

**Generational Relations and Transmission of Pashtunwali among
Pashtun Women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan**



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FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis titled ‘Generational Relations and Transmission of Pashtunwali among Pashtun Women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan’, submitted by Ms. Latafat Aziz in partial fulfillment of Ph.D. Degree in Sociology has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of the student’s research work and allow her to submit her thesis for further process as per IIUI rules and regulations.

Dated: __/__/2022

Dr. Rabia Ali
Supervisor

DEDICATION

I would love to dedicate my Ph.D. Dissertation

To

My Beloved Parents

&

Respected Grandparents

(A constant source of knowledge and inspiration)

ABSTRACT

Analyzing intergenerational and intragenerational relationships is one of the key areas of concern in the sociology of families and generations. Pashtun societies are well studied by international and national scholars of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The existing scholarship largely presents a male perspective while explaining the nature, structure, and interpretation of Pashtunwali in Pashtun society. A rigid and fundamentalist view of Pashtun society is usually portrayed such as *tarborwali*, *revenge*, *honor killings*, *etc.* My research work focused specifically on the females' experiences and episteme of intergenerational relationship and transmission patterns of Pashtunwali—Pashtuns cardinal code of conduct, among Pashtun women in Pakistan. The study was carried out in three districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)—namely, Charsadda, Karak, and Swat of Pakistan. Thirty-nine (39) Pashtun women having diverse backgrounds concerning age, education, and locale were interviewed for data collection. The data was analyzed through the thematic qualitative data analysis technique using Standpoint feminism (Sandra Harding and Dorothy Smith) as a major theoretical guide. The findings of the study disclosed that the structure of *Masharaan* (elders) and *Kasharaan* (youngsters) is deeply ingrained in the Pashtun family system that endures from generation to generation. The present study has revealed the endowment of Pashtun women (especially mothers, grandmothers, and mothers-in-law) in preserving, sustaining, and transmitting the Pashtun value system towards the young generation (daughters). Pashtun women acknowledged and identified the importance of the *mouranai jabah* (mother language) Pashto language (an agent and custodian of transmitting Pashtunwali) in the interpretation and dissemination of cultural practices, identities, viewpoints, and everyday life experiences from one generation to another. Unconditionally,

Pashtun women (especially mothers) have a significant role in the creation and promotion of Pashtun culture through folklores, proverbs, songs, dress code, arts, literature, and by cooking traditional cuisine, etc. In Pashtun culture, notions of honor, dignity, and shame are described as driving fuel behind all cultural values and structures. Elder Pashtun women highlighted that Pashtuns are *ghairatmand* –mind their words and commitments and never compromise on the basic principles. They emphasized that it is necessary to reconsider and revisit social heritage to better reflect on the changing notions and demands of the contemporary age. *Hujras/Baithaks* have been identified as one of the most celebrated and accustomed places in Pashtun society. The study reflected the perspective of Pashtun women that they were appreciative and insightful about the meaning, history, and cultural composition of Pashtunwali and their identity but at the same time, they were not benighted about the contemporary emerging challenges that have been faced by traditional Pashtun culture.

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Getting myself enrolled in Ph.D., being a Pashtun woman, eldest and the first one in my generation within my entire family was a challenging and high expectation job. It was not so common in my hometown for girls to study beyond the 10th grade of schooling. I am thankful to all those who helped me in making this possible. First of all, I am thankful to Almighty Allah for His countless blessing on me and for giving me enough strength & health to take up this Ph.D. project. Durood & Salaam on Prophet (SAW) whose life is a guide to humanity.

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I present my heartfelt gratitude to my Paternal and Maternal Grandparents for their love, guidance, and imparting knowledge. My maternal grandfather, Jameel Ur Rehman (late) was very much enthusiastic about my research topic and findings regarding how the Pashtun women experience Pashtunwali. I am also thankful to my in-laws particularly my father-in-law, Muhammad Bashir Khan, for his countless prayers, fatherly love and support for my doctorate degree.

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ACRONYMS

Baby Boomers I	Generation born between 1946 and 1964
Baby Boomers II	Generation born between 1955 and 1964
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
Generation X	Generation born between the mid-1960s and the early-1980s
Generation Z	Generation born between the late 1990s and early 2010s
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IDIs	In-depth Interviews
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Province of Pakistan)
MMR	Mixed-Method Research
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

GLOSSARY

Ange bange	Traditional Pashtun childhood bedtime story of does and buck
Badai	Bad deeds
Badal	Revenge
<i>Brishna</i>	Book on Pashto poetry published (2017) by Haji Aziz Ur Rehman (Paternal grandfather of the researcher)
Chardewari	Home or private sphere
Cheenjo	A sort of physical game—mostly played by girls where they draw (with the help of chalk or coal) a certain sketch on the ground and use a dice to select and jump over different sections of that sketch
<i>Divan</i>	Poems of Khushal Khan Khattak was published by Dr. N. Mackenzie in 1965.
Ghairat	One of the defining tenets of Pashtunwali. Pride, zeal, dignity
Ghairatmand	One who is mindful or considerate about one's (and others) honor, dignity, responsibility, and self-esteem.
Goodaye Wada	Doll's wedding (Indoor game played by Pashtun girls)
Hujra/Baithak	It's a commonplace where guests are welcomed, honored, and accommodated. An emblem of Pashtun culture—it is a common sitting place for males (whereas women sit together inside the home) and is usually utilized for the guests. It serves an important role in holding <i>Jirgas</i> .
Jirga	An important institution and system in Pashtun culture. A traditional council of elders called for conflict resolution among Pashtuns

Kasharaan	Youngsters (Young adults, children (daughters and sons), and grandchildren, etc.)
<i>Khair-ul-Bayan</i>	It's an ancient and fundamental Pashto manuscript (available) written by Bayazid Pir Roshan.
Kor Juraona	Making sand or mud houses (Indoor game played by Pashtun girls)
Maimoona and Sheralam	Famous Pashto Folklore about the husband-wife relation with the themes of trust, doubt, and sincerity
Masharaan	Elders (Parents, grandparents, and ancestors, etc.)
Mataluna	Proverbs
Melmana	Guests
Melmastia	Hospitality
Mour	Mother
Mouraanai jabah	Mother language
Na samjh	Having less or no knowledge of the outside world
Namus	Honor, respect, and dignity
Nanawatee	Protection, Supplicating for leniency and peace
Nang	Honor or respect (most of the time associated with Pashtun women)
Nawy Kul	Young generation
Nekai	Good deeds
Parouna	White long Shawl or Chaddar/ Traditional embroidered shawl used by Pashtun women
Pashtunwali	Pashtuns centuries-old traditional, moral, and cardinal code of conduct

Purdah	Veil, modesty, gender segregation
Qandahari	Southern Dialect is also known as the Khattak dialect and being spoken in Southern parts of KPK and some Pashtun-dominated areas in Balochistan.
Sattar	Observing <i>purdah</i>
Shari'a	Islamic law based/derived from the teachings of the Quran and of the Last Prophet Muhammad S.A.W
Speena shapsha oa toora sphasha	Traditional Pashtun childhood bedtime story of white and black
Tarbor	A first cousin (maternal and paternal cousin/agnate)
Tarborwali	Blood relationship. When some conflict arises among blood relationships then it gets harder to form and turns into rivalry, then such a type of relationship is defined as <i>Tarborwali</i> Agnatic rivalry by Pashtuns.
Tor	Executing bravery and courage
Walwar	A gift or money presented to the father of the bride (a famous tradition among Pashtuns)
Yousafzai	Northern Dialect is also known as Peshawari (the dialect spoken in North Pakistan) being spoken in Peshawar, Mardan, and Swat, etc., and some areas of Afghanistan.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Khaza da koor chiragh dey.
The woman is the lamp of the family
Pashto Proverb

The present research study is an endeavor to understand the generational relations and to explore the patterns of transmission of Pashtunwali (Pashtun's moral and traditional code of conduct) among Pashtun women of various age groups from generation to generation. Change is inevitable in one's life course and women also experience changes during their lifetimes. Nevertheless, change proceeds from one generation to another generation through various cultural, social, and technological ways. Changing trends and lifestyles may affect patterns of interaction and relationships among women of different generations (Lie, 2000). Despite the fact, the transmission of values has always been considered a universal phenomenon, certain differences have been identified in terms of scope, content, and process of transmission in various cultures.

1.1 Generational Relations

Every culture proposes explicit developmental pathways and socialization patterns for the transmission of values among generations. Moreover, socialization patterns differ according to specific cultural values which may be characterized under the concepts of independence or interdependence by various cultures (Greenfield et al., 2003 & Rothbaum et.al., 2000). Nevertheless, individualistic cultures emphasize the values of independence which highlight the development of autonomy while on the other hand, in collectivist cultures, the concept of interdependence prevails—focuses on familial values and

relationships, elders' control, and moral obligations. On similar grounds, Arnett (1995) provided a distinction between "broader socialization cultures" and "narrower socialization cultures" with cultures specific values. He highlighted that broader socialization cultures are inclined to encourage individualism, independence, and self-expression of the young generation while narrower socialization cultures give priority to values of obedience and conformity to societal values (familial values as well) and discourage deviation from moral and traditional conduct. Moreover, being a primary socialization agent, the family plays a decisive role in the transmission process of cultural values towards their offspring (Schneewind, 1999). Similarly, other agents of socialization such as school, playground, teachers, peers, and the media also influence the value orientations of offspring (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988).

Cultural transmission is viewed as an interaction by which the multiplication of culture happens in each progressive generation (Corsaro, 1997). The intergenerational transmission of culture alludes to the way values, folk knowledge, and practices that are pervasive in one generation are moved to the next one. In accordance with research on socialization, recent studies conducted on the generational relations and cultural transmission concluded three types of cultural transmission among generations ages that incorporate vertical transmission (among guardians (parents) and their posterity (children)), sideways (oblique) transmission (working through socialization institutions and different agents such as the playground, school, religion, media, etc.), and horizontal transmission (among peer gatherings) (Berry et.al, 2002). It has been highlighted that the process, direction, and outcomes of cultural transmission are affected by the individuals (agents) who are involved in the transmission process, their respective relationships, the issues (contents)

that are transmitted, and the cultural context (socioeconomic, cultural change, and crises, etc.) in which transmission takes place (Trommsdorff, 2009). The process and outcome also get influenced by the relationship of the agents involved in the transmission process, including continuity and selectivity. Consequently, the parent-child relationship is seen as the basic transmission belt (Schonpflug, 2007).

Traditionally, social scientists have defined and examined multiple meanings of “generation”. Karl Mannheim, who has been considered as founding father of the sociology of generations and provided one of the popular explanations of “generations” under the heading of his “theory of generations”. Mannheim (1952) described generations as a ‘socially constructed phenomenon which is associated with a specific age that is highlighted by historical and social events’ (p. 289). Similarly, renowned demographer Norman Ryder (1965) characterized generation as an ‘aggregate of individuals who had gone through the similar incidents & happenings within the same time interval’ (p. 845). In 1991, one of the popular typologies of generations in the United States was advocated by Strauss and Howe. They had utilized historical and demographic data to identify generations tracing back to more than 400 years. Strauss and Howe (1991) described a generation as: "a special cohort-group whose length approximately matches that of a basic phase of life, or about twenty-two years" and their classification of generation includes four generations that are present in the modern workplace: Silent, Baby Boomer, Generation X, and Millennial (p. 34). Although each of these specific labels has a history that precedes Strauss and Howe. Generational relations, amongst more youthful and more established age groups, regardless of what their introduction to the world partners or the chronicled time of perception, is at the core of societal progression and attachment (McDaniel, 1997).

Cultural values are no longer steady entities immune to social, monetary, or political atmospheres in a given society and time. Social evolution originates from historical and financial changes, and it impacts the generational relationships in society (Elder, 1994).

In 1996, Biblarz et al. recognized four significant social changes in the United States over the twentieth century: expanding the accessibility of non-manual positions, a change in childrearing values from dutifulness to self-sufficiency, the development of substitute family structures, and change observed in gender roles. It has been observed during the 1960s and 1970s that women irrespective of their socioeconomic class started to work full day outside the home in the U.S. (Amato & Booth, 1997). Stearns (2004) contended that the parents, who invested more energy in career building and were less concerned about spending time with their youngsters, also realized to make time with their kids as pleasant as could be expected, invested less energy into being harsh towards their children and used to talk and spend their time with kids. Nevertheless, overpopulation and urbanization in numerous contemporary industrial and post-industrial societies have brought increased anonymity and the loss of social cohesion within large urban settlements and in this way, individuals are less concerned to conform to the cultural values and expectations in a given society (Berry, 1994).

1.2 Pashtuns and Pashtunwali

Pashtuns are an ethnic group situated in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, with exonyms such as Afghan, Pashtun, Pushtoon, Pathan, and Pukhtoon, likewise utilized for the group (Siddique, 2014; Ahmed, 2013). The Pashtuns make up the second largest ethnic group (with 15% of the population) in Pakistan (living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and

Baluchistan provinces, along with tribal areas on the Afghanistan–Pakistan border) (Hadid & Sattar, 2018).

There is a lot of writing on Pashtuns that has been composed of an ethnographic or anthropological viewpoint. A lot of this is quite updated material while recently several books have been published in Pakistan and Afghanistan, these are not internationally accessible. In Pakistan, political and managerial constructions encompassing Pashtun communities have remained unaltered for a long time, this inquiry focuses on recent literature which covers the interface of Pashtun culture with current worldwide and national political context. The majority of the studies seem to focus on Pashtuns in Pakistan’s tribal regions. Unfortunately, there was almost no promptly accessible data on the social status and conditions of Pashtun women.

Pashtuns invest heavily in their autonomy and have generally been furiously resistant to focal standards. Pashtun culture is backed by the “Pashtunwali” which, in a real sense deciphered as the “the method of the Pashtun”, is an unwritten code of honor that is necessary to Pashtun identity. Pashtunwali is an ideal that can be translated as an ethnic self-representation of the Pashtuns.

Pashtunwali is the code of life as comprehended, interpreted, and rehearsed by Pashtuns. It is the center of social conduct for Pashtuns—translated as the way of the Pashtuns. It is a set of customs, cultural codes, and values that regulate the Pashtun society and has been previously discussed in detail by various authors (see Alley, 2012; Benson & Siddiqui, 2014; Hawkins, 2009; Yousufzai & Gohar, 2005; Kakar, 2004; Spain, 1972). It incorporates all conventions by which the Pashtuns, as indicated by their comprehension, separate themselves from other ethnic groups, a complex code of respect, ethical and moral

principles of conduct, the interest for bravery & the belief in Islam. Among the Pashtun tribes, these qualities and guidelines of conduct have been transmitted orally for quite a long time (Irshad, 2006).

Olaf Caro (1958) and Sultan-i-Rome (2006) characterized Pashtunwali as the unwritten and all-around characterized code of respect, standards, conventions, and traditions took after by Pashtun individuals. Pashto (additionally spelled Pukhto, Pukhtu, or Pakhto) has a place with the Iranian subdivision of the Indo-European dialectal family and consists of about 25 million local speakers. Of these 25 million, 16 to 17 million live in Pakistan and 8 to 9 million live in Afghanistan (Rahman, 1995). The Pashto language has two dialects: the delicate lingo and the hard dialect. The delicate dialect is utilized as a part of the southern zones of Afghanistan, while the hard lingo is utilized as a part of the northern regions of Pakistan. Olaf Caro (1958) called attention to the distinction in the phonology of the two dialects. In the delicate dialect, "sh" is utilized though in the hard lingo, "kh" is utilized.

Barth (1981) recognizes three noteworthy foundations commanding the Pashtunwali codes: Melmastia, neighborliness and the decent employments of materials and merchandise; Jirga, chambers and the fair quest for open issues; Purdah, the respectable association of women in household life. Honor or respect is one of the defining themes of Pashtunwali. Johnson and Mason (2008), pointed out *nang* isn't undifferentiated from the western idea of honor, however, can be portrayed as addressing a man's commitment to secure the sacredness of his individual, his property, and his women on all grounds. Even with the advent of globalization and economic development, studies show that Pashtunwali still holds importance for Pashtuns living in the tribal areas (Khayyam et al., 2018).

Researchers have recognized a covering set of fundamentals as a center of Pashtunwali. Ahmad (1978) presumes that Pashtunwali works in the social existence of Pashtuns, (particularly rustic territories) and Pashtuns from all walks of life partake in molding the multidimensional and close record of Pashtun's social and political life. He has recorded four fundamental bases of Pashtunwali. 1) *Badal* (Revenge), 2) *Melmastia* (Hospitality), 3) *Nanawatee* (Supplicating for leniency and peace), 4) *Jirga* (get together of elders acting to settle on restricting choices because of Islamic law and Pashto traditions) however later it has been inferred that the central component of respect has been diminished to *Tor* (Killing for Honor) and *Tarborwali* (agnatic contention) Pashtunwali is the unwritten law or code of life of Pashtun which is practiced in all the Pashtun ruled regions like Afghanistan, a few sections in Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) and surprisingly in Pashtun-overwhelmed regions in Karachi. This law is considered as good, hallowed, and as giving appreciation. It is similarly drilled by all Pashtun independent of their socioeconomic background. It underlines that a Pashtun ought to be patient and lenient towards individuals who have unique faith, color, language, or race. Miangul Abdul Wadud (ruler of Swat—ruled from 1918 to 1949), has written in his collection of memoirs about Pashtunwali that it is "the name given to the fearlessness, feeling of honor, cordiality, valiance, support of the powerless, giving of sanctuary to all including foes, moral boldness in asserting one's privileges, forfeiting one's life for individual just as public honor, kicking the bucket for the sake of religion, and various practices" (Ahmad, 1980; Glatzer, 2002; Dupree & Gouttierre, 1997).

The possibility of Pashtunwali is an ethnic-driven thought since it relies upon the likelihood that the Pashtuns are indisputable from other ethnic gatherings not as a result of

their lingo, culture, and history, yet due to their code of conduct (Irshad, 2006). In present Afghanistan, the lifestyle and way of life of the Pashtuns are seen through the lens of the exceptionally specific interpretation of Islam displayed by the Taliban. This perspective disappoints the affirmation of certain social esteems, standards, and values, which had been defining the way of life of various Pashtuns before the climb of the Taliban as a military and political turn of events, and which stay of great effect today. In the Pashto vernacular, most of these characteristics and standards of lead are consistently summed up under the word Pashtunwali (Glatzer, 2002).

In recent studies (Benson & Siddiqui, 2014; Alley, 2012; Hawkins, 2009; Yousufzai & Gohar, 2005; Kakar, 2004), Pashtunwali is generally found with regards to the present war (on terrorism). Inside Pashtun society, the qualities, standards, and principles of Pashtunwali have been transmitted orally for a considerable length of time. Furthermore, in the early seventeenth century, the Pashtun poet Khushal Khan Khattak (1613-1689) composed a book in Pashto exposition that can be viewed as the main endeavor to characterize tenets of conduct for the Pashtuns. The word Pashtunwali was not utilized as a part of the content. The name of the book is *Dastarnama* ('Book of the turban') and Khushal Khan Khattak depicts twenty capacities (*hunaruna*) and twenty ethics (*khislatuna*) which a Pashtun should claim to wind up qualified to wear a turban (Lindholm, 1982; Anderson, 1979).

Exactly when British executives focused on the norms and assessments of Pashtunwali in the nineteenth century, they were fascinated above all in administrative and military inquires, and their essential spotlight was on standard law and blood revenge. At the start of the 20th century, the guidelines and assessments of Pashtunwali attracted the thought

of western anthropologists who break down it in a broader perspective, bringing into focus great and moral esteems and standards of conduct too (Strickland, 2007).

In Pashtun culture, a young generation is educated to regard and comply with their elders. Both girls and boys are presented to the workings of Pashtun culture from an early age, with the goal that they personalize the Pashtunwali. It has been noticed that Pashtun women are regularly more uncompromising about sticking to Pashtunwali than men. Furthermore, Pashtuns see the Pashtun code as a declaration of a genuine type of their religious character (Glatzer, 1998). There are some considerable studies done on the relationship between generations and gender in the different portions of the world (see Nelson, 2006; Pillemer et al, 2006) yet the generational relations and transmission of Pashtunwali from one generation to another one particular in the context of Pakistani Pashtun women remains an unexplored phenomenon. The grey area in which the current research project is interested is to see how certain codes of Pashtunwali affect the lived experiences of Pashtun women and what dimensions it has in the context of Pakistani Pashtun society.

1.3 Role of Women in Preserving & Transmitting Cultures

In November 1989, the twenty-fifth session of the General Conference of UNESCO received the recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore. In previously mentioned tradition UNESCO utilizes the term 'intangible cultural heritage' in the indistinguishable meaning as the customary/traditional culture and folklore. This definition is as per the following; 'Folklores (or customary and pop culture) is the totality of convention-based manifestations of a social group in so far as they mirror its social and social personality; its benchmarks and qualities are transmitted orally, by simulation or by

different means. It includes literature, language, folk music and dance, festivals, folklore, traditions, beliefs, architecture, crafted works, and different expressions. It also highlighted and emphasized the role of women in the transmission of intangible cultural heritage. Immaterial culture concerns aspects of our lives that are basic to the coherence and articulation of our social identity. Women are additionally caretakers of intangible cultural heritage.

Women's contribution in different areas of intangible cultural heritage is both focal and essential. Such areas incorporate what might be portrayed as basic domains of culture, and those which are regularly crucial in keeping up familial and firm social relations. They incorporate dialect, codes of morals, behavioral examples, values and customs, and religious convictions. In many societies, women keep up fundamental roles in the upbringing of children, through which the intergenerational transmission and restoration of a significant number of these basic types of immaterial culture happens. There is a lot of writings on Pashtuns that have been composed of an ethnographic viewpoint however but Pashtun women's interpretation and life experiences about Pashtunwali were unaddressed. Recently, various books have been published in Pakistan and Afghanistan about the Pashtun tribal system, Pashtunwali, jirga, blood feuds, and Pashtun enmities (see Liebl, 2007; Haroon, 2007; Aziz, 2007; 2006; Yousufzai & Gohar, 2005; Ahmad & Boase, 2004; Glatzer, 2002).

The role of Pashtun women in Pashtunwali is minimal concentrated and even less comprehended. Much has been expounded on the mistreatment of women in Afghanistan, and it is normally credited to Pashtun ancestral practices, for example, male older folks had to say over deciding fate (marriages and carrier) of young women; high pride price, *walwar*, presented to the father of the bride and proposing the sale of women into marriages and

honor killings of women for sexual unfortunate behavior. Among the enormous Pashtun landowner (zamindar) class and the city-abiding Pashtuns, the disengagement of women is pervasive and the *chader* or *boghra* are worn when the lady leaves the bounds of her family compound. Females are compelled by the Pashtunwali code from various perspectives that it is hard to comprehend why they take an interest in this framework, or why, when women's rights are talked about, they oppose them, even those related to social insurance and education (Kakar, 2003). Pashtun women have great respect and honor in Pashtunwali, but she has been denied of the principle rights and legal position which Islam has defined for her on in different spheres of life (Qadeer, 2014).

Pashtun women have constantly assumed the extraordinary job in the general public. Like their male partners, the females love their freedom and respect. From Malalai of Miawand (otherwise called Malala) who mobilized Pashtun powers in the clash of Miawand against the attacking British powers, in this way prompting the Afghan triumph, to the present day Malala Yousafzai who valiantly remained against the Taliban, Pashtun women have consistently been dynamic individuals from the general public. The principal ever Pakistani female government official to be chosen in 1977 for parliament was a Pashtun, Begum Naseem Wali Khan. Pashtun women have conquered every one of the adversaries of Pashtuns from the provincial forces to the religious narrow-minded people forcing their will on Pashtun (Qazi, 2009).

Principally, my research study is interested to analyze the role of women in transmitting Pashtunwali from one generation of Pashtuns to the next one. Pashtuns' personality is believed to be given by Pashtunwali. An inborn code, Pashtunwali is an unwritten law, a full-fledged culture, and a belief system acquired from elders and carried

on from age to age. It is usually viewed as the overwhelming power of Pashtun culture. Rahman (1995) depicts Pashtunwali as —a traditionalist, normally majority rule, hundreds of years old yet at the same time a youthful marvel in the Pashtun culture and financial structure. Pashtun society, by the uprightness of Pashtunwali, went straight to the medieval social structure while never encountering a time of subjection. This innate code expects respect, cordiality, and liberality for any individual who requests absolve or insurance, and an outright commitment to deliver retribution for mistreatment.

1.4 Pashto Language

A few researchers on Pashtuns have contended that the Pashto language is the main part of Pashtunwali. Pashto is *the most vivid symbol of Pashtun character and the measure of Pashtun pride* (Caroe, 1958, p. 65). It is exceptionally esteemed according to Pashtuns that it very well may be considered as one of the diacriticals and key parts of the character (Bartlotti, 2000). In this manner, 'not just basically and truly, however emblematically and expressively in oral writing and current verse, the Pashto language is firmly related with Pashtunwali' (Bartlotti, 2000, p. 71).

The Pashto language belongs to the Indo-Iranian language family (Rahman, 1995). It is broadly spoken in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, FATA, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan. The discussion about the Pashto language being a huge marker of social identity is uncertain. Barth (1981) has thought about language as a vital and diacritical component, however in itself not adequate: we are not managing a linguistic group'. He stated a famous Pashto proverb as proof on the side of his contention, *He is Pashtun who does Pashto, not (just) the person who communicates in Pashto* (Barth, 1969, p. 119). In his estimable investigation on Pashto proverbs, Bartlotti (2000) has clarified this saying like the one which indeed

perceives Pashto as a character marker, preserver, and agent of communicating and transmitting Pashtunwali among Pashtuns. In 2004, Grima's ethnographic report embrace Bartlotti's cases, she expresses, *Pashto, as has been illustrated by me and others in length, is not just a language but a complex conglomerate of cultural behavior. One does not merely speak, but one does, one performs, Pashto. As my linguistic skills grew, so did the behavioral expectations the culture had of me* (Grima, 2004, p. 99).

Folk stories hold a very deciding place in socialization among Pashtuns as the larger part of them live in a rural setting and are similarly less presented to modern means of entrainment and communication. Further, the literacy rate among them is low delivering them an impediment to read and compose (Widmark, 2010). These folk stories in this way assume a prevailing part in their lives for both joy and guidance. Likewise, they are frequently repeated, which permits them to frame an individual's memory and it is seen that they might be cited like *matal* (proverbs) and maxims to caution, please or educate others. The reason for the current study is to investigate the position, roles, and characters of males and females in the tales, which are the results of long noteworthy practices. Additionally, it attempts to explore gender construction and its practical implications in Pashtun society. Folk stories have been with Pashtuns for quite a long time and as the settings of such stories are native, they serve as an approach to investigate the essence and development of the country (Hyman, 2002).

1.5 Statement of the Problem

The study of inter-generational and intra-generational interaction and relationships has been a key concern in the sociology of generations & aging. There are prominent sociologists like, Sorokin (1947), Mannheim (1952), and Kertzer (1983) who studied the dynamic nature

of relationships among different generations. The notion of cultural generation is an emerging concept in the field of sociology of generation. In feminist research, plurality and diversity between women's experiences have been considered as underlying themes, but differences related to age met ignorance. The majority of the studies (Sanauddin, 2015; Ahmad, 2006; Bartlotti & Khattak, 2006; Akhtar, 1996) done on the topic earlier were aimed at exploring the general trends of transmission of Pashtunwali through the usage of Pashto Proverbs. Such as the study of Anne Pessala (2012) had provided a general overview of the experiences of Pashtun women on both sides of the Durand Line and their everyday life stories and narratives of war on terrorism. But how these Pashtun women interpret and understand Pashtunwali under the heading of generational relations met ignorance. In 2011, Naz & Rehman studied Pashtunwali in comparison with Islam under the theme of women's rights given by Islam and their violation under the Pashtun code of life in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Having said so, very rare material is found in the context of Pakistani Pashtun women on the selected topic. To fill this gap, the present study was an attempt to analyze how the three generations of the cohort of Pashtun women in Pakistan interact and how this interaction leads to the transmission of Pashtunwali (Pashtun's code of conduct) from the older generation to the younger generation and what results in it yield in the lives of the Pashtun women. The study was also interested to see the degree to which transmission involves codification or change, and what role different generations have in this dynamic, of stability and change? What is the relationship between different generations of women in this transmission, in terms of generational agreement and stability? Furthermore, the study was to see the impact, level, and strength of such codes on contemporary Pashtun women.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

- To explore the meaning of Pashtunwali to the Pashtun women.
- To examine the transmission patterns of Pashtunwali from one generation to the next generation.
- To analyze the experiences of older & younger Pashtun women about Pashtunwali.
- To explore the significance of the Pashto language as one of the major tools of transmission of Pashtunwali.

1.7 Research Questions

- i. How do Pashtun women understand, interpret and experience Pashtunwali?
- ii. How does Pashtunwali transmit from the older generations to the younger generations?
- iii. What is the role of the Pashto language in the preservation of Pashtunwali?
- iv. How do Pashtun women describe Pashtu proverbs on basic principles of Pashtunwali?

1.8 Significance of the Study

Principally, the present study has highlighted the changing structure of Pashtun society in Pakistan. It has unveiled the experiences of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother), attitude formation, nature of the relationship, level of understanding, patterns of interaction, and construction of their self-identities have been studied under the heading of a meaningful relationship between mother-daughter, grandmother-granddaughter, and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law that contributed a lot in comprehending and interpreting the generational relations and transmission of Pashtunwali

among Pashtun women of various age groups (young adult, middle-aged adult, and old-aged adult) and generations. Furthermore, each generational group of Pashtun women (people sharing similarities based on their lifelong experiences) has certain characteristics that make them unique in terms of their lifestyle, preferences, belief system, value system, use of technology, adaptability, media consumption, and innovative work demands, etc. The study has shed light on the importance of Pashtunwali in Pashtun culture in general and among Pashtun women in particular. It has highlighted how the younger Pashtun women acquire the cultural customs and traditions from their elders (particularly grandmothers, mothers, and other relatives). The study is a contribution to the sociology of family, marriage, and culture in Pakistan and I believe it helps in comprehending the importance of Pashtunwali for Pashtun women.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study has seven chapters namely introduction, review of literature, methodology, data analysis (generational relations and transmission patterns of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women), and key findings, implications, and conclusion. The main points of each chapter are given as under:

Chapter One discusses the introduction of the research topic. It firstly discusses the general introduction of the research theme that includes the notion of generation, generational relations, and cultural transmission. It has also been discussed in the introduction chapter how family plays a decisive role in the transmission process of cultural values towards their offspring. The chapter also covers the brief history of Pashtunwali and

the importance of the Pashto language under the lead of previous studies conducted on the subject.

Chapter Two presents a relevant literature review on the topic. It's focused on classical and contemporary debates on the topic ranging from global to the local context. The chapter is divided into the discussion on the broader spectrum of Inter and Intra-Generational Relations, Cultural Transmission of values, Status & Role of Pashtun Women in transmitting Pashtunwali, and the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter Three includes the methodological processes used in this research work. The data was collected from three districts namely, Karak, Charsadda, and Swat of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan. The sample includes 39 respondents who were in-depth interviewed & were selected based on consecutive sampling techniques. An interview schedule was used for the sake of data collection.

Chapters Four & Five are the main chapters of data analysis. Chapter four is focused on results and analysis of data on Generational Relations in Pashtun society concerning Pashtun women. It is centered on the debate on how the Pashtun women experience the patterns of relationships with their elders and youngsters. Chapter five presents the results and analysis of how the Pashtun women experience the Pashtunwali. The data in chapter five also presents the ways Pashtun women transmit the Pashtunwali from one generation of Pashtun women to the next one.

Chapter Six & Seven sum up the study by presenting a summary, discussion, implications, and conclusions of the research study. The study revealed important insights about the experiences and orientation of Pashtun women and their comprehension of

Pashtunwali. In the current study, the notion of age, classification of age groups, and generations are defining determinants to understand the nature and structure of the relationship existed between elder and younger generation of Pashtun women and to identify the multiple transmission patterns of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review for this research comes from both theoretical as well as from empirical sides. Prevailing research on the Pashtunwali is usually found in the books, articles, and other literature yet very little has been found written from the women's perspective of the Pashtunwali. One of the major gaps that I found as a reader of the literature review was that enormously Pashtun male's version about the orientation of Pashtunwali in terms of Jirga system, tarborwali, ethnic identity, war on terrorism, and blood revenge has been studied and identified but women-centered approach on Pashtunwali and its parameters and their lived experiences met ignorance on all fronts. The current research study has highlighted the mentioned gap and is expected to be a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge in the relevant field. Furthermore, this chapter provides the reader with the conceptual understanding of basic concepts of generation, Pashtunwali, generation gap, generational relation, cultural transmission, language, parent-child relations, values, and interpersonal relations.

2.2 Generation—A Socially Constructed Phenomena

Generally speaking, generation arranges our social universes in routes as significantly as any other orientation such as class, or ethnicity, etc. Generations, as a social construct develop might be significantly more socially famous than gender positioning, class, or ethnicity. However, it exemplifies the mystery of being, of need, always in

transition. Kertzer (1983) has enlisted the concept of “generation” in four categorical meanings i.e. “generation as a cohort; generation as a principle of kinship descent; generation as life stage; and generation as a historical period” which have been used in the sociological literature on generational studies. The researchers have been worried about the issue of intergenerational relations for a few centuries. The part of the generation in the improvement of human development, the social structure, and the state are inspected with regards to the general historical approach (Kuftyak, 2014). The demographers are centered around the investigation of social aging, its forms and the age structure, the quantitative uniformities of population propagation. For instance, they leave aside the qualitative parts of the generational procedures, and common exchange of exercises of the representatives of various age groups in society, issues of succession, and the differences among lived experiences of generations (Gasset, 1994).

As McMullin (1998) brings up, ‘The partition of gender positioning and age relations drives either to the conclusion that age is of significantly less critical than different measurements of imbalance, for example, gender, class, race, and ethnicity, or that it stands separated from the rest as a different premise of disparity (p. 515).’ Folbre (1995) recommends that there are parallels between the measurements of age and gender in social structure, "Like gender, age is a classification because of social understanding of a natural symbol, a classification with especially vital goals for the association of common generation" (p. 150).

2.3 Generational Relations

As indicated by McDaniel (1997), generational relations, amongst more youthful and more established age-groups, regardless of what their introduction to the world companions

or the recorded time of perception, is at the core of social coherence and attachment: "intergenerational exchanges are the ideal of societal multiplication connection, and trade. Without intergenerational exchanges, social orders would stop to exist" (p. 467).

Sociological understanding of gender and generations has taken several paths, including some untrodden ones. Identity formation research, largely of women as they age (see Benson, 1997 & McDaniel, 2001 for altogether different methodologies), tracks the self-personalities of people as they enter new generational life stages. Secondary changes in the lives of women over generations have gotten enormous research consideration, especially work power and social arrangement shifts profiting women in late decades (Earl, 1999). Generational interrelations (mothers and younger girls, regularly either when the females are looking for their particular ways of life as grown-ups or when mothers are matured and needing care by young females) has been an essential research focus (Aronson, 1991).

In 2005, Zhou Xiaohong directed a study on emerging concepts of "cultural transmission and parent-child relations" in Chinese society. He pointed out that from the dawn of enlightened society, regardless of what kinds and changes it has faced under the process of cultural transmission and socialization, the order of transmission and the job of the instructor/teacher and the informed/student appeared to be fixed and eternal. Predominantly, the direction of cultural transmission was concerned, it was always from the more seasoned age (elders, seniors) to the following more youthful age. Similarly, inside a family, the guardians constantly assumed the job of instructors and their youngsters - the job of the informed.

Discussing the age, as a rule, we think about the relatives of one level of family relationship to a typical ancestor, that is joined by the general states of life in the specific historical time of the improvement of the society. Postnikova (2008) has defined the fundamental arrangements and criteria of separation of generation: age/age period; historical generation (the introduction of the individual and the time of the development of its personality); the social position in the family (kids, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, guardians, grandparents). The generation as a gathering of individuals joined by fringes of age, has close states of socialization and life, basic needs, qualities, and fears. Individual identity is being framed in early adolescence, absorbs myths, legends, customs, and culture which shapes psychological identification. The exchange of information, messages, stories and values to the families are the methods for survival for generation (Schutzenberger, 1998; Kuftyak, 2011).

Under the heading of intergenerational transmission of values, significant studies have been formulated by Bronfenbrenner (1958) & Kohn (1963, 1969, 1986) that to great extent parental values affect child-rearing practices. Parental value is believed to be molded by the encompassing life conditions, particularly the work attributes or profession-related characteristics. Class difference is also seen as a critical factor responsible for the variation uncovered in the preferred style of parenting (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Parcel & Menaghan (1997) provided interesting insights (in the series of studies conducted in the U.S) that parental work experience provides a deciding impact on children's orientation towards their surroundings. They have articulated some other factors such as family structure, occupational complexity, sensitivity, and aura of parents' jobs, play a deciding role in the kids' functioning. Additionally, they contended that mothers' intellectual capacity connected

with degrees of job sensitivity may bring about changing childrearing practice (Cooksey et al, 1997).

Social structure and context are also responsible for the conditioning of an individual's behavior. As Kohn formulated that work conditions also contribute towards the scheme of worker's value which is also echoed in parents' behavior or relationship with their offspring at home (Kohn, 1969).

Historical examinations in the developed world have published some categories for generations that hold common qualities and perspectives (Verhaagen, 2005). Baby boomers, born in the 1940s and 1950s, were more concerned about individual rights and freedom. Their children, Generation X, born in the 1960s and 70s, grew up in an adult-focused generation and have been referred to as latchkey youngsters because they regularly used to spend time alone (after school hours). When Millennials arrived between 1983 and 2000, their parents realized they had to reverse this practice and Millennials grew to become the restore generation, the most child-focused era in history. Millennials have been given extraordinary attention, instruction, and nurturance by their parents. They were household-oriented, technologically advanced, success-targeted, and confident people. However, due to the rise of technology, they had been brought to adults at very early ages. Although the political and social activities around the world and the timing of each generation category do not precisely overlap, a comparable generational style can be determined in non-United States cultures nowadays (Buckingham, 2013).

Several other studies pinpointed the importance of maternal roles and their conditioning with the childrearing practices throughout the U.S (Swinehart, 1963). By the

same token, various reports record the significance of mother's inclusion in the kid raising practice in Taiwan. The greater part of these investigations is from the clinicians or child training specialists. For instance, they have pointed out that a mother's belief of her psychological capacity is demonstrated to be emphatically connected with the values of freedom and their relations with her offspring (Lin, 1999). Moreover, under the concept of intergenerational transmission, it was demonstrated that not just the childrearing style of the maternal grandma's is legitimately transmitted to the mother's, the more grounded the connection between two upper ages, the more grounded the level of transmission is discovered (O-Yang & Wu, 1998). Brutal child-rearing as well is demonstrated to be transmitted intergenerationally in Taiwan (Wu, 2000).

In 2011, Hebblethwait and Norris studied the notion of generativity among grandparents and adult grandchildren through their experiences of family leisure. The research findings revealed that that grandparents saw educating and coaching as focal highlights of their job. Relaxation exercises afforded grandparents the context for educating their grandkids about their family backgrounds and took into account the sharing of individual encounters and life lessons. For instance, grandparents took their grandchildren on vacations to present grandchildren to individuals and spots that had been essential for the grandparents' life history. There was likewise an outstanding instructive part to these relaxation exercises.

2.4 Generation Gap

The notion of the generation gap has been highlighted in the sociological theory during the 1960s when the more youthful generation—known as Baby boomers appeared to indulge in conflict with everything their elders had experienced in their life span in terms of

knowledge, norms, music, rituals, laws, political, and religious values, etc. Sociologists define the "generation gap" as "an institutional age isolation" and have divided the life span into three unique levels: youth, midlife, and retirement (Mendez, 2008). Every generation starts its precedents and has its social effects. One of the famous English Novelists George Orwell (1903 – 1950) rightly said, *Every generation images itself to be more intelligent than the one that went before it, and wiser than the one that comes after it* (Vasilescu, 2011, p. 49).

In 2020, Niazi et al studied the concept of the generation gap and its causes and effects in Pakistani society. They revealed that Pakistani society is experiencing various issues such as technological advancements, cultural changes, civilization, language, and various festivals that are deciding determinants to cause the generation gap in the society. Furthermore, they were of the view that to reduce that the comprehension of innovative shift, social changes and cultural way of life among generations needs to be considered. Nonetheless, it is recommended that it is necessary to understand the nature, content, and context of changes that are beneficial for society and important to safeguard cultural values and social heritage among various generations.

The orientation and intensity of familial relations among relatives alongside the sort of family structure help kids in molding their lives. In 2005, Falk and Falk provided a comprehensive theoretical framework about six types of families (in terms of size and structure) in which children could be raised. Among these initial ones is totalitarian in which youngsters are not permitted to offer their input or take part in decision making. Second is the tyrant structure in which kids are permitted to state their thoughts and viewpoints yet the choices are completed exclusively by the parents. The third is the democratic structure,

which permits youngsters to settle on some of the choices concerning their practices albeit the final choice should have a parental agreement. Equalitarian structure gives as much weight age to the voices of youngsters as their elders have. Then again, tolerant construction gives more opportunities to choose about themselves than their parents have. Ultimately, the Laissez Faire structure denies complete parental interference in the undertakings of kids.

The disparity between various generations is apparent from the thinking patterns of the young generation as they favor and adopts contemporary technological models and practices in contrast to antiquated, obsolete, and worn out patterns and structures (of the previous generation) (Williams & Junussbaum, 2001). Notably, if older generations are more inclined towards their own established thoughts, values, and practices, consequently distance or indifference is indispensable between mindsets of two generations. Despite the way that elders need to control the behaviors of their children as they always seek to have an independent outlook that causes an ideological clash between the various generations (Tyyska, 2001). Truly, the relationship between parents and children is ingrained and ineradicable but this relationship could be disintegrated because of issues that can broaden the generation gap between mother-child just as father-daughter (Kaufman et al, 1998).

Another significant reason behind the generation gap is the lack of spending quality time with youngsters. It has been evident that the absence of parental involvement in the lives of their children especially, when mothers are working women creates serious communication gaps and patterns between family members (Macky et al, 2008). In the past mothers used to invest most of their energy with children which is changed as nowadays due to the extensive burden of domestic chores on mothers, in some cases they are also occupied with working outside the home has changed the whole spectrum of socialization and family

matters. In the most recent couple of years, various changes had occurred in the structure and patterns of the families for example expansion in nuclear families, a trend in preschool enrollment (of kids), expanded periods of financial dependence on their parents has eventually changed the notion of spending time and making investments in relations that young generation expects from their parents on all fronts (Suzzanne, 2000).

In 2010, Sattar et al conducted quantitative research in the field of generational relations in Pakistan and focused on the determinants of the generation gap among parents and children. The study outlined multiple reasons for the generation gap among parents and children that includes, traditional value systems, old-fashioned thinking patterns, divorce and separation (broken family system), and misuse of modern technological gadgets. Moreover, evolving socioeconomic status was also one of the underlying factors behind widening the gap between generations. It has been suggested that this gap can be reduced through love, devotion, patience, sincerity, forethought, and responsibility, etc.

2.5 Cultural Transmission of Values

In 1995, Arnett researched the subject of adolescent socialization and the role of family, provided a distinction between “broader socialization cultures” and “narrower socialization cultures” with cultures specific values. He highlighted that broader socialization cultures are inclined to encourage individualism, independence, and self-expression of the young generation while narrower socialization cultures give priority to values of obedience and conformity to societal values (familial values as well) and discourage deviation from moral and traditional conduct. Each culture offers explicit formative specialties and socialization practices for the transmission of values from one generation to the next. Different cultural values and socialization practices are also

described by the culture-explicit ideas of autonomy (independence) or reliance (interdependence) (Greenfield, et, al. 2003).

By the same token, Schneewind (1999) researched the notion of the transmission belt made a comparison between the orientation of individualistic and collectivist societies. They revealed that individualistic societies underline the progressive pathway of freedom which features the advancement of self-sufficiency while in collectivist societies the pathway of reliance highlights family connections, parental control, and commitments. The family has been considered as the primary socialization agent and held responsible as a mediator between these cultural values and an individual in the transmission procedure (Schneewind, 1999). Cultural values that are significant for family life and the relatives are more successfully transmitted (Hoge et. al, 1982). Additionally, Goodnow (1997) viewed that by and large, guardians/ parents need to transmit those qualities that are significant for them. Consequently, there will be a harmony between parents' personal values and their socialization values (Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988).

Cultural transmission is significant for societal stability as it encourages communication between individuals from various ages and it allows the support of culture-specific knowledge, convictions, and beliefs over generations. Full transmission of societal values from one generation to the next with no change isn't constantly idealized because new generation may need to adjust to altered living conditions; along these lines, a total transmission with no change would be as disadvantageous for the distinctive individual as the total absence of transmission (Trommsdorff, 2009).

In 1996, Tamara Hareven examined generational relations and values' transmission. Her research indicates that if two generations (parents and children) are concerned about

their family's collective needs and goals then ultimately, they will enjoy a strong filial relationship. Furthermore, a strong filial relationship characterized will also help in the transmission of values and minimize the differences between generations. The significance of gender contrasts in the intergenerational transmission of roles is featured in Alice Rossi's (1993) research on the utilization of the intergenerational stake theory in an investigation looking at men and women. Rossi notes two key reasons why women have a more noteworthy interest in keeping up associations with their youngsters than do men. To begin with, women work as essential family guardians in later life. Second, extraordinary socialization encounters result in parenthood accepting a more focal part in the lives of women than parenthood does in the lives of men; that is, as women are associated to be more expressive than men and will probably expect the "kin-keeper" role in the family.

In 2006, Trommsdorff and Nauck examined demographic changes and intergenerational family relationships, they have found that throughout the social change, the younger generations are challenged with new difficulties and new cultural values to which they may adjust to having a fruitful existence. By the same token, Hoge et al, (1982) highlighted that those cultural values and patterns that are defined as cherished values indispensable for family life and relationships are more effectively conveyed among the generation.

Aronsson & Gottzén (2011) conducted a very interesting study on generational positions and family dining and disclosed that family dining is an important site for transmitting norms and exercising power relations among generations (grandparents, parents, and children). Parents constantly remind their children about the notions of morality and upheld local norms in a very meaningful context during family dining.

2.6 Women in Pashtun Society

A lot of exploration has been done on Pashtun women's development and gender-related issues in Pashtun areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Akbar, 1983; Chavis, 2001; Mann, 2005; Moghadam, 1992; Zulfacar, 2006). But inadequate perspectives about the perplexing issue of community participation, comprehensive approach towards women's education, and episteme about Pashtunwali met ignorance. The greater part of the existing has included women and they are kept away from decision making in the male-centric culture of Pashtuns (Agarwal, 1998; Latif, 2010; Mumtaz, 2006).

In 2017, Ahmed et al, conducted an extensive study on Pashtunwali and its representation in Pakistani advertising, and findings for the study pinpointed multiple elements of Pashtun culture like Pashtunwali, *hujra*, *atan* (traditional Pashtun dance), respect, the status of elders, and music depicted in selected eight TV ads. The study found that portrayal of Pashtun women and their role was quite passive in respective TV ads as they were shown behind the curtains and separate from the public sphere as they believed to belong to the private sphere—this depiction of Pashtun women was quite indifferent to their role models like Begum Naseem Wali Khan and Malalai of Miawand.

Indeed, even Pashtun men admit in their private life as "*khazay ajaiz qam day, be wasa de*" for example "the majority of women is hopeless, they are powerless" (Akbar, 2013). She has been denied of a few activities in everyday life which are additionally permitted by Islam for example their assent isn't looked for marriage; they can't claim divorce compensation; legacy in land and other is denied to them; they can't separate from their spouses. There is a proverb in Pashtu about women as, "*khazza ya de kor da, ya de gor*

da" – which implies that for a "lady either the house (*kor*) or the grave (*gor*)" (Akbar, 1988). It expresses that ladies face extraordinary confinements and hardships throughout her life.

Then again, *Mour* (the mother) is the image of celebrated status and enthusiastic impact in Pashtun society. She is thought to be an expert on Pashtunwali and also an honest to goodness guardian (Ahmed, 1980). The status of the mother is in this manner more than once recognized and spoke to with pride and regard. She effectively takes an interest in innate undertakings and everyday basic leadership notwithstanding her supervisory position at home; her energy increments with age. Examining the part of Pashtun women in the Afghan displaced person camps at Peshawar, Pakistan, Mann (2005) recommends, in conventional non-fundamentalist settings, females have arranged their place; more seasoned ladies are regarded and the oldest little girl is regularly the father's top pick. Similarly, as in other man-centric social orders in the West (Jewish and Christian) up until the finish of the eighteenth birthday, the official line never supported females yet did not involve programmed abuse. However, Pashtun women, notwithstanding their custom disengagement were not generally inactive. Acquiring renowned impact inside the more distant family lays on how much a lady produces beneficiaries for the family; to be specific, children. despite such weights, mothers are never forgotten and cited in most Pashto tunes and maxims with extraordinary regard and respect: —Heaven lies at the feet of the mother is a typical Pashto citation.

In 2004, Aminah Ahmed studied the public activities of Pashtun women or *Bibiane* (pl. of the Pukhto expression 'Bibi': woman) from landed, wealthy families in the districts of Swat and Mardan in northern Pakistan. The broadly utilized Pushto term *Gham-khadi* both alludes to explicit segregated social gatherings such as memorializing death, marriage, birth,

and other such occasions and assigns the feelings of distress (*gham*) and delight (*khadi*) which they inspire. *Gham-khadi* involves an assortment of thoughts and practices of life, where joy and misery are comprehended as insoluble and are commended mutually inside systems of equal social commitments. Readiness for and participation at *gham-khadi* occasions is privately comprehended as 'ladies' work', a lot of complex exercises indispensable to Pashtun personality or Pashtunwali. Conventionally, essayists on Muslim social orders, especially the Pashtuns, have described Pashtunwali as a 'perfect sort code' given such standards as *Badal* (vengeance), *melmastia* (neighborliness), *nanawatee* (shelter), *tor* (female respect), and *tarboorwali* (agnatic competition) (Ahmed, 1980). She recommends that *gham-khadi* has come to expect a need among Pashtuns as a contemporary standard of Pashtunwali. Huge numbers of the ideas portraying Pashtunwali, (for example, types of accommodation, vengeance, agnatic contention) are carried on funerary and wedding occasions (*gham-khadi*). Ahmed emphasized that *gham-khadi* comprises the 'work of life' (*zeest-rozgar*), through which *Bibiane* keeps up the texture of public activity by supporting between and intra-family connections.

As per an interpenetration of individual and social ideas of character inside Pashtun originations of the family and connection, *Bibiane* secure *gham-khadi* as both an establishment of social relations and a wellspring of individual self-definition. Family relationship among Pashtuns is ordinarily conceptualized as thick and multi-filiated. People consider themselves as having relations not exclusively to quick kinfolk (guardians, youngsters, and kin) yet additionally to a scope of inaccessible relatives and affines, normally associated through the relationships of female relatives (who might be cousins a few times expelled). *Bibiane's* feeling of social personality gets from a married individual's

interest in circles of *gham-khadi* framed basically through family relationship and marriage, yet in addition through kinship, clientage, and political group. Similarly, families are conceptualized as enormous corporate structures, having a place with various family units however sharing a typical predecessor. *Gham-khadi* circle enrollment offers on *Khanan* and *Bibiane* the commitment to go to individuals' *gham-khadi* events, making an intricate example of covering bonds, loyalties, devotions, and obligations between families (broadened and atomic). Every individual qua relative is bound to others by an example of equal visiting.

As indicated by customary Pashtun culture, men start impacting a young lady's life at an early age, extending authority on issues from instruction (education) to the determination of a spouse. After marriage, a women's husband and in-laws may assume responsibility for her life. They could choose issues, for example, the number of children she will have, what her job in the community will be, and what her cutoff points are in looking for instruction or work. Directing such basic leadership is the centrality of the purity and respect of Pashtun women. Infringement of a women's respect carries grievous results to a general public established in innate bonds. A women's character and activities mirror the status and respect of her family in general. The emphasis is on the word respect, for which there are a few correlative words in Pashto—*ghairat*, *nang*, and *namus*—which pass on various parts of social standards and the ancestral code. These ancestral qualities makeup —a complex personality dependent on financial good and social independence (Mann, 2005). Every family or clan has its very own independent limits. Such customs and standards—truly man-made—establish an outrageous type of a man-centric culture with a hierarchical setup and clear differentiation among male and female status. Furthermore, male respect is proactive

and communicated through forceful and violent conduct, while respect for females —is essentially uninvolved, accommodating, and revolved around evasion of shame. A Pashtun lady is required to live as per winning social standards, social qualities, and the ancestral code (Mann, 2005; Moghadam 1992; Tapper 1991).

Rahimi (2017) conducted research on Pashtun folk literature and particularly focused on the social life of Pashtun (Afghan) women and their passion for producing and comprehending Landays (a genre of folk literature in the Pashto language). His research revealed that how Landays have been transferred from the elder generation to the new generation and Pashtun women are mindful about their traditional and ancestral value system—Pashtunwali that is even reflected in Pashto short stories as well.

2.7 Intergenerational Relations

The review shows that intergenerational value transmission is an exceptionally mind-boggling marvel that influences the family connections and the scholars need to comprehend the more extensive setting in which it happens. Cultural and moral values being which are transfer by families should not exclusively be analyzed within the culture but at a period and context. The way of life of the elders might be altogether different than their youngsters' way of life and may make challenges for the entire family. These challenges may likewise contrast among gatherings of people in a single country. Subsequently, the specialists should be delicate to the cultural values and practices in one family, and not only thinking about the ethnic identity but other sociodemographic variables such as age-group, gender, generation, social status, profession, and birthplace, etc. and requires consideration, mindfulness, and interest (Falicov, 1995).

The issues concerning what values to transmit or what values to adapt from the new generation might make disarray and a feeling of frailty for the parents and elders, which might raise intergenerational or even parental clashes. On the other hand, such issues can make a useful strain that might bring about another amalgamation (Fişek, 2002). Marriage and family specialists have a critical job in helping individuals in more effectively arranging the social change (Aponete, 1985).

Relations amongst mothers and their grown-up female children constitute a huge piece of numerous women's regular experience. As indicated by van Mens-Verhulst (1993), a superior comprehension of their progression would help us to show signs of improvement in relations between women who contrast in their level of power and social position not in the family but also on different fronts i.e. education, workplace, management, conflict resolution, since they can be seen "as a prime example of real and symbolic generation difference between women" at both the individual level and large-scale levels of social relations. It is hence imperative that we reveal and portray them again with the goal that we can fill the gap in the social sciences.

In 2003, Teo et al, studied the notion of gender roles, family formation, personal values, and intergenerational ties between two generations of Singaporean women and found that various generations (Old-age adults and young adults) of Singaporean women have changing values about gender roles, preferences in terms of the gender of the children, family formation, and accommodation patterns sets. Moreover, young women were more inclined towards western models and movements while older women uphold traditional Confucian value systems and social heritage.

In an investigation of Palestinian women, Samira Haj (1992) urges that to comprehend women's status in the general public we need to incorporate the entire life course because a female's conditions and status may change fundamentally amid her lifetime. This is an assessment of Western researchers who are blamed for generally concentrating on extremely specific subjects of Islamic culture, for example, the cover or female isolation, and not relating these marvels to a more extensive historical and social setting. One method for enlarging the point of view is to perceive how a female's status changes amid her life course. On account of a Palestinian lady, Haj accentuates that a female's status changes drastically when she turns into a mother, and after that her energy increments by age. In this manner, her status is concerning other women in her family unit and nearby group. The reality of the matter is that when discussing women's status inside a specific culture, it is sometimes specified how females' lives change from youth to maturing.

In 2009, Albert et al, investigated intergenerational transmission of values in German and Indonesian families. They revealed that socialization practices and value orientation of respective cultures were quite different as two cultures were holding traditional versus modern values and guiding by a definitive developmental path of independence versus interdependence under the heading of value socialization. Furthermore, parent-child relations were a key focus of their study and collected data within families from three generations (young adults, mothers, and grandmothers).

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The present study has been carried out under the illustrative theoretical models in sociology such as symbolic interactionists' paradigm—micro-level theory focuses on the concept of social interaction, language, symbols, meanings, and interpersonal relationships

among individuals within a society. Moreover, interactionists are also interested to understand the subjective interpretation and construction of reality. I have adopted the social constructivist's theory to study the experiences of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother), their comprehension of Pashtunwali, the role of mother-tongue in preserving and transmitting cultural values, and various interaction patterns/relationship among various age groups (young adult, middle-aged, and old-aged adult) of Pashtun women. Deliberately, this paradigm guided me in developing an understanding of the construction of social identities among Pashtun women of various age groups.

Furthermore, I have considered the feminist standpoint theory that has guided the present endeavor which states that one needs to have the women's lens to understand the lived experiences of the women. Primarily, the study has engaged the prominent female sociologists, Sandra Harding and Dorothy Smith as the core theorists. Feminist standpoint epistemology arose forty years prior and was introduced in Western Europe, North America, and Australia (Stone, 2007). Feminist standpoint epistemology expects that oppressed and marginalized individuals are in privileged situations to acquire knowledge about social realities related to their social status and position in society (Harding, 1986). The point of view rejects that conventional science is evenhanded (objective) and recommends that research and theory have disregarded the marginalized women and feminists' perspectives.

This theory rose out of the Marxist primary argument that individuals from a persecuted class have special access to knowledge that isn't accessible to those from an advantaged class. During the 1970s feminist writers inspired by that Marxist understanding started to speculate that how disparities among people impact information creation. Their work is identified with epistemology, one of the primary branches of philosophy that deals

with the nature and creation of knowledge and emphasized that knowledge is always socially constructed and situated. Similarly, one's social position in a society shapes or defines what one can comprehend and experience in terms of class, race, and gender, etc.

Feminist standpoint epistemology is a fundamental critical theory that tries to empower the unheard voices of marginalized women and achieve change. Therefore, scholars who are interested in adopting standpoint epistemology not only support the interests of the oppressed but empower the persecuted to understand their issues from their standpoint and empower the marginalized individuals to improve their living conditions. These scholars apply feminist standpoint epistemology through three fundamental principles: arranged/situated information, epistemic benefit, and accomplishment (Intemann, 2010).

Standpoint theorists have generated alternative epistemological construction with the theses of strong objectivity, arranged/situated knowledge, episteme advantage, and power relations in society. The American feminist, Sandra Harding instituted the term standpoint theory to sort epistemologies that focused on women's knowledge. She contended that those individuals who are at the top of social order and hierarchies are less concerned about human relations and the real essence of social reality and consequently miss basic inquiries regarding the social and regular world in their scholarly interests. On the other hand, individuals at the bottom of social order and hierarchies have a unique standpoint that contributes a lot towards the generation of knowledge from a different perspective. Albeit such individuals are frequently disregarded, their minimized positions make it simpler for them to define significant research questions and clarify social and regular issues. Harding was of the view that "[the] experiences of women, informed by feminist theory, provide a

potential basis for more complete and less distorted knowledge than that which comes from male experiences” (Harding, 1989, p. 184). She has emphasized the notion of “strong objectivity”—is necessary that the person who generates the knowledge (the subject) is in the same causal plane as the objects. Harding was of the view that social scientific research should "start out from" the lives of unprivileged groups to gain more objective knowledge of social reality (Harding, 1993, 69).

This perspective was further crafted by the Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith. In her book *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology (1989)*, Smith contended that social science has disregarded and justified women, making them the "Other." She guaranteed that women lived experiences provide a strong base for feminist knowledge. Similarly, by grounding sociological work in women's everyday life experiences and orientation of reality, sociologists can pose new inquiries. For example, Smith set that since women have truly been the guardians of society, men have had the option to devote their energy to explain abstract ideas that are seen as more significant. While on the other hand, women’s contributions and activities are subsequently made invisible and seen as "regular," instead of as a feature of human culture and history. Smith insisted that if sociologists consider and begin according to a female viewpoint, they can ask substantial questions about why women have been doled out to such exercises and what are the consequences for social organizations like instruction, the family, government, and the economy (Smith, 1979).

Moreover, Smith highlighted that lived experiences of women are absent from sociological knowledge as mainstream sociology is dominated by experiences of male agency and reality and the problems of women are invisible to the sociologist. She has

introduced the concept of “bifurcated consciousness”—the abstract world which she analyses as a sociologist and her reality lived as a woman (Smith, 1987, p. 90).

Obviously, bifurcation of consciousness mirrors Smith's own insight of living in "two universes": the predominant, man-dominated, "conceptual or abstract" universe of the researcher/sociologist and the "concrete" universe of women being a wife and mother. The central issue, as Smith (2005, p. 11) notes, is that "the two subjectivities, university, and home, couldn't be mixed."

Pashtunwali in Pashtun societies usually remained and is still considered to be something closely associated with Pashtun men while the standpoint of women about orientation and interpretation of Pashtunwali is usually ignored. Smith stated as *All knowledge is knowledge and from a particular standpoint which has been claimed as objective knowledge of society conceals a male bias* (Smith, 1987, p. 87). This is something closely associated with the concerns of standpoint feminism that critiques the ‘mainstream sociology for implicitly or explicitly adopting a male-centered approach which supports the governing conceptual mode’ (Smith, 1990). The present study has been backed by the driving force of standpoint feminist theory—to understand the women’s side of the Pashtunwali experience and its multiple transmission patterns and belts from the elder generation to the young generation of Pashtun women.

Smith uses the notion of standpoint to emphasize that what one knows is affected by where one stands or holds a position in society. On the same ground, the current study has also studied the social status and experiences of Pashtun women being a daughter, mother, and grandmother. Undoubtedly, we define our surroundings and relations as we experience

them and what we are aware of the world and the "other" is dependent upon that social position and stand (Smith, 1987). However, Smith's contention isn't that we can't take a gender at the world in any capacity other than our given viewpoint. Maybe, her point is that (1) nobody can have total, target information; (2) no two individuals have the very same viewpoint; and (3) we should not take the outlook from which we speak for granted. Instead, we should remember it, be reflexive about it, and problematize it. Our arranged, lived experience should serve as a "point of entry" of research (Smith, 2005, p. 10).

It is noteworthy that standpoint theorists have contended that individuals from marginalized groups have unique experiences that result from their social location and position as 'insider-outsider's or 'outsider within' (Intemann, 2010). Being a female scholar, she turns into an "insider" that empowers her to comprehend and distinguish presumptions that are being made in her field. However, she is an outsider in ordinary studies where her cultural values are historically ignored from such research. Numerous feminist researchers outlined the need to have a comparative experience/encounter or be an individual from a similar community/group to do particular research (Tamney et al, 1992). Likewise, it is about the relationship of a researcher's position or involvement in the subject which is transforming in contemporary society. Hence the situated/arranged knowledge, balanced power connections/relations, social position and location, and beginning with the viewpoints of persecuted people or groups are the relevant highlights that make the research great exploration with responsibility toward the subjects (Gurung, 2020). I have utilized the core concepts of standpoint feminism in terms of situated knowledge, strong objectivity, and insider-outsider's position. Being a researcher, I was conscious about the manifestation and orientation of my respondents (Background information/Socioeconomic characteristics), the

way they shared lived experiences, and the construction of their identity being a Pashtun woman. Noticeably, women are not a homogeneous group holding similar protocols, privileges, and rights but they also face discrimination and confinement in various forms and social contexts. From conceiving the basic idea of the current research endeavor to the portrayal of Pashtun women's episteme about Pashtunwali, I was always compassionate about the role of Pashtun mothers in the process of socialization and making unprecedented sacrifices for their children (forthcoming generation) and overall cultural continuity.

Standpoint feminists contended that science had never been without value-free, as researchers liked to guarantee/claim. A more grounded adaptation of objectivity could be accomplished by joining the standpoint from below (bottom or grass root level) with a reflexive inquiry, by actors who named and arranged themselves, confessing all about forces, interests, and qualities, as informative about the subject and wellspring of knowledge as about the objects of which they talked. As Harding suggests that research that begins from the lives of unprivileged groups enables social scientists to reveal *hidden aspects of social relations between genders and the institutions that support these relations* (Harding, 1986, p. 127). Implicit in Harding's suggestion is the argument that relations of power pose a special challenge for the methodology of the social sciences because they include "hidden aspects."

Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework of the Study

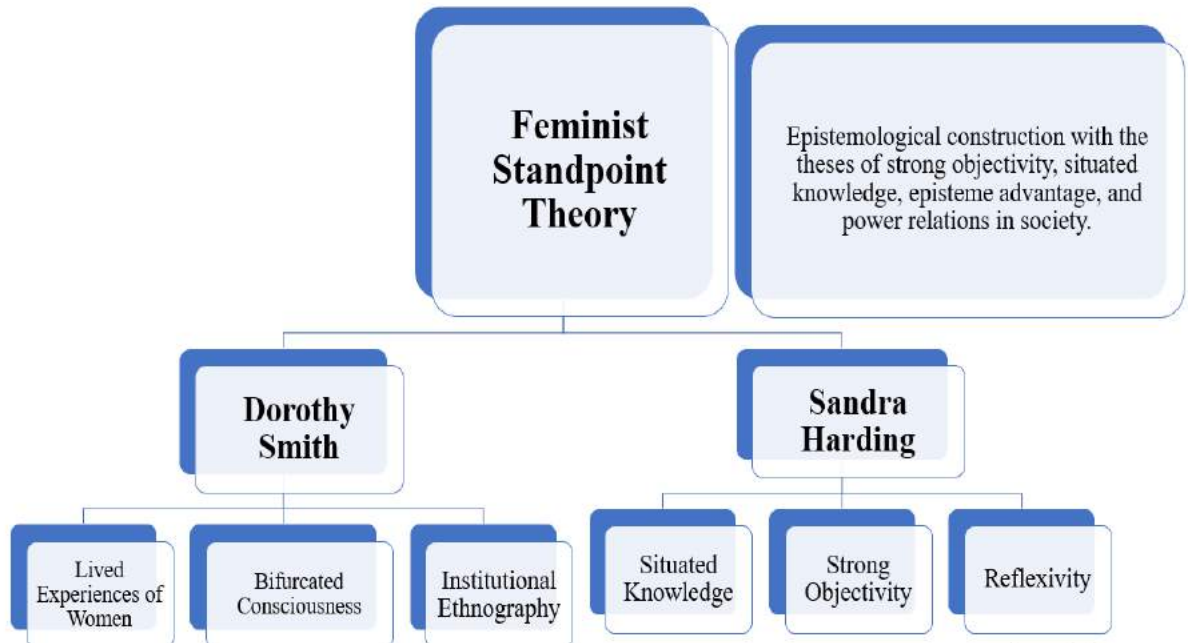
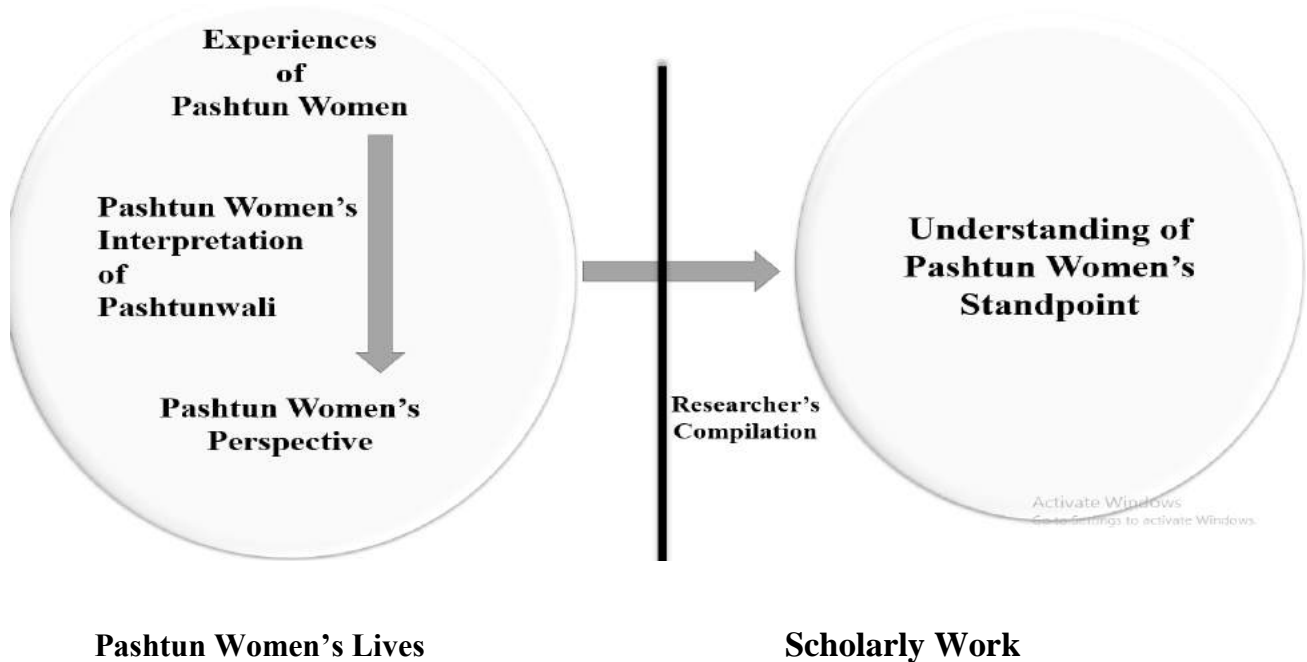


Figure 2.2 Theoretical Framework: Standpoint Feminism (Insider-outsider's View)



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the literature review. In the present chapter, I have highlighted the methodological processes used in this research study. As discussed in the previous chapter, the current research endeavor was carried out under the banner of the symbolic interactionists' paradigm—micro-level theory concentrates on the concept of social interaction, language, symbols, meanings, and interpersonal relationships among individuals within a society. There are three defining principles in the social interpretive paradigm that includes, thoughts, language, and meaning attached by the individuals during interaction (Pochhacker, 2006). Moreover, interactionists are also interested to understand the subjective interpretation and construction of reality. I have employed the interactionists' paradigm to study the experiences of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother), their comprehension of Pashtunwali, and various interaction patterns/relationship among various age groups (young adult, middle-aged, and old-aged adult) of Pashtun women. Deliberately, this paradigm guided me in developing an understanding of the construction of social identities among Pashtun women of various age groups.

Additionally, I have also considered the feminist epistemological standpoint. I have attempted to place the orientation, knowledge, and lived experiences of Pashtun women about the traditional and moral code of Pashtuns—Pashtunwali at the nucleus of my research. Likewise, Dorothy Smith's standpoint theory offers a valuable methodological

strategy to explore the power dynamics that are organized and experienced by women in a given social context (Naples & Gurr, 2013).

The research was carried out in three districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan namely, Karak, Swat, and Charsadda. The study population consisted of Pashtun women of various age groups including young adults, middle-aged adults, and old-aged adults. Thirty-nine (39) respondents (selected with the help of a consecutive sampling technique) were interviewed with the help of an interview guide. The data were processed and analyzed with the help of the thematic analysis technique. The forthcoming section of this chapter outlines the methodological steps in detail.

3.1 Research Design

The present research was qualitative in nature. The qualitative research method is employed to have an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of Pashtun women and their episteme about the Pashtunwali. Furthermore, the decision of having a qualitative design was taken to have an insightful discourse about generational relations between various age groups of Pashtun women and disclose the patterns of transmission of Pashtunwali from elder Pashtun women to younger Pashtun women.

3.2 Universe and Locale of the Study

The current study was conducted in three districts of KPK namely, Karak, Swat, and Charsadda. All of three districts possess rich socio-cultural backgrounds. Karak is located in south of Peshawar (provincial capital of KPK province of Pakistan) and is 240 KMs away from Islamabad (Federal capital of Pakistan). Swat is located in north of Peshawar and is 237 KMs away from Islamabad, Pakistan. Charsadda is located in east of Peshawar and is

160 KMs away from Islamabad, Pakistan. These districts were selected as a study universe due to their unique historical, cultural, and demographic characterization and in terms of diversity of various age groups and the availability of the respondents. Since being a Pashtun woman, I tried to understand the cultural context of these areas and lived experiences and orientation of Pashtun women about Pashtunwali and their identity. Before conducting interviews, I made multiple visits (transit walk) to the locale and gathered basic information (demographics) and detailed historical accounts to better understand the orientation of Pashtun women about their cultural value system and changing trends. Consequently, it proved to be a positive strategy for the validation of the data.

3.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

A consecutive sampling technique has been utilized to draw the sample from the target population. Consecutive sampling involves taking ‘every subject that meets the selection criteria over a specified time interval’. It is usually considered as the best of the nonprobability techniques and is very often practical (Daniel, 2011). Thirty-nine respondents were selected through consecutive sampling techniques and interviewed with the help of an interview guide. Fixing a particular sample size is usually not practiced since both the sampling technique and sampling size depends upon the nature and structure of the data. The process of data collection in qualitative research is normally halted once the researcher feels that the responses are similar at a particular point. In the current case, I felt that I have reached the saturation point after 39 In-depth interviews.

3.4 Respondents

The population of this research consisted of Pashtun women of various age groups namely, young adult (17-30 years old), middle-aged (31-45 years old), and old-aged (above 45 years of age) adults. These age groups were selected in accordance with Erik Erikson's theory of stages of life and these age brackets are relatively universal in nature. Deliberately, these age groups were representative of the various social generations of Pashtun women and to get a deeper understanding of generational relations among Pashtun women (elder and younger generation). Furthermore, the social status (ascribed status) of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and granddaughter) has been considered as one of the defining variables in the present research to comprehend their episteme and orientation about Pashtunwali and its transmission (continuity or discontinuity) among Pashtun women.

3.5 Tool and Methods of Data Collection

3.5.1 Method of Data Collection

The data for this study was collected with the help of an interview guide (encompassing all major research questions). The interview guide had five main segments in total and each segment had multiple questions regarding socio-economic characteristics, Pashtunwali, Pashto language, generation, and generational relations. All questions were open-ended. The questions ranged from childhood to adulthood to old age experiences of Pashtun women of various ages. Few interviews were carried out to pre-test the tool for knowing whether it was measuring what it intended to measure. After the pretesting few questions were clubbed/merged, and some were added/deleted to finalize the tool. Notably, my key informants executed an eminent role in approaching and taking informed consent from the respondents. The duration of the interviews was between 45 minutes to 90minutes.

Probing technique was an integral part of my interview questions. I appealed my respondents about the purpose of tape recording. Doubtlessly, I obtained respondents' consent for the recording of their interviews.

The data collection process was challenging and demanding. During the data collection process, I sometimes had to convince my respondents and their family members about the purpose of my research, repeatedly. I also explained to them the extraordinary worth of their viewpoint in my study. Some of the respondents in rural areas were quite hesitant to speak up initially. But they assimilated with time. The data were collected in three phases. In the first phase (September 2019), data was collected from district Karak. Secondly, (October 2019) data was collected from district Swat, and in the last phase, (November-December 2019) data was collected from district Charsadda.

3.6 Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed through the thematic data analysis technique. Similarly, I have interpreted the data through the lens of standpoint feminism. All the six major steps (Familiarization with data, coding, theme generation, reviewing the themes, defining and naming themes, and the write-up phase) were followed. Firstly, after the data collection, I went through my data to have familiarity. The transcription of the collected data was performed. The data were coded, and certain themes were established. Themes were defined and named as considered appropriate. Data having similar responses were clubbed to generate valuable discourses on the issue.

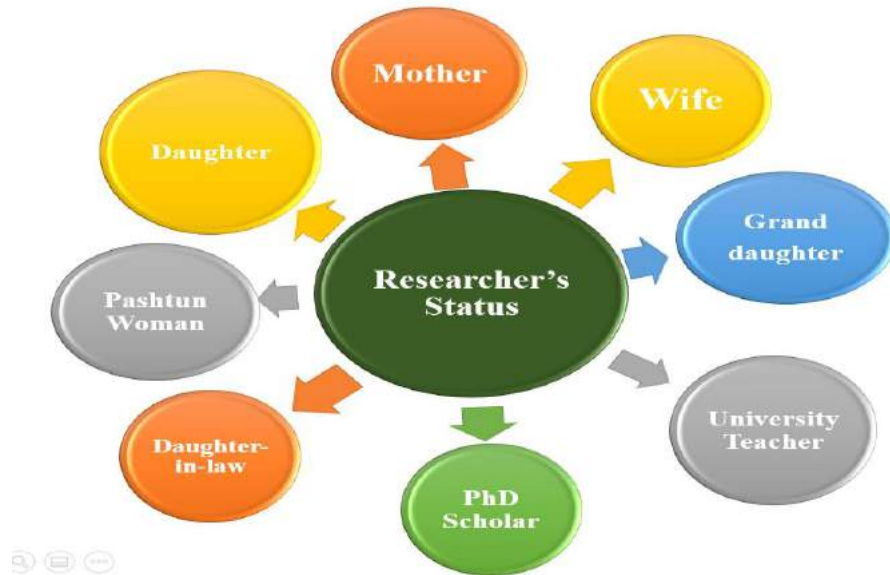
3.7 Ethical Considerations

Academic research involves certain ethical standards (Bryman & Bell, 2007). All the major ethical standards were followed during the research work. Informed consent was sought from the respondents. The participation of respondents was voluntary, and respondents were allowed to withdraw at any stage. The privacy and confidentiality of the data were ensured. The anonymity of the respondents and their organizations is maintained. Pseudonyms were adopted in this regard. The respondents were not harmed in any form and their dignity.

3.8 Issue of Reflexivity: Researcher's Status and Self Identification

In this section, I have briefly introduced myself and my status being a Pashtun woman to address the issue of reflexivity. I have tried to explain that how I have developed a sense about my various social statuses and experiences which had contributed a lot towards the formulation and exhibition of the present research study on generational relations and Pashtunwali. I have also provided a sketch of my social position that how I place and identify myself in respective society via various statuses i.e. as a Daughter, Wife, Mother, University Teacher, Ph.D. Scholar, etc.

Figure 3.1 Researcher's Status



The current research is very close to my heart. I was always ambitious to reflect and represent the unheard voices of Pashtun women. It is equally important to recognize and acknowledge the incomparable role of the elder generation in the transmission and interpretation of the Pashtun value system to the next generation. We are indebted to our parents and ancestors. I believe the 3 E's (Education, Experience, and Exposure) are fundamental principles in the construction and interpretation of reality and existence. Being a researcher, I was conscious about the manifestation and orientation of my respondents (Background information/Socioeconomic characteristics), the way they shared lived experiences, and the construction of their identity being a Pashtun woman. Noticeably, women are not a homogeneous group holding similar protocols, privileges, and rights but they also face discrimination and confinement in various forms and social contexts. I was well-informed about the concept of strong reflexivity. As I have mentioned earlier that I have engaged the standpoint feminist's approach in my thesis. I was always curious to

comprehend the notions of generation, generation gap, misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and unaddressed challenges or questions that emerged over time. Especially, when it comes to one's social identity and value system, it becomes undeniable to address and interpret emerging challenges faced by various generations—preservation and reconsideration of culture become indispensable.

From conceiving the basic idea of the current research endeavor to the portrayal of Pashtun women's episteme about Pashtunwali, I was always compassionate about the role of Pashtun mothers in the process of socialization and making unprecedented sacrifices for their children (forthcoming generation) and overall cultural continuity. Initially, at the early stage of my research when I shared my thoughts and intentions with my paternal grandfather about the current research theme, he appreciated me a lot and advised me to review several books (historical accounts) written on the subject. He also recalled some beautiful and admirable personality traits of my paternal grandmother (late) and reevaluated her role and the sacrifices she made for the family. He was of the view that the mother's position and character play a decisive role in the moral and character building of children. Recently, my paternal grandfather has published a book on Pashto poetry titled *Brishna* (see Annexure B). He has also written a poem in memory of my paternal grandmother. My paternal grandmother was a remarkable woman. She had the wisdom of a teacher and tenderness of a mother. She always used to call my first name (instead of nickname associated by my family members) in such a dignified way—that I still missed her sweet voice (pitch) and have never heard my name by anybody in such a lovely and decent way. Most of my respondents shared beautiful childhood memories and their commendable association with their grandparents. While conducting an interview of one of my interviewees- a young educated

Pashtun woman, highly qualified, and serving as a lecturer from Charsadda got emotional in expressing her feelings and thoughts about the admirable efforts of her grandmother in raising and developing her moral character.

Mother-daughter relationships are the strongest bonds than any other type of intergenerational familial relationship. My mother always advised me to be good and have strong faith in Almighty Allah because that's the only and sole source, which is really, trustworthy. Undoubtedly, she is a driving fuel behind the conception of this research theme. Being a Pashtun woman, she has always encouraged and provided me with a broad spectrum to not only appreciate and own my Pashtun culture and language but also critically analyze various notions and segments of Pashtun culture.

Being a Pashtun woman, I have never undermined and disregard the role of my grandfather, father, brother, and husband in creating awareness, imparting effective skills and knowledge about the confronting challenges of the public sphere—especially the patriarchal structure of the society.

I was raised in a moderate family environment; my parents were always supportive and considerate about my education and preferences, which I made throughout my life. Being raised in a diverse and urbanite culture, I have observed multifaceted identities of modern society and complicated patterns of relationships among different generations. My father (late) was a man of principles and had a high sense of self-esteem. By profession, he was a competent Police officer, and the nature of his job was very challenging and demanding. He was very concerned about our orientation and comprehension of Pashtun culture and the Pashto language. We used to visit our hometown every month as my father

always wanted us to strengthen our relationship with our Pashtun culture and never undermine the dignified status and contribution of our elders and social heritage.

Here, I would like to provide a brief sketch of my orientation and experiences at various levels of my academic career (starting from early schooling till university education). Furthermore, I also acknowledge the role of my family, teachers, friends, and educational institutions in developing my social identity being a Pashtun woman.

When I came into this world, my mother shares that my existence gave strength and gave a great sense of happiness to my parents as my mother told me that my father was very happy at my birth and he served sweets to all the medical staff especially to the nurses of that hospital and welcomed all with bouquets (smiles). Generally, in Pashtun culture, daughters are considered as a source of blessing from Almighty Allah, but their birth is not celebrated though. Being a daughter, I have never found any discriminatory behavior from my parents towards us (siblings).

To conclude I tried to have as much objective opinion of Pashtun women as I could. My experiences being a Pashtun woman also added up to enrich the discussion. I believe that if a male researcher were at my place It would be difficult to have the women's side of the story of the transmission of Pashtunwali among different generations of Pashtun women.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS: GENERATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction

The data analysis in this thesis consists of two chapters. In the current chapter, I have discussed the generational relations among Pashtun women of different age groups such as young-adult, Middle-aged adult & old-aged adult women. The next chapter 5 discusses the transmission patterns and structure of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Pakistan. This chapter presents the study's findings concerning intergenerational relations.

In this chapter, I have attempted to summarize the experiences of Pashtun women with respect to intergenerational relations under the following meaningful themes:

- 4.1 Intergenerational Relations (*Masharaan* and *Kasharaan*): Role of Elders as Agents of Socialization
- 4.2 Experiences of Pashtun Women: Imitation of Elders' Role
- 4.3 Experiences of Pashtun Women: Role of Education
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- 4.5 Relationship between Grandparents and Grandchildren: Sharing of Pashtun Folktales
- 4.6 Impact of ICTs and Changing Relationships between Youngsters and Elder Generations
- 4.7 Experiences of Pashtun Women: The Mother-Daughter Relationship
- 4.8 Generational Relations and Family System of Pashtuns

Table 4.1

Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents (Pashtun Women)

Sr. No	Pseudonyms	Age	Social Status	Educational Attainment	Religious Education	Marital Status	No. of Children	No. of Siblings	Profession	Family Structure	Birth place & Local e
1.	Seema Gul	25	Daughter	4	Acquired	Married for 6years	1	7	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
2.	Bibi Zainab	37	Daughter-in-law	5	Acquired	Married for 9years	3	7	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
3.	Zartaj	27	Daughter	10	Acquired (<i>Aalima</i>)	Married for 7years	Nil	8	Homemaker	Joint (settled in Qatar)	Swat
4.	Zaitoon Begum	52	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 23years	6	7	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
5.	Mashal Begum	54	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 25years	2	6	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
6.	Khanam Bibi	60	Daughter	Illiterate	Acquired	Lifelong Bachelor	Nil	6	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
7.	Samina	55	Mother	5	Acquired	Married for 25Years	6	7	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
8.	Farwa	25	Daughter-in-law	BA	Acquired	Married for 6years	1	6	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
9.	Bano Begum	66	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Widowed	6	7	Homemaker	Joint	Swat
10.	Ayesha Fatima	45	Daughter	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 20years	5	6	Homemaker	Joint (Settled in Karachi)	Swat
11.	Rehana	60	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 40 years	8	9	Homemaker	Nuclear	Bannu & Karak
12.	Maria	25	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Single	Nil	8	Student	Nuclear	Karak
13.	Asiya Bibi	65	Mother	5	Acquired	Married for 45years	7	9	Homemaker	Joint	Bannu & Karak

14.	Nudrat	27	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Single	Nil	7	Student	Joint	Karak
15.	Senior-most respondents (Adaka)	95	Grandmother	Illiterate	Acquired	Widowed	8	6	Homemaker	Joint	Bannu & Karak
16.	Maryam	27	Granddaughter	Masters	Acquired	Single	Nil	8	Student	Joint	Karak
17.	Fahmida	34	Daughter	5	Acquired	Single	Nil	10	Student	Joint	Karak
18.	Naeema Bibi	60	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 40years	10	5	Homemaker	Joint	Bannu & Karak
19.	Tanzila Khatoon	65	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 45years	9	7	Homemaker	Joint	Bannu & Karak
20.	Riffat	41	Daughter	5	Acquired	Married for 20years	6	9	Homemaker	Joint	Karak
21.	Sadaf	33	Daughter	Ph.D. Scholar	Acquired	Single	Nil	2	Lecturer (7years)	Nuclear	Chars adda
22.	Dr. Amna	38	Daughter	Ph.D	Acquired	Single	Nil	9	HoD (13years)	Nuclear	Mardan & Chars adda
23.	Dr. Rubab	32	Daughter	Ph.D	Acquired	Single	Nil	8	Assistant Professor	Joint	Swabi & Chars adda
24.	Zaryab	28	Daughter	MA Urdu	Acquired	Married for 3years	Nil	5	Admin Officer	Joint Family	Chars adda
25.	Saleema	33	Daughter	MS	Acquired	Single	Nil	4	Research Supervisor	Joint Family	Chars adda
26.	Shama	33	Daughter	Double Masters	Acquired	Married for 5years	1	4	Computer Operator	Nuclear	Chars adda
27.	Azmeena	27	Daughter-in-law	BA	Acquired	Married for 6years	2	5	Homemaker	Joint	Mardan & Chars adda
28.	Irum	25	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Single	Nil	8	Student	Joint	Mardan & Chars adda
29.	Shabana	55	Mother-in-law	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for	2	6	Homemaker	Nuclear	Mardan & Chars

											30years	adda
30.	Saima	34	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Single	Nil	7	Schoolteacher	Joint	Karak	
31.	Fatima	26	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Single	Nil	8	Student	Nuclear (settled in ICT)	Karak	
32.	Zari	54	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married	8	7	Homemaker	Nuclear (settled in ICT)	Karak	
33.	Mahjabeen	70	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 45years	8	7	Homemaker	Nuclear (settled in ICT)	Lakki Marwat & Karak	
34.	Naseema	36	Daughter	Illiterate	Acquired (Alma)	Married for 6years	2	8	Homemaker	Nuclear (settled in ICT)	Karak	
35.	Taj Begum	68	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 40years	8	7	Homemaker	Joint	Karak	
36.	Farkhanda	60	Mother	4	Acquired	Married for 30years	2	6	Homemaker	Nuclear	Nowshera	
37.	Nadia	37	Daughter	BA	Acquired	Married for 7years	2	7	Homemaker	Joint	Karak	
38.	Bakht Begum	65	Mother	Illiterate	Acquired	Married for 40years	8	8	Homemaker	Joint	Karak	
39.	Sabira	31	Daughter	M.Sc Statistics	Acquired	Married for 2years	1	8	College Lecturer	Joint	Karak	

The socio-demographic profile of respondents plays a decisive role in understanding and interpreting research findings. Several socio-demographic variables were considered for the present research study on the subject of “Generational relations and transmission of Pashtunwali among the Pashtun women of KPK, Pakistan”. Table 4.1 illustrates the detailed socio-demographic profile of thirty-nine (39) respondents (Pashtun

women with their pseudonyms) along with multiple socio-demographic (background) variables indicated as their age, social status, education attainment (Formal and religious), marital status, profession, no. of children, no. of siblings, family structure, birthplace, and locale. Furthermore, I have identified and categorized above mentioned socio-demographic variables of my interviewees into various individual tables indicating frequency distribution—to get a deeper understanding and description of background variables concerning the data collected from Pashtun women representing various age groups and generations.

Table 4.2

Age of the Respondents

Sr. No	Age	Frequency	Percentage
i.	25—30	10	26
ii.	31—40	11	28
iii.	41—50	2	5
iv.	51—60	9	23
v.	61—70	6	16
vi.	Above 71	1	2
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

In research, the age of the respondent is one of the qualifying variables to understand and consider the overall orientation and construction of reality shared by respondents. It also helps in analyzing their beliefs, perceptions, experiences, behavior, and self-identification. In the current study, the notion of age, classification of age groups, and generations are defining determinants to understand the nature and structure of the relationship existed

between elder and younger generation of Pashtun women and to identify the various transmission patterns of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women. Table 4.2 indicates the age of the respondents. I have categorized the age of respondents into various age brackets (10 years intervals). It shows that the minimum age limit of my respondent was 25 years whereas the maximum age limit of one of my senior-most respondents was recorded as 98 years. The majority (28 percent) of the respondents fall in the age brackets of 31-40 years, 26 percent were 25-30 years old, and 23 percent were 51-60 years old. Whereas 16 percent of the respondents were at least 61-70 years of age. It is quite interesting that the current study has captured the experiences of all age brackets of Pashtun women.

Table 4.3

Classification of Age Groups

Sr. No	Age Group Name	Age Range	Frequency
i.	Young Female Adults	17—30	10
ii.	Middle-aged Female Adults	31—45	13
iii.	Old-aged Female Adults	Above 45	16
	Total		39

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Universally, the age of human beings can be classified into various recognized age groups by many demographers and social scientists. One of the personality development theories—Eight stages of human development introduced by Erik Erikson, where various age groups (of human life) have been described to understand the concept of identity crises and psychosocial development of an individual—infancy, toddler/early childhood, pre-school, school age, adolescent, young adulthood, middle adulthood, and old-aged adult. In

the current study, the age of the respondents has been classified into three age groups namely young female adults, middle-aged female adults, and old-aged female adults—with a corresponding age range. Table 4.3 illustrates the classification of age groups of Pashtun women along with the recognized age range. It indicates that almost all three age groups (young adult, middle-aged adult, and old-aged adult) of Pashtun women have equal representation in the present research.

Table 4.4

Age Range by Generation

Sr. No	Generation	Birth Year	Ages
i.	Generation Z	1997 – 2012	9 – 24
ii.	Millennials	1981 – 1996	25 – 40
iii.	Generation X	1965 – 1980	41 – 56
iv.	Boomers II	1955 – 1964	57 – 66
v.	Boomers I	1946 – 1954	67 – 75
vi.	Post-war	1928 – 1945	76 – 93
vii.	WWII	1922 – 1927	94 – 99

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Pew Research Centre

One of the famous theories “Theory of generations” introduced in the field of Sociology of generation by Karl Mannheim in 1928 has been defined as a comprehensive theory on the nature, structure, and formulation of the concept of generation as a sociological phenomenon. Table 4.4 indicates the generally defined and accepted version

about the age range of generations indicated by the U.S. Census Bureau and Pew research centre. The concept of a generation has been defined in terms of birth year, age range, and time period. The notion of cultural generation is an emerging concept in the field of sociology of generation. The above table shows seven types of generation namely Generation Z, Millennials, Generation X, Boomers II, Boomers I, Postwar, and WWII. Categorically, these generational labels have emerged in the post-war era when a high fertility rate (demographic tsunami) was observed in the western world known as a “Baby boom”. Furthermore, each generational groups (people sharing similarities based on their lifelong experiences) have certain characteristics that make them unique in terms of their lifestyle, preferences, belief system, value system, use of technology, adaptability, media consumption, and innovative work demands, etc. I have utilized these categories of generations to see the relevance in Pakistani context.

Table 4.5

Educational Attainment of the Respondents

Sr. No	Education	Frequency	Percentage
i.	Illiterate	15	39
ii.	Under Matric	7	18
iii.	Matriculation	1	2
iv.	Intermediate	0	0
v.	Graduation	8	21
vi.	Masters	4	10
vii.	MS/Ph.D.	4	10
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Table 4.5 explains the educational attainment of the interviewees in terms of their years of schooling. It has become evident that the majority (39 percent) of the elder Pashtun women were illiterate (never attended any school/any formal education or degree) but at the same time, they mentioned that they have acquired religious education. Moreover, most of the young and middle-aged Pashtun women were educated and they were having a maximum level of educational attainment (21 percent of the respondents were having a Bachelors' degree) as highlighted in the above-mentioned table. Likewise, several interviewees (20 percent of the Pashtun women) were highly educated (18 years of education) as they have been to university education (got Masters, MS, and Ph.D. degrees). Among highly educated Pashtun women, my four interviewees were having a Ph.D. degree in the field of natural sciences and were affiliated with the field of teaching and research.

Table 4.6

Marital Status of the Respondents

Sr. No	Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
i.	Single	12	31
ii.	Married	25	64
iii.	Widowed	02	5
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Table 4.6 highlights the marital status of my respondents. The marital status of the interviewees has been divided into three categories such as single, married and widowed. The majority (64 percent) of the Pashtun women were married whereas 31 percent of the respondents were unmarried among which one of my old-aged interviewees from Swat was a lifelong bachelor living with her brother and his family. Similarly, some of the elder Pashtun women were widowed.

Table 4.7

Profession of the Respondents

Sr. No	Profession	Frequency	Percentage
i.	Homemaker	25	64
ii.	Teacher	04	11
iii.	Head of the Department	01	2
iv.	Research Coordinator	01	2
v.	Student	06	16
vi.	Administrative Job	02	5
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Table 4.7 shows the profession of the respondents. Various professions were identified among my interviewees (Pashtun women) that include housewife, teacher, research coordinator, administrative job, and student. Most (64 percent) of my respondents were homemakers, 16 percent were students (young female adults) whereas 20 percent of my respondents were working Pashtun women among them 13 percent were affiliated with the teaching profession (serving as college/university Lecturer, Assistant Professor, etc.) while other (5 and 2 percent) respondents serve at administrative and research coordination level, respectively.

Table 4.8

Family Structure of the Respondents

Sr. No	Family Structure	Frequency	Percentage
i.	Nuclear	11	28
ii.	Joint	28	72
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Table 4.8 reflects the family structure of the respondents. It has become evident that the majority (72 percent) of the respondents were living in a joint family system, irrespective of their locale (area of residence). Whereas 28 percent of the interviewees were having a nuclear family structure—settled in urban areas.

Table 4.9

Social Status of the Respondents (Pashtun Women)

Sr. No	Social Status (Ascribed Status)	Frequency	Percentage
i.	Daughter	17	44
ii.	Mother	14	36
iii.	Grandmother	01	02
iv.	Daughter-in-law	03	08
v.	Mother-in-law	03	08
vi.	Granddaughter	01	02
	Total	39	100

Source: Socio-demographic profile of respondents

In the current research, one of the defining and key indicators/variables among the socio-demographic profile of my respondents is the social status of the Pashtun women. Social status is a relative position which one holds within a social group. By the same token, several protocols, responsibilities, expectations, obligations, and duties, etc. (defined as role) are attached with that social status or position in society. Undoubtedly, when a women become mother, her status gets changed into master status. It is worth mentioning that Pashtun women were interviewed and studied concerning their social status (ascribed status) being a daughter, mother, grandmother, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, and granddaughter to better understand the generational relations among Pashtun women and construction of their self-identities. Many of my interviews were dyad in nature—mother-daughter, mothers-in-law—daughters-in-law, grandmother—granddaughter. It has been highlighted in the above table that most (44 percent) of the respondents were daughters, 36 percent were mothers while 2 percent were grandmothers. Likewise, mothers-in-law, daughters-in-law, and granddaughters were also represented in the study. Categorically, experiences of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother), attitude formation, nature of the relationship, level of understanding, patterns of interaction, and construction of their self-identities have been studied under the heading of a meaningful relationship between mother-daughter, grandmother-granddaughter, and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law that contributed a lot in comprehending and interpreting the generational relations and transmission of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women of various age groups and generations.

4.1 Intergenerational Relations (*Masharaan* and *Kasharaan*): Role of Elders as Agents of Socialization

The relationships among different generations of Pashtuns are quite diverse in nature. Several studies (see Yousaf, 2019; Sanauddin, 2015; Khan, 1995 & Grima, 1992) have highlighted that there is the significant importance of *Masharaan* (elders) in the decision-making process, particularly in settling the disputes for general Pashtun community cohesion. Broadly speaking, in Pashtun culture, elders are highly praised and honored. Elders are always considered as torchbearers of traditions and trunks of undiscovered treasure. *Masharaan* (Elders) plays an important role in the *Jirga* system. *Jirga* is headed by an elder who is also considered as in-charge of *Hujras* as well. If there is some misunderstanding between *Kasharaan* (youngsters) then their issue is also resolved by *Masharaan* (elders) of the *Jirga*. *Jirga* also plays an important role in handling disputes among conflicting parties. Due to the impartial position of *Jirga* elders, both parties acknowledge and are bound to the decisions made by *Jirga*. This system of *Masharaan* and *Kasharaan* is deeply embedded in the Pashtun family system that continues from generation to generation. Disrespecting the elders is considered to be a sign of deviating from the cultural context. Talking particularly about the transformation of this system, mothers have a lot of roles to let their daughters understand it. For example, one of the respondents, aged 45 (old-aged adult), married and living in a joint family system (Swat) highlighted the changing patterns among Pashtuns and her relationship with her mother as:

Whenever I came to my mother's home from my in-laws, she always guides me to be respectful towards my in-laws particularly to my husband and his parents. There used to be

a lot of restrictions for women but now women are excelling in almost all walks of life. Pashtuns always keep their promises and never compromise on their honor and respect. Being immoral is strongly discouraged in Pashtun society. Being immodest and disrespectful is something not suited with Pashtun people. I want to live my life with dignity, respect, and honor and be buried respectfully and modestly. Being a Pashtun I feel that norms and values Pashtuns used to have a few decades back are getting changed very rapidly. The components of the Pashtunwali are the base of the Pashtun people and we are nothing without them. In Jirgas, usually, elders decide things and try to resolve their conflicts and we love and respect our elders (Personal Communication, 25-10-2019).

In Pashtun culture, elders in the family are considered to be an important agent of socialization. Women at the household level are very much conscious about the socialization of their kids. This was also highlighted while the researcher's discussion with an old-aged female adult, married, uneducated, and residing in Swat (joint family system) as she shared her childhood memories and the role of her paternal grandmother after her mother's death (an early age) that how she was raised and nurtured by her grandmother:

I was just a few days infant when my mother passed away, so, I was brought up by my grandmother. Since I was married at a very early age just 12 years old, I did not get that much opportunity to learn and be trained by my family. I have always seen all my relatives and elders as quite hospitable and honored. My paternal grandmother trained me to cook and do other household chores. So, we, by default, learn the hospitality at our homes. We were trained to consider guests as the blessing of Almighty (Personal Communication, 19-10-2019).

There is considerable evidence that Pashtuns are nurtured in a way that they respect their elders. Pashtun women highlighted the role of elders (Grandparents and parents) in the enculturation process among Pashtuns. All the major agents of socialization play their equal part in training the younger Pashtun generations. When asked from Maria-aged 25, educated, student, single, living in the joint family system from Karak, she was of the view that:

Pashtuns are the people of principles. We get these principles from our ancestors and our society. It is part of our culture to respect elders and we follow our traditions wholeheartedly (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Pashtun women are mindful of the teachings of their elders concerning everyday life practices. They have learned basic values of hospitality and respect from their grandparents and parents being frequently engaged in serving guests. One of the old-aged adults-Naeema Bibi, married, uneducated, a homemaker, living in a joint family from Karak shared her views about the teachings and consideration of elders about hospitality and respect as:

We are always guided by our ancestors that whenever there is a guest at home, you should try your best to serve and give respect to guests. We are also told to pay respect to elders, and it is discouraged to negatively respond or discard elders' opinions (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019). Another respondent Zaryab, a middle-aged adult, married, highly educated from Charsadda shared that *I, being an educated woman, believe that your elders are your best guide* (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019). This clearly shows that elders have a special place in Pashtun societies.

One of the young female adults, married and acquired religious education from Swat shared her thoughts about the respect of elders among Pashtun families and briefly made a comparison between urban and rural Pashtun culture as:

It was a common tradition in Pashtun families that whenever an elder enters the house, everyone used to stand up in respect. But it does not happen now. In rural areas, customs are relatively intact but in urban areas, people are gradually leaving their customs. There used to be outdoor games for women too since society was simply a few decades ago. Because of modernity, various social evils have stood up and now parents are very cautious about their kids (Personal Communication, 20-10-2019).

The true essence of Pashtun society relies upon primary socialization and considering religious values as their moral base. Pashtun women highlighted moral and ethical standards that are practiced and inherited by elders that include the notion of teaching the Quran to children, ways to honor elders, etiquettes of showing respect to women, etc. One of the young adults (Irum from Karak), single and educated, shared her thoughts about the role of elders in the process of socialization and mores practiced among Pashtuns as:

Pashtuns are very cautious in the socialization of their children. Praying is strictly observed in Pashtun society. A lot of emphases is given to religiously spending one's life. It is taught to kids to respect elders and female members of the society, especially (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

Universally, the status of the mother is highly valued and justified. Pashtun culture pays high tribute to *Mour* (mother) on all grounds. Pashtun women were very humbled

about the status of mother—described the mother as a true blessing and gift from Almighty Allah. Pashtun women were of the view that they have always learned to be kind, gentle, respectful, and obedient towards their parents, especially mother. It has been observed that Pashtun mothers have a defining position and hold in their family and are revered a lot. One of my old-aged respondents-Naeema Bibi, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Karak shared her thoughts and experiences being a mother. She was of the view that mothers have a lot of respect and dignity in Pashtun society. She stated as:

Pashtun women especially mothers have a lot of respect in the family and all the domestic matters are under the control of the mother (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

Young Pashtun women acclaimed the role of mothers in teaching basic values, principles, and practices to their children. Ways to honor elders have been defined as cherished values among Pashtuns. Such kind of socialization goes lifelong. Deliberately, mothers are involved in disseminating the notion of respect and status of grandparents to their children. One of the young adults-Nudrat, single, educated, living in a joint family from Karak discussed the role of the mother in defining and teaching basic values to their children. She was of the view that her mother told and retold about the respect and status of elders to the extent that now they considered certain values in their genes. Likewise, they don't even dare to be unheard and disregard the orders and practices of their elders. She stated as:

Our mother always told us to respect the elders and we have heard such things to the extent that now this is in our genes and we can never think of disrespecting or not obeying the orders of elders whatsoever circumstances are (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Undeniably, change is indispensable. Multiple determinants are involved in bringing change in a normative structure of society that includes innovations (inventions and discoveries), modern ICTs, and globalization (cluster of defining structural models, identities, and construction of reality), etc. The majority of the educated Pashtun women noted that Pashtun culture is also in the transitional phase. The relationship between different generations of Pashtun women is also changing with time. Probably technological advancement is one of the reasons behind such change.

They emphasized that Pashtun women are socialized—since their childhood to adopt and recognize their core cultural values and principles. Despite the fact, it is challenging for Pashtun mothers to deliver the traditional base and practices to their children, especially to daughters since globalization and ICTs are replacing their role as an agent of socialization. With modernity, parents of children are becoming more and more cautious and mindful of their kids. Pashtun mothers were of the view that their kids are getting out of their way and are leaving their traditional cultural context. By the same token, young Pashtun women were also concerned about the patterns and structures associated with modern ICTs and emerging trends. Likewise, they were mindful of the merits, demerits, and adoption of modern emerging trends without compromising their basic values, practices, and standards. One of the highly educated respondents- Dr. Rubab, young adult, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda highlighted the role of globalization and modern ICTs in the process of socialization and bringing change in Pashtun culture. She was of the view that the

traditional and justified role of Pashtun mothers in the process of enculturation has been replaced by modern ICTs, but it is mandatory to critically analyze the patterns and models introduced in Pashtun society. She added that Pashtun mothers are very conscious about the socialization of their children in the wake of modern innovations and stated:

Pashtun culture is in the process of change nowadays. The Pashtun women are told about their norms and values since their childhood and I think they can grow while following their normative structure. Globalization and ICTs have played a lot of roles in changing the Pashtun culture which I think will have a positive consequence for the betterment of society (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

The interaction between different generations of Pashtun women has a significant role in the process of socialization. Primarily, the process of enculturation is directly linked to the frequency, intensity, and duration of interaction between different generations. The majority of the Pashtun women pinpointed that younger generation are more inclined towards new models and patterns and are less concerned about their cultural values and customs. Pashtun women exalted and recalled their childhood memories with their grandparents and parents. Most of the respondents shared several accounts about the kind of relationship they have with their grandmothers (paternal and maternal). They highlighted that grandparents used to share their valued experiences and life stories with their grandchildren that help youngsters to groom their personalities in a particular social context. One of the middle-aged respondents-Dr. Amna, highly educated, single, living in a joint family system from Charsadda shared the nature of her relationship with her grandparents. She showed gratitude for her grandmother's upbringing. She cherished the time spent with her grandmother and the endless love she received. She said that her grandmother used to

tell remarkable stories, interests, and games of their childhood. Such stories and experiences contributed a lot in making sense out of basic life problems (for grandchildren). She shared her thoughts as:

I had great childhood memories with my parents and grandparents. My grandmother used to tell us a lot of stories of their childhood and guide us through her life experiences. My family is quite educated, so we were having more opportunities to get the best education of our time (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

In Pashtun society, gender roles and boundaries are delineated—both women and men are expected and socialized to contribute to social life. Pashtun women highlighted that they are socialized to consider and prioritize the household as their prime responsibility. They added that they have always observed their mother and grandmother's role in this regard that they were very conscious about their social roles and responsibilities expected out of them. Pashtun women disclosed that they have learned to observe purdah and ways to carry themselves in a dignified way. While discussing with Zartaj—a young adult, married, educated, living in a joint family system from Swat shared that Pashtun women are socialized to observe purdah and prioritize the household as defining values and roles expected from them. She stated as:

It is in the socialization and the training for the Pashtun woman that she cannot even think of going outside the home without chaddar. So chaddar and chardewari is an important component of Pashtun culture and we cannot ignore it (Personal Communication, 20-10-2019).

It has become evident that in Pashtun culture, elders are highly praised and honored. *Masharaan* (Elders) plays an important role in the *Jirga* system. *Jirga* is headed by an elder who is also considered as in-charge of *Hujras* as well. If there is some misunderstanding between *Kasharaan* (youngsters) then their issue is also resolved by *Masharaan* (elders) of the *Jirga*. Likewise, elders in the family are an important agent of socialization. There is considerable evidence that Pashtuns are nurtured in a way that they respect their elders. Pashtun women highlighted the role of elders (Grandparents and parents) in the enculturation process among Pashtuns. Pashtun women are mindful of the teachings of their elders (grandmothers, mothers, and mothers-in-law) concerning everyday life practices. They have learned basic values of hospitality and respect from their grandparents and parents being frequently engaged in serving guests. The true essence of Pashtun society relies upon primary socialization and considering religious values as their moral base. Pashtun women at the household level are very much conscious about the socialization of their kids. Pashtun women highlighted moral and ethical standards that are practiced and inherited by elders that include the notion of teaching the Quran to children, ways to honor elders, etiquettes of showing respect to women, etc. Pashtun culture pays high tribute to *Mour* (mother) on all grounds. The elder Pashtun women have a dominant role in Pashtun family systems. Pashtun women were very humbled about the status of mother—described the mother as a true blessing and gift from Almighty Allah.

The majority of the educated Pashtun women noted that Pashtun culture is also in the transitional phase. The relationship between different generations of Pashtun women is also changing with time. The interaction between different generations of Pashtun women had a significant role in the process of socialization. Primarily, the process of enculturation is

directly linked to the frequency, intensity, and duration of interaction between different generations. Pashtun women exalted and recalled their childhood memories with their grandparents and parents. They highlighted that grandparents used to share their valued experiences and life stories with their grandchildren that help youngsters to groom their personalities in a particular social context.

4.2 Experiences of Pashtun Women: Imitation of Elders' Role

It has been generally observed that children usually learn and imitate their elders by listening and watching them in adopting the different roles and responsibilities. The majority of the Pashtun women highlighted that children learn desirable and undesirable behaviors from observing their parents and grandparents. They added that Pashtun elders remain conscious about the exhibition of their roles and responsibilities. It was also highlighted by Dr. Amna from Charsadda that:

I feel that the kids imitate their parents and elders seeing all the structure of the society. And the things are transmitted from one generation to the other generation that is how the system of the Pashtun society works (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Most of the young Pashtun women emphasized the role of mothers and grandmothers in imparting a basic understanding of cultural norms, values, and traditions towards the young generation. The environment within the households particularly purdah among the Pashtun women also gets transferred from the older generation to the younger ones. Pashtun women emphasized that they have always observed their mothers and take guidance from them in everyday life. in various One of the young adults-Irum, single, student, living in a joint family system from Karak stated that:

I observe the purdah because I have seen my mother doing so. She follows the practice because she has seen her mother doing so. This is something that passes through generations (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

Likewise, elder Pashtun women have also highlighted the traits and practices of their parents. They shared that they were raised since early childhood seeing all these practices by their parents. They were of the view that they have learned the cherished values of hospitality—the core principle of Pashtun culture by observing their parents. One of the old-aged adults-Samina, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat shared her views as:

My father was a very hospitable person and used to warmly greet all the guests who used to visit our home. I believe that children learn from their elders (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Pashtun women also emphasized that certain transformations have been observed in Pashtun culture. They made a comparison between various generations in terms of decision-making for settling the marriages and role of elders. Though the younger generation in Pashtun society still follows the basic principles by imitating their elders yet the Pashtun society is also facing the consequences of modernity. The youngsters are now raising questions on the supremacy of the traditional Pashtun cultural context. Some of them have been reported to have a different opinion from that of their elders. One of the old-aged adults-Bano Begum, married, a homemaker, from Swat expressed as:

But certain things have changed in Pashtun society now. For example, when I was getting married there was no system of taking consent from males or even females nor even,

we knew to whom we are getting married. Our elders used to decide that. But now it is not so (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

It has been observed that Pashtun women are very much conscious about their orientation and construction of self-identities and status in Pashtun society. Moreover, they disclosed that overall, the fabric of Pashtun society especially Pashtun males are respectful and considerate towards women. Most of the Pashtun women mentioned that there are certain defined standards, roles, behaviors, responsibilities, and practices which are expected from a Pashtun woman. Furthermore, Pashtun women are considerate about their roots, familial values, and heritage. One of the highly educated respondents-Dr. Amna, a middle-aged adult, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda shared her experience of being a Pashtun woman and the importance of her teaching profession that how it has added value to her self-esteem as:

When it comes to myself, I am proud of being a Pashtun woman and I am always respected by the male Pashtun members from my father's side, brothers' side, and by the rest of my male family members. Furthermore, my profession has added a lot to my respect since teaching is always considered the most respected profession in our society. One thing to always remember and I consider this important to mention here is that you need to set your space for others. For example, if a Pashtun female takes care of her ancestral values, the societal values, and the Pashtunwali values, she has several choices to grow and vice versa (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

In Pashtun culture, familial identities are well integrated. Pashtun women are very much tied to the cultural bonds that they inherit from their elders (Grandparents and

parents). Most of the Pashtun women were mindful about their social status and place in society and emphasized men are their custodians as they are always identified and recognized through the male members (grandfather, father, brother, husband, and son, etc.) of their family. A young adult-Azmeena, married, educated, a homemaker from Charsadda expressed her thoughts about the notion of self-identity and status of a Pashtun woman in Pashtun culture. She shared that Pashtun women are having a glorified status in Pashtun culture. She added as:

In Pashtun culture, a woman is not recognized through herself as an individual, but she is recognized through her father, brother, husband, and son, etc. So, women are having a very prestigious status in Pashtun culture and I am proud of that (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

There is considerable evidence that Pashtun women highlighted their experiences about the imitation of their elders' (Grandparents and parents) roles and responsibilities. They emphasized that children learn desirable and undesirable behaviors from observing their parents and grandparents. By the same token, Pashtun elders remain conscious about the exhibition of their roles and responsibilities. Most of the young Pashtun women emphasized the role of mothers and grandmothers in imparting a basic understanding of cultural norms, values, and traditions towards the young generation. They were of the view that they have learned the cherished values of hospitality—the core principle of Pashtun culture by observing their parents. The environment within the households particularly purdah among the Pashtun women also gets transferred from the elder Pashtun generation to the younger ones.

Pashtun women mentioned that there are certain defined standards, roles, behaviors, responsibilities, and practices which are expected from a Pashtun woman. Furthermore, Pashtun women are considerate about their roots, familial values, and heritage. Pashtun women also emphasized that certain transformations have been observed in Pashtun culture. They made a comparison between various generations in terms of decision-making for settling the marriages and role of elders. Though the younger generation in Pashtun society still follows the basic principles by imitating their elders yet the Pashtun society is also facing the consequences of modernity.

4.3 Experiences of Pashtun Women: Role of Education

It has been highlighted in the socio-demographic profile (see table 4.5) of the respondents that the majority of the young and middle-aged Pashtun women were having a maximum level of education. Whereas most of the elder Pashtun women were illiterate (never attended any school/any formal education or degree) but they have acquired religious education. Moreover, several interviewees were highly educated (got Masters, MS, and Ph.D. degrees).

Undoubtedly, the educational institution is one of the significant platforms through which society provides limitless opportunities to its members to learn knowledge, basic skills, and cultural values. Education is the best way to recognize one's true potential and it is a source of creating awareness in an individual. Most of the young Pashtun women were knowledgeable about the importance of acquiring education. They acknowledged that their parents are considerate about their daughters' education.

Pashtun women were also asked about the decisions or choices they have made so far concerning education and career. The majority of the young Pashtun women shared that now families are in favor of daughters' education and also allow and encourage their daughters to pursue their dream of getting higher education. They were of the view that their parents are very moderate and never disregard their daughters' interests and decisions. One of the young adults-Maryam, single, educated (acquired master's degree), living in a joint family system from Karak shared her views about the importance of education. She was of the view that education makes women empowered and she can better understand and comprehend the reality and various viewpoints around her. Furthermore, she emphasized that Pashtun parents are mindful about their daughters' education and stated as:

Education makes women empowered and self-sufficient. It gives awareness and makes us conscious. My parents are very moderate, and they have allowed us to make choices about education and career. Yes, I am independent in decision-making related to education and career (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Pashtun women disclosed that traditionally Pashtun people were reluctant about the females' education. They pointed out that traditional Pashtun families were of the view that females should have a basic level of education which will help them in maintaining their household and believe that daughters are like guests at their parents' home and one day they have to get married and will settle somewhere else so there is no need of education for them, which is highly discouraging.

The majority of the Pashtun mothers were of the view that the importance of female education has been realized by parents that education of the female is education for the

entire family. Moreover, young Pashtun women were optimistic about the use of modern ICTs. A considerable difference was found to be in the opinion of the grandmothers, mothers, and young daughters concerning the provision of education to females. Young Pashtun women (Mothers and daughters) presented their strong emphasis on providing education to the new generation of Pashtun girls. They believe that education opens up multiple opportunities for females. The elder Pashtun women were of the view that during their adulthood, there may be chances for them to survive without formal education but now it's nearly impossible for women to survive without education. The era nowadays is of ICTs and those who are educated are more likely to utilize ICTs positively if they are educated ones. For them, education can streamline the women within mainstream society. One of the young adults-Irum, educated (having a Bachelor's degree), single, student, living in a joint family system from Karak highlighted concerns about the female's education. She shared that religion has an important place in the Pashtun cultural context and parents are very concerned about imparting religious knowledge to their children. Furthermore, she emphasized that it is inevitable for the young generation to deny or decline the importance of acquiring knowledge and basic skills that are highly required to cope up with the modern age of technological advancement. She stated as:

Nowadays there is a special focus on the importance of females' education since it is being realized that the education of the female is education for the entire family. Religion has a very important role in the Pashtun cultural context. When it comes to technology, I think it's for our benefit. Now it's up to us, how we utilize modern ICT. It will have relevant consequences accordingly (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

In Pashtun culture, women have a very special place in society. Pashtun women were very much concerned about the orientation and manifestation of their roles and responsibilities. They were also thoughtful about their traditions and practices which are disseminated and conveyed by elders. Most of the educated Pashtun women were impassioned about their cultural heritage and identity being a Pashtun woman. They shared that education has broadened their horizon (mind) and guided them to better understand, interpret, and reevaluate their cultural value system. One of the highly educated respondents-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as a lecturer, living in a nuclear family system from Charsadda expressed her thoughts about the cultural identity and roles associated with a Pashtun woman. She shared that education has made her heedful about her identity, intentions, and passions. She emphasized the role of education in moderating various viewpoints among Pashtuns. She was of the view that her family (especially her father) has always encouraged her in pursuing her dream of getting an education. She also shared one of the famous Pashto proverbs about the importance of cultural heritage and identity (she usually shared with her students too) as *Waye che day Kalia ouza, kho da narkha aye ma ouza* (You may migrate from your village, but do not forget your roots). She stated her views as:

I am proud to be a Pashtun woman. I think I get the utmost respect from my culture being a Pashtun woman and it is a myth that Pashtuns are very hostile towards ladies. Our family is different from the traditional and conservative Pashtun family since my father and maternal uncle were among the first educated people of their time. We were never discriminated against based on gender rather our father encouraged us to face the culture and society. We were told about cultural practices, but I was never forced by my father or

elders to observe purdah, but we were told our limits too (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Unquestionably, better education opens up multiple opportunities to grow, prosper, and excel in life. It also builds confidence to comprehend and evaluate the normative structures of society. In traditional (rural areas) Pashtun society, women's place has been defined as— a woman is either for *kor* (home) or *gor* (grave). Educated Pashtun women critically evaluated the traditional notion of womanhood in their culture—*kor* (home) or *gor* (grave) are defined as private spheres and the best place for women is to stay and sustain in-home whereas beyond the home is grave waiting for (rest place). Most of the young educated Pashtun women reflected that perception about traditional notion of women's place and role in the Pashtun community and understanding about gender discrimination has been changed (visible in urbanite Pashtun culture). One of my middle-aged respondents who was a Ph.D. and was serving as head of department in a university in Charsadda shared her thoughts about the traditional notion of womanhood in Pashtun culture. She emphasized the importance of education in creating multiple opportunities and exploring one's true potential. She was of the view that Pashtun women are no more confined to *chardewari* (home or private sphere) but they have earned respect and explore their true potential via education. Furthermore, educated Pashtun women have utilized multiple opportunities and proved their skills in various mainstream professions. She stated as:

The position that I am holding right now is an administrative position and women are not usually found in these positions but nowadays women are making their way to administrative positions as well and performing effectively and getting respect too (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Truly, education is an important tool to devise the norms and constructs reality. Several educated Pashtun women shared their experiences about the role of education in defining and reshaping gender norms and women's agency in Pashtun society. They were of the view that Pashtun women are well-informed about their true potential and strength. Now Pashtun women are exhibiting their skills and knowledge in various fields of mainstream society. By the same token, they never compromise on their basic familial values and traditions passed through generations. One of the young Pashtun women-Saleema, married, educated, serving as a computer operator, living in a joint family system, from Charsadda reflected the role of education in reshaping gender norms and women's agency in Pashtun society. She shared that an example of her elder sister who was a highly educated woman (earned respect a lot) and the way she has set an exemplary model for other Pashtun women to follow. She stated as:

My elder sister who is a Ph.D. made her way to Ph.D. when there was no concept of education beyond matric for females. She is having a very good job as well. Seeing her in a good position due to education has opened up ways for many women in our area. I criticize some of the elements of the Pashtun culture meanwhile I am proud to be a Pashtun too. Modesty is an important element of Pashtun culture (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

Remarkably, most of the young Pashtun women were knowledgeable about the importance of acquiring education. They acknowledged that their parents are considerate about their daughters' education. Pashtun women mentioned that their parents also considered their opinions and interests regarding education and career. The majority of the young Pashtun women shared that now families are in favor of daughters' education and

also allow and encourage their daughters to pursue their dream of getting higher education. They also disclosed that traditionally Pashtun people were reluctant about the females' education.

The majority of the Pashtun mothers were of the view that the importance of female education has been realized by parents that education of the female is education for the entire family. A considerable difference was found to be in the opinion of the grandmothers, mothers, and young daughters concerning the provision of education to females. Young Pashtun women (Mothers and daughters) presented their strong emphasis on providing education to the new generation of Pashtun girls. They believe that education opens up multiple opportunities for females. The elder Pashtun women were of the view that during their adulthood, there may be chances for them to survive without formal education but now it's nearly impossible for women to survive without education. Truly, Pashtun women were also thoughtful about their traditions and practices which are disseminated and conveyed by elders. Most of the educated Pashtun women were impassioned about their cultural heritage and identity being a Pashtun woman.

4.4 Experiences of Pashtun Women: Childhood vs Adulthood

Early childhood experiences deeply affect the physical, psychological (cognitive), emotional, and social development of an individual. The first learning experiences and the bonds they develop with their parents or other family members are decisive in the construction of self-identity. Childhood is an initial learning and growing phase in one's life while adulthood is a phase where one attains a maximum level of maturity (an initial stage of one's career) than childhood. Nevertheless, adulthood is a mere reflection of one's

childhood experiences and comprehension of those experiences. Deliberately, most of the Pashtun women shared their childhood and adulthood experiences in terms of their relationships with family members (parents, grandparents, siblings, and neighborhood, etc.). They also expressed their thoughts about the various stages of life being a Pashtun daughter from early childhood to adulthood.

One of the middle-aged adults-Riffat, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Karak defined the childhood stage as one of the innocents, carefree, and playful periods of one's life. She expressed her feelings about the love and admiration she received from her parents being a daughter. She was of the view that from the early stage, Pashtuns socialize their children about the concept of showing great respect towards elders, and similarly, children are treated with great affection and love. They are always considered as a true source of blessing from Almighty Allah and parents are always considerate about the needs and desires of their children. she stated as:

The childhood period is one of the innocents and tension-free periods of one's life. In previous times, people were very simple, soulful, and passionate about life. I feel that Pashtuns pay great respect to their elders. Similarly, they also show love and admire the children. In childhood, my parents used to call me "Tahira". And always considered daughters as a source of blessing from Almighty Allah. They have never discriminated between sons and daughters (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

Play is an integral part of the childhood stage and significant for a child's development. Children learn through playing various games and it helps them to use their sense of creativity and develop better communication skills. Elder Pashtun women also

shared their childhood experiences and emphasized the role of playground and friends in making their childhood more joyful and lovely period of their life. They were of the view that they used to celebrate every moment of their life and learned basic household skills as well. One of the old-aged adults—Khanam Bibi (a lifelong bachelor), a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat shared her feelings about the childhood experiences and recalled memories about her friends and family. She was of the view that childhood is one of the most celebrated and joyful periods in one's life. She mentioned several traditional indoor games that include *cheenjo* (a sort of physical game—mostly played by girls where they draw (with the help of chalk or coal) a certain sketch on the ground and use a dice to select and jump over different sections of that sketch), *goodaye Wada* (doll's wedding), and *kor juraona* (making sand houses) that she used to play in her childhood. She stated that those indoor games were symbolic and this is how Pashtun women were socialized through playing different indoor games which guided them to develop their sense and understanding of normative patterns of Pashtun society. She reflected as:

No doubt, childhood is one of the most celebrated and beautiful phases in one's life. I have spent and enjoyed that phase to the fullest. I used to play a lot with my friends. We played traditional indoor games such as cheenjo, goodaye Wada, etc. We often used to learn so many domestic things (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

Likewise, young Pashtun women also highlighted such famous traditional indoor games which were played by elder Pashtun women in their childhood. They were of the view that childhood is one of the vibrant phases of learning in a child's life where they develop a basic understanding of things and patterns around them. One of my young

respondents-Maryam, single, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak explained her childhood experiences and mentioned traditional indoor games as well. She reflected as:

I had a beautiful and vibrant childhood. We used to play a lot with our friends and siblings. We played traditional indoor games such as cheenjo, mirghat, goudaya wadawana, etc. (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Pashtun women also shared their childhood experiences about spending time together with their parents and elders. They were of the view that families who share everyday life activities and listen to the intentions, desires, and needs of their children strengthen the family bond. It also develops and encourages positive behavior among children. A friendly environment within the family provides better opportunities for individual grooming and learning. This builds up a sense of confidence among individuals. One of the young Pashtun women- Azmeena, married, educated, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Charsadda shared her childhood memories about spending time with family and elders. She cherished childhood memories of spending time with her parents and grandparents. She shared that usually her grandparents used to play different games with her and also helped her in completing her homework. She also shared that her grandparents used to listen and value her thoughts that build up her self-confidence. She stated as:

I had a great time with my family members back in my childhood period. We used to sit together, study together and play together. We used to seek guidance from our elders about the social context (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Pashtun women explained that the role of parents and elders in defining their roles, responsibilities, and construction of their worldview is associated with them being female adults. The more interactive relationship between the different generations the better opportunities will be there for the learning. They have also pinpointed that the way their mothers and grandmothers used to share their lived experiences and skills guided them to better understand and realize their responsibilities and face the problems that emerged during the transitional phase of life (entering into adulthood). One of my old-aged respondents-Rehana, married, a homemaker from Karak emphasized the role of parents and grandparents in defining her roles and responsibilities being a Pashtun mother. She further narrated that her grandparents used to share their life stories and experiences which helped her a lot to cope up with the emerging challenges—one faced during identifying one's adulthood and shared as:

We had a great childhood spent together with other family members. We used to play a lot in our childhood at our homes, but we were not allowed to go out and play after the age of puberty. Our elders always used to share their life stories and practical experiences with us. Such experiences helped us in our adulthood to find out a way concerning the situation (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Better socialization is also dependent upon better generational relations. The environment that one gets within the family system has a direct relationship with positive or negative socialization. This is the family system within the Pashtun culture that decides what is there for men and women. Pashtun women were thoughtful about their adulthood experiences. They shared various accounts about their social standing and expectations associated with them being a daughter, mother, and grandmother (in Pashtun cultural

context). One of the young aged educated adults-Farwa, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat shared a detailed narrative about her experiences and transition from being a daughter to a mother. She further elaborated that:

I had a beautiful memory of being a daughter. A journey from daughter to wife and then becoming a mother was also a great experience. Before marriage, a woman just thinks of herself but after marriage, she has to take care of her husband, in-laws, and children. After becoming a mother, she has to particularly focus on socialization and rearing of children. You must train your kids for future endeavors. I think you need to adjust yourself with time and that's the beauty of life (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

The majority of the Pashtun women shared their childhood and adulthood experiences in terms of their relationships with family members (parents, grandparents, siblings, and neighborhood, etc.). They also expressed their thoughts about the various stages of life being a Pashtun daughter from early childhood to adulthood.

Noticeably, Pashtun women expressed their feelings about the love and admiration they received from their parents being a daughter. They presented that from the early stage, Pashtuns socialize their children about the concept of showing great respect towards elders, and similarly, children are treated with great affection and love. Children are always considered as a true source of blessing from Almighty Allah and parents are always considerate about the needs and desires of their children.

Elder Pashtun women also shared their childhood experiences and emphasized the role of playground and friends in making their childhood more joyful and lovely period of their life. Likewise, young Pashtun women also highlighted famous traditional indoor games

such as *cheenjo*, *goodaye wada*, *kor jourana*, etc. which were played by them in their childhood. Pashtun women explained that the role of parents and elders in defining their roles, responsibilities, and construction of their worldview is associated with them being female adults. The more interactive relationship between the different generations the better opportunities will be there for the learning. They have also pinpointed that the way their mothers and grandmothers used to share their lived experiences and skills guided them to better understand and realize their responsibilities and face the problems that emerged during the transitional phase of life (entering into adulthood).

4.5 Relationship between Grandparents and Grandchildren: Sharing of Pashtun Folktales

In Pashtun society, the bond between grandparents and grandchildren has been defined as one of the most celebrated intergenerational family relationships. Grandparents are highly praised and considered as a source of blessing and guidance. Pashtun women outlined the significant role of grandparents in defining and building a connection with the past (roots, origin, and social heritage). They elaborated that their grandparents used to share multiple Pashtun folktales with their grandchildren encompassing subjects of bravery, honor, hospitality, and moral ethics, etc. with a moral lesson.

Young Pashtun women acknowledged the dignified status and personality of their grandparents. They were of the view that they shared a beautiful and remarkable bond with their grandparents (paternal and maternal). In the case of women, grandmothers (paternal and maternal) are a source of inspiration for their granddaughters. The majority of the Pashtun women shared that they have a strong bond attachment to their grandparents. One

of my middle-aged respondents-Riffat, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Karak shared thoughts about her grandmother that she was very loving and generous towards her (granddaughter). She was of the view that her grandparents always used to guide their grandchildren about desirable and undesirable values. They were very thoughtful about the socialization of their grandchildren. She stated as:

My paternal grandmother was a love. She was very loving and considerate towards us (grandchildren). We used to play a lot in our childhood at our homes, but we were not allowed to go out and play after the age of puberty. Yes, the indoor things were there. Our grandparents always used to guide us on what to do and what not to do (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

Most of the young Pashtun women recalled various childhood bedtime stories that they used to listen to from their grandparents. They were of the view that they have spent and celebrated meaningful time and bond with their grandparents. Moreover, traditional Pashtun folktales are orally transmitted from the elder Pashtun generation to the young Pashtun generation. It has been highlighted that bedtime stories (shared by grandparents) played a decisive role in developing a strong moral base of grandchildren about their culture and values since their childhood. When asked by one of the young respondents- Maryam, single, educated from Karak, she shared that her mother and grandmothers used to share a lot of bedtime stories (since her childhood) which were traditional Pashtun folktales such as *ange bange* (story of does and buck), *speena shapsha toora sphasha* (story of white and black), etc. She further mentioned that such types of stories are verbally transmitted among generations and carry meaningful lessons that help children to understand the overall cultural context and values. She shared as:

My mother and grandmothers used to tell us bedtime stories which were traditional Pashtun stories such as ange bange, speena shapsha toora sphasha, etc, and they are orally transmitted from one generation to another. I think there is a lot in such stories for kids to learn and I remember we quite often slept while listening to such stories (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Likewise, Pashtun women were also asked to share personality traits of their elders (grandparents and parents) and they elaborated early childhood experiences and kind of relationship with their elders as one of the precious treasures of their life. One of the highly educated respondents-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as a lecturer from Charsadda expressed feelings about her relationship with her maternal grandmother. She stated that her grandmother was a strong and empowered woman of her time. Her personality traits were worth mentioning and always intended to follow in her footsteps. She stated as:

My father is my role model and after him my maternal grandmother. She was a strong and empowered woman of her time. She had survived in a patriarchal society after the death of her husband and raised her children to the renowned statues of Pashtun society. The way she transmitted Pashtun values towards her children was remarkable (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

While describing her stance on generation relations, Farwa-a middle-aged adult, married, educated from Swat, shared that she had a wonderful learning experience from her elders (paternal grandmother and maternal grandmother). She believes that such learning experiences are transmitted from one generation to another. She continuous that:

My paternal grandmother was also very considerate towards my mother. She used to respect and admire my mother a lot. My paternal grandmother was of the view that her daughters will get married and leave us. They are like guests in their parents' homes. But her daughters-in-law will always remain there, and they are more than one's daughters. My maternal grandmother was also very passionate about my maternal aunts and always treated them in a good manner. She used to love a lot my cousins (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Evidently, the time and duration spent with the grandparents open up a host of learning opportunities for grandchildren to admire the lifelong experiences of their grandparents. Such learning experiences often have a sense of attachment and belongingness for younger generations with their elders. One of the young-aged adult-Seema Gul, married, educated, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat shared her experience as *I love my grandmother and she was my ideal. She often shared her lived experiences with us and taught us to respect humanity. We used to visit her a lot and she was very loving and caring (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).*

There is a considerable amount of evidence that Pashtun kids from their very early childhood are taught about their heroes and eminent personalities by their elders particularly their parents. Such learning may occur through traditional poetry or music or traditional dances. While sharing her stance one of the highly educated respondents- Dr. Amna, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda replied that:

I, sometimes, listen to Pashtun poetry, but I am not fond of poetry to that much extent. Yes, my father and mother used to share the Pashtun folktales while I was a kid and

that contained the lifelong experiences of elders. I think this helped us a lot in our learning. We had certain childhood stories and memories. But I only remember ange bange (traditional Pashtun child story). And we try to change such stories concerning modern-day explanations (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

The traditional learning experiences are also different for those who are living in urban areas and those who are in rural areas. Rural areas are more traditional cultural oriented whereas busy urban structures make it difficult to learn traditional folktales. A young respondent-Irum, single, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak (settled in Islamabad) shared that:

Since we are living in an urban area, it was difficult for us to listen to the folktales because of the busy urban structure. But we do listen to such stories when we visit our village on special occasions such as Eid etc (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

Another respondent- Farwa, a young adult, married, educated from Swat, shared similar stories:

I have also heard some Pashto folktales as well. As one of the famous folktales of “Maimoona and Sheralam” is about the husband-wife relation with the themes of trust, doubt, and sincerity (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

It has been noticed that in Pashtun society, grandparents are highly praised and considered as a source of blessing and guidance. Pashtun women outlined the significant role of grandparents in defining and building a connection with the past (roots, origin, and social heritage). They elaborated that their grandparents used to share multiple Pashtun folktales with their grandchildren encompassing subjects of bravery, honor, hospitality, and

moral ethics, etc. with a moral lesson. Young Pashtun women acknowledged the dignified status and personality of their grandparents. They were of the view that they shared a beautiful and remarkable bond with their grandparents (paternal and maternal). In the case of women, grandmothers (paternal and maternal) are a source of inspiration for their granddaughters. The majority of the Pashtun women shared that they have a strong bond attachment to their grandmothers (paternal and maternal). Moreover, traditional Pashtun folktales are orally transmitted from the elder Pashtun generation to the young Pashtun generation. It has been highlighted that bedtime stories (shared by grandparents) played a decisive role in developing a strong moral base of grandchildren about their culture and values since their childhood. It has become obvious that the time and duration spent with the grandparents open up a host of learning opportunities for grandchildren to admire the lifelong experiences of their grandparents.

4.6 Impact of ICTs and Changing Relationships between Youngsters and Elder Generations

Modern technological advancements have brought immense pressures and altered the dynamics of traditional societies all over the world. Although Pashtun mothers were observant of modern trends and lifestyles, they were suspicious and mindful about the emerging patterns or agents of socialization such as modern ICTs, media, social interacting sites, etc. in terms of their usage and impact on learning skills and cultural orientation of their children. They were anxious about the changing relationships between youngsters and the elder generation.

With the technological advancements, there is a lot of change is observed in Pashtun society as well. Like all other walks of life, it has impacted negatively and positively on Pashtun cultural context. Most of the Pashtun women pinpointed the transitional phase of *Hujras* that how modern technological advancements have replaced the *Hujra* system among Pashtuns, especially the young Pashtun generation. Evidently, various technological gadgets such as mobile phones, computers, the internet, etc. have changed and replaced the place and concept of *Hujra* or *Baithak* to a greater extent since everyone (elder and younger) has been addicted to using them in everyday life.

It has become evident that now traditional *Hujras* are converted into small *Baithaks* where only guests are served and accommodated. The true essence of *Hujras* has declined—as it was used to be a place where youngsters were supposed to gather and share their feelings, thoughts, and problems with elders. They were accustomed to listening to the experiences and thoughts shared by their elders. *Hujras* proved to be a melting point where various generations (elder and younger) exchanged their knowledge and skills—learn from the experiences of their elders.

Nowadays, *Baithaks* are no more celebrated in that way because the young generation is more attracted and occupied by social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and much more. One of the highly educated respondents- Dr. Amna, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda shared her views about the changing relationships among various Pashtun generations as:

I agree to the great extent that ICT has a lot of impact in changing the nature of Pashtun societies. The kids of today's age are having cellphones in their hands than

listening to the stories from their parents and grandparents. I think our time was the best one since we had a lot of time to sit and listen to our elders which ultimately shaped our personalities in this way (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

A similar response was shared by Maria, aged 25, educated, single from Karak,

When it comes to technology, I think its usage matters a lot. It's up to the people that how they utilize the technology. Yes, I do believe that technology has changed the practices of Pashtunwali and it has also changed the relationship among us, our elders, and our youngsters. I also believe that it is up to socialization through the family system that you maintain the nexus between the technology, family system, and culture (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Broadly speaking, technology has affected the Pashtun culture and the relationship among the Pashtun generation yet contrasting views were also shared by some of the respondents. For them, it's upon the usage of the technology that decides its fate. If one is utilizing it for beneficial purposes, it will yield positive results and vice versa. A respondent Shabana, old-aged adult, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Charsadda, shares:

I think technology has changed our entire culture. One thing I consider as threatening is that mobile phones have distanced the students from education and modern media has brought certain challenges such as changes in the family system. I think mobile phones and other ICTs have more benefits and fewer loopholes. It has affected our culture but not to that much extent (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Another educated Pashtun woman- Dr. Rubab, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda, discussed that media has taken up the role of an agent of socialization more than elders and parents. She further shares that:

Technology has also affected the Pashtun culture. Now the trendsetters are the ones shown in the media than your elders. ICT has changed everything. Cell phones have, somehow, deteriorated the things for youth but it has positive consequences too. You are well connected to your loved ones sitting miles away through the usage of technology (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

ICT has caused a generation gap among the different generations of Pashtun women. This has led to differential understanding of the technological era. Many parents of today's age are digital immigrants while kids are technological natives. Which sometimes creates cultural lag among generations. When asked by one of the young respondents, Irum- a young adult, student, living in a joint family system from Karak replied that:

Regarding the use of ICT and changing patterns of Pashtun culture, yes I admit that technology has changed a lot of things. I think it's good as well and need of the time too. My mother always poses negative whenever I use my cellphone frequently. Yes, with the use of technology there is a lot of change in Pashtun culture. Now Kasharaan (youngsters) do not sit together with elders and they are always busy with technological gadgets which sometimes becomes a hurdle for them to understand their culture properly (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

It's quite evident that technology has divided the generations, many elder women have shown their discomfort when they see their kids always engaged with technological

gadgets. But some of the respondents complained that we need to have a sense of technological use otherwise it will have negative consequences. A respondent-Asiya, an old-aged adult, married, educated from Karak, shared:

One must accept the use of technology since it is the need of the day and we need to mold ourselves concerning technology. But it should not be random use rather it should be guided so that it should have positive consequences for the individuals and society. And I think we can get the maximum benefit through the usage of technology (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

A similar response concerning change in society due to advancement of technology was shared by Fahmeeda, a young adult, single, uneducated from Karak, that:

I have seen the change in societies due to the arrival of ICTs. I think the relationship of individuals with their parents, siblings, and relatives is affected a lot due to technology. You are well connected to the one sitting far away but you are not well connected to the one sitting right in front of you which I think is a negative impact of technology on our family system (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

Some of the educated Pashtun women talked about the negative side of excessive use of technology. They stated that it has deteriorated the fabric of Pashtun society which has alarming consequences. They were of the view that the young generation is highly dependent and addicted to utilizing modern technology. Furthermore, youth are unable to manage their time and prioritize things accordingly. While discussing this the respondent-Maryam, a young adult, single, educated from Karak stated that:

No doubt, technology is the need of the day, but excessive use of technology has negative consequences on our cultural system. I do favor technology, but I am against the excessive use of technology. I think people should spend their leisure with their family and friends instead of being attached to technological gadgets. My mother always has the complaint, that we the siblings are always attached to mobile phones (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

It has been reported by many of my respondents that parents and elders nowadays have no or less role in training the youngsters. Such a role is now snatched by ICTs. They learn more from what they see on TV or Mobile phone than their elders. This has also led to the creation of interworld personalities for youngsters. The youth is more alienated from their immediate contacts rather they are more assimilated through social networking sites. While discussing this with Samina, an old-aged adult, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat expressed that technology has changed our lifestyles, she further shared that:

Mobile phones have brought, and I would say, destructed our youth. I often feel uncomfortable when my son who is a university student uses a mobile phone all the time. I advise my children to use cell phones just for the need and do not make it your compulsion (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

ICTs have changed many things in Pashtun culture either it's a relationship between generations or between siblings even between the other family members. This has led to the change in rituals and traditions as well. The majority of the Pashtun women highlighted one of the defining practices in a Pashtun culture that whenever an elder (parents and

grandparents) enters the *Hujra* or house, everyone used to stand up and greet them in a dignified way but now young Pashtun generation is less concerned about basic etiquettes and attracted towards modern liberal mindsets. The more and more digitalized we are becoming day by day change in culture is observed accordingly. A respondent Zartaj, a young adult, married, educated, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat shared that:

Because of media and other exposure to other ICTs, Pashtuns have lost the true essence of their culture, norms, and values. It was a common tradition in Pashtun families that whenever an elder enters the house, everyone used to stand up in respect. But it does not happen now. In rural areas, customs are relatively intact but in urban areas, people are gradually leaving their customs (Personal Communication, 20-10-2019).

While highlighting the role of social media one of my middle-aged respondents- Dr. Amna, highly educated, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda shared that the youth of modern-day is very different from that of her times. She further continues that:

In my opinion, the modern-day Pashtun youth is not on the right track since they have started to ignore their elders and listen to them. Media, especially social media, has become the trendsetter for the youth which I think is dangerous. I support that the Pashtun youth should have more and more interaction with their elders since it will lead them to be true Pashtun and good human beings (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Many of my respondents particularly in Swat and Charsadda shared that media sometimes causes negative change within the family system. Unnecessary critique on joint

family and to some extent over projections of the rights leads to weakening the Pashtun family system. While I was discussing with the respondent Zaryab, a middle-aged adult, married, highly educated from Charsadda stated that:

I believe that media has changed a lot of things in Pashtun families. The rights of women are over projected in the media which sometimes becomes the cause of the deterioration of family systems. Regarding Mobile phones, I think they have, to some extent, deteriorated our culture, but it is beneficial as well. I believe it's more upon the usage of mobile phones than how you utilize them for positive purposes (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Notably, Pashtun women were concerned about the changing relationships between youngsters and the elder generation. With the technological advancements, there is a lot of change is observed in Pashtun society as well. Like all other walks of life, it has impacted negatively and positively on Pashtun cultural context. Most of the Pashtun women pinpointed the transitional phase of *Hujras* that how modern technological gadgets such as mobile phones, computers, the internet, etc. have changed and replaced the *Hujra* system among Pashtuns to a greater extent since everyone (elder and younger) has been addicted to using them in everyday life. *Hujras* proved to be a melting pot where various generations (elder and younger) exchanged their knowledge and skills—learn from the experiences of their elders.

It has become obvious that ICT has caused a generation gap among the different generations of Pashtun women. This has led to differential understanding of the technological era. Many parents of today's age are digital immigrants while kids are

technological natives. Which sometimes creates cultural lag among generations. It has been reported by several Pashtun mothers that parents and elders nowadays have no or less role in training the youngsters. Such a role is now snatched by ICTs. They learn more from what they see on TV or Mobile phone than their elders. This has also led to the creation of interworld personalities for youngsters. The youth is more alienated from their immediate contacts rather they are more assimilated through social networking sites.

4.7 Experiences of Pashtun Women: The Mother-Daughter Relationship

Mothers in Pashtun society are having a very strong affiliation with their daughters. Many of the young daughters seek inspiration from their mothers even traditionally it was quite common in Pashtun societies that while there was a settlement of marriage proposal it was said by the elders that if you have to see the mother of the bride be, you have seen the lady to be married. It is a very strong perception in the Pashtun society that daughters imitate their mothers. To be a modest and respectful woman is considered to be a key to women's identity in Pashtun culture. This is something that gets transferred from mothers to their daughters. While inquiring this from one of my respondents Khanam Bibi, an old-aged adult, a lifelong bachelor, from Swat, I received the following comments:

My mother used to be my best friend she died last year. My mother was a very humble and hospitable woman. She was a very down-to-earth lady. I remember when I was a child my mother used to stitch clothes. Whenever any customer with low economic background visited her and was unable to offer payments, she stitched the suits free of cost for that customer. I have always found my mother involved in household activities and never

observed her taking interest in outdoor activities and she was very disciplined (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

Rehana, the old-aged adult, married from Karak shared similar views:

We train our daughters to be future mothers and my daughter is my best friend. I had a beautiful and friendly relationship with my mother as well. I believe that all mothers are loving and caring towards their children. I had a very good relationship with my mother and she always used to share certain life stories and guide us to obey the norms and values of our society. She also guided us never to consider the domestic chores as a burden rather we were told to consider them as our social duty. My mother always was a good lady having strong moral conduct and character and we have always seen her respect our father and her elders and we by default got such characteristics and I try my best to transfer these attributes to my kids and youngsters (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

A strong bond was observed between the mothers and daughters. Even in some cases, mothers-in-law were treating their daughter-in-law in a very positive manner. While discussing the status of the mother-daughter relationship with one of my seniors most respondents (Adaka), she shared her thoughts as:

I had a very good relationship with my mother-in-law. She was a very humble lady. My mother was very loving too. She had never discriminated against us (siblings). My mother was very sentimental about my marriage. Due to immense sadness, she got sick and died in few months after my marriage (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

When I discussed the mother-daughter relationship with an educated respondent Shama-a young adult, married, educated, from Charsadda, she replied that:

My mother is my best friend. I am quite an independent lady about my education and career and thanks to my parents and my husband that who are very supportive of me (Personal Communication, 25-11-2019).

As I have already discussed in the debate in the previous theme that mothers in the Pashtun family systems are guides to their daughters. A mother always shares her life experience (ups and down) both of their parents' homes and their in-laws' homes with their daughters. So that they may have a smooth marital life. A respondent from Swat Farwa, a middle-aged adult, educated, shared that:

My mother used to share her life experiences and relations with her in-laws. She spent a very good time at home. She is very satisfied with her in-laws because they used to live happily with one another. I had a great time with my mother-in-law who died a year ago. She used to treat me like her own daughters. And even when I got married my mother back at my home asked me that now you are getting married so you should consider your mother and father-in-law just like your own mother and father and you should respect and serve them most (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Respecting the in-laws particularly the father and mother-in-law is taught to a Pashtun daughter well before her marriage. I remembered that while I was getting married, I was told by my mother to treat my husband's parents just like my own. When I discussed with one of my interviewees Bibi Zainab- a middle-aged adult, married from Swat shared that:

I have a beautiful relationship with my mother, and she always guided me to be a good Pashtun woman. Even whenever I came to my mother's home from my in-laws, she

always guides me to be respectful towards my in-laws particularly to my husband and his parents. There used to be a lot of restrictions for women but now women are excelling in almost all walks of life (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

The awareness concerning different cultural and religious aspects is very much linked to changing Pashtun culture. Mothers are found to be quite caring and worried for their daughters. A change has been observed regarding the marriage proposal of daughters as Seema Gul, a young -aged adult, married from Swat state this that:

I have a loving relationship with my mother. My father is a strict person, but he loves us a lot. My mother is my guide and my love too. I am well connected to my mother since she is a loving lady. She sends me so many cooked things even after my marriage. Women were not having the freedom to choose their spouses during our age, but things are better now. Even our religion gives us the freedom to choose our spouse. I had a very good time with my mother back at my father's home, and she was my guide too. my grandmother used to share a lot of life stories which helped me a lot to lead my life (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

A similar response has been shared by another respondent of Swat:

I believe that mothers have a lot of roles to play since daughters usually imitate their mothers. My mother-in-law is a very strict woman but still, we manage to spend time with her. My son is married for the last two years and I try my best to maintain a loving and caring relationship with my daughter-in-law (Personal Communication, 19-10-2019).

The discussion under this theme shows that mothers and daughters are having a quite interactive relationship in Pashtun societies. This interaction yields fruitful results for

transmitting certain Pashtun codes from the elder generation to the younger ones. Young Pashtun women are usually found to following the footsteps of their elders particularly their mothers. Mothers share their life histories just like an open book with their daughters during domestic chores. The lived experiences of mothers are guides to their daughters. Such experiences help daughters leading a respectful and dignified life. The world view of daughters is created through the lens of their mothers. The rare conflict has been observed in the relationship of mother and their daughter in Pashtun societies.

4.8 Generational Relations and Family System of Pashtuns

Universally, family is one of the fundamental and defining social institutions. It has been considered as a driving force behind the whole fabric of society. In Pashtun society, the family institution is considered an important guardian of Pashtun culture and the identity of Pashtuns. One of the middle-aged adults, married, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak, defined the concept of family and its importance for Pashtuns as:

Family is one of the defining components of Pashtun society. I am proud of my family and its values. Family can be defined as a cluster of members living under the same household and backed by feelings of love, unity, respect, and peace. I think you are nowhere when you are out of the family system (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

It has also become evident from the statement of one of the highly educated respondents (Dr. Amna), middle-aged, single from Charsadda that the joint family system is one of the celebrated family structures among Pashtuns:

I am a true supporter of having a joint family system where you have your uncles, aunts, grandparents live together. I believe that there are more positive things and fewer

negativities while being in the joint family system. I have many friends and colleagues inside and outside of the university, but I consider my father as one of my best friends with whom I can share everything, and he is my support (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Pashtun women are very much conscious and concerned about their families, relationships, and traditions. They acknowledge core values of patience and sacrifice as building blocks of Pashtun culture. One of the young adults, educated from Charsadda expressed her thoughts and experiences being a married woman as:

Nowadays people have more awareness about their basic rights. Especially when a female gets married in a joint family system, most of the time she observes patience while adhering to all standards of that family and even she bears injustice at the hands of in-laws without any complaint. But an educated Pashtun female can easily differentiate between right and wrong and can confidently protect her rights without sacrificing her self-worth (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Since their childhood, Pashtun women are told about the importance of family and social responsibility towards their family relationships. One of the old-aged adults (Naeema Bibi), married, uneducated from Karak, confidently expressed her social position being a Pashtun woman and also defined her relationship with her mother-in-law as:

Pashtun women are told since their childhood that their original home is their in-laws' home and you have to be in your in-laws' home whatsoever circumstances are. My mother-in-law has passed away. But I had a very beautiful, considerate, respectful, and friendly relationship with her. By nature, she was a very simple, humble, and kind woman (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

Undoubtedly, the family system plays a decisive role in defining an individual's identity. Pashtun women are very concerned about the concept of peace and prosperity. Most of the time, they associate happy and healthy relationships with the strong base or existence of the family system. One of the old-aged adults, married, educated, residing in a joint family system from Karak, expressed her thoughts about the family system as:

The family system is a deciding factor of individuals' unity. Sitting together with the rest of your siblings and family members gives a message of peace, prosperity, and the development of society as a whole. Children do get opportunities to learn a lot from their parents and grandparents which gradually is decreasing with the nuclearization of the family (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Another young adult, single, educated from Karak, highlighted the importance of the family institution and her social position—how she feels about her status and responsibility being a daughter as:

I think family is a very important institution in Pashtun culture and it is a beauty of Pashtun society that we have strong family ties with our relatives & exceptions are always there. I see myself as the blessed one to be a daughter. I have got a lot of love, respect, and care from my siblings, parents, and relatives. We were allowed to get an education and even do a job. In our family, females are only allowed to get a job in the teaching sector, which for sure is a very good profession for females to adopt (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

One of the highly educated young adults, single, living in a nuclear family system from Charsadda, shared the concept of family dynamics, her relationship with her

stepmother, and the importance of a fatherly figure in a daughter's life: *I am a brave and bold daughter of my parents. My father was married to two women. At the start, I was not having a good relationship with my stepmother but since she is paralyzed now, I try my best to take care of her. My father is my strength. we learn a lot from him when he shares his life struggles* (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

Pashtun women have always credited their family system as a binding force for them. Parents and elders are highly praised among them. Relationships are weighed throughout generations. One of the young adults, single, uneducated, residing in a joint family system from Karak:

The family system is a binding force for the individuals in the Pashtun society. You learn to respect others primarily through your family system. Your parents are the ones who guide you about the dos and don'ts of society. When it comes to myself, I am the beloved daughter of my parents especially my mother treats me like a best friend. When we usually sit together as a family, my brothers discuss politics-related topics where we are not interested into, we the sisters try to change the topic of our choice but I think that is the beauty of our family system that it allows us to sit together and exchange our thoughts freely (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Most of the respondents, credited family under the theme of love, respect, and unity. One of the highly educated, young adults, single from Charsadda, was of the view that: *Family system, for sure is a very important element of the Pashtun culture where you get love, respect, and unity*(Personal Communication, 25-11-2019).

Another young adult, single, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak, shared her thoughts about family and her parents' behavior towards their offspring's that she feels confident and valued and never faced any prejudiced or difference based on gender as *Family is a basic unit of society and is to live happily and share the joys and sorrows. Our father gives us more humble treatment than our brothers and I never feel inferior being a woman. We never faced any discriminatory attitude from our parents being a woman* (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Social identification is one of the defining functions of a family institution. The majority of the respondents were of the view that family is the strength of individuals in Pashtun society. One is identified through the name, social status, prestige, lineage, and contribution of her/his family in society. The family institution is also equated with one's reference group. One of the young adults, married, educated, living in the nuclear family system from Charsadda: *I think family is the strength of individuals in society. Even if a person is a 22-grade officer and if he is not having a good family system is not respected in our society properly. I think the family is the beauty of our society* (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Family plays a crucial role in building confidence among its members which is inevitable among Pashtun empowered women that how their parents encouraged them to recognize their true potential and prepare them to meet challenges in life. The experiences of my respondents resonate well with my life trajectory as a Pashtun woman. I still remember that when I asked my parents about my desire to get higher education and continue my studies, they not only encouraged my stance but supported me throughout my academic career. One of the highly educated, young adults, single, living in a joint family system from

Charsadda, shared her experience and choices she made during her academic career that her parents were always supportive about her education. She was of the view that family plays a decisive role in women empowerment and stated: *I think education has a lot of role in empowering the women in Pashtun society. The more education the more empowerment. I think your family has a lot of roles in women's empowerment* (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

Relationship among siblings is very substantial by nature. One of the highly educated, middle-aged adults, single, living in a joint family system from Charsadda, acknowledged her brother's role in her personality development. She pointed out that being a sole sister of five brothers, not only she acquired traits from her brothers but also developed skills that are required for a female to survive in a patriarchal setup: *My brothers have always supported me and built my confidence. I was very shy at an early age since I was a sister of five brothers I used to act like a boy at an early age and I am thankful to my parents for building my confidence and training me to survive in society* (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Another respondent from Karak, a middle-aged adult, educated and married was very expressive about the father-daughter relationship that how her father made her feel about her presence and never showed discriminatory behavior between sons and daughters:

I have a very lovely and special relationship with my father. He loves me from the cores of my heart and shows admiration towards me. He has always considered us (daughters) as a source of blessing. My parents have also considered my consent about marriage settlement. My parents have always encouraged daughters' education and I have

done Masters as well. My parents have never discriminated between sons and daughters. Furthermore, she added that I think the family system of Pashtun society is its beauty. The members of a family share your good and bad times (Personal Communication, 11-09-2019). Similarly, another respondent- Samina, an old-aged adult, married from Swat expressed her feelings about her relationship with her father and his role in defining her viewpoint about Pashtun culture:

My father is my role model and he was a true Pashtun and religious person. He was a broad-minded person. He was not a short-sighted person and I inherited some of my father's traits (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

Pashtun women highlighted that elder Pashtun women (Mothers and grandmothers) are having a key role in keeping their families and relationships intact. Mothers are always concerned about their children's socialization especially about transmission and understanding of social heritage towards the young lot. I have always observed my grandmothers and mother, considering the family as their top priority. They never compromised on ancestral values and patterns. They were always ready to sacrifice for family, in terms of their time, health, skills, and energy. One of my respondents-Bano Begum, an old-aged adult, educated, married from Swat shares:

I believe that women are having a key role in keeping their families intact. A woman is not considered a good one who tries to live apart from family and is considered as an out-layer for traditional Pashtuns. We always teach our kids the importance of having a strong family system since family helps you everywhere. I always teach my children to trust

Almighty Allah, but I try my best to train the best. And I think that women can make or break the house (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

Another respondent living in a joint family system-Bibi Zainab, a middle-aged adult, married from Swat shared thoughts about family and her relationship with other family members:

For me, the family simply loves. I believe, family is the soul of society where unity and faith prevail. My parents did not seek my consent for marriage but being married for ten years I am satisfied with my husband and in-laws. I am thankful to my husband that he is a caring, loving, and respectful person and I am proud to be a Pashtun woman (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

From the above discussion, it is evident that Pashtuns particularly the Pashtun women are very much connected to their elder and younger generations. One of the important factors that transmit all cultural, social, and religious rituals is the family system of Pashtuns. The younger generation of women learns all of their traditional heritage through their ancestors. An important role is played by the Pashtun mothers. They are having quite dignified and celebrated status within society. Elder Pashtun women are considered to be the guardian and custodians for the transmission of their culture, particularly for youngsters.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS: TRANSMISSION OF PASHTUNWALI AMONG PASHTUN WOMEN

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the generational relations among Pashtun women of KPK, Pakistan. The current chapter is focused on understanding and transmission patterns of Pashtunwali (Pashtun's code of conduct) among Pashtun women of KPK, Pakistan. The chapter discusses how the different parameters/principles of Pashtunwali are transmitted from one generation of Pashtun women to the next one. It further presents the ways Pashtun women perceive & interpret the Pashtun codes. I have summarized this chapter into the following key themes. Each theme is enriched with discussion relevant to its particulars.

- 5.1 Pashtunwali—Cardinal Principles of Pashtuns
- 5.2 *Jirga* (Council) System—Moral fiber of Pashtun Society
- 5.3 Pashtun Women and *Purdah* (Veil)—Modesty
- 5.4 Pashto language—An Agent and Custodian of transmitting Pashtunwali
- 5.5 Pashto *Mataluna* (Proverbs)—Enshrined Courier of Wisdom of Pashtun Elders
- 5.6 Pashto Poetry- A Vehicle of Transmitting Pashtunwali
- 5.7 Concept of *Ghairtmand* (Honor and Self-Respect) and Status of Pashtun Women
- 5.8 *Hujra/Baithak*—An Emblem of Pashtuns' Hospitality
- 5.9 *Tarborwali* (Agnatic Rivalry): The Stance of Pashtunwali
- 5.10 Modernity & Challenges Encountered by Traditional Pashtun Culture

5.1 Pashtunwali—Cardinal Principles of Pashtuns

Pashtunwali may be defined as orally (unwritten) transmitted and practiced—moral code of conduct for Pashtuns. It is associated with the Pashtuns' identity. Pashtunwali has been comprised of multiple meaningful codes which are justified and recognized among Pashtuns throughout centuries. One of the eminent Pashtun poets, philosopher, and writer, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan (1914—1996) artistically wrote about Pashtuns as:

Pashtun is not merely a race but, in fact, a state of mind; there is a Pashtun lying inside every man, who at times wakes up and overpowers him (Khan, 1958, p.25).

Pashtunwali is an integral part of Pashtun identity. It is Pashtuns' way of life. One of the highly educated respondents-Dr. Amna, a middle-aged adult, single from Charsadda, defined Pashtunwali as a moral code of conduct for Pashtuns. She has also identified defining traits of Pashtunwali which are practiced and expected out of Pashtuns such as, hospitality, respect, and high self-esteem. She confidently shared the contextualization of Pashtunwali and her experiences being a part of the Pashtun community. Although, she identified Pashtun society as quite patriarchal in nature yet women having any social position (being a daughter, sister, wife, or mother) are treated with due respect:

Pashtunwali is something closely associated with Pashtun people in general, and women in particular. One of the important components of Pashtuns is to be hospitable, respectful, and having a higher level of self-esteem. Society, as you know, is quite patriarchal, but women are respected a lot (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Correspondingly, one of my old-aged respondents (aged 98), eloquently highlighted Pashtunwali as a binding and guiding principle for Pashtuns. She also shared her life experiences and critically made a comparison between practices of traditional and modern-

day Pashtuns and their affiliation with their centuries-old moral code—Pashtunwali. She stated:

Pashtunwali is a very good thing and Pashtuns are not true Pashtuns without observing the principles of Pashtunwali. The traditional Pashtuns were very good people that contained the Pashtun typical values. Nowadays, there is a lot of change in Pashtuns' lifestyle (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

My research findings revealed that the majority of the Pashtun women, irrespective of their socio-demographic background, identified multiple traits and principles which are recognized, practiced, and transmitted among Pashtun women throughout generations. These principles are defining the theme of their cultural heritage. Pashtun women consider their social heritage as something which is an ultimate source of knowledge, morality, and self-identification. They were very ethnocentric about their traditions, history, and ancestral values which are defined and practiced through ages. One of my interviewees—Asiya Bibi, old-aged adult, married, educated from Karak expressed the detailed notion of Pashtunwali as:

Talking about the Pashtuns, in my point of view, Pashtuns are brave people. They are Ghairatmand, respectful and dignified people. I am proud to be a Pashtun woman. There are various factors behind that. A few of them are the moral standards, modesty, bravery, hospitality, and humbleness. Pashtun women can sacrifice their life for the sake of their family, village, tribe, and country. Akhpala Pashto saar taa rasawai (She complies with the standards of Pashtunwali). A Pashtun woman knows to respect her cultural and social norms). Pashtuns are no doubt very hospitable. The concept of nanawate (providing

shelter) even to enemies when they seek help for settling the disputes (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

One of the defining characteristics of Pashtunwali is the concept of *melmastia* (Hospitality). In Pashtun culture, *melmana* (guests) hold a unique space and status, irrespective of guests' background or status. Throughout my life, I have always found my parents, especially my mother, enthusiastically hospitable. I was always told to respect and serve guests and consider them as the blessing of Almighty. Being a researcher, during my field visits (data collection process), I have witnessed a great deal of hospitality at the ends of my interviewees (Pashtun women). My key informants and respondents, both were very welcoming and considerate towards me. They exhibited the true essence of hospitality. As one of the highly educated respondents-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, a lecturer from Charsadda pointed out:

Pashtuns are very hospitable people. They respect their melmana (guests) and give them proper time. They try their best to serve their guests. Even if a child comes to their home as a guest, they never let him go empty-handed. If you go to the more traditional areas like Waziristan, you will see the immense love for guests there (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Another respondent, an old-aged adult, married, uneducated from Charsadda also endorsed that trait of hospitality evident among Pashtuns as *Pashtuns are very hospitable people. Guests are respected a lot. We provide them (guests) with delicious food and try to accommodate them with comfortable bedding* (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Pashtun women identified Pashtunwali as their basic social heritage. One of the young adult respondents, single, educated, living in a joint family system, from Karak, meaningfully expressed Pashtunwali as their basic guiding line. She also presented a detailed picture of Pashtun culture by referring to the construction of her identity being a Pashtun daughter, that she feels confident and privileged. She equated Pashtunwali as defining trend among Pashtuns. She defined Pashtunwali as *Pashtunwali is our tradition. Pashtuns are hospitable and they are peace-loving people. They don't harm anyone and are very religious people* (Personal Communication, 09-11-2019).

Pashtun women are very much concerned about their customs and feel proud of practicing those traditions. They show great admiration towards their value system. They have identified *Badal* (revenge) as the core principle of Pashtunwali. Pashtuns rivalries are backed by matters of honor (associated with women) and property-related issues. One of the middle-aged adults, single, living in a joint family system from Karak reported that she feels proud of her ethnic background and customs. She also pointed out that Pashtuns are very mindful about their revenge and honor. She narrated:

Guest are welcomed and respected in Pashtun society regardless of the social status of guests. I am proud to be born and raised as a Pashtun daughter. I believe that the characteristics of Pashtun include hospitality, respect, bravery, and taking revenge. In the matters of their honor especially in the women case and property matters, there are murders too (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

It is also noticeable that Pashtun women are mindful of social expectations concerning Pashtunwali. To qualify the desired status of good Pashtun, they are expected to

adopt and sustain key characteristics of Pashtunwali which are cherished values such as modesty, hospitality, bravery, humbleness, religiosity, high self-esteem, sense of ethnocentrism, respectful (towards elders and women), etc. An old-aged adult, married, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak shared her thoughts about above mentioned cherished values expected out of Pashtun in detail. She highlighted that her mother and grandparents played a significant role in defining her viewpoint about Pashtunwali and the relevance of adopting such traits to be confined to the desired status of good Pashtun. She presented her perspective about Pashtunwali and its traits as:

I generally believe that you can't be a good Pashtun until or unless you have characteristics of Pashtunwali and our cultural system is the strength of our society and it passes on from generation to generation. The time has changed a lot. Pashtuns are respectable, hospitable, and are having high self-esteem and I am proud of being a Pashtun woman. The components of Pashtuns are more or less present in almost all Pashtuns (males and females). It is a very common saying about Pashtuns that Pashtuns can leave everything, but they observe fasting during Ramadan (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

The majority of young Pashtun women informed close relationships between Pashtuns and Pashtunwali. They affirmed that Pashtuns are the people of principles. They are watchful about their elders' practices and character in confirming Pashtunwali and related traits. One of the young adults-Maria, single, educated from Karak presented views about Pashtunwali and disclosed that Pashtuns learn and internalize those principles from their ancestors:

Pashtuns are the people of principles. We get these principles from our ancestors and our society. It is part of our culture to respect elders and we follow our traditions wholeheartedly (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Another respondent-Tanzila, an old-aged adult, married, uneducated from Karak narrated various traits of Pashtuns such as revenge, hospitality, and *Ghairat*. She was very ethnocentric in her attitude towards Pashtuns' code of conduct as:

Revenge, Hospitality, and Ghairat are among the major characteristics of Pashtun tribes. I am proud to be a Pashtun woman, and this is something I feel like a special status in my society (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

It has also become phenomenal from multiple viewpoints generated by Pashtun women about Pashtunwali, closely associated with the family system among Pashtuns. They disclosed a strong connection between Pashtunwali and the role of their family system (its essence) in defining, adapting, transmitting, and internalizing that respective code of conduct. As highlighted by Rehana, an old-aged adult, married, living in a joint family system (satisfied about her family structure) from Karak in terms of:

I am proud to be a Pashtun woman. Pashtuns are brave, honest, and hospitable people. Pashtuns have positive feelings for everyone, and they have a great family system. Our family system is our strength and Pashtunwali is our base. We train our daughters to be future mothers and my daughter is my best friend (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Likewise, a young adult, single, and educated from Karak shared thoughts about the meaningfulness of Pashtunwali and counted several traits associated with Pashtun as:

Pashtunwali is a Pashtun way of living. Pashtun people are humble, hospitable, and modest. They are very religious. Pashtuns are very much connected to Pashtunwali and they do not compromise on that (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Remarkably, Pashtun remains careful about their commitments. They regard dishonesty and miscommitment as something undesirable and unexpected from Pashtuns. My personal experiences also echo this fact, as I remember very well that when I was getting married, my paternal grandmother passed away around two months earlier than my marriage date. Many people forced my father to postpone my marriage, but my father remained stick to his decision regarding my marriage date. He was of the view that *I have committed with my daughter's in-laws, so I cannot lag behind my commitment*. While sharing her story, my respondent-Riffat, a middle-aged adult, married and uneducated from Karak shared that:

Pashtuns are hospitable, Ghairatmand, and men of principle. Pashtuns are very aggressive in nature and they are emotional too. Pashtuns usually keep their promises and words which also is an important element of Pashtunwali and this is something that we as a Pashtun inherit from our elders and ancestors (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

On the same token, another middle-aged adult, married, a homemaker, acquired religious education, living in a joint family system from Swat also endorsed that Pashtuns are thoughtful about their words and agreements. Deliberately, they practice their traditions and the elder generation remains very curious and concerned about the exhibition of Pashtunwali as they are having prime responsibility to transmit their cultural values to the

new generation. Pashtuns never compromise on withdrawal from their commitments. She stated:

Being a Pashtun I feel that norms and values Pashtuns used to have a few decades back are getting changed very rapidly. The components of the Pashtunwali are the base of the Pashtun people and we are nothing without them. Pashtuns always keep their promises and never compromise on their honor and respect. Being immoral is strongly discouraged in Pashtun society. Being immodest and disrespectful is something not suited with Pashtun people. I want to live my life with dignity, respect, and honor and be buried respectfully and modestly (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

Pashtunwali is so essential to the identity of the Pashtun that there is no distinction between practicing Pashtunwali and being Pashtun. Furthermore, for the Pashtun, there is no contradiction between being Pashtun and practicing Pashtunwali and being Muslim and adhering to Islamic law.

The respective notion has been highlighted by one of the renowned Pashtun poets Khan Abdul Ghani Khan as,

Paradise in Islam is acquired though [doing] Pashtu... the countless graces of Paradise come though [doing] Pashtu to the Pashtuns (Khan, 1958, p. 50).

Religious scholars ('*ulama*) often see conflicts between some Pashtun customs and the *Shari'a*, but in the minds of the Pashtun majority, Pashtunwali is not seen as an entity separate from the *Shari'a*. Even though the *Shari'a* and Pashtunwali overlap in the Pashtun consciousness, they are

seen as functioning for a different purpose. The *Shari'a* represents God's will for humanity on earth and is practiced because it is a moral code whereas Pashtunwali is seen as

a matter of honor, which to a Pashtun is defined by a person's integrity in upholding and practicing the concepts that makeup Pashtunwali. As one of my respondents-Samina, a middle-aged, married, educated and from Swat presented her views about Pashtuns and their religiosity as:

Being religious is also something associated with Pashtuns and religiosity is also attached with Pashtuns. I think there are many commonalities between traditional Pashtun culture and Islam. It is also one of the reasons that Pashtuns are considered religious. Pashtun people believe in the spirit of unity and harmony. Pashtuns are humble and kind-hearted people. They are told to respect each other. My siblings are very loving. And we avoid giving place to lust and greed in our relations. We have a deep fear of Allah and try to live our lives following the teachings of Islam (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Noticeably, Pashtun women confidently endorsed the importance of acquiring education and their awareness about their status and contribution to the betterment of society. They were also wakeful about their rights and duties. Most of the educated Pashtun women made a comparison between different periods concerning their experiences about the privilege to get an education. As one of the middle-aged adults-Shama, married, educated, and serving as an admin officer in one of the universities in Charsadda shared her experiences regarding women's education and Pashtunwali as:

Pashtunwali is a very important component of the Pashtun culture. Females are respected a lot in society, but they are not as independent as the other ethnic groups of Pakistan are. Education has a lot of importance in Pashtun culture. In previous times, women's education was not given that much importance and only males were educated but even in previous times, women of a particular class (the elite ones) got the chance to get

educated but now things have changed. Now the common Pashtun women are educated too (Personal Communication, 25-11-2019).

My respondents were knowledgeable about the meaning and cultural context of Pashtunwali, but they also shared folk knowledge about the historical background of Pashtuns' moral code and its implications. The majority of the respondents recognized their Pashtun culture as equated with their ultimate soul or existence. Pashtun women are well-informed about their modesty, respect, and norms. During my academic career, I still remember that when I got admission to one of the leading universities of Pakistan, namely Quaid-i-Azam University (being a co-educational institute). Before my orientation at the respective institute, I was advised by my mother to be careful regarding the normative structure of the Pashtun family. She further advised me that my father took a stand for my education, so I just need to focus on education and do not get involved in any other skeptical activities. Likewise, one of the educated respondents, a middle-aged adult, married and serving as a research coordinator at one of the educational institutes from charsadda briefly shared the historical background and origin of Pashtuns and the cultural context of Pashtunwali. She unfolded various characteristics (being modest, patient, respectful, brave, and down-to-earth) of ideal Pashtun women and how she has learned about them from her parents. She was mindful about her identity and overall emotional character of Pashtuns in general as:

Pashtuns are brave people. Afghanistan is their origin. They keep their promises and Pashtuns have given a lot of sacrifices for their nation and country. Pashtun women are well aware of their modesty, respect, and norms. She is very patient and respectful, and she observes Purdah. Pashtuns are modest, hospitable, and Ghairatmand. They are told to

respect other fellow beings. When it comes to hospitality, Pashtuns are genetically hospitable. We are trained since our childhood to be very kind, supportive, and welcoming with our guests. We try our best to do more than our strength for our guests. Pashtuns are emotional and sometimes aggressive too (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

In Pashtunwali, *Purdah* and *Namus* (gender segregation) are important institutions. *Namus* can be defined as defending one's honor and taking steps to maintain or achieve the honor. In Pashtun culture, it is recommended for both genders to consider the concept of gender segregation which is defined boundaries (physical space) for them. *Purdah* (veil) is applicable for both women and men. One of the middle-aged respondents, married, educated, acquired religious education, a homemaker from Swat extended her views about the concept of *Purdah*. She highlighted multiple parameters of Pashtunwali and the status of Pashtun women as:

Observing Purdah is an important element both for males and females. Pashtuns are very aggressive people. They keep their promises and even revenge. Pashtuns do not consider a woman as a good woman if she does not observe Purdah. Our men do not like us to go outside without strong reason rather they love us to stay home and enjoy our life inside our homes (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

Pashtuns are considerate about their relationships and commitments. It has been identified that Pashtun women consider Pashtunwali as their guiding principle. For them, all Pashtuns share a close and irreplaceable bond among themselves. On the same note, Ghani Khan (a famous Pashtun poet and critical philosopher) beautifully wrote about the brotherhood among Pashtuns as:

The Pashtuns are rain-sown wheat: they all came up on the same day; they are all the same. But the chief reason why I love a Pashtun is that he will wash his face and oil his beard and perfume his locks and put on his best pair of clothes when he goes out to fight and die (Khan, 1958, p.178).

One of my old-aged respondents, educated, married, a homemaker from Swat eloquently shared her thoughts about Pashtunwali and its parameters. She also spotted the importance of brotherhood among Pashtuns. Furthermore, she briefly disclosed the nature of her relationship with her relatives and neighbors. She was very satisfied with her life. She pointed out that hypocrisy and dishonesty are social evils, but relationships survive only through fair dealing and wakeful considerations. She further continued that:

Pashtuns respect their traditions. All Pashtuns consider other Pashtuns as brothers and sisters. They are hospitable and respectful towards their guests. Pashtun people are modest and humble people. I have spent a respectful and satisfying life with my relatives and neighbors. I believe that it is one of the beautiful traits of Pashtun people that they know how to keep their promises and lead relations with dignity and loyalty. If there is hypocrisy in relations it will lead towards weak bonding (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

Although, it became noticeable that Pashtun women are wakeful about their ancestral values and social heritage. They are fervent about the practical implications of Pashtunwali but at the same time, working Pashtun women are suspicious about certain shortcomings and made objections to several practices of Pashtuns, especially about the property rights of women. While discussing this with one of my respondents, an educated and working woman- Shama from Charsadda was of the view that:

Even in 2020, a vast majority of women in a Pashtun society are not given the right to property which is quite a negative face of Pashtun society. One of the amazing things in Pashtun society is the concept of cooperation in case of joys and sorrows (Personal Communication, 25-11-2019).

Pashtuns particularly the women of the Pashtun community are well aware of the general concept of Pashtunwali. Since I collected data both from the urban and rural women, as well as, my respondents included both educated and uneducated women, Pashtun women were very much ethnocentric in maintaining and adhering to Pashtunwali. Women of all age groups showed a huge amount of appreciation and gratification with the core principles of Pashtunwali. I observed that they were quite confident in understanding and explaining Pashtunwali as a core Pashtun value. For my respondents, Pashtunwali was considered to be a kind of genetic trait and they termed it as something which was in their blood. Most of them responded that an individual cannot be a true Pashtun unless he/she acts upon the principles of Pashtunwali.

5.2 *Jirga* (Council) System—Moral fiber of Pashtun Society

Jirga (council) has been marked as one of the cherished value structures among Pashtuns. Remarkably, defined as a historical and traditional social institution backed by the gathering of the justified and dignified status of *Masharaan* (elders). Frequently, several respondents have identified *Jirga* as the moral fiber of Pashtun society. Pashtun women recognize the role of a *Jirga* in conflict resolution and maintaining social order in society. Here, I have incorporated one of the strong narratives shared by my senior-most respondent (aged 98) about *Jirga* and its nature and proceedings and how they are understood by an

old-aged Pashtun woman being a representative of the older (experienced) generation. Keeping in the background, the primary objective of my research to investigate the transmission patterns of Pashtunwali which are shared and adopted among Pashtun women had been endorsed during my interview with the above-mentioned respondent. She shared:

Jirga system is one of the key components of Pashtun society. Yes, the Jirga system is highly male-dominated and females have no say in the Jirga matters. In our times, males were very harsh towards their women. If a woman committed an ordinary mistake, she was beaten badly by male members of her family. God forbids, that they were very impatient towards Ghairat related cases. We had faced strict rules and discipline. But nowadays, Pashtun males are very compromising and show lenient behavior towards women and they do listen to women and respect their opinions in different matters (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

While sharing her stance on the nature and structure of *Jirga*, another young adult respondent- Maryam, single, educated, from Karak expressed her understanding as:

In the Jirga system, elders are given high esteem. They play a defining role in conflict resolution among various groups. Due to the lengthy and complicated nature of the court and justice system, people prefer to call Jirga and get their issues resolved efficiently. Both parties are bound to obey the terms and conditions applied by the Jirga. Recently, we had a Jirga in our family about deciding the matter of custody of our cousin's son (as she got divorced). Previously, both parties went to court for their dispute, but they were not satisfied with the court proceedings. The issue was resolved by Jirga and they accepted the

decision. The history of the Jirga tradition is old as well connected with Pashtun (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

It is well understood by the discussion with Maryam that *Jirga* has a pivotal role in conflict resolution. *Jirga* also serves as a means of getting speedy justice. But the problem, that most of the females shared, is less or no role of women within the *Jirga* system. For the respondents, the non-representation of women often leads to partial decisions, especially in the context of women. The majority of the respondents were of the view that women are excluded from *Jirgas* (considered as male domain) and they are expected to accept the decisions taken in a *Jirga*. For example, the following views are taken from an excerpt with my discussion with Asiya Bibi, an old-aged adult, married, educated from Karak:

The Jirga system is also a very important factor in Pashtun culture and usually, the major decisions are taken there. Jirga is usually headed by the elders of the family and society and their decisions are highly respected. Usually, the age factor is the deciding element to head the Jirga. Women have nothing to do with the Jirgas, but women do have to accept the decisions taken in a Jirga. Not even the name of the woman is mentioned in the Jirgas (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

I received some contrasting views on *Jirgas* from some of my young respondents. They highlighted another narrative where they appreciated their males for their trust in their female members for matters related to *Jirga*. The women shared that their male members usually discuss the agenda points of *Jirga* with their females before going to *Jirga* which is a very positive sign. Even, some of the respondents highlighted that male members of their family shared the proceedings of *Jirga* when they return home. The respondents were of the

view that *Jirga* has a decisive role in ensuring peace in society. One of the respondents- Nudrat, young adult, single, educated from Karak shared that:

The Jirga system in Pashtun society is very important for ensuring peace in society. When two conflicting groups are rivals, it is the responsibility of the Jirga to accommodate both groups on mutually agreed terms and conditions. Jirga is usually the responsibility of the male members and I think that males are well aware of their family structures. Male sometimes discusses the Jirga issues with their female members at their home before the actual Jirga is held which I think is a positive sign. Generally speaking, Pashtuns are hospitable, brave, and Ghairatmand people. I am proud to be a Pashtun woman (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Similar views were shared by highly educated respondent-Dr. Amna, middle-aged adult & single from Charsadda:

The Jirga in Pashtun culture has an important role to play to deal with the matters of public as well as private spheres. Major disputes are solved in Jirgas, and decisions are taken for the betterment of the Pashtun society. Jirga system is part of the Pashtun culture and it's good to accommodate two conflicting groups through the Jirga system (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Pashtuns have been considered and adopted the *Jirga* system as one of the defining mechanisms for conflict resolution systems for centuries. *Jirga* system is also practiced as one of the alternative and reliable sources of justice among Pashtuns due to speedy and less expensive means of dispute resolution among rivalries. Some of the respondents shared that they trust the *Jirga* system and require *Jirga* as they believe that the former criminal justice

system is overburdened. Thousands of cases are already pending in the courts, so it sometimes takes months and even years to get justice through the legal system. The *Jirga* is the best alternative dispute resolution mechanism. An excerpt from the discussion with one of the respondents- Sadaf, educated working woman, middle-aged adult, and single from Charsadda explains it well:

If you see the judicial system of Pakistan, you will see the delayed justice or justice even denied. But Pashtun Jirga system is a process to settle disputes in a very effective way. The Jirga system is declining day by day over time. In the traditional Jirga system, there were some complications in getting justice but now things have changed. Now Jirgas are doing far better than the legal justice system. Jirga too is an element of Pashtun culture and is held for a special purpose and things are decided on an evidence basis. Everyone is bound to accept the decisions of the Jirga (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

The majority of the respondents referred to their experiences about *Jirga* proceedings and their structure (held in the near past) and recalled the details and agenda points too. It shows that Pashtun women have understood the *Jirga* as one of the deciding elements of their cultural system. Critically, they evaluated the status of men (elders) in *Jirga* and the absence of women in *Jirga*-related matters. But they also knew how to exercise their agency while listening to their male counterparts before the *Jirga* settlement and after they return home—they do share their thoughts, especially with elder women (grandmother, mother, and mother-in-law). It has been reflected by one of my old-aged respondents- Naeema Bibi, married, uneducated, a home maker from Karak:

Jirga system is also part of our cultural system. Recently, we had a Jirga on deciding the divorce case and custody of the son. Jirga has decided the case in favor of the woman. Male members also share details of Jirga at home with females, but women are not directly involved in Jirga matters. My husband always used to share that males are always concerned about issues outside the home and they try to resolve them with dignity. They always try to confront the outside world without creating disturbance for females at home (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

Moreover, another middle-aged adult-Riffat, married, uneducated, a homemaker, and living in a joint family system from Karak confidently shared her narrative about *Jirga* as one of the effective mechanisms sustained by the considerate status of *Masharaan* (elders) to resolve the dispute between two parties. She pinpointed that most of the time, male considers female's viewpoint as irrelevant and unimportant in the *Jirga* related matters. She insisted on the involvement of females in conflict resolution as their experiences and viewpoints are totally different from their male counterparts and it will help in generating a balanced narrative in conflict resolution. As she revealed that most of the time males consider females as *nasamjh* (having less or no knowledge of the outside world) and don't recognize their stance in *Jirga* proceedings. She stated as:

In the Jirga system, Pashtun people get together for accommodating a conflict. In Jirga, two parties resolve their conflict with the consent of Masharaan (elders). Jirga consists of male members while females are always considered as an outsider and they have no say in the matters of the Jirga. But I think that there is a need to involve females in conflict resolution as well, but males take them as nasamjh, kum aqal, (having less or no

knowledge of the outside world) *and don't consider their point of view in Jirga matters* (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

Another interesting narrative has been disclosed about the transition of the *Jirga* system in Pashtun society. Most of the respondents pinpointed the changing trends among Pashtuns living in urban areas or settlements about the nature and effectiveness of *Jirgas*. They were of the view that due to modernization and technological advancement, the *Jirga* system is losing its worth because of its dependency on modern mechanisms of dispute resolution such as police and legal court systems. Young Pashtun women are more independent in their expression and decision-making nowadays. My respondent- Azmeena, a young adult, married, educated from Charsadda shared her views:

Jirga system used to be common in previous times but now it has gradually lost its worth since people are becoming more and more urban. Though the decisions are still taken by the elders in the society yet there is no proper Jirga system in urban Pashtun areas. Now in urban areas, it's an age of the internet and media that has changed a lot of things. Especially in the case of setting the marriages, parents do consider the will of their kids than listening to the Jirga decisions regarding the marriages of their children. Jirga system is not that effective in urban areas, but it still has a role in rural areas. Elders have the special powers to decide the Jirga. One of the reasons for the failure of the Jirga system in urban areas is the presence of police and the court system in urban areas (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Young Pashtun women were knowledgeable about the historical background of the *Jirga* system and they had shared numerous accounts of *Jirgas* which were shared by their

mothers and grandmothers. They pinpointed that due to urbanization, the majority of Pashtuns are less concerned about calling *Jirgas* for dispute resolution or take the advice of elders concerning their familial issues or stakes. Realistically, they are more prone towards other modern means of social cohesion such as police or the legal court system. It has become evident from the narrative shared by one of the young adult respondents, married, educated, living in a joint family system from Karak:

Pashtuns always decide their matters in Jirga and Pashtuns are very hospitable people. It is in the genes of Pashtuns to respect elders and I am proud to be Pashtun too. Pashtuns are a united people. We do not have the Jirga system so common here since people have moved to urban areas and settled there. So, no one is bothering to call a Jirga, etc. and our disputes are usually resolved by police and courts instead of the Jirga (Personal Communication, 11-09-2019).

Pashtun women were also concerned about the socio-economic factors responsible for defining one's status or social position in society. Many of my respondents identified various factors behind the decline of *Jirgas* such as intolerance, individualism, financial independence, self-interest, modernization and cost, and benefits analysis, etc. One of the middle-aged adults-Bibi Zainab, married, educated, a homemaker from Swat critically analyzed the declining status of *Jirgas* among Pashtuns living in urban areas. Categorically, she reflected that respect and love among relatives are declining day by day. People are more concerned about financial gain/ interest and ignore other humanitarian grounds. She narrated that:

Jirga is also losing its importance since people are getting more and more urban now and the respect and love among relatives are declining day by day. Even in relatives, respect is for the financially well-off one, and poor relatives are not even welcomed. Certain traditions are only attached to poor Pashtuns whereas the elite Pashtuns consider themselves free of all the limits. If you visit Islamabad or Peshawar, you will see a different Pashtun than you see a one in the traditional village of Swat or Waziristan (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

Old-aged Pashtun women highlighted different issues which are discussed under the umbrella of the *Jirga* system. Deliberately, *Jirgas* are called for settling the issues related to property, marriage proposals, or even revenge settling. Most of the time, decisions are made on merit. Elders play a decisive role in dispute resolution. Their authority remains justified and unchallenged. One of the old-aged adults-Mashal Begum, uneducated, married, a home maker from Swat briefly shared her thoughts about the status of the *Jirga* system, its declining state, and the role of women in *Jirgas* as:

Jirgas are usually called for settling the issues such as property issues, marriage proposals, or revenge settling. Our elders always guide us about leading our life in a respectful and honorable way. Women in Pashtuns societies are not usually part of Jirga but educated men usually take the opinion of their women before joining the proceedings of the Jirga. Jirgas are held to mitigate the problems faced by the rivals and decisions are made on merit. Now Hujras and Jirgas are gradually losing their presence and importance since things have changed. People prefer to go to police stations and courts for settling their disputes and conflicts than in Jirgas. Jirga is of utmost importance in some parts of Pashtun villages. It is a tradition of Pashtuns to hold Jirga and settle their disputes. We do not get

into the police and court system to settle our disputes (Personal Communication, 18-10-2019).

On the same note, another old-aged adult-Zaitoon Begum married, uneducated, living in a joint family system from Swat presented a detailed notion of the *Jirga* system. She highlighted the role of socio-economic background in moderating and maintaining *Jirgas*. She sustained a very balanced approach regarding the nature and rationale of *Jirgas* held in Pashtun society, by referring to her experience being a Pashtun woman as:

Yes, still Jirga system is one of the important components of Pashtunwali. When there are some marriage proposals (siblings) related issues then it is also discussed in a Jirga. Our family is the most respected in this village. My husband belongs to a religious and political family, so we have a lot of roles in moderating the Jirgas and maintaining the Hujras. One has friends and enemies everywhere. We try to live in harmony and peace. The head of a Jirga always tries to maintain a balanced approach. When guests arrive at our home, there is a celebration at home, and we try to serve them utmost. But now in our neighborhood, people from different areas and ethnicities are getting settled here so we do not hold Jirgas as our relatives are living outside Mingora. But in our native village, we still hold Jirgas. Jirga is headed by an elder who is also considered as in-charge of Hujras as well. If there is some misunderstanding between youngsters then their issue is also resolved by Masharaan (elders) of the Jirga. Jirga also plays an important role in handling disputes among conflicting parties. Due to the impartial position of Jirga elders, both parties acknowledge and are bound to the decisions made by Jirga (Personal Communication, 19-10-2019).

Undoubtedly, the *Jirga* system has been considered an emblem of Pashtunwali. Due to the impartial position of *Jirga's Masharaan* (elders), the authority of *Jirga* remains justified and unchallenged. But it has been reported by some respondents that now people have become more clever and self-oriented, so they try to influence the decisions of *Jirga* with their financial, social, and political pressure. Consequently, there is a need to reconsider the moral base and strength behind the *Jirga* system in Pashtun society, otherwise, the new generation will raise questions on the importance of the *Jirga* system. One of the working Pashtun women, middle-aged, educated, married from Charsadda highlighted the changing structure and decline in the *Jirga* system as:

Jirga is a very important element of Pashtun society. Jirga system is to solve the conflicts where elders are having the special protocols. For example, there is a problem and two rivals are there, Jirga is to solve the conflict. Jirga system used to be very effective and impartial in previous times. But now the people have become very clever, so they try to influence the decisions of Jirga with their financial, social, political, and cultural pressures. Even the members of the Jirga try to find their benefit so the decisions become partial. I think the Jirga system is not that much effective nowadays as it used to be in previous times. Jirga decides the conflicting cases and brings the way forward. But there are many loopholes in Pashtun societies nowadays (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

The importance and nature of *Jirga* in Pashtun societies cannot be denied. However, there is a certain reported case by the respondents where *Jirga* is used for manipulation by some of the elites' Pashtun groups. Though Women in the Pashtun communities reported not to be directly involved in *Jirga* proceedings, elder Pashtun women were of the view that their male counterparts usually seek their stance before going for *Jirga* even in some cases,

the male members also shared *Jirga* proceedings and experiences with their female members of the family. It is quite evident through the discussion with respondents that urban Pashtuns are lesser into the *Jirga* system, but the *Jirga* system still maintains the status-quo in rural Pashtun areas.

5.3 Pashtun Women and *Purdah* (Veil)—Modesty

Various parameters have been attached with Pashtunwali which are understood and practiced by Pashtuns over generations. These parameters include hospitality, bravery, modesty, high self-esteem, revenge, honor, dignity, *Jirga*, *Hujra*, etc. The concept of modesty has been taken as one of the defining values of Pashtunwali. In Pashtun society, modesty is directly linked with the notion and practice of observing *Purdah*. *Purdah* (veil) may be defined as a religious and cultural practice of females backed by the context of gender segregation among Muslim communities. When inquired about the concept of *Purdah*, the majority of the respondents, confidently expressed several meanings of *Purdah* which are practiced, attached, and sustained by Pashtun women. It has become evident that throughout different age groups of Pashtun women, observing *Purdah* has been taken as dignified and respectful practice. For them, being modest is one of the desired and expected traits attached to a good Pashtun. Several meanings have been attached to the concept of *Purdah*. It may be defined as a practice, to cover/wrapped one's face or body with some piece of fabric or cloth in a modest way. Several respondents reported that from an early age they were socialized to carry traditional and modest dress codes. They have shared their observations that they have always found their mothers, grandmothers, and other female members of their family quite disciplined in observing *Purdah* by wearing modest and elegant dress codes. *Parouna* (White long Shawl or *Chaddar*/ Traditional embroidered

shawl) is a symbol of elegance and modesty for Pashtun women. One of the highly educated respondents-Dr. Amna, a middle-aged adult, single from Charsadda eloquently expressed her thoughts about the concept of *Purdah* and modesty. She explained the concept of female seclusion understood by Pashtun women and stated:

For me, being an educated Pashtun woman, Purdah is not something to only cover your body or face. Rather it is to morally be right and respectful towards others (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

In the Pashto language, the word *Sattar* (*Purdah*) is used in the context of observing *Purdah*. Observing *Sattar* has become seasoned in the roots of Pashtunwali and Pashtun women. In Pashtun culture, both women and men are always told and retold about their roles, boundaries, obligations, and protocols which are attached to their socially constructed identities by their elders. Both women and men are considerate about their interaction, mobility, and adherence to desired behavior and attitude expected out of them at an individual and communal level.

One of the senior-most respondents (aged 98), widowed, living in a joint family system from Karak explained the concept of *Purdah* and modesty. She reflected the ideal character of Pashtun women—the one who strictly observes *Purdah* and remains loyal to her husband. She also recalled her everyday life experiences (married life) and practices regarding her household activities and mobility. She emphasized that women were very much disciplined and mindful about their movement and even when they intended to visit their maternal home, they tried to travel/move during defined timings (wanted to be invisible and unidentified by the public during their mobility). The reason behind such

practices was again backed by the concept of female seclusion and segregation. Pashtun women were also informed about their limits and boundaries (interaction with male relatives and family members). She further stated that:

Pashtun women are very modest. They strictly observe Purdah and remain loyal to their husbands. In our times, we used to observe Purdah, strictly. Usually, we stayed home and remained busy in household activities but whenever we had to visit the maternal home we tried to travel in the early morning or at Isha's (Late evening praying) time. We used to have Sattar (Purdah) from our maternal uncle's sons, paternal uncle's sons, and even from our brother-in-law (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Considerably, young Pashtun women were also informed about the meaning, structure, and rationale behind the concept of *Purdah* in Pashtunwali. They affirmed that irrespective of gender and social identity—one is supposed to wear or carry the dress that should cover one's body. Young Pashtun women have also identified the transitional phase of *Purdah* and practices which were different from their mothers and grandmother's time. They were of the view that elder Pashtun women were quite strait-laced in their practices, especially in observing and sustaining *Purdah*. Not only in terms of specific/ traditional dress code but also exercised on all occasions (private and public level). But now that strictness has lowered among the new generation (young adults) and they have got multiple options (regarding modest dressing) and ways (modern trends and fashion) to wear *chaddar* as per their choice and taste. One of the young adults-Maria, educated, single from Karak shared her understanding about the *Purdah* and identified the transitional phase of *Purdah* and practices as:

Regarding Purdah, I believe that Purdah is of utmost importance in Pashtun culture. And you are supposed to wear the dress that should cover your body since it's part of religious and cultural traditions. There was a lot of strictness on Purdah a decade or two ago but now that strictness has lowered and people are choosing to wear chaddar as per their choice (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Pashtun women have described *Purdah* as their bodyguard. Several interviewees shared their experiences about carrying a specific dress code. They were of the view that they feel more confident, respectful, and modest while observing *Purdah*. It has been considered as the strength of women—equated with high self-esteem and dignity. One of the old-aged adults- Bano Begum, a married, homemaker from Swat shared her thoughts about the concept of *Purdah* and its implications. She expressed her feelings about observing *Purdah* that she feels more confident and respectful being covered. She made a comparison between different age groups regarding the strictness and practice of *Purdah*. She noted that now Pashtuns are getting moderated and young Pashtun women are less concerned about the practice of covering the face as it was used to be prevalent among older Pashtun women. She also highlighted the role of Islam in empowering the status of women and stated:

At the time when I was a young girl, there was too much strictness to observe Purdah even covering the face as well but now people are getting moderated and are tolerant towards not covering the face by the women. Regarding the Purdah, I think it is the strength of women and I personally feel more confident and respectful when I am covered. Our religion has given a lot of rights to women in the shape of being daughter, sister, wife, and mother (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

Religion has been considered an essential element of constructing one's viewpoint and identity. Religious beliefs and cultural norms are interwoven. On the same ground, Pashtuns are very much concerned about the teachings of Islam. It has been noticed that the majority of the respondents highlighted the element of religiosity among Pashtuns as they are more serious about the practical implications of Islam. When it comes to the concept and practice of *Purdah*, Pashtun women denoted it with the religious and moral obligation to follow the basic rules associated with modesty and chastity. Several educated and working Pashtun women justified and sustained the practice of *Purdah*— as interpreted to protect women from being harassed in the public sphere. They were of the view that they feel confident while being covered (observing modest dressing) as it improves their conscience when they are surrounded by male coworkers. One of the highly educated respondents-Dr. Rubab, middle-aged, single from Charsadda shared her feelings about practicing *Purdah* as:

The concept of Purdah is very special for Pashtun women. Pashtun women do not feel confident being in a male crowd. When daughters are sent to colleges and universities, they are told to keep their limits (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Pashtun women are mindful of their social and religious identity. It has been observed that the majority of the old-aged adults identified that they are considerate about transmission and propagation of religious belief systems and cultural traditions towards the next generation. Considerably, Pashtun women give priority to religious traditions and rituals over their moral and cultural code of conduct (*Pashtunwali*) practiced over centuries. They passionately guide their children to follow Islam (in true letter and spirit) and how to become good Muslims. One of the old-aged adults-Bano Begum, married, acquired religious education, living in a joint family system from Swat shared her thoughts about the cultural

and religious implications of *Purdah* among Pashtun women. She highlighted that she is also watchful about her kids and try her best to socialize and develop a basic understanding of religion (in her kids):

We, the Pashtuns first guide our kids to follow religion then the characteristics of Pashtunwali are transmitted. I think Pashtuns are nothing without Purdah and we are told by our parents and elders to observe Purdah. During our time, there was a lot of strictness particularly on females to obey the norms and values of our culture. We used to observe Purdah even from our male cousins but now things are in a transitional phase. I do have my daughters whom I always advise to wear simple and modest dressing (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

Correspondingly, the notion of *Purdah* and practices are somehow indifferent among different age groups of Pashtun women. Although Pashtuns are considerate about the concept of *Purdah*, various social determinants were identified by old-aged respondents, responsible for the decline and discontinuity of basic practices regarding *Purdah* among youth. They have pinpointed that media is a major cause of devaluing the traditional cultural practices and constructing a liberal and confronting mindset—a representative of modern western culture which has been adopted by the new generation. Through media, different fashion trends are propagated in such a mesmerizing way that the young generation gets attracted to them. Elder Pashtun women shared serious grievances that youth are getting away from the *Purdah* rituals—threatening for continuity of basic traditions and outlook of Pashtun culture and identity among the new generation. One of the old-aged adults-Asiya Bibi, married, educated from Karak shared her views about the indifference prevalent among different age groups of Pashtun women as:

Pashtuns take a lot of care for the concept of Purdah. I believe that the modern-day evils are the product of not following the Purdah. In our times & the times of our elders, Purdah was strictly observed but things are getting changed day by day. People are getting away from the Purdah rituals gradually which I think will have a negative consequence for the Pashtun culture. For me, media is a major cause of this (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Indeed, *Purdah* is of utmost importance in Pashtun society, practiced and adopted by all age groups among Pashtun women. At the same time, young Pashtun women also pointed out they are familiar with the transitional phase of *Purdah* among Pashtun women. They affirmed that a few decades ago, *Purdah* was strictly observed in Pashtun societies but now one can see outlaws too. There are definite reasons behind this outlook and change such as the unprecedented influence of social media, the internet, smart phones, and other modern technological advancements. These social determinants have brought multiple and contrasting options. Consequently, the young generation is progressive and more prone towards adopting new cultural trends, as compared to their elder generation. As discussed by one of the young educated respondents-Nudrat, single, from Karak:

Purdah is very important in Pashtuns. But nowadays due to the media, things are getting changed. The style of Purdah or the meaning of Purdah is different for different people. Purdah is of utmost importance in Pashtun society, but things are getting changed too. A few decades ago, Purdah was strictly observed in Pashtun societies but now you can see outlaws too. The style of Purdah has also changed over time. There are certain reasons behind this change such as media, mobile phones, the internet, and other technological advancements in our society (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Young Pashtun women also highlighted the role of family institutions in *Purdah* observance. They were very much concerned about their family values, practices, and honor.

They substituted that concept of *Purdah* has a lot of dimensions and implications—the *Purdah* system comprised of the *niqab*, *hijab*, *chaddar*, and *burqa* (they are an essential part of this practice). They considered *Purdah* a shield to protect women against harsh climate conditions such as environmental pollution and dirt. They also highlighted *Purdah* as a means to strengthen women's self-esteem and encourages them to outshine in the patriarchal world in a dignified manner. One of the educated young women- Maryam, single, living in a joint family system from Karak outlined the role of family and parents in *Purdah* observance and self-identification. She also identified another important dimension about *Purdah* observance—due to the composition and structural patterns of urban and rural areas, Pashtun women have created and sustained different notions of *Purdah*. She shared that she has been told and retold about certain limits and privileges attached and defined with her status being a daughter. She highlighted that *Purdah* has a lot of importance in her family, but *Purdah* observance had never created any barrier in pursuing studies:

The concept of Purdah has changed. Pashtun women of urban areas are observing Purdah differently so do the women of rural areas have different meanings for Purdah. Pashtuns always observe Purdah. I am proud of whatever I am today, and it is just because of my parents and I will try my level best to do whatever I can do for my parents. In our family, Purdah has a lot of importance though we are having the freedom of getting an education, we are pre-told our limits. We cannot even think of not observing Purdah since it

is our base. I believe that you are not a true Pashtun if you do not observe Purdah (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

A similar account was narrated by an old-aged adult-Samina, married, living in a joint family system from Swat about *Purdah* observance as:

For me, Purdah is to wear such a dress in which you feel comfortable and covered. Since I am married, I have observed Purdah from the age of puberty back at my father's home and same I am following in my husband's home and it is a very common tradition (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

The *Purdah* system has been described as one of the important social institutions of Pashtunwali. *Purdah* is a crucial part of the Pashtun culture and they are proud of their cultural practices. Modesty has been outlined as one of the defining personality traits attached to Pashtun women. They are mindful about their dress code and dignity—obtained by observing *Purdah*. It is even not comprisable for women to go outside without chaddar or bare-headed. Several notions of *Purdah* are maintained and adopted by all age groups among Pashtun women. The concept of *Purdah* is highly valued among Pashtuns. Elder Pashtun women were very enthusiastic about the practices and transmission of cherished values (observing *Purdah*) towards the new generation. It is mandatory for Pashtun women to strictly follow and adheres to the standards of *Purdah*, but this practice has been through a transitional phase due to several social determinants such as social media, the internet, smart phones, and contemporary technological advancements observed and adopted by young Pashtun generation.

5.4 Pashto language—An Agent and Custodian of transmitting Pashtunwali

Language plays a decisive role in formulating and maintaining culture—a complex whole that includes knowledge, norms, beliefs, mores, traditions, arts, literature, etc. Language is a deep-rooted aspect of cultural identity. It is a medium through which we create and share our thoughts, intentions, attitudes, identities, and values—with other fellow beings. Undoubtedly, we express and convey our true selves via language from generation to generation. Benjamin Baez (2002) presented a strong discourse about cultural identity and native language. He was of the view that losing one's original language meant losing one's ground identity: *the intimacy associated with Spanish and the closeness to my family and past it allowed. I lost, essentially, all the 'sights and sounds' associated with my native language* (p.123). Inevitably, loss of language leads to loss of cultural identity which ultimately carries dangerous ramifications.

Pashto is a native language of Pashtuns—belonging to an Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. It has more than 25 million native speakers. It has been reported that 16 to 17 million speakers live in Pakistan while 8 to 9 million in Afghanistan. Pashto is one of the official languages of Afghanistan along with Dari (Afghan Persian) (Encyclopedia Britanica, 1992). For Pashtuns, the Pashto language has been interpreted as a traditional hallmark. It has been described as a custodian of transmitting Pashtunwali among Pashtuns throughout generations. Most of my respondents emphasized that the notion that Pashto and Pashtunwali are inseparable—Pashtun's moral and traditional code has been interpreted, sustained, and transmitted by the Pashto language. They emphasized the role of

mouranai jabah (mother language) in disseminating basic cultural values and experiences over generations. One of the young adults-Azmeena, married, educated from Charsadda shared her views about the importance and role of the Pashto language in defining Pashtuns' culture and identity. She expressed her feelings about her mother language (Pashto)—very close to her heart. She highlighted that concept of Pashtunwali is unimaginable and undesirable without the Pashto language as:

I am proud to be born and raised as a Pashtun daughter. The Pashto language is a carrier of Pashtunwali from one generation to another generation (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

The majority of the interviewees shared knowledge about the historical and lingual origin of the Pashto language—traced back to *Pakth* and *Bakht* nations. One of the highly educated Pashtun women, Dr. Amna from Charsadda presented a detailed account about the history of the *Pakth* nation written and mentioned by Herodotus (Greek philosopher). *Pakth* nation lived around 520 B.C. and settled at the coast of the Indus River. She shared that over time these terms *Pakth* and *Bakht* converted into *Pakht* or *Pasht*. And later, their language was termed *Pakto* and *Bakhto* and now historians agreed to pronounce it Pashto.

The Pashto language has two main dialects namely *Qandahari* or Southern Dialect and Yousafzai or Northern Dialect. Southern dialect is also known as the Khattak dialect and being spoken in Southern parts of KPK and some Pashtun-dominated areas in Baluchistan while Northern dialect is also known as *Peshawari* (the dialect spoken in North Pakistan) being spoken in Peshawar, Mardan, and Swat, etc. and some areas of

Afghanistan. These dialects can be differentiated by the sounds of ‘kh’ and ‘sh’ as well as differences in vowel use.

For centuries, the Pashto language had been influenced by Arabic and Persian literary styles. Likewise, in other languages of the world, literary writings in Pashto are also based on the everyday life realities, experiences, and folklores concerning the structure of Pashtun society and its identity. Furthermore, traditions, viewpoints, beliefs, socio-cultural values, patriotism, societal norms, the concept of honor and revenge, collective identity—encompassed under the heading of Pashtunwali are subject themes in Pashto literature. One of the leading Pashtun political, spiritual leaders and activists, Ghaffar Khan (Known as Bacha Khan) emphasized the importance of Pashto and wrote:

A nation is known and recognized by its language and without a language of its own, a nation cannot be called a nation. A nation that forgets its language will eventually disappear from the map altogether (Khan, 1969).

Pashtun women acknowledged and identified the importance of Pashto language in the interpretation and dissemination of cultural practices, identities, viewpoints, and everyday life experiences from one generation to another. Unconditionally, Pashtun women (especially mothers) have a significant role in the creation and promotion of Pashtun culture through folklores, proverbs, songs, dress code, arts, literature, and by cooking traditional cuisine, etc. The Pashto language has played an influential role in strengthening and maintaining Pashtunwali.

5.4.1 Pashto *Mataluna* (Proverbs)—Enshrined Courier of Wisdom of Pashtun Elders

In the Pashto language, proverbs are known as *Mataluna*—a highly valued expression of Pashtun identity and survived to guide them on all grounds (everyday life experiences). Mieder defined the proverb as *a short, generally known sentence of the folks which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation* (Greenwood Press, 2004).

Sociologists and anthropologists have taken interest in proverbs studies in the desire to discover the impression of national characters in these little bits of folk philosophies and knowledge. The fundamental interest behind the investigation of proverbs was the possibility that —the precepts of a group would give important insight about their character and culture and open ways of communication (Webster, 1982, p.173). Because these proverbs most plainly and bounteously express the social contemplations of conventional social orders (Dundes, 1980).

The majority of my respondents shared and interpreted numerous Pashto proverbs that reflected meaningful themes concerning Pashtunwali and its core principles. Pashtun women have defined Pashto proverbs as an enshrined courier of the wisdom of Pashtun elders over centuries. One of the young Pashtun women-Maryam, educated, single from Karak expressed that she had heard Pashto proverbs from her mother and grandmother. She highlighted that her mother used to express her feelings and communicate values through proverbs: *I have heard Pashto proverbs from my mother and grandmother. They carry special meanings and are symbolic* (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Pashto proverbs are representative of Pashtun cultural identity. Most of the elder Pashtun women shared the contextual and logical base of Pashto proverbs. They were of the view that meanings and interpretation of proverbs are highly dependent upon the intentions of the conveyer and the perception of the listener. One of the elder Pashtun women-Asiya Bibi, married, educated, and a homemaker from Karak stated: *Pashto proverbs are having importance since they carry a special message regarding context* (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Young Pashtun women pointed out that they have learned proverbs from their parents and elders throughout their interaction. They were of the view that proverbs are having meaningful content and they provide guidance in constructing reality and defining everyday life experiences. As reported by one of the young Pashtun women-Maria, educated, single from Karak:

I have also heard several proverbs and we usually practice such proverbs in our homes through our elders and parents. Pashto Proverbs are having meaningful content. My mother often uses Pashto proverbs concerning particular situations and contexts (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Categorically, Pashtun women noted a strong relationship between elders and their formulation of proverbs. In daily communication, proverbs are used to be a vehicle for transmitting cultural values and experiences among individuals. They pointed out that proverbs are an effective means of generating messages across various age groups. Furthermore, these proverbs proved to be a treasure of lifelong learnings of ancestors beneficial for the young generation to relate and discern meanings out of their fruitful life

endeavors. One of the educated Pashtun women-Saleema, a middle-aged adult, single, working woman from Charsadda shared her thoughts about the relationship between proverbs and elders as:

I have heard some proverbs. I do believe that elders try to convey their message through the use of proverbs. I think it is a very effective way to communicate your message. These proverbs are the product of the lifelong learning of the elders (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

It has been observed that Pashtun women are actively engaged in utilizing and interpreting proverbs, songs, and other genres of Pashto language to better communicate and sustain the Pashtun value system across generations. The majority of respondents shared multiple Pashto proverbs highlighting the importance of Pashtunwali and the practical implications of these proverbs. One of the highly educated Pashtun women-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as a Lecturer from Charsadda expressed her views about the significance of Pashto proverbs in interpreting Pashtunwali. She mentioned and explained various Pashto proverbs that she used to share with her students about Pashtunwali and its multiple parameters such as hospitality, modesty, self-respect, identity, honor, charity, *tarborwali*, etc. She stated one of the famous Pashto proverbs on the subject of one's identity and social heritage as:

I have heard a lot of Pashto proverbs covering the theme of self-respect, modesty, hospitality, tarborwali, etc. particularly from my mother and I usually share these proverbs with my student too. One of the famous Pashto proverbs on the theme of the importance of Pashtun's identity as: Waye che da kali aye ouzu, Kho da narkha ma ouzu (You may

migrate from your village, but do not forget your roots) (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Likewise, Pashtun women defined and signified the indispensable function of Pashto proverbs in the transmission of Pashtunwali as they are interpreted and defined in a very realistic manner. Pashtun women shared the meanings and context of Pashto proverbs about the Pashtun character such as *Pashtun is born at home and dies on the battlefield*— reflects that Pashtun is mindful about the construction of their social status and identity. One of the old-aged adult-Tanzila, married, living in a joint family system mentioned a Pashto proverb representing the relationship and significance of the Pashtun value system for Pashtuns as irreplaceable—*A Pashtun who does not follow his code of life should be buried in a grave* and also shared some Pashto proverb depicted the notion of commitment expected out of Pashtuns as *Pashtun knows only one way* and *Pashtun does everything but he forgets nothing* (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

Deliberately, proverbs are statements that are backed by wisdom and explain various facets of life-based on the monumental experiences of the older generation. They are communicated to the next age figuratively and predictably. Young Pashtun women have also shared numerous Pashto proverbs that portray the profound sentiments and pride of Pashtuns concerning their ethnicity. Following are given a few maxims that portray these sentiments:

Pashtun looks good by maintaining honor and faithfulness.

A Pashtun who does not follow his code of life should be buried in a grave.

Pashtun eats his meal on the table of others.

When the Pashtun takes revenge after hundred years, even then he makes hurry,

Pashtun does not take a light burden.

The above precepts show some fundamental attributes of a Pashtun. These incorporate honors, grit, dependability, liberality. Pashtun women were of the view that they enthusiastically follow the standards of the Pashtun code of life, like vengeance, cordiality, and restraint.

Similarly, one of the highly educated respondents- Dr. Rubab, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as an Assistant Professor from Charsadda discussed multiple Pashto proverbs—their importance, understanding, and manifestation in everyday life. She was of the view that Pashto proverbs serve as a guide in comprehending the basic principles of the Pashtun value system transmitted by elders. Furthermore, she emphasized that these proverbs are extremely close to the real world. She stated as:

I have heard many proverbs from my elders, and I try to use them with reference to time and place. I believe that these proverbs are very near to reality. I am known through the usage of my proverb language in my university and I feel that I am confident enough to understand the meaning and usage of proverbs (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Undoubtedly, Pashto proverbs are having extraordinary importance in the Pashtun cultural context. These proverbs reflect the hidden treasure of elder's wisdom. Talking particularly in women context, elder Pashtun women (mothers are grandmothers, mothers-in-law) try to transfer the traditional culture through the use of such proverbs while household chores. My respondents shared the proverbs with reference to certain themes such as Pashtunwali, bravery, revenge, hospitality, patriotism, fate, ethics & youth, etc. The

majority of the respondents pointed out that a household is a common place where Pashtun women exercise their hold and power (on the daily basis) in the capacity of mother, grandmother, and mother-in-law. Deliberately, they used to share proverbs with their daughters about situations and places to better guide them about the basic tents of Pashtunwali and expected outcomes—to become a dignified and modest Pashtun woman.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of my respondents have shared numerous Pashto proverbs and their meanings about Pashtunwali that I have categorized them under meaningful themes. Here, I would like to share my experience about the usage of Pashto proverbs and the role of my mother in developing an interest in the understanding of Pashto proverbs. My mother is a very eloquent narrator in telling proverbs. I still remember that my mother used to tell and share various proverbs with me during household activities. She contextualized proverbs regarding situation, place, and occasion. Before my marriage, I was curious about my mother's ability to recall and relate the bulk of proverbs with the day-to-day situation. Occasionally, I used to ask my mother that I want to compile all Pashto proverbs in my dairy and will memorize them. But she always replied (with a smile) with patience and said, 'Dear when you will get married then you will automatically learn to relate proverbs and understand their meanings and association with everyday life experiences and your situation in terms of responsibilities, roles, and behaviors (expected out of them)'. Following is the list of some of the proverbs that I have compiled during my fieldwork:

Table 5.1

List of Pashto Proverbs

Sr. No.	Pashto Proverbs	Translation
1.	<i>Pashtun pa kor ke peda shee, Ao pa jang kay miray ge.</i>	Pashtun is born at home and dies on the battlefield
2.	<i>Pashtun poye uow po he ge.</i>	Pashtun knows only one way
3.	<i>Pashtun chy Pashto na kre, Nou zamaka day pary mara shee.</i>	A Pashtun who does not follow his code of life should be buried in grave
4.	<i>Pashtun chy sal kala pas hum Badal kha lee, no hum zar kawe.</i>	When the Pashtun takes revenge after hundred years, even then he makes hurry
5.	<i>Pashtun akhpala doday, Da abal pa dastarkhwan khwaree.</i>	Pashtun eats his meal on the table of others
6.	<i>Pashtun har khaa kaii Kno hayr na karee.</i>	Pashtun does everything but he forgets nothing
7.	<i>Waye che da kali aye ouzu, Kho da narkha ma ouzu.</i>	You may migrate from your village, but do not forget your roots

8.	<i>Shpaye tarmenza we, aghe bala na ma yarega.</i>	Don't lose hope. There is always a way
9.	<i>Pa manda na day, Pa tanda day.</i>	It's not the running around but that which is written on the forehead (or in one's luck)
10.	<i>Bal ta kouye ma kanda, pa akhpala ba pay oughwar zay gay.</i>	Evil begets evil
11.	<i>Kha khaza Jannat dey.</i>	A cheerful wife is the joy of life
12.	<i>Khaza la kor day, ya gour da.</i>	For a woman either the house or the grave
13.	<i>Chi si karii, hagma ba rebi.</i>	You reap what you sow
14.	<i>Zwani lewanay vee.</i>	Youth will have its swing
15.	<i>Khairat da koor na shuru kegi.</i>	Charity begins at home
16.	<i>Akhtar che tair shi no nakreezay pa dewal utapa.</i>	After Eid, of what use is henna? Paint the walls with it.
17.	<i>Awal oukhra da zaan ghwaky, Biya okhra da shkaar ghwakhy.</i>	First, deserve and then desire. No pains, no gains.

18.	<i>Tarboor ko de khar ye lata prey ma arrawa.</i>	Even if your cousin is a donkey, don't ride him. (He may throw you down)
19.	<i>Khaple ba de zharai ao pradi ba de khandai.</i>	Your relatives will make you weep, while a stranger will make you laugh
20.	<i>Tarboor Wror dy, tarla Khor da.</i>	Cousin is brother, and a female cousin is a sister
21.	<i>Khaple bud da wolo mianz de.</i>	One's weakness lies between the shoulder blades (That is, where one cannot see them)
22.	<i>Khaple na pradekegi.</i>	One's kin can never become stranger
23.	<i>Yo ghum la abal ghum na sharme ge.</i>	When sorrows come, they come not single spies. But in battalions
24.	<i>Mara khaita Farsi wai.</i>	Intellectualism begins when your needs are met
25.	<i>Ka ghar laoye day, pa sar ay liyar day.</i>	Though the mountain be high, there still be a road to its top
26.	<i>Aqal la baaqalo zada ke gee.</i>	Wisdom is learned from the unwise
27.	<i>Zourawar na ya lary ya ghaly.</i>	With the strong one, either keep your distance or your peace
28.	<i>Rogh surat tal Akhtar day.</i>	Health is wealth
29.	<i>Akhpal biya hum akhpal we.</i>	Blood is thicker than water

30.	<i>Khawand noum da khudaye day.</i>	Husband is another name of God
31.	<i>Chindakha pa louty swara shwa Kabul ay waledou.</i>	A little learning is a dangerous thing
32.	<i>Chay zdaay kray pakhwanai, Hayr ba na kray tar pyrai.</i>	That which is learned in youth is not forgotten in old age
33.	<i>Chay wana zyera shee, Har bala paray ay shpaa shee.</i>	Old age is a disease itself
34.	<i>Chay nan sapak shy, Saba biya warak shy.</i>	If you lose your character, no one will remember you
35.	<i>Chay chasara owsy gay, Pa mazhab daghou yosa.</i>	Practice the religion of those you live with
36.	<i>Chay paakhpala khan ta khan waiye..Khan na day.</i>	Self-praise is no praise
37.	<i>Piyaz day we kho pa niyaz day we.</i>	The onions you serve with affection have value

5.4.2 Pashto Poetry—A Vehicle of Transmitting Pashtunwali

The cultural and historical roots of Pashto literature spread over five thousand years—originated in the oral (unwritten) tradition of *tapa*. Pashto literature has been

evolved and sustained through various intellectual movements and periods. The basic recorded (written) period of Pashto prose and poetry has been credited to one of the renowned Pashtun Sufi and poets, Bayazid Ansari (1526-1574). One of his famous literary works, *Khair-ul-Bayan* has been designated as a preliminary book about Sufism in Pashto literature (Hotak, 1997; Bokawee, 2006; Khalil, 2011).

Secondly, the most distinguished and esteemed Pashtun poet, Khushal Khan Khattak (1613- 1689) was “a master of the pen”. Besides, a chief of one of the powerful tribes of Pashtuns (Khattak Tribe), he was also remembered as a famous Pashtun warrior, poet, political leader, and freedom fighter. He has written 350 books, both in Persian and the Pashto language. Categorically, he has written on a wide range of subjects including Spirituality, theology, honor, bravery, war, freedom, statecraft, medicine, child-rearing, ethics, etc. presented excellent (MacKenzie, 1958). The majority of the respondents referred to the Khushal Khan’s *Divan*, which is very popular among Pashtuns.

Deliberately, Abd-al-Rehman, known as Rahman Baba (1632-1708) and Abd-al Hamid (1660-1732), both were famous contemporaries of Khushal Khan Khattak were also highlighted and acknowledged by Pashtun women. The majority of the elder Pashtun women acknowledged and shared the contribution of Rahman Baba (Sufi Pashtun Poet). They were of the view that Rahman Baba has blown out a new spirit in Pashto poetry and concentrated on the subjects of divine love, humanity, honor, love, self-respect, unity, peace, and strength.

Likewise, several young and educated Pashtun women were well-informed and enthusiastic about the literary contributions of Ghani Khan (1914-1996), Abdul Akbar Khan

Akbar (1949-2017), Dost Muhammad Kamil (1915-1981), Samandar Khan (1901-1990), Sanober Hussain Kakajee (1897-1965) and Khan Mir Hilali, who played a decisive role in transmitting and promoting the intellectual movement of Pashtun's Revivalism. One of the highly educated Pashtun women-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as a lecturer at one of the educational institutes from Charsadda shared and emphasized the irreversible contribution of famous Pashto poets in creating understanding about core values of Pashtunwali among Pashtuns over centuries. She also expressed great interest in Pashto poetry by referring to various styles of comprehension of various Pashto poets such as Ghani Khan and Khatir Afridi. She stated as:

I am personally inspired by Rehman Baba, particularly his poetry on bravery and Ghani Khan and Khatir Afridi on their excellent conjunction of sentences and giving the meanings to the words (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

By sharing one of the famous poetic verses of Rehman Baba,

Khpal Pradi Pake Ma'aloom Shi

Kala Kala Du Ghamono Baraan Kha Vi

(You get to know friends and foes, Let's have hardships)

One of the young Pashtun women-Maryam, educated, single, living in a joint family system from Karak expressed her interest in Pashto literature by referring to famous Pashto poets and their contribution as:

I have heard the names of Pashto poets such as Khushal Khan Khattak and Rehman Baba. Khushal Khan Khattak was born during the British Raj and his poetry is highlighted

by the themes of bravery, fearlessness, freedom against the oppressors. His enthusiastic poetry brought new seeds of bravery in the hearts of tribal freedom fighters during the Mughal Period (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

It has been observed that some of the old-aged Pashtun women reflected that although they have heard the names of famous Pashto poets such as Khushal Khan Khattak, Rahman Baba, Ghani Khan, and Ajmal Khan, etc. but they were not fond of reading poetry or literature. They have also mentioned several accounts that they have heard different sorts of traditional poetry of these poets from their ancestors. One of the old-aged adults-Asiya Bibi, married, educated, a homemaker from Karak shared her notion about Pashto poets as:

I have heard the names of the famous Pashto poets, but I am not fond of poetry-related things. Since we had a religious environment at our home, so our male elders do not allow us to listen to the Pashto poetry or music etc. (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

My respondents have also denoted that one's family environment, elders' influence, and their taste for any sort of genre of literature contributed a lot in developing a sense and understanding of intellectual debate generated by famous literary figures (Poets, writers, novelists, philosophers, leaders, etc.) of Pashto literature among the new generation. As one of my old-aged respondents-Zaitoon Begum, married, uneducated, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat highlighted:

I never had the opportunity to listen to Pashtun poetry as my husband does not permit me to do so. My in-laws are very religious people. They belong to Syed (typically religious people) family (Personal Communication, 19-10-2019).

Another old-aged adult-Naeema Bibi, married, uneducated, a homemaker from Karak acknowledged the role of her mother-in-law (late) in introducing her to Pashto poetry. She also shared some of the traditional Pashto songs and *tapas* which she frequently used to listen to at wedding ceremonies: *I have learned Pashto poetry from my in-laws particularly from my mother-in-law. We often listen to traditional Pashto songs* (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

A similar expression has been shared by one of the middle-aged adults-Riffat, married, a homemaker from Karak about her interest in Pashto poetry by reflecting some of the famous Pashto poets and proverbs which she learned from her mother, mother-in-law, and grandparents. She said:

I have heard about the famous Pashto poets such as Rehman Baba and Khushal Khan Khattak but I am unable to recall their poems right now. And I have also heard Pashto proverbs from my mother, mother-in-law, and grandparents as well (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

The majority of the educated Pashtun women emphasized and shared the in-depth understanding and meanings of Pashtunwali conveyed in the poetic construct of famous Pashto poets like Rehman Baba. They were of the view that spirituality and humanity are defining themes generated by Rehman Baba. They emphasized the importance of learning and reading Pashto poetry to better comprehend the hidden treasure of wisdom attached with the moral, traditional, and historical origin and principles of Pashtun culture (Pashtunwali)—can only be transported through the vehicles of Pashto literature towards the

new generation. One of the young Pashtun women-Azmeena, married, educated, a homemaker from Charsadda reflected as:

Regarding poetry, I think the poetic construct of elders like Rehman Baba has a lot to do with our daily lives. I believe that it's very close to reality. There exists a spirituality in the poetry of Rehman Baba and it's very important to transmit such poetic material from one generation to another since it is the base of Pashtunwali (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Likewise, one of the highly educated Pashtun women-Dr. Rubab, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as an educationist from Charsadda shared her thoughts about the importance of Pashto poetry. She highlighted the practical implications of Pashto literature. She was very fond of Pashto poetry and proverbs (already compiled under the table of Pashto proverbs). She stated that:

Nowadays there is sad poetry and I think the taste of poetry changes over time. I have heard many proverbs from my elders, and I try to use them with reference to time and place. I believe that the Poetic construction of Khushal Khan Khattak about honor and self-respect is exceptional (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Unreservedly, Pashtuns live by Pashtunwali (the code of honor) which comprises standards like cordiality, respect, high self-esteem, assistance, giving shelter, and honor of women, and so on. Pashtuns consider and apply this code of conduct in everyday life just as operating at the town/village, tribe, and country level. Poetry, like other types of imaginative creation, is one of the mainstays of the humanities. By following the ways of feeling, affectability, and the creative mind, the poem transmits folk knowledge and cultural values

throughout generations. It also shapes the individual, body, and soul. Likewise, poetry act as a vehicle for sending human knowledge, thoughts, experiences, and values—a sense of good and insidiousness, history, the extraordinary deeds of people, antiquated customs, and links with nature. Pashtun women emphasized the irreversible contribution of famous Pashto poets in creating an understanding of the core values of Pashtunwali among Pashtuns over centuries. Pashto poetry are having extraordinary importance in the Pashtun cultural context. Most of the respondents enunciated the importance of learning and reading Pashto poetry to better comprehend the hidden treasure of wisdom attached with the moral, traditional, and historical origin and principles of Pashtun culture (Pashtunwali)—can only be transported through the vehicles of Pashto literature towards the new generation. Pashtun women mentioned several accounts of famous Pashto poets such as Khushal Khan Khattak, Rahman Baba, Ghani Khan, and Ajmal Khan, etc., and were fond of reading their poetry. They were of the view that their poetic construct has backed Pashtuns to better understand and internalize Pashtunwali as they interlineate the subjects of divine love, humanity, honor, love, patriotism, self-respect, hospitality, unity, peace, strength, brotherhood, etc.

5.5 Concept of *Ghairtmand* (Honor and Self-Respect) and Status of Pashtun Women

In Pashtun culture, the concept of *Ghairat* (Honor and self-respect) is defined as one of the complex traits of Pashtunwali. Pashtun women have identified multiple meanings associated with the word *Ghairat* such as honor, dignity, bravery, self-esteem, pride, zeal, passion, eagerness, emotion, anger, and modesty.

One of the famous Pashto Poets and warrior Khushal Khan Khattak (1613—1689) has expressed his thoughts about the concept of *Ghairat* as a defining tenet of Pashtunwali as:

جیای شرم نام ننگ دے.....کہ دا نه ئی جیای رنگ دے

(Khushal in Kamil, 1960, p. 351)

(Fundamental principle of existence in this world is an honor and have a sense of shame.

Life without honor is worthless).

One of the highly educated Pashtun women, middle-aged adult, single, affiliated with the teaching profession from Charsadda pinpointed that the concept of *Ghairat* has been misinterpreted by the majority (other ethnicities) and Pashtuns are portrayed as short-tempered, emotional, and furious people. She was of the view that:

Ghairat is something that is mostly misinterpreted. Pashtuns are usually portrayed as short-tempered and emotional people and which I think need to be corrected (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

In Pashtun culture, notions of honor, dignity, and shame are described as driving fuel behind all cultural values and structures. As it has been highlighted by most of the respondents that elements of religiosity and Pashtunwali are interconnected, and Pashtuns are well-informed about their belief system and moral guidelines. Likewise, Pashtun women identified that to qualify the desired status of *Ghairatmand*—anyone who is a Muslim is by default a *Ghairatmand* person so do the Pashtuns are. Regardless of their social status and age group, all respondents denoted that Pashtun women are very much concerned about

their honor and dignity. They are accustomed to affirming the standards and expectations associated with their social status and position in society. It is not compromisable out of them to deny or avoid such principles. They also presented a very important discourse about *Ghairat* and women's rights—not only, they were aware of their basic rights and social status, but also concerned about the provision of their rights. Although Pashtun society is highly patriarchal, respondents were of the view that only those Pashtun males can be qualified as *Ghairatmand*, who are responsible and anxious about the provision of basic rights to women and safeguarding their honor. It has been identified by several interviewees that the majority of the disputes in the Pashtun society are in the name of property, wealth, and on the name of women. One of the educated middle-aged respondents-Sadaf, single, a lecturer from Charsadda said:

Ghairat is usually associated with the Pashtun culture. But I believe that anyone who is Muslim is by default a Ghairatmand person so do the Pashtuns are. For me, those who do not provide the rights especially to the women, are not the Ghairatmand. For example, the provision of rights to women is the order of Allah and I believe that those who observe the principles of Islam are the biggest Ghairatmand. The majority of the disputes in the Pashtun society are in the name of property, wealth, and the name of women and I think it is not a good practice. I think associating the name of Ghairat with Pashtun only is just a stigma, nothing more (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Being an essential trait of Pashtunwali, the notion of *Ghairat* has been associated with self-esteem. Self-esteem may be defined as an individual perception and overall orientation about their true self. Relatively, Pashtuns always remain heedful about their dignity and self-respect. It is also worth mentioning that when Pashtuns feel insulted or

harmed then their reaction is furious and defined under the tenet of *Badal* (revenge). *Badal* may be defined as to give and take—but over time, its meaning has been reduced in terms of retaliation and settlement among parties. Likewise, in Pashtun culture notion of reciprocity is associated with *Badal—badai* (bad deeds) and *Nekai* (good deeds). There is a famous Pashto proverb about revenge:

پښتې شل کالو پس بدل ځاځت، ې ئې چې زر ئې ځاځت

(Pashto proverb)

(The Pashtun took revenge after twenty years and another said that it was taken soon, hurriedly).

One of the middle-aged adult-Riffat, married, uneducated, a homemaker from Karak presented her views about *Ghairat* and Pashtunwali. She was of the view that *Ghairat* is something relative to self-esteem and dignity. She further added:

Ghairat is something that is associated with self-esteem. Pashtuns are very concerned about their dignity and self-respect. When they feel insulted or harmed then their reaction is accelerated and defined under the trait of Badal (revenge) (Personal Communication, 10-09-2019).

Young Pashtun women were also peculiar about the inherent value of *Ghairat* associated with Pashtunwali. They have defined and interpreted *Ghairatmand* in terms of having high self-esteem, showing commitment, being respectful towards elders and women. Moreover, they reflected that Pashtun males who are mindful about the provision of proper property rights to their daughters or sisters and loves justice are the champions of

Ghairatmand. Pashtun women are socialized to follow certain norms and principles to better exercise their role in society. They are expected to remain loyal, committed, and faithful about their relationships and to observe *Purdah* in a dignified manner. One of the young adults-Irum, educated, single, living in a joint family system from Karak presented a detailed account about the concept of *Ghairatmand* as:

For me, Ghairatmand is the one who sticks to his words, respects the elders and women, gives proper property rights to his sisters or daughters, and the one who loves justice. Like my parents always wanted me to excel in my life. Meanwhile, they have set certain standards for me to follow for example to cover my body and not to be amalgamated with males (Personal Communication, 09-09-2019).

In Pashtun culture, gender roles and identities are clearly defined and identified among all age groups. Women's respect is highly valued. Honor and dignity are directly resonating with the character of women (being a daughter, sister, wife, and mother). Considerably, when a female brings misfortune for the family's honor then turned into dishonor for males and they become aggressive and end up taking revenge—restoring their honor at any cost. It is not considered as good to mention the name of women publicly. Among Pashtuns, feelings of shame or being dishonored prove to be catastrophic and converts into honor killings. One of the educated Pashtun women- Maryam, a young adult, single from Karak extended her views about the concept and essence of *Ghairat* being practiced by Pashtuns and how honor is attached with the women character in Pashtun society as:

In Pashtun society, women's respect is highly valued. But when a female brings some misfortune for the family's honor then turned into dishonor for males. They become aggressive and end up taking revenge. Sometimes, feelings of being dishonored convert into killings as well. Ultimately, honor killings are the result of this aggression (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

A similar narrative was also reflected by another educated Pashtun women-Farwa, middle-aged adult, married, a homemaker from Swat that conflicts and rivalries between tribes passed on from generation to another generation being agitated by feelings of dishonor and disoriented as:

Pashtuns are considered as Ghairatmand. If they feel harmed or disoriented, then it turns into rivalry. They don't bother about the consequences. In previous times, these conflicts or rivalries (in the name of Ghairat) between tribes passed on from one generation to another generation (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Considerably, elder Pashtun women recognized the notion of *Ghairatmand*, as one of the defining themes of moral characterization among Pashtuns. They highlighted that Pashtuns are *Ghairatmand* –mind their words and commitments and never compromise on the basic principles. Being *Ghairatmand* has nothing to do with one's social class, background, and influence—it is something parallel with the notion of modesty. They also emphasized that *Nawy Kul* (young generation) must revisit and reconsider their origin and roots. As shared by one of the old-aged adults-Samina, married, acquired religious education, a homemaker from Swat:

Pashtuns are Ghairatmand and the concept of Ghairatmand can be defined as one who holds one's promises and takes. I consider myself a Ghairatmand woman too. And it has nothing to do with your class system. Being modest is the identity of Pashtuns. We as a community try to help others just for the sake of Allah and this is how we live (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Correspondingly, the use of technology has brought new and indifferent mindsets about the notion of *Ghairat* among the new generation. Educated Pashtun women critically analyzed the dichotomous effect of technology and social media on Pashtun culture. They were of the view that Pashtuns defined themselves as *Ghairatmand*—adhering to the norms of modesty and dignity (Pashtunwali) but on the other hand, content or videos uploaded by the Pashtuns (both male and female) on various social interacting sites such as Tiktok, YouTube, Facebook, etc. are unethical and ridiculous and have nothing to do with their claims. As one of the educated Pashtun women-Sadaf, middle-aged adult, single, serving as a Lecturer from Charsadda shared her observations about the use of technology among the young lot and critically analyzed the notion of *Ghairat* associated with Pashtuns:

Technology has a dichotomous effect on our culture. On one side Pashtuns consider themselves as Ghairatmand but on the other side, the videos uploaded by the Pashtuns on Tiktok have nothing to do with their claims. Sometimes, Pashtun women are seen dancing on the Pashtun traditional music and songs which is not the true Pashtun cultural essence (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Multiple meanings and interpretations of *Ghairat* have been highlighted by Pashtun women. It has been deeply embedded among Pashtuns over generations. In Pashtun culture,

notions of honor, dignity, and shame are described as driving fuel behind all cultural values and structures. Elder Pashtun women highlighted that Pashtuns are *Ghairatmand* –mind their words and commitments and never compromise on the basic principles. They emphasized that it is necessary to reconsider and revisit our social heritage to better reflect on the changing notions and demands of the modern age.

5.7 *Hujra/Baithak*—An Emblem of Pashtuns’ Hospitality

Hujra or *Baithak* (drawing room) is one of the illuminating institutions of Pashtunwali. Pashtuns are highly considerate about the dignity of their guests—hospitality has been defined as one of the core principles of Pashtunwali and their identity. *Hujra* is a common sitting place for males (whereas women sit together inside the home) and is usually utilized for the guests. In *Hujras*, all guests are served without any prejudice or discrimination. Furthermore, they are also utilized to discuss the common issues of that particular area. One of the elder Pashtun women-Mashal Begum, married, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat explained the institution of *Hujra* and regarded it as the respect and an emblem of Pashtun culture. She stated:

Hujra is the respect of the Pashtun tribe, if you take the Hujra from the Pashtun culture, nothing remains intact. Hujras is also a welcoming place for the guests (Personal Communication, 18-10-2019).

Another elder Pashtun women-Khanam Bibi, uneducated, lifelong bachelor, a homemaker from Swat shared views about the importance of *Hujra* as:

Hujra is a guest room where guests are welcomed and served in a dignified manner (Personal Communication, 15-10-2019).

Pashtun women identified the role of *Hujras* in defining and interpreting the Pashtun culture. It is a common and celebrated place where people from all social backgrounds used to sit together and share their ideas and thoughts which was also a learning place for youngsters from their elders but due to modernization and globalization, the dynamics of Pashtun society have changed. In Pashtun culture, *Hujras* are maintained and sustained under the guidance of *Masharaan*. One of the highly educated Pashtun women-Saleema, a young adult, single, serving as a research coordinator in one of the educational institutes in Charsadda shared her views as:

Hujra is also a very important component of Pashtunwali. There used to be three, four, or even five Hujras in a small village but now hardly you find the one. The people used to sit together and share their ideas and thoughts which was also a learning place for youngsters from their elders but due to globalization, things have changed. I think there is a need to revive the Hujra system since it will strengthen the Pashtun roots (Personal Communication, 28-11-2019).

Decisively, elder Pashtun women have presented a detailed analysis of the *Hujra* system. they have identified the role of *Hujras* in defining the fundamental character and transmission of Pashtunwali from the older generation to the young generation. furthermore, they described various practices and experiences associated with *Hujra* or baithaks. One of the senior-most respondents (aged 98), widowed, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Karak presented a detailed account of *Hujras*/baithaks and her memories about that institution in a meaningful way:

Yes, baithak was highly significant during our times. Baithaks were considered as very celebrated places in one's house and village. A lot of guests were welcomed and accommodated there. We had domesticated animals and by default, we had dairy products at home. Most of the time we entertained our guests with dairy products such as milk, yogurt, ghee, cheese, shanwai, and many more. We also used to cook desi murgha (native chicken) for them. We used to welcome and accommodate our guests without any discrimination (Personal Communication, 06-09-2019).

Hujras have been identified as one of the most celebrated and accustomed places in Pashtun society. Pashtun women have highlighted multiple functions of Hujras. Hujras is not only taken as a guest room but they are utilized to serve the community both in good and hard terms. One of the defining purposes of Hujra has been considered as to hold Jirgas—it serves as a meeting place to decide the conflicts. Furthermore, Hujras are also utilized for recreational (entertainment) purposes among Pashtuns such as to hold traditional music or dance parties, etc. One of the educated Pashtun women-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, serving as a university teacher from Charsadda stated:

Hujras have multiple functions to perform. Hujras serves society both in good and hard terms, irrespective of one's social class. If there is a conflict in the community, Hujras serve as a place to decide the conflicts. Sometimes, there is a traditional music party in Hujras or even if there is a developmental project, Hujras serve as a meeting place (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Likewise, another elder Pashtun women-Naeema Bibi, married, uneducated, a homemaker from Karak shared the importance of *Hujras* in Pashtun society. She was of the

view that Pashtuns are very concerned about the status of *Hujras*. She shared that their *Hujra* is often full of guests and we rarely see where we don't have a guest in our *Hujra*. My husband and in-laws insist not to compromise respecting and serving the guests. She also pointed out that *Hujras* serve an important role in holding *Jirgas*. *Jirgas* are fueled and sustained by the *Hujra* tradition in Pashtunwali—a headquarter for sharing joys and sorrows and stated as:

In Pashtun culture, Hujra or Baithak is a sitting place of sitting together where they share their thoughts and issues. Furthermore, it is a kind of drawing-room where guests are served and respected as well. Hujra is also utilized for holding Jirgas. In all good and bad times, Hujra serves as headquarter for sharing joy or sorrows and it is the beauty of Hujra that guests come and go and this keeps Hujra tradition alive (Personal Communication, 08-09-2019).

Moreover, *Hujras* are also utilized for decision-making. It has been defined as a commonplace where people discuss their everyday problems. They also take guidance from their elders regarding different matters such as marriage proposals, property issues, etc. one of the young Pashtun women-Seema Gul, married, educated, a homemaker from Swat shared her thoughts about the *Hujra* system as:

Usually, Hujras are used for welcoming the guests and certain other decisions such as the property issue and marriage proposals, etc. are discussed there (Personal Communication, 24-10-2019).

Several Pashtun women reported that the concept of the baithak/ *Hujra* is also diminishing with the passage of time because of the busy nature of the society (fast life)

since people do not have time for gossips or even listening to one another. As reported by one of the old-aged adults-Shabana, married, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Charsadda as:

Hujra used to be important for Pashtuns but it has lost its importance with the passage of time since people are busy in modern-day activities and they have no time to sit together and have gossips. We used to have Hujras in our home. A lot of meetings used to be held there. But now things have changed (Personal Communication, 10-11-2019).

Modern technological advancements have brought immense pressures and altered the dynamics of Pashtun society. Various technological gadgets such as mobile phones, computers, the internet, etc. have changed and replaced the place and concept of *Hujra* or *baithak* to a greater extent since everyone (elder and younger) has been addicted to using them in everyday life.

Most of the respondents pinpointed the transitional phase of *Hujras* that how modern technological advancements have replaced the *Hujra* system among Pashtuns, especially the young Pashtun generation. It has become evident that now traditional *Hujras* are converted into small *baithaks* where only guests are served and accommodated. The true essence of *Hujras* has declined—as it was used to be a place where youngsters were supposed to gather and share their feelings, thoughts, and problems with elders. They were accustomed to listening to the experiences and thoughts shared by their elders. *Hujras* proved to be a melting point where various generations (elder and younger) exchanged their knowledge and skills—learn from the experiences of their elders. As reflected by one of the middle-aged adults-Bibi Zainab, married, a homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat as:

In traditional Pashtun culture, there used to be Hujras where people used to sit together and discuss general things. But now mobile phones and other technological gadgets have changed the baithak concept since everyone, elder or younger, is seen as an addict to mobile phones. The traditional Hujras are now converted into small baithaks where only guests are served and accommodated (Personal Communication, 21-10-2019).

To sum up, *Hujra* has been considered as one of the fundamental institutions of translating and maintaining the basic value system among Pashtuns. It is a commonplace where guests are welcomed, honored, and accommodated, irrespective of their socio-economic background. In previous times, when people used to travel to far-flung areas then upon arrival they used to sit and gather in *Hujras* where they shared their experiences and information with other fellows. So, one of the famous places in Peshawar which is *Qissa Khawani* was one of the celebrated clusters of *Hujras* in previous times. In baithaks, guests were served and dignified a lot. In the evenings, people used to sit and had gossips. *Hujras* proved to be a melting point where various generations (elder and younger) exchanged their knowledge and skills—learn from the experiences of their elders. Nowadays, baithaks are no more celebrated in that way because the young generation is more attracted and occupied by social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and much more.

5.8 *Tarborwali* (Agnatic Rivalry)

Among Pashtuns, kinship ties have been defined as part and parcel of Pashtunwali. Familial relationships and lineage have been identified as core values of Pashtun society. *Tarborwali* has been defined as one of the basic components of Pashtunwali. In the Pashto language, *Tarbor* can be defined as a first cousin (maternal and paternal cousin/agnate). It is

a blood relationship and significant in nature. The majority of the respondents have shared and identified different notions of *Tarborwali*. Moreover, they were knowledgeable about the importance of blood relationships. But when some conflict arises among blood relationships then it gets harder to form and turns into rivalry, then such type of relationship is defined as *Tarborwali* (agnatic rivalry). By the same token, this relationship is also highlighted as one of the strongest and loyal relationships among Pashtuns people. Because *Tarbor* are titled as best comrades and companions in difficult times but on the other side of the picture they turned to be worst enemies as well. Pashtun women have also disclosed major reasons behind *Tarborwali*. Pashtun women play a decisive role in normalizing tension. One of the young Pashtun women-Maria, educated, single, living in a joint family system from Karak shared her experiences and relationship with her relatives, especially about her cousins in detail. She highlighted the importance of familial bonds which are highly valued among Pashtuns. She was of the view that Pashtuns are well-connected with their roots and families. She was also knowledgeable about her family tree (genealogical table). She expressed her thoughts about the nature of her relationship with her cousins in a meaningful way and stated:

Pashtuns are well-connected people with their families especially in the matters of the cousins we consider our cousins just like our brothers and sisters (maternal and paternal cousins) (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Pashtun women are very concerned about their relationships and expectations associated with their social standing in society. Elder Pashtun women also endorsed the basic philosophy behind blood ties. Correspondingly, they emphasized the role of parents and elders in defining and interpreting the status of patrilineal and matrilineal kinship ties,

especially lineage. Several interviewees have defined the notion of *Tarbor* as a title or name given to one's rival or opponent and it is not necessarily one's cousin. Likewise, *Tarborwali* is also associated with feelings of hatred, rivalry, competition, and stubbornness between and among relations. One of the educated Pashtun women-Sadaf, a middle-aged adult, single, a lecturer from Charsadda highlighted and shared her thoughts about the concept of *tarborwali* and the role of socialization (especially of mother) in interpretation and normalization of familial ties—competition and cooperation among and between relations, stated:

Tarbor is usually a name given to one's rival or opponent and it is not necessarily one's cousin. For me, the one who is your competitor or common conflict with you can be your tarbor. Usually, paternal cousins are named tarbor because of your socialization. I think your mother has a role in it. She will never name your maternal cousins as tarbors but your paternal cousins are named as tarbor since competition is always on the father's side (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Similar views were shared by one of my highly educated Pashtun respondents-Dr. Rubab, a middle-aged adult, single, an educationist from Charsadda. She shared her thoughts about the concept of *tarbor* and *tarborwali*. She also highlighted that conflict among cousins is usually based on property distribution and stated as:

Tarbor is a term usually used for first cousins and tarborwali is the conflict among the cousins usually based on property distribution. Many conflicts among the close family members are due to the property matters which lead to tarborwali. I think if there is no

property issue, tarborwali will automatically end up (Personal Communication, 27-11-2019).

Some of my respondents also mentioned the importance of strong and healthy relationships with relatives, which eventually will lead towards a strengthened value system among Pashtuns. They have also mentioned and interpreted several Pashto proverbs on *tarborwali* and relatives as well which I have enlisted under the heading of Pashto proverbs (see Table 5.1). One of the young adults-Zartaj, married, a homemaker from Swat presented a detailed account of the importance of strong and considerate relationships with relatives. She expressed as:

Tarborwali is also associated with Pashtun culture and it is generally believed that if your tarbor (cousins) are good ones they are even better than your brothers but if they are not good ones, they are worse than your enemies (Personal Communication, 20-10-2019).

Pashtun women identified property matters as one of the major causes of *tarborwali*, especially within the close relatives. They were of the view that monetary lust leads towards *tarborwali*. Most of the time, *tarborwali* is also defined as one of the dangerous forms of enmity among Pashtuns. It is also associated with feelings of hatred, rivalry, competition, and stubbornness between and among relations. For example, if two brothers are very considerate and friendly but if there comes a property or inheritance-related issue raised between them, if it turns into competition, impatience, or stubbornness, unfortunately, they will react like *tarbors*.

5.10 Modernization and Challenges Encountered by Traditional Pashtun Culture

Despite the fact, Pashtun women are appreciative and insightful about the meaning, history, and cultural composition of Pashtunwali and their identity but at the same time, they were not benighted about the contemporary emerging challenges that have been faced by traditional Pashtun culture. Although Pashtun women were observant of modern trends and lifestyles, they were suspicious and mindful about the emerging patterns or agents of socialization such as modern ICTs, media, social interacting sites, etc. in terms of their usage and impact on learning skills and cultural orientation of their children. One of the elder Pashtun women-Asiya Bibi, married, educated, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Karak shared her thoughts about the emerging trends, lifestyle, and notion of development in contemporary Pashtun societies as:

We have seen a lot of changes in Pashtun culture with reference to their lifestyle over time. I think those living in the urban areas have a relatively different approach towards the Pashtun culture and those who are in rural areas have the different one. I believe that Pashtuns try their best to maintain their basic cultural patterns wherever they live (Personal Communication, 04-09-2019).

Most of the respondents were concerned and anxious about the unprecedented behavioral change vigilant among the young Pashtun generation, in terms of giving priority to modern liberal (secular) mindsets, instead of reevaluating and retracing their history, culture, religion, and social heritage.

Educated Pashtun women emphasized the role of education in creating awareness and providing basic skills to better comprehend and face the challenges without compromising the basic value system of Pashtunwali. Along with Pashtunwali, they elucidated Islam as a complete code of life—one of the dynamic religions of the world. One of the young adult-Irum, single, educated, a student from Karak shared her views on the change confronted by Pashtun culture. She was also confident about the current status of the young Pashtun generation—able to confront the emerging changes as:

I think modern-day life consists of so many complexities. We can observe the change in the Pashtun culture as well and I believe the things are not in the same way they used to be in the previous era. For me, we as the Pashtuns, also need to be moderate enough with the modern societal structures to prosper (Personal Communication, 09-09-2019).

Pashtun cultures are going through changes over time. Meanwhile, Pashtuns try to maintain their cultural identities as well. For example, endogamy is a usual marriage pattern in Pashtun societies, there are certain other sides where young Pashtun generations are commonly practicing exogamy. A similar case was shared by one of the young Pashtun women-Farwa, married, educated, homemaker, living in a joint family system from Swat. She talked about the concept of globalization and its connection with Pashtun culture. She shared that one of her brothers-in-law went to China for getting a higher education and then he married his class fellow she belonged to different nationality. She added that his wife is a Russian (accepted Islam). She further shared that:

Pashtun culture is getting changed in the age of globalization. The younger brother of my husband went to China for studying and he married his class fellow who belongs to

Russia. The couple has a daughter too. When the couple comes to their village, they try their best to follow the cultural norms. I believe that society as a general needs to accept the change to prosper (Personal Communication, 12-10-2019).

Noticeably, cultural change is indispensable. All cultures of the world experienced the change (social and cultural) but the level and intensity of change along with the sense of adaptability differ among and between generations. Pashtun culture has been evolved and sustained in the age of globalization. Pashtun women are knowledgeable about the core value system (Pashtunwali) along with the social construction of their identities and position (in Pashtun society) in the age of globalization. Pashtun women were anxious about the culture change resulting from defining trends, lifestyles, and notions of development and modernization in contemporary society. Elder Pashtun women (Mothers, grandmothers, and mothers-in-law) were considerate about the emerging patterns, alternatives, and agents of socialization such as modern ICTs, media, social interacting sites, etc. in terms of their usage and impact on learning skills and cultural orientation of their children. Pashtun women were of the view that globalization has brought various facets and cultural models to the same place. By the same token, it has created unlimited opportunities for cultures to exchange and practice various cultural models. Resultantly, it is challenging for the traditional and moral aura of Pashtun culture to remain scatheless.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have discussed my key findings in reference to the existing scholarship on Pashtunwali and the theoretical framework which guided this research. This chapter consists of my discussion on the broader theme of generational relations with reference to context of Pashtun women of Pakistan. The study has revealed important insights about the experiences of women (Harding, 1991; Smith, 1997; Hebblethwaite & Norris, 2011) and the orientation of Pashtun women and their comprehension of Pashtunwali. The notions of age, classification of age groups and generations have been studied by numerous researchers, theorists, sociologists, and demographers (Gasset, 1994; Postnikova, 2008; Erikson, 1959; Mannheim, 1952; Kertzer, 1983; Mead, 1970; Xiaohong, 2012).

In the present study, the concept of age, classification of age groups, and generations are defining determinants to understand the nature and structure of the relationship existed between elder and younger generation of Pashtun women and to identify the various transmission patterns of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women. The age of the respondents has been classified into three age groups namely young female adults (17—30 years of age), middle-aged female adults (31—45 years of age), and old-aged female adults (Above 45 years)—with a corresponding age range as deliberately explained by one of the personality development theory—Eight stages of human development introduced by Erik Erikson, where various age groups (of human life) have been described to understand the concept of

identity crises and psychosocial development of an individual (Erikson, 1959). Almost all three age groups of Pashtun women have equal representation in the present research.

My research findings revealed that the majority of the elder Pashtun women were illiterate (never attended any school/any formal education or degree) but at the same time, they mentioned that they have acquired religious education. Moreover, most of the young and middle-aged Pashtun women were educated and they were having a maximum level of educational attainment (respondents were having a Bachelors' degree). Several interviewees (20 percent of the Pashtun women) were highly educated (18 years of education) as they have been to university education (got Masters, MS, and Ph.D. degrees). Among highly educated Pashtun women, my four interviewees were having a Ph.D. degree in the field of natural sciences and were affiliated with the field of teaching and research (see table 4.5). The educational institution is one of the significant platforms through which society provides limitless opportunities to its members to learn knowledge, basic skills, and cultural values (Khattak & Khattak, 2012; Daraz, 2012). Education is the best way to recognize one's true potential and it is a source of creating awareness in an individual (Chaudhary, 2010). Ibrahim (2012) identified that Pashtuns are considerate about the status of women and they are defined as a statue of chastity and modesty. Pashtuns did not allow their females to be taught by male teachers—reluctant in providing education to girls (Latif, 2009; Chaudhary, 2009).

My research findings disclosed that most of the Pashtun mothers were of the view that the importance of female education has been realized by parents that education of the female is education for the entire family. Moreover, young Pashtun women were optimistic about the use of modern ICTs. Young Pashtun women (Mothers and daughters) presented

their strong emphasis on providing education to the new generation of Pashtun girls (Khalid & Mukhtar, 2002). They believe that education opens up multiple opportunities for females.

In the current research, one of the defining and key indicators/variables among the socio-demographic profile of my respondents is the social status of the Pashtun women. Social status is a relative position which one holds within a social group. By the same token, several protocols, responsibilities, expectations, obligations, and duties, etc. (defined as role) are attached with that social status or position in society. In 1963, Swinehart conducted research on the subject of socio-economic level, status aspiration, and maternal role in America and highlighted various responsibilities, expectations, and duties that are attached to mothers. Although that research was quantitative in nature and socio-economic status of mothers was one of the defining variables. The present study is guided by feminist standpoint theory as experiences of Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother), attitude formation, nature of the relationship, level of understanding, patterns of interaction, and construction of their self-identities have been studied under the heading of a meaningful relationship between mother-daughter, grandmother-granddaughter, and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. It contributed a lot to comprehending and interpreting the generational relations and transmission of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women of various age groups and generations.

One of the key findings of this study is the fact that Pashtunwali is not rigid and static but dynamic and transformative in nature. Pashtunwali as a symbolic framework is adaptable. It has become evident that it can be utilized, molded, developed, and deconstructed with the passage of time in Pashtun societies. Although there is consensus about, for example, the cardinal values of the Pashtunwali yet at the same time, these values

are understood and applied across generations, which reflect different generational interests. The way proverbs and poetry are understood and interpreted is adapted to the different circumstances of different generations of Pashtun women, and in that way the value of these proverbs and poems continues, not only in a fixed way, but as something that is living and dynamic. Previous scholarship on Pashtunwali has focused only on fixed and constructed notions of Pashtuns' ethnic identity, *jirga* system, authority, and dominant values of Pashtunwali such as hospitality, honor, revenge, and rivalry, etc. at length and ignored the transformative perspective of Pashtunwali that how Pashtuns adapt to the changing trends and lifestyles (Ahmad, 1976; Ahmad, 1992; Barth, 1969; Dupree, 1978; Sanauddin, 2015).

Greenfield et al, (2003) examined the subject of transmission of cultural values and socialization practices and revealed various culture-explicit ideas of autonomy and reliance related to broader and narrower socialization cultures, respectively (Arnett, 1995). My research findings showed that Pashtuns particularly the Pashtun women are very much connected to their elder and younger generations. Pashtunwali act as a way of protecting and nurturing women with family support, love, respect, etc. which is against the outsiders' perception of Pashtuns being rigid. The younger generation of women learns their entire traditional heritage through their ancestors. An important role is played by the Pashtun mothers. They are having quite dignified and celebrated status within society. Similarly, elder Pashtun women are considered to be the guardian and custodians for the transmission of their culture, particularly for youngsters.

The relationships among different generations of Pashtuns are quite diverse. Pashtun women reflected that there is the significant importance of *Masharaan* (elders) in the decision-making process, particularly in settling the disputes for general Pashtun community

cohesion (Yousafzai and Gohar, 2012). *Masharaan* (Elders) plays an important role in the *Jirga* system (Carter, 1989; Glatzer, 1998; Yousafzai and Gohar, 2005). *Jirga* is headed by an elder who is also considered as in-charge of *Hujras* as well (Shinwari, 2016). If there is some misunderstanding between *Kasharaan* (youngsters) then their issue is also resolved by *Masharaan* (elders) of the *Jirga* (Wardak, 2006; Braithwaite & Gohar, 2014). *Jirga* also plays an important role in handling disputes among conflicting parties (Bangash, 2004). Due to the impartial position of *Jirga* elders, both parties acknowledge and are bound to the decisions made by *Jirga* (Spain, 1972; Sherzaman, 2007; Shah, 2007; Kakar, 2007; Zaman, 2018; Alam, 2021)

The family has been considered as the primary socialization agent and held responsible as a mediator between these cultural values and an individual in the transmission procedure (Schneewind, 1999). Cultural values that are significant for family life and the relatives are more successfully transmitted (Hoge, et. al, 1982). There is a piece of considerable evidence that Pashtuns are nurtured in a way that they respect their elders. All the major agents of socialization play their equal part in training the younger Pashtun generations. A vast majority of the respondents disclosed that mothers in the Pashtun societies have a very important role in teaching their kids regarding the status of elders. Such kind of socialization goes lifelong. This system of *Masharaan* and *Kasharaan* is deeply embedded in the Pashtun family system that continues from generation to generation. Disrespecting the elders is considered to be a sign of deviating from the cultural context. These results are synonymous with the findings of Shinwari (2016) has highlighted the role of elders (Grandparents and parents) in the enculturation process among Pashtuns. Talking particularly about the transformation of this system, mothers have a major role to allow their

daughters understand it as pinpointed by Goodnow (1997) that guardians/ parents need to transmit those qualities that are significant for them. Consequently, there will be a harmony between parents' personal values and their socialization values.

Cultural transmission is significant for societal stability as it encourages the communication between individuals of various ages and it allows the support of culture-specific knowledge, convictions, and beliefs over generations (Trommsdorff, 2009). It has been observed that Pashtun women are very much conscious about their orientation and construction of self-identities and status in Pashtun society. Moreover, they disclosed that overall, the fabric of Pashtun society especially Pashtun males are respectful and considerate towards women. Most of the Pashtun women mentioned that there are certain defined standards, roles, behaviors, responsibilities, and practices which are expected from a Pashtun woman. Furthermore, Pashtun women are considerate about their roots, familial values, and heritage.

In Pashtun culture, familial identities are well integrated. The orientation and intensity of familial relations among relatives alongside the sort of family structure help kids in molding their lives (Falk & Falk, 2005). Pashtun women are very much tied to the cultural bonds that they inherit from their elders (Grandparents and parents). Most of the Pashtun women were mindful about their social status and place in society and emphasized men are their custodians as they are always identified and recognized through the male members (grandfather, father, brother, husband, and son, etc.) of their family.

Qazi (2009) studied the history of Afghan Pashtun women and their role in Pashtun society. He has presented a detailed historical account of Pashtun women and their contribution to various walks of life (famous female personalities such as Malalai of

Miawand, Begum Nasim Wali Khan, etc.). Like their male counterparts, Pashtun women love their freedom and honor and were very much concerned about the orientation and manifestation of their roles and responsibilities. By the same token, the findings of the present research highlighted that Pashtun women are also thoughtful about their traditions and practices (Pashtunwali) which are disseminated and conveyed by elders. Moreover, young Pashtun women also critically evaluated Pashtunwali and its core parameters, particularly the *Jirga* (council) system and the concept of *badal* (revenge). The majority of the respondents referred to their experiences about *Jirga* proceedings and their structure (held in the near past) and recalled the details and agenda points too. It shows that Pashtun women have understood the *Jirga* as one of the deciding elements of their cultural system. Critically, they evaluated the status of men (elders) in *Jirga* and the absence of women in *Jirga*-related matters. But they also knew how to exercise their agency while listening to their male counterparts before the *Jirga* settlement and after they return home—they do share their thoughts, especially with elder women (grandmother, mother, and mother-in-law).

Most of the educated Pashtun women were impassioned about their cultural heritage and identity being a Pashtun woman. They shared that education has broadened their horizon (mind) and guided them to better understand, interpret, and reevaluate their cultural value system. Several educated Pashtun women shared their experiences about the role of education in defining and reshaping gender norms and women's agency in Pashtun society. They were of the view that Pashtun women are well-informed about their true potential and strength. Now Pashtun women are exhibiting their skills and knowledge in various fields of

mainstream society. By the same token, they never compromise on their basic familial values and traditions passed through generations.

Several studies have been conducted on the subject of intergenerational relations (Rossi, 1993; O-Yang and Wu, 1998; Schönplflug, 2001; Williams and Nussbaum, 2001; Pillemer et al, 2006; Postnikova, 2008; Albert et al, 2009; Pessala, 2012). Almost all of these studies were in International context. My study was particularly focused on explaining the relationship between different generations of Pashtun women in Pakistan. Most of the Pashtun women shared their childhood and adulthood experiences in terms of their relationships with family members (parents, grandparents, siblings, and neighborhood, etc.). They also expressed their thoughts about the various stages of life being a Pashtun daughter from early childhood to adulthood. Noticeably, Pashtun women expressed their feelings about the love and admiration they received from their parents being a daughter. They presented that from the early stage, Pashtuns socialize their children about the concept of showing great respect towards elders, and similarly, children are treated with great affection and love. Children are always considered as a true source of blessing from Almighty Allah and parents are always considerate about the needs and desires of their children. Elder Pashtun women also shared their childhood experiences and emphasized the role of playground and friends in making their childhood more joyful and lovely period of their life.

In 2006, McGowen et al. studied the role of Grandparents as primary caregivers and constructing the worldview of grandchildren and found that grandparents have helped their grandchildren in times of family crises through financial support, moral support, advice, and offering accommodation. The findings of this study were consistent with the respective research. Pashtun women explained that the role of parents and elders in defining their roles,

responsibilities, and construction of their worldview is associated with them being female adults. They have also pinpointed that the way their mothers and grandmothers used to share their lived experiences and skills guided them to better understand and realize their responsibilities and face the problems that emerged during the transitional phase of life (entering into adulthood). It has been highlighted that grandparents in the Pashtun society are traditionally having extraordinary importance and worth since they are considered to be the source of blessing and guidance. A reasonable amount of my respondents supported this stance. In the case of women, grandmothers (paternal and maternal) are a source of inspiration for their daughters. The outcomes of the study also resonate with the findings of the study conducted by Wu (2000) about parenting practices and adolescent behavior problems that the more interactive relationship between the different generations the better opportunities will be there for the learning.

My study elucidated experiences of Pashtun women about the imitation of their elders' (Grandparents and parents) roles and responsibilities. As one of the renowned French sociologists, Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) proposed the "Theory of Imitation" as a primary interpersonal trait that children imitate their adults' role as the primal situation. He defined three laws of imitation that includes, the law of close contact, the law of imitation of superiors by inferiors and the law of insertion (where new behaviors either reinforce or replace customary ones). Moreover, Tarde reflected that individuals consciously and unconsciously imitates the adults' attitudes and behaviors (Ellenberger, 1970; Katz, 2006). There is considerable evidence that Pashtun women highlighted that children learn desirable and undesirable behaviors from observing their parents and grandparents. By the same token, Pashtun elders remain conscious about the exhibition of their roles and

responsibilities. Most of the young Pashtun women emphasized the role of mothers and grandmothers in imparting a basic understanding of cultural norms, values, and traditions towards the young generation. They were of the view that they have learned the cherished values of hospitality—the core principle of Pashtun culture by observing their parents. The environment within the households particularly purdah among the Pashtun women also gets transferred from the elder Pashtun generation to the younger ones.

There is a broad and advancing theoretical (prevalently psychoanalytic and formative) literature on female development, on mothering furthermore, on mother-daughter bond, especially since the subsequent second feminist wave of the 1970s. These theories depend principally on clinical cases including disturbed mother-daughter relationships and on close to personal encounters, as opposed to on empirical normative information base. In 1999, Chodorow studied the mother-daughter relationship and found that among intergenerational family relations—the mother-daughter relationship is a very powerful one that “contributes in profound ways to the creation and experience of self”. The findings of the present study under the theme of experiences of Pashtun women: the mother-daughter relationship is quite synonymous with Chodorow’s research as it shows that mothers and daughters are having a quite interactive relationship in Pashtun societies. This interaction yields fruitful results for transmitting certain Pashtun codes from the elder generation to the younger ones. Young Pashtun women are usually found to following the footsteps of their elders particularly their mothers. Mothers share their life histories just like an open book with their daughters during domestic chores. The lived experiences of mothers are guides to their daughters. Such experiences help daughters leading a respectful and dignified life. The

world view of daughters is created through the lens of their mothers. The rare conflict has been observed in the relationship of mother and their daughter in Pashtun societies.

My research findings revealed that the majority of the Pashtun women, irrespective of their socio-demographic background, identified multiple traits and principles which are recognized, practiced, and transmitted among Pashtun women throughout generations. These principles are defining the theme of their cultural heritage. Pashtun women consider their social heritage as something which is an ultimate source of knowledge, morality, and self-identification. It is also noticeable that Pashtun women are mindful of social expectations concerning Pashtunwali. To qualify the desired status of good Pashtun, they are expected to adopt and sustain key characteristics of Pashtunwali which are cherished values such as modesty, hospitality, bravery, humbleness, religiosity, high self-esteem, sense of ethnocentrism, respectful (towards elders and women), etc.

The majority of young Pashtun women informed close relationships between Pashtuns and Pashtunwali. They affirmed that Pashtuns are the people of principles. They are watchful about their elders' practices and character in confirming Pashtunwali and related traits. They disclosed a strong connection between Pashtunwali and the role of their family system (its essence) in defining, adapting, transmitting, and internalizing that respective code of conduct. My respondents were knowledgeable about the meaning and cultural context of Pashtunwali, but they also shared folk knowledge about the historical background of Pashtuns' moral code and its implications. The majority of the respondents recognized their Pashtun culture as equated with their ultimate soul or existence. Pashtun women are well-informed about their modesty, respect, and norms.

Since I collected data both from the urban and rural women, as well as, my respondents included both educated and uneducated women, Pashtun women were very much ethnocentric in maintaining and adhering to Pashtunwali. Women of all age groups showed a huge amount of appreciation and gratification with the core principles of Pashtunwali. I observed that they were quite confident in understanding and explaining Pashtunwali as a core Pashtun value. For my respondents, Pashtunwali was considered to be a kind of genetic trait and they termed it as something which was in their blood. Most of them responded that an individual cannot be a true Pashtun unless he/she acts upon the principles of Pashtunwali (Khattak et al, 2009; Rzehak, 2011).

In Pashtun society, modesty is directly linked with the notion and practice of observing *Purdah*. *Purdah* (veil) may be defined as a religious and cultural practice of females backed by the context of gender segregation among Muslim communities (Brill, 1978); Esposito, 1991). One of the leading Pakistani feminists, Riffat Haque (2002) has conducted extensive research on the subject of *Purdah* as an institution in Pakistan and found that there is a need to preserve and facilitate Pakistani women's freedom from seclusion by providing them with segregated facilities and by sensitizing the society in general to the women's newfound role and contribution to the society. Furthermore, as indicated by Weiss (1992) that in Pakistani society women are always defined in relation to a man being a daughter, sister, mother, or wife, and categorically her social status is always derived from the man's social status. She argued that family in Pakistan is related to men, ladies are obliged to comply with the family's code of honor, qualities, and customs, which are completely dictated by men. While findings of the present study disclosed the

perspective of Pashtun women about the notion of *Purdah* (modesty) in Pashtunwali and have been considered as one of the cherished values among Pashtun women.

The majority of the respondents confidently expressed several meanings of *Purdah* which are practiced, attached, and sustained by Pashtun women. Several respondents reported that from an early age they were socialized to carry traditional and modest dress codes. They have shared their observations that they have always found their mothers, grandmothers, and other female members of their family quite disciplined in observing *Purdah* by wearing modest and elegant dress codes. In Pashtun culture, both women and men are always told and retold about their roles, boundaries, obligations, and protocols which are attached to their socially constructed identities by their elders.

Young Pashtun women have also identified the transitional phase of *Purdah* and practices which were different from their mothers and grandmother's time. They were of the view that elder Pashtun women were quite strait-laced in their practices, especially in observing and sustaining *Purdah*. Not only in terms of specific/ traditional dress code but also exercised on all occasions (private and public level). But now that strictness has lowered among the new generation (young adults) and they have got multiple options (regarding modest dressing) and ways (modern trends and fashion) to wear *chaddar* as per their choice and taste.

Most of the respondents shared that they spent more time with their grandparents that have ultimately created more learning opportunities from their experiences. Such learning experiences often have a sense of attachment and belongingness for younger generations with their elders. There is a considerable amount of evidence that Pashtun kids

from their very early childhood are taught about their heroes and eminent personalities by their elders particularly their parents. Such learning may occur through traditional poetry or music or traditional dances. Most of the Pashtun women highlighted that the traditional learning experiences are also different for those who are living in urban areas and those who are in rural areas. Rural areas are more traditional cultural oriented whereas busy urban structures make it difficult to learn traditional folktales.

Pashtun women were of the view that with the technological advancements, several changes are observed in Pashtun society as well. Like all other walks of life, it has impacted negatively and positively on Pashtun cultural context. ICTs have changed many things in Pashtun culture either it's a relationship between generations or between siblings even between the other family members similar to the findings of Williams and Junussbaum, (2001) that the disparity between various generations is apparent from the thinking patterns of the young generation as they favor and adopts contemporary technological models and practices in contrast to antiquated, obsolete and worn-out patterns and structures (of the previous generation).

The majority of the Pashtun women highlighted one of the defining practices in a Pashtun culture that whenever an elder (parents and grandparents) enters the *Hujra* or house, everyone used to stand up and greet them in a dignified way but now young Pashtun generation is less concerned about basic etiquettes and attracted towards modern liberal mindsets. The more and more digitalized we are becoming day by day change in culture is observed accordingly. It has been reported by many of my respondents that parents and elders nowadays have no or less role in training the youngsters. Such a role is now snatched by ICTs. They learn more from what they see on TV or Mobile phone than their elders. This

has led to the change in rituals and traditions and the creation of introverted personalities for youngsters. The youth is more alienated from their immediate contacts rather they are more assimilated on social networking sites.

In Pashtun society, the family institution is considered an important guardian of Pashtun culture and the identity of Pashtuns. Pashtun women are very much conscious and concerned about their families, relationships, and traditions. They acknowledge core values of patience and sacrifice as building blocks of Pashtun culture (Idrees, 2005). Most of the Pashtun women declared that the family system plays a decisive role in defining an individual's identity. Pashtun women have always credited their family system as a binding force for them. Parents and elders are highly praised among them. Relationships are weighed throughout generations. Pashtun women are very concerned about the concept of peace and prosperity. Most of the time, they associate happy and healthy relationships with the strong base or existence of the family system.

Young Pashtun women were knowledgeable about the historical background of the *Jirga* system and they had shared numerous accounts of *Jirgas* which were shared by their mothers and grandmothers. They pinpointed that due to urbanization, the majority of Pashtuns are less concerned about calling *Jirgas* for dispute resolution or take the advice of elders concerning their familial issues or stakes.

Another interesting narrative has been disclosed about the transition of the *Jirga* system in Pashtun society. Most of the respondents pinpointed the changing trends among Pashtuns living in urban areas or settlements about the nature and effectiveness of *Jirgas*. They were of the view that due to modernization and technological advancement, the *Jirga* system is losing its worth because of its dependency on modern mechanisms of dispute

resolution such as police and legal court systems. Young Pashtun women are more independent in their expression and decision-making nowadays.

Many of my respondents identified various factors behind the decline of *Jirgas* such as intolerance, individualism, financial independence, self-interest, modernization and cost, and benefits analysis, etc. Though women in the Pashtun communities reported not to be directly involved in *Jirga* proceedings, elder Pashtun women were of the view that their male counterparts usually seek their stance before going for *Jirga* even in some cases, the male members also shared *Jirga* proceedings and experiences with their female members of the family. It is quite evident through the discussion with respondents that urban Pashtuns are lesser into the *Jirga* system, but the *Jirga* system still maintains the status-quo in rural Pashtun areas.

Pashtun women are mindful of their social and religious identity. It has been observed that the majority of the old-aged adults identified that they are considerate about transmission and propagation of religious belief systems and cultural traditions towards the next generation. Considerably, Pashtun women give priority to religious traditions and rituals over their moral and cultural code of conduct (*Pashtunwali*) practiced over centuries. They passionately guide their children to follow Islam (in true letter and spirit) and how to become good Muslims. Indeed, *Purdah* is of utmost importance in Pashtun society, practiced and adopted by all age groups among Pashtun women. At the same time, young Pashtun women also pointed out they are familiar with the transitional phase of *Purdah* among Pashtun women. They affirmed that a few decades ago, *Purdah* was strictly observed in Pashtun societies but now one can see outlaws too. There are definite reasons behind this outlook and change such as the unprecedented influence of social media, the internet,

smartphones, and other modern technological advancements. These social determinants have brought multiple and contrasting options. Consequently, the young generation is progressive and more prone towards adopting new cultural trends, as compared to their elder generation.

Pashto proverbs are representative of Pashtun cultural identity. Most of the elder Pashtun women shared the contextual and logical base of Pashto proverbs. They were of the view that meanings and interpretation of proverbs are highly dependent upon the intentions of the conveyer and the perception of the listener. The majority of my respondents shared and interpreted numerous Pashto proverbs that reflected meaningful themes concerning Pashtunwali and its core principles. Pashtun women have defined Pashto proverbs as an enshrined courier of the wisdom of Pashtun elders over centuries.

It has been observed that Pashtun women are actively engaged in utilizing and interpreting proverbs, songs, and other genres of Pashto language to better communicate and sustain the Pashtun value system across generations. In this regard, a household is a common place where Pashtun women exercise their hold and power (on the daily basis) in the capacity of mother, grandmother, and mother-in-law. Deliberately, they used to share proverbs with their daughters concerning situations and places to better guide them about the basic tents of Pashtunwali and expected outcomes—to become a dignified and modest Pashtun woman.

In Pashtun culture, gender roles and identities are clearly defined and identified among all age groups. Women's respect is highly valued. Honor and dignity are directly resonating with the character of women (being a daughter, sister, wife, and mother). Considerably, when a female brings misfortune for the family's honor then turned into

dishonor for males and they become aggressive and end up taking revenge—restoring their honor at any cost. It is not considered as good to mention the name of women publicly. Among Pashtuns, feelings of shame or being dishonored prove to be catastrophic and converts into honor killings. Correspondingly, the use of technology has brought new and indifferent mindsets about the notion of *ghairat* among the new generation.

In Pashtunwali, *hujra* has been considered as one of the fundamental institutions of translating and maintaining the basic value system among Pashtuns. It is a commonplace where guests are welcomed, honored, and accommodated, irrespective of their socio-economic background. In previous times, when people used to travel to far-flung areas then upon arrival they used to sit and gather in *hujras* where they shared their experiences and information with other fellows.

The majority of the respondents reported that *hujras* proved to be a melting pot where various generations (elder and younger) exchanged their knowledge and skills—learn from the experiences of their elders. Pashtun women have highlighted multiple functions of *hujras*. *Hujra* is not only taken as a guest room, but they are utilized to serve the community both in good and hard terms.

Modern technological advancements have brought immense pressures and altered the dynamics of Pashtun society. Various technological gadgets such as mobile phones, computers, the internet, etc. have changed and replaced the place and concept of *Hujra* or *baithak* to a greater extent since everyone (elder and younger) has been addicted to using them in everyday life. Most of the respondents pinpointed the transitional phase of *hujras* that how modern technological advancements have replaced the *hujra* system among Pashtuns, especially the young Pashtun generation.

It has become evident that now traditional *hujras* are converted into small *baitmaks* where only guests are served and accommodated. The true essence of *hujras* has declined—as it was used to be a place where youngsters were supposed to gather and share their feelings, thoughts, and problems with elders. Nowadays, *baitmaks* are no more celebrated in that way because the young generation is more attracted and occupied by social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and much more.

Pashtun women are very concerned about their relationships and expectations associated with their social standing in society. Elder Pashtun women also endorsed the basic philosophy behind blood ties. Correspondingly, they emphasized the role of parents and elders in defining and interpreting the status of patrilineal and matrilineal kinship ties, especially lineage. Several interviewees have defined the notion of *Tarbor* as a title or name given to one's rival or opponent and it is not necessarily one's cousin. Likewise, *Tarborwali* is also associated with feelings of hatred, rivalry, competition, and stubbornness between and among relations. Pashtun women identified property matters as one of the major causes of *tarborwali*, especially within the close relatives. They were of the view that monetary lust leads towards *tarborwali*. Most of the time, *tarborwali* is also defined as one of the dangerous forms of enmity among Pashtuns. It is also associated with feelings of hatred, rivalry, competition, and stubbornness between and among relations. For example, if two brothers are very considerate and friendly but if there comes a property or inheritance-related issue raised between them, if it turns into competition, impatience, or stubbornness, unfortunately, they will react like *tarbors*.

All cultures of the world experienced the change (social and cultural) but the level and intensity of change along with the sense of adaptability differ among and between

generations. Pashtun culture has been evolved and sustained in the age of globalization. Pashtun women are knowledgeable about the core value system (Pashtunwali) along with the social construction of their identities and position (in Pashtun society) in the age of globalization.

Pashtun women were anxious about the culture change resulting from defining trends, lifestyles, and notions of development and modernization in contemporary society. Elder Pashtun women (Mothers, grandmothers, and mothers-in-law) were considerate about the emerging patterns, alternatives, and agents of socialization such as modern ICTs, media, social interacting sites, etc. in terms of their usage and impact on learning skills and cultural orientation of their children. Globalization has brought various facets and cultural models to the same place. Pashtun women were of the view that globalization has created unlimited opportunities for cultures to exchange and practice various cultural models.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary

The current chapter sums up the argument, conclusion, and recommendations for future research. The present study was aimed at exploring the notion of social generation, nature, and structure of generational relations among Pashtun women of various age groups. Moreover, the current research endeavor was intended to comprehend the episteme of Pashtun women about Pashtunwali and its core parameters, their self-identification, and the multiple patterns of transmission of Pashtunwali utilized and practiced by elder generations (Grandmother, Mother, and Mother-in-law) towards young generations (Granddaughter, Daughter, and Daughter-in-law).

The study was imparted in three districts of KPK, Pakistan namely, Karak, Swat, and Charsadda. The study was designed under the course of certain research objectives including orientation and interpretation of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women. Another objective was to explore the concept of social generation and lived experiences and manifestations of Pashtun women of various age groups (young adult, middle-aged adult, and old-aged adult). Along with this, the role of Pashto language and other transmissions (continuity or discontinuity) patterns practiced by elder Pashtun women in the preservation of Pashtun culture were also comprehended. These four objectives were addressed and analyzed under the heading of two meaningful key chapters of my thesis.

Studying intergenerational relations is a key focus area within the domain of sociology of family and generations. Pashtunwali has always remained a key tool associated with Pashtuns globally for transmitting the traditional Pashtun culture from the elder generations to the younger generations. The role of women in the shape of grandmother, mother, mother-in-law, and even as a daughter is of utmost importance while understanding and transmitting the subject Pashtun code i.e. Pashtunwali among Pashtun women.

There are multiple general studies available on how the Pashtunwali is understood by Pashtuns (see Bartlotti, 2000; Saeed, 2012; Khan et al., 2020). Very rare material is available that explains how the Pashtun women elaborate and interpret the Pashtunwali. My study has a particular focus on the females' side of Pashtunwali. The current study was carried out to analyze the generational relations among different generations of Pashtun women and to see the transmission patterns of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women of various age groups (young adults, middle-aged adults, and old-aged adults) in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province of Pakistan. The study was the first of its kind in Pakistan that sought and highlighted the women's stance on the subject. The lens of standpoint feminism has been used in current research work to analyze how Pashtun women perceive & interpret generational relations and transmit the components of Pashtunwali from one generation to the next one. My study has highlighted multiple points that I would like to sum up here.

The current study recognized the concept of generation as a sociological phenomenon. This is further compounded by the fact that social generation has been defined as cohorts of individuals born in the same birth year (date range) and having similar experiences and notions of reality. Furthermore, each generational group of Pashtun women

(people sharing similarities based on their lifelong experiences) has certain characteristics that make them unique in terms of their lifestyle, preferences, belief system, value system, use of technology, adaptability, media consumption, and innovative work demands, etc.

It is worth mentioning that Pashtun women were interviewed and studied concerning their social status (ascribed status) being a daughter, mother, grandmother, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, and granddaughter to better understand the generational relations among Pashtun women and construction of their self-identities.

It has been revealed that the interaction between different generations of Pashtun women had a significant role in the process of socialization. Usually, the ancestors such as grandparents share their life stories with the younger generation. Several respondents reported that the intergenerational relationship among Pashtun women is also changing with time. Probably technological advancement is one of the reasons behind such change. With modernity, parents of children are becoming more and more cautious and mindful of their kids. Parents are of the view that their kids are getting out of their way and are leaving their traditional cultural context.

Through my research findings, I have come to know that Pashtun elder women especially the grandmothers and mothers have a pivotal place in explaining the Pashtunwali to the younger generation of Pashtun women. With their lifelong experiences, elder Pashtun women tend to guide their younger generation regarding the importance of Pashtunwali as a basic Pashtun code of conduct.

The research findings revealed that the majority of the Pashtun women, irrespective of their socio-demographic background, identified multiple traits and principles which are recognized, practiced, and transmitted among Pashtun women throughout generations.

These principles are defining the theme of their cultural heritage. Pashtun women consider their social heritage as something which is an ultimate source of knowledge, morality, and self-identification. They were very ethnocentric about their traditions, history, and ancestral values which are defined and practiced through ages.

The family system of Pashtuns is a major transmitter of Pashtunwali among young Pashtun generations. Though there is some variation in urban Pashtun culture nowadays yet there is a considerable impact on Pashtun kids from the family side. Younger generations of Pashtun are taught from their early childhood that they have to live their life understanding and implementing the traditional Pashtun code. Such primary socialization from family helps the young Pashtun women to comply with the standards of the Pashtun cultural context.

This is further compounded by the fact that one of the important factors that transmit all cultural, social, and religious rituals is the family system of Pashtuns. The younger generation of women learns their entire traditional heritage through their ancestors. An important role is played by the Pashtun mothers. They are having quite dignified and celebrated status within society as pinpointed by Qadeer (2014) in his research on Pashtunwali and the status of women in Pashtun society. Elder Pashtun women are considered to be the guardian and custodians for the transmission of their culture, particularly for youngsters.

In the traditional Pashtun culture, *hujras* and *Jirgas* have their role to play in different community issues. Many societal issues are discussed and resolved in *Hujras* through the *Jirga* system. Rural areas are found to have *hujras* and *Jirga* whereby these concepts are diminishing within urban areas since people prefer to consult the criminal

justice system for resolving conflict. Traditionally, Pashtun women had less or no say in *Jirga* but nowadays women are reportedly indirectly participating in a *Jirga*.

Pashto language, within the Pashtun culture, is considered to be an important part of Pashtunwali. Pashtun is very much ethnocentric in keep their mother language alive. Multiple mediums are utilized for this purpose. Such mediums range from Pashto poetry to usage of Pashto proverbs, folktales. Certain Pashto TV channels and newspapers are also serving the purpose of keeping the Pashto language alive. Even speaking Pashto within the household level also plays an important role. Pashtun women acknowledged and identified the importance of Pashto language in the interpretation and dissemination of cultural practices, identities, viewpoints, and everyday life experiences from one generation to another. Unconditionally, Pashtun women (especially mothers) have a significant role in the creation and promotion of Pashtun culture through folklores, proverbs, songs, dress code, arts, literature, and by cooking traditional cuisine, etc. The Pashto language has played an influential role in strengthening and maintaining Pashtunwali.

Pashtun women disclosed that ICT has caused a generation gap among the different generations of Pashtun women. This has led to a different understanding of the technological era. Many parents of today's age are digital immigrants while kids are technological natives. This sometimes creates cultural lag among generations. It's quite evident that technology has divided the generations, many elder women showed their discomfort when they see their kids always engaged with technological gadgets. But some of the Pashtun women complained that they need to have a sense of technological use otherwise it will have negative consequences. Educated Pashtun women critically analyzed the dichotomous effect of technology and social media on Pashtun culture.

7.2 Conclusion

The results of the present endeavor as discussed above, in general, provides a detailed analysis of the episteme and experiences of Pashtun women of various age groups about Pashtunwali and its core principles. This research was aimed at analyzing the nature of generational relations (intergenerational relations) among Pashtun women (being a daughter, mother, and grandmother). Moreover, the study has identified multiple transmission belts (agents, patterns, mechanisms, institutions, etc.) utilized by elder Pashtun women (mothers, grandmothers, and mothers-in-law) to transfer cardinal principles of Pashtuns (Pashtunwali) to the young generation. The structure of *Masharaan* and *Kasharaan* is deeply ingrained in the Pashtun family system that endures from generation to generation. Pashtun women are very much concerned about their customs and feel proud of practicing those traditions. They show great admiration towards their value system. Among Pashtuns, kinship ties have been defined as part and parcel of Pashtunwali. Most of the respondents recognized their Pashtun culture as equated with their ultimate soul or existence. Some of them even shared that:

Thal Ba Pa Laara Da Mairrano Sara Zam

Yama Pukhtun Da Pukhtano Sara Zam,

Wai Aghyar Che Da Dozakh Jaba Da

Za Ba Jannat Ta Da Pukhto Sara Zam.

(Translation)

Forever I shall go with the valiant

For, I'm a Pashtun, and with Pashtuns, I go,

That the rivals name as the tongue of Hell

To Paradise, with Pashto, I (will), go.

Noticeably, the current research has disclosed the endowment of Pashtun women (especially mothers, grandmothers, and mothers-in-law) in preserving, sustaining, and transmitting the Pashtun value system towards the young generation (daughters). Pashtun women acknowledged and identified the importance of the *mouranai jabah* (mother language) Pashto language (an agent and custodian of transmitting Pashtunwali) in the interpretation and dissemination of cultural practices, identities, viewpoints, and everyday life experiences from one generation to another. Unconditionally, Pashtun women (especially mothers) have a significant role in the creation and promotion of Pashtun culture through folklores, proverbs, songs, dress code, arts, literature, and by cooking traditional cuisine, etc.

In Pashtun culture, notions of honor, dignity, and shame are described as driving fuel behind all cultural values and structures. However, young Pashtun women also critically evaluated Pashtunwali and its core parameters, particularly the *Jirga* (council) system and the concept of *badal* (revenge). Young and educated Pashtun women are found to be more independent in their expression and decision-making nowadays. Some of my educated young respondents shared their stance that they were quite mindful about the role of Pashtun women in major decision-making processes such as the *Jirga* system. Elder Pashtun women highlighted that Pashtuns are *ghairatmand* –mind their words and commitments and never compromise on the basic principles. They emphasized that it is necessary to reconsider and revisit social heritage to better reflect on the changing notions and demands of the contemporary age.

Holistically, the study reflected the perspective of Pashtun women that they were appreciative and insightful about the meaning, history, and cultural composition of Pashtunwali and their identity but at the same time, they were not benighted about the contemporary emerging challenges that have been faced by traditional Pashtun culture. Although Pashtun women were observant of modern trends and lifestyles, they were suspicious and mindful about the emerging patterns or agents of socialization such as modern ICTs, media, social interacting sites, etc. in terms of their usage and impact on learning skills and cultural orientation of their children.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

Deliberately, it is very important to critically evaluate the limitations of the study as it provides constructive and inferential recommendations for researchers and readers to conduct and structure their future research in a meaningful way. Limitations of the study generate seedlings in the desired area of research that turned into fruitful endeavors. Primarily, the first limitation of the study is its narrow scope as the study was conducted in selected three districts of KPK, but this kind of research needs to be carried out on the national level. Another limitation of the study in terms of data collection method, IDIs were adopted to explore the desired subject of intergenerational relations among Pashtun women but other data collection methods such as life histories, FGDs, and mixed-method research (MMR) with strong triangulations will provide the insightful results about cross-generational analysis. Furthermore, intragenerational studies can provide another dimension in the subject of sociology of generation as present research has focused only on the perspective of intergenerational relations among Pashtun women.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Evidently, traditional and indigenous societies are encountering multiple challenges in the face of emerging modern technological advancements, trends, lifestyles, intellectual models, and patterns, etc. My study was cross-sectional in nature. I would suggest having a longitudinal study on the topic to have a deeper insight into inter and intra generational relationships in other regions of Pakistan and their cultural context. Furthermore, I would also suggest studying the stance of young generation with respect to the challenges faced by them due to ICTs in modern age for adapting the parameters of Pashtunwali in detail.

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APPENDICES

Interview Guide

International Islamic University Islamabad

Department of Sociology

Research Topic:

Generational Relations and Transmission of Pashtunwali among Pashtun women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Section A: Socio-economic Characteristics

1. Name (Optional)_____
2. Age& Place of Birth_____
3. Educational Attainment (In years) _____
4. Marital Status_____
5. Categories of Pashtun Women (Social Status)
 - a. Daughter
 - b. Mother
 - c. Daughter-in-law
 - d. Mother-in-law
 - e. Granddaughter
 - f. Grandmother
6. No. of Children_____ No. of Siblings_____
7. Family Structure_____
8. Monthly Family Income_____
9. Profession_____

Section B: Questions related to Pashtunwali

10. How would you define Pashtunwali?
11. How would you identify yourself as a Pashtun woman?
12. What are the defining characteristics of Pashtunwali?
13. Why is the jirga system important among Pashtuns? (your experience of Jirqa if any. Do you think the system influences both women and men? In what ways?)
14. Would you like to explain the concept of Hujra? Please give relevant examples.
15. Would you like to define the concept of “Ghairatmand”? Please give examples.
16. What is the meaning of “Tarborwali” to you? Please give examples.

Section C: Question-related to Pashto Language

17. Can you name any of your favorite Pashto Poets? Share some of his/her poetry. Explain why you like them?
18. Can you share some Pashtu proverbs? Please explain what you think about them?
19. Would you like to mention some Pashtu proverbs about the basic characteristics of Pashtunwali?

20. Would you like to mention some folktales about the basic characteristics of Pashtunwali?

Section D: Questions related to Generation

21. Kindly reflect on your early life experiences including your socialization. Please share examples.

22. Whom do you idealize in your ancestry and why? Please explain.

23. Would you like to share your experience of living with your ideal person?

24. Are there any particular traits in her/his personality that you think have been transferred to you?

25. How do you feel about the choices you made in school, career, spouse?

26. Do you think modern technology such as Information Communication and Technology (ICTs) have impacted the relationship among different generations? If Yes, How?

27. Do you feel that the concept of “Purdah” is getting a new definition among young Pashtun women than the older ones?

Section E: Questions related to Relationships

28. How would you define the concept of family?

29. Would you like to share any memory of your childhood relating to your family?

30. What did you find most rewarding about being a daughter/mother?

31. How would you define the nature of your relationship with your daughter, mother, mother-in-law, Granddaughter & Grandparent?

32. Do you remember any childhood bedtime story or rhyme?

33. Do you remember hearing your grandparents describe their lives? What did they say?

34. Do you remember your family discussing world events and politics?

35. Do you remember anything your children did when they were small that amazed you?