under the jurisdiction of elder family members, mostly males, who choose the right person for young female/male of the family. Marriage is totally a private family matter among the Pashtuns of the *Omzha*. There are always methods of ensuring the credibility of individual pairs with certain others. Mate selection as a process gets starts when one shortlist certain numbers of females for a marriage. It is a social and religious right of both male and female to entertain their right of mate selection. Religion has strongly stressed upon the importance of one's choice and decision regarding marriage. Religion in the societies like *Omzha* plays an effective role in shaping the social and cultural norms of the people. Islam is the complete code of life for the Muslims and likewise the teachings regarding the family matters are the most demanding part of religious ethical system.

Marriage is based on the mutual consent of both partners and it gives peace, love, satisfaction and compassion. In this regard, The Holy Qur'an says:

"And among His Signs is that He created for you mates from among yourselves that you may well in tranquility with them and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts); verily in that are signs for those who reflect"

(Al-Quran 30:21).

According to the respondents view, it is Allah Who made pairs of the human beings and of all other animals living in this universe. For marriage contract, the consent is prerequisite for both male and female. Only such a marriage is valid, which is based on the approval of both male and female.

According to one of the *Hadiths*, the Holy Prophet says,

"Ibn Abbas reported that a girl came to the Messenger of God, Muhammad, and she reported that her father had forced her to marry without her consent. The Messenger of God gave her the choice (between accepting the marriage and invalidating it).

In the said context and reference in *Ibne-Majah*, the girl said:

"Actually I accept this marriage but I want to let women know that parents have no right to force a husband on them".

In purely Islamic values, spouse selection is both the right of the male and female, but in the premises of the research area *Omzha*, the role of tradition is sometimes dominant and subsequently both men and women are deprived of their basic right of spouse selection. The cultural tradition stresses upon arranged-marriages and virtually discourages the marriages of choice or the concept of love-marriages.

Pashtunwala (Pashtun's code of conduct) and tribal relations are pivotal to the local people. Therefore religion in some situations like this is treated as secondary in importance. The local people belong to ethnic groups of Pashtun and many of them believe in arranged marriages (*Sarra'i*) and which is quite in practice. To put it otherwise, these arrange marriages are exchange marriages which are very common in the research locale. Family marriages are preferred because of the presence of strong tribal affiliations and it is done for the reason to strengthen the tribal bonds. In such state of strong group feeling among its members, sometimes they get their children engaged in a very early age of their life. Once the children reach the age of puberty, which is suitable for the marriage, they have then no chance or way of escape because they are pressurized for marriage to every possible extent. The common cultural maxim that '*Khalaq Ba Sa Yayi?* (*What the people will say?*) And '*Khalgo Ta Ba Sa Makh Urshkara Kawo*' (*we would not be able to face the people*) sometimes results in unmatched marriages.

The data information indicates that marriage of daughter is a primary concern for parents among the people of locale. It is in fact the reflection of traditional system of patriarchy in which most of the marriages are arranged-marriages and subsequently the concerned female has to accept the decision of male members.

During the *Nikkah* process, female is not asked for her choice and decision. Even at this important point of her life, she could not make any excuse of escape because such step might result in a disgrace for the family. Furthermore, the lack of standard and an objective religious education or the misinterpretation of religion (the people are not aware of this) regarding the women rights in the locality, does not allow women to claim or practice their right of choice in their personal lives. In other words, the religious orientation and education of the women of *Omzha* is very discouraging. The women are not allowed to participate in any social gatherings outside the premises of home because of the tradition of observing *Parda* (Veiling). Consequently, they are always dependent on their male family members, for their say, in all matters would be the final authority.

5.2 Spouse Selection of Female:

Marriage is a legal contract between the two individuals that not only connects spouses but also brings together the members of two families. In village *Omzha*, both the spouse are married at an early, it is because to prevent the spouse from committing adultery or premarital sexual intercourse. The Islam highly prohibits pre-marital and extra marital activities or relation. Islam teaches chastity and asks its followers to submit their will before the will of their God and live a pure and sublime life. According to a saying of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H);

*"When a man committed adultery, Iman (faith) leaves him; but when he leaves such evil ways,
Iman will return to him"*

(Bhatti & Jannat, 1996, p. 55)

According to the collected data, the first step in the spouse selection is the making of selection group of females that comprises of the male's mother, sister, niece, cousin etc. and it is usually headed by any aged women of the family. This group would try their best to choose the best possible spouse among many others for their male member. They usually visit one or two homes in a day. In the selection of female spouse, the family background is preferred (the family should be respectable and well repudiated, not only in words but also in action) and the second thing that is to be preferred is the skill of female especially in domestic household tasks and in hand-made handicrafts. While selecting the spouse, the females of the male's family talk to the girl

and fully scrutinize her psychology by observing her way of talking, her physical activities and etc. Selection of the girl is done by female group of the male spouse because in Pashtun community males are not allowed to observe or meet any girl but to take the final decision in that effect.

Following case study would show that how female spouse is selected.

5.2.1 Case Study 1

Fatima is 42 years old lady. She has three sons and two daughters. Her two sons are married. She had to find a best possible spouse for her third son and subsequently started a searching for the bride. Maria was 20 years girl and lives at a short distance away from her home in the village. A neighbor told Fatima about Maria that she is a pretty girl and well in household work. Getting all primary information she decided to visit her home and which she did later. She met Maria and her mother. Then Fatima told her husband *ObaidUllah* about Maria that she is well-mannered and skillful. Fatima also told about this girl to her son *Hazrat Wali* who was doing intermediate in the city and asked about his response about Maria. *Hazrat Wali* showed a positive attitude towards this because he knew about the girl and her look and character. Then *Obaidullah* met Maria's father and they went to see his son and also fixed a day for the collective invitation to the groom's family. The boy's parents visited their home and the girl's family gave them salt which is the first sign of willingness for marriage. So, the marriage date was fixed and after one and half year their marriage would be held. Now one year has passed and in the coming year they would marry each other.

5.3 Spouse Selection of Male:

In Pashtun society, the female's father or family would never propose for the relationship or wedding. In fact the male's family always propose/suggest first for the relationship and then the girl's family decides whether they are willing or not for the proposal.

Generally in the selection of male, family background is the first priority that is taken under the notice and then stable economy, character of the male spouse and his education is preferred. The male members of the family see the male spouse and sometimes meet him through source and talk to him and check him whether he is involve in any social evil or not. The male who uses

drugs is usually not entertain with privilege of marriage whether he is educated or for that reason even economically well off. In the village, almost everyone knows each other well and is aware of one another activities. The decision would be final after satisfying every aforementioned concern regarding the male spouse.

In the selection of male spouse, the economy is highly preferred than education and highly educated female is tied to the economically stable male if the male is socially clear of all evils. In some cases, an educated female is given to the male who is uneducated and the reason is only that the boy has a good family background and his family is economically stable.

5.4 Role of Economy:

Economy has an important role in the selection of spouse especially male spouse. When male spouse is selected, the first thing that is preferred is the reputation of the family. And the second is economy that whether they are economically strong or well-established or not. Those males who have government jobs or their own business are preferred. Some people are related to the agriculture in the village and they protect home and their brother or father work abroad to feed their family.

5.5 Selection of the Spouse at the Time of Birth:

Engagement of female child, just after birth, is also one type of marriage system in the Pashtun society. This practice was highly prevailed among all the Pashtun in the past. Such tradition was highly committed by male members of the society and specially those who are somehow powerful and financially strong. Sometimes far off relatives visit their relatives, when they see the beauty of the girl, on that very spot they made commitment with the girl's father that his daughter should be married with their son.

Now this conception has vanishing day by day because the people of the *Omzha* are getting educated. Religion also plays an important role in this regard. People are becoming more religious and come to know about the Islamic laws and values, because in Islam, it is not allowed to engage a girl without her permission.

5.5.1 Case Study 1:

A person named *Nawab* was invited in a village by his colleague *Qasim*. *Qasim* was a school teacher and *Nawab* was his friend. *Qasim* had three sons and two daughters. After one week a female daughter was born to *Qasim*, *Nawab* went there to congratulate him. And then after the dinner he asked for the girl's hand for his son who was three years old now because he wanted to change the friendship to relationship. *Nawab* was his old colleague and *Qasim* cannot reject his proposal. So, he accepted his proposal and becomes consent to this relation. They become relatives and when both the girl and boy would grow to the age of eighteen, they would be married.

5.5.2 Case Study 2:

Dawood and *Iqbal* were good friends. *Iqbal* was a cruel person who has so many conflicts with the people because he wanted to snatch lands etc. They were friends from a long time and one day when *Iqbal* was at *Dawood* house they both came to know about the female baby born to the *Dawood's* brother. His mother came to the guest room to give them good news of having a baby child born to them. When she told them about the news, *Iqbal* asked them while joking to give a newly born baby to his son who was just of two years. *Dawood* mother told him that we are not mad that we will give our baby to your son (because he had so many conflicts with the people). And *Iqbal* became angry at this and he had a pistol with him so he came outside and cast three fires in the sky in the air and told that this baby is bound to me.

So many people came to solve the issue but he was rigid to his statement. And after a long struggle when he was not willing to leave her. Then it was decided that the girl would be given to him. And when she became 18 years old then she was married to him and they have 8 children's now.

5.6 Role of Female Spouse in Solving Tribal Feuds:

As Pashtun follow their old tradition of *Pashtunwala* which is transmitted from generation to generations. The Pashtun society considered these traditions as symbol of their ego and stick strongly to this tradition of *Pashtunwala*. In Pashtun society, the female is highly subdued by such traditional norms and she is used as a tool to solve the tribal feuds. In such scenario,

Pashtun did not take care of anything and gave preference to *Pashtunwala*. Islam is the religion of reason, nature and humanism.

"Islam's stress upon the unity and equality of mankind, as it is the basis of Islam's democratic structure"

(Bhatti & Jannat, 1996, p. 34)

Due to *Pashtunwala* code of honor, Islamic structure is totally ignored. Generally the fate of girl is in the hand of those elder members of the society that are the part of Jirga to solve a conflict between two tribes. Due to Jirga the male generally usurped the right of female and establish the supremacy of male within the patriarchal society.

5.6.1 Females Given in *Por*¹ (Unfulfilled Revenge) or *Badd*² (Hostility) to Solve Enmity:

Por literally means a loan and it indicates either a financial loan or unfulfilled revenge/vengeance. When there is hostility among two men or groups and they murder one or more men from any group then the opposite group has a '*Por*' revenge on them, then the *Jirga* sits and takes decision at this and usually a girl is given to the creditor for marriage. '*Badd*' literally means 'hostility', and is somehow synonymous to '*Por*'. In order to solve feud between hostile tribal groups, one or more girls are married to the opposite group as a token of peace without any *Walwar* (bride-wealth).

This concept was highly practiced in the field area of *Omzha* and hundreds of women were given to others in marriage to solve the feuds. In some cases, the opposite party behaves with the girl very bad and she then run away from in-laws which causes more hostility among the two groups. There are some cases in which the girl given to the opposite party was murdered. And the *Badd* remain the same among them.

5.6.2 Case Study 1:

In a feud, a girl *Zarshad* was married to the opposite party to solve the enmity among the two groups. She was beautiful. After marrying her to the *Bacha*, he did not treat her well and behaved

¹ Loan or unfulfilled revenge

² Hostility

very brutally with her. He always beat her and was very cruel. One day she went to the *Khwarda*³ (a stream in the center of village) for washing clothes and her husband *Bacha* came there with the gun in hands and shoot her. She died at the very spot.

5.7 When Fire is Open at Spouse House:

When a male likes any female and her family is not willing to give her to that male and then after great struggle if he is still unsuccessful to achieve that female, he then cast two or three fire in air in front of her home and says that this girl is bound to me. Then that girl really becomes bound to him because no other boy in this situation marries her because she is considered the wife of that person or something very precious related to the esteem of that boy's family. This is a very old tradition in Pashtun society. In case if any other family demand the same girl for their son then there starts enmity among the both families of boys.

If the girl belongs to rich and powerful family then her father marries her somewhere else but if the girl family is not powerful then the girl would be bound all her life if the boy did not free her from his side or he had to marry her. For the freedom of the girl, the Jirga sits and then took decision of welfare for both and sometimes she is given freedom by boy or he marries her. In this case, the father-in-law of the boy has option to take the desired dowry or girl from the boy and he has to fulfill his demand.

5.7.1 Case Study 1:

The head of family (Father) *Sherbaz* had a guest once at home and at the same day a female baby was born in his home. The guest name was *Sattar* and he was a cruel man. *Sattar* uttered while joking that this baby would be given to me because I have not married yet and the baby grandmother told him that we are not mad that we will give our baby to you because of his cruelty. *Sattar* become angry and he cost three fires in air and said that this baby is bound to me. The girl father asked him to leave her to them or divorce her but he was not willing to do so. When she was grown up and come to the age of 16, she was then married to the *Sattar*. Now they have seven children of which two are girls and the rest are boys.

³ Stream

5.8 Behavior of Educated and Uneducated Female Spouse in Family:

In the past, the female education was considered to be a curse and in traditional Pashtun societies, the females were not allowed to go to school beyond primary level. Perhaps this is the main reason that Pashtun societies in Pakistan and Afghanistan have not progressed as much if compared to the other societies or countries of the world.

But with the passage of time, things have changed and awareness came to the mind of the people and the females are now allowed to get education in almost every *Pashtun* society. They have now felt that for a progressive family and society the women have to be educated because educated female knows all her responsibilities and perform much better than an uneducated female. She knows all her duties and gives respect to all the members of her in-laws. She plays important role in uniting the family and causes the reason of happiness for her in-laws. Mother has great influence on the personality and socialization of her children and an educated mother can perform all her responsibilities very well. She knows better how to react before the elders: father and mother-in-law, and how to behave with the other members of the family. Because there is traditional society and every house has large number of people. Educated families did not select an uneducated spouse for their son and especially if the boy is educated then they never prefer uneducated female and the boy also insist for educated spouse.

An uneducated spouse has no consciousness as that of educated one. She did not know about her responsibilities and if knows then cannot perform in a better way as the other one. She tries her best to make happy her in-laws but she did not know the psyche and tricks to make them happy. An uneducated spouse face a lot of problems after the marriage because she has to do household works and serve every member to make him/her happy especially father and mother-in-law. But she did not know how to manage all these things that's why she had to face difficulties and sometime it puts her in stress. She cannot nourish her children well and socialize them with the good manners and positive attitude is very far from them in such situation.

5.9 Family Behavior towards Educated Spouse:

The educated female is considered much better in families who themselves are educated. While those families who are not educated, they do not like educated wife for their son because

according to them, educated female did not take interest in household works. She will not obey their old tribal rules and instructions, and she demands for her every right which is not acceptable to her in-laws. If the family and female spouse are both educated then they can spend a normal life together. Otherwise the life of both becomes very difficult. Educated families always prefer educated spouse because she knows better how to keep and manage all the things in her in-laws. But if in-laws are highly educated than spouse, she face problems because at this situation if she commits a little mistake, she has to listen so many harsh words in the context of not being so mannered and well skilled.

5.10 Family Behavior towards Uneducated Spouse:

The majority of the females in the village *Omzha* are not so educated. Very few are educated in the locale and only few have done masters. Those families who are not educated cannot bear educated spouse. They always prefer uneducated spouse so that they have better understandings and have pleasant environment at their home. Those families who are not educated and have educated spouse at home are not happy from each other because the educated spouse never walk on that path which they choose for her. And those families who are well educated and have uneducated spouse are also not happy because they do not accept her as she is and always demand to be like them but she is not educated so this become a great hurdle for her to survive in them.

5.11 Widow Remarry:

The remarriage of widow is very complex among the *Mandokhail* of *Omzha*. The major concept about widow remarry is that she would not be allowed to marry a person outside the in-laws, because it is considered very shameful for the husband family that their daughter-in-law would marry a person who does not belong to her husband family. If the widow is young and wants to remarry then she has only one option that she would marry her brother-in-law which can be and may be younger or old from her. And if she has no brother-in-law then she would marry a person from the husband family e.g. cousin but, if the widow has one or two children and of them she has a male child then she is allowed to live a life without marrying again. No one can force her to get marry again. But she had to live with her in-laws.

If she has one brother-in-law which is younger or older than her, and has his own wife and family, still she is engaged with him. But if she has more brother-in-laws, then she is given choice to select any one from them. And this is impossible that she would marry outside in-law because it causes the destruction for the family name and status.

In the Pashtun society, widows are treated differently, and traditionally a kind of sympathy is found in her relatives and in general public. With the passage of time, this sympathy gets diluted and finally the situation normalizes

Islam imposes no restriction on remarriage with a widow, which is quite evident from the life of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) because his first marriage was with a widow *Hazrat Kadija*. The traditional structure of the village and Pashtun code of life sometimes discourages the trend of widow's remarriage and if approve it then that would not be in the area outside their kin and close relatives. A widow among the local people of village is considered as *Badnaseeba*⁴ and the title *Speera*⁵ becomes a part of her life. Their first choice is brother of the deceased husband (*Lavar*⁶) and then another member of the same family. Pashtun code of life almost revolves around female honor and for them a widow is one of their family members and her choice in the second marriage is treated traditionally. According to the tradition, if the widow would marry a person outside the kin then it is considered *Peghor*⁷ because the cousins (*Tarboor*) would think that the claimants cannot look after their women. And such kind of thinking on part of agnatic rival is known as satire (*Peghore*), which is unbearable and sometimes it goes to the extent that it becomes a bone of contention for the families. And those widows who have children and have spent years in one family prior to their husband's demise, they find it hard to readjust to another family and usually prefer widowhood over remarriage. The sacrifice of her own life is always just for the sake of her children and such women is traditionally praised for her widowhood.

5.11.1 Case Study 1:

Zakir has seven children and three of them are daughters and four sons. Adam was his first son and when he reached at the age of 20, his parents started for her bride. They had a neighbor

⁴ Ominous

⁵ Ill-starred

⁶ Husband brother

⁷ Satire

named *Haji Zahoor Akaa* who had five children of which three were daughters and two were sons. They had better relations with each other and have lived whole life together in one neighbor. They knew each other very well and their women go to each other home almost every day and all their children were free to go to each other home. The first son of *Zakir* was Adam and the first daughter name was *Bakhai* who were almost of the same age. Adam was 20 years and *Bakhai* was 19 years old. They have spent their childhood together and knew one another very well. When his parents started searching for the girl they noticed *Bakhai* as their first choice who were well known to them. All the family of Adam knew her very well and was aware of her character and personality. *Zakir* talked to *Haji Zahoor Akaa* for the proposal of his son and he took two days to think about it and then he will answer for it. On the third day he accepted the proposal and at the age of 20 when she was married to Adam who was living in her neighbor and was from the same lineage of her. After the seven years of her married life she had two daughters. Then her husband died. After the one year of his death, her in-laws decided to marry her to his second brother. She knew all this but was silent and silence is always considered yes. So her in-laws marry her to the second brother of her late husband who had already a wife and three children's. Now she has a son from her new husband and her daughters are living with her.

5.11.2 Case Study 2:

Miss XYZ's husband died after 13 years of marriage. She has 2 children; 1 male and 1 female. After the death of her husband her in-laws want her to remarry with her husband's elder brother who is already married and have children. She knew and was aware of all the things they were arranging for her. She was silent on all the things happening and deciding for her. Then after one year of her husband death she was married to her brother-in-law who was the elder brother of her late husband. She has 2 children now.

5.12 Levirate:

In Pashtun society, if a male's wife dies he is given his wife's sister in marriage because they know each other very well. And there is also a concept that if that man has children, the wife's sister would take good care them because they are her sister's children. If any other women come in his life, she may not have the same sympathy with them and cannot treat them well as

compared to the wife's sister. This concept is found largely in the research area and people practice it in such cases.

5.13 Surrogate:

If the husband dies, the wife would marry his brother. Their sister-in-law is not allowed to go another home and it is considered shame for the deceased husband family. As in Pashto, a proverb is said especially for this, '*Ghwata wrandiar pa dangar lawra banda da*' (fat sister-in-law would marry her thin brother-in-law). In the past, a huge cruelty was practiced in the village regarding this, and anyone who was strong and had power would marry widow. But now such concept does not exist and if the girl had two or three brother-in-law, she is given choice to select anyone from them. If she had children, she is then allowed fully to remarry or live the widow life with her children's.

5.14 Polygamy:

It is legal and reasonable according to with the Islamic law (Quran 4:3 and 4:129) and also in the research locale *Omzha*. It is, however, connected to certain conditions, like that the man can treat his wives equally, or he is financially capable of providing his wives with adequate maintenance and has lawful benefits from his second or third marriage because of the infertility of the first wife. But in the research area, none of these conditions are met, and people marry again when he has a lot of money or like someone after having one wife. Sometimes, they remarry to have enough children because from ten children there may be two or three are intelligent and they can also be used in a conflict with others to strengthen their families economically and physically. Some people practice polygamy for social prestige and there are many people who did not have a baby from their wives so they practice polygamy to have a baby, especially male child and the first wife is called *Wacha*⁸.

5.15 Exogamy:

Exogamy, a term refers to the marriage outside one's own caste, clan or group. There is only one tribe *Mandokhail* in *Omzha*. The people are divided further in three sub-branches as they are the

⁸ The one who has no children, infertile

son of one father Meer Hassan whose sons are named as Maduzi, Ismailzi and Baikhel. Only these three sub-branches are present in the village and the people try to marry their children's in their own branch. Every family and every person wants his child to marry with his cousin either from mother or father side. But in few cases they marry with the other spouses of the village.

If the boy is not physically normal or there is some other fault in him, then the girl from his own tribe is not willing to marry him and in such situation the boy find a girl from other tribe within the village. People considered exogamy a lot in the past but now there are some families which have taken bride from another tribe outside the village and some have given it to them. So, this trend has started changing slowly and with the passage of time it would face a great change. Exogamy is also in practice because of the past relations with the other tribes and they did not want those relations to be limited or ended. So, they marry with the other tribe's girls or marry their girls with other tribe's men to continue their relationships strongly.

5.16 Elopement Marriages:

These are the marriages in which boy and girl run away from their house and get married without the permission of their parents. In such cases families of both and especially of girl suffer a lot. They are dishonored by society. They get isolated from their family and society. They lost all social status in their tribe. In such cases *Jirga* or elder members of society gives the decision what should be done with that boy and girl.

The following case study shows that how *Jirga* solves the elopement marriages issues.

5.16.1 Case Study 1:

The boy XYZ was 23 years old and has done B.A. His engagement was fixed with his cousin. But he had an affair with another girl in his village. They both like each other and want to marry. They both know that legally they cannot marry because boy is already engaged. Then they plan to run away from their houses and get married. One night girl leaves her house and goes with boy who was waiting outside the house in taxi. Then they both went to another village and get married.

This issue is brought in *Jirga* for decision because the couple wants to come back to their village but they are afraid of their families. *Jirga* decided that the boy would give the girl parents *Sharmana*⁹ that was 10lac. And the girl cannot go to her father's home again in her whole life. This was the punishment for both of them from *Jirga*. The second girl, to whom boy was engaged first, was also married with that boy.

5.16.2 Case Study 2:

The boy XYZ was 23 years old and was graduated. The boy was unmarried and the girl was also not married. They both liked each other and they cannot tell their families because they were afraid that the families would not allow them to marry. So, they planned to run away. The girl came out from her home at a fix time given by the boy and the boy was waiting for her. And then finally they ran away from home. After some time, their families came to know about it that where they are. The boy family sent them message to come back and solve it according to the *Jirga*. So, they both were brought home silently and at the end both were married.

5.17 Role of Parents:

The parents have a major role in the selection of spouse or we can also say that only parents have the role in the selection of spouse and in the whole process of marriage till the *Nikkah*. The groom role starts after the *Nikkah*. When spouse is selected, the process starts from the groom mother when she met the bride mother and after mutual understanding among the both mothers, the process is then transferred to the fathers of both the spouses and then they took decision about the further events and customs related to marriage. Those events in which women have a major role are practiced mainly by the mothers of spouses and the events related to male are played a major role by the father's.

5.18 Role of other Relatives:

When one of the spouses has no mother or father then their role is played by the other relatives who are near to them. When girl has no father then this role is played by her uncle's and

⁹ Fine

sometimes her mother-brother. But if she has no mother then this role is played by the one which is very close to her, and that may be her grand-mother or in some cases father-brother's wife.

If boy has no father then his real uncle's would play this role. But if he has no uncle then her mother-brother and he himself can also play his father role. But if the boy has no mother and he has only step-mother then she would do it or any other female who is more close to him will perform his mother role.

CHAPTER 6: ISLAM AND MARRIAGE SYSTEM

6.1 Introduction:

In this chapter, different rituals and ceremonies are discussed which are traditionally followed in the field area of *Omzha*. Different customs like *Hokai*, *Stan-Sira* etc. are observed and those marriage ceremonies which were existed three to four decades ago are also compared with the present customs and ceremonies. At the end, I have compared the religion with the marriage customs in the context whether they are followed on the Islamic lines or on the cultural values of *Pashtunwala*.

Those rituals, ceremonies and customs are discussed below which are practiced in the marriage system of *Omzha*.

6.2 Hokai¹:

The boy's mother/sister went to girl's home and sees the girl whether she is healthy, not blind or dumb and check her properly. And in most cases they know and have seen the girl first. And if they like the girl, then the boy's family consisting of two or three men and women goes to girl's home. The girl's family gives them salt which are considered the sign of willingness for the giving of daughter for their son. This tradition is continued from the centuries and this is the first step in the making of new bound among the two families.

6.3 Stan-Sira²:

It is an event held at the house of bride. The boy's family and relatives go to the girl's home and they are served with the meal. After the meal, they are given *Stan-Sira*. At this occasion, 5 to 10 thousand rupees are also given for *Haq-Mahr*.

Stan means a needle which is made of gold and *Sira* is a green cloth which symbolizes prosperity and it is 1 or 1 ½ Yard in length. And this *Stan* is sewed to the shoulder of boy's first brother and

¹ The first day of proposal by the boy family

² *Stan* means needle and *sira* means a piece of cloth

if he is not present then it is sewed on the shoulder of one of his brothers or cousins. And then they come home back. Sometimes, legal contract (*Nikkah*) is also held at this occasion.

6.4 *Nakhsha*³:

After *Stan-Sira*, the girl's father tells them to come next time after 10-15 days, so that they can fix the bride wealth (*Walwar*) and show them *Nakhsha*. When the boy family goes there, they first of all fix the amount of bride wealth (*Walwar*) and after that, the girl family had prepared a lot of handicraft things for the groom's family as *Nakhsha* according to the traditional custom of the village. *Nakhsha* is consisting of bed-cover, pillows and clothes of children etc.

6.5 *Bride Wealth (Walwar)*:

Quran says:

"And give women their Mahr as a free gift, but if they of themselves be pleased to give up to you a portion of it, then eat it with enjoyment and with wholesome result". [28]

Bride wealth, in Pashto known as *Walwar*, is the bride price given to the bride family by the boy's parents. In the old times, people gave their fields, money etc to pay the bride wealth. At that time, physical labor rendered great value to the entity of woman and would exchange to groom's family who in return would pay in the form of bride wealth in order to compensate the loss of labor by bride's family that consume major part of bride wealth for their own use but now-a-days parents now give enough money from their own to buy luggage for the daughter. The average amount of *Walwar* in the village *Omzha* is 1.5-2.5lac. This tendency of giving luggage was found on many respondents and this was the result of many influencing factors and education is one of the most influencing one.

Bride wealth is a tradition common to all Pashtuns. Every Pashtun tribe has its own fixed amount of bride wealth. The bride price in the urbanized Pashtun is curtailing down day-by-day due to education and secondly due to the marital bond between them and non-Pashtuns.

³ A luggage given by the bride's family

In case, if boy pays *Walwar* and the girl dies before marriage then there is a legal law followed at this situation. It is that the amount given at the first day (*Stan-Sira*, 5000-1000 RS) would not be returned back but the rest amount would be given back to boy's parents and but in case of boy death same method is followed.

Over one to two years, amount of bride wealth is paid to the bride family in different episodes. And if the amount of bride wealth was fixed 2lac then its amount is reduced to 150 or 160lac through concession of 30 to 40 thousands and such amount is paid over one to half years and on last episode the wedding date is decided between the two parties.

6.6 *Awashtey*⁴:

A night after the wedding, the bride family invites all friends and relatives especially bride is accompanied by her friends they sing songs, dance at bride's house such is also occasion of socialization for young girls and boys and event of get together for relatives who congregate on the occasion and share in bride's family joys.

The groom's family after taking dinner at home comes to the bride home taking pomegranates, *Mehandi*⁵ and candles with them and they are served by tea and special rice with Desi-Ghee which is called "*Pinnay*"⁶.

After doing all, any woman from boy's family thieves a cup of tea from them which are considered as a *Barkat*⁷ for the couple.

6.7 *Khushai*⁸:

Khushai means happiness but here it means the wedding day and especially it refers to the food ceremony served to the guests having great importance in the marriage system of *Omzha*.

The expenses of food for all the guests and the relatives are paid by both the groom and bride's fathers if the marriage ceremony is held simply. But if the groom family wants to highly

⁴ The ceremony, a night before the wedding day

⁵ Henna

⁶ Rice cooked in water and then desi-ghee is eaten with it

⁷ Welfare or prosperity

⁸ Happiness

celebrate the marriage and wants to invite a lot of guests then the groom family had to pay all the expenses themselves. At this occasion, the guests are served by the rice with mutton and roast.

6.8 Showing of Bride Luggage:

At the occasion of *Khushai*, the luggage of bride given by her father is bought in front of the people and is shown to them. And the announcement is made that the bride wealth of the girl was this and her father has given her this luggage. This event also shows that whether the girl father has spent money on her or he has used it for personal usage. Then people look at it and the ceremony then ends.

6.9 Posh:

Posh means the dress and all the things related to dress. It is bought and given by the bride's father. The amount is taken by the bride wealth given by the groom and all these things would be of groom's choice. These things are bought according to groom's choice and he is asked what he likes.

After lunch, the groom is given posh which is consisting of turban, weskit, shoes, socks and clothes. And after the meal, the groom wears his clothes and all other things and then come and sits in the people. All the people then congratulate him at his marriage. This is the day, when a boy changes into man. He feels all his responsibilities and after the marriage, if his father is not present anywhere his son can represent him there.

6.10 Patkai (Turban):

If we look at the history of turban, we come to know that in old time, at any happy moment, people were given 1 rupee on every home at that time. With the time, the trend changed to *Patkai*/turban. But, the *Malak* (head of the village) and Mullah (imam of the village mosque) were given *Lungai* (it is more precious and valuable than *Patkai* but in shape its same while in quality it's different).

With the time, the *Patkai* was given on *Urbal*⁹ (if there are four brothers living together, the eldest would be given *Patkai*). This tradition continued for several years and 20-25 years before, people decided that we should not take this from groom parents because people gave gifts to them and we are taking from him. So, we should increase burden on him. And then this tradition ended. But *Malak* and *Mullah*¹⁰ are still served by it.

6.11 Lamanay¹¹:

It's a ritual performed by bride's family at her home. In this ritual, girl is taken out from her room by her brother and her brother-in-law, and then she is sat down in lounge and ritual starts. A white *Chaadar* (shawl) is moved over her head by bride's own family and her relatives as ritual. Every close relative from girl side came there and moved that *Chaadar* at her head. Those females who have no children or having no male children also sit with the bride because it is considered that through this ritual they can have children. This ritual is performed from the decades and they consider it as good for the bride newly starting life.

6.12 Kavinshpa¹² (Nikkah):

This ceremony is held on groom's home at the second night of the wedding. Dinner is arranged for guests by the groom's family and all the guests along with the bride's parents are invited there. After the meal, a legal contract is held by the Mullah [Imam] between the girl and the boy. This religious ceremony of *Nikkah* takes a large time. The friends of both groom and bride are present at this event and they did not let them to say 'yes'. This event is really entertaining and funny because the friends never let them to accept it and the elders of the family angry at them to let them accept each other. Bride is almost asked first to say 'yes' and when she accepts it and say 'yes' then her friends beat her that why she has spoken to them. The situation is same with the boy. His friends did not allow him to accept the *Nikkah*. He is teased a lot at this situation and all enjoy this moment a lot. When the groom say 'yes' and accept the *Nikkah*, then his friends beat him with the shoes and chapels. This ceremony takes a lot time and end at the mid of night.

⁹ When a father and his children and wife live together

¹⁰ Imam

¹¹ A ritual in which scarf is moved on the bride for welfare and prosperity

¹² The night when legal contract is conducted

6.13 Attan¹³/ Dhol¹⁴:

Marriage is considered as the event of great happiness. In the past, this was celebrated and practiced a lot. Special *Dhol* was arranged by young boys and then they do *Attan* on it. But with the time being when people become religious they forbid this in marriage by saying that there is no concept of this in Islam but it is not so.

Attan and *Dhol* were the only things which make the marriage enjoyable and the surroundings would come to know by the voice of *Dhol* and *Attan* that there is marriage ceremony at that home. But now, ignorant Mullah's who are not well aware and have not understand Islam as it is, have forbid it and now the marriage looks like a funeral without it.

6.14 Nick-Names by Bride:

After shifting to a new home, the bride never calls the family members by their own names. The family members and all the relatives of the husband are given sweet nicknames for the respect and honor. Because by calling them by their own names is considered dishonor and disrespect.

The husband's mother and father are given same as husband calls them like *Moray*¹⁵ (for mother) and *Baba* (for father). And the others are given names like *Sherin*¹⁶, *Breshmin*¹⁷, *Shakaran*¹⁸, *Nazak*¹⁹ and *Lalak*²⁰. It is from very ancient time that this tradition is coming and now with the coming of education and huge social change, this custom remains the same.

6.15 Makhputai²¹:

This is an ancient custom practiced in almost every Pashtun society. The new bride covers her face and didn't show to any adult person from the husband relatives. At this occasion, sometimes

¹³ Cultural dance of Pashtuns

¹⁴ Drum beating

¹⁵ A name given to the mother because of affection

¹⁶ Sweet

¹⁷ Silk

¹⁸ Candy like

¹⁹ Soft

²⁰ Big brother

²¹ Hiding of face

the husband also gives instructions to her that from whom she has to cover her face and from whom not.

6.16 Makh-Shkarana²²:

The bride face remains covered until the husband's brothers or cousins gives her money and tells her to show her face to him and after looking her face she then never hides it from him throughout his life. So everyone who wants her not to hide her face in front of him, give her some amount of showing her face. This is a custom following by years in every home of village. It is followed strictly because these are some customs at which there is never any discount for any one and those who do not follow them are considered very bad and some time they are considered non-Pashtuns.

6.17 Melmastia:

Melmastia means coming of a married women to her father home, and coming to her FaBr home is also considered same. After marriage, by coming to the home of in-laws, the bride spends maximum 1 month there, and then her brother or father comes to take her for *Melmastia* as guest to their home, which is called the first *Melmastia*. Then she spends 10-15 days there at her father's home and then comes back to her in-laws. This *Melmastia* is continued throughout her whole life and then it's not important that her brother or father would go, her husband or father-in-law can also take her to the father home.

6.18 Band:

There is the concept of *Band* in *Omzha*. Band means the sheep or goat given to someone who is considered a close relative or friend. It indicates the symbol or sign of close relation. It is between the blood relatives and close friends (to whom you have given or take sister/daughter). This concept is very strong in all *Mandokhail* as well as in the city Zhob. In Band, sheep/goat is given at the time of marriage or death to support his relative or friend to decrease burden at him at this specific occasion. This band is count on both sides that who has given more sheep/goat to the other.

²² Showing of face

If anyone wants to end Band with his friend or relative, the whole number of give and take band are counted and if anyone has given more, the other would give money to him at the time of ending Band.

6.19 Lwaba:

This concept was enough strong in the ancient time and now it is somehow weak but still it practices. When anyone gets marry, the young's of the village or family gathers and went to groom's home. They fire in the sky once and the groom family come and asked them, they demand one or two sheep from them for the picnic and *Attan* purpose and the groom family then fulfill their demand. They demand it because it is the happiest moment for groom and the young's enjoy this. They went on picnic and *Attan* and other games are practiced there.

Same is the situation at the time of giving birth to a male baby.

6.20 Ngharai²³:

When the bride is carried from her home to her in laws, the *Wraa*²⁴ is stopped in the way and this custom is practiced. *Ngharai* means the cooking place of bread. While in marriage, no proper fire is burn but only showed this through this custom. This custom is conducted by stones. Some stones are kept round and one stone is kept on it picturing the real image of cooking. Then the bride come and changes the sides of the stone like the bread sides are changed during the cooking.

This is conducted for the *Barkat* (welfare) of the bride in the new family. This custom was strongly practiced in old time and now very few families practice it.

6.21 Religion in Village:

In the ancient time people were dependent more on agriculture and grazing of cattle's, and there were no education among the people. They do the same as the Mullah (imam) tells them. Mullah

²³ It means the tool at which bread is cooked

²⁴ Baraat

was greatly respected and honored, but with the passage of time, people went abroad and some migrated to the cities and get educated.

When people got education they come to know about religion, with the spread of *Tabligh*²⁵, people got religious consciousness and they finished all those things which were un-Islamic and un-ethical. Now people practice only those things which are Islamic. The natives of the village and almost every Pashtun think about *Pashtunwala* as the Islamic code of life. They thought that we had all those things in *Pashtunwala* what Islam orders us. So, according to them, Islam is the second name of *Pashtunwala*. What Islam had teaches us, they knew and follow it very earlier from Islam.

Religion is a part of culture. When the religion was introduced in the Pashtun region there were so many things which were same in both Pashtun culture and Islam, with only some slight differences between them. But there are few things which are related from place to place like in Pashtun there is *Attan* concept differently from that as in the Arabs. There are so many things which are not found in Islam but they exist in the *Pashtunwala* and Islam neither prohibits it nor has discussed those things.

6.22 Education:

Education has a very huge effect on the whole marriage system. With the spread of education, the people left all those customs which were un-Islamic like before the girls were given to the person to whom other had killed their man, but now Jirga doesn't decide such things.

From the education people have now aware to not eat the *Walwar*, rather they add some money from themselves so that the daughter right would not be gulped or swallowed.

In early marriages the brides were not given luggage of basic needs and she would be send with empty hands and the bride wealth would be used by her father but now everything that is needed for a better life is provided to the bride which makes her life easy.

In the past, there were no education for females, they were not allowed to go to school or buy clothes etc. of their own choice but now women are given freedom and everyone try to give

²⁵ Homiletic

education to their daughters and sisters. Education has put them to the facilitative and comfortable life.

Through the education and awareness people now do not fight with each other and ignore all those things which put them in such situations and as a result they have a peaceful and loving environment in the village.

People in the past did not know about the value of education but now they have severely recognized the importance of education. So many families have shifted to the cities only for the reason to educate their children. Now there is full fledged competition among the villagers by giving education to their children and siblings.

Probably 50-60 families have shifted to the city Zhob for the education purpose and some have migrated to the larger cities of Pakistan for this reason.

6.23 Media Role:

The media has an important role and many changes have been conducted because of media. The big change which has come through the media is change in the marriage system, its different ceremonies and rituals. Media and education has totally changed the pattern, method and scenario in the marriage system.

The games which are shown on T.V like football and cricket are now-a-days popular in village. The luggage given to bride was not enough and was very less in old times but now all the things like furniture, dinner set, T.V is given to bride, it's the effect of media on the people. Video cameras which were not used in the marriage before are now used and it is just because of media.

6.24 Comparison with 3-4 Decades Back:

In the old time, the *Parda* (veil) system was not strong in the village as it is now. Several years before, the houses had no proper boundaries and the concept of *Parda* was not so popular at that time. People were so simple and straight forward that they did not give any attention to this because they had no fear from each other. But, with the passage of time, the people got awareness about *Parda*. Then the trend changed and proper homes and boundaries were made. Now the *Parda* concept is enough strong and people follows it.

6.24.1 Change in Different Ceremonies:

In the past, needle used in the *Stan-Sira* was simple but now people have become modern and they use gold needle in the *Stan-Sira*.

Nakhsha was simple and the luggage was not given much in the past but now a lot of luggage is given in the *Nakhsha* which shows the nobility of that people.

In the ceremony of *Awashray*, pomegranate was brought to the bride's family but now some families bring so many things like *Mehandi* and candles which were not practiced in the past.

The things given in the *Posh* to the groom were so simple three to four decades ago but groom is especially asked and his choice is made necessary buying things for him.

No different food items were presented to the guests in the *Khushai* but now rice with mutton and roast etc. are given to the guests which is a new thing if compared with the marriages in the past.

The turban was given to the invited guests in the marriage but now this tradition is fully vanished which can be said a great change has occurred in the past three to four decades.

Showing of bride's baggage was not so important because at that time parents did not give enough stuff to the bride and they avoid showing it to the villagers. But now people necessarily show the bride baggage's to the villagers because now-a-days it is status problem among the people and if parents has given a lot of things they are praised much among the villagers.

In the ceremony of *Nikkah/Kavina-shpa*, friends of both the bride and groom teases them a lot and did not let them to say 'yes', but now it is not celebrated the same as in the past.

Attan or *Dhol* which is considered the backbone of happiness in the marriage is not practiced the same as it was practiced some three decades ago. Now this tradition is vanishing day-by-day and the whole meaning of marriage has changed from happiness to the funeral alike.

The old custom of *Lwaba*, which was practiced a lot in the marriage system, is almost brought to an end. Very few people still follow this tradition and the new generation has forgotten all their old customs and ceremonies.

The ceremony of *Ngharai* which was practiced some three decades earlier has terminated now and people have gone so far from these traditions which made the marriage truly entertaining.

In the past, the bride would be taken on the horse to the groom's home and if the bride would be fat then two or three horse was brought and after failing of one horse she would sit on the other but now with the coming of modern technology and vehicles, she is brought at the car to her in-laws.

Widow was considered ominous (*Badnaseeba*) in the past and if a person would be powerful or authoritative, he would marry her forcefully. She was not given any choice in her remarriage and would be separated from her children. But now she is not treated so cruelly. She is almost given choice or even asked in her remarriage, but cannot let her outside the husband family. No forcibly marriage is conducted with her and is treated somehow very softly as compared with the past.

6.24.2 Misuse of Walwar:

In ancient times, the people after getting *Walwar*, eat more part of it and spend more on themselves. Very less amount of *Walwar* was used for dowry because at that time, there was poverty among people, but now everything changed and the people when get *Walwar*, they spend some money from themselves in their daughters dowry. This is the change that took place in past 30-40 years.

Before the villagers changed their place and migrated to another place In April and then came back in August because that place was colder than this. And then they settled in one place and only few families migrated there.

In early time, when there were no vehicles, the bride was brought on horse to her new home. A special house was arranged for the bride at whom she sits at her home and then was brought to her in-laws. But now with the advancement and availability of vehicles, she is brought in car. In ancient times; the dowry given to the bride was not enough and did not complete her basic necessities of life. But now all the things and basic necessities are provided to the new couple. So many things are given in dowry that now a sort of competition is started between the families.

The boy and the girl meet each other before marriage in all the neighboring village and *Mandokhail* tribe. But in village *Omzha*, there is no such tradition and no such custom is practiced there. In early times, *Attan* and *Dhol* were very popular and people were used to enjoy it at marriages. Different games were also arranged at that time but now because of religious consciousness and awareness of religion prohibition, people do not practice it more. Only a small number of families are still in this practice.

6.25 Comparison of Pashtun Marriage and Islam:

As, I have explained above all the customs, ceremonies and rituals of the *Pashtuns* in their marriages which were based on both *Pashtunwala* and Islamic lines. According to the local people, Islam is the second name for *Pashtunwala* and all these rituals if not mentioned in the Islam are also not against the Islam. Only one ritual practiced at the time of farewell of bride from her father home known as *Lamanay*, when the bride is taken by her brother-in-law from room and she then sit on the center of house and then a white *Chaadar* is moved from her head which is considered a good fortunate for her is not found in the Islam. Except this all other rituals are not non-Islamic and the people of *Omzha* follow Islam and *Pashtunwala* both side by side because all those things are the orders in Islam which is the part of the *Pashtunwala*.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Conclusion:

Individuals of every society retain a particular pattern through which they dwell their lives. In Pashtun society, the cultural life-pattern is called *Pashtunwala*, a code of life that helps its people to know how to conduct a life. *Pashtunwala* is basically an un-written constitution of the Pashtuns. It would be better to call it conventional tradition. It is something that had been traditionally followed and practiced. Every individual of the society tries to follow this code of life to the best of his or her own capacity. It is also perceived as a way of assuring affiliation and adherence to one's culture and its principles. *Pashtunwala* is considered as a symbol of reverence and honor for every single member and is meant to be followed throughout life. A person who breaks this code of law or deviates from the principle teachings of *Pashtunwala* is consequently considered as a kind of outlaw and looked upon as if disliked by his or her community.

In the construction of society, culture is not the only component that helps its formation. Along with this, the prevalence of religion is equally important. Religion has always been one of the main actors in the process of making and unmaking of a society. Along with *Pashtunwala*, the people of Pashtun society have a deep attachment with their religion, Islam. Though the exact historical roots to the reality of Pashtun's conversion to Islam are cumbersome to find, it is possible to understand it in its present reflection of its practice. Each individual member tries to follow the basic teachings of Islam in total. Practicing something that is not Islamic has always been recognized and acknowledged as un-Islamic.

The present thesis has looked at both, the cultural as well as religious influences of the marriage system in the locale of *Omzha*. It can be stated that *Pashtunwala* and Islam are the two main pillars of Pashtun society. They both go side by side with each other because of their similarities. But there are various social phenomena like *Walwar* and *Swara* (to settle the further disputes between two rival tribes, women are married to the opponents for a purpose of compensation), *Nanawatee* and *Attan* to which both *Pashtunwala* and Islam have different approaches. However, it is quite puzzling to give one a superior and the other one an inferior position. In some cases,

practices that derived from *Pashtunwala*, and sometimes those that derived from Islamic teachings are followed.

In Pashtun society, generally the spouse selection is in the hands of the parents. Islam endows each individual to have its own choice in spouse selection. But reality shows that in the Pashtun society, neither the boy nor the girl is allowed to have decision in selecting his or her spouse freely. Similarly, Islam restrains its followers from extravagance. But in Pashtun marriages, extravagance is reflected in every single phase of marriage ceremony. From the socio-economic point of view, these kinds of marriages are difficult to follow and a burden to arrange in a society comprised of mostly lower and lower-middle classes. Moreover, in the case of *Walwar*, Islam carries the concept of *Mehr*, a gift given to the wife from the groom. But in Pashtun society there is no concept of *Mehr* but only that of *Walwar*. *Walwar* is the money given by the groom and his family to the bride's father to arrange for marriage. According to the teachings of Islam, a widow is given the right to remarry after four months and ten days if pregnant (and three months if not pregnant) to start a new life. But *Pashtunwala* has less inclination to implement this principle in practice. The remarriage of a widow would mean forgetting the duty of keeping up the respect and protecting the dignity of the late husband. So, a complete contrast appears when analyzing the differences of opinions regarding various socio-cultural and economic issues.

Islamic teachings also have influences on the Pashtun society. Sometimes, Islamic practices instead of those derived from the *Pashtunwala* are followed. As *Parda* system in Pashtun society is followed by both the *Pashtunwala* and Islam. But it is a borrowed concept adopted from the teachings and practice of Islam. Both Islam and *Pashtunwala* have their own versions of *Parda* system. If *Parda* system was prevalent in one system and not in the other, then it might not be that much entrenched in Pashtun society as it is today. So, due to the influence of Islamic teachings, practicing and observing *Parda* became one of the most important and sensitive concepts of both culture and religion in *Pashtun* society. To put it in other words it can be stated that Islam had provided the religious rationality for observing *Parda* which later became the tradition of Pashtuns in both cultural and religious sense. Islam also has glaring impact on Pashtun society in eradicating various taboos from its culture. For instance, in earlier age *Swara* (giving of female as compensation in disputes) was practiced. This *Swara* has a solid place and roots in *Pashtunwala*. But Islam has not only curtailed this curse but also eradicated it to a large

extent from the Pashtun society. Moreover, in the past polygamy was practiced in Pashtun society for various reasons that include the making of large family for both its physical and traditional strength. But because of the teachings of Islam, this practice is losing its grounds for the husband is only allowed to marry more than one woman in case he can manage the justice amongst his wives. It is technically very tough to maintain such justice and that is the reason why this practice is slowly becoming unpopular. In the present conditions of the national socio-economic statistics, one could easily grasp the reasons for decline towards polygamy in Pashtun society. So, economically it is also a challenging task for a husband of middle and lower middle class to afford polygamy.

Religious practices of Islam and *Pashtunwala* both overlap each other. In some cases, like in spouse selection, in expenditure on marriages, in a widow's right to marry again and in *Walwar*, *Pashtunwala* principles are more strictly observed than Islamic ones. Whereas, in other cases like, the concept of *Parda*, eradication of *Swara*, decrease in the rate of polygamy, Islam has dominated over the local patterns of *Pashtunwala*. It can be stated that both *Pashtunwala* and Islam are the two main stream forces that molds and guides the society of Pashtuns in various ways. It is in this effect that *Pashtunwala* seems to be the joint construct of both culture and religion. In the same way, both have their boundaries of identification and influences where one is affecting the other and vice versa. For example, the Jirga system is instanced both culturally and religiously in the sense of its democratic structure, where decisions are made by the consent of everybody's satisfaction, both by *Pashtunwala* and Islam. The decision could only reach to happen if it is both culturally and religiously approved.

The socio-economic changes and modified patterns might have affected in the long run both *Pashtunwala* and Islam regarding their influences over Pashtun society. Both concepts are guidelines for living a life. They shape the society in a particular way to harmonize socio-cultural and economic ends. Moreover, for the local people it is not easy to distinguish between *Pashtunwala* and Islam. To a great extent, both *Pashtunwala* and Islam are, despite their differences, perceived as one by the local people. Both are historically grown facts and reflect the lives of Pashtuns in general, and the marriage system in particular. It can be said that the marriage system in Pashtun society is a joint venture of both *Pashtunwala* and the teachings of Islam. Although, one of them always overlaps the other in particular aspects of the marriage

pattern but in general, both religion and culture together play a key role in shaping and practicing the marriage system in Pashtun society.

Pictures with Respondents





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Glossary

Pashtunwala	A code of life of Pashtun people
Omzha	A village where field work is conducted
Mandokhail	A tribe in village <i>Omzha</i>
Waada	Marriage
Pardah	Veil
Sarra	Exchange marriage
Jirga	A term used for the male elders who take decision regarding any dispute
Walwar	Bride wealth
Nikkah	Legal contract b/w man and woman for marriage
Waak/Ektyar	Authority
Badd	Feud
Badnaseeba	Ominous
Speera	Ill-starred
Tarboor	Paternal cousins
Peghore	Satire
Wacha	Barren
Hokai	A salt given to boy family by girl family considered willingness for marriage
Stan-sira	Stan means a needle which is made of gold and Sira is a green cloth
Nakhsha	Luggage consisting of bed-cover, pillows and clothes of children
Awashtey	When friends of bride are invited at her home at night before wedding

Pinnay	Rice with desi-ghee
Khushai	The food ceremony served to the guests
Posh	Consisting of Dress and turban, weskit, shoes, socks and clothes
Patkai	Turban
Malak	Head of the village
Lungai	It is more precious and valuable than Patkai but in shape its same while in quality it's different
Urbal	Brothers living together at one home
Mullah	Imam of the mosque
Lamanay	A ritual in which white <i>Chaadar</i> (shawl) is moved over bride head by bride's own family
Kavinshpa conducted	The night when legal contract (Nikkah) is
Aitan	Cultural dance
Dhol	drum of duff beating
Makhputai	Hiding of face by bride
Makh-shkarana	Showing of face
Melmastya	Coming of a married girl to her father home to spend some days
Band	The sheep or goat given to someone at the time of marriage or death that is considered a close relative or friend
Lwaba	The sheep or goat given at the time of marriage by groom or when a baby is born to any home to friends or young's of the village
Ngharai	The cooking place of bread
Wra	The people who participate in the marriage

Barkat

Welfare

Chaadar

Shawl

Mehandi

The art or practice of painting elaborate patterns on the skin with henna

Sherin

Sweet

Breshmin

Soft

Shakarín

Sweet

Nazak

Delicate

Gulab

Rose

Zerai

Good News or some thing of Happiness

Lema

Pupil of Eye

Kinship Terminologies

Akushai	Sister's husband (ZH) or wife's brother (WB)
Ana	Mother's mother (MM)
Ana	Father's mother (FM)
Kaka	Father's brother (FB)
Khor	Sister (Si or Z)
Khurayai	Sister's son (ZS)
Khurza	Sister's daughter (ZD)
Lurr	Daughter (Da or D)
Mama	Mother's brother (MB)
Mamai	Mother's brother's wife (MBW)
Merra	Husband (H)
Morr	Mother (Mo or M)
Nika	Mother's father or father's father (MF, FF)
Plar	Father (Fa or F)
Thorai	Mother's or father's sister (MoZ, FoZ or (MF, FF)
Wrara	Brother's son (BS)
Wrasah	Brother's daughter (BD)
Wror	Brother (Br or B)
Wrandyar	Brother's wife (BW)
Zoy	Son (So or S)