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Research Article

A Reflection of Culture of Equality and Inequality: Body, Security and the Issue of Survival for Pakhtun Woman in Pakhtunwali

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Abstract. The article seeks to expand the realm of Pakhtun woman, her manifested position and awakens fresh possibilities with regard to the explanation of the outside forces towards women in *Pakhtunwali*. It presents an analysis, where the phrase ‘the outsider is personal’ is used for a reflection of culture of equality and inequality of Pakhtun women in the context of *Pakhtunwali*. In the basic principles of *Pakhtunwali*, it explores the Pakhtun woman, her body, security and the issue of survival as a personal identity. How Pakhtun women express her personal self-definition and how woman conceives herself as having relations to the outside forces? Why and how the outsider is the source of power and social control in the gender hierarchy of *Pakhtunwali*? To understand the manifestation of Pakhtun woman, this article also explores the concept of ‘a taboo of protection’ by examining how a woman’s identity is symbolized by her nature, which encompasses her body, mind, and gender, while critically analyzing the cultural interpretations that shape these elements.

Keywords: *Pakhtunwali*; Gender; Body; Security; and Personal Self-Definition.

INTRODUCTION

There exists a plethora of literature on women in *Pakhtunwali*, the patriarchy of Pakhtun society, but a reflection of cultural of equality and inequality remains a neglected subject. The relevant sources pertain to Pakhto and 'do Pakhto,' the Pakhtun social structure, social orders, hierarchies, and gender orientation as well as ethnic and cultural identity. This article seeks to provide glimpses of the origin and evolution of *Pakhtunwali*, its elements and gender orientation in Pakhtuns society. Analytically, to understand the Pakhtuns social structure, different sources were searched, visited and studied. Various studies produced by scholars on *Pakhtunwali*, Pakhtuns social norms and values as a basic principles of Pakhtun have also been consulted. Very few works explained the body, security and the questions of survival of the Pakhtuns especially on Pakhtun women. These works only dealt with the *Pakhtunwali* and the position and status of Pakhtuns women which required more than a cursory glance. Albeit, some works help to understand the patriarchy, ideological construct, cultural self-reflection, and gender segregation, binary thinking and practice as well as women's circle or network, performance, experience, personal self-definition, personal identity and the moral foundation of *Pakhtunwali*. However, the manifestation of Pakhtun women in terms of patriarch values and gender categories have not been explored systematically. This article is an attempt to analyze such gaps and to discover new empirical facts, new interpretation, and new way of integration and unmasking fallacies of the women in *Pakhtunwali* within the framework of body, a taboo of protection and gender analysis of choice and voice.

This article is about the manifestation of women in *Pakhtunwali*, a code of life to describe both gender categories and the forms of Patriarchy. For collection of data, qualitative research methods are used to find the orientation of Pakhtun woman, her gender identity, expression/role and sexual orientation and her representation in patriarchy. These facts are analyzed from books, research journals, articles and sociological and anthropological works on the makeup of the Pakhtuns women in *Pakhtunwali* and Pakhtun society. Similarly, the article is informed by a feminist critique, and first consider theoretical and comparative analysis with respect to women in patriarchy and gender categories. Secondly, it focus on the manifestation of women in *Pakhtunwali*, while showing the patriarchal social structure and gender categories which analyze not only the status of woman but even her being. Therefore, in trying to seek and explore the manifestation of Pakhtun women in *Pakhtunwali*, this article is analytically oriented towards the phrase 'the outsider is personal' as mythological tool to understand a reflection of culture of equality and inequality of Pakhtun woman in the context of *Pakhtunwali*. However, this article does not take into view any prognostication or predicting angles that bear resemblance to Pakhtun women's future. In contrast to the futurologists, whose role is to foresee trends, to make predictions, and to interpret from existing knowledge and practices into a future that still resembles the present, this article is more interested in clearing a conceptual space such that an indeterminable future that is open to Pakhtun women.

Historical Evolution of Pakhtunwali: Gender categories and Patriarchy

For the purpose of this study, *Pakhtunwali* is defined as “a way of the Pakhtuns; naturally, it is unwritten and quasi-legal; practically, it is gender-segregated and patriarchal; and structurally, it is ethical, social, tribal, and stateless as well as generally, it is the code of life and the code of the hills.” *Pakhtunwali* is the Pakhtun¹ way of life and traditional customary law. On other words, as uniform controlling principles, Pakhtun, and Pakhto² have mixed up with thought and action, the determination to uphold the nature of character and discipline and the rules embodied all of the characteristics, individual or collective desire, and activities relating to gender functions. Its unwritten nature, part-fiction and part-reality has witnessed that speaking Pakhto is not considered as Pakhtun but ‘doing Pakhto’³ and following its rules is called Pakhtun.⁴ Nevertheless, at the back of it, there were no legal sanctions, rather *Pakhtunwali* was profoundly entrenched in Pakhtun’s social structure in varying degrees.⁵

¹The term ‘Pakhto’ presents a paradox in both practice and structure, as it embodies not just language but the concept of ‘Pakhtunwali,’ a deeply rooted cultural ethos. Its foundations stretch across millennia, with historical texts, including Khushal Khan Khattak’s work, reflecting its use in both thought and action, while women’s oral traditions further enrich its legacy. The semiotics of ‘Pakhto’ are embedded in each letter, revealing complex socio-cultural, historical, and philosophical dimensions. Euro-centric, Indo-Aryan, Persian, and Colonial Indian discourses, along with the historiography of the term, make its academic redefinition a challenging but essential task. Therefore, Pakhto is the attribute and quality that is considered necessary for every Pakhtun. Pakhtun, (and/or Pashtun, Pukhtun, Pathan and Afghan) are an ethnolinguistic group in North-West of Pakistan and southern Afghanistan who not only speak Pakhto as distinguish language and do Pakhto (or *Pakhtunwali*) but also maintain their lineage and genealogy. For more detail see Akbar S. Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1976); Mian Syed Rasool Rasa, *Armaghan-e-Khushal*, 3rd ed. (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2009), 21-35 and 146. Amina Ahmed, *Sorrow and Joy among Muslim women: The Pukhtuns of Northern Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3; Sayyid Jamal al-Din Afghani, *Tareekh Afghanistan*, trans., Movli Mahmood Ali Khan (Mandi Bahaiddin: Sufi Printing and Publishing Company, n.d.), 20-26; Asar Jan, *Da Pukhtano Nasle Serrana* (Peshawar: Jadoon Press, 2012), 17-53; Rajwali Shah Khattak, *Pashtunwali* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 2008) 5-8; and Saadullah Jan Barq, *Pashtun Aur Nasaliyat HinduKash* (Lahore: Sanjh Publications, 2018), 21-26 and 471-475.

² Rajwali Shah Khattak, *Pashtunwali*, 5. Pakhto is not only a language but also the name of a particular lifestyle. The Pakhtun nation has existed since Pakhto. Pakhtun is also a nation and a standard of character. These lifestyles, characters, and nationalities are considered to be the basic component of a unique civilization, called *Pakhtunwali*. Also see Muhammad Nawaz Tahir, *Largoni Fikroona* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 2015), 20-21 and 64-66; Jan, *Da Pukhtano Nasle Serrana*. 17-25.

³ Dipl. -Dolmetscherin Elke Limberger-Kastsumi, trans., *Analyse der Staatendokumentation: AfPak Principals of the tribal & clan structure* (n.p. The Austrian federal Office for Immigration and Asylum, 2017), 10-27. ‘Do Pakhto’ denotes *Pakhtunwali* and to guide one’s values and behavior which is based on the rules that Pakhtun would neither dishonor oneself nor others. See Lutz Rzehak, “Doing Pashto: *Pashtunwali* as the Ideal of Honorable Behaviour and Tribal Life among the Pashtuns,” *Afghanistan Analysts Network*, no. 1 (March 2011): 9.

⁴ Lutz Rzehak, “Doing Pashto,” 9.

⁵ Tom Ginsburg, “An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (April 15, 2011): 9; Limberger-Kastsumi, trans., *Analyse der Staatendokumentation*, 27-35; and Qabil Khan, *The Tappah: Reflection of Pakhtoon Culture in Pashto Folklore* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 2008).

In historical parlance, it is believed that the tribal code (nomadic way of life), Pakhto *Tappah* (women genre) were the old Aryan code of honor and Sanskrit hymns,⁶ and resemble the Mediterranean, the Middle East, East Africa, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Philippines.⁷ Others traced that in the 5th century, the Central Asian immigrants (the inhabitants of Sakas, Kushans, Huns, and Gujjars, etc.) evolved the process of *Pakhtunwali* indigenously.⁸ However, the resembled habits, dwelling, and material things of many foreign strains have depicted the *Pakhtunwali* in terms of mixed race.⁹ It is also assumed that the cultural and psychological make-up of *Pakhtunwali* have evolved by the 2nd millennium C.E. (or five thousand years ago)¹⁰ and both Pakhto and 'do Pakhto' has been considered the ideal for Pakhtuns as an ethnic identity-maker.¹¹ Unlike the dominant discourse, due to its tribal order, for Pakhtuns, ethnic identity was very important than religious, national, and even cultural identity, therefore, both in theory and practice, Pakhtuns always relied on local autonomous laws.¹²

On the eve of Islam, *Pakhtunwali* has maintained its social order independently and established its social structure and tribal government 'Afghan'¹³ i.e. 'hill tribe' (regions of Central Asia to South Asia) which later (in the 12th century) became the base for the Ghori Polity.¹⁴ Later in the 15th and 16th centuries, the revivalism of the

⁶ Dr. Qabil Khan, *The Tappah: Reflection of Pakhtoon Culture in Pashto Folklore* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 2008), 8-10; Khattak, *Pashtunwali*, 5-6.

⁷ Rzehak, "Doing Pashto," 5. A Russian writer, I. M. Reysner argues that from the Marxist perspective, Pakhtun nomadic tribes were settled between 14th and 17th centuries.

⁸ Limberger-Kastsumi, trans., *Analyse der Staatendokumentenatation*, 41.

⁹ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007), 5-6.

¹⁰ Salma Shaheen, *Peshawar Shehr awr Riwayat* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 2007), 95.

¹¹ Tariq Rahman, "Pashto Language and Identity-Formation in Pakistan," *Khyber.ORG* (July 1995): 4-5.

¹² Ellen Harding, "Mobilizing Identity in the Pashtun Tribal Belt," *Small Wars Journal* (2010): 3.

¹³ Barq, *Pashtun Aur Nasaliyat HinduKash*, 476-480. There are many names, like Kashi, Rohi, Suleimani and etc. has used for Pakhtun, however, in all of them, Afghan is a name that has been appearing a lot not only in languages but also in writing. And especially in Arabic and Persian literature, Pakhtun has always been called Afghan. Pakhtuns themselves like to call Afghan or Afghani and whenever there was an opportunity to write nationality, Pakhtuns used to call themselves Afghans. Since a well-known name has been given the name of Afghanistan for the same reason. Therefore, Afghans are considered as an alternative to Pakhtuns. Although this not the case, the meaning of these two words, Pakhtun and Afghan is completely different. Thus no one add anyone else to the word Pakhtun, only Pakhto and do Pakhto are called Pakhtuns. In short, Afghans are ethnically and linguistically a Pakhtuns but this name is not an expression of any tribe or individual or language rather it has the meaning of living in a region and in a particular land and it still has the same meaning.

¹⁴ Limberger-Kastsumi, trans., *Analyse der Staatendokumentenatation*, 30-31 and 41-42. Ghori Polity is consider the first Pakhtun state which was break down and corrupted by the Mongols around the 13th century; Robert Nichols, *A History of Pakhtun Migration, 1775-2006* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25-27. In the 11th century, Pakhtuns joined the army of Mahmud Ghazni into India in order to obligate the Islamic justices and settled as a landed rulers. The custom of melmastiya allowed Mahmud to accompany them. As military service Pakhtuns helped Mahmud for the purpose to establish the Islamic order in India. The tribal order and kinship structure of the Pakhtuns has recruited about 14000 horseman and 14000 footman from Afghan tribes. Similarly, majority of Pakhtun

Pakhtun nationalism led them to the feudal stage (overlapping the slavery stage but even feudalism was not common to all Pakhtun regions) through the basis of *sialy* (equality). The class formation was not the ideal form for all Pakhtuns.¹⁵ This transition goes along with violent conflicts and severe confrontations, however, “nor is Pakhtun society in a state of perpetual anarchy and war”.¹⁶ However, in post 16th century, the region had experienced the imperial outpost, modernity and new political hierarchy: a different historical events and relationships shaped the societal structure i.e. urbanization, socio-economic reforms, new law of codes, a *Khani* elite and reinforced traditional practices¹⁷ through regular administration, and revenue and what the British called the ‘Settled Areas’ and ‘Tribal Areas’.¹⁸

In such transformation, Pakhtun society characterized as ‘patrilineal pedigrees’ whereupon societal structure was rooted in egalitarian nature. For others the structure was subject to kingship order, where ethnic Pakhtuns were ‘acephalous’ in nature and govern on a segmentary lineage system. In this structure, equality is according to the love of freedom, as Pakhto proverb rightly expresses that “every Pakhtun’s man is a *Malik*”.¹⁹ In both narratives, it showed that though egalitarian nature is explicit in theory, in reality, that structure is by caste-like divisions in which marriages were used for social order through the lenses of relations, honor-shame complex, and interaction. Hence, most marriages were either endogamous and virilocal where women were considered an important ‘source of connection’²⁰ or the institution of marriage was based on ‘social contract’ or animosity to settle the difference in family, tribes.²¹ However, *nang* and *qalang* re-shaped some of the Pakhtuns social patterns and relations, therefore by geography, certain theories delineate Pakhtuns into two large groups i.e. *nang* and *qalang*. The *nang* (honor-bound) represents ‘highland Pakhtuns’ who mostly belong to mountain areas while the *qalang* (rent-paying) represents ‘lowland Pakhtuns’ who mostly lived in the fertile regions.²² Generally, the inhabitants of mountains are very tough, and agriculturally poor. The structure of this society (*nang*) is both ‘segmentary and acephalous’ wherein *Pakhtunwali* and its codes are traditionally a dominant force among its subjects. On the other hand, the lowland Pakhtuns are agriculturally dominant in both land and market surplus. The structure of this society (*qalang*) is both

women also joined these forces as tradition to settle and stay there as a permanent occupation of territory.

¹⁵ Limberger-Kastsumi, trans., *Analyse der Staatendokumentenatation*, 42.

¹⁶ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1976), 6.

¹⁷ Nichols, *Setting the Frontier*, xxii-xxi.

¹⁸ Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*, 6-7. For more details also see Akbar S. Ahmad, *Pakhtun Economy and Society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in Tribal Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); and David M. Hart, ed., *Islam in Tribal Societies: From the Atlas to the Indus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).

¹⁹ Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*, 46-48.

²⁰ Amineh Ahmed, *Sorrow and Joy among Muslim Women: The Pukhtuns of Northern Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5-10.

²¹ Hanif Khalil, *Genius Khushal: Life, Works and Thoughts* (Peshawar: Pashto Adabi Tolana, 2021), 22-23.

²² Shukla, “The Pashtun Tribal Identity and Codes,” 46.

'hierarchical and asymmetrical' in which the social patterns of Pakhtuns are less dependent on *Pakhtunwali* and tribal economy. In addition, they are rely more on 'patron-client relations'.²³ However, the aforementioned structure such as egalitarian in nature, love of freedom, *nang* and *qalang* have shown that it was the nature of family which determined the values and norms of Pakhtuns society. Hence, in patriarchy, it is family which becomes the mediating and forming patriarchal power between individuals and social structure. In kinship order, family maintained the patriarchal power-structure as a whole, where every individual socialized through gender or sex category.²⁴

In this paradigm, in Pakhtuns regions, most of the family structures are joint, patriarchal, and patrilineal. In these setups, the whole affairs of the family are male-dominated and is operationalized as a security mechanism for its subjects, and its provision for women are defined and established. Hence, three forms of family can be identified: extended, joint, and nuclear, however, majority of the population lives under extended patriarchal families.²⁵ Within this model, gender relations and patterns are glaringly defined by men as 'patriarch values' and dubbed as the 'category of classic patriarchy'.²⁶ In her article "Bargaining with Patriarchy," for Deniz Kandiyoti, the structure of this category was determined by patrilocal extended household i.e. to reproduce peasantry through agriculture and to represent power culture by patriarchal extended family. It can also provide systematic controls to state and binds the transformation from 'kin-based to tributary modes of surplus control'²⁷. Such a process was also called a 'patriarchal bargain' and in this bargain, women were constrained by societies as a 'distinct gender ideology'²⁸. This bargain was not timeless but easily influenced by historical transformations i.e. re-shaping the gender relations. However, in this pattern, women are unprivileged in many ways. First, extended households not only deprive women of their father's patrimony but even their claims in their husbands' patriline can only be possible through the birth of a male child.²⁹ Secondly, along with men's interests, in classic patriarchy, senior women (mother-in-law) subordinate every aspect of young girls' lives through women's life cycle. Therefore, under such a cycle, a young bride utilized her power over her subservient daughters-in-law in the same manner as she inherit and experience the same pattern of hardships and subordination of senior women. Hence, under classic patriarchy, the power structure of extended households has been structured by women themselves through the internalization of patriarchy by the cyclical nature of

²³ David B. Edwards, "Learning from the Swat Pathans: Political Leadership in Afghanistan, 1978-97," *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 4 (November 1998): 714. See also Shukla, "The Pashtun Tribal Identity and Codes," 46.

²⁴ Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 33-35.

²⁵ Humaira Nosheen, "Impact of Changing Women Status on Pakhtun Society," (PhD diss., University of Peshawar, n.d), 87 and 146.

²⁶ Naila Aman, et al., "Self-Aggrandizement and Squeezed Social Space for Women in Pakhtun Society," *International Journal Pukhtunkhwa Journal* 5 (June 2020): 2.

²⁷ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender and Society* 2, no. 3 (September 1988): 278.

²⁸ Ibid., 275-79.

²⁹ Ibid.

women's power,³⁰ or as incoming wives, its women who preserved the patrilineal lineage of honor and positions in their husbands' house.³¹

The preceding discourse elucidates that Pakhto and 'do Pakhto' are the cultural self-reflection of Pakhtuns where every individual lives in terms of equality and autonomy and the kin or family forms a society of hierarchy i.e. kinship, tradition and egalitarian order. This hierarchical social order is basically an attempt to practice the order of equality, where the hierarchy of authority or leadership is segmented in terms of localized autonomy, and where the hierarchy of gender is institutionalized both in terms of gender categories and patriarchy. Hence, 'equality and autonomy' are a basic fundamental principle of *Pakhtunwali*. Both men and women exercise their authority and power according to these norms and values. However, it is considered that in *Pakhtunwali*, gender authority is measured in terms of autonomy and segregation where gender dichotomy is structured as man atomized society,³² as believed that "personality structure in terms of sexual category".³³

It can be noted that gender binary thinking and practice rest chiefly on self, family, kinship, and tribe, which means that reputation has developed public and private restrictions for every Pakhtun individual in *Pakhtunwali*. It is reputation which identified the security as a sexual objectification of Pakhtun women. In this sense, even an exchange of words, smile, and diffidence towards men are considered as symbols of immorality or rape for women but it also creates a fear of security too. For woman, every act and every thought symbolizes a genuine fear of honor and respect. She lives in the complex relationships of power and sexuality. Consequently, the code of honor is either a driving force in the direction of emotion, decision and structure or adhered to the social expectations via security and seclusion. As Grima rightly said in her work that it is both frustration and misery for every woman to change the power structure of honor and security of *Pakhtunwali*. Because there is issue of survival which needs a psychological transformation of the entire Pakhtun culture i.e. the honor code and behavior role assigned to every individual female as a security mechanism.³⁴

However, to legitimize such structure and rules, *Pakhtunwali* has operated as ideological construct by which it governs the moral foundation of every individual as a tribal charter and personal autonomy i.e. "acephalous patrilineal segmentary system".³⁵ In *Pakhtunwali*, honor and reputation was nothing more than a balanced approach among men rather than women. Men autonomy define the code of conduct as a political interest for genealogical segment (lineage).³⁶ It is patriarchy which has constructed gender roles and expressions. For Instance, in Peshawar valley, Pakhtun

³⁰ Ibid., 278-79.

³¹ Khalil, *Genius Khushal*, 22.

³² Joseph A. Tainter, "Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Linage Organization, Understanding and Working within Pashtun society," *MacGregor-Bates, Inc.* (August 3, 2011).

³³ Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 29.

³⁴ Benedicte Grima, *Secrets from the Field: An Ethnographer's Notes from Northwest Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 42-48.

³⁵ Tainter, "Pashtun Social Structure." 6[?]

³⁶ Ibid.

men do not even allow their women to visit a house “where there was no man to control male activity and movement, and where the potential for meeting men existed”.³⁷

‘The Outsider is Personal’³⁸: A Gender Analysis of Choice and Voice

To analyze the dichotomy between body and security, this article employs the phrase “the outsider is personal” to elucidate the meanings and representations of survival in greater detail, thereby contributing to the ongoing discourse surrounding these critical issues. The phrase ‘the outsider is personal’ express a number of meanings and highlights how Pakhtun woman expresses her personal self-definition and how woman conceives herself as having relations with the outside forces in Peshawar valley? Why and how the outsider is the source of power and social control in the gender hierarchy of *Pakhtunwali*? To answer these questions, an appropriate framework is needed to understand who the outsider forces are for women and how women themselves describe their feelings, emotions and response to such forces.

The existing literature and ethnographic studies show that in *Pakhtunwali*, it is considered that individual identity is nothing but defined by social concepts. Personal identity is nothing when individual is performed and conceived oneself as having a relations to social roles and gender norms. For instance, in *gham-khadi*, Pakhtun woman expresses her personal self-definition and personal identity within the context of social relations. It is marriage which identifies a woman’s social identity in both woman circle and *Pakhtunwali*. And it is family which constructs a complex social pattern where she maintains the power structure of kinship, loyalties and reciprocal relationships.³⁹ In the security mechanism, the existence of women is identified as the notion of respect for Pakhtuns. By saying ‘*khore mor na lare*’ (have you no mother and sister) an angry emotion is expressed. This maxim has shown that man must respect other women if he is with his own womenfolk. This respect is described as home which determines one’s security, modesty, fear and gender relations. Therefore, orphans, and bachelors are considered the most feared members of society because they live without the domain of gender relations and home.⁴⁰ In rural areas, the nature of gender is established in the way that women needs a child as mediator between woman and vendor or stranger.⁴¹ This is basically the fear of embarrassment,

³⁷ Benedicte Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women: The Misfortune which have Befallen Me* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 48.

³⁸ This phrase is entirely mine and it is used to analyze the meaning and representation of Pakhtun woman in the context of her personal self-definition, personal identity, choice and voice. It is used as a methodological tool in order to understand a Pakhtun woman and her relation and interaction with gender norms and roles in both public and private sphere. Here, ‘the outsider’ indicates both these sphere where she performs her expectations and experiences.

³⁹ Amineh Ahmad, “Death and Celebration among Muslim Women: A Case Study from Pakistan,” *Modern Asian Studies* 39, no. 40 (2005): 943 and 929-31. Albeit, in anthropological accounts, they either represent the structure of *Pakhtunwali* as masculine or portray *gham-khadi* network as feminine category. However, as a segregated zones, *Gham-khadi* is a female agency for Pakhtun women. Its nature is both local and transregional. Hence, elite (*Bibiane*) has maintained both inter and intra-family relationships.

⁴⁰ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 36.

⁴¹ Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 57.

and this fear is very low in intensity for older woman whenever she interacts with a stranger. She also handles a male guest both inside and outside home.⁴² To survive in the public place, to avoid harassment, Pakhtun women must be authoritative and cunning.⁴³

In *Pakhtunwali*, for every individual, social norms and traditions have prioritized a choice and desire. Sexual desire for Pakhtun women is constructed within culture. To marry with a man is the desire of every girl and by parents' choice is her obligation. However, Pakhtun women always give priority to the choice of obligations rather than to their own desire. It is a code of life which has constructed these obligations via *Pakhtunwali*. Hence, in such prioritizing, Pakhtun women live in the imposed setup of obligations and its rigid structure.⁴⁴ However, the choice is either limited or there is no choice left for women in the power structure of society and especially in marriage decision, if not in marriage ceremonies. This social dichotomy has established a gender relation without a choice and consent i.e. early childhood marriages. There is the question of compromise for both sexes, however, the values of such compromise is extreme for women especially in the Pakhtun society. The nature of such compromise is nothing more than male-centric honor.

Patriarchy has categorized masculine and feminine expression, their gender boundaries, and choice and even gender desire. Women live within the structure of patriarchy and *Pakhtunwali* i.e. as a mother, sister, daughter, and wife as well as virgin, married, widow and her relations with in-laws, family. These manifested position are designed within the framework of authority, reputation, honor and power. Pakhtun woman live with honor, and reputation of herself, family, kin and identity. Gender categories have established the dichotomy of gender, where women perform her desire and choice in the defined social order. Pakhtun woman expresses her voice only with the choice of other. So it is 'the outsider' who controls and manages her voice, expression, and the way of life i.e. the complex structure of *Pakhtunwali*. It illustrates that the intensity of compromise that has shaped a woman is nothing more than to rule and govern by the outsider i.e. patriarchy or male dominant society. The nature of woman in such a society is structured in honor where parents "slaughter their daughters in the name of *ghairat*"⁴⁵

In the existing literature, Pakhtun woman has identified herself within the story; a story of choice and a story of desire where individual life, body, gender, and conscious was measured by one's social relation, social pattern as well as a sexual desire and ethics. In these stories, Pakhtun woman's identity, expression and sexual orientation is structured in *Pakhtunwali* where her role, act and value are defined. Under *Pakhtunwali*, a woman's choices and desires are determined by emotional rituals, behaviour, taboo, and security paradigms as well. In 'the outsider is personal' framework, it is the outsider who has shaped Pakhtun woman body and nature within the complex structure of emotion and behaviour. It is the outsider who has expressed

⁴² Ibid., 84-85.

⁴³ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁴ Zaitoon Bano, *Da Shago Mazal* (Peshawar: Mahkamah-i-Saqafat, 2015), 176-87.

⁴⁵ Naseebullah Seemab and Imran Naeem, "Contribution of Zaitoon Bano for raising voice of a Pashtoon Women," *TAKATOO* 2 (2010): 21; Bano, *Da Shago Mazal*, 188-203.

woman identity and gender as ignorant, powerless, and sexualized. It is the outsider who has identified female ethics and social order both within segregated and non-segregated public and private space.⁴⁶

In the same synoptic paradigm, gender categories and its function was symbolized and constructed in the dichotomy of sex. It is sex which define one's gender and it is the body which construct one's behaviour. Therefore, it is behaviour which develop a complex structure of values and rules. And it is sex which symbolized the notion of segregation, and the nature of sex itself. Hence, sex roles also describe that segregation into two social worlds. The woman's world is marked as a private place where she performs her work within a domestic and limited internal purpose. While public place is described as a man's social world. This segregation not only established a distinct social relation and social pattern but also developed different authority via gender hierarchy and gender dichotomy.⁴⁷ In this process, both sexes (and other variants) have to follow their gender categories and to maintain the social norms and their functions, acts, complexities, obligations and power structure. In this context, in *Pakhtunwali*, genital structure expresses one's identity, role and sexual orientation. It is sex which construct the individual and collective conscious and psychological state. This state has built hierarchies; a hierarchy of gender, power, choice and hierarchy of desire. Thus, body and its genital structure has identified one's functions and power. Both men and women live in the complexity of emotions and behaviour. However, enslavement to species has made a woman drive according to collective norms i.e. to give birth, and a desire of male child, to compromise for social expectation, desire and behaviour. As said by Bano that the expression of such emotion in man is not the most disgusting and repulsive, but he is "monstrous in real?"⁴⁸

The above discussions show that the power of choice does not determine the power of voice for Pakhtun women both as individual and/or as agency in *Pakhtunwali*. It is culture which reflects that women are dominated by men and their thoughts and actions are constrained by social restrictions and societal norms. The voice of women are the silent language of grief and the sign of voiceless.⁴⁹ As a widow, for instance, Pakhtun woman internalizes the nature of choice and desire from the

⁴⁶ Bano, *Da Shago Mazal*, 148-238. Numerous short stories by Bano engage with public discourse surrounding women's genres, examining their positioning within gender categories, as well as themes of bodily autonomy, security, and reproductive sovereignty. Her stories explicit that Pakhtun women is socialized via gender categories. Where genital structure is shaped into gender dichotomy and hierarchies. The personal identity of woman is just to symbolize her existence rather than the essence of body as being. Social custom makes her body to produce a boy or a child for patrilineal descent. Women themselves desire a male child because the second customs is made them ineffective in terms of female-female alliance and even a basic question of their life. Similarly, women are civilized through segregations and socialized via gender relations and patterns.

⁴⁷ Cynthia Nelson, "Public and Private Politics: Women in the Middle Eastern World," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 3 (1974): 552.

⁴⁸ Naeem, "Contribution of Zaitoon Bano for raising voice of a Pashtoon Women," P. 21. Bano, *Da Shago Mazal*, 204-239 and 163-175.

⁴⁹ Bano, *Da Shago Mazal*, 476-491. Women lived in the psychological states in Pakhtun society, despite that they kept such states within the credo Pakhto. Because of Pakhto, they compromise for morals and ethics.

structure where she learns and practices her emotional rituals i.e. joy and sorrow. Gender specific experiences have shown that a widow life implies to traditional, sexual and psychological states. Woman's state, socialization, and her feelings determines that a widow choice was not individual but was constrained by the outsider i.e. social relationships, experiences and culture.⁵⁰ As according to Kate Bornstein "a choice of binary is not a choice at all, but rather the opportunity to subscribe to the value system which holds the two presented choices as mutually exclusive alternatives".⁵¹

In *Pakhtunwali*, the structure of gender segregation has developed the relationship and interaction of women only to legitimize social mobility. For it, emotional behaviour has legitimized 'the visiting' among Pakhtuns women only to *gham-khadi* network i.e. the closed circle of the immediate family compound. Such events are limited to performance of obligations which is measured via social status, reputation, and authority as well as political and kinship influence. Politically, among the elite of the Peshawar valley, *gham-khadi* occasions and visits are more influential than public speeches. Political campaigns are rested on visiting and in such mobility the availability of Pakhtun woman is crucial and important, first to share emotional experiences and secondly bond to a kinship tie. It becomes difficult for women if they are excluded from this institution, therefore, the choices of Pakhtun women are only limited to the desire of more visiting rights i.e. granted by male family members, husband and/or in-laws.⁵² Hence, *gham-khadi* network is a Pakhtuns emotion ritual and social practice which is based on events and visits. Like other societies (Middle East), among the Pakhtuns, a visit is defined by social relationships if not oriented as individual choice. So these relations are governed via men or kinship ideology rather than primary women oriented. Social relations and interactions of Pakhtun women are constrained by segregation, thus except from some of the elite, visits for women are very limited.⁵³

At ceremonies, women visits and performance is a reflection of reputation-building framework. This complex structure of women circle and its ceremonial context also shows the dichotomy of voice and the power of authority. In *gham-khadi*, Pakhtun woman performs only according to ceremonial context of kin, political canvassing as well as household activities. She must follow the accepted procedures and the ceremonial context i.e. how to behave and how to present oneself, where it is needed. To perform such acts, it is action which has judged a woman's behaviour and morality. Honor is considered the basic behaviour for them which is described as social and psychological states. And such states are expressed by Pakhtun women as

⁵⁰ Ibid., 148-58.

⁵¹ Kate Bornstein, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women and the Rest of Us* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 101.

⁵² Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 43-45; Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 929-32. Traditionally among Pakhtun women, *gham-khadi* network is perceived as women's work. The elite Bibiane of Mardan (and Swat) who lived in Islamabad have performed *gham-khadi* in their natal villages as a transregional observance, interaction and an outdoor excursion as well. Ahmad assert that via *gham-khadi*, elite women (*Bibiane*) has performed the elements of Pakhtunwali i.e. hospitality, revenge and kinship rivalry.

⁵³ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 41.

"*khpal ezat pa khpal las ke de* i.e. one's own honor is in one's own hands".⁵⁴ Hence, the theme emerged from the above discussion is that honor is the central feature of women mobility in the Peshawar valley where every act of woman is performed with an appropriate action and where every woman seeks to maintain her (or family) position as her own reputation on the one hand and female rivalry i.e. hostility, and competition, and the dichotomy of tension on the other hand.⁵⁵ As rightly said by Grima "women's network could be powerful without male intervention".⁵⁶ It is a woman who has preserved the tales and culture of Pakhtuns.⁵⁷

Unlike the universality of sisterhood for feminists, the notion of alliances is not homogenous but flexible in *Pakhtunwali*. In women's circle, a diverse socio-economic, and cultural experiences have pushed every woman into a relationship, and they do not have any choice and desire. On the contrary, the desire of any woman does not justify the voice of others. These diverse desires are a puzzle and central to all versions of gender categories. In the context of *Pakhtunwali*, every performance has expressed the action of woman which was internalized by socialization. She is trained and socialized both as a protector to the outside world and as guide to the inside performance. She must learn, think and act in the social order according to her own procedure and family. For instance, in extended families, the young couples have learned and internalized the rules and morals of new family or kin. In affinal relations (mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law) women themselves teach a young bride how to perform in *gham-khadi*. Hence, the bond of responsibilities and expectations are symbolized within the social relationships of individual and collective performance i.e. reciprocity and morality. The socio-economic kinship seeks to maintain the value and expectation of reciprocity, visits and public image in terms of specific *riwajoona* (ways/custom). These mutual obligations have created a cycle of competition and tension among Pakhtun women where performance have symbolized as feminine work and women business.⁵⁸ For instance, in *gham-khadi* network, the elite women (*Bibiane*) share reciprocal visiting relationships in local areas, so tightly even without the presence of landlords. As a landed elite, *Bibiane* have attended funerals and wedding ceremonies in their natal villages, where they were kindly received and held by the natives as domestic helpers i.e. the category of villagers or occupational groups under the patronage of the landlord and *Khanan*.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, for a long time the Pakhtun women lived in the way they were portrayed and identified. Every women followed her gender categories with the collaboration of women themselves i.e. genealogies.⁶⁰ It is women who not only train

⁵⁴ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 939-44.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 945.

⁵⁶ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 25.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁸ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 945-952.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 932-34.

⁶⁰ Here, genealogies means the women who has established the order of society by performing and experiencing the patriarch values. Genealogical and generational is basically a method or model where feminists (or skeptics) distinguished themselves from other as a community or agency i.e. the waves of feminism. For a long time, genealogies were portrayed as menacing for feminists because the key aspects of feminist politics are to identify themselves as distinguishing or grow apart from the lives

every young girl on the same line i.e. femininity but also learn a women's cycle of subordination. Unlike the West, genealogies are thought and practiced as collective compromise of Pakhtun women, their identity, and bonds of solidarity within and beyond the segregated zones. They enable the young generation to follow the gratitude of Pakhtun customs and values. In Peshawar valley, the power of voice in *gham-khadi* is also dichotomous. Men are manipulated the inner world more in poorer Pakhtuns than the elite. Unlike poorer women, the elite women (*Bibiane*) are more sovereign enough to exercise in *gham-khadi* relations. The authority of men are more over women in lower social echelons. While such restrictions are flexible for upper social strata, where *Bibiane* are utilized more authority in segregated zones.⁶¹

In addition, in ritual emotion of *gham-khadi*, it is the event which determines sentiments of loss and joy; the recognition and performance of events via celebration and emotional behaviour. Similarly, different events express different emotions but depend on individual and collective thought and words. Word evoke the image of an appropriate emotional behaviour and response in the Pakhtun mind for particular event and with imagined effects. Because "each visit is a coded and expected response to an event".⁶² In these engagements, the elite women prioritize the events and visits of *gham-khadi*. These priorities are basically the choice of women where they re-shape

of their mothers rather than to seek their homogeneity and overlapping battles or issues. There is a lot of trouble for feminists to collaborate with genealogies because either the young children experience the body of their mothers or to appear indistinguishable recognition of the uncertainty of their mother's unsatisfying life. Nevertheless, chronologically, by claiming that feminism was born-again in 1968 (the second wave) when it died in 1920 after the vote was won. Since the subject of the second wave was the only center to histories of feminism from the Seneca Fall convention (1848) to proclamation of self-determination (the 19th amendment in 1920 by gaining the right to vote). However, they did not acknowledge any feminism before 1848 (ignoring the struggle of Mary Wollstonecraft) and between the period of 1920 to late 1960 because of no struggle along with feminism or women's movement. Therefore, the 1960s and 70s feminists not recognizing their identification with their mother's generation whether their distinguish fixation on the credo of "I am not like you" or whether to achieve the failure of what their mother did not. For more detail see Carolyn Kay Steedman, *Landscape for Woman: The Story of Two Lives* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 83-95; Lori J. Marso, "Feminism's Quest for Common Desires." *Perspective on Politics* 8, no. 1 (March 2010), 263-265; Astrid Henry, *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third Wave Feminism* (USA: Indiana University Press, 2004), 63-72.

⁶¹ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 945-952.

⁶² Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 34-43. The word emotion is also use in various term but depends on thinking and feeling. In Pakistan, Pakhtuns mostly applied the term emotion as *jazba* or *jazbati* (Arabic), while among Afghanistan Pakhtuns, they assumed it as *ehsasati* (sensitive, feeling and touchy). Besides, the terms *sargarm* (warm-headed), *hasas* (Arabic word means sensitive) or *be-hessa/gheir-e hasas* (physically without sensation). Similarly, *mena* and *mohabbat* (or *mena-mohabbat*) are also connote the emotion of affection, care and love etc. All these expressed both verbal and physical intimacy between the Pakhtuns whenever they describe and act with each other. Some emotion is described by psychological states due to its determination of hardship and worry. For instance, a word *khapa* is indicates different meaning in Pakhto i.e. angry, sad, dissatisfied, irritable and unhappy etc. In gender context, for women in *Pakhtunwali*, *khapa* describes a situation when a wife leave her husband' home after he beaten her or something else happened. Similarly, *masta* (masculine *mast*) is also determine a psychological state which means excitement and exuberance but depends on different implication. For example, in the honor-shame complex, the word *masta* is used as pejorative for women which connote that immorality, and promiscuous.

the dichotomy of the obligatory nature of coming and going. However, the nature of the choice was limited either because these engagements were both obligatory (a collective norms as serving a social relations) or because the coming and going is commonly acknowledged as tension. The tension of reciprocity, visits and gifts have restrained their choice and burdens by the complexity of give and take rules as *boj* (burden) both social and financial.⁶³ Therefore, as social mobility, the events and visits of *gham-khadi* has determined a Pakhtun woman's lives and their performance, emotion and the way of life within *Pakhtunwali* and Sharia. These emotional rituals are *riwaj* and for this personal visits are compulsory and obligatory. As a segregate public, physical mobility of any woman has judged by her interaction and relationship or her honor and prestige both either as an exchange or reciprocal visits.⁶⁴

A Taboo of Protection: Nature and Nurture (Culture) in the Symbolism of Womanhood

Enslavement to species (the female body and reproductive processes) has led every Pakhtun woman to express her emotions and feelings according to the nature of Pakhtun social structure. The expression of feelings for Pakhtun woman is actually the reflection of culture where she categorized her emotions both as hidden and sanctioned. These emotions are constructed in the moral system of *Pakhtunwali* where honor and modesty is considered as Pakhto. Among Pakhtuns, moral system is very complex and defined. Shame is considered the essence of that morality. In such essence, hardships or *gham* expressed the experience of every woman via her honor and reputation,⁶⁵ and as Beauvoir illustrates that "men make gods and women worship them."⁶⁶ It is men who make a decision about the gender of their supreme divinities but the position of woman in the male-centric society is always the one they designate her while she never imposed her own law.⁶⁷ The most illustrative example is that, it is culture which constructed gender role based on honor and reputation. Within the women sphere, it is Pakhtun women who themselves discouraged other women whenever they rebel against the men-dominated culture and social system. On the contrary, in feminine perspective, emotional rituals are internalized by every young girl and it is *Pakhtunwali* which has constructed a gender dichotomy of joy and sorrow. In the *gham* network, a young girl learns the same emotion and behaviour as practiced by older women. Traditionally, for young a girl *gham* is not obligatory, however, they internalize and practice such emotions and behaviour when they find *gham* personally. Hence, the performance of events develop an appropriate acts, responses and expectations.⁶⁸

Thus, functioning as independent entities, women lost their dignity and even ethnic identity when they violated the norms and roles of *Pakhtunwali* and while

⁶³ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 953-954.

⁶⁴ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 46-47.

⁶⁵ Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 86-87.

⁶⁶ Beauvoir, *the Second Sex*, 111.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 49.

labeled as *dama* and shameful.⁶⁹ The context of honor is applied for *sharm*. Like other tribal societies (Middle Eastern Muslim), in *Pakhtunwali*, the term *sharm* is a sign of modesty, subservience, shame, obedience and unequal status as well. In gender relation, it exhibits *sharm* for men; he either leaves a woman's company both at home if any woman is visiting his home or to turn away his eyes when he faces a stranger woman. While in the presence of men, women exhibit *sharm* by modesty, silence, abstinence from food and talking.⁷⁰ The intensity of *sharm* behavior is more practiced in a non-segregated place and especially for women. It is mandatory behavior by which Pakhtun women perform *sharm* either for the sake of honor or in situations of social inequality. Because in *Pakhtunwali*, honor of men exhibit the *sharm* behavior for women.⁷¹ By way of illustration, as a widow, Pakhtun women must be segregated and if she manages to do work outside from prescribed segregation, she not only loses her home safety but also faces a taboo of protection and status of society. Because in *Pakhtunwali*, she has only two choices, either to marry her husband's brother or relative or losing everything when she refuses as according to Pakhto "for a woman's identity lies entirely in her menfolk".⁷²

In Pakhtun society, from birth a gender identity determines a different expectation and performance. Male gender identity is considered as *khadi* and a sign of joy. While female gender identity is described as *gham* and a sign of sorrow and shamefulness. Moreover, the visits and gifts at the time of birth are less for a girl than for a boy. Both within cultural and economic framework, the birth of girl child is perceived as *gham* and *sharm* because they construct the thought that "daughter will be lost later to marriage".⁷³

Furthermore, every adult individual performs one's responsibility in a complex social structure of *tlal-ratlal* and in reciprocal cycles of social network. The engagement of such collectivity has shown the various layers of that network i.e. the participation of body and gender. Both body and gender determines one's physical existence and intellectual behaviour considered as a fundamental principle of expectation of one's performance in going and coming.⁷⁴ This expectation has not only show the social relations of Pakhtun women but also the traditional expectation. Traditionally, the society expected that women have to follow the species' essential traits of Pakhtun women and acknowledge those cultural changes through which men have liberated themselves from biological necessity. In this sense, among Pakhtuns the context of emotions are defined via category and degree of emotion. Such emotions express and identify various feelings where women are labeled as weak

⁶⁹ Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 88.

⁷⁰ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 36-37.

⁷¹ Ibid., 37.

⁷² Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 87.

⁷³ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 50.

⁷⁴ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 934-44. A *tlal-ratlal* (going and coming) was Pakhtuns ritual and has expressed as the ongoing work of life where woman has observed the social system of woman work, exchange of gifts, money and food. Such procedure was generally prioritized via family status and *hisab-kitab* (previous exchange or debts). The elite *Bibiane* contextualized a proper custom for these activities as a *tlal-ratlal* rather than perceive *gham-khadi* as an entirely a context of sorrow and joy.

because their emotional performance and roles in *gham* network is nothing more than a cast for them. Women are expected to lament and cry at funeral. It is because as a segregated public, in *gham*, women share their emotional stories of tragedies and its implications on women and collective lives.⁷⁵ However, it is culture which constructed such emotions rather than universal.⁷⁶ In *gham*, in lamentation, woman beats herself. In the moment of grief, woman expresses a tremendous solidarity. There is a general weeping and intense emotion which shows experience i.e. hysteria and social events in her life.⁷⁷

Similarly, society contemplates the progress of labor machines that replaced physical labor, however, women's nurture is constant and ill-fated and under the curse of species-service by their biology. The complexity of social relations are maintained via women's works. The body and mind measures the time, energy and responsibility of women. In Peshawar valley, women's lives have roles as housework, *gham-khadi* and employees (both professional and non-professional). However, Pakhtun women performance in *gham-khadi* (*tlal-ratlal*) is considered as *boj* (burden). The nature and practice of the reciprocity visits and social engagement has restrained adult female from work (employment) outside the inner world. Morality has constructed *gham-khadi* and its performance and obligatory as a social responsibility of Pakhtun social bonds and ethnic identity. Women's time and energy are utilized in entertaining guests i.e. *melmastiya* as a menial tasks.⁷⁸

This patriarchal relation has established a double standard structure-based sexuality; to construct a social practice (heterosexuality distinguish from homosexuality or lesbianism) and legitimizing unequal relations. Gender dichotomy and its reflection has shaped a distinct emotion in a different time and place. In that, performance is governed by gender expression and act. Both man and woman express a distinct response and role for single event of joy or sorrow. In this category, some events i.e. departure, wedding and birth are actually *khadi* for men and *gham* for women. As it is said, "women's rites of passage are *ghams* while men's are *khadi*".⁷⁹

On the contrary, these obligations lead to a sort of paradox depending upon the blending of women's duties and activities. In these activities the main duty of Pakhtun women or *Bibiane* are both social and economic management and they must display a deep truth of work especially for kin relationship. And secondly, it were rules and social patterns which created a paradox of *gham-khadi*. The difference in power, the contradiction in the nature of social dichotomies; the dichotomy of village and city, home and school and the paradox of segregated zones. Similarly, the dichotomy of sorrow and joy, its emotion and verbal formulation are the essence of that paradox. The complexity of *gham-khadi* has measured via individual and collective

⁷⁵ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 34-43.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁷ Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 60-61.

⁷⁸ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 958 and 934-36. Among the elite *Bibiane*, *gham-khadi* network is a painful dilemmas with a dichotomous custom. Despite its primary procedures or ceremonies of funerals and weddings, for *Bibiane* this network is described as obligatory performance.

⁷⁹ Grima, *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women*, 49.

performance, responsibility and expectation. It is a structure where *Pakhtunwali* has regulated the social relations at both individual and collective level.⁸⁰

In *Pakhtunwali*, woman is symbolized by her nature. The nature of her body, mind and gender. However, this nature and mind are viewed as an activity of culture. Gender segregation is culture where the nature of women were defined as apparently a kind of collective body i.e. *khaza zaat* (womanhood). It is a culture by which the nature of body has developed her work as 'women work'. For instance, in wedding ceremonies, Pakhtun women have discussed feminine topics i.e. household chores, childcare and activities, diets and food as well as maternal jealousy. Alliance among women are mostly engaged in material culture. In *khadi*, it's the woman who shares her emotions (i.e. distribution of gifts and others wedding things) to other women according to her social condition and status.⁸¹ Inside the house, the harem activity via the birth of male child is a source of pride and a sort of privileged.⁸²

CONCLUSION

In *Pakhtunwali*, the manifestation of Pakhtun women is varied due to regional, social and cultural orientation. Pakhtun woman is lived in terms of gender relations and socialized patterns. The majority of women are more concerned about the societal structure, playing with the gender binary, with moral questions and patience in the traditional hierarchies. The hierarchy of women's circle, where women are performed and experienced the stereotypical ideas about gender and femininity, and the hierarchy of gender, wherein sexual identity and body are marked every woman by the scale of representation i.e. sex, action, expectation, and work. Finally, there is the hierarchy of authority, where she is neither the authority nor has right to ignore her emphatic command, expression, and protest, however, was unheeded.

Pakhto and 'do Pakhto' are the cultural self-reflection of Pakhtuns and considered as a man atomized society where every woman lives in terms of gender categories and patriarchy. Pakhtun woman lives in the complex relationships of power and sexuality wherein her authority is measured in terms of autonomy and segregation. These manifested positions are designed within the framework of gender dichotomy, authority, reputation, honor, and power. Similarly, Pakhtun woman lives with honor, and reputation of herself, family, kin, and identity. Gender categories have established the dichotomy of gender, where a woman performs her desire and choice in the defined social order wherein she expresses her voice only with the choice of others.

Pakhtun woman expresses her personal self-definition and personal identity within the context of social relations. Her gender identity is nothing when she is performed and conceived herself as having relations to social roles and gender norms. These relations have prioritized a choice and desire, however, she always gives priority to the choice of obligations rather than to her own desire. Therefore, on the one hand, it is 'the outsider' who controls and manages her voice, expression, and way of life. On the other hand, it is 'the outsider' who has shaped her body and nature

⁸⁰ Ahmad, "Death and Celebration among Muslim Women," 942-944.

⁸¹ Grima, *Secrets from the Field*, 51-52.

⁸² Ibid., 63.

within the complex structure of emotion and behaviour. Additionally, it is 'the outsider' who has expressed either woman identity and gender as ignorant, powerless, and sexualized or identified female ethics and social order both within segregated and non-segregated public and private space. Therefore, the representation of Pakhtun women in *Pakhtunwali* is a contemporary subject but too vast for inquiry, to enter into details. This article engages the manifestations of Pakhtun women in *Pakhtunwali* and their gender relations and socialized patterns in terms of gender categories and patriarchy. However, in historical discourse, the dichotomy of interior and exterior between the Pakhtun men and women have not been explored but interpreted women's contributions quite subjectively in nature and patriarchal in practice. It only interprets the reality of the Pakhtuns women in terms of political sense, organized in power-structure rather than to find and evaluate the voice of women in terms of body, security and the issue of survival.

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