

**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN MAINSTREAMING  
WOMEN AND LOWER SOCIAL CLASSES IN PASHTUN  
SOCIETY: THE CASE OF KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR MOVEMENT  
(1929-1948)**



**Research Scholar**

**Anfal Afridi**

**Reg # 41-FSS/MSPS/F15**

**Supervisor**

**Dr. Husnul Amin**

**Assistant Professor**

**Department of Politics & I.R**

**Faculty of Social Sciences**

**International Islamic University, Islamabad**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work present in the following thesis is my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged and that the thesis is my own composition. No part of the thesis has been previously presented for any other degree.

Date 24 Aug' 2017

Amjal Afridi  
(Full Name)

## **CERTIFICATE**

This thesis entitled “The Role of Social movements in Mainstreaming Women and Lower Social Classes in Pashtoon Society: The Case of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (1929-1948)” submitted by Miss. Anfal Afridi, Reg # 41-FSS/MSPS/F15, a student of M.S Political Science, in partial fulfillment of M.S degree in Political Science, has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student’s research work and allow her to submit this thesis for further process as per IIU rules and regulations.



Dr. Husnul Amin  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Politics & I.R  
&  
Supervisor of Scholar

## Certification

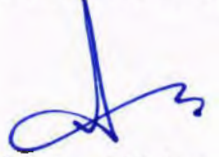
It is Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "*The Role of Khudai Khidmatgar Movements (1929-1948) in Mainstreaming Women and Lower Social Classes in Pashtoon Society: (1929-1948)*" submitted by Anfal Afridi Registration No. 41-FSS/MSPS/F15, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of MS/M.Phil Political Science

Supervisor:



Dr. Husnul Amin  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Politics and International Relations,  
International Islamic University, Islamabad

Internal Examiner:



Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood  
Department of Politics and International Relations,  
International Islamic University, Islamabad

External Examiner:



Dr. Noman Omar Sattar  
Director Area Study center  
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad



Professor Dr. Amna Mahmood  
Chairperson  
Politics and International Relations  
International Islamic University Islamabad



Professor Dr. Samina Yasmeen Malik  
Dean  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
International Islamic University Islamabad

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## **List of Acronyms**

KKM      Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

KP        Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

NWFP    North West Frontier Province

## **Dedications**

*I dedicate this work to my beloved parents and brother Ali Goher, they have been the source of my strength and whose encouragement has made sure that I finished my work. They have supported me throughout the journey; I will always appreciate all they have done for me.*



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## **Abstract**

*The importance of women's political participation and mobilization for a viable Democratic Polity is being increasingly realized in all corners of the world. Any society or nation can't go forward without the role of women and lower social class; both of these entities are the vital parts of society. Pashtuns are considered very strict in their norms and in the obedience of Pukhtunwali; there is a general perception about Pashtuns that they did not allow their women to participate in any political or public gatherings, women are living in quagmire of centuries old customs and traditions which barricade their empowerment. But there were many women, who took part in the freedom movement of Pakistan but they were very less in number. Pashtun did their great contribution in the freedom movement, and also for the rights of the Pashtuns. The second portion of this study is to explore the importance of the social class in the uplifting of society. Pashtun's society also comprised of a lower social marginalized class, they did play their role in the uplift of society by providing their services. This thesis includes a case study of Khudai Khidmatgar movement initially it was a social movement in its nature but after some time converted to political movement and an organization. Abdul Ghaffar Khan a man of courage and nerve stood for the recognition of Pashtun's rights. In this study, an attempt has been made to study and analyses the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, and Bachu Khan's role in the freedom movement, especially in the revival of Pashtoon nationalism, and the adoption of non-violence in the Pashtoon society. The objective of the current study is to find and explore the role of Khudai Khidmatgar movement in mainstreaming of Pashtun's women. The aim of the study is to find the other aspect of the Pashtun society that they are not so strict and conservative in their behavior towards women, they let their women to participate in such social cum political movement. The findings of the current study can be effectively used to make women participate in a more productive way by increasing the awareness at the grass root level and by making appropriate policies. The current study briefly highlighted the role of Khudai Khidmatgar movement in mainstreaming the marginalized social class and their rights. The research study is qualitative study to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. This study used purposive sampling technique and the findings of the study are based on 20 in-depth Interviews. It is also one of the purposes of this study to find out the empowerment of women and lower social class in different fields of life under the shadow of Khudai Khidmatgars*

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Like every nation in the world Muslims of the sub-continent also struggled for a separate homeland. After the war of independence of 1857, Muslims were targeted in the region. Muslim leaders raised their voice against the British Raj. Firstly they were pressed but the brave leaders stood for their rights. There were many names working for the same cause like Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and others. All these visionary leadership were trying to recollect the lost identity of the Muslims. They were following Sir Sayed's Two Nation Theory. At that time Pakistan movement was in an organized form. A large group of people were struggling for the right of independence, whose struggle eventually resulted in the proclamation of the British Independence Act of 1947.

In the sub-continent there were many movements which were striving for Muslim's freedom. North-West Frontier Province has an important strategic position, that's why it was the focal point of the British Raj. British Raj always tried to subjugate the inhabitants of this Province, but the fierce nature of Pashtuns always reversed them. When Pakistan movement started the Pashtuns of the North-West Frontier Province were also mobilized by the charismatic personality of the Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

In 1921 Abdul Ghaffar Khan laid the foundation of Anjumen-e-Islahul Afghana, in 1927 the Farmer's organization named Anjuman-Zamidaran and in 1927 the youth movement Pashtun Jirga. He started to publish a Magazine in May 1928 to aware the Pashtun society. In November 1929 an organized movement was started by Abdul Ghaffar Khan called Khudai Khidmatgar movement (KKM). Firstly this was a social movement, but with the

passage of time the founder felt so that the Pashtun's society needs a political movement which could work for their rights.

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the Pashtun society was occupied, immobile, violent, oppressed by feuds, disparities, poor social cooperation, and ignorance. At that time Pashtun's society was sinking in deprivation. They have no access to education, official jobs and other facilities of life. In that time of dismay Abdul Ghaffar Khan rose as a leader of the Pashtuns. His heroic personality broke the chains of disappointment through the sword of Khudai Khidmatgar. He gathered all the Pashtuns on one platform. The main aspiration of this movement was the uplift of the Pashtun's society. Everyone was welcomed to this movement irrespective of age and race.

This movement worked on two main points one, to educate the people and the other was to serve humanity. Pashtun's society is highly interlaced in the strings of Pukhtunwali. Pashtuns were very cordially connected to their traditions; Khudai Khidmatgar tried to loosen these strings. Gradually Khudai Khidmatgar jumped into politics, as this was the need of that time. When became organized they set up their uniform and because of that reason were called "Surkh posh". All the volunteers were trained like military and also had the ranks system. Being the only political movement everyone participate even the social class and the women too.

Like other societies Pashtun's society do have the caste system, but not in very restricted form. There are many tribes in Pashtun society. Some are Yousafzai, Sayeds, Afridis, Kashmiries and the lower social class including Artisans, Farmers and Barbers etc. As mentioned above that Khudai Khidmatgar movement (KKM) was a social movement, it started its help in raising the voice of this social class. This movement attracted people from all over the Province. These people were suffering at the hands of the feudal. They looked this movement as their guardian to give them justice. Peasants joined this movement to

crush their land lords. Ulema also joined because they saw this movement as an anti-British movement (Jorney, 2007).

Pashtoon's society could not tolerate the freedom of women, but Bacha Khan compelled women to break the chains of tradition. Pashtoon's women were bound by the codes of Pukhtunwali. They cannot cross the boundary of their homes. But many names left shadows on the history of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Dur Marjan in Pabbi, Noor un Nisa of Tarru Jabba, Sayeda Bushra Begum and Noor Jahan added many chapters to the history of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Women were educated by these participants. They published an article named "Pakhtun" which highlighted the problems of women (Shah, Women and Politics in the North-West Frontier Province (1930-1947), 1998).

When this movement became fully a political movement its leaders were exiled and arrested in 1929. Under the Government of India Act 1935 for the first time a limited franchise were introduced in North-West Frontier Province. Following elections were won by Dr. Khan Sahib, brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and became Chief Minister. This movement joined the hands of the Congress which was considered by them a single party striving for the freedom of sub-continent. Khudai Khidmatgar faced a serious opposition from Muslim League. The Congress along with the Muslim League agreed to held referendum in North-West Frontier Province, whether to make it a Province of Pakistan or India. In this situation Khudai Khidmatgar movement boycott the referendum and Muslim League won with 99% victory. After the creation of Pakistan its Government was dismissed and the movement was banned.

Khudai Khidmatgar did their part in the struggle for a separate homeland. The movement was converted into a political party after the creation of Pakistan. The movement remained in its weaker form till 1955, but was again banned by the Central Government because of Ghaffar Khan's demand of One Unit. The ban lifted in 1972 but this movement

was extinct at that time. Even today many followers are surviving, but now the public have very least interest in this movement. But no one can deny the fact that Khudai Khidmatgar movement played a vital role in the up gradation of the Pashtun society. This study illustrates the role of Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the creation of Pakistan and the women's participation in this movement. This study also highlights the social class of the Pashtun society.

### **1.1 Statement of problem**

Academic and semi-academic scholarship has discussed Pashtun society as looking down upon women and other social groups. This research focuses on the role of social movements in the Colonial times that struggled for mainstreaming of women and other downtrodden social groups such as artisans. The present study specifically focus on the role of Khudai Khidmatgar movement from November 1929 to September 1948 in mainstreaming women and other marginalized social classes in Pashtun society.

### **1.2 Research objectives**

- To investigate the role of Khudai Khidmatgar movement in mainstreaming women.
- To explore the scope of participation of lower social classes in Khudai Khidmatgar movement.
- To analyze those impediments which were making problems in women's participation in Khudai Khidmatgar movement.

### **1.3 Research questions**

- How Khudai Khidmatgar movement being a social movement ensured participation of women and downtrodden social classes in the politics of subcontinent?

- What was the nature of Khudai Khidmatgar movement?
- What was the contribution of KKM in the uplift of women and oppressed social classes?
- How Pashtoon's conservative perception influences the women's participation in Khudai Khidmatgar Movement?

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This study is very significant in its nature because of the sensitivity of the topic, there is very less knowledge about the Pashtun's society. Generally it is considered that they treat their women in a rude way and confined them to the boundaries of their homes which are not true, to elucidate this point of view this study provides a strong and complete knowledge about the Pashtun's women participation in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This study also provide an in depth information about the lower social class in the Pashtun society. Marginalized class is the basic entity of any society; they earn the capital for society by providing their labour. They did their best and offered their services for the achievement of a separate homeland but they were so negligible and devoid. Khudai Khidmatgar movement started and provided its services to the Pashtun community. For the first time the rights of the lower social class were recognized by the Khudai Khidmatgars. This study has given a full account of the services of the KKM in mainstreaming of women and lower social class.

#### **1.5 Limitations of the Study**

The topic is very broad in its nature, because of the vast spectrum of services provided by the Khudai Khidmatgar movement concerning the study area of the women's and lower social class importance in society. It was impossible to collect the whole data

about this movement in the whole Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, therefore limited the research area to Mardan, Sawabi and Peshawar. Researcher conducted 20 in-depth interviews from those respondents who themselves or their forefathers participated in this movement.

## **1.6 Theoretical framework**

“Social movements can be defined as a common political agenda of change which is fulfilled through planned set of constituents”.(Horn, 2013).

Across the world there is a continuous effort for the recognition of gender rights. 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the emergence of these Social movements, creating the sense of justice. Many social movements were raised for liberation of nations from the European Colonial rule in Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific and the African region.

Masses got together against the despotic ruler and finally liberated their homelands. The processions under the banner of Women Rights and raised the slogan of Feminism. This progress in the Social movements played a very vital role in the development of societal norms. History indicates that these Social movements challenged inequalities and the discriminatory behavior in society. Mass-based Social Movements have a great reviving force; this has created a great chaos in the Middle East. In the Middle East long-standing regimes have been overthrown by the Citizen-based movements. “A social movement is a sustained, collective, and extra-institutional challenge to authority.”(Martin, 2012)

Theory of Relative Deprivation stated to a relative desired point of reference. Feeling of deprivation arises when that desire became expectation and blocked by the society. This Relative Deprivation is the essential variable of the Social Movement, and is used to explain the search for social change; that initiate Social Movements. These deprivations have the potential to bring social change. “Academic scholarships have named



it as a separate Theory; a Social Movement Theory Mancur Olson (1965) projected the theory of social action. His philosophy clearly reflects the Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). The Theory of Resource Mobilization approach explains the utilization of human, cultural, economic and political resources by different movements. The theorists of RM calculate cost and benefit of these resources and then organize social movements. The concept of Social movements is framed by David Snow, William Gamson and Todd Gitlin. They describe this frame in three steps;

- 1) Recruitment/Mobilization
- 2) Contestation
- 3) Outcome” (Rehmat, 2016)

“Social Movement Theory based on the study of new social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in the global North argues that contemporary social movements are framed by challenges to definitions of identity and belonging and, therefore, advance a politics of recognition. This is contrasted against social movements active before the Second World War, which tended to focus on structural inequalities such as social class, and advocated for a politics of redistribution”. (Horn, 2013)

Looking at history the wave of social movements covered the whole subjugated world; The Sub-Continent movement of independence also took place in this wave. Muslims of Sub-Continent strived for their rights of self-determination, and they started a liberation movement to end up the British despotic rule. This movement was initially started by the Muslims but later on Hindus also shared this movement. Muslims continued their efforts and everyone belonged to any caste and creed joined their hands in this movement.

The North West Frontier Province (now KP) has played an important role in this independence movement. Pashtuns were contributing but they were not highlighted as

others. The Pashtoon's leaders raised their voice; Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the most prominent in them. He started a social movement named Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This movement was firstly a social movement but gradually converted into political moment; covering the areas of Pashtun patriotism, gender issues, Indian affairs and social problems. The volunteers of this movement were very organized and trained in military structure. They made public meetings to attract more people. Progressively this movement moved forward and women and social class also joined this movement. The role of women and social class in this movement cannot be denied, any society could not develop without the participation of women and downtrodden class.

The researcher applied the second Theory named "Feminism", basically initiated in 1848 at Seneca Falls and the focus was on women's right to vote. The term "Feminism" was codified in the 1872 in France and Netherland. This was the "first wave" of Feminism which gave right to vote and right to exercise birth control (Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, 1918). "Second wave" started in the late 1960's, nurturing realization about patriarchy, sexism, equal rights of political and economic grounds (Imelda Whelehan, 1960s).The "third wave" started in 1980's and 1990's to initiate projects on sexuality, race and contest the new repercussion against Feminism.

Researcher also used feminist theoretical framework in addition to social movement theory, to elaborate the role of women in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. There is a common perception about Pathans that they don't allow their women to participate in politics; which is totally unjust to say if we analyze in depth the role of women in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This study helps to legalize the perception that women are free in Pashtun society as considered in other societies. In Pashtun society there are some

limitations on women but not so that block their way of participation in world affairs. This research highlights the moderate version of Pashtoon's society.

## **1.7 Operational definitions**

### **Social Movement:**

When a group of people get together for a common cause and make a proper organization and strive to achieve that cause, called social movement. Sometimes these movements have no proper organization or rules but they act in an organized way that lead to a change. Here specifically by social movement I mean the Khudai Khidmatgar movement started in November 1929 and its gradual convergence to a political movement.

### **Social Class:**

Society comprised of different categories one having all the luxuries and facilities of life called the upper class, and the other endeavoring for these facilities of life called social class. Sociologist considers the social class as one of the important concept and factor of society. The defining factor in the shaping of social classes in any community is the economic standard that shapes the varying social classes divisions.

### **Khudai Khidmatgar Movement:**

In the month of November 1929 a movement started by Abdul Ghaffar Khan named Khudai Khidmatgar (servants of God) in North-West Frontier Province. This was a non-violent movement; the participants wore red shirts and worked very peacefully. Firstly it was a social movement but gradually changed into a political movement, the leaders run this movement very bravely in the British Raj. Khudai Khidmatgar movement achieved its many goals; identity to Pashtuns, land reforms,

Pashto as a medium of language in schools and the release of prisoners. The movement continued till the creation of Pakistan, but declared unlawful in the September 1948.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

This research is qualitative in nature. This study is based on both Primary and Secondary sources. Secondary sources include published literature on the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. As for knowledge a very limited work has been conducted in this field (mainstreaming of women and social class in KK movement). There is no such rigorous research on this topic. Few books like “The Pathan Unarmed” by Mukulika Banerjee, “Nonviolent Soldiers of Islam” by Eknath Easwaran and “Khudai Khidmatgar and National movement” by P.S Ramu did a great contribution to the history of pre-independence movements in NWFP. As shown in the review of literature there is a visible gap in an academic enquiry. Even the published academic studies are mostly based on secondary sources. With negligible exceptions there are only few studies deriving information from primary sources. Methodologically speaking research is to conduct face to face interviews from purposively selected samples of elders and unpublished accounts of the movement. Researcher used the Oral history method to document the history heard. There was a mouth piece published by an activist named “Pashtun’s”. In this study the researcher looked the archives in the Bacha khan center; other available sources should also be conducted. Those elders who participated in this movement, were also interviewed to attain authentic information of the in person participants. The researcher only focused on selected samples in Mardan, Sawabi and Peshawar.

S. No	Source	Availability	Information To Be Extracted
1	Pakhtun journal	Bacha khan archive centre Peshawar	Historical background and information about Pashtun society and KKM
2	Oral historical account: sample of elderly people participated in KKM (n=20) using purposive sampling technique	Rural and urban areas of Mardan, Sawabi and Peshawar	Information about KKM uplift activities related to women and lower social classes
3	Speeches, letters, documentaries and diaries	Bacha khan archive centre Peshawar	Information about the political gatherings

**Table 1: Mainstreaming of women and lower social class by KKM**

## 1.9 Review of Literature

Many scholars from Pakistan and around the world have made research studies on Khudai Khidmatgar movement. There are many publications on this topic in many academic journals, but there is no such work in the field of women's and social class participation in Pashtun society especially before partition. This study made a little contribution to this field.

Negligence of the academics and semi-academics towards the degree of participation of women and social class in Pashtun's society made responsible for the dearth of the further studies in this field.

Waqar Ali Shah has done a detailed research on Women and Politics in North-West Frontier Province (1930-1947) (shah, 1998). In this paper he gave a brief history of Khudai Khidmatgar movement and its participants. His study has an important academic importance because he presented very beautifully the Pashtun's women, the way they lead their lives and their dealings in world's affairs. He also highlighted the scholarly aspect of the Pashtun's women.

A book named "The Pathan Unarmed" by Mukulika Banerjee explained in detail the history of North-West Frontier Province (Banerjee, 2000). The author described very beautifully the mindset of the Pathan. First he gave a very brief history then he highlighted the loyal and patriotic nature of the Pashtuns. How Pashtuns started this movement and then every common man joined this movement.

Lester Kurtz published an article named "The Khudai Khidmatgar movement" (Kurtz, 2009). In this article he depicted the life of Abdul Ghaffar khan and his political struggle for the Pashtun's nationalism. He also draws the sketch of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and their organized structure. In a very comprehensive way he painted portray of the Pashtoon's struggle in the pre-partition era.

"Nonviolent Soldiers of Islam" book by Eknath Easwaran tells the story of Badshah khan's life in very detail, his life in imprisonment and his of dealing with Gandhi (Easwaran, 1999). In this book the author describes very beautifully the leadership qualities of Badshah khan. The author embodied the nonviolent tradition within Islam, which is very rarely accepted in the rest of the world.

A magazine named "Story of Pakistan" published an article about the Pathans struggle before partition (Pakistan, 2007). This magazine briefly published the step wise foundation of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and their efforts for carrying this movement. Such articles are very helpful in narrating the past events.

Khyzar Kapoor an article naming "Khudai Khidmatgar movement" gave a detailed history of Pathans, their way of life and the reforms which were made at that time by the British government (Kapoor, 2014). Education, Economic, Political and Religious all these reforms are discussed in this article very briefly. The political scenario of North-West Frontier was very skillfully depicted by the author.

"Khudai Khidmatgar and National Movement" book by P.S Ramu contributed to the treasure of history (Ramu, 1992). This book contained the speeches of the Bacha khan. The author presented those momentous speeches which revitalized the Pathans. Through his speeches he made possible the participation of the women in this movement. This was the result of his speeches that made the movement so peaceful.

A research paper named "Pashtun Ethnic Nationalism; From Separation to Integration" by Adeel khan (khan, 2003). In this research paper he explained the nationalistic sentiment of the Pashtuns. Economic changes which occurred at that time under the British rule are marvelously explained by the researcher.

All these studies from books and articles did a great contribution to the field of history. But the gap which is yet to be filled is that that all these studies focus on the history of this movement, no one highlighted the aspect of the movement in which women and social class participated. This study tried to fill this gap. The participation of women and social class cannot be overlooked; it was their efforts that this movement got success. The mentioned studies did not give any information about the female and social class struggle in

this movement. This research finds out their struggle and the level of their participation in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement.

### **1.10 Scheme of study**

Introduction of this research work discussed in this chapter. Second chapter comprised of theoretical framework discoursed in detail to conceptualize this movement. Third chapter briefly described the historical evolution of KKM. The colonial concepts before partition and different phases of altitudinal and abyssal of this movement which started from November 1929 and lasted till 1948 will also be highlighted. Fourth chapter described common cliché about the Pashtun's that they keep their women to the fences of their homes. The chapter explained this conservative perception about the Pashtun society. The chapter also explicated reforms which were brought by Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Women were brought to the public platform and were mobilized. Fifth chapter expounded the participation and efforts of the lower social class in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The importance of lower social class in Pashtun society elucidated in this chapter, Social Class played an important part in the initiation and progress of this movement. Social classes participated because they were against the feudal, their primarily steps towards this movement, that how they were attracted and became the vital part of the KKM. Sixth chapter of this study encompassed the role of women in Khudai Khidmatgar movement to explore their efforts and sacrifices for the recognition of Pashtun's rights and uplift of society. Researcher concluded research work in the seventh chapter. Researcher gave brief conclusion about the women's role and the impediments they faced during this movement and also highlight the Social classes' contribution.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **2.1 Social Movement Theory**

Social movements considered being the most important factor in changing the society and fate of the nation, and then question arise that what causes these social movements? What are their driving forces? Over the last few years researchers are trying to find this fact. They have come up with many answers to these questions and up to some extent are succeeded in explaining the emergence, development and the maturation of these movements. In 1950s the government of US and Europe faced many objections and questions about their government policies and their existing social practices. Europe saw different waves of movements covering the whole aspects of life, US was also facing the Civil Rights movement, green or environmental movement, feminist movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Social Scientist started their efforts to develop different theories for the explanation of these movements and the future of these movements (Foweraker, 1995). Theory of Deprivation, theory of resource mobilization, theory of political process, theory structural strain and the theory of new social movements all of these are considered to be the initiative or the starting theories for the explanation of the social movements. There are other theories as well but these are more explanatory in their nature than others.

##### **2.1.1 Deprivation Theory**

This theory states that, social movements are emerged when some sections of population or group of people remained neglected and deprived of the basic necessities of

life includes specific goods, services or resources. The theory further divides into two branches; absolute deprivation and relative deprivation. Advocates of this theory elaborate the occurrence of social movements; Feminist movement was the outcome of the absolute deprivation. Women were kept deprived of their rights, so they raise their voice and finally blow the world with the feminist waves. Same was the situation in the US with the non-white people when they understand that there is no one to help them they started Civil Rights movement (Neil J, 1965).

### **2.1.2 Theory of Resource Mobilization**

The theory of resource mobilization provides base for the birth of the social movement and also elaborates the importance of the availability of the suitable resources. This theory states that when some people have complaint from the authorities about the resources, then they might be having the ability to assemble resources to revitalize to lessen their accusations. In this context the term “resources” means things which contribute in financial stability like money, manual labour, support of privileged and knowledge (Zald, 1977). This theory explains the situation which results in the social movements, but sometimes those situations didn't come up with the same results this phenomenon is bitterly explain by this theory. This theory gave “materialist” interpretation of the course of the social movement history. The Civil Rights movement of US is a good example of this theory. Martin Luther king and his co-workers prompted thousands of people against the government in launching that movement. They firstly organized “manpower” and then brought them to the mid-level regional gatherings and then organized their protests and gradually started the movement. All these technologies are contributing to this theory and the use of social media and cell phones are also playing part in the resource mobilization (Tilly, 2004).

### **2.1.3 Theory of Political Process**

Theory of Political process takes social movement as a political process. This theory also understand a social movement as in terms of a state or the power of a government, if the state or government are so powerful than there is a very low chance of succeeding of that movement and vice versa. It also states that social movement proceeds only whenever there is favourable political opportunity. The critics of this theory criticizes its very political nature, they argue that it put more emphasis on the political condition of the nation or state rather on culture (Diani, 2006).

### **2.1.4 Structural Strain Theory**

This theory was presented by Smelser in 1965, the theory promoted that for the growth of any social movement needs six factors; when people faced a problem; recognition of that problem in society; then an ideology emerged as a solution for that problem and have its influence; gradual events or sequence of events that results in a full fledge movement; the society is ready to accept that movement; and mobilization of resources taken into account as the movement proceeds. The case of Civil Rights movements could be easily understood by the structural strain theory. During the 1960s, black and white both type of people considered the government of US as the guardian of their rights, because during Cold War the U.S was posing itself a global champion of liberty and equality. Situation worsened and aggravated gradually but the Bus incident acted as a catalyst and started the movement. Kennedy and Johnson were both sympathetic to this movement at the start and didn't try to suppress this budding movement. Thus, this theory elaborates the development of social movements in a very clear and vivid way (Martin, 2015).

### **2.1.5 New Social Movements Theories**

The new social movement theories arose during 1960s, in several West European countries, the purpose of these theories was to fill those gaps which were left by the Marxist theories. New social movement theories worked differently on life aspects rather than on economic forum but on other motivators like politics, culture and ideology. These theories gave emphasis on collective identity to get full understanding of the contributory reasons for collective action. Marxism presented a very materialistic and socio-economical side of society; the theorists of new social movement theories try to explain the behaviour of post-modern societies, where the manpower was more educated, experienced, and professional and workers of industries. The ideology of this theory directly narrates the individual rights and the issues they are facing in their daily routines. Simply, the traditional Marxist theories focused on the exploitation of one class but the new social movement theories highlighted those problems which are faced by their citizens (Welton, 1992).

### **2.1.6 Relevance to the Study**

These are some of the prominent theories explaining the birth of the social movement; history witnessed many social movements that have radically changed the societies. Social movements varied in their ideologies some of them failed because of their weak plot but many of them succeeded and achieved their goal. Social movement theories elaborate this phenomenon that why some movements succeeded and while others failed. The nature of social movements is better elucidated by these theories that some are revolutionary in their goals and some are trying to transform the existing system of societies. The diverse scope of social movements is another factor that increases its vitality for the existence of society. Because of their dramatic change sociologist spent a lot of time

in finding the fact to understand that from where these movements came and who their participants are, how they achieved their goals and how they failed. Social movement didn't happen suddenly it required a long and gradual process and have many stages through which they develop. Social movement theory is applied on this study as a theoretical model to explain the emergence and achievements of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Khudai Khidmatgar was movement of that kind; sensed the deprivations of the people, gathered them and started the protests against the official authorities. Abdul Ghaffar khan instantly forms a social movement with a brief ideology that could bring out masses from their homes to overthrow the existing power structure. As new movement started so the leaders learnt from the prior movements, same was the case with Khudai Khidmatgar movement that Abdul Ghaffar khan took the initiative to mobilize the Pashtun's society. He succeeded in his mission and recognized the Pashtuns on the national and international level. These theories highlighting the same efforts and achievements of the movements and provides an important analysis that help us to understand the past, present and future of the movements.

## **2.2 Feminism**

Feminism is a political theory which is originated to question the dominant position of men in society. Feminism stresses on the women's rights and raised the slogan for the first time in history that women should have the same rights as men have, for this the societies must be reshaped. And such system should be introduced that accommodate every political, social and economic right of the women.

*Feminists are centrally with freeing women to shape our own lives, to define who we (each) are, rather than accepting the definition given to us by others (men and male – dominated society), in particular (Nedelsky, 1989).*

It is a difficult task to define and explain feminism because of its versatile nature in socio-cultural life because its versatility feminism has more than one theoretical formulation. The idea of feminism started in 17<sup>th</sup> century with its first wave, feminism has three waves from which it develop gradually. The first wave ended in 19<sup>th</sup> century, promoting equal rights of contract and property rights for women, for the first time in history women got the right to vote. 1960s was the start of second wave of feminism and ended in 1980s. This was the climax of the feminist era that different schools of thought emerged and tried to explain the aim of feminism. Four major theories liberal, radical, cultural and socialist feminism were developed during the second wave of feminism. The third wave then concerned on gay and lesbian issues, post-colonial issues were discussed and radical issues were too highlighted. Post-colonial issues stated that globalization is the outcome of the feminism, third wave was less political in nature rather it was more cultural (Tong, 2009).

### **2.2.1 The First Wave of Feminism**

17<sup>th</sup> century reported the dawn of the first wave of feminism and continued till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Harriet Mill Taylor and her husband John Stuart Mill were the exponents of this wave, and the term “Feminism” firstly used in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Initially the purpose of feminism was to introduce awareness about the gender inequality and to realize the importance of women in society to the world. French feminism lead to the English feminism because the American war of independence and French revolution both were the supporter of feminism ideology which was based on the principle of equality and liberty. Education and equality were the two main slogans of the first wave of feminism (Mill, 1970).

## **2.2.2 The Second Wave of Feminism**

The decade of 1960s was the starts of second wave of feminism, the activists of this wave carried the banner for twenty years and ended in 1980s. Civil rights movement and Socialists became strength of the second wave of feminism, and it turned to new twist after the start of liberation movement. The phrase “personal is political” was the main emphasis of this wave, which stated that women are exploited and grieved because of the much wider political and social system. Second wave of feminism focused many issues which women were facing at that time; the psychological and physical differences between men and women, the men-oriented society and the ways in which gender discrimination is supported (Evan, 1995).

### **i. Cultural Feminism**

Cultural feminists focused on the basic distinctions between men and women, both genders have different personalities and dissimilar perspectives of life. Women are gentler and should be treated in the same way; there should be no wars if women are ruling. The main goal of Cultural feminists was to get a triumph over sexism, because they considered women are more realistic about life (Bartlett, 2004).

### **ii. Radical Feminism**

Radical feminism started in 1960s; they concentrated on the reformation of society in all aspects specially social and economic contexts eliminating the male dominancy. According to their activists they stated that societal set up is in such a manner that suppressed women’s freedom. Sexism is the main reason of women’s subjugation, those types of men who did this they got ego satisfaction. It’s usually considered men’s strength that they keep women in suppression. Norms and mores of society are set in such a way

that no one can question these norms but to accept and carry such brutality, Radical feminists tried to banish all such things from the societies (Cockburn, 1991).

### **iii. Marxist Feminism**

Marxist feminism believed that women's suppression is directly linked with the class structure and they were suppressed through the capitalistic and private approach of the society. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels were the exponents of this theory, they demanded for the radical re-structuring of the economy so would liberate women from the chains of society. Women did the household while men did earning that's why classified both as women were the proletariat and men were bourgeois just like Marxist class structure of society (Cockburn, 1991).

### **iv. Liberal Feminism**

Liberals advocate gender equality their slogan is that men and women are equal should not be discriminated on gender biasness. Legal and political reforms could achieve gender equality; it's the society which categorized women not a biological phenomenon. The main focus of Liberals was education, right to vote, equal chance in property and job opportunities for women. They also highlighted the importance and role of politics in women empowerment (Lagerberg, 2015).

## **2.2.3 The Third Wave of Feminism**

Early 1990s was the start of this wave of feminism. Second wave of feminism failed and left many gaps the third wave was introduced to the world to fill those gaps and focus on the challenges which were left behind. At that time there were two schools of thoughts about the differences between the two genders, the activists of this wave tried to explain these school of thought. That decade witnessed racial issues and many people performed long marches in its support. Gay and lesbian issue was brought under the spot light and



discussed freely. Post-colonial disputes were also debated and many of them were resolved. The third wave of feminism was more cultural in its nature rather than political (M.Jagger, 1983).

#### **2.2.4 Scope of Feminism Theory**

Firstly theory of feminism was formulated and presented to safeguard the women's rights on every ground, especially equal basic rights, political rights, economic rights and social rights. In present scenario the activists of human rights are more concerned about everyone's rights therefore; feminists joined their hands with them and carried their efforts for women's liberation. Pakistan is a mounting country where women are constantly fighting for the recognition of their rights. Since independence women laws are formed but never practiced by the government and the case is severe in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa where women are bound to their homes. Liberal feminism has the most significance in this study because it has the evidences to make women empower.

#### **2.2.5 Relevance to the Study**

Feminism comprised of variety of activities and dogmas to attain political, cultural, economic and social status of women. It also includes for establishing equal opportunities for women in education and employment. The feminist campaign constantly emphasized on the protection of women at work places and on streets. Domestic violence, any type of harassment and sexual assaults are the other factors which are condemn by the activists of the feminism. These campaigns are the main force behind the whole scene of changing the perception of the West about women's rights. Feminism is somehow a political theory which is advocating the empowerment of women. To outline the women's empowerment it is necessary to understand the standing of women in society. Every culture reflects the image of their societies and one can better understand women's position. Men perception is

set in such a way that restraints women's liberty and freedom, liberal feminism elaborate this phenomenon in a good way. Gender division in public and private life is of great menace for the uplift of society, liberal feminism elucidate this kind of issue. According to this theory every human being is equal in their every aspect i.e. economic, political, and civil rights therefore women's rights and human rights are same in its nature and goals.

For this study theory of feminism would be more suitable as a theoretical model and will be applied on this study. To defend the topic of this research liberal feminism theory is applied focusing on giving equal rights to women i.e. political, social, education and job opportunities. The present research is conducted in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa to find out the accurate facts and figures of the women participation in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Society structure of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa is based on the philosophy "a woman's place" means woman are only meant for doing households and working mother. In Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa the society is bound and answerable to the traditions and code of Pukhtunwali. This code of Pukhtunwali restricted women to the role of house wives and influenced their participation in politics. They looked down upon politics as a "dirty game" and didn't prepare to participate in it. Men's perception about women liberty also affected their freedom and carried their domestic work only. Women were not allowed to participate or join the Khudai Khidmatgar movement; they were activated by the activists of this movement. Lack of awareness, education, poverty and access to information were also the impediments in the way of women's empowerment. The only concern of women is only survival than they find no time to think about the participation in active politics. They had no choice other than to serve for their family and male. Khudai Khidmatgar movement in Pashtun society proved to men that the participation of women in politics is not bad and shameful, but it's a matter of high value that they would serve for their nation and society. It was needed to improve the level of education and Khudai Khidmatgar did so. Liberal

feminism theory is much useful in this study because it provide basic information about the women's participation in politics and in social life as well.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Historical Background**

This chapter is mainly focused on the historical background of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement starting from the Colonial context; the chapter highlights the atrocities and suffrage of Pashtuns at the hands of the implanted Nawabs, Khans and Land Lords. The transformation of particular groups of people to a western class, reshaping their elite lifestyle and shaping their attitude towards the lower social class of the Pashtun society was a difficult task. A comprehensive detail of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement is provided to build an understanding of this Movement in the true sense. The chapter contains the autobiography of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, his ideology, his inspiration and his efforts for the Pashtun society at that time. A detail account of political career of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and an in depth history of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement is given in detail to describe its initial hurdles and main ideology. The supporters and the opponents of this Movement are also discussed in this chapter. Its organization, structure, special influence of this movement in different areas would also elucidate. The last section of the chapter concludes the history and fate of this Movement.

#### **3.1 Emerging Colonialism and Resulting Atrocities**

The era from 16<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the European Colonial period. Colonialism was the establishments of a rule by a powerful country over the small and weak nations, in order to extract their resources, expand their own territory for the sake of their exploitation in their own vested interest.

### **3.1.1 Rise of Mercantilism**

Mercantilism was practiced by many countries to strengthen their economies at the expense of their rivals, so the colonies were usually permitted to trade only with the mother country. The powerful British Empire gave up mercantilism by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and trade limitations and introduced the principle of free trade, with few limitations or tariffs.

### **3.1.2 British Colonialism**

The British Domain consist of the territories, colonies, protectorates, mandates and other Dominions controlled by the United Kingdom and its predecessor states. It was the largest empire in history, for over a century, was the prime global power. It initiated with the overseas possessions and trading posts established by England between the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century to 18<sup>th</sup> century British Colonialism started.

### **3.1.3 Advent in the Sub-Continent**

They made the Indian Sub-Continent a Colony in 1858. Firstly they set up an East India Company and got the favour of the Mughal Emperors, especially Jahangir, then acted like a parasite on the treasury of the Sub-Continent. They did not rule directly but made their Princely States under their nominated members, Maharajas, Rajas, Thakurs and Nawabs. (History of the Sub-Continent, 1999-2000). After the war of Independence the British Government assumed direct rule over Indian territories. They sent their Viceroys to rule. Princely states entered into agreements with the British Government for the sake of protection.

### **3.1.4 Strategic Importance of North West Frontier Province**

Due to the strategic importance of the North West Frontier Province, it remained a subject of special interest for the British Government. This Province was a gate way to the Indian Sub-Continent, in history many great rulers and warriors entered through this way and almost conquered the whole region. That's why British gave a prior importance to this Province, and in spite of introducing reforms they focused on the security concerns. One reason of not introducing the reforms was that, they tried to make them unaware of their rights. This Province played an important and decisive role in the history of the India because of the strategic location. The British Government treated this Province in a special way, and gave precedence to the security concerns rather than political or socio-economic reforms. Therefore this Province was neglected, while the other Provinces like Baluchistan and Punjab witnessed the reforms. The North West Frontier Province was swayed under the "Special Ordinances" (Shah, 2015).

### **3.1.5 Separation of the Province**

Lord Curzon decided to separate the Province from the Punjab on November 9, 1901. Chief Commissioner was nominated to run the Government machinery of the Province. The Province was a Muslim majority Province comprising 93 percent of Muslim population.

### **3.1.6 Suffrage of Pashtuns at the hands of Nawabs**

Many of them were educated, well learned and Land Lords. Like all other societies Pashtun society was also consist of lower, poor and an uneducated class. This class suffered at the hands of these land lords and Nawabs, who were implanted by the British Government. There were different tribes, but urbanization changed the outlook of the strict

society and people migrated towards the settled areas. In which some were notable and respected by all while the others were considered as lower social classes. They were the main driving force of the society; the people were backward politically, economically, socially and educationally. There was a very low rate of economic development in the Province; the urban elite class was enjoying the powers and favours of the British Government. This elite class was the result of the British's rule and they have to play the role of the intermediary between the locals and the British Government. Their part in the development was unnoticeable; therefore the people were trying to make another way out to demolish their miseries.

## **3.2 Abdul Ghaffar Khan**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan (commonly known as Bacha Khan) a man of stern belief and courage stood for the Pashtuns and strived throughout his life for the reformation and development of the Pashtoon's society. As stated earlier that this Province was neglected by the British Government that's why Abdul Ghaffar Khan rose his voice and gave emphasis the revival of Pashtun nationalism. He was the main pillar of the freedom movement in Pashtun society.

### **3.2.1 Early Life**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 at Utmanzai (Charsadda) in Peshawar. His father, Bahram Khan belonged to a respectable clan named Mohammadzai, was a landowner. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was sent to a mosque to take lessons in Quran; this was the common tradition of that time. People gave priority to the religious education; they sent their children to the mosques for the same purpose. There were hardly one or two

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government schools in the rural areas, and this was the main reason of the education backwardness of this Province.

### **3.2.2 Early Education**

After finishing the early Quranic education he was sent to Municipal Board High School in Peshawar, taking his primary education there he got admission in the Edward Memorial Mission High School. Meanwhile his brother Dr. Khan Sahib went to Bombay medical college, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was left with his Family servant named Barani Kaka; he always used to tell him the heroic stories of army. He was very impressed from the army so that he decided to join the army as a career, applied for a Commission in the army and passed the test. He was ordered to report instantly to Mardan, he did so and left his Matriculation examination, but after some time he was unsatisfied with the army and left it. He continued his studies and went to Campbellpur (now Attock) and Qadian but did not satisfy his urge for education and left. After experiencing all these institutions Abdul Ghaffar Khan got an admission in Aligarh and went there. His father sent him a letter to return towards his home as he wanted to send him to his brother in England for medical education, but Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave a second thought to this offer because his mother did not want him to go to England. Therefore he remained in his Province and wanted eagerly to serve his people, he has a great desire that every Pashtun must be reformed, educated and organized.

### **3.2.3 As a Social Activist**

Haji Fazli Wahid, commonly known as Haji of Turungzai was a great social reformer Abdul Ghaffar Khan joined him and started their social activities. In 1901 they opened an educational institution named Dar-ul-uloom at Utmanzai and Gaddar (Mardan).



Religious education and the conception of patriotism were the themes of the syllabus. Many other intellectuals also joined them, including Abdul Aziz, Fazal Mehmud Makhfi and Maulvi Taj Muhammad. With the passage of time this school got the fame and the British authorities decided to close this institution, Haji of Turangzai got the news of his arrest he escaped to the Tribal areas and remained there till his death in December 1937. The authorities banned the Madrassas and arrested many teachers and students were imprisoned for the time being.

### **3.2.4 Khilafat Movement and Abdul Ghaffar Khan**

In the 1919, Khilafat Movement was started India was in a state of turmoil. People belonged to every profession were in a deteriorated conditions, economic situation worsened, prices were high of the daily commodities. There were agitation in the Muslims on the breaking of the promise by the British, when situation got out of control the British authorities enforced the Rowlatt Act. On 6 April 1919, all leaders denounced this Act and protested against it, all-India "Hartal" was observed. At Utmanzai Abdul Ghaffar Khan arranged a protest, gathered their solidarity with an all-India issue. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested and was fined Rs.30,000 along with other notables. After six months Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released until paid the fine.

### **3.2.5 Dar-ul-Harb**

India was declared as "Dar-ul-Harb" and Muslims adopted Hijrat Movement. All the Muslims along with the Abdul Ghaffar Khan moved towards Afghanistan, they were welcomed there by the Amir Amanullah. The Muhajirin demanded him to wage war against the British he refused to do so, Muslims accused him of betrayal and started their journey back to Hindustan.

### **3.2.6 Educational Services**

During the Khilafat Movement Pashtuns suffered a lot, they travelled in hundreds and thousands of number towards Afghanistan. The journey was a bitter experience, that's why when came back they were in a very bad shape, Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to help his people in getting education. He came up to an idea that British would not let him to do so because they did not want the Pashtuns to be aware and well learned. Abdul Ghaffar Khan with the help of Fazal Mahmud Makhfi established a school at Khaloona, in Dir state. The locals appreciated this step and started sending their children to the school, this frightened the Nawab of Dir and he demolished the school. Many young men joined hands with Abdul Ghaffar Khan which included Mian Abdullah Shah, Mian Ahmad Shah, Mian Jaffar Shah, Abdul Akbar Khan and M. Akbar Khadim for the purpose of eradication of social evils.

### **3.2.7 Anjuman-i-Islah-u'l-Afghana**

To achieve all these goals on April 1, 1921, Abdul Ghaffar Khan established Anjuman-i-Islah-u'l-Afghana (the society for the reformation of Afghans). Mian Ahmad Shah was made its secretary and Abdul Ghaffar Khan as its president. The main purpose of this society was to eradicate the feudal concept from society and the revival of Pashtun language and culture the primary objective was to encourage love for Islam. After ten days of its opening on 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1921 inaugurated the first branch of the Azad Islamia Madrassa at Utmanzai. Holy Quran, Hadith, Fiqh, Pashto, Mathematics, Arabic, English and Islamic History were the main subjects of syllabus. Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with his brother Dr. Khan sahib sent their children to Madrassa and took the initiative. The number of students rose from 140 to 300.

### **3.2.8 Joining of Khilafat Committee**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan joined the Khilafat Committee of Province and became its President. He went to the rural areas and introduced this Committee delivered speeches against the British Imperialism. To restrain his growing popularity he was arrested on December 17, 1921, was in prison for three years and tortured by the British. In 1924 he was released and warmly welcomed by the Pashtun locals, titled him Fakhri-Afghan. In May 1928, the first Journal named "Pukhtun" became the most popular journal of the Pushtun society.

### **3.2.9 Political Career**

In November 1929, another organization named Khudai Khidmatgar was established. This organization played an important and decisive role in the freedom Movement. Hijab Gul was made its secretary and Sarfaraz Khan as its president. This organization firstly played part in the abolishing of social evils but then gradually converted to a political organization. Abdul Ghaffar Khan attended the Lahore session in December 1929, and was impressed of the unity and discipline of the Congress. When came back he visited all rural areas and attracted people on the outline of the Congress. He thought that Congress would help the Pathans in gaining their nationality. His joining of Congress was not supported by the other Muslim fellows but for the sake of Pashtun's rights he did so.

### **3.2.10 Qissa Khwani Bazaar Massacre**

On 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1930, the sad event of the Pushtun history occurred, British authorities brutally shelled firing on the large procession of the Pushtuns, known in history as the Qissa Khwani massacre. Large numbers of people were arrested along with Abdul Ghaffar

Khan, but after the settlement between Ghandi and the British government Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released.

### **3.2.11 Struggles for Freedom**

During 1937-1939 Abdul Ghaffar Khan kept himself separate from the ministerial office and was busy in the organizational activities. He was in favour of a separate Province that is "Pukhtunistan". That's why when Congress accepted the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was stunned at this decision. He was trying to make respectable place for the Pushtuns in the future politics. He demanded the Viceroy for a separate Pukhtunistan, but was refused. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was very disturbed of the Referendum in the North West Frontier Province and he considered it a treacherous act of the Congress. When Pakistan came into being on August 14 1947, Abdul Ghaffar Khan gathered his followers near Sradaryab (Peshawar) and decided to be the loyal citizens of Pakistan. Being the member of the Constituent Assembly attended the first session on February 23, 1948. In March 1948, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, Abdul Majid Sindhi and some other nationalist jointly made a people party, formally announced it on May 8, 1948. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested on 15 June, 1948 and imprisoned for three years which then extended to another three years and was released in 1954.

### **3.2.12 During the Last Years of His Life**

He was again arrested on June 16, 1956 because of his opposition to "One Unit" scheme. He joined on 27 January, 1957 the Pakistan National Party and then in July 1957 announced the formation of National Awami Party at Dhaka. On April 12, 1961 he was re-arrested but due his alarming health condition was released in 1964. He was transferred to London for treatment but then moved to Afghanistan, where he decided to stay in self-exile

for the rest of his life. He then came back to Pakistan in the regime of Z.A Bhutto and started his campaign of social reformation. On January 20, 1988, he took his last breath in Peshawar.

### **3.2.13 His Ideology**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan throughout his life worked and struggled selflessly for the reformation and revival of the Pashtun nationalism. His fight against the British Imperialism was until the Muslims got rid of them. All his life he stood on one principle that was of non-violence, stopped people from the long lasting feuds and convinced them for education. The transformation of Pashtun society from a strict and conservative to the moderate and educated was the result of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Shah S. W., 2007).

## **3.3 Emergence of Khudai Khidmatgar Organization**

Organization of Khudai Khidmatgar was founded in November 1929, to help the poor, devastated and neglected Pashtuns. Sarfaraz Khan became its president and Hijab Gul its secretary, the organization got popularity among the Pashtun community and was the most influential organization in the North West Frontier Province.

### **3.3.1 Purpose of Khudai Khidmatgar's Organization**

The main purpose was to promote the Pashtun culture, language, to eradicate all the social evils and to liberate the homeland from the British Imperialist. Abdul Ghaffar Khan convinced the locals to stop their feuds.

### **3.3.2 Network of the Organization**

Areas where Pashtun were in exceeded numbers the organization of Khudai Khidmatgar got popularity there, within a short span. There are no records of the exact number of the members or the branches but some non-official sources revealed that the number of the members were between at twelve to fifteen hundred.

### **3.3.3 Popularity in the Rural Areas**

This organization got a remarkable popularity in the rural areas where the political parties were neglected. There were many factors which contributed in its fame; many Pashtuns interpreted this organization in their own definition. For the intellectuals this organization was the main tool of revival of the Pashtun identity and culture. For some Khans it was the main agent of enforcing the reforms that would lead to their governance, Ulema took it as an anti-Imperialist organization and the poor peasants thought that it would disburden them against their economic oppressors, British Imperialist and their agents.

### **3.3.4 Characteristics of Organization**

The leaders of Khudai Khidmatgar put a great stress on discipline, for that they inculcated the capability of the self-discipline and self-rule. Before joining this organization it was made compulsory that the volunteers must took oath that for their whole life they would not involve in any violent activity. The volunteers were trained like military, and were given military ranks. To separate or to make this organization unique it was decided that to have a uniform, for this the volunteers were ordered to dye their clothes in red or chocolate brown colour because most of them were very poor. Red shirts became so

common that later on this organization was called as Red Shirt Movement, and the British equated this organization with that of the Bolsheviks called them Russian agents.

### **3.3.5 Policy of Action**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan adopted the policy of non-violence, and made it clear that no one would carry arms or weapons. He regularly gave examples from the life of the Holy prophet Muhammad that he lived a peaceful life and came out as victorious.

### **3.3.6 1930-1940 Years of Clashes between British and Khudai Khidmatgars**

On 26 January, 1930, the Frontier Province Congress Committee observed the "Independence Day" Abdul Ghaffar Khan was requested to celebrate this day but the masses showed very less interest. On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi led this movement against British monopoly on salt, to prevent the Province from the unrest many members of KKM were arrested and the members of the Congress Enquiry Committee were not allowed to enter the Province.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1930 the Qissa Khwani Bazar massacre was the other brutal act of British, Pushtuns were brutally murdered and injured in this event. This event was led by other sad events on 16<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1930 the Khudai Khidmatgars were killed and arrested in Mardan and Utmanzai. On 24 August 1930 they held a meeting in Hathi Khel (Bannu) was attack by the troops and seventy men were killed. On 16 August 1930 Martial Law was declared and the Province was cut off from the rest of India for the time being.

### **3.3.7 Close Ties with the Congress**

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was criticized by many people even his friends for his close affiliation with the Congress. Abdul Ghaffar Khan responded to this matter in these words

that this Movement (KKM) needed support from outside the Province and that can achieved in getting the support of the Congress. He also gave example from the Holly Prophet life that he made alliances with the Christians, Jews and non-Muslims.

### **3.3.8 Achievement of Constitutional Development by the KKM**

The North West Frontier Province gets the status of a separate Province in 1901, but remained neglected in the establishment of reforms. The long journey of struggles of the Khudai Khidmatgars made it possible that in the 1930s the Province got the status of Governor's Province. New Legislative Assembly was inaugurated by the Viceroy on 18 April. Thus, fulfilled the demand of the Pushtuns and would have enjoyed now the political privileges like the rest of the India (Shah W. A., 2015).

Pashtun have a glorious history, having the important strategic location of their Province named North West Frontier Province. When British came as an Imperialist in this region they showed a different attitude towards the Pashtuns because of their past history. Kept them in a solitary state from the other provinces and didn't introduce any kind of reforms, because of this discriminatory behaviour the society of Pashtuns turned into a dark, illiterate and an uneducated society. They were unaware of their rights that's why were suffered by the implanted Nawabs and Khans.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan a man of grace, dignity, fearless, courage, and of strong nerves stood for the rights of the Pashtuns. He firstly focused on the establishment of schools and madrassas but then realized that these peoples are trapped in the web of the Feuds, he started to impart speeches in the Jirgas and convinced the locals on the non-violent behaviour. For this purpose he established few organizations named Anjuman-i-Islahul-Afghana and Youth League. These were the counselling institutions for the locals and their



disputes were also solved, then November 1929 witnessed the foundation of Khudai Khidmatgar Organization a social reforming organization but later on turned into an organized political Movement. This Movement helped Pashtuns on every platform. The proceeding chapter throws light on the services of the Khudai Khidmatgars for the uplift of the Lower Social Class and women.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The Status of Women and Marginalized Social Classes in Pashtun Society**

Invaders, nomads and merchants have been fascinating towards India since the time of Alexander the Great. The culture, history and geography reflect these groups of people; Mughals were one of them who left a strong impression on the history of Sub-Continent. Iran was the only Muslim kingdom who carried their legacy in the language, literature and culture. Afghans or the Pathans were the only unnoticeable group of people but played a thematic role in the Sub-Continent history, when we talked about these two words Afghans and the Pathans in dealing history they are synonymous to each other.

Pashtuns are the descendants from the North West Frontier Province and Eastern Afghanistan. The geography along with the people of these areas is popular for their rough, coarse and harsh characteristics of the lands and as well as of their behaviours. Territory of these Pashtuns is rocky, mountainous and has a series of Passes of which Khyber Pass is very famous. This divided Pakhtun society in two significant ways. This sort of habitat fragmented the Pashtuns into two groups: those who were left in these mountainous areas were called Tribals, and the rest moved towards the fertile plains. There are 15 major tribes, which comprise Shinwaris, Afridis, Shalmanis, Mullagoris, Wazirs, Mohmands, Urmars, and Mahsuds. All of them have their own different values. (Hussain, 2000). British Colonial rule could not control these tribes, but their own Pashtuns ruled them and had a strong hold over them. The living standards were different for Tribals and of the settled Pashtuns, there was not such a distinct difference between their lives. Pashtuns in settled areas lived their life on agriculture and other such type of businesses; and had an

opportunity to get an access of socio-economic facilities. Khyber Pass was the only primary route through which the foreign invaders or the travellers entered the Sub-Continent from the Central Asia, so that North West Frontier Province has an undeniable significance in the reshaping of the history. Colonial rule was more suppressive in the North West Frontier Province compared to the rest of India because of the hidden potentials of the Pashtuns. British rule kept Pakhtuns away from education, they did not want Pakhtuns organized, and unified. They used North West Frontier Province as a buffer zone against the Russia; British were feared of the Russian expansionism; therefore tried to use Pashtuns against them (Easwaran, 1999). The Pashtuns were pressurized by the tactics of divide and rule to make them obedient towards the British, this was successful up to some extent but they were failed in subjugating them. In the plains Pashtuns were banned more effectively as compared to the tribals, but the Abdul Ghaffar Khan initiated to organize Pashtuns and started constructing schools to make them aware politically and socially. That's why he was banned and tortured by the British to stop his struggle was jailed for many years of his life but they could not stop him from his extensive services.

#### **4.1. Social Marginalization**

Marginalization is multifaceted and smooth concept. Every society faced marginalization at the global level, and all of the sects, communities and classes marginalized by the rule of dominant social order. And same is the case with the individuals, families and sects at the local level. Marginalization is a fetching and changing phenomenon. At some point in society some groups or families are enjoying the high status but with the passage of time they lose this and became marginalized. In sociology this phenomenon can be extracted from the fact of the "life cycle stages", in which might people are marginalized after experiencing their power and prestige. At some point in life

marginalization may increase or decrease. For example when adults get older they are marginalized from society, same is the case with those families who are weak in their status they became marginalized.

Europe was sole originator of this concept, in the mid-1980s this concept “social exclusion” emanated from the less-Industrialized world. They made categories of excluded people, having fifteen types of exclusion in which one was social marginalization (Kagan, 2013).

#### **4.1.1 Social Marginalization in the Sub-Continent**

When Muslim rule was established in India (1206), the society was divided into separate groups; Migrants and the Citizens. These migrants were further divided into different nations including Turko-Mongols, Persians and Afghans. These groups of people emerged as the Elite class the masses were those people who newly embraced Islam. The Muslim society had four different classes; the Ulema, the Aristocracy, the other Spiritual groups and the Masses. Aristocracy included two categories, one comprised of Khans, Maliks, Nawabs and Amirs. The other category was of Military ranking. Similarly, the spiritual groups encompass the Pirs, the Theologians, the Sayyids and the Ulema.

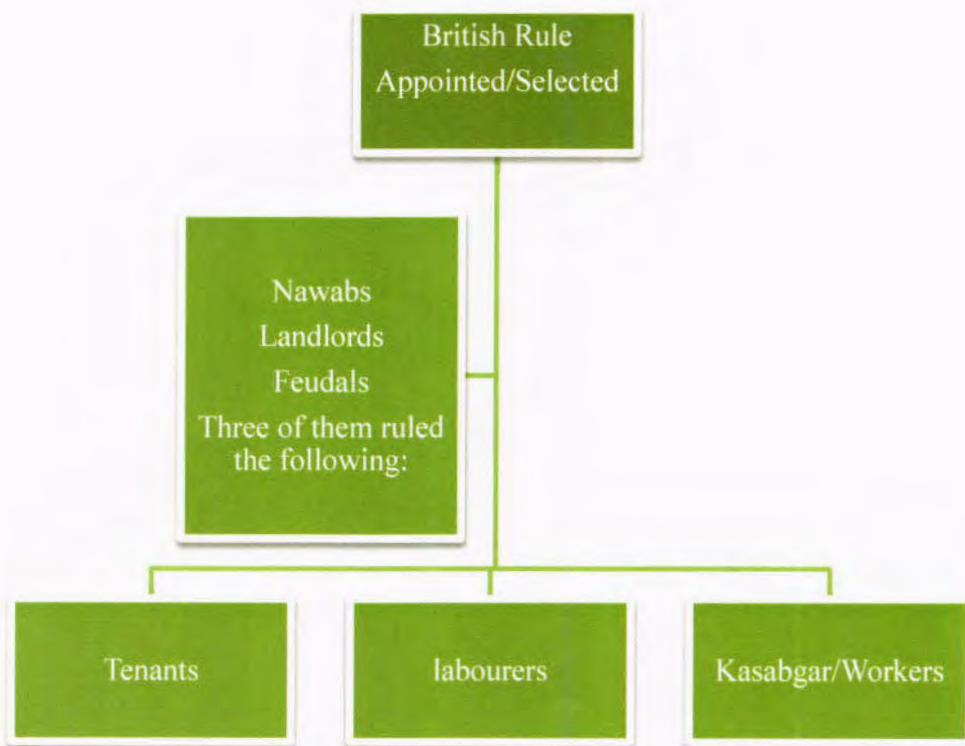
Masses of the Muslim society were the common and an ordinary people. They provided their services to this Elite and ruling class. Many of them were slaves, include both genders male and female. After some decades the system of slavery vanished but the societies were marginalized by this ruling class, on the basis of financial and status difference. These marginalized classes were ruled by the Aristocrats. Children of the lower class had no right to education, because all the Madrassahs were in the patronage of the Elite class. Most of the educational Institutions were situated in the urban areas, therefore were very far from rural areas, and Muslims remained uneducated because of no access.

When the two states got independence in the Sub-Continent the situation of the societies remained the same. Marginalized classes existed and were neglected in every Province. In the North West Frontier Province there were marginalized classes and they were treated the same (Kiran, 2008).

#### **4.2 Status of Marginalized Social Classes in Pashtun's society**

Pakhtun society was transformed into a colonized, vehement, immobile, and threadbare by, discriminations, disputes, factionalism, lack of social assistance, and plain illiteracy (Banerjee, 2000). The society was divided into two classes an upper class Feudal and Nawabs while the other was a low class comprised of Kasabgar (Naaye, Lohar and Tharkanrh), Labourers, Farmers and Mullaahs. This lower social class was the main running body of the society, but was deprived of every facilities of life. As we all know from the history that 'Pukhtunwali' was the prehistoric code of conduct, morality, consciences and reprisal, was struggling to revive itself in the Colonial rule. British helped and created a landlord system that they would act accordingly as directed by their Masters and would serve as indirect rulers, quickening the decaying process of the Pashtun's traditions. This indirect ruling system was so operational and effective that the local rural people didn't realize that they are ruled by the British; instead they thought their landlord as their Masters. Such system of landlordism was created that needed wealth and men to get some establish status in society, that's why landlords hired all the needy and poor class to increase their manpower. They were succeeded in getting the hold of society the tenant's class put all of their efforts to amplify the status of their lords. The British also employed the Jirga system to manipulate in the veins of society, was the most effective tactic of that time because all the Jirgas were headed by these landlords. Jirga was playing the three roles as an administration, police and of equity. It served as a peace keeping authority during

mobocracies, the Jirga was sole authority to settle the dissensions and to deliver justice and equity to every common men. The body of Jirga was consisted of elder persons of the Pashtun's society, and there qualification was knowledge, character and experiences of life (Banerjee, 2000).



**Figure 1: Classification of Pashtun Society**

“We were the underprivileged class of society and were kept away from education so that could not understand the tense situation of that time. As a result our people opposed education and our forefathers gave stressed on our religious education. It was the dawn of the ‘Tehreek e Pakistan’ that people stood against the merciless behaviour of the British, that was the time in which Abdul Ghaffar Khan rose his majestically voice and our people named him Bacha Khan” (Allah, 2017).

Pakhtuns have scorching desire for self-determination and having a legendary history of fighting and were famous for making guns of all type. British were defeated

almost on every land of FATA; they give them a name “the Grim”. Colonial rule diverted their attention from the tribal belt towards the plains and settled areas and started their ruthless deeds towards Pashtuns (Easwaran, 1999). For Pashtuns education prospects were sternly restricted and they have no access to schools because there were no schools in the North West Frontier Province. Mullahs have a strong hold on the Pashtun society because of the illiteracy could not understand the significance of education and remained in the false believes of these Mullahs. They constantly preached in their ‘Khutbas’ that if they send their children to schools they would be punish for this and go to hell.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan frequently highlighted this situation that Pashtuns are intentionally kept aloof from education and hence they were the most backward people of India. And he was also of the view that when Islam reached India it has lost its original spirit and soul because it was welcomed by these fake Mullahs (Khan, 1969).

On the orders of the British these Nawabs gave severe punishments to the locals, who supported the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, jailed them and seized all their properties. “I was myself punished by the British sank my head in water pots, for supporting and joining Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. They flicked me hard for my views about the British government, imprisoned me for one year but then released. It was Khudai Khidmatgar Movement that upsurge the low caste from the abyssal of humiliation and gave them their very due rights” (Khel, 2017).

### **4.3 Status of Women as Represented by Islam**

If one analyses the pre-Islamic and Islamic status of women in every aspect, a slight change in their position can be noticed. Islam is the only religion which gave rights to every citizen especially women and considers women as the essential being of the society.

In the pre-Islamic era women in Arab were treated like animals. That was the period of ignorance, people kept women in subjugation. In wars women were usually used as bondmaids by the enemies. Women were exempted from any kind of social activity or political affairs of society. In that period of ignorance blood feuds continued among the tribes for many years. Male members were required to defend their tribe and considered as the strength of their families, therefore great importance was given to men than women.

When the light of Islam started to spread in the desert of Arabia, in one blow it banished all the injustices. Islam recognized all the rights of women including financial, social, political and public. The Holy Quran addressed both men and women equally and interpreted them as the essential part for the survival of the society. Islam gave full protection to women and recognized the legal status of their rights. Right of inheritance was firstly described by Islam. The Prophet Muhammad established practical examples by giving every single right to women. With the passage of time people forgot the true essence of Islam and the slogan of the women's right disappeared in background.

Women are not aware of their rights; they got this message from the behaviour of society, that they are inferior to men. However, Islam gave equal rights to both men and women. No one is superior except on piety, women are free in their life decisions. But they are bound by the psyche of their family and society (Bhattacharya, 2014).

#### **4.3.1 Women's Position in Pakistan**

Pakistan, a country which came into being on the name of Islam, Islamic laws prevailed and ruled the country. But there are certain rules and regulations from which people deviated intentionally or unintentionally. As its name "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" revealed that every law should be according to the Islam and shariah, but there are certain customs and traditions which are against Islamic laws. Women are bound by the



cultural patterns; they can't exercise their legal rights. Pakistan's laws failed to deliver justice, "Jirga" and "Panchayat" the two judicial systems worsened the situation, they do every effort for male dominance (Manzoor, 2012).

The set standards of society affected the social status of women. They can't raise their voice against violence, because he would be her father, brother or husband. She bears violence and gets threats of violence at home, working places and even on streets. One of the main hurdles of women's empowerment is the perception of mal about them.

"Ghag" or forced marriage is a common practice in Pashtun society. Ghag means that a person claims the hand of a woman by force without her and her family consent. The Government of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa passed an act in 2013 for the elimination of "Ghag". Honour killing is another dilemma of Pashtun society. Women accepted the way they are treated; they seldom interrogate these limitations put on them by the society or the religion. They lived in silence and have no choice or decision power in their life, moved around in veils therefore bound by the "Parda" system. In tribal areas of the Province selling of Bride is a common custom. The girl is sold to a person irrespective of his age or other qualification but he could pay high price. Dowry death is another evil of existing in Pakistan; the rural areas of Province are more plagued from this evil.

#### **4.3.2 Status of women in Pashtun Society**

In Pashtun society man is considered as the head of the family and of the society as well. He has the command over the rest of the family members especially women, they have to obey him in every aspect. Today the society has transformed up to some extent because of the education and awareness given by their visionary leaders. There are many Pashtoon girls and women who are doing their duties globally and regionally. But here we are taking into account the society of Pashtuns before partition of the Sub-Continent the era

of 1929-1947. Several feminine names are sparkling on the pages of history, who contributed in literature, work field, administrative functions and many more. But generally women were the neglected gender of the society. At that time there was no concept of women's rights not even of lower social class that was dark time of Pashtun society. In Pashtuns men are considered to be the controller of every situation and women in no way could be equal to men. Men dominated societies always try to subjugate or overpower women in every field of life and didn't allow women to speak or gave any opinion on any issue. At homes they have no say in any issue; men controlled and run the affairs of the home. Women were not allowed to give their opinion, they were submissive to men. When a woman gave birth to a female child the whole family mourned the birth and that behaviour continued until her death. "I worked with my husband in the field for many years but never got any recognition from my family members or my husband. We had to left our children for many hours and worked in fields side by side with our men, it was not only in my case but it was a general custom that women had to work with their men" (Nisa, 2017).

Pukhtunwali was another constrain of society on women's rights, all of the members of the Pakhtun society had to obey this code of conduct. In case of violation, they had to bring disgrace to themselves and to their family. Pukhtunwali clearly expound the position of women, her role in promoting the society and her family, her activities, where she may go and with whom all these should be followed under this code of conduct, can't be denied or violated. Any resistance or opposition to this code may result in the penalization of the women and ultimately in her death. Women were not allowed to speak or communicate with a stranger (Mirza, 2008).

"When it comes to my marriage consent issue, I was kept unaware of the decision of my father and was got engaged to my cousin. It's not about me it was a common trend that girls had no opinion in their marital issues. If beaten by their husband she had to bear this

because it was her fate. In our family many of our cousins were beaten by their husbands but they were not allowed to protest, if she left her in laws and went to her father's home, brought back by the Jirga and endured all the sufferings (Saman, 2017).

The Pashtun society is a male-dominated society, in which women have no such a strong or respectable position, wife remained subordinate to her husband throughout her life. Instead, mother got a respectable position in the family; she is honoured and obeyed by her sons and especially by her daughter-in-laws and had a very strong hold over the family. Status of women in Pashtun society could be judged from the famous proverb that is "there are two appropriate places for a woman, one her home and the other is her grave". The birth of a baby girl was the worst phenomenon of the society and was welcomed by tears and in mournful way. It was commonly believed that a man with many sons can resist his enemy, and a man with many daughters considered weak in every situation (Shah, 2007).

"You are Adam me the Eve; I am from you,

Then why you are so careless about me.

The birth of a baby girl is mourning for you,

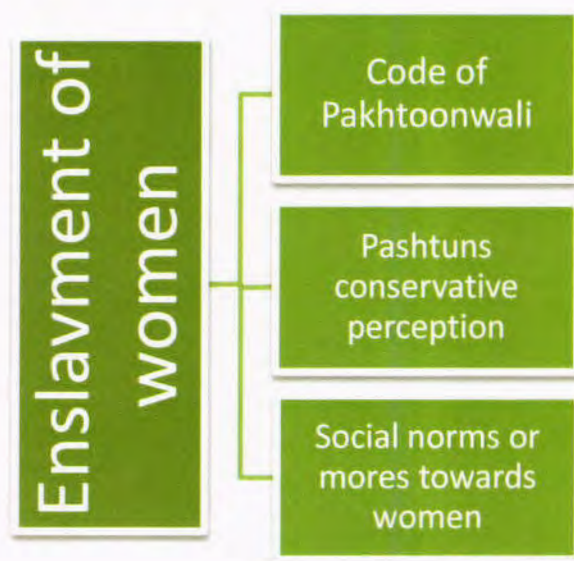
Again and again you are cursing your fate, why is it so?

Both daughters and sons are yours,

Then why you are happy on one's birth and sad on the other" (Sahiba, 1945).

It was a common custom that Pashtun gave a sword to their sons at their very young age to withstand their enemies; this practice replaced the pen through sword. Their sons were remained uneducated and for the daughters it was out of question to get an education. They hate the English language, were unwilling to send their children to schools or to teach them the foreign language. That's why the Pashtun nation was backward and had a very minute literacy rate. For girls it was forbidden to write or learn books even in Pashto, if they do so they would never respect the code of Pukhtunwali. "I read Pashto books with my

mother but when my father was out home or town because he didn't allow me to read or learn. Gradually I learned to read and write Pashto language and after some time, when understood our (girl's) position in society I started writing. I wrote many poems about a Pashtun girl's sentiments and her sacrifices which she was giving on daily basis. But all of my writings until now hidden treasury of wealth; I didn't show or discuss it with anyone even not with my husband" (Begum, 2017).



**Figure 2: Enslavement of Women**

## Chapter 5

### **The Role of KKM in Mainstreaming of Marginalized Social Class**

The notion of class liberation from the tight chains of the elite society is new, yet witnessed in many developments of nations and different societies. It may possibly be desired in any context: in human rights, social and economic safety, basic necessities of life, about developing human skills or about the promotion of gracious social co-existence. Uplift of the marginalized social class and the worn down societies are always been an issues this idea is used in this context. All human beings who belong to a lower class struggled throughout their life to reciprocate what they don't have. Sometimes their efforts are taken in an ambitious way but the truth is that it's their deprivation that makes them ambitious about their life. Tussle for power is as old as the formation of society, all oppressed, peasants and working class are busy in this tussle. Thus empowerment means a ray of hope of the marginalized groups for the establishment of evil free society having system of equality and justice. The deprived class endeavoured ceaselessly to fulfil their dreams and hopes for a bright future and empowered life. When an under privileged class gets aware and start exercising their control over actions, than they try to strive more to achieve greater control (Beteille, 1999).

Indian society was somehow bared to the plague of marginalization; there existed a hierarchical social order along with an emerging democratic political system. The idea of empowerment of such societies in such set up is certain theory of social change, a change in the context of from a hierarchical or aristocratic society to a democratic political system. This process than could be taken in the context of rearrangement of power, giving or

distributing power equally in society. There were many casts who were facing the same situation and going through same problems of daily life. Among the different casts Pashtuns were one of them that they had the status of marginalized class in society. When reforms were established in the North West Frontier Province than the government of that era tried to isolate this nation from the rest of the sub-continent to remain them as unaware of their rights. Many local Pashtuns tried their best to guarantee all the rights to their people, but remained as disempowered and the main reason of this was the common traditional codes and attitude that they could not enjoy the privileges of life.

### **5.1 Pashtun's Society and Quest for Power**

The population according to the Census report of 1921 was 50, 76, 476. 93 per cent were Muslims the remaining 7 per cent were non-Muslims. Only 7 per cent were living in the towns, and many of them were non-Muslims because by profession they were traders and suppliers of foodstuff. The Colonial rule had little control over the Pashtuns in their internal affairs because they were mainly ruled by their own Khans and Nawabs under their regular laws of Pukhtoonwali. Mullah also played some kind of influential role in the Pashtu's society in the religious affairs, but his role in political sphere is negligible. Khans and Nawabs had the authority and power of decision making through the Jirga system. The power was transferred from the Colonial rule to these Khans, and they were ruling indirectly. Jirga (under the codes of Pukhtoonwali) was the sole resolver of the conflicts among the tribes. Pashtuns were resistant to any foreign rule or authority because they considered it as threat to their independence. Therefore they always showed anger and sturdy behaviour to the rules and regulations specially related to taxes and other conscriptions. There was a continuous wave of conflicts and protest among these Khans and the locals for the quest of power and self-sufficiency. This elite class possessed all of

the power resources including economic resources, political resources, social resources, moral resources and physical resources. These khans did not look after their power resources themselves but they hired men from the lower class (Shams-ur-Rehman, 2015).

## **5.2 Role of KKM in Mainstreaming the Lower Social Class**

Organization of Khudai Khidmatgar was founded in November 1929, to help the poor, devastated and neglected Pashtuns. Sarfaraz Khan became its president and Hijab Gul its secretary, the organization got popularity among the Pashtun community and was the most influential organization in the North West Frontier Province. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement played a vital role in the empowerment of the lower social class. Bacha Khan considered empowerment as a continuous and regular process which should be initiated from within the society. Therefore he mobilized the whole Pashtun society for the recognition of the rights of the marginalized groups of Pashtun's society. This movement was being one of the most influential movements in history performed a crucial part in Pashtun's history. Bacha Khan did best to promote the Pashtun culture and their identity to the world, many reforms were then introduced. An organization is required for any movement to sustain and in the case of Bacha Khan's efforts the organization was Khudai Khidmatgars (Ahmed, 1991).

He tried to fortify the effort of speeding up the movement in all parts of the Province and he did so. In 1940 the number of the volunteers reached to 10,000, they spread all over the Province and gave their services to every human being irrespective of their status and position. Following are the different spheres of life in which Khudai Khidmatgars did their part in multidimensional way to mobilize and empowered weak Pashtuns.

### **5.2.1 Pashtuns tendency towards empowerment**

Pashtuns being very harsh and tough are very distinct and notable group of people having a distinguished language and culture of Pukhtunwali. It was very difficult for British to suppressed or control them under the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR). But they showed very flexible response to the reforms introduced in 1901 and then the non-violent movement started in 1929. They adopted every step and dictation of Bacha khan for their wellbeing. Even many things were considered opposite to the Pashtun's culture like that of sending their girls to the school and many more but were practiced by them so. Pathans had the tendency to embraced any radical change but if it's was in their betterment (Yousafi, 1939).

### **5.2.2 Social Empowerment**

The focus of Khudai Khidmatgar movement was on building up social capabilities and opportunities to the individuals and that neglected class who were denied of these important necessities of life. The whole societal system of the sub-continent was based on cast, class and gender discrimination, same was the situation of the NWFP. Some of the casts were looking down by the others; they were Naai, Kasabgar, Koolal and Tharkanrh. The so called social norms were challenged by the Khudai Khidmatgars and new rules and regulations were introduced to the Pashtun society based on non-violence. The efforts of Abdul Ghaffar Khan were of kind that he transformed the society from a hierarchical to a democratic type in which everyone was privileged and had equal rights.

Israr Rehman an old man of 77, teacher by profession himself witnessed the services of Khudai Khidmatgar movement for the Pashtun's rights. His father named Rehman Akbar was an active member of this movement and he sacrificed his whole life for



the rights of Pashtuns. On 21 September 1939 Bacha khan was coming to Utmanzai and was supposed to deliver his speech, all of the responsibility was on the shoulders of the Rehman Akbar being a special member of this movement. Bacha khan constructed many Madrassahs at Utmanzai and Tooru, where religious education was delivered without any cost. Bacha khan delivered a speech in the University of Peshawar against the medium of foreign languages wanted to establish the education system in Pashtu. Another small mosque was constructed at Boosi Khel Mohallah where Bacha khan tried to hear the feuds among the Pashtun brothers and resolved them. A Pukhtun journal was published in May 1928 and continued its editions in the start of every month; this was the great achievement of Bacha khan because Pashtuns were kept ignorant intentionally by the British. This was the time when no one could understand the significance of the Pashtu language even the educated class in Pashtuns didn't realize the importance of their mother tongue (Rehman, 2017).

### **5.2.3 Political Empowerment**

NWFP got the status of a separate Province in 1901 and the process of political awakening was started along with this development. When Khudai Khidmatgar movement was started it played a vital role in the political development of this Province. Bacha khan enabled the common men to participate actively in the politics by equipping them with the political resources, for the first time in history Pashtuns were made aware of their political rights and demanded for that. Bacha khan carried a wide spread campaign against the British raj for the rights of self-determination. The processions of Bacha khan were so influential that raised the potential of the people to get hold of the decision-making process of the Government. In such a democratic process it is quite difficult to mobilize the poor

people but once done than it acted as a powerful weapon to influence all the decision making processes of the state (Chand, 1989).

Imran Mandooray general secretary of Awami National Party of district Mardan narrated the success story of the Khudai Khidmatgars, that they were the sole caretaker of the Pashtuns. This social cum political movement bestowed individuals with power and acquired them to make free choices. People were made politically organized to make this movement successful. Bacha khan introduced the code of non-violence instead of Pukhtoonwali, and people started its practice against the British suppression because of his influential role. The most significant thing about the KKM was that it based on total volunteer policies, its army and activists were free in their lives. The teachings of Bacha khan addressed the evil of feuds in Pashtun's society; he was in favour of a peaceful movement instead of violent or vicious. Joint electorate system was introduces for the promotion of the mutual trust between Hindus and Muslims and the offices were made accountable to the people through de-communalizing them. Governmental positions were given on merit basis not on nepotism. Public Service Commission was opened up to diminish the feudal monopoly. Politics in North West Frontier Province was the outcome of the struggle of Bacha khan and his followers (Mandooray, 2017).

#### **5.2.4 Economic Empowerment**

Marginalized social class was the driving force of the Pashtun society and they were living their life under the line of poverty. That's why Khudai Khidmatgars tried to give a name and correct path to this devoid and neglected class. The process was initiated by KKM in the form of different revenue reforms to pursue economic resources and access to their due rights. Bacha khan knew very well that any society can't move forward unless and

until they got control over all those qualities and capabilities that support economic growth. This lower social class was kept away from the economic resources to hold them in the chains of elites. He encouraged the Pashtuns to deny the payment of taxes as a protest. He introduced economic justice in the history of NWFP for the first time. The fruit of Bacha Khan's struggle along with his fellows in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement came out in the form of a legislation passed from the Provincial cabinet of Khudai Khidmatgars; abolishing the privileges of the feudal lords which they had under the British patronage. The legislation also provided regular laws to make an ease upon the peasants in their economic liabilities imposed over them by their Muslim feudal lords. State-sponsored institutions did less for abolishment of the inequality, exploitation and oppression of the marginalized people of society. That's why Bacha Khan demanded for the empowerment of the lower social class within the context of the democratic process, to make them enable of getting their due share in the communal economic capitals. All this was derived from the Max Weber's suggestions that the lower class should strive for their rights because they made the majority of the society and try to change the stereotypical approach of the elite that the lower class should be kept alien to the economic resources of the state (Ginsburg, 2011).

### **5.2.5 Cultural Empowerment**

Actions and thinking of a community and people deriving from their ideas, beliefs, values, norms and goals described as their culture. Culture also includes the philosophy, laws, ethics, art, literature and myths. Normally this is taken into account that culture is inherited from the past and then gradually transmitted to the next generation (Beteille, 1999).

Pashtun's culture in itself has its long roots to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the people stick to it up till now. Pukhtunwali is a distinct code of ethics which must be obeyed by the whole community in the form of legal code. This code of conduct was strictly followed in all of the feuds; 'Badal' means revenge was the base for the feud's solution. Nanawatai, Purdah, Melmastia and Jirga all these were the fundamental features of Pukhtunwali and were practiced so. Khudai Khidmatgar movement did its best for the protection and reconstruction of the Pashtun's cultural identity. In the presence of British raj and the on-going war for a separate homeland (Pakistan) cultural empowerment was a challenging task for KKM. British were trying to introduce their western culture and language but Bacha Khan did oppose this sternly and establish their own mother tongue in the schools. Bacha Khan being the leader of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement tried to represent Pashtuns as a non-violent and peaceful nation to the world. For this purpose the activists of this movement published articles and Pashto poetry in the journal named Pukhtun. Equality and dignity were the two main themes emphasized by the KKM. Many things which were the components of the code of Pukhtunwali like 'Badal', was replaced by the peaceful co-existence policy by the efforts of the KKM. Empowerment of the lower social class was made by the recognition of their identity and the abolishment of the subservience imposed on them and equal distribution of power by the Khudai Khidmatgars (Khan, 2004).

### **5.2.6 Educational Empowerment**

Pashtuns only followed Islam as their religion along with their customs and traditions. Many of their traditions were in the contradiction to Islam but due to ignorance they were stick to it. Blind following of the Mullahs was a common custom and they were busy in worldly affairs therefore Pashtuns were made confused about their religion. The other factor of their illiteracy was that Pashtuns were remained busy in fights for a very

long duration therefore didn't focus on education sector. Education was not allowed for the girls but this trend was modified in the Pashtun's culture and families were inspired by the speeches of Bacha Khan to send their girls to the school. After the establishment of many Madrassahs and school in the rural areas girls were enrolled in a very less number but the trend was set. Haji Abdul Wahid colleague of Bacha Khan and activist of the KKM was one of the most eminent member who is known for his educational services. He established a chain of Madrassahs and invited people to join these institutions for education. He was opposed by the British and was banned from his educational services, but they could not stop him. Bacha Khan did the same job but in a different context he tried to diminish the violent label from Pashtuns so introduced very peaceful policies of Islam. He familiarized his own policy of balance in modern and Islamic education. The British opposed him too but he stood stern and firmly on his promises which he made with Pashtuns. Finally he was succeeded in his efforts and awaked the Pashtun community for education as a basic component of life (Dr Mazhar Hussain, 2016).

### **5.2.7 Minority's Empowerment**

Southern districts of the NWFP were comprised of the minorities, Bacha Khan visited there and it increased their level of confidence that there is someone who did care about their rights. Many of them migrated from their rural areas to the big cities they were sent back after the assurance of their rights by the leaders of the Khudai Khidmatgars. These minorities had the lives threats from the tribal raiders; the activists of this movement asked the government about the protection of the minority's rights. Their constant demand from the government compelled the police to visit there and maintained law and order in the Southern parts of the province (Shah, 2015).

Marginalized class is the basic entity of any society; they earn the capital for society by providing their labour. Without the participation of the marginalized class it is impossible for them to go on the road of development, same was the case with Pashtuns during the Tehreek e Pakistan. They did their best and offered their services for the achievement of a separate homeland but they were so negligible and devoid. Khudai Khidmatgar movement started and provided its services to the Pashtun community. For the first time the rights of the lower social class were recognized by the Khudai Khidmatgars. Any society in which one class dominated the whole system and then initiated their corruption snatched the rights of the lower class social movements emerged then. KKM was such a social movement in its nature and that arose for the diminishing of the dominant culture of the bourgeoisie. Khudai Khidmatgar movement was a great collaborator of the Indian nationalism in the NWFP. Non-Muslims had the social security in this province this was because of the struggle of Bacha Khan and his on-going movement at that time. They introduced such non-communal, non-violent and anti-imperialist movement that made it possible for the Pashtuns to live peacefully and to have their rights. The other remarkable achievement of the KKM was the abolishment of the long blood feuds in Pashtun's society; it's because of their firm devotion to the non-violence policy. The British Empire totally relied upon these small and big 'Khans' and they in turn dominated the society in every aspect like economically, socially, politically and culturally. But KKM began its services and finally realized to these Khans the rights of these lower social class and minorities as well.

## **Chapter 6**

### **The Role of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in Mainstreaming of Women**

Status of Pashtun's women are clearly defined and explained by the code of Pukhtunwali, elucidating the role of women at homes and outside the fences of the homes. Women were bound to obey and act accordingly as this was the legal and social code of ethics for her. There were many restrictions on women regarding their free movement, freedom of speech, her consent in marriage and social interactions. Pashtun's society was simply a male-dominated and patriarchal society and throughout her life she will hold an inferior position to the men. Many terms of Pukhtunwali briefly described the restricted and limited role of women in the development of society. Due to very low social involvement in the society their part was reflected as negligible and insignificant. This was because of the low literacy rate and mass ignorance among the male population of the Pashtun's society. The rigid and reactionary society did not let women to open up and could do something for their own self or for society, therefore their social status didn't enhance. It's the common trend of the Pashtun culture that men started to influence the girl's life at its very initial phase of life, imposing their authority in every important decision of life. Women's jobs, consent in their marriages, freedom of speech and her education all these were embedded with the notion of honour if she did so, understood as a disaster of the honour of society and family. Social norms, cultural codes and the set standards of society decided the fate of women and they should have to live accordingly. For this entire conservative and suffocative environment Pashtuns blamed Islam bounded women to the fences of their

homes because of 'Purdah', but it's not true Islam gave every freedom and right to the women.

There were many names of Pashtun women on the pages of history who contributed a lot to the Pashtu literature and folklore. Mother of Mir Wais Hotak and Zainab, Hafiza Halima Khattaka, daughter of great poet Khushal Khan Khatak, Zarghona daughter of Allahdad and Rabia Qandahari all of them had written 'Diwans' (collection of poetry). They served through their pen but faced very hardships for their talent and guts (Shah, 2007).

The Khudai Khidmatgars devoted to the socio-economic uplift of the women; this was the first social movement which contributed a lot. All those codes of Pukhtunwali and social norms which were limiting the freedom of women were challenged by the leader of Khudai Khidmatgar movement named Bacha Khan. He did a tremendous job for the women of Pashtun's society especially of the rural areas. Following are the brief explanation of all of the services that were done by the KKM for the recognition of the rights of the women.

### **6.1 KKM "Social Uplift of Women"**

The position of women in Pashtun society remained inferior to men throughout the history. Khudai Khidmatgars did a great contribution for the social uplift of the women, for this Bacha Khan visited different parts of the Province and delivered speeches in which he stated that raise your voice for your rights if you didn't do this will regret for the rest of your lives. Once he came to the 'Boosi Khel Mohallah' and pointed towards women that you are the strength of our society, we could move forward only if you are by our sides, and also advised them not to abuse one another act with patience it's the teaching of Islam. Women were mobilized by these speeches they started to attend these processions and also



provided their feminine services in the form of cooked food and supply of water. Early marriages were the other dilemma of the Pashtun's society Khudai Khidmatgars in their every gathering warned women and their family guardians about the issues and damages of such marriages. Polygamy was too discouraged because of its adverse effects on the society and women. Women were living a life of seclusion KKM for the first time compelled their men to bring their women to the active field and participated in these gatherings in their veils. Women were weak economically because of their total dependence on their men they were empowered with the right of inheritance. Along with inheritance they also got the right of getting their 'Maher'. Jirga was another institution which provided due justice to every women, Bacha khan tried to proceed these Jirgas himself (Gillani, 2017).

## **6.2 Mobilization of Women by KKM in Pakistan Movement**

The active participation of women in politics and in Pakistan movement was the exclusive effort of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. KKM kept involved these women in the development and proceeding of Pakistan movement. Firstly this was a thing of shame for a family that their women would join the struggle for Pakistan but Bacha khan the leader of KKM made this possible. Female workers were treated with respect because it was against Pukhtunwali. During this agitation and unrest female protesters were allowed to make deliver their speeches and had the freedom of speech and movement. Some of the localities were evacuated from the female workers because of the security issues. Pashtun had long running feuds but they paid great respect to the women it's in their blood. No women were arrested by anyone in the whole history because KKM was the guardian of all of their female participants. Class structure of the Pashtun society made it more difficult for women to mobilize or to participate in Pakistan movement but the KKM tried its best for breaking of their chains and assembled them on the same forum. Many women participated in one or

the other way, and this was the main point through which one could judge the empowerment of women under the banner of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Gender development in such political pattern is the outcome of the democracy and after the emergence and progress of the KKM transformed the Pashtun society to a democratic one up to some extent. After the women's participation in Pakistan movement the movement got speed and spread throughout the continent and finally on 14 of August 1947 Pakistan came into being on world's map (Shah, 2007).

### **6.3 KKM Raise Voice against Domestic Violence**

Culture and social norms of Pashtun's society denoted that it support the masculinity, women's marginalization and gender inequality finally leading to violence, mostly domestic violence. But this thing is not particularly present in Pashtun's society but it existed in the form of family conflicts. The Pashtun's society is divided into specific gendered roles men controlling the economy, lands, businesses, public dealings and decisions of the family affairs while women are subjected to do home tasks and the other domestic affairs. Every family prayed for a male child to ensure their future social and economic security because male members were the only to earn something for their families. This approach created clear gender discrimination and resultantly the son were provided with the best health care, food and other facilities of life and daughters were instead considered burden on family. Girls were brought up in such a manner that they should obey men throughout their lives and they have to behave nice and polite rather than men. This attitude inserted the notion of obedience and subjugation to the male and gradually the society became a male-dominated society. The main reason of male-oriented society of Pashtuns was the economic and social dependence of women on their men;

women were paralyzed in all of their public dealings and were not allowed to do so (Saeed, 2012).

Khudai Khidmatgar movement was the sole rescuer of the women's rights in Pashtun society and they did play their part very well. Bacha Khan through his speeches awakened the Pashtun's women once he stated in his speech to the women that "the aim of my life is to give your rights to you. You could do anything prosperous in your life but until and unless you raised your own voice, like the Arab women did for their rights. How these parents could discriminate their children on the basis of their gender, it's a sin don't do this". KKM established counselling centres for men to give them the real teachings of Islam and to make their behaviours polite and of kindness towards their women (Shah S. W., 2007).

#### **6.4 Opening of Earning Centres for Women**

There were very large number of women who were widows or unassisted in one or the other way, Khudai Khidmatgars inaugurated many work centres in different parts of the province especially in the rural areas. In December, 1939 there was an exhibition of handicraft financed by KKM. There they did stitch red shirts for the workers of the KKM and got their salaries from the funds of the KKM. Some women were not allowed by their family they did their work at homes and then sold it to these centres. In this way many women got economic independence (Gohar, 2017).

#### **6.5 KKM "Educational Uplift of Women"**

Pashtun's society was very against of education they were not willing to send their sons to schools, and the sending of girls was out of question. Because of the indigenous

biases there were very few schools in the NWFP. In 1901-1902 there were only 8 primary schools and having only 491 students throughout the province.

The Khudai Khidmatgars who had devoted their life for the social and political uplift of the society felt the dearth of the schools and decide to cope up with the problem. The journal named 'Pukhtun' was open forum for the display of the women's problems, in January 1929 Mian Jaffar Shah published an article in which he described the miserable condition of the women. Women are like slaves to their men if they knew the method how to educate their offspring they would definitely get rid of this slavery. The views of Jaffar were appreciated by Abdul Ghaffar khan and being an inspiration of the KKM he also started focus on women's education. he gave examples of Quran and insisted the Pashtuns to educate their women with the best modern education. Sayeda of Adina (Sawabi) questioned the discriminatory behaviour of the Pashtun's men towards their women in every field of life. Women were confined to the four walls of the house the only way to get out of this was to educate your women and to enable them to operate the modern equipment of life.

There came a tremendous change on the call of Abdul Ghaffar khan every activist of the KKM started sending their daughters to school, Sarfaraz khan, Amir Muhammad khan and Abdul Malik Fida they were the first to send their daughters to school on the call of Abdul Ghaffar khan. Mahr Sultan was a brave and former student of Azad School; she took the responsibility of her village to educate every woman in a possible way. Khudai Khidmatgar leadership advice and mobilized women were compelled to stand and help themselves rather than to wait their men would help them out. They started to organize the Frontier women on the outline of the educated women of India as they were the great inspiration for them. In 1939, Abdul Ghaffar khan requested Bibi Amtus Salam and

Mirabehn to come to NWFP and assist these women; they did come and helped the KKM leadership in educating women of the backward areas. Finally the struggle of KKM made the participation of women possible in social and political life of the NWFP.

## **6.6 KKM “Political Uplift of Women”**

Women were restricted in every field of life in the sub-continent, because of socio-cultural and economic obstacles women were considered as second class citizens. A society can't move forward until and unless without women's participation. In NWFP social pressure restricted women's political participation, KKM challenged these centuries' old traditions and other socially constructed norms and compelled the society to accept the fact. Khudai Khidmatgars challenged the already set mind of the people that politics is the job of men; they realized the Pashtuns that it is not true. They encouraged the participation of women in politics and public gatherings; women had no proper access to the political activities i.e. voting, leadership, freedom of expression and contesting elections. For them KKM issued monthly journal named 'Pakhtun' and through this they got the knowledge of what was happening around. Many women were mobilized and offered great services to the weak gender of society (Dr. Arab Naz, 2012).

## **6.7 KKM Provided Forum for Women's Writings**

The platform through which women were sharing their ideas and sentiments was the journal named 'Pakhtun'. Many of them wrote articles without disclosing their identities and their articles were published by the name 'Yau Khor' (a sister). Bushra Begum the other well-known writer of Pashtu emphasized that Pashtun women wants their right to education, freedom of speech and social status rather than precious jewellery and clothes (Shah S. W., 2007).

Majeeda Begum Inhabitant of Surkh Dheri of Mardan in 1928, published an article in 'Pakhtun' that why women considered themselves inferior to men. They have the guts and abilities to face every situation of life but still they totally depend on their men, they should have change this attitude then could succeed in life ahead (Shah S. W., 2007).

Khudai Khidmatgar movement did its best for the recognition and imposition of women's rights in Pashtun society. They were the first to stand and raise their voice, many women were mobilized for the cause of independence and many of them got education lived their life on their own terms and conditions rather than on socially constricted norms. Earning centres in different rural areas was the other contribution that KKM did to the Pashtun's women; this diminished their dependency on men. Politics was considered to be the property of men but KKM mobilized the marginalized class of women and they did participate in politics and remained their names in the history. The role of women in literature was also a phenomenal act started and supported by KKM, until now their 'Diwans' are discussed and read in different research centres and for knowledge.

## Conclusion

Like every nation in the world Muslims of the sub-continent also struggled for a separate homeland. After the war of independence of 1857, Muslims were targeted in the region. Muslim leaders raised their voice against the British Raj. Firstly they were pressed but the brave leaders stood for their rights. There were many names working for the same cause like Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and others. And finally Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947, a separate state for the Muslims.

Pashtun have a glorious history, having the important strategic location of their Province named North West Frontier Province. When British came as an Imperialist in this region they showed a different attitude towards the Pashtuns because of their past history. Kept them in a solitary state from the other provinces and didn't introduce any kind of reforms, because of this discriminatory behaviour the society of Pashtuns turned into a dark, illiterate and an uneducated society. They were unaware of their rights that's why were suffered by the implanted Nawabs and Khans.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan a man of grace, dignity, fearless, courage, and of strong nerves stood for the rights of the Pashtuns. He firstly focused on the establishment of schools and madrassas but then realized that these peoples are trapped in the web of the Feuds, he started to impart speeches in the Jirgas and convinced the locals on the non-violent behaviour. For this purpose he established few organizations named Anjuman-i-Islahul-Afghana and Youth League. These were the counselling institutions for the locals and their disputes were also solved, then November 1929 witnessed the foundation of Khudai Khidmatgar Organization a social reforming organization but later on turned into an

organized political Movement. This Movement helped Pashtuns on every platform. The proceeding chapter will throw light on the services of the Khudai Khidmatgars for the uplift of the Lower Social Class and women.

In Pashtun society man is considered as the head of the family and of the society as well. He has the command over the rest of the family members especially women, they have to obey him in every aspect. Today the society has transformed up to some extent because of the education and awareness given by their visionary leaders. There are many Pashtoon girls and women who are doing their duties globally and regionally. But here we are taking into account the society of Pashtuns before partition of the Sub-Continent the era of 1929-1947. Several feminine names are sparkling on the pages of history, who contributed in literature, work field, administrative functions and many more. But generally women were the neglected gender of the society. At that time there was no concept of women's rights not even of lower social class that was dark time of Pashtun society. The society was divided into two classes an upper class Feudal and Nawabs while the other was a low class comprised of Kasabgar (Naaye, Lohar and Tharkanrh), Labourers, Farmers and Mullahs. This lower social class was the main running body of the society, but was deprived of every facilities of life. As we all know from the history that 'Pukhtunwali' was the prehistoric code of conduct, morality, consciences and reprisal, was struggling to revive itself in the Colonial rule.

Marginalized class is the basic entity of any society; they earn the capital for society by providing their labour. Without the participation of the marginalized class it is impossible for them to go on the road of development, same was the case with Pashtuns during the Tehreek e Pakistan. They did their best and offered their services for the achievement of a separate homeland but they were so negligible and devoid. Khudai



Khidmatgar movement started and provided its services to the Pashtun community. For the first time the rights of the lower social class were recognized by the Khudai Khidmatgars. Any society in which one class dominated the whole system and then initiated their corruption snatched the rights of the lower class social movements emerged then. KKM was such a social movement in its nature and that arose for the diminishing of the dominant culture of the bourgeoisie. Khudai Khidmatgar movement was a great collaborator of the Indian nationalism in the NWFP. Non-Muslims had the social security in this province this was because of the struggle of Bacha Khan and his on-going movement at that time. They introduced such non-communal, non-violent and anti-imperialist movement that made it possible for the Pashtuns to live peacefully and to have their rights. The other remarkable achievement of the KKM was the abolishment of the long blood feuds in Pashtun's society; it's because of their firm devotion to the non-violence policy. The British Empire totally relied upon these small and big 'Khans' and they in turn dominated the society in every aspect like economically, socially, politically and culturally. But KKM began its services and finally realized to these Khans the rights of these lower social class and minorities as well.

Khudai Khidmatgar movement did its best for the recognition and imposition of women's rights in Pashtun society. They were the first to stand and raise their voice, many women were mobilized for the cause of independence and many of them got education lived their life on their own terms and conditions rather than on socially constricted norms. Earning centres in different rural areas was the other contribution that KKM did to the Pashtun's women; this diminished their dependency on men. Politics was considered to be the property of men but KKM mobilized the marginalized class of women and they did participate in politics and remained their names in the history. The role of women in

literature was also a phenomenal act started and supported by KKM, until now their 'Diwans' are discussed and read in different research centres and for knowledge.

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## **Questionnaire:**

1. What was your role in Khudai Khidmatgar movement?
2. What level of participation you have done in KKM?
3. How were you linked with this movement?
4. To what extent the involvement of women was directly promoting the KKM on public platform?
5. What was the role of women in continuing the Khudai Khidmatgar movement?
6. What were the impediments women/you face during this movement?
7. What was the role of Social classes in the progress of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement?
8. What was the role of KKM in the uplift of Pashtun society?
9. Was Khudai Khidmatgar succeeded in attaining its objectives?
10. What were the political outcomes of Khudai Khidmatgar movement?