# Table of Contents

Profile................................................................................................................................ 10

Introduction................................................................................................................... 10

Geography..................................................................................................................... 10
  Area........................................................................................................................... 10
  Climate...................................................................................................................... 11

Plants............................................................................................................................. 11
  Forestry ..................................................................................................................... 11
  Lichee........................................................................................................................ 11
  Plants for Medicinal Purposes .................................................................................. 12

Wildlife ......................................................................................................................... 13
  Woolly Flying Squirrel ............................................................................................ 13
  Flare-horned Markhor ............................................................................................. 13
  Snow Leopard ........................................................................................................... 14
  Birds.......................................................................................................................... 14

Topography ................................................................................................................... 14
  Hindu Kush Mountain Range ................................................................................. 15
  Karakoram Mountain Range ................................................................................... 15
  Sulaiman Mountains ............................................................................................... 16
  Swat Valley ............................................................................................................. 16
  Kaghan Valley ......................................................................................................... 16
  Haro Valley ............................................................................................................... 16

Bodies of Water ............................................................................................................ 16
  Indus River .............................................................................................................. 16
  Kabul River .............................................................................................................. 17
  Swat River ............................................................................................................... 17
  Lake Saiful Muluk .................................................................................................. 17
  Water Resources ..................................................................................................... 17

Major Districts .............................................................................................................. 18
  Peshawar City and District...................................................................................... 18
  Chitral District ........................................................................................................... 19
  Swat District ............................................................................................................. 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History of the Pashtun Origin</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtun Origins</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories about the Origins</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtuns Today</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of NWFP</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Devastated by 2005 Earthquake</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthquake Relief</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtuns and Pashtunwali, the “Pashtun Way”</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of Major Religions</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni Islam</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Religion in the Government</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Islamic Law, or Shari’a</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shari’a in NWFP</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shari’a and the Hasba Act</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of Religion on Daily Life</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musharraf’s Reaction to the Spread of Shari’a</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdah</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Events</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salat: Ritual Prayer</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawm: Fasting during Ramadan</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj: the Pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakat: Alms Tax</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Holidays</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hijra</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawlid an-Nabi</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lailat al-Miraj</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lailat-ul-Bara’h, Night of Forgiveness</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lailat al-Qadr (Night of Power)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramadan</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid al-Fitr, Festival of the Breaking of the Fast</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid al-Adha, Festival of the Sacrifice</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings of Worship</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahabat Khan's Mosque</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gor Khuttree Complex</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior in Places of Worship</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditions</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pashtunwali</em>, the Pashtun Code of Honor</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honor (nang)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge (badal)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality (melmastia)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truce (nanawati)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress Codes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdah</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taliban’s Attitudes toward Purdah and Women in NWFP</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdah in Afghan Refugee Camps</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdah in Perspective</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Segregation and Female <em>Jihadists</em></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Jihadists</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional and Non-Traditional Jobs</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Engineering</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Arms Manufacturing</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Information Technology</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formulaic Codes of Politeness</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Events</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Marriage</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding Customs</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikah, Wedding Ceremony</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Work Problems in Urban Areas ................................................................. 57
Child Labor ............................................................................................... 58
Education in Cities ...................................................................................... 58
  Elementary and Secondary Education ...................................................... 58
Higher Education ....................................................................................... 60
  Khyber Medical College ........................................................................... 60
  University of Peshawar ............................................................................ 60
  Northern University .................................................................................. 60
  Gandhara University ................................................................................. 60
Daily Life of Peshawarites ......................................................................... 61
  Refugees Afraid to Move Back to Afghanistan .......................................... 62
Restaurants ................................................................................................. 62
Marketplace ................................................................................................. 63
Urban Traffic ............................................................................................... 66
  Peshawar–Islamabad Highway ................................................................. 66
  Torkham–Peshawar Highway ................................................................. 66
Public Transportation Discouraged .......................................................... 67
  Unsafe School Buses .............................................................................. 67
Favorite Pastimes Put on Hold ................................................................. 67
Street Vendors and Beggars ..................................................................... 68
  Programs Offered for Peshawar’s Street Children ................................... 68
  Terrorists as Street Vendors ................................................................. 68
Rural Life .................................................................................................... 70
Introduction ............................................................................................... 70
Tribal Distribution ..................................................................................... 70
  Afridi ....................................................................................................... 71
  Dolat ...................................................................................................... 71
  Khattak .................................................................................................. 71
  Marwat .................................................................................................. 71
  Niazi ..................................................................................................... 72
  Swati ..................................................................................................... 72
  Kalash ................................................................................................... 72
Sources of Income in Rural Areas ............................................................ 72
Profile

Introduction

Many believe that Pashto civilization has its roots in an ancient culture that populated Iran’s eastern frontier as early as the 1st Millennium BCE. The Greek historian Herodotus referred to people of this culture as “Pactyan.” There is, however, no definite evidence to support the speculation that Pashtuns are their descendents. Theories conflict as to the origins of the Pashtuns who today inhabit the northern parts of Pakistan called the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), as well as parts of Afghanistan. Many believe they descended from Afghan tribes. The oral traditions of Pashtun tribesmen themselves tell varied stories of their origins.

The Pashtun people are characterized today by their Islamic beliefs and a pre-Islamic code of honor known as “Pashtunwali.” Although many have attempted to forcefully subdue them, including Afghans, Mughals, Russians, and British, no one has succeeded. Many Pashtuns live in the NWFP’s tribal mountainous areas where Pakistani laws do not apply. Their native language is Pashto, which comprises two main divisions of dialects. This familiarization project will discuss these and other cultural aspects of the Pashtun people of the North-West Frontier Province in Pakistan.

Geography

Area

The NWFP covers approximately 75,000 sq km (46,603 sq mi) from the banks of the Indus River in Pakistan to the Himalayas bordering it on the north. Its northeastern borders also touch or are close to China, Tajikistan, and the disputed areas of Kashmir and Jammu. The Pakistan province of Punjab borders its eastern edge and Balochistan borders the southern end. Afghanistan borders the NWFP on the western side of the province.

There are two geographic zones to this province. The northern zone extends from the Hindu Kush Mountains to the Peshawar Basin. It holds five partly wooded river valleys running roughly north to south: Swat, Dir, Chitral, Indus, and Khagan. The southern zone

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extends southward from the desert-like Peshawar Basin and continues to the Derajat Basin.7

**Climate**

The climate in NWFP ranges from fairly cold winters and severely hot summers in the southern zone to freezing temperatures and generally mild summers in the northern zone. Heavy rainfall occurs in the northern zone, compared to moderate rainfall in the south. The NWFP is located within two climatic regions: the Mediterranean in the west, and the monsoon region in the east. The southwest monsoon brings summer rainfall to areas around the eastern part of Peshawar Valley. Any rain that occurs during the winter comes from the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. These rains, known as western disturbances, can be heavy and cyclonic in nature. The extreme northern and southern regions are semi-arid to arid and the southern region is the hottest, with high temperatures ranging from 46–50°C (114–122°F).8

**Plants**

**Forestry**

Chitral, a district in the northernmost part of the NWFP, is a forest region where recent satellite images have shown serious deforestation. Over-grazing of livestock is one reason for the problem, and another is poverty of the local people. Poor residents claim they cannot afford the price of wood for fuel and so they are forced to cut trees. Further, they have been cutting down fruit trees such as apricot and apple, which only increases their poverty as the production of fruit declines.9

**Lichee**

The lichee tree originated in China and was brought by way of Pakistan to the NWFP, where it grows in limited amounts. The fruit is used for both food and drink. It grows on trees in clusters with as many as 30 fruits to each cluster. The fruit has a rough brownish paper-like skin; the interior is about the size of a walnut and has a sweet, sometimes tart-like taste. The pulp is white and juicy with a brown seed. Lichee trees grow to about 9–18 m (30–60 ft) high. The green leaves provide ample shade with their large canopies.10

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Plants for Medicinal Purposes

Many plants have been used for medicinal purposes by local residents of the mountainous Galliyat region in southeastern NWFP for centuries. Their extracts are used for spices, perfumes, dyes, and herbal relief.11 A study undertaken to record indigenous knowledge of herbs has resulted in a small compilation, listed here.

Pakha

This plant has a flowering period between December and March. The leaves are used for gastric ulcers, constipation, and sometimes as an aphrodisiac.12

Phagwar

This plant has a flowering period from September to October. Both the fruit and the leaves are used for constipation and urinary problems.13

Pathan

The leaves of this plant are used to apply to wounds as an antiseptic. They can also be used to relieve ulcers. The roots are used for epilepsy. Its flowering period is from July through September.14

Podina

The flowering period for this plant is from August to September. These plants are dried in the sun, ground up to make a powder, and mixed with other seeds. This concoction is used to stop vomiting. The leaves alone can be used against the flu, cough, and diarrhea.15

Simblu

The bark and branches of this tree are used for blood purification and stomach problems. The bark can be used to treat fever and diabetes. Its flowering period is from April through June.16

Poppies

Though Pakistan has claimed to be free of illegal opium cultivation, reports show that thousands of hectares of poppies are grown in the NWFP region. Although, most of the illegal drug is grown in Afghanistan, Pakistan has storage sites as well as laboratories for poppy cultivation according to recent reports. Of even greater concern, the reports show that “70 percent of Afghanistan’s contraband of opium is smuggled into Japan and the West via Pakistan.” Armed Pakistani smugglers have routinely fought off inspection teams, and allegations have surfaced that powerful politicians are connected to the drug mafia. Although the country saw a decrease in poppy cultivation by nearly 40% in 2005 and 2006, opium production in neighboring Afghanistan is very high and smuggling continues across the border. The UN and intelligence agencies estimate that Afghanistan supplies 90% of the world’s opium. Pakistani drug traffickers are not only smuggling drugs across the border, they are also believed to be financing poor farmers in Afghanistan. Continuing to fight its war on drugs, the government of the NWFP has employed a number of law enforcement agencies in the Peshawar Division of NWFP.

Wildlife

Woolly Flying Squirrel

This squirrel is the longest in the world, measuring about four feet in length. It feeds on pine trees native to the NWFP and lives in the caves along the mountain cliffs. It is a nocturnal animal that can live in elevations of between 2,400 m (7,874 ft) and 3,600 m (11,811 ft). Due to the accelerated deforestation of its habitat, the wooly flying squirrel is nearly extinct.

Flare-horned Markhor

The flare-horned markhor, largest member of the goat family, has spiral horns and a long shaggy beard. It can live on steep cliffs at extreme elevations and can climb craggy cliffs. A cultural icon for the local people, the markhor is prey for both the wolf and the snow

http://www.wcs.org/international/Asia/pakistan/woollyflyingsquirrel?preview=&psid=&ph=class%252525
252525253DAWC-1487727272
leopard. It has been listed as endangered and is under threat of extinction. These threats come from warfare in this region, hunting, and increasing competition with more domesticated goats and sheep.21

Snow Leopard

The snow leopard is an endangered species. It has been spotted in the Mankial Valley in the Swat district of NWFP. It typically lives in this area at an elevation of 3300 m (10,827 ft) and an approximate snow cover of eight feet from December through April.22 Researchers have found evidence of snow leopard tracks, pug marks, and feces which help them determine that the snow leopard lives in this region.23 This animal is hard to locate due to its secretive nature. It has a very thick and woolly coat to help protect it from the harsh climate.24 Its white, yellow, or gray fur with a pattern of dark grey to black spots helps to camouflage the leopard against the rocky background. Mountain sheep and goats are prey for the snow leopard.25

Birds

Forty-six different kinds of birds were spotted in the NWFP during the snow leopard survey. They include the blue jay, blue rock pigeon, dark grey bush chat, Himalayan Griffon vulture, pheasants, snow cocks, and woodpeckers. Many of these are also prey of the snow leopard.26

Topography

The NWFP can be broadly divided into two areas, the mountains and the plains. Some of the plains are arid rangeland, while others in the south and southeast are fertile enough to support agriculture. The mountainous regions are some of the most extreme in the world. At 7,708 m (25,288 ft) elevation, Terich Mir is the highest mountain in the Hindu Kush.

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mountain range. The Hindu Kush is one of three mountain ranges that converge upon each other in NWFP. The other two are the Karakoram and the Himalayas.

**Hindu Kush Mountain Range**

One of the meanings of the word “kush” in the name Hindu Kush means “death,” perhaps a reference to the danger of passing through the treacherous mountain passes. The Hindu Kush Mountains range from an elevation of over 1,000 m to nearly 8,000 m (3,280–26,000 ft). Terich Mir Peak is the fifth highest peak in the world at an elevation of 7,690 m (25,000 ft). Within these mountains are numerous caves where indigenous tribes have been known to reside. The mountains themselves are bare save for narrow, deep green valleys with a few patches of cultivation at the bottom in the lower part of Chitral District.

Linking Peshawar with Jalalabad (Afghanistan), the Khyber Pass in the Hindu Kush is 56 km (35 mi) long and is the most traveled of Pakistan’s mountain passes. It varies in width from 3–37 m (10–121 ft) and is walled on both sides by steep, high cliffs. For centuries the Khyber Pass has been a major trade route and also an entry point into Pakistan for repeated invasions by conquering armies. Alexander the Great’s army marched through this pass in 326 BCE to reach the Indian plains, and it has been a route for the armies of the Greeks, Persians, Huns, and Mongols to reach the Indus plains. Today it is used to transport arms into Afghanistan.

**Karakoram Mountain Range**

The Karakoram Mountain Range, considered part of the Himalayas, converges with the Hindu Kush Mountains. With an average height of around 6,100 m (20,000 ft), the peaks in the Karakoram are higher than those in the Hindu Kush. In the extreme north, the Karakoram is home to the famous peak, Mt. Goodwin Austin, or “K. 2”, the second highest peak in the world. Its elevation is approximately 8,600 m (28,215 ft). Known for centuries as the Silk Road, the Karakoram Pass is famous as a link between Pakistan and China.

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Sulaiman Mountains

In southern NWFP, the Sulaiman Mountains extend southward from the Gomal River and lie between the Balochistan Plateau and the Indus Plains. Northward, this range extends upward toward Quetta.35

Swat Valley

Inside the monsoon zone, the Swat Valley is one of the most fertile and green valleys in the entire country. In mid winter it is blocked by snow above Bahrain, but in summer it can be accessed from either the Chitral Valley or the Gilgit Valley. The lower end, or Lower Swat, is wide with fields of wheat and flowers. In Upper Swat, the Swat River flows through pine forests lined with the snow-capped mountains of the Himalayas. Within the Swat Valley, there are three smaller valleys, Ushu, Utrot, and Gabral. Waters from the Swat River converge here and the area provides fishing and hiking opportunities. Also, the valley holds several hundred archeological sites that span 5,000 years of history.36

Kaghan Valley

The Kaghan Valley lies at an elevation of approximately 4,148 m (13,600 ft) at its northern point, Babusar Pass. It extends about 161 km (100 mi) from south to north.37 As it is still in an undeveloped state, a visitor can appreciate the natural beauty of the mountains, glaciers, lakes, streams, and greenery that adorn this valley.38

Haro Valley

The Haro Valley lies at the base of the Muree Hills behind Islamabad. There are many jeep roads, but only three main roads connect it to Islamabad. The entire area is divided by two forest ranges, the Stoura and the Maknhial. The Khanpur Dam is also located in this valley.39

Bodies of Water

Indus River

The Indus River is Pakistan’s main river. It originates in Tibet from Himalayan glacial waters, enters northeast Pakistan, and runs 2,900 km (1,800 mi) through the length of the country. It ultimately drains into the Arabian Sea. Many tributaries flow off the Indus,
providing water for two-thirds of Pakistan. The Indus has two main tributaries, one of them the Kabul River north of Peshawar.

*Kabul River*

The Kabul River runs east to west 700 km (435 miles), beginning in Afghanistan and ending up draining into the Indus River. Smaller tributaries also flow into the Kabul River. One of them, the Kunar River, adds a substantial flow of water to the Kabul River, and a hydroelectric plant sits just below the confluence of these two rivers.

*Swat River*

The Swat River travels 112.65 km (70 mi) southward from the northern area of Swat District and is joined by the Panjkora River. Once combined, these two rivers travel together as the Swat River until they reach the city of Charsadda. The river’s total length is 225 km (140 mi).

*Lake Saiful Muluk*

Lake Saiful Muluk lies at an elevation of over 3,000 m (9,842 ft) in the Himalayan foothills. Near the Kaghan Valley, the lake is at the base of Malika Parbat, or Queen of the Mountain in the northeastern side of the NWFP. This lake is named after the young prince who fell in love with a fairy, according to local tales. Another lake approximately five miles away is Fairy Tale Lake. This lake is also about 3,000 m (9,842 ft) above sea level. Both of these lakes offer fishing and boating to tourists and visitors.

*Water Resources*

Pakistan has 40 dams throughout the entire country and two of the largest are in NWFP. The Tarbela and the Mangla reservoirs produce close to 50% of Pakistan’s total capacity of hydropower and nearly the same amount of electricity. Tarbela Dam and reservoir

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alone accounts for one-third of the total hydropower produced in all of Pakistan.\(^{47}\) It is the largest earth-filled dam in the world and the largest hydropower station in Pakistan. Constructed in 1976, it has the capacity to generate nearly 3,500 megawatts of electricity, although storage is declining due to sedimentation.\(^{48}\)

A new dam, the Kalabagh, is in the planning stages. It is controversial because when completed, it is expected to cover close to 3,000 acres of land and displace nearly 40,000 people. It is argued that it will flood already fertile land in addition to causing many people to have to find other housing. The entire country is facing water shortages that will gravely impact the food and energy industries. Control of water resources is critical to a region where a burgeoning population is expected to increase to close to a quarter million people by 2025.\(^{49}\)

**Major Districts**

North-West Frontier Province is divided into 24 districts, not all of them populated. Since 2001, district governments have followed an election process. The districts rule locally, maintain law and order, and interact with the provincial government. The extreme northern areas, with their isolated mountain valleys, are federally administered tribal areas (FATA); the central government’s authority here is limited. The FATA region constitutes approximately one-fourth of the area of NWFP and is inhabited largely by independent tribes.\(^{50}\)

**Peshawar City and District**

Peshawar is a district and also a city which is the capital of the NWFP. The city lies on the eastern end of the Khyber Pass. Its name is derived from the Sanskrit word “Pushpapura” which means “city of flowers.” According to the most current census taken in 1998, the population is slightly under one million people.\(^{51}\) The city was founded by the Kushans some 2,000 years ago when one of the Kushan kings, Kanishka, moved his winter capital to this location.\(^{52}\) In 1818, Peshawar fell to the Sikh empire whose conquerors burned much of the city. Shortly after, the Sikhs were replaced by the British, who occupied Peshawar in 1849.

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\(^{52}\) Government N.W.F.P. “Peshawar. History.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LanId=1&pageName=ProvincialCapital001
The modern city of Peshawar is complete with up-to-date rail systems, a university, shopping malls, fast food restaurants, and museums. The city has changed from old world to modern, although remnants of the past can be seen in its picturesque old quarters. With more professionals in the city, residents have an opportunity to interact more with developed countries and new ideas and technologies. They are also faced with modern conflicts, since Peshawar is a military center. It was the command center for opposition guerrilla forces during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan between 1979 and 1989. During this time, relief operations for Afghan refugees were based here.\(^5\)

Peshawar District is wooded and well irrigated. On the Peshawar Plain, buffalo are still used to till the soil to plant sugar cane and sugar beets. A few miles north of the city of Peshawar, Charsadda in Peshawar District is a site which holds the archeological ruins of an ancient city. It was once known as Pushkalavati, the Lotus City, and was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Gandhara from the 6th century BCE to the 2nd century CE. It was here in 327 BC that Alexander the Great overtook the city after a thirty-day siege.\(^5\)

One of Charsadda’s sites is Shar-i-Napursan where archeologists have unearthed two distinct settlements from the Buddhist periods and two from the Muslim period. Palatu Dheri is a mound that contains the remains of a stupa, or Buddhist shrine, dating back to the 1\(^{st}\) century.\(^5\)

\textit{Chitral District}

Chitral is located near the Hindu Kush mountain range, close to the border with Afghanistan. Its elevation ranges from around 1070 m (3,500 ft) in the south to 7,690 m (25,230 ft) at Terich Mir’s summit in the Hindu Kush. The world’s highest polo ground is at Shandur Pass. Polo games are played here at an elevation of over 3,600 m (12,000 ft). The first game was played in 1908 between Chitral and Gilgit. The remote valleys of this district are home to little-known tribes with ancient histories. They include a pagan tribe known as Karif-Kalash, “Wearers of the Black Robes.” Many trace their descent to soldiers from the army of Alexander the Great.

Cultivation in Chitral is only found at the bottom of deep valleys which lie between the high, bare mountains. There are large glaciers in this district, and snow cuts off the small town of Chitral from the outside world for part of each year.\(^5,\)\(^6\)

\(^5\) Government N.W.F.P. “Modernization of Peshawar.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LangId=1&pageName=ProvincialCapital003
Swat District

Swat District encompasses the Swat River and valley, once the “cradle of Buddhism with more than a thousand monasteries.” It was not until the 11th century that Buddhism in this area gave way to Islam. The famous Gandhara School of Sculpture, which combined Buddhist and Greco-Roman art, is also located here. The Swat Museum at the capital of Saidu Sharif holds a collection of Gandhara art that is considered one of the finest in the world.

Located in the foothills of the Hindu Kush mountain range, Swat is one of Pakistan’s most fertile regions. The land is highly cultivated using terrace farming. Crops produced include maize, rice, fruit, and vegetables. The entire region is known for the beauty of its lakes, waterfalls, glaciers, and forests.

Swat has also recently become a new battle front in the country. The region is home to an illegal pro-Taliban movement known as Tehrik-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi (TNSM – Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws). The goal of this group is seen as establishing a base to aid the Taliban-led insurgency in Pakistan. The Pakistani Army has mobilized troops in the area and ordered curfews in response to attacks.

History of the Pashtun Origin

Pashtun Origins

The origin of the Pashtuns is not certain, even as reported within their own ancient records and the stories they tell. However, it is believed that millennia ago they emerged from Kandahar in Afghanistan and the Sulaiman Mountains in Pakistan. They then began expanding into what is known as the NWFP today. They are believed to have mainly practiced the Buddhist and Zoroastrian religions. Among the Pashtuns were a small minority of Hindus, pagans, and Jews before the influx of the Arab Muslims in the 8th century. Pashtuns were influenced by migrating Eurasian people through their region, including Aryans, Persians, Huns, Kushans, and Greeks. Central Asian Turkic tribes and the Mongols lashed devastating assaults upon the region in the 7th and 8th centuries.

Theories about the Origins

Among the conflicting theories of the Pashtuns’ origins, one theory describes a people called the Bani Israel who settled in Ghor, in Afghanistan. They migrated in a southeasterly direction toward the area which is now home to the Pashtuns. These people

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reportedly were one of the original Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. Others claim that Pashtun tribes descended from the Arabs, or Greeks from the armies of Alexander the Great. Linguistic research has debunked legends of the Pashtuns’ Semitic origins. Genetic research has put forth the idea that the Pashtuns are Indo-European related to Iranian groups, but this is not certain. In attempting to define who the Pashto people are, these three main theories are most prominent. Being a member of this group is generally defined by language, religion and culture, and patrilineal descent.

**Pashtuns Today**

Modern Pashtuns are characterized primarily by their language, Pashto, with its two main divisions of dialects. They are further known by their strict Islamic beliefs and by Pashtunwali, their pre-Islamic code of honor. They associate themselves with Ahmad Shah Durrani, founder of the Durrani Empire, or the region of what is now Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, and Iranian Mashad. Both the Pashtuns and the Afghans fought against the British and the Russians to prevent foreign rulers. Pashtun troops enlisted in the British Indian Army during World War II and also in the Pakistan Army. They enlisted in the fight against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s. Their political loyalties, however, do not follow a particular pattern. They also participated in the Communist factions that ruled Afghanistan. Historically, there have been many Pashtuns who have one way or another come into power. For example, they have led Sultanates in Indian dynasties. In Pakistan, the Pashtun Ayub Khan was president in the 1950s and 1960s. Bacha Khan was a Pashtun spiritual leader known for nonviolent resistance to British rule during the Empire’s final years in India. Hamid Karzai, the current president of Afghanistan, is a Pashtun. The royal family from Afghanistan is of Pashtun descent and the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, is Pashtun. More recently, the Pashtuns have been associated with the sect known as the Taliban whose base originated in NWFP. They formed their ideological roots during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and their activity was then centered around the city of Peshawar. As the Taliban continues to reign in the NWFP, there are growing concerns that Pakistan has lost control of this region, or what is being termed “a Taliban dominated state within a state.”

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**History of NWFP**

The NWFP has historically and strategically been an important region because of its many mountain passes that lead into China, India, and Afghanistan. Alexander the Great used the Khyber Pass in 326 BCE to lead his army of 25,000 soldiers into the Punjab from Afghanistan. He was unable to keep a hold on the area and left after only a year and a half.

Control over the region has changed many times. In early centuries, the Kushan Dynasty ruled this area. However the Pathans took control in the 7th century. By the 10th century, conquerors from Afghanistan had gained power and made Islam the dominant religion. Babur later annexed the province to his Mughal empire, after which it became a feudal region during the reign of the Afghan Durrani kingdom. In the 1700s, the Sikhs took control of the area. They were replaced in 1849 by Great Britain, who used large military forces to try to pacify the Pathan resistance.

Britain separated this area from the Punjab region in the early 1900s and claimed it as the North-West Frontier Province. It became part of Pakistan in 1947 and gained status as a province in 1970. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused millions of people to flee into the NWFP, and Peshawar became a center of resistance against the invaders. When the Soviets withdrew in 1989, these refugees were to be repatriated. Although the refugee camps were closed in 1995, many Afghans remain in the NWFP today.

**Economy**

**Farming**

With a population of close to 20 million people and 83% of them living in rural areas, a good portion of the NWFP’s economy is agriculture. The soils and climate are diverse and support a wide range of plant life. Over 42 crops are grown here. The major crops are rice, wheat, barley, corn, sugarcane, tobacco, fruit, and vegetables. Approximately one-fifth of the land in the province is cultivable, and of that total, about one-half is actually under cultivation. Ninety-four percent of farms are considered subsistence level, or less than 12.5 acres. Of the total farms, 58% are operated by their owners and the remainder by tenant farmers.

**Livestock**

Most farms raise livestock, which are essential, but mainly to supplement the nutritional and cash needs of each farm’s occupants. Dairy and poultry products are used mainly for

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household consumption, with farmers selling only limited amounts of such produce on the market. Raising livestock is not a central part of the primary economic base because capital and resources are lacking for this sector. Consequently, levels of meat and milk productivity are low, and breeds are weak.69 70

**Agriculture Devastated by 2005 Earthquake** 71

A devastating 2005 earthquake with a magnitude of 7.6 caused widespread destruction in NWFP. It triggered landslides which destroyed roads, farms, and villages. An estimated 100,000 people in affected areas were killed in the earthquake. Livestock, their shelters, and veterinary hospitals were also destroyed in NWFP. This caused even more suffering among rural people who depend on livestock to supplement their food and cash needs. Because the earthquake occurred during the hay and maize harvest, farmers faced severe shortages of food for their livestock in winter. They ended up not being able to feed animals or treat those that were injured and had to sell much of their livestock.

As a result of the devastation, the government developed a three-phase recovery plan for this region to recoup some of these losses. The first phase targeted early recovery of livestock production. The second phase (6–18 months) targeted for improvement the quality of vulnerable groups such as lactating cows. It also planned to rehabilitate public service facilities, animal shelters, and veterinary services. The third phase (2–5 years) involves re-seeding lands, diversifying livestock, and further strengthening the farm infrastructure. The time projected to recuperate from this loss was five years.72

**Earthquake Relief**

In an effort to help the NWFP recover from earthquake related losses, the U.S. Army provided disaster relief operations. The U.S. government worked with the Pakistani government to provide medical help and emergency supplies. Also, U.S. AID set up a headquarters to help coordinate relief operations. Altogether, over 75 countries contributed monies and supplies for emergency shelters, healthcare, safe drinking water, and food. They also provided cash for work programs, vocational training, and reconstruction hubs for rebuilding homes. In all, 370,000 people through the region were

adversely affected by this earthquake and over two million survivors were left homeless.\textsuperscript{73}

**Pashtuns and Pashtunwali, the “Pashtun Way”**

The majority of the people who live in the NWFP are Pashtuns. A large number of refugees from Afghanistan settled in the NWFP after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s. However, the majority of these people were also Pashtun.\textsuperscript{74} Pashtuns follow a strict code called Pashtunwali, or the “Pashtun way.” Essentially, this code is based on obligations of providing hospitality and sanctuary when needed, even to enemies. It also obligates them to exact revenge, no matter what the cost, to restore one’s honor. Finally, the code requires that Pashtuns follow the decisions of the *jirga*, or tribal council of leaders in settling tribal disputes.

Many Pashtuns have blue eyes and claim that they are descendants of European soldiers who fought for Alexander the Great. In their ethnic language, Pashto, they have a rich oral tradition. Many, however, prefer to read and write in Urdu.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{75} MSN Encarta Online Encyclopedia. “Cultural Groups.” http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761560851_3/Pakistan.html#s11
Religion

Overview of Major Religions

Records show that most people in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) practice Islam as their main religion. When Islam was introduced to this area in the 8th century CE, people who populated this region (mostly Pathans, or Pashtuns) changed their beliefs to Islam from Buddhism and Brahmanism. The Islamic religion is divided into two main divisions, Sunni and Shi’a, and most Pashtuns became Sunni Muslims.76

Islam

Derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition, Islam is the second largest religion in the world with over one billion followers. The word “islam” means submission. It reflects the central belief of submitting to the will of God, or Allah. The Quran, which means “reciting,” is the sacred text that the Islamic people, or Muslims, follow. They believe it is a record of Allah’s revelations transmitted through the Angel Gabriel to Mohammad, the founder of Islam. The single most important belief of Islam is that there is only one God (Allah), and that Allah is the Creator of the perfect universe.77

The five pillars of Islam are certain beliefs and practices that Muslims follow to affirm their membership in the Islamic community. The first is *shahada*, or affirmation of the faith through reciting one’s belief that “There is no god but God (Allah), and Muhammad is his Prophet.” The second is *salat*, the obligation to pray five times a day and preferably in a communal setting when possible. The third pillar is *zakat*, the obligation to give charity to those who are poor or suffering. The fourth is *sawm*, the obligation to fast during the 30-day period of Ramadan, the holy month. The last pillar in Islam is the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca. This obligation should be made once during every Muslim believer’s lifetime.78

Sunni Islam

The Sunnis have their historical roots with the group who followed Abu Bakr, Muhammad’s successor and an effective leader. The Sunnis have accepted the temporal authority of Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman, and Ali, the four caliphs. In fact, the word “sunnī” is derived from “sunnah,” meaning custom, as in those who follow the customs of the Prophet. The Shi’a, on the other hand, accept the authority only of Ali, the Prophet’s

cousin and son-in-law. They believe that those who are in the Prophet’s line of succession should be descended from his lineage.\textsuperscript{79}

Sunni Islam does not possess clerical hierarchies or highly centralized institutions. Its strength seems to come from this lack of hierarchy, giving it flexibility which then allows it to adapt to local conditions. The ability to maintain order and power is enough of a legitimate authority for Sunnis. As there is no centralized clerical authority, the Sunnis in principle approach their God (Allah) directly.\textsuperscript{80} This contrasts with the Shi’a view which mandates that religious leaders rule a government.\textsuperscript{81}

There are four accepted legal schools of thought within the Sunni sect: Shafi’i, Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali. These schools are called madhhab and each is characterized by the principles of jurisprudence it follows. In Pakistan, the Hanafi school is predominant.

\textbf{The Role of Religion in the Government}

\textit{History of Islamic Law, or Shari’a}

The role of Islam in Pakistan was in question when the nation was formed in 1947. Against the backdrop of Partition, in which “borders tore through power lines, railroads, irrigation canals, and fields,” Pakistan came into being as a religious homeland. The rigid border divisions caused people to become increasingly polarized. At the same time, Jinnah, Pakistan’s founder and the first governor general, envisioned Pakistan as a democracy with equal rights for all. He argued against a theocratic state and against religious or ethnic discrimination. Jinnah believed religion should be a personal matter. He did in fact appoint a Christian, A.R. Cornelius, as Pakistan’s first supreme court justice.

The founders envisioned a concept of social justice guided by Islamic values that could exist parallel to the secular state. The constitution’s framers therefore avoided creating an Islamic state. They did, however, form an Islamic republic, or representative government. Pakistan has roots in both secular ideas and the Islamic concept of society.\textsuperscript{82}

Within this polarized society, members of the government were not able to stabilize a new division of power. Questions remained such as how to establish Islam’s role in the government, or how to divide power between the central government and the provinces. Pakistan’s first formal constitution in 1956 proclaimed the nation was an Islamic republic.

\textsuperscript{80} This does not deny that there are some Sunni religious leaders who have great political and social power.
At the time, a balance existed between moderates and the more traditional ulama (Islamic scholars). The latter believed the Quran, the sunna (Muhammad’s deeds and words), and the Shari’ा (Islamic law) were the source of principles for living and governing. Although the mullahs (less educated clerics) held considerable influence among the people, their influence in government was very limited.

The constitution was suspended in 1958 under martial law and a new constitution was drafted in 1962. Although it established that the president would be Muslim, the ulama still had no real power base outside an advisory one. This constitution too was suspended by military rule in 1969. Pakistan’s third constitution took effect in 1973 and still effected a balance between moderates and religious fundamentalists. It was not until the rule of General Zia that the role of Islam in the government was given more absolute definition. In 1978 he announced that government laws must conform to Shari’ा. In 1991, the Shariat Bill was passed under Prime Minister Sharif, requiring that all the country’s laws conform to Islam. This move increased factional divisions between people. In the popular culture, most people were personally religious, but not in the public sense of wanting to live in a theocracy. In 1992 the government required that religious affiliation be indicated on identity cards, but was pressured by minority groups and later rescinded the decree.83

**Shari’ा in NWFP**

As the NWFP is under Pakistani governance, it must comply with the laws of Pakistan, officially named the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.84 The 1973 constitution states that “the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice” be fully observed as stated by Islam. It states that Muslims shall live their lives based on the teachings of Islam and the Holy Quran. However, it also states that “provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures.” It adds that the territories included in Pakistan are “guaranteed fundamental rights, including equality of status…”85

Under Shari’а, which has been unevenly enforced, the country and its provinces including NWFP would be required to follow Islamic law more strictly. The argument for Islamic law is that it is superior to (secular) governmental law, more fortified by religious belief, more likely to result in an orderly society in which people follow the law. Therefore, according to the argument, it should take precedence over government ruled by secular law.

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Although the NWFP is governed by Pakistan, there is concern that the government has little control over this province. British rule in the region of NWFP was tenuous even though they used a “divide and conquer” policy to play off feuding factions against each other. Pashtuns are known for their independence. The majority of Pashtuns are pious Sunni, although they are “ambivalent” toward mullahs, or formal prayer leaders. Reports state that despite the government’s efforts to control extremist groups and violence, reprisals against religious groups continue against Hindus, Christians, and Ahmadis. Much of this violence is also toward Shi’a Muslims by Sunni Muslims. One example is a 2006 Sunni bombing of a Shi’a procession, killing 43 people in the town of Hangu in NWFP. In Peshawar, 14 people were killed in a suicide bombing in January 2007. The target was a Shi’a religious procession. It is also not uncommon for Shi’a militants to carry out reprisal attacks against Sunnis.

**Shari’a and the Hasba Act**

A bill entitled the Hasba Act passed in 2005 in the provincial assembly in the NWFP enforcing Shari’a precedence over secular provincial law. This act introduced a muhtasib, or an individual to function as a religious ombudsman to ensure that residents follow Islamic laws. It proposed restricting the rights of women and placing the educational and financial systems more in line with the Quran. The morality police would be allowed to question people about their relationships and arrest beggars. Those who supported the bill stated that they were just trying to protect human decency and curb obscenity. Those opposed argued that this bill would introduce a system aligned with the narrow beliefs of the Taliban, similar to their Department of Vice and Virtue in Afghanistan. Opposition parties and members of the central government also claimed that it undermines the constitution and is un-Islamic. They asked the Supreme Court to rule against it. It did so, ruling that the law was “unconstitutional and therefore illegal.”

The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), a coalition of six Islamic parties, dominates the NWFP. They continued to attempt to pass the Hasba Act in NWFP and are seen as supporters of the Taliban. Their version of the bill in late 2006, like the 2005 version, allows the morality police to enter government offices and examine and remove documents. They would be allowed to monitor and control women and monitor people’s moral values in public places. Many are concerned about the MMA’s ideological ties to the Taliban vice squads in Afghanistan. Individuals in Pakistan and in NWFP have been


reporting an increasing number of honor killings and violations against women’s rights. This has been happening as the MMA’s influence increases along with that of the morality police.  

Influence of Religion on Daily Life

Since Shari’a or Islamization was imposed by General Zia in the 1990s, the country in general has been pushed into more factionalism. Divisions have increased because of attempts to legislate who or what represents correct Islamic behavior. Imposed Shari’a has resulted in a situation in which “Islam itself could no longer provide unity because it was then being defined to exclude previously included groups.” As a result, disputes have arisen between Sunni and Shi’a, between ethnic groups, and between other religions. These tensions can possibly be “traced to the loss of Islam as a common vocabulary of public morality.”

Debate has continued between modernists and Islamic radicals (including Islamists, or fundamentalists). The former believe in a modern, tolerant interpretation of Islam, and the latter believe in a literal, fundamentalist interpretation.

These beliefs impact the foundation of everyday life. Fundamentalist, extremist views have been sweeping the country, promoting Shari’a. Madrassas, or religious schools, have become more politicized along conservative fundamentalist lines. Many madrassas traditionally offer basic education and studies of Islamic theology. Others, however, serve as training grounds for religious militants. In NWFP, where the majority Pashtuns are Sunni, Darul Uloom Haqqania—one of Pakistan’s largest madrassas—graduates 3,000 students yearly. Most are from extremely poor backgrounds and many say they want to engage in jihad, or holy war. Some of the female students have demanded that Shari’a be imposed on society.

Also in NWFP, Taliban-like militias have taken control, replacing tribal leaders and spreading from NWFP into other areas of the country. Many of the new militants in NWFP who model themselves after the Taliban are not part of the original Taliban, Afghans who fought the Soviets. They are instead Pakistanis who oppose the Pakistani government’s support of the U.S. and are influenced by the Taliban who operated across the border. They oppose secular values and want to bring down those in the Pakistani government who support such values. People in NWFP who are not local have a difficult time trying to navigate the streets in the NWFP’s towns. They are often required to have police escorts. In Peshawar, women are generally not allowed in the streets. Numerous

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92 There are two kinds of Jihad. One is “holy war” to preserve Islam, but the more important meaning is internal striving against one’s individual ‘lower self’ so as to remain a righteous and just person.
suicide attacks have been reported. Video and music stores have been bombed and girls’ schools closed.93

The few Christians who live in the region are concerned about the high risk of discrimination and abuse. The chairman of the All Pakistan Minorities Alliance claims that the Hasba Act is like a “sword hanging over religious minorities and women since they will become the prime targets for extremists.” This alliance claims that the bill is unconstitutional and invokes religious marshal law as it spreads chaos and anarchy through the NWFP. Pakistan’s central government also opposes this bill. The Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in September 2006, but the supporters of Shari’a have adapted it and once again are trying to gain passage.94

*Musharraf’s Reaction to the Spread of Shari’a*

President Musharraf has taken only limited action against the Pakistani Taliban and their supporters because they have in the past been useful to his military regime. After he came to power, he used them in 1999 to help him neutralize mainstream political parties, Bhutto’s People’s Party and the Muslim League. Dr. Ayesha Siddiqa, a security analyst, claims that “The alliance of religious parties that rules NWFP came into power through his [Musharraf’s] support.”95

**Purdah**

*Purdah*, or veiling and seclusion of women, is practiced among South Asian Muslims and also Hindus. Within Pakistan, it is especially prevalent in NWFP, where women seldom leave their homes in deference to the strong tradition of *purdah*. The purpose of *purdah* is to shelter women, keeping them safe from men outside the family and keeping them in their own private space. This seclusion begins at puberty among Muslims. *Purdah*, which literally means “curtain” in Persian, is physically defined as covering the face and body and segregating the living space. Wearing a *burqa*, or body veil, provides the purpose of seclusion if Muslim women go outside. *Burqas* allow them to move about freely and yet remain somewhat invisible. In broader terms, *purdah* encompasses the behavior of women, the restriction of their movements, and the requirements of their demeanor. These elements are a mark of respect to the men in their lives because the men occupy a higher status. It is of course also a way to maintain male control over the women in the family, who represent the family’s honor.96

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Religious Events

Salat: Ritual Prayer

Salat is the ritual prayer that Muslims recite five times a day. At dawn, the salat is called al-fajir. At noon, it is called al-zuhr. The afternoon prayer is called al-asr. The prayer at sunset is called al-maghrib and the evening prayer is called al-isha.

These prayers are always said facing in the direction of Mecca. Although they can be recited individually, salats carry more weight if they are recited in a group setting.

A ritual washing of the hands, face, and feet precedes the salat. This is known as wudu. If water is not available, in the desert for instance, sand can be substituted.

At the five appointed times, a muezzin announces a call to prayer. This is referred to as adhan. The muezzin traditionally makes this announcement from the mosque. Today, this announcement is typically heard over the radio. Common prayers are: Allahu Akbar (God is most great), Ashadu anna la ilaha illa Allah (I bear witness there is no god but God) or Ashadu anna Muhammadan rasul Allah (I bear witness Muhammad is the prophet of God).

If worshippers are performing salat at a mosque, they line themselves up in parallel rows behind their imam. The imam directs them through the proper stances and postures during the salat.

There are other salats that are recited on Fridays. These are performed at noontime. If there is a Muslim holiday, salats are performed at mid morning. Individual prayers are encouraged at night. This is called tahajjud.

Sawm: Fasting during Ramadan

Ramadan takes place during the ninth month of the Islamic year. All Muslims are expected to abstain from food, drink, and sexual relations during the daylight hours. The period of fasting is called sawm. There are exceptions for certain situations. For instance, people who are traveling, ill, or infirm, do not have to practice sawm. This fasting is to commemorate the revelations of the Quran to man. Through dedicating themselves to the strict discipline of the fast, Ramadan is an opportunity for Muslims to increase their devotion to Allah.

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**Hajj: the Pilgrimage to Mecca**  

Every Muslim is expected to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his or her lifetime. This holy journey, or *Hajj*, takes place during the last month of the Islamic calendar. Only those who are infirm or financially burdened are not expected to participate. The *Hajj* commemorates the stories of Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael. One of the most meaningful aspects of this journey is that it brings together believers from all over the world. At Mecca’s entrance, the pilgrims enter a state of *ihram*, or purity. They remain in this state until the end of the journey. Men wear sandals and a white garment made from two white seamless sheets. This symbolizes the state of holiness that they have entered. This garment also serves as a method of equality so that all the men look alike and are not divided by visible indicators of wealth, class, and culture. Women who make this pilgrimage are allowed to wear white and leave their hands and faces exposed.

There are two stages of the *Hajj*. In the first stage, the pilgrims enter the city of Mecca and walk around the Ka’ba, the sacred monument, seven times. They do this while reciting the *talbiya*, or recitation. After the recitation, they kiss the black stone of the Ka’ba and pray twice towards the Station of Abraham and the Ka’ba. Then they run seven times between the mountains of Safa and Marwa. The second stage takes place between the eighth and twelfth days of the *Hajj*. This is spent in Mina where the pilgrims are expected to sacrifice an animal to commemorate Abraham’s sacrifice at *Eid al-Adha*, a major Muslim holiday. They throw seven stones at each of the three pillars, which represent devils and sins, on three consecutive days. Upon returning to Mecca, the pilgrims perform the *tawaf*, or walking around the Ka’ba. Their heads get shaved and this marks the end of *ihram*.

**Zakat: Alms Tax**

The Quran requires that Muslims give *zakat*, money or possessions as an act of charity. This *zakat* is expected of every adult Muslim who can afford to give. The approximate rate is 2.5 percent of the value of the owner’s possessions. So, if he does not have a substantial income, he can be expected to give *zakat* in the form of goods such as grains, fruit, camels, cattle, sheep and goats, or gold and silver. The monies or goods are dispensed among the poor, debtors, volunteers in *jihad*, and tax collectors.

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100 The larger meaning of *jihad*, aside from holy war, is the internal struggle to subdue one’s rebellious nature to the laws of justice and righteousness through submission to Allah.

Religious Holidays

Al-Hijra

The Islamic New Year is called Al-Hijra. It falls on the first day of the month of Muharram, which is the first month of the Islamic calendar. This is when the Prophet Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina and established the first Islamic state, reflecting the integration of earthly and spiritual life. Although there are no specific rituals for this holiday, Muslims are expected to reflect on this day and regard this as an opportunity to make their new year’s resolutions.

Mawlid an-Nabi

Mawlid an-Nabi is the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad’s birth. He was born on the 12th day of the third month of the Islamic calendar. Muslims do not typically hold celebrations in honor of this day which follows the practice of Muhammad, who himself did not celebrate his own birthday.

Lailat al-Miraj

This is celebrated on the 27th day in the month of Rajab on the Islamic calendar. It is celebrated by telling the story of how the Prophet Muhammad was visited by two angels while he was sleeping. These angels purified him and gave him knowledge and faith. He then traveled to Jerusalem from Mecca on a winged animal. Once in Jerusalem, he ascended into heaven where he learned about the duty of ritual prayer five times a day.

Lailat-ul-Bara'h, Night of Forgiveness

On this night, Muslims seek forgiveness for their sins. They may give charity or visit the graves of family members. They feel that on this night their destiny is resolved for the coming year. This is celebrated on the 15th night of the month of Shabaan, two weeks before Ramadan.

Lailat al-Qadr (Night of Power)

Said to occur during the last ten days of Ramadan, Lailat al-Qadr marks the night when Allah first revealed the Quran to the Prophet Mohammad. Muslims spend this time, also

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known as the Night of Power, in study and prayer. The revelation is regarded as the most important event in Muslim history.\textsuperscript{107}

\textit{Ramadan} \textsuperscript{108}

The holiest month of the year, Ramadan, is observed during the ninth month of the Islamic calendar.\textsuperscript{109} During this month, Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset, reflecting spirituality and their bond with family and friends. This time is meant to purify the soul, refocus their attention on God, and practice self-sacrifice and self-restraint. Fasting is another duty of Islam that has special benefits, such as learning self-control and learning to appreciate the food one has. The experience of hunger also provides a way to develop sympathy and charity for those who are less fortunate.

At the end of each day of Ramadan, it is the custom to break the fast at sunset by eating dates (\textit{iftar}), followed by prayer and a shared dinner. The fast may result in stomach contractions, so the dinner is typically small. Some people suffer from tiredness during this long period of fasting, and this can result in anxious behavior. Many, however, become adjusted to the altered routine and schedule of fasting during the first week of Ramadan. This tends to minimize any exhaustion during the day.

\textit{Eid al-Fitr, Festival of the Breaking of the Fast}

This is one of Islam’s two major festivals. It is the official end of Ramadan and the celebration continues for three days. A \textit{salat} is said at daybreak to begin the official start of \textit{Eid al-Fitr}. Then, Muslims dress in new clothes to visit each other’s homes, receive guests, exchange gifts, and visit the gravesites of their deceased relatives.\textsuperscript{110}

\textbf{Exchange 1:} Will you celebrate Eid tomorrow?

\textbf{Soldier:} Will you celebrate Eid tomorrow? \textit{taaso ba sabaa jishni azaadee manaawee?}

\textbf{Local:} Yes. \textit{aaoo}

\textsuperscript{107} BBC.co.uk. “Religion and Ethics-Islam.”
http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/holydays/lailatalqadr.shtml

\textsuperscript{108} Colorado State University, Muslim Student Association. “Ramadan, the Month of Fasting.”
http://www.colostate.edu/Orgs/MSA/events/Ramadan.html

http://www.religionfacts.com/islam/holidays/calendar.htm

**Eid al-Adha, Festival of the Sacrifice**

Another major Islamic festival, *Eid al-Adha*, takes place at the completion of the *Hajj*. It is celebrated on the 10th of *Dhu al-Hijja*, or the last month of the Islamic calendar. This is a three-day festival to commemorate God’s gift of the ram in place of Abraham’s son, Ishmael. In honor of this, families sacrifice sheep, goats, camels, or cows. They divide the meat up among themselves and share it with the needy. It is also a time to visit and exchange gifts with family and friends.

**Buildings of Worship**

The NWFP has a total of 80 mosques scattered throughout the province. Ten mosques are located in the district of Swabi, while one mosque is in Peshawar District.

**Mahabat Khan's Mosque**

This Mughal Mosque was built in 1630 by Mahabat Khan, governor of Peshawar at the time. It is located in the Andar Shahar Bazaar. This mosque has an open courtyard with an ablution pond for ceremonial cleaning. The prayer hall is flanked by two tall towers called minarets.

**Gor Khuttree Complex**

This holy site, over 2,000 years old, is located in the Peshawar District and was the original site of Buddhist and Hindu shrines. The gateway of Gor Khuttree is considered to be one of the best examples of Mughal (Mongol) architecture anywhere in the world. Recently the United States helped to fund the restoration of the site. The U.S. gave USD 35,000 through the “U.S. Ambassador’s Fund for Cultural Preservation” to the government of the NWFP to conserve this site. The U.S. State Department created this program in 2001 to support cultural projects in other countries. To restore and preserve Gor Khuttree, the NWFP has funded an eleven-member archeological team and is building a museum at the site. Deterioration and time exposed floors, walls, hearths and platforms dating back

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113 Government N.W.F.P. “Details of Auqaf Mosques/Shrines in the Province.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?pageName=Hajj-004-Details_of_Auqaf_Mosques/Shrines_in_the_Province&DistId=1&DeptId=5&LangId=1
to the *Mughal* and Sultanate periods. Excavators expect to recover around 40 feet of cultural deposit dating back to pre-Islamic times.117

**Behavior in Places of Worship**

When visiting a mosque, it is important to dress appropriately, and to remember to remove one’s shoes before entering. Men should wear a clean shirt, clean socks, and loose fitting pants, not shorts. Women should wear a long skirt, dress, or loose fitting pants with a long sleeved, loose fitting shirt that extends as far as the thighs. Women should also cover their head using some type of scarf and remove makeup, perfume, or nail polish.

**Exchange 2:** May I have a head cover?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I have a head cover?</th>
<th>za da sar saadar aghistaley sham?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Raising one’s voice may interrupt prayer service. Walking in front of a person praying may invalidate the significance of his or her prayer. Therefore, it is advisable to do neither. Men and women are expected to pray in separate areas of the mosque. Women are not allowed in certain areas of the mosque. In some mosques, non-Muslims are not allowed, so asking permission in advance is wise.

**Exchange 3:** May I enter?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I enter?</th>
<th>za danana raatley sham?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Traditions

*Pashtunwali, the Pashtun Code of Honor*[^118] [^119] [^120]

**Honor (nang)**

The Pashtuns are one of the largest groups of tribal people in the world. Their family clan system is a major aspect of their way of life; it adheres to a male-centered code of conduct known as *Pashtunwali*. This code has four parts. The first is honor, or *nang*, which refers to a Pashtun man's duty to defend his honor and the honor of those women in his clan or family. Without *nang*, life for Pashtuns would lack meaning. Behavior centered on honor is expected of the entire family, especially the females, who must remain completely chaste and of pure reputation.

**Revenge (badal)**

Related closely to this is the idea that lapses in honor must be avenged, or honor does not exist. The principle of revenge, or *badal*, is another element of *Pashtunwali*. Satisfying one's honor leads to acts of reprisal which usually revolve around money, women, and land, or *zar, zan*, and *zami*. Those discovered having illicit affairs are killed, for instance. Killings linked to sexual misconduct do not demand revenge. However, all other offenses to honor demand revenge and can pass from father to son. Countless feuds, vendettas, and disruptions of the lineage last for years among the Pashtuns.

**Hospitality (melmastia)**

*Melmastia*, a third aspect of *Pashtunwali*, is the act of showing hospitality toward guests or strangers. This conveys friendship, alliance, and respect. It involves serving guests and accommodating visitors, using a complex etiquette to make them feel comfortable and protected. It takes precedence over revenge in that it requires giving refuge within one's home to anyone who needs it, including an enemy. At the same time, a person who asks for refuge from his enemy suffers humiliation. Acts of hospitality are related to the Pashtun concept of honor in that a host gains honor by extending them.

**Truce (nanawati)**

The final part of *Pashtunwali* is *nanawati*, a truce meant to save the lives of those who lose a fight. It takes place when the weaker party throws himself at the mercy of the

enemy family or tribe. It is expected that once the losers in a fight show submission, the winners will extend to them mercy and generosity.

**Dress Codes**

The *shalwar kameez* is the standard style of dress for both men and women in NWFP and the national dress for the entire country of Pakistan. The *shalwar* is a pair of thin cotton trousers that are baggy but tapered at the ankles. It has a drawstring for a belt. The *kameez* is a long tunic that hangs over the *shalwar*. It hangs to the knees. 121

**Men**

Along with the *shalwar kameez*, men wear colorful embroidered vests and turbans. The manner in which the turban is tied determines tribal identity. Alternately, a Pashtun man will wear a Pukul hat, which is a round, flat wool cap. Men are also known to carry rifles, pistols, and other weapons as part of their style of dress. 122

**Women**

Most of the women in the NWFP wear the traditional *shalwar kameez* in various designs and colors. When a woman goes outside of her home, she wears a *burqa* over her *shalwar kameez*. A *burqa* is a tent-like covering that covers her from head to toe revealing only a narrow slit for her eyes. 123 In the Kalash region, the women like to wear black dresses that have been colorfully embroidered with beads and shells. They also wear a *kopest*, a cap that covers the head all the way down the back. 124

**Purdah**

Customs in Islamic societies are a mix of both Islamic and pre-Islamic beliefs, resulting in diverse practices. Purdah, or veiling and seclusion of women, is practiced among South Asian Muslims and also Hindus. Within Pakistan, it is especially prevalent in the NWFP. Its purpose is to shelter women, keeping them safe from men outside the family and keeping them in their own private space. This seclusion begins at puberty among Muslims. Purdah, which literally means “curtain,” is seen as a way to respect women by protecting them from dangers in the outside world. It also is a way to maintain harmony in the family.

Purdah is physically defined by the covering of the face and body and the segregation of the living space. Wearing a burqa, or body veil, provides the purpose of seclusion if

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Muslim women go outside. Burqas allow them to move about freely and yet remain somewhat invisible. In broader terms, purdah encompasses the behavior of women, the restriction of their movements, and the requirements of their demeanor. These elements are a mark of respect to the men in their lives because the men occupy a higher status. It is of course also a way to maintain male control over the women in the family, who represent the family’s honor.\footnote{McGill School of Architecture Minimum Cost Housing Group. “Chapter 3: Purdah and Rural Housing in South Asia. Purdah.” http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/student/segregation/chapter3}

Purdah in its most conservative form extends to tone of voice (awaz ka purdah) and avoidance of gaze (nazar ka purdah). When this is practiced, it means respectively that women should speak to outsiders from behind a screen and also that that they should not stare directly at outsiders. Women in such an environment who violate this behavior are considered shameless and not respectable.\footnote{McGill School of Architecture Minimum Cost Housing Group. “Chapter 3: Purdah and Rural Housing in South Asia. Purdah.” http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/student/segregation/chapter3}

**Taliban’s Attitudes toward Purdah and Women in NWFP**

As the Taliban’s presence has become increasingly prominent in the NWFP, the tradition of purdah has become compulsory. Previous, proof of certain crimes were established in Islamic court. Such practices included levirate or a widow’s obligation to marry her deceased husband’s brother, the refusal of inheritance for women, giving away daughters to compensate for a crime committed by a male family member, honor killings, blood feuds, and the stoning of unfaithful women. However, with the increased influence of the Taliban in the area, these occurrences are now becoming commonplace and are creating a more “radicalized” Pashtun code.\footnote{UNESCO. Mann, Carol. “Models and Realities of Afghan Womanhood: A Retrospective and Prospects [Page 11].” Mann, Carol. July 2005. http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/file_download.php/16e82f6fb73cbae314c8b691c08140baCarol+Mann.pdf}

In cities like Peshawar, in contrast with other cities in Pakistan, females have become nearly invisible and are not seen at all in public. Even wealthy families only send their sons to top private schools, whereas the girls remain in the home.\footnote{UNESCO. Mann, Carol. “Models and Realities of Afghan Womanhood: A Retrospective and Prospects [Page 13].” July 2005. http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/file_download.php/16e82f6fb73cbae314c8b691c08140baCarol+Mann.pdf}

**Purdah in Afghan Refugee Camps**

The Afghan refugee camps in the NWFP have caused the Pashtuns to revert back to their tribal roots. Each camp is run by a tribal leader, and allegiances are formed within the camp and among local politicians. As a result of this tribal system, traditions including the system of purdah have continued. From the time the camps started, men were allowed new opportunities while the women were expected to remain in their make-shift homes. The men were able to return to Afghanistan once or twice a year. This allowed them to...
maintain ties with their home country. The women were expected to remain in the camps to fend for themselves. To make ends meet, they would collect trash for recycling, work at vegetable stands, or beg. Many women were forced to send their young children to look for work.129

**Purdah in Perspective**

*Purdah* practices remain strong in the NWFP today. These practices seem extreme to Westerners who might want to change them. However, *purdah* must be seen in the light of the family as a whole. It is a part of tribal solidarity and the dignity with which Muslims in NWFP surround their families. According to a UNESCO study, any attempt to change the view of women concerning *purdah* requires comprehensive respect toward the family as a unit. It cannot seclude one family member from another. It must also consider broader constraints, such as the entire culture and the customs which interlock in complex ways.130

**Forced Segregation and Female Jihadists**

In the NWFP, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), an Islamist coalition, claim that their policies are “women friendly.” They note more active female roles in their party, along with their pledge to protect the rights of women and restore women’s honor and prestige.131 However, Islamist groups in general practice tend to reinforce conservative views of women’s domestic role in society. This has the effect of blocking policies which try to bring women into the public sphere. Predictably, in the NWFP where tribal custom keeps women in the home, there are few women in administrative or decision-making bodies of the government. While the NWFP continues to be dominated by the Taliban, domestic roles for women have been reinforced even more and a policy of forced segregation has been implemented.132

**Female Jihadists**

As the violence in the NWFP continues and “Talibanization” grows, some Muslim women are taken to fight alongside their male counterparts. They have a shared sense of identity to the cause and often a familial connection to the men who are fighting. Further,

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religious extremists are using women as a way to support their rise to political power. Male jihadi leaders have found ways to manipulate women to win political attention and gain sympathy. Where women lack access to education, they are vulnerable to male interpretations of religious doctrine. Though these male extremists are claiming to help women’s political causes by including them in a global jihad, the women are in a sense being used as “human shields.” By wearing burqas they are both invisible and untouchable to male police officers. As a result, women are potentially able to hide suicide bombs in their burqas. Pakistani leaders feel that the women are too “timid” to exercise these acts. However, the possibility that male jihadists could induce women to become suicide bombers has “serious implications for …the region’s security,” according to terrorism analysts.133

Traditional and Non-Traditional Jobs

Farming 134

With a population of close to 20 million people and 83 percent of them living in rural areas, a good portion of the NWFP’s economy has traditionally been agriculture. The soils and climate are diverse and support a wide range of plant life. Several crops are grown here, including rice, barley, corn, sugarcane, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables. Both sugarcane and sugar beets are better crop producers for the NWFP than wheat.135 There are six sugar mills in the entire province. They are located in the districts of Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, Takht Bhai, D.I. Khan, and Serai Naurang. The Peshawar and Mardan locations are the main sugar producers. D.I. Khan is increasing its sugar production due to a recent completion of the Chashama Right Bank Canal.

Approximately one-fifth of the land in the province is cultivable, and of that total, about one half is actually under cultivation. Ninety-four percent of farms are considered subsistence level, or less than 12.5 acres. Of the total farms, 58 percent are operated by their owners and the remainder by tenant farmers.

Livestock

Most farms traditionally raise livestock. Although the products from livestock are essential, they are important mainly to supplement the nutritional and cash needs of each farm’s occupants. Dairy and poultry products are used primarily for household consumption, with farmers selling only limited amounts of such produce on the market. Raising livestock is not a central part of the economic base because capital and resources

135 NWFP is a “wheat deficit province.” The amount of wheat grown here does not meet the population’s needs and therefore the province has to import wheat. Source: Government N.W.F.P. “Food Department.” 2004. http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/Food/Others/index.php
are lacking for this sector. Consequently, levels of meat and milk productivity are low, and breeds are weak.  

Agricultural Engineering

The Agriculture Department developed a project to reclaim land and develop irrigation processes in the 1950s. This led to the creation of the Agricultural Engineering Organization which helps the farm community conserve water from rainfall and protects farm land from soil erosion. This organization provides free technical advice to the farmers of the NWFP and maintains farm equipment and irrigation tube wells. Projects focus on conserving soil by building protection embankments and spillways, checking dams and water outlets, and terracing farmland.

Illegal Arms Manufacturing

An alternative industry to farming that can command much larger revenues for struggling farmers is the production of illegal arms. Gunsmithing began as a cottage industry with low profits years ago. Linked to honor, property, and personal security, guns and weapons have long been a part of life in NWFP. However, the cottage industry soared as a growing industry during the Soviet invasion of the 1970s. Along with gun smuggling, the demand for weapons increased with the growing number of Muslim groups fighting the Soviets. Over 1,200 gun shops are located in the district of Peshawar in the town of Darra Adam Khel alone. They sell AK-47s, mini-Kalashnikovs, hand-held firearms, the James Bond pen gun, and the Lee Enfield .303. These gun shops not only create jobs for the salespeople but also create ancillary positions such as manufacturers, middlemen, brokers, and transporters as well. The gun shops in Darra Adam Khel are supplied by almost 1,500 small workshops and over 50 manufacturing units that employ more than 6,000 gunsmiths.

Exchange 4: Are you carrying any guns?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are you carrying any guns?</th>
<th>taaso topakey warlee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Science and Information Technology

The governor of the NWFP, Ali Muhammad Jan Aurakzai, has expressed the need to increase the informational technology (IT) of the NWFP. He states that both IT education and IT promotion have been growing in recent years. He claims that job growth in this industry will expand in the NWFP in coming years. As a result of the projected growth, in 2002 the Science and Technology and Information Technology (ST&IT) Department was established. This department has since brought digitalization to scientific, research, and educational institutions. A few of the current projects are developing an online hospital management system in Peshawar, computerizing police stations in Swat, and developing web-hosting services for the government of NWFP. Another project will establish computer labs in the schools of NWFP.143, 144

Formulaic Codes of Politeness

As the NWFP is Islamic and Pakistani, both courtesies and local customs should be respected. Politeness is essential.

Smoking is prohibited in public places. When smoking, it is polite to ask permission first. If invited into a home, guests should bring a small gift or souvenir.145

Women should always avoid wearing tight clothing. They should make sure that their arms and legs are covered at all times.146

When greeting someone, shaking hands is acceptable with the right hand only. Use the right hand when passing or receiving something such as food or gifts.147

Exchange 5: Good Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Good morning!</th>
<th>aslaamu aleykum!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Good morning.</td>
<td>wa-aleykum asalaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Exchange 6: Good Afternoon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Good afternoon!</th>
<th>aslaamu aleykum!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Good afternoon.</td>
<td>wa-aleykum asalaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exchange 7: Good Evening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Good evening.</th>
<th>aslaamu aleykum!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Good evening.</td>
<td>wa-aleykum asalaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Events

Islamic Marriage

Muslims believe that marriage is a joint relationship between a man and woman as ordained by Allah. There are four stages in the Islamic marriage. They are acceptance between both parties and also by their parents, providing a dowry, and having people bear witness to the marriage.

There are reasons behind each stage. Because Islam ordains that both the man and woman should accept each other and the upcoming marriage, it forbids forced marriages. Further, marriage is an alliance between families. Therefore, parents of both the man and woman must consent to the marriage in order to secure the best conditions for the merger of two families. As for the dowry, it is offered from the man to the woman as ordained by Allah. If there is no dowry, there is no marriage. The amount of the dowry is agreed upon by both the new husband and bride, and the parents are not to interfere with the dowry.148

A witnessing of the marriage by other people is the fourth stage of the Islamic marriage. This is the wedding ceremony and it is conducted by an imam, or tribal elder.

Exchange 8: Congratulations on your marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Congratulations on your marriage.</th>
<th>waada dey mobaarak sha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Thank you.</td>
<td>shukreyaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The groom’s family gives gifts to the bride’s family and they should be within his family’s budget. These gifts are brought to the ceremony for the imam to witness them.149

**Exchange 9:** I wish you both much happiness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: I wish you both much happiness.</th>
<th>za da staaso dwarlo dera Khoshaalee ghaawarlam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Thank you.</td>
<td>shukreeyaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Wedding Customs**

Some wedding customs in Pakistan and NWFP are not based in Islam. Instead, many have been adopted from the Hindu religion. In NWFP, customs concerning marriage also are grounded in tribal traditions.150, 151

The *mangni* is a formal engagement ceremony that takes place after the couple has decided to marry. It is held in front of a few friends and family, who recite prayers and blessings for the couple. The date of the wedding is decided at this ceremony.152

The *mayun* is a custom where the bride goes into seclusion for a period of 8–15 days preceding the wedding. She is free from household chores and is confined to her house. The groom’s mother brings for the new bride a paste called *uptan*, a mixture of turmeric, herbs, sandalwood powder, and oils. To beautify the bride, it is applied to the young woman’s hands and face every day until the wedding.153 The *dolki* is a ceremony of singing traditional wedding songs. The bride, or *dulhan*, wears a traditional yellow dress and her family brings her to the ceremony.154

The day before the wedding a henna party called a *rasm e mehndi* is held, attended only by women. They apply henna to the bride’s hands and feet, creating elaborate floral designs. The bride traditionally wears a veil.155

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Nikah, Wedding Ceremony

The official wedding ceremony is called nikah, which has its origins “purely” in Islamic tradition. It usually takes place in the bride’s home and is attended by close family members. The fathers of both the bride and groom act as witnesses and often perform the ceremony. An imam will read verses from the Quran. The bride and groom sign the marriage contract, known as the nikah-naama, which establishes terms of the marriage. It includes the bride’s divorce rights, the amount the groom will provide his bride, and other conditions. Once the wedding is announced, the groom’s family is served dates and misri, or unrefined sugar.156 During the nikah ceremony, the bride has kept her face hidden under a veil. Afterward she reveals her face to her new husband in a custom known as mooh dikah. They share fruit with each other and then host a dinner for their friends and family. In one popular custom during this ceremony, the younger siblings and cousins of the bride steal the groom’s shoes and demand money in exchange for returning them.157

The last ceremony is ruksati, in which the bride bids farewell to her family and close friends. In an un-Islamic tradition, the Quran is held over her head as a blessing. This can be a very emotional time for the bride and her family. At the groom’s house, several traditional games are played. One is hiding the wedding ring in a mixture of water and milk. The one who finds the ring is considered the dominant one in the marriage. A traditional custom is the groom washing the bride’s feet in a basin of water. That water is then sprinkled into four corners of the house. This is believed to bring luck, wealth, and prosperity into their new home.158

Walima is a ceremony to announce the wedding to the community. The groom’s parents hold a large reception and invite friends, neighbors, and community members.159

Exchange 10: Is this your wife?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is this your wife?</th>
<th>daa staaso Khaza daa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wedding Clothing

A traditional wedding dress is traditionally three pieces. Typically, there are floral designs and beaded work or embroidery on the dress. The dress contains a lehenga (skirt),

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**dupatta** (beaded shawl), and a top with embellished sleeves. Common embroidery might contain beads, pieces of crystal and glass.\(^{160}\)

**Wedding Meals Banned**

In 2006, the NWFP government banned wedding meals held at marriage halls, hotels, restaurants, schools, and colleges. Any complaints go to the area magistrate court.\(^{161}\) This went into effect in order to discourage an “ostentatious display of wealth” and to try and minimize the financial burdens on poor families trying to compete with friends and neighbors which in turn could bankrupt them.

**Forced Marriage**

**Swara**, or blood price, is a practice relatively common in the NWFP. It is an arrangement of giving away young daughters as compensation for crimes committed by men of warring families. As *Pashtunwali* is a code of honor that is held strongly among Pashtuns, *swara* is a means of preventing bloodshed and maintaining honor. Daughters and sisters are also given away to settle debts or petty crimes, such as theft. This is an acceptable resolution that is overseen by the *jirga*, or tribal council of elders. The belief of this forced marriage is that once the *swara* “wife” gives birth, the offspring belongs to both families and this puts an end to any grudges between the warring families. The reality though is that the young wife often pays the price for whatever dispute she was given up to settle. Her new “relatives” do not consider her part of the family and often she is not allowed to partake in any family rituals or celebrations.\(^{162}\) Women who experience *swara* (or any violations of *purdah*) may be subject to treatment including burning, beating, torture, and death. This is an engrained part of a cultural outlook called *mardangi* (manhood) that exists in NWFP and other areas of Pakistan.

**Arranged Marriage**

More common in the NWFP are arranged marriages. These marriages are the result of decisions between the parents of the couple. The father screens the young man to see if he is worthy enough, financially and otherwise, for his daughter. Many people prefer such arranged marriages, which seem to work for people whose customs are grounded in them and who are unaffected by Western culture.\(^{163}\)

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Funerals

Muslims believe that death is a journey into another world, not necessarily a departure from one’s existence. They also believe in asking mercy and forgiveness from Allah. It is recommended that a Muslim’s last words be the declaration of faith: “I bear witness that there is no god but Allah.”

Upon death, excessive wailing, screaming, or thrashing by survivors is forbidden. It is wise to encourage those close to the deceased to remain calm, although expressions of grief are expected. In preparation for the funeral, the body is washed with scented water and shrouded in a clean, white cloth called a kafan.

The funeral is held immediately and the deceased is transported to the site of the funeral prayers. These prayers, or salat-i-janazah, are held in an outdoor courtyard or public square. After the imam (prayer leader) recites the prayers, the deceased is taken to the burial site, accompanied only by men in the community. The body is often placed in the gravesite without a coffin and always facing in the direction of Mecca.

There is a three-day period of mourning that follows. A widow observes a period of mourning (iddah) that lasts four months and ten days. She is not to wear decorative jewelry or clothing or remarry during this time.

Exchange 11: I would like to offer my condolences to you and your family

| Soldier: | I would like to offer my condolences to you and your family. | za taaso aw staaso da Khaanadaan sara der tazeeyat kawam aw taaso gham key baraabar shareek yam |
| Local: | Thank you. | shukreeyaa |

Hospitality and Gift Giving

When invited into a home, it is customary to remove the shoes. It is permissible to arrive as late as an hour after the invited time. Visitors should greet the elders first. Shaking hands is the common way men

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greet each other. Hugging is reserved for men who have developed a close knit relationship.

In rural areas, sitting at a table without chairs is not uncommon. People do not always use utensils to eat except in more westernized homes, where they do use them. Pakistanis eat only with their right hands.168

**Exchange 12: I really appreciate your hospitality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>I really appreciate your hospitality.</th>
<th>za waakee staasoo mehmaan nawaazey dera staayana kawam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>You’re welcome.</td>
<td>hes Khabara na dey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the food is served, the guest is the first to receive food, followed by the eldest and then everyone else according to age. The eldest person at the table is one who begins eating first. Taking a second or third helping is common and expected.169

**Exchange 13: Did you make this meal yourself?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Did you make this meal yourself?</th>
<th>taasoo dadeey pakhala pakhakharee daa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If bringing gifts, flowers or a box of chocolates are always welcome. White flowers are not suitable to bring to someone’s home as they are reserved for weddings. Alcohol also is never an appropriate gift. When the hostess (or host) receives gifts, she does not open them in front of her guests. Last, when presenting a gift, the giver should use both hands.170

**Eating Habits**

*Green Tea, Qehwa*

Green tea, or *qehwa*, is so popular in Peshawar that locals enjoy their tea in hundreds of tea shops, or *Qehwa Khanas*, that can be found throughout the city. Most people enjoy their tea after a meal. They claim that the

tea, which is served in small cups, helps aid their digestion after eating spicy food. Green tea made its way to Peshawar from Russia where Russians drink it hot to ward off severely cold weather. The use of green tea in this region is a centuries-old tradition which predates the use of black tea. Green tea dates back to the Gandhara period, which introduced eating habits and other traditions in the area. Along with tea, some residents also enjoy the use of a **hooka**, or smoking pipe.\(^{171}\)

**Exchange 14:** I would like a coffee/tea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>I’d like a coffee / tea.</th>
<th>za kaafee / chaay sKhal ghwaarlam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Sure.</td>
<td>yakeenan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fasting during Ramadan**

Because Muslims fast from dawn to dusk during Ramadan, they change their eating habits that precede and break the daily fast during this period. To fast in a healthy manner, Muslims eat a **suhoor**, or pre-dawn meal which helps them to get through the remainder of the day without eating or drinking. It is best to eat fiber rich foods that release their nutrients slowly. Examples are whole wheat, bread, fruit, milk, and vegetables. The meal to break the fast is called the **iftar**. This meal should include foods that provide the body with immediate nutrition. Also, as glucose is important to get into the bloodstream quickly to maintain energy, dates, juices, and soups are recommended as part of the **iftar.**\(^{172}\)

**Type of Food**

**Exchange 15:** Is this food **halal** (permissible according to Islamic law)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is this food halal?</th>
<th>daa halaal Khoraak dey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Tukhmallanga**

*Tukhmallanga* is a drink from the NWFP that consists of *tukhmallanga* seeds mixed in milk. The seeds have a barley flavor that make for a unique yet refreshing drink before a meal.\(^{173}\)

**Kebabs**

The Peshawari *chapplai ke* kebab is unique to the NWFP. It is a hand pounded mutton that is skewered with vegetables. Other kebabs that are popular are the *dum nalli ka gosht*, or a kebab from mutton shanks, and *chaman purdah badal*, a vegetarian kebab. This kebab is coated with coriander and mango chutney. It gives off a sweet, tangy, and spicy flavor. Another vegetarian kebab is the *khumb aur anjeer ke* kebab. It has both a sweet and smoky flavor.\(^{174}\)

**Curry**

The *murgh baluchi salan* is a curry garnished with ginger. The *dal baluchi* is a gravy that has a buttery and slightly musty flavor. It is cooked continuously until served. The *subz zarad khush mahak* has a strong flavor of fennel roots.\(^{175}\)

**Vegetable Biryani**

This is a rice dish that is made with carrots, peas, beans, peppers, and potatoes mixed with cinnamon sticks, turmeric, coriander and chili powder. This is then mixed with yogurt and then baked with a layer of rice on the bottom.\(^{176}\)

**Gazar aur seb ka Murakkat**

This is a dessert dish made with carrots and apples that are cooked together.\(^{177}\)

**Non-religious Celebrations**

**Nauroze**

This event is celebrated in Gilgit, Hunza, Chitral, and Skardu during the month of March. The spring season is a popular time for local and foreign tourists to visit. Sports and

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performances such as polo, football, hockey, folk dancing, and musical entertainment are the main events.178

**Joshi or Chilimjusht**

This May festival welcomes the beginning of spring. It is held in the Kalash Valley near Chitral. There is folk dancing, music, and exchanging of local dishes.179

**Shandur Polo Festival**

Shandur Polo Festival takes place at Shandur Pass during the second week of July each year. The first tournament was held here in 1936. “Moony Polo Ground,” the polo field, is named after Major Cobb, a British officer who enjoyed playing polo under a full moon.

The Shandur polo games are played between rival teams from the Gilgit and Chitral regions. The excitement of this particular polo match is the elevation of the field. At an elevation of 3,700 m (12,139 ft), Moony Polo Ground is the highest polo field in the world.180

**Utchal**

Held during the month of July, this event is a harvest festival celebrated by the Kalash people.181

**Phool**

This event is held in September to celebrate the ripening of the grapes and walnuts. The grapes remain untouched until this festival has begun.182

**Chaumas or Chitirmus**

This December festival is also held in the Kalash Valley. It marks the beginning of the coming year.183

**Other**


**Talibanization of the NWFP**

To control the deteriorating security situation in NWFP, Pakistani Pres. Musharraf has appointed a new governor. Lieutenant General (Retired) Ali Mohammad Jan Orakzai was appointed in May 2006 and is the third governor in two years. Since Governor Orakzai was formerly the corps commander of Peshawar as well as a member of a tribe, President Musharraf expects he will be able to deal with the growing “Talibanization” problem in NWFP. Others are less optimistic that the military option Gov. Orakzai is expected to use will be effective without efforts to use diplomacy and dialogue. The Taliban is threatening to continue *jihad* against foreign troops and has full intention to continue until U.S. and other foreign troops withdraw from Afghanistan.184

Reports claim that the government in the NWFP is “on the retreat.”185 This is allowing the Taliban to take a greater hold of the province and expand from the tribal areas into the settled areas. The Taliban is rapidly growing in NWFP and initiating daily acts of violence. They include assassinations of government officials and attacks on police stations, music and video stores, and military bases and patrols. The Taliban has also been threatening to close schools and banks.186

**Dos and Don’ts**

*Dos* 187

- Do bring flowers (not white) or a box of chocolates when bringing a gift.
- Do present the gift with both hands.
- Do make sure that your arms and legs are covered at all times especially if you are a woman.
- Do be silent inside a mosque and do not walk in front of people praying.
- Do remove your shoes before entering a mosque.
- Do tuck your feet underneath you when sitting on the floor. The soles of your feet should be flat on the ground.
- Do dress modestly and appropriately.
- Do use the right hand for shaking hands, passing food, etc.

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• Do use your entire *right* hand only to summon a person. Keep your palm down and wave downward.

*Don’ts* 188

• Do not give alcohol as a gift.
• Do not wear tight clothes, especially if you are a woman.
• Do not insult the Muslim religion in any way.
• Do not take photographs of women.
• Do not ask questions about the women of the family, if you are a male.
• Do not stare at or make advances to women in public or private.
• Do not drink alcohol in public places.
• Do not touch a Pakistani on the head. If you do, apologize immediately.
• Do not use your feet to point at or touch people.
• Do not point to anybody with a finger. Use the entire *right* hand instead.
• Do not use obscene or indecent language within earshot of citizens in NWFP. Some people are familiar with American slang.
• Do not hug unless it is a close knit relationship.
• Do not kiss in public.

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Urban Life

Peshawar, Capital of NWFP

Peshawar is the capital of the North-West Frontier Province. The name is derived from the Sanskrit word *pushpapura* which means “city of flowers.”¹⁸⁹ Peshawar’s history differentiates it from other cities in the country. For centuries, it was a gateway to eastern Asia and a trading post up to the mid 19th century, with traders traveling through from around the world. They would bring goods over the Khyber Pass, which leads into Peshawar from Afghanistan. At the turn of the century, Peshawar suffered economic and social destruction as a result of conflict between Sikhs and the local population. Since then, the city has gradually developed a business base connected with developed countries. The introduction of new technologies, specifically information technology, has helped Peshawar to grow and become part of today’s modern world.¹⁹⁰

Visitors like to go to Peshawar to see the old quarters. This section is famous for historical Muslim architecture, street vendors, mule drivers and horse-carriage traffic, and people of different lifestyles,¹⁹¹ based on which tribal, ethnic, or religious groups they belong to. The new city of Peshawar is more modern, with rail services, shopping malls, fast food restaurants, office buildings, and parks.

Urban Health Issues

The need is great for expanded health services in urban areas of NWFP. In Peshawar, for example, HIV/AIDS has reached epidemic proportions and more services are needed to treat this epidemic.

The NWFP’s health department in general has been under scrutiny by the government recently over the province’s health care. Officials have been concerned over the misuse of funding, poor quality of healthcare, and low staffing of hospitals. As a result, the government is developing a budget that will specifically address these problems. Included in this new budget are allocations to hire more doctors, remodel certain hospitals and build new ones, and develop immunization programs.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Government N.W.F.P. “Peshawar.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LanId=1&pageName=ProvinceCapital001
¹⁹⁰ Government N.W.F.P. “Modernization of Peshawar.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LanId=1&pageName=ProvinceCapital003
Exchange 16: Is there a medical clinic nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is there a medical clinic nearby?</th>
<th>delta nizhdey medeekal klinik shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes, over there.</td>
<td>aao, halta dey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lady Reading Hospital

Lady Reading Hospital in Peshawar, the province’s oldest and largest hospital, has experienced problems including a shortage of mobile oxygen cylinders. In response to these problems, the government is working to improve hospital facilities and services. Lady Reading Hospital has been selected to receive a new online hospital management system to ensure quality of patient care and records. This project began in 2005 and is anticipated to take three years to complete. Its goals are to fully computerize the hospital and connect all of the units in a network to be able to retrieve each other’s data. Other objectives are to provide research facilities for physicians, maintain online doctor’s appointments and patient files, and offer an online doctor/patient forum.

Exchange 17: Is there a doctor here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is there a doctor here?</th>
<th>delta daaktar shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rehman Medical Institute

The Rehman Medical Institute was the brainchild of Professor Muhammad Rehman who had a vision for providing quality health care to the people of the NWFP. It is located in Peshawar near the Khyber gateway. It has intensive care and coronary care units, four operating theaters, endoscopy and dialysis services, nursing, and emergency care.

194 Government N.W.F.P. “Online Hospital Management System for Lady reading Hospital Peshawar.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=33&LngId=1&pageName=LRH
The Rehman Medical Institute held a symposium recently discussing strokes, hypertension, diabetes, smoking, and cholesterol concerns. It also established a new neonatal and pediatric unit that will better care for its patients with updated phototherapy lamps, cardiac monitors, and infant incubators.

Akora Khattak Hospital

This ophthalmology hospital serves northern Peshawar. As the demand for eye care has greatly increased, the hospital has been expanded into a 24-bed unit with four operating tables. Plans are in the works to expand this hospital to include more beds, screening rooms, waiting areas, and canteen facilities.

Work Problems in Urban Areas

Although NWFP is less urbanized than other provinces in Pakistan, it held 13 percent of Pakistan’s total urban population as of 1998. Peshawar, the major city in NWFP, housed over a million Pashtun refugees after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This put a severe strain on employment prospects and social services, already in short supply for the local population. The government of Pakistan tends to leave funding for social projects in the hands of private charities, NGOs, and foreign donors. The outcome has been a weak infrastructure of social and employment services for the poor and unemployed.

Exchange 18: Do you have a job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Do you have a job?</th>
<th>taaso nokaree layre?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poverty and unemployment are high in Peshawar, which in 1995 had approximately 1.7 million residents. As in most of Pakistan’s cities, Peshawar experienced rapid urbanization resulting from the partition in 1947 and migration from other areas of the country. Political strife from war in Afghanistan has contributed to unemployment and low wages for the few available jobs. Ongoing hostilities among the Afghan refugee

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population and the Taliban forces who oppose the central government have created economic as well as political instability in Peshawar.201

**Exchange 19**: Are you the only person in your family who has a job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are you the only person in your family who has a job?</th>
<th>pa Khpal Khaanadaan key taaso siraf nokaree larey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Child Labor**

As of 1996, slightly over one million children (approx.) under the age of 14 were working in the NWFP.202 These children work in fields such as sales, agriculture, manufacturing, construction, mining, and transport. Approximately 70 percent of these children are boys.203 Upwards of 6,000 children work in furniture factories, automobile workshops, agriculture sectors, and brick kilns in the districts of Peshawar, Nowshera, Marden, and Charassada.204 Two international agencies are sponsoring a two-year program that will support the NWFP government in decreasing child labor in these sectors. The project will also attempt to increase the number of children enrolled in school and promote retention, especially among girls.205

**Education in Cities**

**Elementary and Secondary Education**

The government of the NWFP is committed to provide education to all eligible students. The process begins with Early Childhood Education at age four and five. In these morning classes the children are taught their alphabet, rhymes, conversations, and

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numerals. These courses are taught in their native language, Urdu, and English. The children also learn native folk tales, creative arts, and patriotism.206

Elementary school aged children are taught Urdu, English, math, Islamic history, physical education, social studies, arts and crafts. In grades six through eight, children are introduced to computer education, Arabic, Persian, and regional languages, home economics, and agriculture.207

**Exchange 20:** Do your children go to school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do your children go to school?</th>
<th>staaso maashoomaan skool ta zee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In grades nine and ten, humanities and science are emphasized. In science, they study physics, chemistry, and biology. In humanities, they are taught the general courses plus three electives such as Muslim history, civics, environmental studies, and the history and geography of Pakistan.208

In grades 11 and 12, science, humanities, medical technology, finance, and home economics receive more emphasis. The science emphasis concentrates on pre-medical and pre-engineering studies, and computer science. In the humanities emphasis, students learn such courses as advanced Islamic studies, education, literature, and archeology. The finance emphasis concentrates on mathematics, business statistics, banking skills, accounting, and geography. The medical technology emphasis concentrates on imaging technology, laboratory technology, ophthalmology, and dental hygiene. The home economic emphasis concentrates on management courses for food, house and farm, and child development.209

**Exchange 21:** Is there a school nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is there a school nearby?</th>
<th>delta nizhdey skool shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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206 Government NWFP. “Scheme of Studies Grades I-XII [p. 4].”
http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/docs/SCHEME_OF_STUDIES.pdf
207 Government NWFP. “Scheme of Studies Grades I-XII [p. 8].”
http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/docs/SCHEME_OF_STUDIES.pdf
208 Government NWFP “Scheme of Studies Grades I-XII [p.18].”
http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/docs/SCHEME_OF_STUDIES.pdf
209 Government NWFP. “Scheme of Studies Grades I-XII [p. 10-21].”
http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/docs/SCHEME_OF_STUDIES.pdf
Classes generally run from mid August through the end of May. They are broken down into three terms with a total of 210 school days. There are seven periods each day, except Fridays, when there are only five periods.\(^{210}\)

**Higher Education**

*Khyber Medical College*

Khyber Medical College is housed next to the University of Peshawar. This medical college began in the mid 1950s with only 50 medical students.\(^{211}\) It has now grown to several departments. Some of them include Anatomy, Biochemistry, Forensic Science, General Medicine, and Psychiatry.\(^{212}\)

*University of Peshawar*

The University of Peshawar was established in 1950 as a multidisciplinary educational institution. Within the University of Peshawar there are six academic colleges. They carry studies ranging from Islamic Studies to Law. The University of Peshawar’s student population is over 20,000 students. It has affiliations with the University of Massachusetts and Utah State University as well as universities in the United Kingdom and Japan.\(^{213}\)

*Northern University*

Located in the district of Nowshera, Northern University was charted by the government of the NWFP in 2002. It offers courses on engineering, sciences, humanities, and information technology.\(^{214}\)

*Gandhara University*

Located in the city of Peshawar, Gandhara University was established in 2002. This university, however, sits on one of the oldest archeological sites in the world. Centers of learning, trade, and culture existed at Taxila and the Takht Bhai Monastery during the Gandhara period between the 2nd century BCE and 10th century CE. Students from South Asia and China flocked to these ancient halls to learn.\(^{215}\) Now, Gandhara University provides undergraduate and postgraduate studies in medicine, engineering and technology, computer science, and business.\(^{216}\)


\(^{214}\) Northern University. “About the University.” http://www.northern.edu.pk/


Daily Life of Peshawarites

According to some, Peshawar is a city of contradictions. They claim that people can shop at the “smuggler’s” bazaar and purchase goods from an “age-old arms market” or one that sells cutting-edge electronics from China. The gates that lead into the tribal areas announce “No Foreigners Allowed,” yet Peshawar has many NGOs, foreigners, and the Afghan Taliban. One glaring contradiction is a road sign into Peshawar that welcomes visitors to “the land of hospitality,” when in fact Peshawar is a center for Taliban activity.\(^{217}\)

Violence is increasingly permeating the society in and around Peshawar. Stores and hotels are bombed with relative frequency. News of soldiers, civilians, and rebel fighters being killed is a daily occurrence. Women do not venture out on the streets unless covered in a burqa for fear of being harassed, and few women go out at all.\(^ {218}\)

One Western visitor to the city noted the “very friendly locals” and the “wonderful bazaar” on his trip to the city in 2006. He descriptively writes about Peshawar as “a dusty city jam-packed with cars, trucks, buses, auto-rickshaws, donkey and carts and MEN… There aren’t any women anywhere in the whole town… It has a wild west atmosphere with black markets everywhere and men walking about with guns. No one obeys any rules it seems and the local traffic police resort to beating everyone with massive sticks when they disobey the traffic signals etc… it was like living in an alternative reality where street justice reigns supreme.”\(^ {219}\)

Similar to other cities in Pakistan, extreme disparities in wealth mark life in Peshawar. Although there is a small middle class from the IT sector, there is a wide gulf between rich and poor. Elite homes, coffee bars, and malls exist alongside an underdeveloped infrastructure and poverty-stricken neighborhoods.\(^ {220}\)

In and around the area of Peshawar, some college students have expressed moderate views about religion and its relationship to society. In classes, they study comparative religion courses in Christianity and Islamic Fundamentalism. Many students want to learn more about the tolerance of Islam instead of the violence of the Taliban. They have expressed a desire to openly consider ways to create a just society and discuss problems that threaten their ability to make choices and improve their lives. However, in the highly

politicized environment which surrounds them, college professors are afraid of speaking their minds for fear of losing their jobs.221

Refugees Afraid to Move Back to Afghanistan 222

Peshawar became a refuge for many Afghans who fled the Soviet invasion in 1979. Many of these refugees stayed in Peshawar during the war. Now, years later, and after being offered repatriation assistance from the United Nations, these refugees can go back to their homeland. Many, however, do not want to go back. They prefer to stay in Pakistan because they are not sure if they can find work and housing in Afghanistan. They have been living in Pakistan long enough to have established themselves and do not want to disrupt their lives. Many fear violence, as 2006 has been Afghanistan’s year of heaviest violence since 2001.

The government has closed four refugee camps near the Afghan border, sending back around 250,000 Afghans. Of those who remain in NWFP, many earn little and live in crowded camps with mud housing. For day laborer jobs, men can earn around USD 2 (two dollars) per day. It may be more, however, than they can earn in Afghanistan. Many who remain have gotten used to the urban lifestyle in Peshawar, where they claim to have more economic stability. One resident, in particular, is a supplier of literary books to Afghans. He has attracted clientele among the Pashtuns who buy and appreciate his Pashto language literature. Going back to Afghanistan, he claims, might get him killed.

Pakistani officials are concerned that the rising violence in the country can be attributed to refugees because of “cross-border militancy.” Also, Taliban fighters blend among the refugees and are difficult to find. There are now an estimated 2.4 million Afghan nationals in the entire country of Pakistan.

The amount offered by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to repatriate refugees is up to USD 100 per person. As of 2007, 2.8 million Afghans have used this assistance to return to their country since 2002, and an estimated 300,000 have returned with no help.

Restaurants

Peshawar has many restaurants with different styles of cooking. When a Muslim goes out to eat, he or she needs to be cautious of Muslim dietary guidelines. Recommendations are to read the menu very carefully and ask the wait staff how the meal is prepared.223

Exchange 22: Did you make this meal yourself?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Did you make this meal yourself?</th>
<th>taaso daa dodey paKhpala paaKha karlee daa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Afternoon tea, called *gehwa*, is especially popular in Peshawar. When having afternoon tea either *chai* or green tea is what most local residents enjoy. *Chappli* kebabs are also popular with local residents. These are made with mutton and potatoes. They are often accompanied with *naan*, or bread.\(^{224}\)

Exchange 23: The meal was very good.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>The meal was very good.</th>
<th>dodey dera mazaydaara waa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Thanks.</td>
<td>shukreeyaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When going to a restaurant, one must be very careful of potential violence. One recent bombing took place at a very popular restaurant called the Marhaba restaurant in Peshawar. This particular bomb, which had been planted in the reception area, killed at least 24 people and wounded around 30. As the city has seen a rash of violence lately, vigilance is necessary when making plans to go out to any group gathering.\(^{225}\)

**Marketplace**

Peshawar is full of shopping areas and bazaars. Bazaars are located in narrow streets and alleys and filled with people from various backgrounds. The bazaars sell a large variety of handcrafted items from metal ornamental pieces made of brass and copper, to baskets made by the locals in the Swat Valley.

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Exchange 24: Will you be going to the market today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Will you be going to the market today?</th>
<th>taaso ban nan baazaar ta zey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Qissa Khawani Bazaar, or Story Telling Bazaar, is in the heart of Peshawar. It sells items from leather goods to dry fruit. This bazaar was once a camping ground for caravans and military personnel. Its name comes from the professional storytellers who once entertained people in the evening with tales of war inside one of many tea shops.

Exchange 25: Is the market nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is the market nearby?</th>
<th>baazaar nizhdey dey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today, natives bargain with tourists and city people over green tea. This bazaar is full of people from different walks of life from Afghans to Iraqis to Uzbeks. The tea shops of old still stand today with the numerous tea pots, tea cups, and brass samovars.²²⁶

Exchange 26: Do you have this in a different color?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you have this in a different color?</th>
<th>taaso sara daasey pa bal rang key shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerous other bazaars in Peshawar sell a very wide range of goods. The Mochi Lara Bazaar is known as the leather bazaar. Another bazaar is a vegetable stand, or sabzi mandi.²²⁷ The Meena Bazaar is a women’s shopping area that sells embroidery, hair ornaments, ribbon, lace, and beads.

**Exchange 27:** Do you accept credit cards?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you accept credit cards?</th>
<th>taaso kredit kaard aakhley?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Saddar Bazaar sells antiques and carpets, rugs, and furniture. The Bara Market sells foreign imports such as Italian shoes and china from Denmark.

**Exchange 28:** Can you give me change for this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Can you give me change for this?</th>
<th>taaso maa ta da dee maatay raakawaley shee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Ander Shah Bazaar is a narrow street of gold and silver smiths. These shops sell jewelry from tribespeople, old coins, and military memorabilia such as buttons, badges, powder cases, and bayonets. Brass and copper shops as well as pottery are also available in Peshawar.228

**Exchange 29:** Do you have any more of these?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you have any more of these?</th>
<th>taaso daasey nor larey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these bazaars are known to sell smuggled goods. One in particular, the Karkhano Market, sells military equipment that reputedly has been stolen. Items meant for earthquake relief have also been spotted at bazaars. These include such things as processed foods, medicines, blankets, portable furniture, and Humvee repair kits. The newly appointed food director of the NWFP claims that he will take immediate action into this matter.229

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**Exchange 30:** May I hold this and inspect it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>May I hold this and inspect it?</th>
<th>za daa katalo da paara neewaley sham?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Sure.</td>
<td>yakeenan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Urban Traffic**

As in all of Pakistan, vehicles in Peshawar are driven on the left hand side of the road, opposite that of the United States. Roads are often crowded and drivers may lack training and drive aggressively. Many vehicles, including carts, are in poor condition. Roads, including major highways, suffer from potholes, sharp drop-offs, and no signage. Caution should always be shown when driving at night as illumination can be poor.\(^{230}\)

**Exchange 31:** Can I rent a car from you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Can I rent a car from you?</th>
<th>za taaso na da karey motor aKhistaley sham?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Peshawar–Islamabad Highway**

In July 2007, Pakistan was scheduled to open a new highway from Islamabad to Peshawar. This Peshawar–Islamabad Motorway, or M-1, is six lanes across and 152 km (94 mi) long. It is expected to provide faster access between Islamabad and Peshawar.\(^{231}\)

**Torkham–Peshawar Highway**

The Torkham–Peshawar Highway is a busy road that is used by truckers and refugee families traversing back and forth from Afghanistan to Pakistan. This highway recently experienced a blackout that left thousands of commuters inconvenienced. Due to poor electrical supplies, the highway experiences frequent blackouts. Government officials are afraid they may be caused by people torching the power pylons. As a result of the recent blackout, hundreds of vehicles, including oil tankers supplying fuel to

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coalition troops in Afghanistan, were forced to come to a standstill and await the end of the problem.232

Public Transportation Discouraged

Public transportation in Peshawar is strongly discouraged by the U.S. Department of State. It reports that there have been terrorist attacks on public transportation such as suicide bombs on buses. U.S. Mission personnel are not allowed to use taxis or buses because of the security risk. 233

Exchange 32: Is there a gas station nearby?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is there a gas station nearby?</th>
<th>delta nizhdey petrol pamp shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unsafe School Buses

The number of school children has increased greatly, and Peshawar citizens are finding that there are not enough school buses to accommodate these children. As a result, the buses are often overcrowded. Many parents end up driving their children to school to avoid dangerous conditions on school buses. Parents and teachers alike have expressed concern over the overcrowded school buses.

Traffic jams are also a problem causing children to arrive late to school. The worst traffic jams seem to be on Warsak Road where most of the city’s private and educational institutions are located. Trying to reduce this problem, the local traffic police superintendent announced that his department would launch a campaign to educate drivers about traffic regulations. After the campaign, the Peshawar police intend to take action against illegal drivers.234

Favorite Pastimes Put on Hold

Due to a recent ban on CDs and televisions, many local residents are unable to listen to music and watch their favorite programs. As a result, some locals resort to communicating on their computers in blogs or web sites.

The country as a whole has a lot to offer to both local residents and tourists. Favorite pastimes might be to spend a few nights in a village, witnessing a tribal *jirga*, or visiting the beautiful north land. However, locals claim that they must resort to waiting until the crimes, which are so commonplace, diminish before they can enjoy their beautiful country and rich heritage.235

**Street Vendors and Beggars**

*Programs Offered for Peshawar’s Street Children*

UNICEF reports that Afghan refugee children living in Peshawar do not live in secure environments and spend their time in makeshift camps. These children often end up begging to live and are susceptible to sexual exploitation.236 Along with street children in Peshawar, these children are also susceptible to drug use and addiction. NGOs, such as UNICEF and Steps toward Empowerment of Pupils, have launched a program to offer counseling to these children as well as other indigent people. They have also given them first aid and medical treatment and reunited some children with their parents.237

**Exchange 33:** Give me money.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local:</th>
<th>Give me money.</th>
<th>ma ta peysey rakrla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soldier:</td>
<td>No - I don’t have any.</td>
<td>na. ma sara hes peysey nishta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Terrorists as Street Vendors**

In areas of Pakistan such as NWFP and border areas between Pakistan and Afghanistan, criminal and terrorist activity has been ongoing. In these areas, warnings have been issued of terrorists who frequent busy streets pretending to be beggars or street vendors. Travelers are advised to change their travel time and their destinations frequently. They are also warned to be especially vigilant at intersections with street lights and avoid heavily congested traffic at all times.238 It is recommended not to purchase anything from a vendor or have any contact with a vendor while in a car.239 There are also reports of the Taliban distributing pamphlets claiming that street vendors and beggars are U.S. spies.

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Posters have been placed on mosques telling these vendors to end their businesses or they will face consequences.  

**Exchange 34:** Did these people threaten you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Did these people threaten you?</th>
<th>dey Khalko taaso ta damkee darkRlee wa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Rural Life

Introduction

The politically volatile North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) extends through an area of high mountains divided by fertile valleys. About one fourth of the NWFP’s land, bordering Afghanistan, has been designated by the government as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA.) Here, the government’s control is and has traditionally been very weak, while that of the local tribes is strong. NWFP has become important over the years because of its many mountain passes into India and Afghanistan that have been used for passage and trading.241 Most of the people live in the rural areas and work in agriculture following traditional tribal customs.242 Those who live in the areas near the border with Afghanistan are known as Pashtuns, divided into numerous territorial tribes and subtribes. They act as the first line of defense along a border known as the Durand Line, drawn in 1893 by the Foreign Secretary of British India, Sir Mortimer Durand.243 The remote regions of the NWFP have made this area suspect as a possible location of al-Qaeda, specifically Osama bin Laden and his entourage.244

Tribal Distribution

Pashtuns are characterized by their language, Pashtu, and there are many different Pashtun tribes within this linguistic group. The dialects of this language fall into two divisions, the northern and central division and the southern division. The northern and central division has kept the “kh” sound as in “Pakhtun,” while the southern division keeps the current “sh” sound, Pashtun.245 Pashtuns have identified with their tribes to the point of taking on the tribe’s name as their last names. Centuries of foreign invasions have forced the local population to group together to defend themselves and remain independent.246 Listed here are only a few of the many Pashtun tribes that have emerged over time.

243 Government N.W.F.P. “About NWFP.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?pageName=Introduction&DistId=1&DeptId=1&LangId=1
**Afridi**

The Afridi tribe lives in approximately 1,600 sq km (1,000 sq mi) to the west and south of Peshawar in the Sufed Koh Range. Their territory is intersected by the Khyber Pass. The tribe has approximately 250,000 members, all of various subtribes. They are light-skinned and tall with strong features. The Afridi are very hardy and capable of intense warfare by continuing to fight their retiring enemy. Though they are religious, they are not considered as orthodox as some of their counterparts.247

**Dolat**

The Dolat is in parts of the Peshawar Valley, the lower Swat valley, and north of the Khyber Pass. In past centuries, the Dolat traded and migrated between the highlands located in eastern Afghanistan and the lowlands in the Indus Valley. Eventually they settled in the Suleiman Mountains. The tribe was somewhat weakened by internal feuds and long-standing warfare with the Sikhs.248

**Khattak**

The Khattak migrated from Shawal, a valley in Waziri, to the Bannu District. They settled there with Afghan tribes, the Honai and Mangal. After being driven out of the area, they settled in the Kohat District. The Khattak became influential in this region by receiving a grant from an emperor in exchange for providing road safety. They also received a land grant and founded Akora village, which became the tribe’s capital.249

**Marwat**

The Marwats settled in Tank along with their temporary allies, the Niazi. After many generations, they migrated northward and settled in the regions of Kuram and Gambila. They were pastoral, eventually becoming agriculturalists.250 The Marwat divided into subtribes, or khels; the four main khels are the Musa Khel, Achu Khel, Khuda Khel, and the Bahram. Sources written over a hundred years ago report that the women “enjoy great social freedom; they seldom conceal their faces, and converse readily with strangers, even with Europeans.” These sources add that the poorest among the Marwats wore a blanket arranged over the shoulders and wrapped around the legs in skirt-like fashion. The peasants wore chocolate colored turbans.251

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Niazi

The Niazis settled around the Indus River and in Tank with their temporary allies, the Marwats. There, they became traders and carriers. They were split up by a warring tribe and the exiled Niazis settled mostly to the north. The remains of their capital, Muazam Nagar, were visible until just over a century ago on the left bank of the Indus River a few miles south of Mianwali. 252

Swati

The Swatis are the largest land-owning tribe in the Mansehra and Battagram districts on the easternmost side of the province. They came to the Swat region from Afghanistan and defeated the Hindus for occupation of the region. Swatis are divided into three main clans. They are the Ghebri, Mamiali, and Mitravi tribes. The Swatis of the Manshera area include Old Swatis, Yousafzais, and other Afghan tribes. Swatis are bilingual and can speak Hindko as well as their native language, Pashtu. They observe the Pashtun code of honor called Pashtunwali which they refer to as Swatiwali. 253

Kalash

The Kalash are a non-Pashtun pagan tribe whose members reside in valleys near Chital. They practice an ancient, animist religion which includes ancestor worship. Singing and dancing are part of their religion and also serve as entertainment for them. Men, women, and children enjoy playing music. Even at funerals, singing and dancing are part of the ceremony. If they can afford it, the family of the deceased provides wheat, butter, and meat to anyone wishing to share in the celebrations. Such rituals can last as long as a week and people come from the surrounding valleys of Bumburet, Rumber, and Birir to attend them. 254

Sources of Income in Rural Areas

Darra Gun Market

Just 64 km (40 mi) from the Afghanistan border and only a few km south of Peshawar, Darra has become the location for a lucrative business for many rural Pashtuns. Located in the autonomous FATA tribal area and thus outside the range of Pakistani law, this small town reputedly is one of the largest illegal gun suppliers in the world. The craftsmen here have been making guns for close to a century. 255 They have been known to make Russian, Chinese, Israeli, and U.S. weapons and ammunition knockoffs. In addition, guns are smuggled in from other areas and sold here. Approximately 30 percent

of the weapons that the U.S. and Pakistan intelligence services funneled to the Afghan resistance were diverted into private hands.\textsuperscript{256} Thus, a variety of other weapons besides small arms is available in gun markets such as Darra. Large rockets, artillery shells, and RPG 7 rocket launchers are also for sale. To visit this gun market, a visitor needs permission from the NWFP government.\textsuperscript{257}

**Exchange 35:** Buy something from me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local:</th>
<th>Buy something from me.</th>
<th>maa na sa shey waaKhla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soldier:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to estimates, there are over 20 million guns at large in Pakistan, and over half a million of them are in NWFP. This illegal market is big business.

Not only are local people adept in manufacturing guns, these mechanical skills are valuable and transferable. Such skills could alternately be used for making surgical equipment, agricultural tools, and car parts. However, since small arms have been a large part of the Pashtun life style, there is concern that this type of industry will not dissipate anytime soon. A survey in 2003 found that there were close to 1,200 gun shops in Darra alone. These gun shops were supplied by 1,500 work shops as well as 50 manufacturing units which employed more than 6,000 gunsmiths.\textsuperscript{258}

**Agriculture**

The World Bank has issued a report entitled “Pakistan: Promoting Rural Growth and Poverty Reduction.” The report includes recommendations for reducing rural poverty in the country by more effective use of water distribution, social mobilization, and appropriate investment in livestock and dairy. One key finding recommends avoiding a top-down approach in which the rural poor simply receive benefits from government programs. A better alternative, the report suggests, is to empower the community and households to develop their own initiatives, according to their needs. Social mobilization, therefore, “should be at the heart of the rural livelihood development strategy.”


should be accompanied by better access to social and financial resources and new opportunities to link into business networks. 259

The study further recommends increasing livestock production, especially sheep and goats in the NWFP. It is believed that more widespread and equal ownership of livestock among rural households in NWFP could lead to higher incomes. 260

Non-agricultural workers or business owners who live in the villages of NWFP have found that financing is their biggest obstacle. 261 Basic infrastructure problems such as adequate water supplies, roads, and sanitation present other obstacles that the rural business owner faces. 262 The World Bank report also points out that degradation of the environment has increased and continues to be a problem in urgent need of solutions. 263

**Mountain Passes**

There are many passes that cross mountains and mountain ranges to connect the NWFP with Afghanistan and China. Listed below are a few.

**Exchange 36: Can you take me there?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Can you take me there?</th>
<th>taaso ma halta porey botlaley shee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local:</strong> Yes, I can. Follow me.</td>
<td>aao za kawaley sham. maa pasey raaza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Khyber Pass**

Arguably the world’s most famous mountain pass, the Khyber Pass winds through the Safed Koh mountains at an elevation of 1,066 m (3,500 ft) in some places. It is 45 km (28 mi) long and links Peshawar in the NWFP to Kabul in Afghanistan. For centuries, it was a trade route

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for caravans. It was also the main military route for Alexander the Great, Babur (founder of India’s Mughal Empire), the Mongol conqueror Timur, and others who invaded India and south Asia. Tourists who want to traverse this pass will need a permit and an armed escort. Residents need only permits.

**Exchange 37**: Where is the nearest checkpoint?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Where is the nearest checkpoint?</th>
<th>tolo na nizhdey hifaazatee chokey charta daa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>It’s 2 kilometers.</td>
<td>daa dwa kilometra dey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gomal Pass**

The Gomal Pass links Afghanistan with Dera Ismail Khan in the lower end of the NWFP that overlooks Punjab.

**Karakoram Pass**

The Karakoram Pass is a historic route that traverses through the Karakoram and Hindu Kush mountain ranges into China. Through this pass, one will find extensive glaciers and sub-polar regions. This pass was for centuries also part of the famous Silk Road trading route.

**Lowari Pass**

The Lowari Pass has an elevation of 3,200 m (10,500 ft) and is located in the Hindu Raj range between Upper Dir and Chitral. This is the main road into Chitral and is usually closed in the winter.

**Shangla Pass**

The Shangla Pass is in the Kohistan district. The pass leads from this district into the Swat Valley. This area is geologically weak and was affected by the earthquake in 2005.

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266 Members Tripod. “Land of Pakistan” http://members.tripod.com/~PAKISTAN786/Land.html
Shandur Pass
The Shandur Pass is located in the Hindu Kush and Karakorum mountain ranges. It is one of the most famous passes in the world, and leads to the world’s highest polo field. This pass was discovered by the British when one of their rescue teams crossed it in 1895. This pass has an elevation of 3,720 m (12,200 ft).  

Tochi Pass
The Tochi Pass links Ghanzni in Afghanistan with the Bannu district in the NWFP.

Health Issues

Aga Khan Health Service, Pakistan (AKHSP)
The AKHSP operates many health care services throughout all of urban and rural Pakistan. Its focus in the north is in the rural areas. It offers services such as maternity and obstetric care, primary care, and diagnostic services. Along with these services, it has set up partnerships with both the local communities and the government of the NWFP. These partnerships have helped to bring primary care to the remote villages in rural NWFP. As a result, the NWFP has trained close to 1,000 community health workers and an equal number of birth attendants.

Exchange 38: Do you need my help?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you need my help?</th>
<th>taaso zamaa da madad ta zaroorat laree?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HIV Increases Slightly in NWFP

The Aga Khan University, one of the largest universities in Pakistan, conducted some research recently and discovered that HIV was on the rise in the NWFP. HIV is contracted as a result of intravenous drug use and is sexually transmitted. In Karachi and other cities, intravenous drug use has caused an upsurge in HIV since 2004, and treatment and prevention efforts have targeted certain high-risk groups. In NWFP, however, the upsurge in HIV is driven by migrant workers, a source different from the high-risk

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272 Members Tripod. “Land of Pakistan” http://members.tripod.com/~PAKISTAN786/Land.html
groups of the other regions. These migrant workers were returning mostly from the Middle East and bringing the infection back with them. As little is known about migrant workers’ risk behavior, the university recommended that assessments be conducted on the impact of migrant workers who return from the Middle East. It also recommended intervening whenever possible before immigration to the Middle East and upon return to the NWFP.274

**Border Hospitals in Trouble**

The war on terror has brought numerous U.S. troops into the NWFP and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). FATA and Afghanistan share a border that extends 27,220 sq km (16,900 mi) and continual aerial attacks have sent injured people to hospitals in this region. However, many people are not able to see health professionals in the FATA area’s 26 hospitals, 400 community health centers, and 8 rural health centers (approx.). Medical staff have claimed that they will not work in hospitals in this region due to the danger, including U.S. missile attacks and retaliatory Taliban fire since 2005. The violence has impacted the quality of health care. These health care professionals are finding employment in cities such as Peshawar and patients entering these border hospitals are often forced to either take long trips to an urban hospital or not be treated.275

**Exchange 39:** Do you know what is wrong?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you know what is wrong?</th>
<th>taaso ta maalooma dey che sa Khabara dey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Health Issues as a Result of the 2005 Earthquake**

On 8 October, 2005, the North-West Frontier Province was rocked by a 7.6 magnitude earthquake, centered near Islamabad. NWFP and Kashmir were the areas worst affected. This earthquake left over 3 million people in Pakistan homeless, almost 130,000 people injured, and 73,000 people confirmed dead.276 The districts in NWFP most affected were

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Abbottabad, Batagram, Mansehra, Shangla, and Kohistan. Almost half of the province’s health care facilities were destroyed by this earthquake. Reaching out to these displaced and injured people, non-government organizations, or NGOs, sent mobile health units to provide care throughout the NWFP. These mobile units from organizations such as the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies provided general health care, vaccinations, and medications. Other NGOs, the UN, NATO, and the Pakistani army provided relief that included setting up emergency health care stations or Basic Health Units. New Emergency Health Kits, or NEHKs, were distributed to thousands of people for a few months. These NEHKs contained drugs, medical supplies, and equipment necessary to tend to health needs for three months. UNICEF, the Aga Khan Health Services, and the Ministry of Health established training programs for nurses and paramedics and also distributed warm clothing kits.

Cultural Issues Impacting Earthquake Relief Services

After the 2005 earthquake, many relief agencies came to the NWFP to help the residents cope with the tragedy. The clerics in this remote region were considered vital liaisons for these relief agencies. However, although the relief agencies were welcomed in the beginning, the rural communities became wary of their presence claiming that they were acting “contrary to culture and morality.” The Red Cross/Red Crescent Organization was able to keep relations open with the clerics and members of the rural communities. They always consulted the village elders and clerics before they began any procedure. One elder responded, “I think community-based first aid is as Islamic as anything else and I would be happy to tell people from my area to register for its training.” The Red Cross/Red Crescent feel that the only way to earn the trust of community and religious leaders and gain community access is to respect their traditions and their way of life.

Available Schooling in Rural Areas

Madrassas

Education for rural children is of particular concern for the government of NWFP as well as all of Pakistan. Many families choose to send their children to religious schools, or madrassas, over public education because they cannot afford the public education system. Many madrassas provide the education that the students need. However, some are potential incubators for violent extremism. A number of the schools have adopted

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fundamentalist religious foundations that have been linked with the Taliban. Several such madrassas are located on the western border with the NWFP and Afghanistan.281

The Afghan refugees in the 1970s and 80s preferred the conservative madrassa style of education over the government-run schools. Historians and observers argue that the government allowed these madrassas to flourish because the government was unable to provide adequate education for the refugees at that time. As a result, they claim, radical Islamist parties were happy to fill this educational gap. The madrassas became popular by targeting the lower class and refugee populations. The Islamist political parties were then able to control the schools, teachers, and the curriculum.282 A 2000 survey shows that the NWFP, including FATA, had over 1,600 madrassas, which is second only to those in the Punjab province.283

Studies in a Madrassa

Madrassas are the “social sites for the reproduction of Islamic orthodoxy.”284 Run by ulama who provide religious guidance and authority, madrassas provide religious-political leadership and promote solidarity. In Muslim South Asia, they teach a curriculum called Dars-i-Nizami introduced by Mullah Nizamuddin Sihalvi in the 1700s. The madrassa curriculum includes 20 subjects, eight of them religious. Some of the subjects are grammar, logic, philosophy, mathematics, Arabic literature, and Islamic law. In a madrassa’s elementary studies, students memorize and learn the Quran. Middle school-aged children learn selected books from Dars-i-Nizami and the high school aged children learn the entire Dars-i-Nizami. Very old books are used for teaching. The logic and philosophy books, for example, are from the 13th and 14th centuries. Religious texts date back to a period between the 11th and 17th centuries.285

There is no formal admission process and the schedules can be flexible. The complete Nizami curriculum continues nine years beyond elementary education level. This system is typically supported by the community through trusts, donations, and zakat contributions. The students do not pay tuition and are provided free books, board, and lodging. They also receive a small stipend.286

**Nomadic Way of Life**

*Pashtuns*

The Pashtuns are semi-nomadic, and around 15 million live in Pakistan alone.287 They are located mostly along the Hindu Kush. The extended family forms the core of their society. Members of their tribes span a wide background, from urbanites who are highly educated to nomads who live in tents.288

**Exchange 40: Are these people part of your family?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are these people part of your family?</th>
<th>daa da staaso Khaanadaan Khalak dee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the Taliban are of Pashtun descent, although many Pashtuns have refused to ally with the Taliban. Local Pashtun leaders were often willing to turn their power over to a Taliban administration, and the expansion of the Taliban into Pashtun tribal areas was peaceful. They were able to make such inroads among the semi-nomadic Pashtun tribes by using religion, which can subordinate people without causing them to lose prestige. Also, the Taliban allowed tribal members to keep their local power within a Taliban-run administration.289

*The Kuchis*

Nearly half a million Kuchis fled to the NWFP from Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion, with around 250,000 settling in the NWFP.290 Mainly Pashtuns, the majority of Kuchis are sheepherders who migrate seasonally. Because they travel to remote areas, they are adept at carrying in manufactured items and trading them for livestock and farm products produced by local residents. The Kuchis who have migrated to the NWFP have settled in tents there and are no longer living the nomadic lifestyle they did while in

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Many Kuchi refugees have chosen to move back to their homeland since the repatriation.

The Kalash in the Chitral Valley

Members of the Kalash, a pagan tribe of the Chitral valley, follow an ancient religion and lead a lifestyle that is centuries old. Their religious practice is a blend of ancestor worship and animism that includes both male and female spirits. Their families are patriarchal, although both women and men are involved in farming, and girls are allowed to choose their husbands. Women typically wear black dresses decorated with coral pieces and beads. They also wear a hat known as a kopest which covers the head and goes all the way down the back.

The Kalash are also known for their unique architecture. They build houses using wooden pillars, stone walls, and wooden staircases that lend support to the structure. Examples of their craftsmanship can be seen in the carvings made on the pillars and the dome-shaped ceilings. In addition, the Kalash are known for their body of literature. Kalash folk tales, poetry, and proverbs are rich in realism.

Disruptions to Village Life

Living under Taliban Rule

Living under constant threat of the Taliban has affected daily lives of local residents. The Taliban, who have a greater stronghold over the province than the government, recently banned music cassettes and CDs. They have threatened music shops with bombings if music is sold. Although the government has negotiated with the Taliban on several occasions, the Taliban has continued to threaten the peace in the tribal area. They often visit music shops and demand that the owners close their shops or they, the Taliban, will close the shops themselves. Along with music, they have burned television sets and have threatened girls’ schools with suicide bombs.

The government’s anti-polio campaign was halted as a result of religious extremists. Such clerics claim the polio vaccination is a U.S. plot to harm children. They have spread the belief that if someone dies as a result of polio,
that person is considered a martyr. As there were nearly 40 cases of polio last year, the NWFP may be facing an epidemic soon if the government does not take a stronger stand against the Taliban, according to a newspaper editorial. Concern is growing because each new case of polio reminds people of the government’s inability to control this situation. Some tribesmen angered by the U.S. air and missile attacks have reportedly offered food and shelter to al Qaeda fugitives such as Osama bin Laden and his followers.

Life after the Earthquake: Anecdotal Stories

Balakot is a village in the Manseha District that was heavily affected by the 2005 earthquake which changed the lives of thousands of people. One survivor had begun her career as a teacher just months before the earthquake. When the earthquake struck, her parent’s large home collapsed and two of her uncles were killed. The remainder of her family erected a tent on top of the rubble and that became their new home. Her school also collapsed and she was able to stay alive by hiding under a collapsed roof. She ended up being able to care for her parents who were injured in the earthquake and had enough education to get a job with enough income to support them.

Another survivor, a young teenage girl, lived in the Kaghan Valley. This young girl wasn’t as fortunate. She lost her mother, brother, and grandmother. She and her other two brothers, younger sister, and father were flown to a hospital in Abbottabad. Once stable, they were moved to a camp in Mansehra. While in the camp, they received food, education, and health care. The camps were only available for a few months, then they were closed and she and her family were forced to move back to her village. With the road to their village closed because of landslides from the collapsed mountain range, this family did not know how they could survive. Another family encouraged them to move to a relief camp in Garhi Habibullah where they live now. The young girl hopes to be able to move back to her village some day.
In the Bai Bajna village, UNICEF workers were alerted about children from one family who had no schooling and were now homeless as a result of the earthquake. Their mother and grandfather were itinerant serfs who tended crops for a large landowner and in exchange received part of the crop, but no wages. The UNICEF workers met with the children’s family and got them enrolled in the Bai Bajna Government Primary School. Now the children are learning English, Urdu, Islamic studies, math, and science.

People have reported that some landlords in the earthquake-damaged area have evicted their tenants with very little notice. By doing this, they can qualify to receive government-sponsored housing compensation.\(^{300}\)

**Rural Economy**

**Farming**

Over 80 percent of the population of NWFP live in rural areas and practice agriculture on small farms. Of the total number of farms, over 50 percent are owner-operated. The remaining farms are operated by tenant farmers. Major crops grown are rice, wheat, barley, corn, sugarcane, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables.\(^{301}\)

**Rice**

Long-grained rice that is tolerant of heat and high altitudes is grown along the Swat valley. Farmers who cultivate rice can grow it in a variety of ways. One method is to transplant seedlings. Another method is called the wet-bed method, and this particular type of rice growing is what is most successful in the NWFP. In this method, a rice field is puddle and leveled. Sacks of seeds are placed in the water and sprinkled and hand-turned for three days. After that time, small sprouts should appear and the farmers can begin to cultivate these seedlings.\(^{302}\)

**Livestock**

Most farms raise livestock to supplement the nutritional and cash needs of each farm’s occupants. Dairy and poultry products are used mainly for household consumption,

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although some products are sold at local markets. Livestock productivity is low, and raising livestock is not a central part of the economic base in NWFP.303, 304

**Jobs Lost Due to Quake**

The earthquake that hit the NWFP did not just affect the health care of the local people. It has also had a profound impact on employment. The International Labour Organization (ILO) announced that over a million jobs were likely lost as a direct result of the earthquake. NWFP suffered widespread destruction of many shops and buildings in the towns. There was a heavy loss of agricultural equipment and livestock. Because the average income is so low, with most earning less than USD 2 per day, extreme poverty resulted from being out of work for just a few days. In order to ease the stress of no employment, the ILO recommended that employment services provide alternate jobs while reconstruction was taking place. Rebuilding the infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, utility services, and roads, could provide employment for many people.305

**Land Distribution**

The land in the NWFP has been distributed into arable land, land for permanent crops, and forests. Arable land is that used for crops such as wheat, rice, and corn. This land requires replanting after each season. Permanent crops do not need replanting after harvest. These include flowering shrubs, nut trees, and fruit trees. Forests include permanent meadows, woodlands, and pastures.306

**Exchange 41:** Do you own this land?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier: Do you own this land?</th>
<th>daa mzaka da staaso daa?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local: Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender Roles in Rural Areas**

Traditional roles for Pashtun women keep them in the home in rural areas, confined to a domestic role. Because of this, the percentage of women in the workforce is very low, 15 percent. Women seldom go out of their homes, and when they do, they are almost always

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covered with a burqa. They are responsible for care of the home and family and they also arrange social events such as weddings and associated gatherings.\textsuperscript{307}

Since 1952, illiteracy has doubled in the country, but among women it has tripled. In NWFP, girls are routinely taken out of school to help care for the home or because the commuting distance to school is great and it would be dangerous for them to travel. The code of Pashtunwali reinforces their domestic role in the home.\textsuperscript{308}

The domestic role of women in rural NWFP is so strongly embedded in Pashtun culture that it far exceeds “Islamization” as a reason for illiteracy and gender disparity. Proponents of Islamization claim that their policies are to protect women’s dignity and honor. Islamization in rural NWFP does in fact reinforce traditional culture and views women’s domestic role in the home as being supportive of the family. It is the traditional culture, however, more than Islamization, that most reinforces their lack of education and lack of entry in the labor force. Social service representatives argue that a more gender-neutral environment in NWFP and Pakistan as a whole could begin to reduce poverty and gender discrimination.\textsuperscript{309}

\textit{Women in the Workforce}

If women were allowed to work, researchers theorize, the economic problems of the country would decrease. Poverty among families would decrease. Further, when women are able to control resources, family welfare tends to improve in areas of education, health, and nutrition. Such control also impacts children’s survival and education in positive ways.\textsuperscript{310}

Education for rural women would encourage their entry into the labor force. This does not look promising since the country contributes only 1 percent of its GDP (approx.) to education. Further, illiteracy is higher among women than men for the entire country and in NWFP.\textsuperscript{311}

Regions Affected by Natural Disasters

Natural disasters have had severe effects on several regions of NWFP. As a result of the devastating 2005 earthquake, five districts of the NWFP were badly damaged. This led to extreme disruptions in the lives of the local residents. Many villages were wiped out and thousands of people were trapped under debris. People had to move to tent cities, thousands of children became orphans, families were separated, and schools were destroyed. The entire region is still recovering.

Exchange 42: Does your family live here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Does your family live here?</th>
<th>staaso Khaanadaan delta oseegee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2006, heavy rains and resulting flash floods killed nearly 145 people in different areas of NWFP and left hundreds of thousands homeless. The rains washed away roads, submerged villages, and destroyed crops. In the district of Marden, a bridge collapsed killing 45 people. The Kalpani stream flooded and nearly 15,000 homes were destroyed in one city. Search operations for missing people were exhaustive.312

Life is slowly returning back to normal for the areas affected in NWFP. Many people are still living in tents and wood frame shelters with corrugated iron sides. The Pakistani Army distributed money in the form of checks to many of the villagers. This created a small problem in that many villagers did not have bank accounts, so long lines were formed outside of the Habib Bank in the town of Batgram to open accounts. People stood in lines for days because the bank was only open three hours a day. Relief agencies that came to the area from all over the world erected large banners announcing their presence. Many people from different walks of life offered their help. One observer was surprised to see that banned and illegal *Jihadists* used Pakistani Army vehicles to display huge banners and “flaunt” their weapons. When asked how that was possible, one member of the Pakistani Army simply “shrugged his shoulders.”313

Exchange 43: How many people live in this house?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>How many people live in this house?</th>
<th>pa dey kor key so kasaan oseegee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Ongoing Threat of Taliban

The Tank District in the southern end of the NWFP is finding that the Taliban is spreading quickly throughout the area. Since spring 2006, there has been “open warfare” between the Taliban and local security, including checkpoint and police forces. Much of the surge is coming in from across the border in South Waziristan, according to reports. Independent cells are using Tank as a “litmus test.” Small independent groups who are aligning themselves with the Taliban are proving how serious of a threat they are becoming. As a result, schools and businesses are empty and there are reports of rampant shooting. The local government has lost control according to reports. Residents of Tank are fearful that their district is now in the hands of Islamic fundamentalists. Shopkeepers are worried for their livelihood and their lives.

Person/Group in Charge

In Pashtun society, a khel is the equivalent of a clan. Each extended family within the khel has a leader known as a malik.

Exchange 44: Does your leader live here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Does your leader live here?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From within the group of maliks, a leader is chosen and that leader is known as the malik of the khels. In settled districts, this person us known as a Khan, whose original tribal authority has generally weakened over time.

Exchange 45: Can you take me to your leader?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Can you take me to your leader?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This pattern of rule based on clan leadership ability works it way up into the government system as Pashtun society is very much clan oriented. While some modern influences have moderated some of these traditional customs, the tribal Pashtun structure is still very much in place.\textsuperscript{317}

**Exchange 46:** Respected leader, we need your help / advice / opinion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Respected leader, we need your help / advice / opinion.</th>
<th>moh-taram mashar saahib, moong ta da staaso da madad / naseehat / mashwarey zaroorat dey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Jirga or Pashtun Assembly**

Pashtun villagers meet at an assembly called a *jirga* to settle any disputes or personal and public matters. In settled districts, the *Khan* is the head of the *jirga*, which is subject to being overruled by the state judiciary. Decisions by the *jirga* require formal court reinforcement only if the case has been registered with law enforcement. In tribal areas, federal or state law enforcement has little authority.\textsuperscript{318}

**Provincial Government Structure**

In NWFP, as in other provinces, the governor appoints a chief minister who heads a council of ministers. This governing body is supported by a provincial assembly. Voters elect members of the provincial assembly who oversee most services in areas such as education, health, and agriculture.\textsuperscript{319} Local agency councils were not set up in the tribal areas until basic democracy reforms at the local level were instituted throughout Pakistan in 1959. These councils, however, were later discontinued in the tribal areas.\textsuperscript{320}

**Taliban Authority**

In many areas in the NWFP, the Taliban has become the de facto order despite the government’s denial of such allegations. In past decades, Pakistan’s military intelligence has “used religious parties as a convenient instrument” to neutralize political opponents according to Pakistani government advisor Husain Haqqani. He reports that the intelligence services “would rig votes for the religious parties and allow them freedom to

\textsuperscript{317} Government N.W.F.P. People and Culture. “Pukhtoon Society.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LangId=1&pageName=NWFP-PeopleCulture

\textsuperscript{318} Government N.W.F.P. People and Culture. “Pukhtoon Society.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LangId=1&pageName=NWFP-PeopleCulture


\textsuperscript{320} Government N.W.F.P. “Local Government Elections & Rural Development Department.” http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?pageName=Main&DistId=1&DeptId=11&LangId=1
operate.” In exchange, the religious parties recruited for the mujahideen resistance (such as the Taliban) who were fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s. Mr. Haqqani states that religious parties provided the Pakistani intelligence services with “recruits, personnel, cover, and deniability.” The Taliban consequently became entrenched in Pakistan, especially in NWFP. In the recent past, local police have battled militants in the districts of Swat, Bannu, Dir, Peshawar, Lower Dir, and Kohat.

Border Patrols, Land Mines, and Checkpoints

Afghan Border

The porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan seems to be an invisible line which the two countries have had little success in regulating. The border has been a point of contention for both criminal and insurgent activity. Mountain passes are used by Taliban fighters passing back and forth and also by drug dealers transporting poppies used to make heroin and opium. Both Afghan National Army forces and U.S. forces occupy several mountaintop border posts. Used for observation, these posts have been frequent targets for Taliban fighters.

Exchange 47: Is this all the ID you have?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is this all the ID you have?</th>
<th>taaso sara tol homdaa shanaaKhtee kaardoonaa dee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observation Post 5

Observation Post 5 is a 2,438 m (8,000 ft) elevation post which seems much higher since the base of the peak is 1,830 m (6,000 ft) above sea level. Here, Afghan troops once occupied this site where they could scan both sides of the border. Extreme cold and difficulty in maintaining the post forced the Afghans to abandon the post. Now, American soldiers have taken it over.

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**Exchange 48:** Please get out of the car.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Please get out of the car.</th>
<th>meherbaanee okrlee da motor na baahar raa-oozaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>OK.</td>
<td>Kha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Durand Line**

The border between Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the FATA region of NWFP is known as the Durand Line. British officials created it in 1893 to demarcate and defend their territory in India. When Pakistan became independent in 1947, the Durand Line became its border, and Afghanistan has never recognized it as an official border.325

**Exchange 49:** Show us the car registration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Show us the car registration.</th>
<th>moonga ta da motor registreyshan oKhaayaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>OK.</td>
<td>Kha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The U.S. military has an operational base in Afghanistan near FATA. There have been numerous battles between al-Qaeda militants and Pashtun tribal fighters in this region recently on the Pakistan side of the border. To prevent Taliban militants from crossing back and forth into both countries, Pakistan recently erected a barbed wire fence near the border. However, the Afghan government felt that by doing this, Pakistan was claiming Afghan soil as its own. Afghan President Karzai argues that such a fence divides members of the Pashtun tribes along both sides of the border (the Durand Line).326 An ongoing battle has been taking place over the fence. The Afghan army tore it down and the Pakistani army fired upon them and re-erected the fence.327

**Land Mines**

Pakistan’s President Musharraf in early 2007 was planning to lay land mines along the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan to halt militant infiltrations.328 The Afghan government and many groups against land

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mines, such as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), have condemned the idea. They have requested that Pakistan not place the landmines along the border due to significant potential injury to both humans and livestock. This is especially true since tribespeople and their children wander back and forth in the undemarcated area to visit with relatives. Pakistan, however, still produces landmines and is estimated to have around six million in storage, according to an ICBL spokesperson. Pakistan’s foreign secretary, Riaz Muhammad Khan, is quoted as saying that Pakistan does not require “permission or agreement with any country” to lay the mines.329

Exchange 50: Is this area mined?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is this area mined?</th>
<th>dey ilaakey key meynoona sha?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of landmines has been reported in the Dir district. These mines are being used by tribes to settle their personal conflicts.330

Checkpoints

A few checkpoints have been reported in the Chitral district in areas such as Singhal, which shares the border with Afghanistan. At this checkpoint, foreigners are asked to sign a registration sheet. Another checkpoint is reported in Shandur at the Shandur Pass near the village of Teru. This checkpoint requires visitors to fill out forms and show their passports. Remote checkpoints are reported in areas such as the Chitral-Peshawar Road near Ayun, a dirt road where visitors register with the papers they filled out when entering Chitral.331

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Family Life

Pashtunwali within the Family Structure

*Pashtunwali*, or the Pashtun code of honor, is the directive by which the Pashtuns abide. It is the core of their way of life and encompasses their unwritten law and their culture. This code defines the roles of men and women, controlling their behavior, honor, and sense of shame. This code is so deeply ingrained that Pashtuns violate it only at risk of exclusion or often severe punishment by the group.

According to *pashtunwali*, a Pashtun woman is required to make sacrifices for her family and be obedient to men and elders in the family. She is seen as the preserver of Pashtun culture and is taught to represent honor as the culture dictates for her role. Her role is that of peacemaker, homemaker, and bearer of tradition. Men take the role of absolute leader, willing to fight for family and personal honor, and avenge any infringement upon it.

Family and Gender Patterns

Family is by far the most important aspect of the social life of every resident of the NWFP. It provides individuals with an identity and shelters them. A family member rarely lives alone. Men maintain relations with members of their patrilineage and women with their natal families throughout their lives.

Men and Biradari

Within their *khels* (clans), men own land, and property ownership is divided among brothers. Men who own property are allowed to speak in the *jirga*, or tribal leadership group. Leaders within the *jirga* are considered “the first among equals,” not superior to others by virtue of their position. Pashtun men have a strong sense of equality among themselves, and this can lead to feuds and shifting alliances, especially in the geographic areas that are unsettled.

A patrilineal group known as *biradari* consists of male kin who may live in the same village or be dispersed among villages. They maintain close ties with each other and maintain a supportive network, helping each other find jobs, money, and the means to survive. They also contribute to the dowries of families less fortunate. Even when leaving

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the family to look for work, a man will live with relatives or friends of his biradiri kin. This group plays a significant role in the family structure and its socialization. They organize and participate in ceremonies and major life events together and “present a united front to the village.” Fundamentally, they solidify the patrilineal ties within a family and help to keep the family unified.335

**Exchange 51: Do you have any brothers?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Do you have any brothers?</th>
<th>taaso wroona larey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender Patterns among Women**

Women have strong family connections within the patrilineal system. They maintain relations with their birth families after marriage and for the rest of their lives. The relationship between brothers and sisters is quite strong. In the event of divorce or a spouse’s death, a woman relies on her brothers to help her survive.336

A newly-married woman in a patrilineal household is subservient to her new mother-in-law. Negotiating her desires through her sister-in-law is not uncommon. Once she bears sons, however, she gains status in her family.337

**Exchange 52: Are you married?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are you married?</th>
<th>taaso waada krlee yee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Women and Social Class**

Women who live under the code of pastunwali are bound by conventions and restrictions which vary according to class. Upper class women are tied to rigid social conventions, including those which segregate men and women. Lower class women are also bound by convention, but have different class customs, such as working side by side with the men. Regardless of their social class, education beyond elementary, if that, is not an option for most women in NWFP. The middle class women are the ones with more opportunities to

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Married Life, Divorce, and Birth

Marriage

Marriage in the NWFP is a way for the family to gain new relatives, specifically males or daughters-in-law and their extended families. When children are born to the marriage, males are the preferred sex in order to maintain the patrilineage. The ideal marriage is to a father’s brother’s child, or another cousin. This helps to maintain property within the family. A successful marriage is followed by other marriages within the family and, thus, the ties are strengthened.  

Exchange 53: Is this your entire family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Is this your entire family?</th>
<th>staaso tol Khaanadaan homdaa dey?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a son marries, he and his family live in the father’s household until the father dies. After that, a son is able to establish his own household.

Exchange 54: Are you planning to move?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are you and your family planning to move somewhere else?</th>
<th>taaso aw staaso Khaanadaan bal zaay ta kadey warlo iraada shta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Romance plays a small role in marriage, which is a negotiated contract arranged by fathers or males who head the households. The bride has little status in the patrilineal household. Women are taught to not quarrel or fight as this may lead to dissolution of the marriage. They are expected to be the peacemakers, regardless of the issue.

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Islamic Divorce

An Islamic marriage is meant to last forever. However, if a couple chooses to divorce, the Quran encourages them to continue to show each other respect during the divorce. During the marriage, they are expected to settle their differences on their own. If they cannot, a relative from both sides of the family acts as a mediator to try to resolve any problems. If this does not work, then a divorce may proceed. Once the divorce is filed, the couple has three months to reconsider possible reconciliation. If there has been no reconciliation after this three month period, the divorce becomes effective and the marriage is terminated in the eyes of Islam.342

Every attempt to save the marriage is made under Islamic guidelines. Often, marriages stay intact even when they have “failed beyond repair.” Deteriorated conditions of marriage may be outweighed by fear that divorce will disgrace and destroy the family’s prestige and bring harm to the children.343

Marriage and Divorce Certificates

Marriage certificates for Muslims are called nikah names. These certificates are registered with the Nikah Registrar. In Pakistan, the original copy is always written in Urdu. Due to possible marriage fraud, many embassies require the nikah nama or an alternate certificate as well as a wedding photograph to prove the wedding took place. In the case of divorce, a certificate is granted by the arbitration council. It can only be issued after a period of 90 days has passed since the divorce was announced and the marriage went into arbitration. If there is no reconciliation after 90 days, the council issues a divorce certificate.344

Birth and Care for Mothers and Children

When a baby is born, the hospital concerned or the Secretary of the Union Council from the NWFP government, issues a birth certificate after the parents apply.345

In rural areas of NWFP, health care centers such as the Aga Khan Health Services operate programs to promote maternal health care. Rural women are very involved in these programs. They receive training to be village health care workers, birth attendants, and nurses to help with midwife programs designed specifically for rural pregnant women.346

345 Government N.W.F.P. “How to Obtain Birth and Death Certificates?” No Date. http://www.nwfp.gov.pk/AIS-page.php?DistId=1&DeptId=1&LanId=1&pageName=Birth-Death Certificates
Maternity care is a greater priority in urban areas. NWFP urbanites have better maternity care available to them at the local hospitals than could be found in rural areas. At the Rehman Medical Institute, for example, parents have access to information on immunization and proper nutrition. Children up to 14 years of age can receive emergency pediatric care and general health care in out-patient clinics.347, 348

Disruptions to Urban and Rural Households

Water and Sanitation Issues

In both urban and rural areas of NWFP, sanitation and access to drinking water have proven to be a continual problem for most families, causing illness and disease. Polluted ponds dot the area and solid waste has accumulated in the streets and vacant lots. Most households have had to get their drinking water from springs, wells, or rivers which may be polluted. For some rural families, the idea of having an infrastructure that allowed for clean water is an unimaginable concept.349

After the Earthquake

The 2005 earthquake destroyed many urban and rural homes, further disrupting family life. Besides being separated from family members, many of whom had been killed, people had to contend with a destroyed infrastructure. Over 90 percent of all water springs were either destroyed or badly damaged, and people could not find safe drinking water. NGOs, the Pakistani government, emergency services agencies, and the UN began immediate work to repair and build structures to prevent health problems and disease. They constructed latrines and washing areas and organized services in camps. They developed filtration treatments for rural and urban households and mobilized quickly to provide for collection and safe disposal of solid waste.350

It was October when the earthquake struck, and the weather was already getting cold and windy and the conditions in the tents were poor. Families and children in thousands of villages were in desperate need of winter clothing.351

In the tents, bedding would get cold and wet, the thin canvas would buckle under the heavy snow, and mud was everywhere. Despite these conditions, the affected children showed incredible resilience. Children were reported making sure they did not miss school. One family reports of their daughter suffering injuries from a collapsed building, was able to continue her physical therapy while living in a camp. Children were also willing to face the cold to get emergency kits of blankets and warm clothes and were happy to make new friends and play games like cricket.352

Family Ceremonies

The most important family ceremonies among Pashtuns are weddings and funerals. These events hold such significance that attending them is the main reason cited for Pashtun refugees to make the difficult and often dangerous trip back across the Afghan border to visit relatives. Celebrating these events is a major way in which family ties are solidified among the members of extended families.353

Pashtuns celebrate family weddings and celebrations with traditional music, singing, and dancing. Those who have the means hire musicians to add to the festivities. Since 2003, however, the Taliban has been cracking down on music as part of their “anti-obscenity” campaign in NWFP. Some musicians who perform at family celebrations have been run out of business as a result.354

In Peshawar, families traditionally have gathered at Jinnah Park to celebrate Independence Day together. In 2007, the government rescheduled this August event to take place instead at Peshawar Police Lines because of security concerns.355

Status of Children, Young Adults, Women, and the Elderly

Status of Children

Male children are preferred over females in Pashtun culture, since they represent strength and continued lineage to a family. All children, however, whether male or female, are an important part of the extended family. They participate in the daily work, including agricultural

work. In their villages, they attend school at either a girls’ or boys’ school. Girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys due to the difficulty of commuting to school or the need to do household work. Children are expected to help care for the younger children and elderly members of the family. They learn at an early age the roles expected of them according to their gender.

**Exchange 55:** Are these your children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Are these your children?</th>
<th>daa da staaso mashoomaan dee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Status of Young Adults**

Many young adults, especially boys, continue with their schooling beyond the elementary and secondary levels. Because parents are unable to pay for government-run schools, they often send their children to madrassas. Here, students receive an education that is based in religious studies but includes other subjects as well.

When young adults marry, they continue to live with their family members. A young man and his wife live in the household of the man’s father, subject to his father’s household rules. Young women leave their birth families and live with the family of their husbands, and there they must submit to the authority of their mothers-in-law.

**Exchange 56:** Did you grow up here?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soldier:</th>
<th>Did you grow up here?</th>
<th>taaso delta loyi shawee yee?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local:</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>aao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Status of Women**

Pashtun women hold a strictly subservient status in the male-led household that they are born into and marry into. Living in private household compounds, they are restricted in their movements and required to follow a strict policy of chastity to uphold honor for the men in their family. A woman who violates this cultural law can be killed by a male relative. Such a killing does not demand revenge since the cause was sexual misconduct.356

Women in NWFP have few rights in practice, and this may extend to voting rights. In the districts of Battagram, Upper and Lower Dir, and Kohistan, women were recently not

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allowed to vote. The election commission had to give strict warnings that action would be taken if these women were not allowed their right to vote. As a result of these complaints, some elections were declared null and void until legal proceedings could go forward.\(^{357}\)

If a woman in NWFP holds a job outside the home, it is typically in a clerical, catering, secretarial, or teaching field. Working outside the home, she is still expected to maintain her home and rear her children. Further, she remains under the guardianship of the men in her family.\(^{358}\)

Women in Pakistan often do hold high positions of power working outside the home. Many of the positions in government are filled by women. However, women’s legal rights are often denied along with their right to receive an education.\(^{359}\) This is particularly true for women in poor rural areas and parts of NWFP, where women’s rates of illiteracy have fallen below 20 percent.\(^{360}\)

The constitution of the Islamic State of Pakistan states that “There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.” It also states, “No citizen shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment (in the service of Pakistan) on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence, or place of birth.” The government is committed to bringing more awareness of women’s equal legal status to cultural practices and attitudes toward women. Violence toward women has decreased in areas since the enactment of the Protection of Women (Criminal Laws Amendment) Act of 2006 according to a report by the United Nations.\(^{361}\)

In spite of being protected by the Constitution, however, women in NWFP continue to experience physical violence as well as discrimination in education, hiring, and voting. For instance, as the Taliban continues to encroach upon the NWFP, there have been bombings and threats of bombings at girls’ schools in the past year. Schools in some areas have closed because of threats against female teachers. Female teachers continually

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have to be aware of violence aimed at them. Within the family, women continue to be subject to harsh physical punishment at the will of their husbands or male relatives.

**The Elderly**

The elderly in NWFP and in Pakistan traditionally live with family members, upon whom they rely for support and protection. The extended family tradition is very strong in NWFP, and elderly family members are almost always cared for by members of their family. They are shown respect and deference by both children and adults.

The security of elderly family members is sometimes precarious, however. As of early 2007, over 2 million Afghan refugees had registered with the government of Pakistan, almost 65 percent of them in NWFP. Of those people, the majority is elderly, along with women and children, and they live in refugee villages provided by the government. Their lives are less secure under these and other unusual circumstances. For instance, when the 2005 earthquake shook the area, the elderly and handicapped were the ones most in need of help with housing, water, sanitation, food, and income. When displaced and separated from their families, elderly people in NWFP become extremely vulnerable whether the cause is natural disaster or other reasons.

**Naming Conventions**

In NWFP, the most common title preceding a name is Khan because it establishes that person as a Pashtun. In urban society, the name “Mr. Khan” is commonly used. When a man is referred to as “Khan Sahib,” it indicates seniority and respect within a tribal context. A Pashtun name may include the name of the tribe. For instance, in the name “Amjad Javed Khalil,” the last name, Khalil, is the tribe’s name. The person can be formally addressed as “Mr. Khalil” or informally addressed by his first name, “Amjad.” (If the first name is “Mohammed,” it should not be used informally because it has a meaning beyond the name of a person.) Amjad Javed Khalil can also be addressed as “Khan Sahib,” a designation of honor within the Pathan tribe.

Women are addressed using their husband’s name. It may be preceded by “Begum,” the equivalent of “Mrs.” in Urdu, which is widely used. Within the family, women are

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addressed by specific names which indicate relationship. For instance, her younger brothers or sisters would call her “apa” or “baji,” her daughter-in-law would call her “sas,” and her sister’s husband would call her “sali.” There are several other titles, for men as well as women. They all explicitly pinpoint the relationship, emphasizing the interdependence of relatives within the family structure.367

Four Classes of Muslim Names

When a Muslim baby is born, seven days later the parents choose a name. If for some reason, they disagree on a name, then the father may select a name. They can also ask another family member, such as a grandfather or grandmother, to name the child.

There are four classes of Muslim names for parents to choose from. The first class is a name that reflects servitude to Allah by calling the child “Abd” (slave of) followed by Allah, or Abdullah. Another name in this class is Abdur-Rahmaan, or Slave of Most Merciful. The second class is naming a child after a Prophet or Messengers of Allah, such as Alaihimus Salaatu Was-Salaam. The third class is naming the child after companions, martyrs, or scholars, such as Urwah after Urwah ibn Mas’ood, Hamzah after Hamzah ibn Abdul-Muttalib. Both were considered the noblest of the martyrs. The fourth and last class does not fall into any of the three previous categories. Common examples are Hamzah, Khaalid, Anas, Usaamah, Thaamir, Haarith, and Hammaam.

Prohibited Names

Some names are disapproved or forbidden by the Shari’a, the ethical and moral code of the Quran. Forbidden names include those that may indicate service to those other than Allah, or names of tyrants, despots, and tyrannical rulers.368