

Feud: An Arena of *Pakhtunwali* and Violence among *Pakhtun* of Afridi Tribe

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The socio-cultural pattern and trends of the contemporary tribal areas show a mode of change and development as compared to the past set-up. In this context, the pattern of tribal feud has also undergone changes which are specifically focused in this study. The uniqueness of the study is that for the first time this subject is approached scientifically i.e., statistical analysis is carried out for it. The present study aims to analyze association between *Pakhtunwali* and feud. Malik of Dara Adam Khel, FR Kohat who have active participation and experience in the process of *Jirga*, are the respondents. The total population of the study area is 835 and a sample size of 214 is drawn purposively on the basis of criteria mentioned by Sekaran (2003). The respondents of the study show variation in age, education, income, expenses, residence, family type and size of the household. Relationship between the two variables i.e., *Pakhtunwali* and feud, is measured by using Chi Square test. A significant relationship is found between *Pakhtunwali*, violence, and feud. In light of the study findings it is recommended that revival of *Pakhtunwali* based on brotherhood needs to be encouraged. The use of arms should be banned and Political Agent should play his role in this respect.

Key words: Customary Law, violence, feud, afridi, malik, FR Kohat.

Although feuds in primitive tribal societies were based on the cultural norms and conventional laws derived from their customs. The current tribal structure provide a fertile ground for peace and tranquility, in the sense that the ratio of education has been increased and the customary ways are not acted upon as much as it was in the past. Another important factor is that both formal and informal social control has improved and customary law has lost its importance. Hadrani et al. (2005) said that the Anthropological study of tribal areas show that there is instability and lawlessness, anarchy and barbarism, based on aggression and customary laws that lead to destructiveness coming in the form of the continued prominence of tribal wars and feuds, but the actual condition is different because the contemporary tribal societies are marching towards developmental transformation. In this context, the present study is designed to analyze the association between *Pakhtunwali* and feud in present Afridi¹ tribe living in Dara Adam Khel FR Kohat².

Pakhtunwali

According to International Legal Foundation i.e., ILF (2004) the term customary law refers to an informal joint understanding among tribal which included the concept of right and wrong, mode of daily social life, moral and ethical values and the concept of *Jirga collectively all these are known as Pakhtunwali³ or Pashtunwali* in Pashto parlance.

The customary law is an oral traditional system of tribal life which separate *Pakhtun* society from the rest of the world, it may oppose *sharia⁴* or/and state laws. It encompasses peace loving features like hospitality, brotherhood, women respect; however, it has also feuding features such as aggression, anarchy and barbarism (Barfield, 2003 and Strand, 2009). There is an idea of *Tarboorwali⁵* which is both a source of cohesion and rivalry. Another concept is that of *Trabgani* which is an established pattern of norm and values of cooperation, competition, marriage and ways how to live with *Tarboor⁶*. The form of such struggle between cousin-rivals are in fact identical with social structure, feuds among cousins lasted for decades (Ahmed,

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¹ The Afridi (in Pashto Apriday), is a *Karlani* tribe of *Pakhtun* mostly settled in FATA. They have their habitats in the areas strategically important. This shows their collective wisdom and their preparedness for any outside attacks. They are used in Jammu and Kashmir in war between Pakistan and India in 1947. The study area is totally occupied by Apriday tribe.

² Dara Adam Khel FR Kohat is a part of Federally Administered Tribal Area under the jurisdiction of Political Agent. On its East-South,

district Kohat is situated (holds cant area) at the distance of about 25 Kilometers. On its North, Peshawar, the provincial capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is located at the distance of about 40 kilometers. On its West and South it has boundaries with Khyber and Orakzai agencies. It is a hilly area where the population lives in valley between the mountains.

³ *Pakhtunwali* is the unwritten code of life of *Pakhtun* ethnic group. *Pakhtunwali* and customary law is used interchangeably in this study.

⁴ The body of law based on the Quran that lays down certain duties and penalties for regulating the behavior of Muslims.

⁵ *Tarboorwali* refers to inter-cousin relationship which carries the meaning of agnatic rivalry.

⁶ Cousin

1975). If an someone avenges a wrong doing even after the laps of hundred years, it is said that he has avenged in no time⁷(Pakhtu saying).

Barfield (2003) asserts that the basic feature of customary law is honor which is more than anything else like land or money. Further the author linked customary law with land and its inhabitants, the land which is marginalized, classless and where there is absence of writ of the government, provides a fertile ground for feuds.

The central features of *Pakhtunwali* includes *Milmestia* (Hospitality), *Hujra* (Guest house), *Pannah* (Asylum), *Rorwali* (Brotherhood), *Namus* (Honor), *Azadi* (Freedom), *Aman* (Peace) and *Khoshaly* (Prosperity). *Pakhtunwali* has unique features however; it also derives its strength from customary laws, councils of elders, Islamic law and state law (Kakar, 2004). Mostly in tribal regions, social relations between individuals and groups are characterized by a high degree of antagonism and conflict over reputation, status and right to use of resources (Lawrence, 1926).

Pakhtun might be one of the few nations in the contemporary world that values *Dushamny* or enmity, mainly with their kith and kin (*Tarboorwali*) and neighbors. *Tarboorwali* lead to a full-blown hostility which forwards to the future generations of the identical cousins. There are many factors of enmity but the fact that antagonism has been affirmed as an institution that is coming from a long time ago and imposed upon the *Pakhtun*, when came under the concept of enmity, a *Pakhtun* of his family wait for years to avenge the killing or any other offence (Yousufzai and Gohar, 2005).

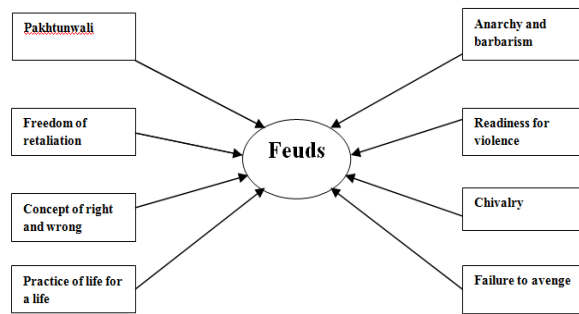
Customary law is an informal and unwritten shared understanding of good and bad, it gives individual freedom and it provides a diverse kinship rules, life patterns and structure of the whole *Pakhtun* society, by adhering to *Pakhtunwali* a tribal is deemed to be honorable (Barfield, 2003). A complete account of *Pakhtunwali* is neither easy nor probable, every tribal need to apply those laws in order to classify them as actual *Pakhtun* (Yousufzai and Gohar, 2005). It is a mean of both raising and resolving feuds, there is no enforcement of state's laws and every issue is resolved according to tribal laws (Miller, 1946).

Customary law is a mean for local communities to settle feuds in the lack of legal and/or religious authority. It is based on a familiar cultural and moral code that creates social solidarity among rural population. Rural Communities developed this code to resolve disputes, review actions or guilt, and to inflict sanctions against violators of local laws (customary law). Such systems of customary law are common throughout rural Afghanistan (Barfield, 2003).

Customary law is manifested through young members of the tribe known as *Arbakian*, who are responsible for the implementation of *Jirga* decisions. They are also asked sometime to burn the residence of the wrongdoer. But, such proceedings are against the state laws which results into tension between the state and *Pakhtun* tribes (Wardak, n.d). Possession and use of arms is allowed and even considered necessary for protecting honor (ILF, 2004).

Conceptual Frame Work of the study

The study proceeds with two variables, feuds are taken as dependent variable and customary law as independent variable.



Method

This section explains methodology adopted for carrying out the study. Sampling strategies, data collection technique, and data analysis are explained in it. The present study is conducted in Dara Adam Khel, FR⁸ Kohat in order to investigate relationship between *Pakhtunwali* and feud. *Chi square* and *Gamma statistics* are applied for data analysis.

Study Area

The study is carried out in Dara Adam Khel, FR Kohat known as the "gun city" (Ullah, 2010). This is a tribal area settled by Afridi tribe (Zaman, 2011). The socio-cultural system of the inhabitants of the area is based on and embedded in the cultural norm, customs, and traditions. Unlike settled areas of the country, state laws do not apply here. Most of the social behaviors and actions of the tribal people are regulated through *Pakhtunwali*.

In the study area, land is not formally distributed among the individuals and families. Major portion of the land is *shamelaat*⁹ which mostly give rise to conflicts among families that leads to feud. It is also observed that construction on land owned in other villages of the area results into ill well and feud. Failure of business agreement among the Afridi also leads to family feuds. During the last decade of 20th

⁷ Pakhtu saying, "Pakhtun tribal Che sal kala pus badal wakhli nu nur pukhtana warta y tadi dy okra"

⁸ Frontier Region, where the formal (i.e state) law is Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR).

⁹ *Shamelaat* refers to a land belong to all but own by none. It is a collective property of the whole village.

century, the identification and exploration of coal resulted into a large number of feuds in the study area (Zaman, 2011).

The study area i.e., Dara Adam Khel, FR Kohat, consists of 5 Sub-tribes (i.e., *Qoms*¹⁰), namely Akhorwal, Bosti Khel, Sheraki, Torchapar and Zarghon Khel.

Procedure

The literature reveals that sample size should neither be excessively large, nor too small. It should be optimum covering all strata, a researcher interested in (Kothari, 2004). *Maliks* of Dara Adam Khel¹¹, FR Kohat are the respondents whose total number is 835 (Assistant Political Agent Office, 2013). A sample size of 214 is drawn on the basis of criteria mentioned by Sekaran (2003). We approached the respondents purposively. Those *Maliks* who are known for their experience and active participation in tribal socio-cultural life and *Jirga* are interviewed. They are considered the leaders of the area because of their status and power vested in them by the government of Pakistan. The government pay them for their role. The sample size is further distributed through proportionate allocation formula among different sub-tribes in order to give participation to all for their opinion about the issue. This would reduce measurement error. For this purpose the formula introduced by Kumar (2005) is given below:

$$n_i = \frac{n \times N_i}{N}$$

n = Total sample size

n_i = Required sample size

N_i = No of the respondent in each sub tribe (strata)

N = Total population size

Table 1

Distribution of population and sample size

S.no	Subtribe(Qom)	Population Size	Sample size
1	Akhorwal	200	51
2	Bosti Khel	90	23
3	Sheraki	75	18
4	Torchapar	70	18
5	Zarghon Khel	400	102
Total		835	214

Source: Office of the Assistant Political Agent (APA)2013, FR Kohat

Data Collection

We developed a comprehensive questionnaire for the data collection. The questionnaire is discussed with experts and amendments are made in it as per their suggestions. It is further checked through pre-test and the ambiguities are addressed before the final stage of data collection.

Data Analysis

We use SPSS for data analysis. Bi-variate analysis is carried out for measurement of association between

dependent (Feud) and independent variables (*Pakhtunwali*) by using Chi Square (χ^2). Kothari (2004) believes that Chi Square (χ^2) test is an important test amongst the several tests of significance developed by statisticians. Thus, the Chi Square test is applicable in large number of problems. The test is, in fact, a technique through the use of which it is possible for all researchers to test the significance of association between dependent and independent variables. The Chi Square (χ^2) test is used while adopting the procedure outlined by McCall and Robert (1975).

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(O_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$$

Where, “O_{ij}” is the observed frequency in the cell corresponding to the intersection of the Ith row and Jth column, “r” the number of rows and “c” the number of columns.

The formula simply directs one to take the square formulation of the frequencies for each cell, divided by the expected frequency. The resulting value is distributed as Chi Square with relevant degrees of freedom, calculated as follows.

$$d.f. = (r-1) (c-1)$$

Results and Discussion

Pakhtunwali which has so many shades and manifestation including customary law is the basic and important source of tribal culture and life. All the norms and values are deeply rooted in *Pakhtunwali*. Practices such as birth ceremony, marriage ceremony, festivals and even feuds raise and resolve in accordance with customary law envisaged in *Pakhtunwali*. *Pakhtunwali* is a form of *Asabiyyah*¹² but as far as it is mismanaged, may leads to feuds. Further it is two faces like consensus¹³ because *Pakhtunwali* creates social integration (i.e *Jirga*) and binds people together as it followers call themselves as *Pakhtun* and it leads to conflict¹⁴ in the sense that it has certain aspects like freedom of retaliation and chivalry, as said by Ralf Dahrendorf in his theory of conflict (cited in Ritzer, 8th Edition P. 266). The relationship between *Pakhtunwali* and feud is hereby measured by using Chi square test. The results are discussed as follows.

A significant (p<0.000) relationship is found between *Pakhtunwali* and feud. The findings of the present study suggest that *Pakhtunwali* is an important feature of Afridi tribe and all practices are carried out in accordance with

¹² *Asabiyyah* refers to the behavior of an individual who is helpful to others or his group against any aggressive action that creates integration among the group. Therefore *Asabiyyah* creates strong association among people who are closely bound based on the same interest and opinion (Lane, 1984).

¹³ Value integration in society

¹⁴ antagonism

¹⁰ A subsection of the tribe.

¹¹ A section of FR Kohat.

Pakhtunwali. It could be deduced from these findings that *Pakhtunwali* covers tribal feud. *Pakhtunwali* also provide mechanism for dealing with such feuds. *Pakhtunwali* as stated earlier is an unwritten code of life of *Pakhtun*. The present results are the clear manifestation of the relationship of *Pakhtunwali* and feud. Feud is neither non-local for *Pakhtun*, nor outside of the sphere of *Pakhtunwali*. These findings are in consonance with Barfield (2003). Barfield even concludes that *Pakhtunwali* mostly ignores *sharia* (Islamic Law) and/or civil law (State Law) in cases of feuds.

A non significant ($p < 0.246$) relationship is observed between tribal structure allow the offended the right of retaliation and feud. The findings suggest that virtually tribal structure does not allow and support individual to avoid the role of institution (i.e., Family and *Jirga* etc.) in taking revenge. However, in severe instances like cases of murder, individual or family do violate such controlling norms established through tribal structure. The findings are in accordance with Shinwari (2011).

Similarly, a non significant ($p < 0.499$) relationship exists between the concept of right and wrong and feud. The results show that *Maliks* (Respondents) are of the opinion that feud has no relationship with the concept of right and wrong. Feud erupts between tribal mostly irrespective of whether it is right or wrong.

We find a non significant ($p < 0.236$) relationship between practice of life for a life and feud. The findings indicate that other alternatives like blood money, forceful exile of the wrongdoer, may be more common than life for a life. The findings are in line with Hasluck (1954).

Similarly, a non significant ($p < 0.439$) relation is observed between anarchy and barbarism among tribal and feud. The findings suggest that it is neither anarchy nor barbarism of tribal which is associated with feud. It could be deduced here that feud might be associated with and rooted in their social structure and functioning under the concept of *Pakhtunwali*. The findings are contrary to Hadrani et al. (2005).

We find a significant ($p < 0.000$) relationship between violence and feud. The findings suggest that tribal people may be well equipped socially, culturally, and psychologically, to initiate and respond to violence. Conducive environment for violence ignite feud in the study area. The results are in consonance with Glatzer (1998).

Moreover, a non significant ($p < 0.071$) relation is found between chivalry and feud. The findings reveal that feud is not associated with chivalry (bravery, courage). The findings suggest that whether the tribal is brave or not, courageous or otherwise, the social structure and system encourages him to officiate feud.

We find a non significant ($p < 0.445$) relationship between protection of honor/*Namus* and feud. The findings

suggest that feuds are not only honor based in Afridi tribe. The tribal fights even for issues not related to honor. Further, it could also be deduced that Tribal might fight for non-issues. It could also be inferred that protection of honor could be the reason of feud; however, it may not be the only reason. The findings are in line with Glatzer (1998).

Unlike the above, a significant ($p < 0.04$) relationship is detected between failure to take revenge makes a person dishonored and feud. The findings suggest that taking revenge may be considered above all things and any wrong doing with Afridi may be avenged by him which mostly leads to feud. It does not itself force or compel him to lead to feud. The results also suggest that if a person or family even does not inclined to take revenge from his enemy/opponent or he fails. The tribal members through the cultural trait of *paighor*¹⁵ will compel her/him to take revenge and thus it leads to continues feud. These findings are in congruence with Strand (2007).

¹⁵ *Paighor* or *Paghor*, a Pashto term used in Pakhtun society as a tool for instigation and provocation of families to take revenge from the opponent/enemy. In English it may be translated as taunt.

Table 2
Association between customary law and feud

Statements	Response	Feud			Total	Test statistics
		Positive	Negative	Undecided		
Pakhtunwali is an important feature of Afridi tribe.	Yes	150 (69.8)	43(20.0)	0(0.0)	193(89.8)	$\chi^2=16.1(.000)$
	No	10(4.7)	8(3.7)	0(0.0)	18(8.4)	
	Don't know	0(0.0)	4(1.9)	0(0.0)	4(1.9)	
Tribal structure allow the offended the right of retaliation.	Yes	117(54.4)	45(20.9)	0(0.0)	162(75.3)	$\chi^2=2.802(.246)$
	No	30(14.0)	5(2.3)	1(.5)	35(16.3)	
	Don't know	13(6.0)	5(2.3)	0(0.0)	18(8.4)	
The concept of right and wrong is based Pakhtunwali.	Yes	103(47.9)	37(17.2)	0(0.0)	140(65.1)	$\chi^2=1.392(.499)$
	No	48(22.3)	13(6.0)	0(0.0)	61(28.4)	
	Don't know	9(4.2)	5(2.3)	0(0.0)	14(6.5)	
There is practice of life for a life in tribal areas.	Yes	137(63.7)	50(7.9)	0(0.0)	187(87.0)	$\chi^2=2.885(.236)$
	No	15(7.0)	5(0.0)	0(0.0)	20(9.3)	
	Don't know	8(3.7)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	8(3.7)	
There is anarchy and barbarism among tribal people.	Yes	48(22.3)	14(6.5)	0(0.0)	62(28.8)	$\chi^2=1.648(.439)$
	No	104(48.4)	40(18.6)	2(.9)	144(67.0)	
	Don't know	8(3.7)	1(0.5)	0(0.0)	9(4.2)	
To be ready for violence is the tribal nature.	Yes	57(26.5)	4(1.9)	0(0.0)	61(28.4)	$\chi^2=18.592(.000)$
	No	89(41.4)	48(22.3)	0(0.0)	137(63.7)	
	Don't know	14(6.5)	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	17(7.9)	
Chivalry is an important aspect of tribal structure.	Yes	136(63.3)	41(19.1)	0(0.0)	177(82.3)	$\chi^2=5.286(.071)$
	No	10(4.7)	9(4.2)	0(0.0)	19(8.8)	
	Don't Know	14(6.5)	5(2.3)	0(0.0)	19(8.8)	
It is the foremost duty of man to protect his honor.	Yes	135(62.8)	43(20.0)	0(0.0)	178(82.8)	$\chi^2=1.617(.445)$
	No	16(7.4)	9(4.2)	0(0.0)	25(11.6)	
	Don't know	9(4.2)	3(1.4)	0(0.0)	12(5.6)	
Failure to take revenge makes a person dishonorable.	Yes	103(47.9)	24(11.2)	0(0.0)	127(59.1)	$\chi^2=7.443(.024)$
	No	50(23.3)	28(13.0)	0(0.0)	78(36.3)	
	Don't know	7(3.3)	3(1.4)	1(.5)	10(4.7)	

*Value in the table present frequency while values in the parenthesis represent percentages proportion of the respondents.

Conclusion

The study aimed to find association between Pakhtunwali and feuds. It is concluded that Pakhtunwali, violence, and institutionalized dishonoring by society due to failure of taking revenge is associated with feuds in Afridi tribe of Dara Adam Khel FR Kohat. The concept of permission of retaliation by tribal structure, right and wrong, life for a life, anarchy, and chivalry has no relation with feuds.

One of the limitations of the present study is that we approached only Maliks for data collection. We could not consult families who are engaged in feud due to seriousness of the issue. We also could not ask those families who passed through this dark side of the custom because discussion with them regarding their past experience could result in reinforcement and resurgence of the already settled issue. Afridi tribe is also settled in other parts of FATA, however, due to limited resources and law and order situation, we could not get access to them. We also could not approach female of the study area for their opinion about the issue due to cultural constraint. We hope that these issues will be over-come in future and painstaking analysis of the issue

could be conceivable, which is left over for future researchers.

Policy Recommendations

In light of the study findings following recommendations are forwarded for solving the problem:

1. It is recommended that Government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) needs to work for highlighting positive aspects of Pakhtunwali, like brotherhood, cooperation, consultation, efficient Jirga system that leads to respect, peace and tranquility in tribal area.
2. It is also recommended that Government through Political Agent and NGOs should arrange seminars, workshops and other community awareness programs to highlight the negative impacts which results in to violence.
3. Government and NGOs should work hard to nub Paighor system (i.e., Taunt) which mainly compels followers of Pakhtunwali to retaliate even if they do not agree.

Through this *Paighor* system, the community members consider persons and/or families dishonored, if they could not or not retaliating. This is one of the main causes of feuds in the study area.

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