

## POWER STRUCTURE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION AMONG PASHTUN TRIBES (A CASE STUDY OF ZANDRA VILLAGE IN BALOCHISTAN)

Mamonah Ambreen<sup>1</sup>, Anwaar Mohyuddin<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>DNFCE, Faculty of Education, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad,

<sup>2</sup>Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad,  
PAKISTAN.

<sup>1</sup> mamonahambreen@yahoo.com, <sup>2</sup> unwaar@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*This article deals with the information regarding socio-political organization of Village Zandra, District Ziarat in Balochistan Province. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand the social organization of Pashtuns (Pashto speaking people). Zandra is a segmentary society divided into different lineages. Social stratification and interaction between the lineages and its impact on tribal politics has been discussed. What role this political leadership and the arbitrator council of elders known as Jirga perform in conflict resolution has also been taken into the account. During the last 3 decades development has brought some significant changes in their traditional politics. The data presented in this paper has been collected by using qualitative anthropological research techniques.*

**Keywords:** Hierarchy, segmentation, stratification, interaction

### INTRODUCTION

Tribe is a social segment based on a genealogical concept of social structure and the tribal societies are segmented by a principle of descent from a common ancestor or ancestors. These segments are formed because the people consider themselves different from others through sharing closer common ancestry. These segments are unilateral descent groups commonly known as lineages in anthropological literature. On a higher genealogical level different lineages join to form a sub-tribe and if we go further up these sub-tribes formulate tribes.

Many authors have defined tribe as a political unit. Tribe actually is not only a structural concept, as a principle of social order; it works as a political unit also. In the anthropological literature tribe is often seen and analyzed as a politically organized unit. Pashtun tribal system does have an eminent political relevance to form social groups which are able to act collectively as political units. Among the Pashtun tribes the system of government is seldom found in full force. They often follow the tribal rules. They try to organize local populations along tribal lines and by pampering local big men as tribal chiefs. The tribes are more obedient to their *Nawabs* and *Sardars* rather than government officials.

The tribal system consists not only of a patrilineal model of an ever splitting society, but also of rules of solidarity and conflict resolution through very elaborate code of honour: the pakhtunwali which is linked with historical memories of the tribes and lineages. Due to its inborn primitive ethnic and tribal identity is associated with strong emotions and therefore easily leads to particular aggressiveness when conflicts arise. Organizers and leaders of conflicts use ethnic and tribal emotions and activate the feelings of honour and shame connected with it as a most effective tool or weapon.

## Locale of Study

The present research was conducted in Village Zandra, District Ziarat, in Baluchistan, Pakistan. Area wise Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan. It shares its northern border with Afghanistan with major cities of Chagai, Quetta and Zhob. The western border is shared with Iran via districts Makran and Kharan. The eastern end is bounded by the Sind province, whereas the Arabian Sea lies on its south.

The Village Zandra is situated 108 km southeast of Quetta just 12 km short of Ziarat town. The village is 8,000 ft. above sea level and is surrounded by grey hills, apple orchards and Juniper forest, which is considered to be the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest in the world. Total population of Zandra according to a census carried out in 1986-87 was 2,734 residing in 120. However, according to the survey conducted by the researcher in 2007 the total population had only increased marginally to 3,234 consisting of 295 houses.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative anthropological research methods which include socio-economic survey, participant observation, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews were used to collect empirical data. Stratified random sampling based upon lineages was used for selecting 100 households. This research was a longitudinal study. First of all a 4 months visit was conducted in 1987, then a couple of month long visits in 1990s and finally in 2007.

## Tribal Segmentation

Total population of Zandra village is Pashtun (Pashto speaking people) however; their origin is Afghanistan, not Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (KPK). The language spoken in this area is also a local dialect of Pashto. They call themselves Pashtun where as in Peshawar the word used is Pakhtun.

All Pashtuns irrespective of their place of stay within Pakistan are divided into tribes, sub-tribes and *khels* (lineages); and likewise the people of Zandra also have the same social composition. They are divided into three tribes i.e. Kakar Panezai, Dotani and Turan. All three of them are the descended from three real brothers Saraan, Ghurghusht and Baitan sons of Kais Abdul Rashid. Majority of them are Kaker Panizai. Tutan have only five households. There was one Dotani family living in the village in 1980 but now they have moved to another village nearby.

The Kakars are genealogically classed as Ghurghusht Pashtuns, and descendants from Kak or Kakar. They have four sub-divisions i.e. Sanzar Khel, Sanatia, Targhara and Sargara. There is also a fifth small sub-division, called Sianr, residing at Pishin. The people belonging to Kakar Panezai tribe living in Zandra trace their descent Sanatia, who lived in Quetta – Pashin district. Now, Panizais of Zandra are divided into following *khels* (lineages):

1. Gull Mohammad Khel
2. Janak Khel
3. Parakh Khel
4. Anna Khel
5. Hassan Khel
6. Akhtairzai
7. Notaizai

All these lineages trace their descent from Khojay, who had six sons, namely Imam, Umar, Akhtiar, Notai, Hassan and Khalo. Their descendants are called Imamzai, Umarzai, Akhtiarzai, Notaizai, Hassan Khel and Khalozai. The last three khels in this list are the descendents of three brothers i.e. Hassan, Akhtiar, and Notai. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, Parakh Khel and Anna Khel call themselves Imamzai. Gull Mohammad, Janak, and Parakh were grandsons of Imam Khan Panizai and sons of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. The first three call themselves Yasinzai after Imamzai whereas Anna khel call them Juma Khel after Imamzai. Mr. Juma Khan Panizai was brother of Mr. Yasin Khan Panizai. All people belonging to Anna Khel trace their descent to a common ancestor, the great grandson of Juma Khan Panizai.

**Table 1. Lineage-wise Population of the village**

Sr.	Lineage	In 1981			In 2007		
		POP	HH	AVG	POP	HH	AVG
1	Gull Mohammad Khel	787	34	23.14	854	78	10.94
2	Janak Khel	766	32	23.93	806	69	11.68
3	Parakh Khel	523	25	20.92	752	73	10.30
4	Hussan Khel	317	14	22.64	305	30	10.16
5	Anna Khel	203	8	25.37	191	19	10.05
6	Tarans	118	6	19.66	62	5	12.40
7	Dautanies	20	1	20.00	0	0	-
8	Akhtairzai	0	0	-	210	17	12.35
9	Notaizai	0	0	-	54	4	13.50
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2734</b>	<b>120</b>		<b>3234</b>	<b>295</b>	

Source: Census reports 1981 and field data

POP: Population

HH: Households

AVG: average number of people in each household

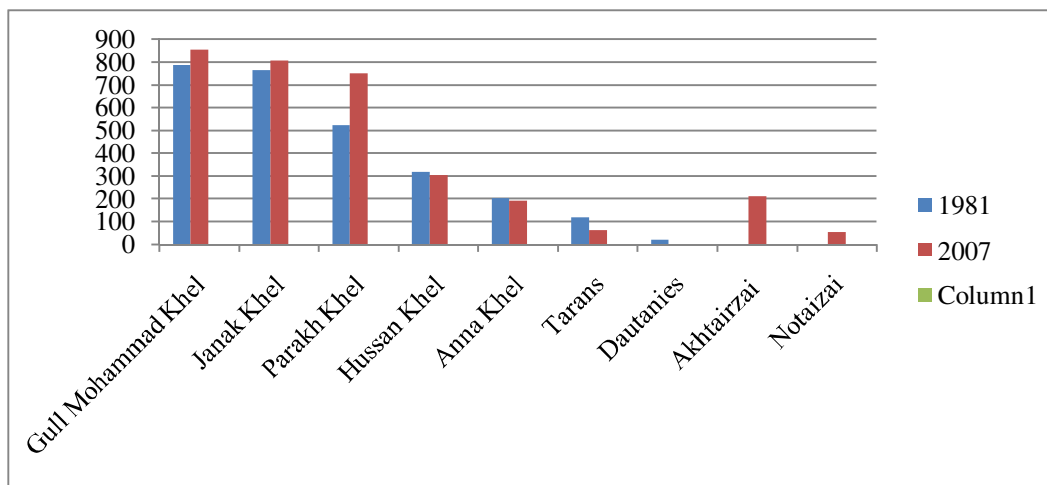


Figure 3. Population of the village in 1981 and 2007

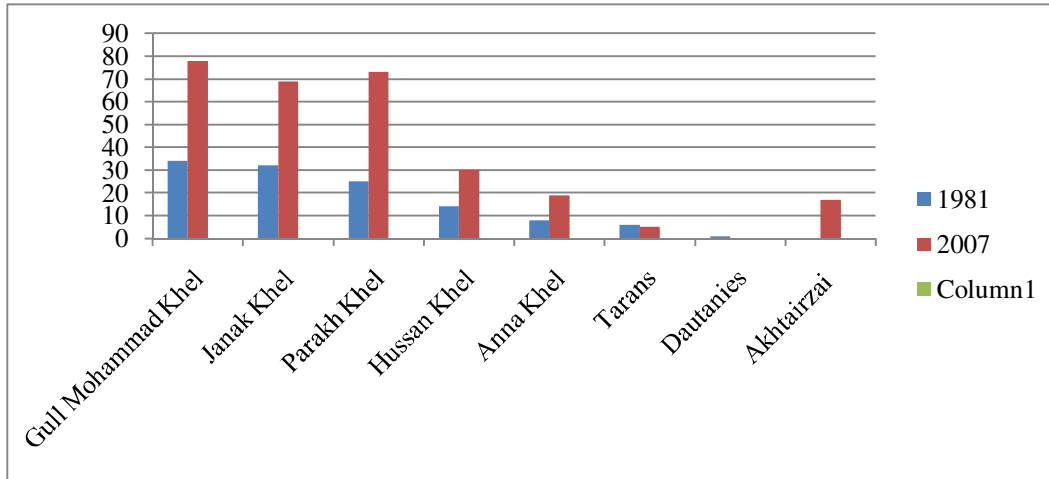


Figure 4. Number of Households in the village in 1981 and 2007

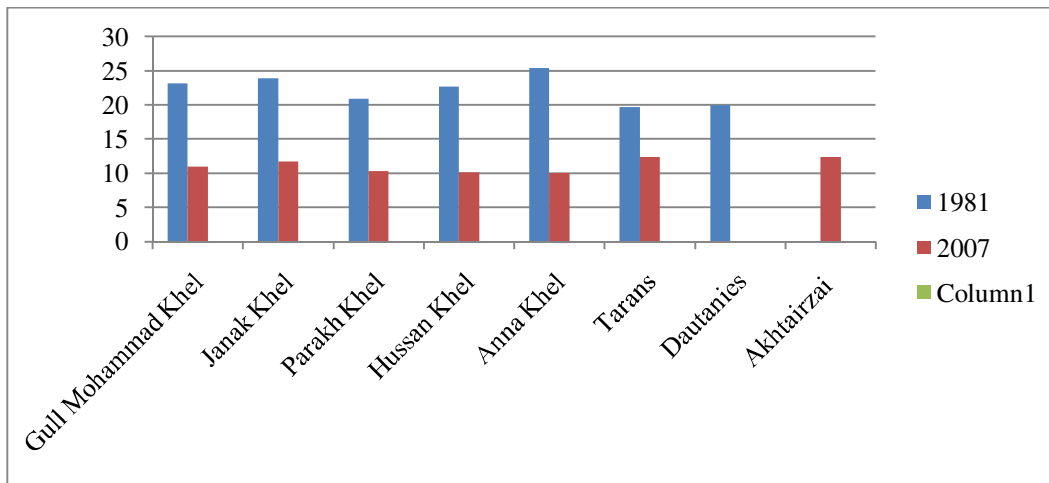


Figure 5. Average Number of People in each House in 1981 and 2007

People have face-to-face and hierarchal relations. This hierarchy has social as well as economic significance. Dominant households exercise their power to maximize their vested interests. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences has defined social conflicts as:

"A struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resource in which the aims of conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals" (1972)<sup>1</sup>

There are 8 lineages (*khels*) living in the village. Among these 8 lineages 7 belongs to Kakar Panizai tribe and are in the majority, due to which this village is known to be the village of this particular tribe. The other group is Taran who considers themselves Sayyed. There is a complete social hierarchy among these lineages. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel are jointly on top of the social hierarchy and constitute the majority of the village population. When the question about the hierarchy among these three lineages was asked majority of the

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. (1972). New York: The McMillan Company and Free Press.

respondents said that they are equal but it was observed that the people belonging to Gull Muhammad Khel always take pride in telling about their lineage. They have the political leadership of the village. They have the bigger population and a better control over the economic resources. Janak Khel comes next to them. Taran has the religious leadership of the village.

The stratification of the individuals into different social classes does not depend upon the size of the land holdings. It is the annual income from the land which determines the status. The biggest land holder in the village belongs to Gull Muhammad Khail. He has 35 acres of land but his annual income does not match the richest person in the village who belongs to Janak Khail. He has 16 acres of land but earns 3.5 million rupees per annum. His high income out of comparatively a smaller piece of land is because of the quality of the orchard from where he gets maximum production of high quality apple.

People living in a society have different relationship with one another and interact with them accordingly. Zandra is a typical segmentary society and their social organization is based on lineages. All residents are divided into tribes; and each tribe into sub-tribes and further down the lineages. So we see that all sub-tribes and lineages in Zandra have different relations with each other. For example among seven lineages of Panizais three i.e. Gull Mohammad Khel, Janak Khel, and Parakh Khel trace their descent from three brothers who were the fourth generation of Khojay. These three lineages are closer to each other since they are descendents of real brothers. Presently fourth and fifth generations of these lineages live in the village. The remainder three lineages i.e. Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, and Notaizai, tracing their descent from three sons of Khojay, are closer to each other because of the same reason. Anna khel is closer to the first three because they trace their descent through Juma Khan who was father's brother of Gull Muhammad, Janak and Parakh.

All people belonging to one lineage are considered a family, so the first preference in case of politics, marriages, conflict resolution, elections, sharing *karez* water and sale/purchase of water/land is shared between the brothers and father's brother's sons. If there is room for an alternative proposition the preference goes to someone from the same lineage, all lineage members being equal. However, if there is no suitable option within the family, the choice falls in the next lineage, of the same sub-tribe. The three lineages Gull Mohammad khel, Janak khel and Parakh khel are close to each other so the choice falls on either of these. The next preference would fall on Anna Khel, then Hassan Khel, Akhtairzai, or Notaizai with whom they may have alliance created through marriages. As for the later three lineages are considered as a little bit apart from the former three but they are close to each other any way so they may also be included in the preference. After the Panizai the choice falls on Dautanis and Tarans.

This system has been at work in this society since ages and has been strictly followed. Now, since the last couple of decade as the roots of market economy are getting deeper in the society the people at times is reluctant to adhere to the tradition. As the greed for getting rich takes hold on them. People have started to prefer the financially strong and well educated families especially for marriage. Same is the case with other issues. Better healthy offers are now preferred irrespective of where it came from. The person who gives more money is the winner, no matter his lineage. During last 2 decades, Panizais and Dautanis have married among each other; though they belong to different tribes. Nevertheless, some people do exploit lineage, and offer lesser amount for land and water to people of their own lineage because they know that they are bound to sell their property to them.

## Political Organization

Zandra may lie in tribal area but there is no *Sardari Nizam* (tribal leadership system). It was terminated when Haji Payo Khan<sup>2</sup> revolted against their *sardars* (a tribal leader), 60 years ago. Once he came to the village to resolve a conflict on *karez* but was beaten by the people under Haji Payo Khan's leadership. Latter in 1977, the Government of Pakistan abolished the traditional tribal leadership system in Balochistan. *Sardar* would treat the people as tenants and received gifts from them. Now, people have stopped obeying their tribal leaders. If you ask them "who your *sardar* or *nawab* (tribal leaders) is?" they would name them but would not obey.

The hierarchy among Pashtun Tribal Leadership consisted of *nawabs* at the top, *sardars* at second, *maliks* at third, and commoners at the bottom level. *Nawab* headed more than one tribe, whereas *sardars* headed his own. Each tribe had several *maliks*. Actually each clan had its own chieftain, called *killi malik* (clan's headman). In the selection of a *malik* the main determinant was heredity. This tradition was however, not very rigidly followed. The individual characteristics like the man's influence, qualities, wealth, etc. also carried a great importance in the selection. The retention of influence acquired by the *malik*, however, depended on external support such as the government rather than of the tribesmen themselves.

Presently there are two types of *maliks* in the village. First type includes the people who deal with the *karez* issues like distribution of water among the shareholders and collecting tax for its maintenance. The second group of *maliks* comprises of descendents of *maliks*, who keep the title because of their fore-fathers. However, the present trend is that a man would like to be referred to as *malik* because of his monetary wealth. Among all this tribal leadership only *malik* of *karez* are active and has the authority, whereas others are just carrying the titles.

*Nawabs* and *sardars* of this village may have lost their control, yet people continue to behave in the manner of tribal societies because of the division into sub-tribes and lineages and hence all their dealings are based on lineage behaviour; especially as regards, marriages, politics, sale and purchase of property, exchange of water, conflict resolution, etc. since members of a lineage are regarded as next of kin.

In national politics individuals are free to vote for any political party of the country, if the elections are on the party basis. The villagers of Zandra have no political organization of their own, no factionalism, and no conflict for achieving political objectives. They do not have much time to devote to political activities. The villagers are mostly engaged in the affairs of their own households and production activities. The villagers are not interested much in forming political groups and functions but they are fully aware of the value of their votes. In the election of provincial assembly 1985 a Panezai of the neighbouring village contested election. All the villagers of Zandra being one sub-tribe voted in his favour but he lost the election.

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<sup>2</sup> In 1915 Haji Payo Khan started cultivating apple in Zandra after being inspired by the lush green fields in Punjab. He worked day and night and made a model apple orchard, which eventually proved to be fruitful. Hence, the lives of the villagers changed by following his practices in the field in the years to come. Payo Khan, thus, not only turned the barren land into lush green orchards but also changed the fortune of the people of the village, who were initially semi-nomads. After this unprecedented work by Haji Payo Khan, they settled down permanently. In the past, the *Pashtun* of this area were pastoral and used to grow few crops for their subsistence. Haji Payo Khan was the first educated person of Zandra. He was awarded with *Sitara-e-Khidmat* (award from Government of Pakistan) in horticulture for his revolutionary work. He died in 1970 at an age of 100 years. Haji Payo Khan, the founder of apple economy became mentally retarded in the last days of his life and is still known as "the mad-man of Zandra" and the village is known as "village of mad man".

As far as village politics is concern the power is vested in the patriarchal heads of the families. As being the majority and holding the large economic resources of the village Gull Muhammad Khel controls and regularizes it. Politics in Zandra embraces the concept of control and distribution of culturally defined resources. It needs power to regulate, control and distribute it. The concept of power defined in Encyclopedia of Anthropology as:

"Power is a social process, it refers to the ability or the process by which such ability is implementing by one individual or group control the behaviour of other or produce a derived reaction in them" (1976)<sup>3</sup>

It is clear from above definition that power refers to an ability of individual to command over other to do certain things. In the village a set practice is followed for achieving power and exercising authority, and its important determinants are wealth, links with government officials and marriages. Possessing wealth is good and desirable but show of wealth is considered more important. Wealth denotes annual income, size of landholdings, orchards, and possession of a *pacca* (made up of bricks) house, distributing money on ceremonial occasions, as well as lending money to helping others.

Relationship with the public figures of the area enhances the power of a family. Hence well to do villagers cultivate relationship with highly placed government officials. They regularly invite officials of district management to lunch and dinner at their home. This helps them attain position and enhance their prestige. However, this is a show off game to impress villagers, and at the same time officials remain happy with the show of obedience and loyalty. Marriages could also be used to cultivate relationship with the high-ups of the society to enhance a person's power and influence. Wealthy persons try to marry their daughters to influential people, outside the family, for building new alliances; and in the family to strengthen the *tarboor* (patrilineal parallel cousins).

### Conflict Resolution

There are many types of social, economic, political as well as religious conflicts in the village. Regardless of the nature of the conflicts, political system helps resolving them. The most common are the social conflicts which occurred at different times in village mostly because of the marriages. Traditionally most of the marriages in the village are arranged marriages and the parents arrange them. The tradition of childhood engagement is also present. Some parents make commitments to marry their children right in the childhood of their children. Mostly it happens between close kin. These types of commitments often become a cause of conflict in the long run. Sometimes father wants to marry his daughter to his brother's son or any close kin but the mother tries to marry her daughter with his brother's or sister's son, which also causes conflict between parent's families. In such cases the Jirga of concerned village intervenes and tackles the situation. But if case becomes serious, the bigger Jirga gathers and solve the conflict in the presence of all involved parties. There were many such conflicts in the village. One case study of social conflict is narrated bellow.

### CASE STUDY

Two families belonging to Gull Muhammad Khel, who were very close to each other, made a

<sup>3</sup> Murphy, J. (Ed.). (1976). "Encyclopedia of Anthropology". New York: Harper and Row.

commitment to marry their children while in their childhood. Boy's parents were feeling that they have right over the girl, but the girl's parents did not like that. When their daughter grew up they tried to marry her somewhere else because another family sent a proposal which was more suitable to the girl's parents. Financially too they were sound, and the boy was educated and doing his business in Quetta. It made the boy's parent angry and a conflict started between the parents of both sides. Third party who sent the proposal also got involved in the conflict.

If we see social conflicts according to the definition in Encyclopedia of social sciences, it emerges in the struggle for scarce resources. We can easily say that social conflicts generate economic conflicts. In Zandra most common economic conflict are of inheritance of property, demarcation of land boundaries, conflicts in cattle grazing, conflict in running business etc. The members of village Jirga always interfere in this situation and play the role of mediators between conflicting parties and tries to solve the problem.

### CASE STUDY

In the village Zandra the cattle are restricted only to the grazing lands. Owners of the orchards make a boundary/hedge around the orchard especially where the trees are smaller to protect the orchards from the cattle of villagers or neighboring villages. Otherwise conflict can arise due to the destruction of orchard by the cattle of any villager. Once in the village more than twenty donkeys from seven households of different hamlets crossed the boundary of an orchard and destroyed many plants. When the owner came early in the morning to his orchard he found so many donkeys grazing in his orchard. He took all those donkeys to *malik* of the village and told him whole story. Malik called the owners of donkey, and they all went to see the destroyed plants. Next day he called all concerned *maliks* of each hamlet and also parties involved in situation. They mutually decided that owners of donkeys would pay twenty thousand rupees as the compensation against the destruction. The amount of fine would be distributed according to the number of donkeys.

Same is the case with economic, political and religious conflict Jirga plays an important role in resolving them and creating harmony among the natives.

### Jirga

The Pashtuns are mostly very democratic, and instead of being organized under a common leader, they prefer to choose a leader in each minor group. The leadership at clan level changes frequently; hence the individuals with leadership potential have a great scope to participate. Each clan is therefore a separate entity, and in matters affecting their welfare, the members of the clan are generally guided in their views by Jirga or council of elders of each clan. They represent the feelings of their clan. The wishes of the general community are being ascertained by their collective meeting. Such is the regular course, but very often the tribesmen violate the law. Jirga works as an arbitrator and is controlled by tribesmen i.e. the people themselves nominate the mediators on their behalf, who know the intensity of the conflict and help them resolve the matter as a lawyer.

There is no formal pattern for the recruitment of membership in Jirga. There is no specific office, or no written record of the previous proceeding in village. Mostly the patriarchal heads of different lineages constitute a Jirga in the village. There are few members of Jirga who belong to the other lineages but majority is from Gull Muhammad Khel. While talking about the history of Jirga in Balochistan 'Mahmood Ali Shah' says,



“In fact the Jirga and Sardari system of Baloch tribes, established some six hundred years ago, and streamlined during Nasir Khan’s rule (1750-1793), were informal and traditional Local Government Institutions of ancient Balochistan. These institutions held the same prestige and position among the Baloch tribes with historic panchayat system as was prevalent in old India and for that matter, were akin to the sheriffs and Justices of Peace of ancient England.” (1992)<sup>4</sup>

The code which guides Jirga and communities in deciding disputes, blood feuds, etc. is generally called Pakhtunwali and is framed on principles of equality and relation. This code has numerous laws but its principle maxims are those of mediation or protection (nanawati) retaliation (badal), and hospitality (mailmastia) these will be discussed later. Jirga’s decision is considered final. The traditional penalty for anyone who defies the decision of the Jirga is the burning of the culprit’s house. It is the Jirga which hears the political agent or representations of another tribe, who wishes to discuss a matter of mutual interest.

Jirga plays a significant role to maintain cohesion among village, and it is also a platform for dominating group to enjoy the dominating position in village. The dominating groups of the village constitute the Jirga. They manipulate their decisions over other members of the village. In Jirga meetings all the members have an equal right to express their opinion and to influence the others opinion through majority basis. The decision is made on the basis of mutual understanding among Jirga. There can be sense of factionalism between two members but it is revitalized in the making of any decision. Decisions are always made on majority basis and members of the household respect and support the decision of their respective member. The opinion of majority members of Jirga becomes a decision of Jirga and has to be followed by all the members of village. If a village member disobeys the decision made by Jirga then he is socially and even economically discarded by the villagers. No case has ever been reported in which any member of the village has ever disobeyed the decision made by the Jirga. The villagers who do not have their representative in Jirga are also bound to follow the decision, either in case of any dispute or in collective benefit or uplift of the village. Sometimes a decision could be one sided, yet everybody has to obey it.

This Jirga have ability to resolve, social, economic, political and religious conflicts occurred at different times in village. Their detail description is given below:

### **Pakhtoon Code of Life (Pakhtunwall)**

Pakhtun or Pashtun society even today cannot be understood without the concept of tribe, as the tribal affiliation and tribal lineage are still very dominant. The studies conducted so far have confined themselves only to two types of groupings, originally made by the British for administration purposes, i.e. those of the 'Tribal' areas and those of the 'settled' area. The government measurers have certainly affected the mode of tribal life i.e. the ideal tribal life. Those tribes which have been close to the government machinery have imbedded greatest influence, in all their spheres of behaviour.

The same two grouping have been maintained by Akbar S. Ahmed when he uses the symbolic terms nang (society based on the concept of honour), and galang (society based on the concept of rent and taxes). This classification creates a wrong impression as if nang is not practiced by other tribes. In fact in his study he writes,

<sup>4</sup> Shah, M. A. (1992). *Sardari, Jirga & Local Government Systems in Balochistan*. Lahore: Edara-e-Tadrees.

“Despite the severe constraints of encapsulation SAM Settled Area Mohamadst also approximates to the ideal in its behavioral and organizational patterns” (1977)<sup>5</sup>

Zandra may also be taken as an example when the process of modernization and tradition are mingling together to change the social life. The agency of change has been the government. This study is partly diachronic and partly synchronic where the focus will be on changes brought about by the two governments of British as well as Pakistan.

The British Government accepted the structure by granting recognition to the existing practice, and creating two zones of settled and tribal administration. In the latter case, the institution of tribal heads, tribal custom and tribal council like Jirga was formalized by political agents. The British also introduced a land tenure system, law courts, and civil administration.

In the land settlement system, rights of Pashtuns were not disturbed by the British, and the Pashtuns or Pakhtuns held inclusive owners of land until a new legislation was passed in 1947 after Independence when the right of land ownership was opened to all. This led to a most profound change in the Pashtun society and it became the primary agent of change, transforming the structure of society, as will be manifested in the following Pashtun codes.

Pakhtunwali locally called Pashtunwali (here the term Pakhtunwali has been used because most of the writers have used this term. In NWFP it is Pakhtunwali and in Balochistan it is Pashtunwali. The code is the same, though terms might be different depending on the spoken dialect). This word wali is suffix, denoting attitude and behaviour. Hence Pakhtunwali means one Pashtun’s behaviour with another. The word Pashto which is the name of a language also means the spirit of Pakhtunwali. Pashtun is a Hindi word, and also an Anglicized one.

Pakhtunwali is the unwritten constitution of the Pashtun people on both sides of Durrand Line of Pakistan-Afghan border. This tradition is based on conventions, and its values and sanctions are not supposed to be affected by change of locale or passage of time. It is a rigid code which cannot be amended, and no institution is allowed to tamper with it. To amend or to break this code is tantamount to violation of the laws of nature and can lead to grave trouble. Like objects of nature, within their rigid orbits, Pashtuns individually, as well as collectively, are obliged to abide by the code of Pakhtunwali.

Pashtuns believe that their way of life is superior to all others. All Pashtuns follow the rules of Pakhtunwali, caring for it much more than their own lives. Pashtun socialize their children to obey the Pakhtunwali code with unquestioning obedience. If someone deviates from this code of honour, he is treated as a criminal and his house is demolished.

Pakhtunwali comprises of many institutions. Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed has listed about 20, in his book “Social and Economic Changes in The Tribal Areas”. He writes that four institutions are major components of ‘the way of the Pashtuns’. Others only relate to them, in one way or other. The major components he has named are as follows:

- a. Melmastia
- b. Badal
- c. Nanawatay
- d. Nang

<sup>5</sup> Ahmed, A. S. (1977). *Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

We cannot understand Pashtun community without a deep knowledge of their code of honour and these codes without knowing them in their social context. As we see in the American and Afghan war, it was Hospitality and Refuge which Pashtuns follow. Americans destroyed everything, their country, their government, they killed thousands of their people, yet Hospitality and Refuge was strictly obeyed. Still they are protecting their guests. In spite of all the world pressure on them they gave more importance to their laws. F. Barth says,

“The underlying theme of Pakhtun society is maintenance by all means and at all levels of its code of life, the Pakhtunwali, the value Pakhtun code is based emphasize male autonomy and agility self-expression and aggressiveness in a syndrome what might be summarized under the concept of honour (IZZAT)”(1969)<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed discussed the above statement as,

“Four typical example of this are given under the title, cases relating to blood revenge, in the appendix to political leadership among Swat Pakhtuns. The code sets up ideal standards of behaviour and acts as a constant yardstick to measure normative or deviant behaviour.”(1976)<sup>7</sup>

Most of the respondents and many other writers give more importance to melmastia, badal, and nanawatay. According to them these three are the main pillars of the Pashtun society. The citadel of their society stands on them. Rest is the part of these three institutions. Charles Lindholm in his book “Frontier Perspectives” says that these are the cornerstones of Pakhtunwali.

### **Melmastya: (Hospitality)**

The major characteristic of a Pashtun is his hospitality. In serving a guest he takes pride and pleasure. His doors are open not only to an acquaintance and friend but also to a stranger. For the latter he becomes more particular in providing every kind of comfort. For him hospitality is a moral obligation, and the one who avoids its practice is considered lacking the spirit of Pakhtunwali. Hospitality, however, does not mean that the host should overdo and cross the limits of his financial resources. A Pashtun guest always tries to check the extravagance of his host's hospitality. He would not relish a comfort provided to him at the cost of his host's inconvenience. This leads to a 'tug of war' between the guest and the host. Both think in terms of other's comfort and facility. It follows that hospitality binds the host to be un-necessarily extravagant in serving his guest. It also enjoins upon the latter to prevent the former from doing so. However, on the first day of hospitality a host knows no bounds and spends lavishly on his guest. The lavishness of the hospitality varies according to the circumstances of the host. A poor villager of Zandra will offer tea and stew up a few pieces of *landhi* (dried meat). A wealthy chief or malik places his house and retainers at the guests' disposal and feast him with a whole sheep.

A very good feature of the Pashtun hospitality is that a guest is seldom considered a guest of one single person alone. If he visits a village only to visit a friend he is considered the guest of the whole village. Everybody tries, according to their means to offer something to the guest. They

<sup>6</sup> Barth, F. (1969). *Introduction and Pathan identity and its maintenance, in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London: Allen & Unwin.

<sup>7</sup> Ahmed, A. S. (1976). *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

fetch their meals to the hujra or a village meeting place, and share every morsel with their guest. This practice of the Pashtun lessens the burden on one person when he is facing to feed many guests who visit him especially on the eve of some demise. This also creates in them a sense of belonging to one family.

Hujra is an Assembly hall that is present in many houses of the village, which the natives use to assemble, sit at night and exchange their views. Zandra village has two types of hujra, one is for *moulvis* (cleric) and *talibs* (students) and is attached to the Mosque where cleric gave education to his students and the other type of hujra is called bathak (drawing room) where people have general discussion. People normally give big feasts in these drawing rooms. The well-known authority on Pathans, Olaf Caroe wrote:

“The denial of Sanctuary is impossible for one who would observe Pashtun; it cannot be refused even to an enemy who makes an approach according to nanawati \_ a verbal noun carrying the meaning of ‘coming in’. This is an extension of the idea of melmastia, hospitality, in an extreme form, stepped up to highest degree. Under nanawatai a person who has a favour to ask goes to the house or tent of the man, on whom it depends and refuses to sit on his carpet, or partake of his hospitality, until he shall grant the boon required. The honour of the party solicited will incur a stain if he does not grant the favour asked. The giving of hospitality to the guest is a national point of honour, so much so that the reproach to an inhospitable man is that he is devoid of Pashtun, a creature of contempt. It is the greatest of affronts to a Pashtun to carry off his guest, and his indignation will be directed not against the guest who quits him but to the person who prevails on him to leave. This, or something like it, was the reception accorded to the outlaw from British justice who fled to the hills.” (1964)<sup>8</sup>

About the tradition of hospitality one of the respondents narrated a story of his friend who died last year, aged 80. He was accustomed to patrol the street three times a day and invite a passerby or any poor person as guest before taking his meal. When he found a guest he would be delighted and ate well. If he did not find a guest he would say it was his bad luck. ‘God must be displeased with me today.

### **Badal (Revenge)**

Taking revenge of some wrong done is a fundamental element in the Pashtun code. Revenge is a reaction or done in retaliation for a wrong act or insult hurled. Anything done to insult a Pashtun sets him in rage. He can only be calmed down after taking revenge. Three things are inviolable: *zan* (woman), *zar* (gold), and *zamin* (land).

Even a least bit of molestation of the three mentioned Z letters, especially of women, drives a Pashtun mad. He thinks he would lose status and respect. Molest a woman and a Pashtun would murder you. This in fact is the main reason for murders and other crimes among them. He considers it a social obligation not to let an offender go unpunished if a wrong has been done to a Pashtun. At the same time he should not exceed the extent of wrong doing. An eye for an eye and an ear for an ear is the rule for taking revenge. If the revenge is disproportionate to the original wrong then he would lose the sympathy of his clan.

<sup>8</sup> Caroe, O. (1964). *The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957*. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd.

The practice of badal has proved a vicious circle. It ends only after the destruction or murder of a number of persons of the two rival families. Sometimes the feud continues to several generations, with the father bequeathing the obligation of revenge to sons and grandsons. It is never an individual's combat. The feud is often fought by 'proxy'. A son fights and kills because his father or brother was insulted or killed or fought against. The feud also is kept alive, from man to man, or at inter-family level, or even at inter-tribal level.

### **Nanawatey: (Forgiveness)**

The term nanawatey means 'entering' or 'going into' refers to gain access to a Pashtun's house with the purpose of seeking asylum or protection of life. It becomes an obligation for the host to provide him that even at the cost of his life. Some writers have defined nanawatey as grant of asylum to fugitives or extreme hospitality. But the grant of asylum or sanctuary is only one aspect of nanawatey while its exact definition and true spirit seems to have been ignored. As a matter of fact, it is a mean to end long outstanding disputes and blood feuds and transforms enmity into friendship. Under nanawatey a penitent enemy is forgiven and the feuding factions resume peaceful and friendly relations. When a person realizes his being on the wrong in killing or injuring another person, he goes to the house or the hujra of the aggrieved party and throws himself at his feet, thus confessing his fault and begging pardon of the person or family, whose sense of honour he has injured. To show his meanness and meekness the offender slaughters sheep or goats at the door of his enemy. According to Akbar S. Ahmed nanawatauy is,

“Nanawatauy derives from the verb to go in and is used when the vanquished party is prepared to go on to the house or hujra of the victors and beg forgiveness; there is no nanawatey when the dispute involves tor or injury to women.”(1977)<sup>9</sup>

### **CONCLUSION**

In 1977, the Pakistan government abolished traditional tribal leadership system (*sardari nizam*) in Balochistan, and established an administrative system. With the creation of districts and establishment of district administration a large-scale development activities started in the region. As a result, many jobs were created, skills were enhanced and the old patterns of socio-economic structure started disappearing. For example, subsistence economy changed into cash economy, joint families started breaking into nuclear families, people started migrating from rural to urban areas, women became economically empowered and taking part in decision-making, educational and healthcare systems also changed.

Instead of being organized under a common leader, they prefer to choose a leader at clan level which changes frequently; hence the individuals with leadership potential have a great scope to participate. Each clan is therefore a separate entity, and in matters affecting their welfare, the members of the clan are generally guided in their views by Jirga or council of elders of each clan. Jirga works as an arbitrator and is controlled by tribesmen i.e. the people themselves nominate the mediators on their behalf, who know the intensity of the conflict and help them resolve the matter as a lawyer.

The code which guides Jirga and communities in deciding disputes, blood feuds, etc. is generally called *Pukhtun Wali* and is framed on principles of equality and relation. This code has numerous laws but its principle maxims are those of mediation or protection (*Nana Wati*) retaliation

<sup>9</sup> Ahmed, A. S. (1977). *Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

(*Badal*), and hospitality (*Mailmastia*). Jirga's decision is considered final. The traditional penalty for anyone who defies the decision of the Jirga is the burning of the culprit's house. It is the Jirga which hears the political agent or representations of another tribe, who wishes to discuss a matter of mutual interest.