GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AMONGST PUKHTUN, IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN: IMPACT ON THE STATUS OF PUKHTUN WOMEN

Samina

AREA STUDY CENTRE (Central Asia)
UNIVERISTY OF PESHAWAR
(December 2015)

DECLARATION

I solemnly declare that dissertation 'Gender Consciousness amongst Pukhtun, in Afghanistan and Pakistan: Impact on the Status of Pukhtun Women' is based on my original research work and has not been submitted to any other University for grant of degree.

Samina
AREA STUDY CENTRE
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR

Date 10.5.17 Cont of Exam UOP

FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the dissertation submitted by Ms. Samina and it is our judgment that this is sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the University of Peshawar, Peshawar, for the award of the degree of Philosophy.

SUPERVISOR _____

Prof. Sarfraz Khan

EXTERNAL EXAMINER _____

DIRECTOR _____

Prof. Sarfraz Khan

AREA STUDY CENTRE (CENTRAL ASIA)
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR

DEDICATION

To Pukhtun women and men, creatively encountering patriarchy

ABSTRACT

The study attempts and finds direct and dialectical association between gender consciousness and status of women amongst Pukhtun, in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Rejecting widely held presupposition that an *apriori*, fixed, monolithic understanding of gender i.e., masculinity/femininity, exists amongst Pukhtun, this study demonstrates that varied patterns and levels of gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun exist which shape gender relations and impact status of Pukhtun women in paradoxical ways. Gender consciousness, reflected in notions, symbols, customs, institutions, laws and policies, multifariously develops dialectically within gender relations. However, the association between gender relations and consciousness is not mechanical and one-sided. Gender relations interpret consciousness and consciousness shapes these relations.

Chapter One defines and discusses key terms i.e., gender, gender relations, gender consciousness and status of women; and builds theoretical paradigm. It repudiates biological determinism and ensuing naturalization of gender based division of labour, masculine/feminine roles, relationships, privileges and discriminations.

Chapter Two delineates views of selected philosophers regarding gender and status of women, identifying inherent gender biases, subsequently shaping gendered consciousness and relations. It argues that essentialism inculcates gendered consciousness while dialectical materialist socialist feminism rejects fixed, given, universal masculine/feminine essences and hierarchical gender relations and takes into account roles of bodies, social, political and economic factors; thus paves way for *gender consciousness*.

Chapter Three, Four and Five use selections from: selected genres of Pukhto folklore and prose; twentieth and twenty first centuries' Pukhto poetry to delineate and assess varied manifestations of Pukhtun gendered and *gender consciousness*. It identifies varied androcentric, dichotomous, hierarchical and essentialist patterns of Pukhtun gendered consciousness that sanction absolute authority of men over women's body, emotions and actions. These patterns legitimize patriarchal Puktun notions, customs, traditions and institutions, inculcating male-stream Pukhtunwali that dehumanize woman and lowers her

status. Pukhtun patriarchal gender relations and gendered consciousness are grounded in strict division of labour, on the basis of sex difference, both in production and reproduction. This division determines and affects social value assigned to sexed bodies, labour and product of labour, control over resources, their respective roles, status and privileges. Pukhtun *gender consciousness* exhibits progressively varied levels: beginning with discernement of extremely naked patriarchal practices, it ascends to advocacy of right to life, education, healthcare, work and consent to marriage and bringing forward 'subaltern Pukhtunwali'. There appear, occasionally, traces of higher transformatory critical consciousness too that recognizes women's agency and calls for collective political action to overthrow patriarchy. These varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness reflect dialectical interplay of a wide range of social, political and economic factors, most notably property relations, division of labour in production and reproduction, strict demarcation of private and public spheres.

Conclusions discuss paradoxical development of gender consciousness and impact of varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness on the status of women.

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I am also thankful to the Chairman and faculty Department of Philosophy, University of Peshawar, for their support and cooperation. Last but not least, I thank my siblings for having faith in me to complete this work.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

It has been extremely difficult to be consistent in transliteration in a research work using variety of languages. Thus simplest forms of transliteration have been used to avoid diacritics and glottal stops, for instance, 'Pukhto' rather using 'Paxtō' and used 'Jihad' instead of 'Jihād'.

GLOSSARY

Badal	Revenge
Dewa	Lamp
Gender Consciousness	This work uses gender consciousness, as an inclusive term, referring to all patterns and levels of appraising masculine/feminine attributes, roles and gender relations. It includes both *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness
Gender Consciousness	Specific level of cognizance and critical appraisal of masculine/feminine attributes, roles and gender relations that discerns, condemns and ushers into efforts for reforming patriarchal gender relations
Gendered Consciousness	Consciousness that passively and dogmatically adheres to normative masculinity/femininity considering it granted, natural and divine
Gor	Grave
Guftar	Speech
Hasher	Collective work
Hujra	Male Community Centre
Ingor	Daughter-in-Law
Jirga	Council of Elders
Khawand	Husband/Owner
Khegara	Benevolence
Khwakhe	Mother-in-Law
Khaza/Khaze	Woman/women
Khwendo	Sisters
Kekhe	Worm
Kor	Home
Khwar	Poor
Kurat	Dried Curd
Kunda	Widow

Lakhkar	Tribal army
Laar	Path
Lur	Daughter
Mahar	Dower
Maatay	Defeat
Matal	Proverb
Meerata	Woman without Male Progeny
Melmastia	Hospitality
Mateeza	The She Eloper
Mattey	Arms
Nar	Male/Masculine
Namard	Unmanly
Nanawate	Forgiveness
Nang/ghairat	Honour/Pride
Nemgarhay	Incomplete
Pagrhai	Turban
Panah	Sanctuary
Peetay	Burden
Peghor	Taunts
Peghla	Unmarried Girl
Plar	Father
Purdah	Veiling/Segregation/Confinement
Pukhtai	Rib
Qaum	Tribe
Qisa	Folk Stories
Rawaj	Customary Practices
Ranrha	Light
Rogha	Peace-making
Sarhe	Man
Sangsar	Stoned to Death
Swara	Woman given in marriage to opponents, in order to make peace
Tabar	Family
Tapa	Pukhto Short song

Tahafut al- Falasifa (Arabic)	The Incoherence of the Philosophers
Tarbur	Male Paternal Cousin
Tarla	Female Paternal Cousin
Teega	Cease Fire
Tura	Sword/Chivalry
Volvar	Bride price
Wak	Authority
Wror	Brother
Weenza	Slave Girl
Zalim	Cruel
Zanzeerona	Chain
Zaaman	Sons
Zandani	Imprisoned

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INTRODUCTION

The study, 'Gender Consciousness amongst Pukhtun, in Afghanistan and Pakistan: Impact on the Status of Pukhtun Women', attempts to delineate and assess varied patterns and levels of gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun that shape gender relations and impact status of Pukhtun women.

Pukhtun inhabit: South, Southwest and Eastern Afghanistan; provinces of Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab (districts of Mianwali and Attock); Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Pakistan. A substantial number of Pukhtun reside in metropolitan urban centres of Pakistan such as; Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi/Islamabad etc. Pukhtun comprise 15.42% of the population of Pakistan which is currently estimated to be 199 million. Sex ratio, males per 100 females, in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and FATA, is 105 and 108, respectively.[1] Pukhtun, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan,[2] constitute 40-42%[3] of its total population, which is currently estimated to be somewhere between 28-32 millions.[4] Sex ratio, males per 100 females, in Afghanistan is 105.[5] Traditionally Pukhtun tribes have been nomadic, semi-

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[1] See: Population Census Organization, Government of Pakistan. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov.pk/motherTongue.htm; The World Factbook: Paksitan. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pk.html, (accessed on March 09, 2015)

[2] In Afghanistan, a comprehensive census has never taken place. An official attempt was made in 1979; however, it could not be executed in the countryside due to rising insurgency. Existing population statistics are estimated on the basis of 1979 census and various surveys carried out by UN agencies and other International NGOs. However, these estimates are widely contested by various ethnicities and groups.

[3] Minority Rights Group Country Overview of Afghanistan. Retrieved from http://www.minorityrights.org/5429/afghanistan/afghanistan-overview.html, (accessed on December 09, 2015)

Afghanistan in 2012: A Survey of the Afghan People. The Asia Foundation. Retrieved from https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/Surveybook2012web1.pdf, (accessed on May 4, 2013)

[4] Central Statistics Organization of Afghanistan estimates are 28.6 million in 2015; Asia Foundation estimates are 30.6 million in 2013. While world population review and CIA world factbook estimates are close to 32 million. See http://cso.gov.af/en/page/demography-and-socile-statistics/demograph-statistics/3897111; Afghanistan in 2014: A Survey of the Afghan People. The Asia Foundation. Retrieved from http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/Afghanistanin2014final.pdf; <Cia.gov/library/publication/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html> http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/afghanistan-population/, (accessed on March 08, 2015)

[5] Sex ratio also varies from 103 to 107; however, we have taken estimates of Central Statistics Organization of Afghanistan. Retrieved from http://cso.gov.af/Content/files/Last%20HANDBOOK%20ON%20WOMEN%20AND%20MEN%20IN%20AFGHANISTAN_JUNE%202012%20)1.pdf, (accessed on March 09, 2015)

nomadic, semi-sedentary, sedentary, agrarian and patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal. Pukhtun residing on both sides of Durand Line profess adherence to 'Pukhtunwali', unwritten Pukhtun customs and traditions, with an admixture of Islam. Various dimensions of socio-political life, including gender relations, are largely governed by Pukhtun tribal customs and institutions. Mainstream (read malestream) interpretation of Pukhtunwali has been highly androcentric, patriarchal and sexist. Customary institutions and practices of Pukhtunwali mostly exclude, marginalize and restrict women's role in social, political, judicial and even in private spheres, hence, sanction and reinforce superiority of men over women within the family and society at large. In traditional Pukhtun setting women are denied, in the name of Pukhtunwali, fundamental human rights such as; right to life, property, mobility, health, education, work, consent to marriage, participation in political process and decision making.

Pukhtun have mostly been considered conservative, oppressive to, and discriminatory against, women. They too often take pride in, being a 'masculine race', and jealously guarding their honour, located mainly in women's bodies, desires and actions. During past four decades, wars have been waged and fought in Pukhtun land,[6] either in the name of protecting sanctity of Pukhtun women or liberating women. It, therefore, becomes of pivotal importance to: trace and appraise not only mainstream but also subaltern notions of Pukhtun gender relations, masculinity/femininity, and even Pukhtunwali.

Pukhtun gender relations/consciousness have been shaped by a range of social, political and economic factors including; Pukhtunwali, Islam, land settlement, tenure and distribution, property ownership, gendered division of labour in production and reproduction, colonial and contemporary state policies, 'Great Game', nationalism, Cold War, Islamisation, militancy, urbanization, increased trade and entrepreneurship, exposure to new ideas, liberal democracy, women's participation in political process, rise in both male and female literacy, inclusion of womenfolk in workforce, War on Terror, role of rights based national and international organizations and

[6] Pukhtun land refers to parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan where Pukhtun historically reside in majority

emergence of civil society etc.

This work focusses more on property relations and division of labour in production and reproduction shaping gender relations/consciousness and status of Pukhtun women. Building upon Marxist view that human nature, a productive activity, has partly been determined by biological and social factors, it argues that division of labour on the basis of sex difference in production and reproduction has primarily been determining the prevailing constitution of human nature and norms of masculinity/femininity. Biological, social, political, economic factors and human praxis interact in constituting gender, i.e., masculinity/femininity. Prevailing notions of gender relations and masculinity/femininity reflect social, political and economic conditions and determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context.

Taking into account dialectical materialism, gender consciousness has been considered a form of social consciousness, shaped by economic, political, ideological, and biological (reproduction and sexuality), factors. Gender consciousness multifariously develops dialectically within gender relations. The association between gender relations and consciousness is not mechanical and one-sided. Gender relations proceed from material conditions into human consciousness, and are reflected in notions, symbols, customs, institutions, laws and policies. Gender consciousness, in turn, can preserve, reinforce, alter, or transform gender relations.

Application of dialectical materialist method upon Pukhtun gender relations/consciousness yields that there are no *apriori*, fixed, monolithic understanding of gender i.e., masculinity/femininity, amongst Pukhtun. There exist varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness reflecting dialectical interplay of a wide range of social, political and economic factors, most notably property relations, division of labour, strict demarcation of private and public spheres. These varied patterns and levels, in turn, shape gender relations and impact status of Pukhtun women.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study attempts to find an association between gender consciousness and status of women amongst Pukhtun. It delineates varied patterns and levels

of gender consciousness and assesses their impact upon the status of Pukhtun women in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Specific Objectives:

1. Defining gender consciousness
2. Providing philosophical appraisal of key terms: Gender, Gender Relations and Gender Consciousness
3. Outlining evolution of gender consciousness in Greek, Medieval and Modern thought
4. Identifying areas of gender discrimination in Pukhtun society
5. Delineating varied levels and patterns of gender consciousness in Pukhtu folklore and literature
6. Identifying relationship between Pukhtun gender consciousness and status of women

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This study attempts to answer following questions:

1) What is Gender Consciousness?

2) What has been dominant gender consciousness/relations in Greek, Medieval and Modern thought?

3) Do Pukhto folklore and literature depict Pukhtun gender consciousness/relations?

4) Is gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun homogenous and monolithic?

5) Does Pukhtunwali impact gender consciousness/ relations?

6) Does an association between gender consciousness and status of Pukhtun women exist?

Hypotheses:

1) Cognizance and appraisal of: masculine/feminine attributes and roles, one's personal and collective gender identity, gender based discriminations, exploitation and oppression in a society may be termed as gender consciousness.

2) Greek, Medieval and Modern thought have primarily been depicting, sustaining, and reinforcing hierarchical, dichotomous, androcentric and essentialist gender consciousness/relations.

3) Pukhto folklore and literature mirrors Pukhtun gender consciousness and relations.

4) Gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun is not homogenous and monolithic, but diverse

5) Male stream interpretation of Pukhtunwali seems to be adversely impacting gender consciousness/ relations.

6) There exists a direct and dialectical association between gender consciousness and status of Pukhtun women.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

No specific work, delineating and assessing Pukhtun gender consciousness and its impact on the status of Pukhtun women is available. Some work, discussing gender issues: discriminatory legislation against women e.g., law of evidence and Hudood Ordinance; and practices such as *volvar* (bride price), violence against women, including honour killing, *Swara* (giving woman in marriage to opponents, in order to make peace) amongst Pukhtun, has been published by various government departments, 'right groups' and academia.[7] These writings are either fragmented, events based or suffer from fixation, uniformity and reductionism.[8] Incorporating Pukhtun women into a homogenous category of Afghan or Pakistani woman, fails to take into account socio-historical context, specific condition and consciousness of Pukhtun women. Resultantly, they tend to portray Pukhtun women only as passive, helpless victims of a rigid [male]stream Pukhtun

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[7] See: Baba Khel, A., Swara: Women as Property. 2003, Aurat Foundation Peshawar; Nijhowne, D., and Lauryn Oates, Living with Violence: A National Report on Domestic Abuse in Afghanistan. Global Rights, 2008; Hosseini, K., A Thousand Splendid Suns. Riverhead Books, New York 2007; Pennel, T., Among The Wild Tribes of The Afghan Frontier: A Record of Sixteen Years Close Intercourse with the Natives of the Indian Marches. Second edition, Seeley & Co. Limited, London 1909; Warburton, R., Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898. John Murray, London 1900; Usmani, T., Amendments in Hudood Laws: The Protection of Women's Rights Bill. Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad 2006; Kamal, S., Nizam-e-Adl: Inside Out. National Commission on Status of Women. 2010; Lari, M., 'Honour Killing' in Pakistan and Compliance of Law. Aurat Foundation, 2011

[8] See: Khan, S., Pukhtane, (Pukhtun Women). University Book Agency, Peshawar 1975; Delloye, I., Women of Afghanistan. Trans. M. Jager, Ruminator Books, Saint Paul Minnesota 2003; Emadi, H., Repression, Resistance, and Women in Afghanistan. Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport 2002; Ahmad, A., 'Afghan Women: The State of Legal Rights and Security'. In: Policy Perspectives. 2006, Vol.3., No.1, pp25-41. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/42909150. (accessed on March 5, 2011); Cathcart, S., Rhetoric Versus Reality: Prospects for Women's Rights in Post-Taliban Afghanistan. Unpublished MA Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Alexandria 2004

culture, hence, undermine their agency, varied levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness in relation to specific socio-economic and political conditions. A need, therefore, arises to: examine Pukhtun gender consciousness as product of biological, social, historical, political and economic factors to bring forward diverse patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness impacting staus of Pukhtun women.

Moreover, most of the studies on Pukhtun, since the colonial period, have been written by men.[9] Hence, provide no or minimum insight into the life of women, mainly offering androcentric and at times sexist, interpretation of Pukhtunwali. Since Pukhtun women have remained one of the most invisible and unheard segment of world's population, their perspective needs to be taken into account for an objective study on Pukhtun. Pukhtun notions of honour and masculinity have often been invoked to justify feuds, conflicts and militancy in Pukhtun land. Therefore, it becomes imperative to assess gender dimension of such Pukhtun notions, institutions and customary practices. Improving status of Pukhtun woman has mostly been sought through addressing customs, traditions, practices, laws and policies. However, the need is to understand and address philosophical foundations of gender consciousness/relations. A systematic, comprehensive, coherent and consistent, academic work therefore, seems of pivotal importance to understand the dialectical association between gender consciousness and status of women amongst Pukhtun.

The study will assist policy makers in understanding gender situation amongst Pukhtun objectively and devise policies to eradicate gender discrimination, improve status of Pukhtun women and implement gender inclusive reforms in conflict ridden Pukhtun society. It will also enable right groups to understand the evolving gender situation and formulate appropriate

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[9] See: Elphinstone, M., An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India. Richard Bently, London 1842; Qayium, A., Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier. Hind Kitab, Bombay 1945; Caroe, O., The Pathans: With an Epilogue on Russia. 1957, Reprinted by Oxford University Press, Karachi 1983; Spain, J., The Pathan Borderland. Mouton & Co., Hague 1963; Rishten, S., Pukhtane Lar Khood, (Pukhtun Guide). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2000; RZehak, L., Doing Pashto. 2011. Afghan Analyst Network. Retreived from https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/20110321LR-Pashtunwali-FINAL.pdf (accessed on June 13, 2011); Ulfat, G., Pashtani Dudona (Pashtun Habits and Customs). In: Da Pashto Tolana, Kabul 1957; Ahmad, A., Pukhtun Economy and Society: Taditional Streture and Economic Development in a Tribal Society. Routledge, New York 1980

response. Last but not least it will enable me, a Pukhtun woman, personally understand gender consciousness and politics of gender in my own milieu.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work attempts a philosophical appraisal of gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun and assesses its impact on the status of women. It assumes that gender consciousness and relations vary across cultures and epochs. Neither there exists a uniform pattern of gender consciousness nor a fixed, universal, structure of gender relations. Nonetheless, gender consciousness/relations have been predominantly explained within a deterministic, essentialist and androcentric framework that justifies gender discriminations, hierarchies and inferior status of woman. This work uses dialectical materialist, feminist approach to understand gender consciousness and relations amongst Pukhtun. Framework based on such approach offers inclusive, comprehensive and dynamic understanding of gender identities, roles and relations. Following dialectical materialist position that consciousness is product of concrete human activities carried out in material, social and historical context, in line with anti-essentialist claim that there are no essential, fixed, given and universal attributes of things in the world and human beings, this work reinforces socialist feminist's claim that women's oppression is caused by the intersection of man's dominance (patriarchy), class (capitalism), racism and imperialism.

Partly agreeing with those anti-essentialist linguistic/discourse theories which reject fixed, determinate, universal meaning of the category 'woman' or 'man; it, however, finds a comprehensive explanation of gender in terms of language/discourse or culture alone, insufficient. Since language, a historical, political and social phenomenon, is grounded in historic, socio-economic formations. Language and thought, both social constructs, develop through praxis, conscious physical labour that transforms nature to satisfy human needs.

Masculine/feminine attributes, roles and relations are also explained through Marxist view of human nature that takes into account physical environment, material conditions, human needs and conscious human activity

(agency). Masculine/feminine physiological and psychological attributes and types result from dialectical interrelation between biology, social factors and physical environment. This interaction is mediated by praxis, conscious human labour. They are dynamic, created and recreated through conscious human labour in specific socio-historical contexts. Socio-historically specific organization of production and reproduction shapes specific gender relations. These relations shape consciousness and are manifested into notions, symbols, customs, traditions, legislative policies and practices. However, the association between gender relations and consciousness is not unidimensional and mechanical, but dialectical.

METHODOLOGY

The study has applied philosophical, empirical, descriptive, analytical, feminist and dialectical materialist methods. The work is descriptive in: delineating various understandings of gender, gender relations/consciousness; tracing evolution of gender consciousness in Greek, Medieval and Modern Thought. Empirical data including: *tapa* and personally collected narratives; selected samples of Pukhto short stories, novels and poems have been used to delineate: gender, feminist, debate in Pukhtun society; Pukhtun notions of gender relations, masculinity/femininity and various patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness; areas of gender discrimination in family and society at large. Dialectical materialist approach has been undertaken while discussing gender relations in the socio-historical context of Pukhtun. Content has been appraised philosophically to trace and assess: philosophical foundations of gender consciousness; Pukhtun notions of masculinity/femininity; patterns and levels of gender consciousness impacting status of Pukhtun women.

SCHEME OF THE STUDY

This work, comprising introduction, five chapters and conclusions, aims to trace and assess varied patterns and levels of gender consciousness impacting status of Pukhtun women.

Introduction states the research problem, aims, objectives, research questions, hypotheses, underscores significance, explains theoretical

framework, delineates research methodology and scheme of this study. It also comprehensively reviews existing literature on the topic.

Chapter one, defining and discussing key terms of the study i.e., Gender, Gender Relations and Gender Consciousness, rejects deterministic, essentialist and ahistoric approach. It argues that gender, gender relations/consciousness have been shaped by dialectical interplay of biological, social, political, economic factors and human praxis. Moreover, it affirms a dialectical relationship between gender relations and consciousness. It identifies specific social, political, economic determinants and indicators of women's status, and discusses the inter-relationship between Pukhtunwali and status of Pukhtun women.

Chapter two builds upon the premiss that Philosophy reflects, and, in turn, influences socio-political and economic order. Discussing views of selected philosophers, it argues that metaphysical and epistemological categories of Greek, Medieval and Modern thought have mostly been carrying gender connotation, and sexist, misogynist biases. These gendered dichotomous, hierarchical categories, reflecting patriarchal gender relations, have been shaping gendered and *gender consciousness* and inculcating patriarchal gender relations.

Chapter three examines gender debate and expressions of gendered and *gender consciousness* in selected genre of Pukhto folklore. Pukhtun, with very low literacy, are predominantly an oral society. Pukhto folklore, therefore, counts as one of the most important sources to delineate and understand Pukhtun social relations, beliefs, desires, needs, interests, notions, ideas and material conditions. Selections from three selected genre i.e., *matal*, proverb, *qisa*, story and *tapa*, short song, have been cited and analysed to delineate Pukhtun notions of masculinity/femininity; varied patterns and levels of gendered and *gender consciousness* of a large majority of Pukhtun society across the ages.

Chapter four cites and assesses manifestations of gendered and *gender consciousness* in selected two genre of Pukhto prose, i.e., short story and novel. It charts and discusses how Pukhto prose depicts, evaluates, accepts/rejects prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman amongst Pukhtun. It also

identifies and assesses patterns and levels of gendered, *gender consciousness* by citing and analyzing selected samples taken from Pukhto short stories and novels.

Chapter five delineates and assesses patterns and levels of gendered and *gender consciousness* in Pukhto poetry. It cites and analyses selected verses of selected Pukhto poets to chart and discusse how Pukhto poetry depicts, evaluates, accepts/rejects prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman.

Conclusions of the study discuss impact of the interplay between varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness and material conditions impacting status of Pukhtun women.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender Consciousness is a frequently used term in the existing discourse on gender issues. However, definition of this term is missing in various dictionaries and encyclopedias, even those focusing on gender and feminism such as: *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Culture*; *Encyclopedia of Women Studies;*[10] apart from *The Oxford English Dictionary*; *The Encyclopedia Americana* and *The New Encyclopedia Britannica.*[11] A large number of books and articles, for instance: *Gender Consciousness and Privilege*;[12] *Implications of Gender Consciousness for Students in Information Technology*;[13] *Redefining the Public Space: Women's Organisations, Gender Consciousness and Civil Society in South Africa*,[14] *Women's Gender Consciousness*;[15] and *Gender Consciousness and Politics*;[16]

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[10] Ember, C., and Melvin Ember, (Eds.), Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Culture. Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, New York 2003, pp 1-241; Channa, S., (ed.), Encyclopedia of Women Studies. Cosmo Publications, New Delhi 2004

[11] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol., VI, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989; The Encyclopedia Americana, American Corporation, USA 1951; The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., Chicago 1986

[12] Pace, G., Gender Consciousness and Privilege. Falmer Press Limited, London 2000, pp 1-20

[13] Herring, S., and James Marken, 'Implications of Gender Consciousness for Students in Information Technology'. In: Women's Studies. 2008, Vol. 37, Issue 3, Routledge, pp 229-256 Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00497870801917150, (accessed on November13, 2009)

[14] Hassim, S., and Amanda Gouws, 'Redefining the Public Space: Women's Organisations, Gender Consciousness and Civil Society in South Africa'. In: Politikon. 1988, Vol. 25, Issue 2, Routledge, pp 53-76. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02589349808705064, (accessed on November18, 2009)

[15]Gurin, P.,'Women's Gender Consciousness'. In: The Public Opinion Quarterly. 1985, Vol.

investigating manifestation of 'Gender Consciousness' in social institutions and its impact on social relationships, lack a precise and comprehensive definition. However, providing fragmentary and partial definitions, they give insight into one or other dimensions of 'Gender Consciousness'. These piecemeal definitions help us develop a comprehensive definition of the term.

Gender consciousness cannot be studied as an isolated phenomenon. It is embedded in the world view or conceptual framework of individuals, groups, communities, classes and races. It also varies with changing social, political and historical situation. Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, [17] offers dialectical development of consciousness. It relates consciousness to the socio-historical context. Assigning primacy to Mind and Ideas, Hegel considers whole reality as the self-unfolding process of an Absolute Mind. Karl Marx, in *The German Ideology*,[18] opposes independent existence of mind preceding material and social reality. Consciousness, for Marx, emerges and develops through human interaction with physical environment and other human beings to produce means of subsistence. Since Marxist method takes into account interrelationships of: material conditions; social and historical factors; and ideologies reflecting interests; it therefore enables thorough understanding of gender consciousness.

Feminist readings of philosophy such as; *Feminism and Philosophy*,[19] *Feminism & History of Philosophy*,[20] and *Feminism and Ancient Philosophy*,[21] not only highlight gender biases and neglect of issues relating women by several great philosophers but also demonstrate that the metaphysical and epistemological theories of these philosophers are also not gender neutral. Rather, dominant philosophical theories provide frameworks for sexist and patriarchal socio-political institutions. Original works of philosophers such as:

49, No. 2, Oxford University Press, pp. 143-163. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2748824, (accessed on June 24, 2010)

[16] Tolleson R., Gender Consciousness and Politics. Routledge, New York 1992, pp216

[17] Hegel, G., Phenomenology of Spirit. Trans. A. V. Miller, Oxford University Press, New York 1977, Reprint 2004, pp595

[18] Marx, K. and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*. In: Marx, Engels, Lenin: On Historical Materialism. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1972, Reprint 1976, pp 14-76

[19] Gatens, M., Feminism and Philosophy: Perspectives on Difference and Equality. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1991, pp162

[20] Lloyed, G., (ed.), Feminism & History of Philosophy. Oxford University Press, New York 2002, pp367

[21] Ward, J., (ed.), Feminism and Ancient Philosophy. Routledge, New York 1996, pp275

Plato's *Republic*[22] and *Meno*;[23]Aristotle's *Generation of Animals,*[24] and *Politics*;[25] Ghazali's *Ihya Ulum-id-Din*, Revival of Religious Learnings, [26] *Nasihat al-Muluk*, Council for Kings,[27] and Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, Alchemy of Eternal Bliss,[28] have also been examined to assess their role in shaping contemporary gender consciousness.

John Locke, a British Empiricist, challenged absolute authority of men over women and children in, *Two Treatises of Government*.[29] Melissa Butler in, '*Early Liberal Roots of Feminism: John Locke and the Attack on Patriarchy*',[30] examines the implications of Lockean liberal political thought on nature, role and status of women and considers him as pioneer of liberal feminism.

There have been attempts by feminist philosophers to incorporate women's issues in the leading philosophies. Consequently, a wide range of feminist theories have been developed to understand the situation and oppression of women with the application or critique of various philosophies. For instance, Marry Wollstonecraft uses rationalist philosophy in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women,*[31] published in 1792, to advocate equal rights and opportunities for women. She argues that both man and woman are equal rational beings; however, woman has been barred from using reason and strengthening body. She rejects natural intellectual superiority of men over women and demonstrates that hierarchical gender relations and

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[22]Plato, The Republic. 360 B.C.E., Trans. B. Jowett, Electronics Classic Series. Retrieved from http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/plato/republic.pdf, (accessed on October 03, 2012)

[23] Plato, Meno. 380 B.C.E., Trans. B. Jowett, Electronics Classic Series. Retrieved from http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/meno.html

[24] Aristotle, Generation of Animals. Trans. A. Peck, William Heinmann, London 1953, pp686

[25] Aristotle, Politics. Book 1, Part XII. Trans. B. Jowett. Retrieved from http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html

[26] Ghazali, M., Ihya Ulum-id-Din (Revival of Religious Learnings). Vol.1. Trans. F. Karim, Darul-Ishaat, Karachi 1993, pp264

[27] Ghazali, M., Nasihat al-Muluk (Council for Kings). Trans. F. Bagley, Oxford University Press, London 1964, pp 158-173

[28] Ghazali, M., Kimiya-i-Sa'adat (Alchemy of Eternal Bliss). Trans. M. Bilal, Kazi Publications, Lahore 2001, pp. 427-464

[29] Locke, J., Two Treatises of Government. Printed for Thomas Tegg et all, Dublin 1823

[30] Butler, M., 'Early Liberal Roots of Feminism: John Locke and the Attack on Patriarchy'. In: The American Political Science Review. 1978, Vol.78, No.1, American Political Science Association, pp 135-150. Retreived from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953604, (accessed on December 26, 2014

[31] Wollstonecraft, M., A Vindication of the Rights of Women. 1792, Retrieved from http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdf/wollvind.pdf, (accessed on August 03, 2010)

masculinity/femininity are grounded in social and historical contexts. John Stuart Mill, a utilitarian philosopher, in *The Subjection of Women*,[32] published in 1869, argued that equality between the sexes will lead to greater happiness and improvement in the society. He locates the origin of woman's subordination in the law of force oppressing her due to weaker physical strength. Subsequently, laws and customs legitimize and institutionalize subordination of women. Frederick Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* [33] published in 1884, applies dialectical materialism to trace and analyse patriarchal arrangement of the society. He cites the advent of private property and class society as the primary factor leading to the subordination of women and emergence of patriarchy. Simon de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*,[34] published in 1949, explains the situation of women from existentialist stand point. She employs two primary categories of human consciousness i.e., self and other, to explain the submissiveness of women. Lindsey German, in *Sex, Class and Socialism*,[35] published in 1989, discusses the relationship between the economic forces and gender situation. Her work linking changes in the family system with shifting modes of production enables understanding of transitions in the Pukhtun family system too. Jane Dryden, in *Relational Autonomy: Bridging a Gap between Feminism and German Idealism,*[36] compares conceptions of personal freedom and self-determination propounded by German Idealism, especially Fichte and Hegel, to feminist account of subjectivity and autonomy. Finding similarities between the two she argues that individualistic understanding of autonomy is incorrect, autonomy or self-determination is inherently social and relational. Self who is constituted in and through social relations can still be an autonomous self. Alison Jaggar, in *Feminist Politics and Human Nature,*[37] expands the domain of political philosophy to include issues of feminist concern. She further

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[32] Mill, J., The Subjection of women. Longmans, Green and Co., London 1869, Retrieved from http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/jsmill/sub-wom.pdf, (accessed on June 23, 2009)
[33] Engels, F., The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. 1884. Trans. A., West. 1942. Retrieved from http://www.marxists.org, (accessed on June10, 2009)
[34]Beauvoir, S., The Second Sex. Trans. H. Parshley, David Campbell Publishers, London, first edition 1953, Reprint 1993, pp787
[35] German, L., Sex, Class and Socialism. Book Marks, London 1994, pp 231
[36] Dryden, J. Relational Autonomy: Bridging a Gap between Feminism and German Idealism. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Fordham University, New York 2008
[37] Jaggar, A., Feminist Politics and Human Nature. Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, New Jersey 1983, pp408

relates feminist political claims to philosophical theories of human nature. She compares four distinct feminist theories i.e., liberal, traditional Marxist, radical and socialist feminist, offering varied conceptions of human nature, critique of the gender relations and recommendations for emancipation of women. She argues superiority of socialist feminist theory over others.

Feminist theories indicate a range of biological, material, social, psychological factors underlying women's oppression. Identification and understanding of these factors helps us to explain a few dimensions of the situation Pukhtun women live in. However, feminist theories developed in the West focus mostly on problems and experiences of white women and delineate factors affecting them. They, therefore, cannot fully explain the situation of women of colour, living under colonialism and imperialism, especially Muslim and Pukhtun women. Kumari Jayawardena attempts to bridge the gap in *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World.* [38] She explains women's oppression and exploitation in the third world with reference to historical circumstances, specifically Imperialism during 18th - 20th centuries. Uma Narayan in *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism* rejects the charge that third world feminism is tainted by Westernization and demonstrates that third world feminist movements are responses to problems within those cultures.[39]Nawal el Saadwi, in *The Hidden Face of Eve,*[40] published in 1980, describes the physical, mental and sexual aggression Muslim women are subjected to, in the Arab world. Rejecting the view that Islam is the source of patriarchal oppression in the Muslim world, she links the situation of women in the Arab world to socio-economic and political conditions. Socio-economic system built on land ownership, system of inheritance, parenthood and the patriarchal family has been the source of oppressing women. Imperialist system in the third world has reinforced economic, racial, sexual and gender discriminations. Though, some similarity can be drawn in customs and traditions of Pukhtun with Arab society.

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[38] Jayawardena, K., (ed.,) 'Introduction', In: Feminism and Nationalism in the Third Wold. Sanjiva Books, Colomobo 1986. Edition for Pakistan published by ASR Publications, Lahore 1994, pp 1-24

[39] Narayan, U., Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism. Routledge, New York and London 1997, pp226

[40]El Saadawi, N., The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World. Zed Press, London 1987, pp 212

However, the local context of gender situation amongst Pukhtun has also been shaped by the 'Great Game', 'Cold War', 'War on Terror' as well as the efforts of nation building and defense of the nation state both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Tehmina Durrani, in *My Feudal Lord,* [41] published in 1995, provides insight into the nature of gender relationships in the context of feudalism in Pakistan. She argues that feudal system essentially leads to male chauvinism, oppressive code of conduct for women and gender based violence. She raises issues of: reducing woman to an object of sexual gratification, polygamy, marital rape, custody of children in case of divorce and the social pressure a divorced woman is subjected to. *My Feudal Lord,* based on experiences of a Pukhtun woman married to a Punjabi feudal lord, can shed some light on gender relations in Pakistan. Pukhtun and Punjabi landed elites of Pakistan have close cultural, religious and geographic affinities. *My Feudal Lord,* therefore mainly informs us about the dynamics of gender relations amongst the economic elites of Pakistan; while a large majority of Pakistanis and specifically Pukhtun are socially and economically under-privileged.

Pukhtun life and gender relations largely revolve around Pukhtunwali and are greatly influenced by distinct historical and geopolitical factors. Hence, understanding gender situation amongst Pukhtun requires social and political histories of Pukhtun in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Pukhtun customs and traditions have been an important theme of colonial histories. Dr. Pennel, in *Among The Wild Tribes of The Afghan Frontier: A Record of Sixteen Years Close Intercourse with the Natives of the Indian Marches,*[42] published in 1909, writes extensively about Pukhtun customs and women's situation in Pukhtun society. Pennel discusses variation in the situation of women across different classes. He observes that Pukhtun women live for the requirement of the stronger sex and labour very hard. They grind corn, fetch water, cook food, tend children and clean house. Pukhtun men consider performing women's tasks below their dignity. He writes about barbarous punishments such as; cutting nose, battering and killing, for any

[41] Durrani, T., My Feudal Lord. Transworld Publishers, London 1995, pp382
[42] Pennel, T., Among The Wild Tribes of The Afghan Frontier: A Record of Sixteen Years Close Intercourse with the Natives of the Indian Marches. Second edition, Seeley & Co. Limited, London 1909, pp380

actual or fancied transgression of the moral code. He also discusses illiteracy amongst Pukhtun women and the impact of bride price on women's status in marital life at the turn of 20th century. The situation, however, seems to have changed little for Pukhtun women of rural and tribal areas after elapse of one century.

Sir Robert Warburton, in *Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898*,[43] published in 1900, also briefly touches upon the regulation and control of women by male relatives. He cites the event of an Afridi widow who declined the hand of her husband's brother and, ran to marry the man of her choice. Her young son, when grew up, chased and attacked the man, for marrying his mother, without his permission. The practice common amongst Pukhtun and Afridi bear evidence to subordinate position of woman and the associated notion of man's honour.

During British colonial period *Rawaj*, Pukhtun customary practices, had been codified as *Turizona*,[44] in Kurram Agency 1944. *Turizona* offers insight into the status of women in traditional Pukhtun setting. Throughout the text in '*Turizona*' male relative of woman is referred to, her *waris, malik*, i.e., owner. *Turizona* contains a *nurkhnama*, price list, fixing bride price for virgins and widows. It sanctions killing or selling of a woman, if she elopes with a man. In case a woman is kidnapped, her killing by her male relatives is considered legitimate, not a crime.

James W. Spain, in *The Way of the Pathans*,[45] published in 1972, considers *badal,* revenge *melmastia*, hospitality, *jirga*, a council of elders, *hujra,* male community centre, as essential elements of Pukhtunwali, the Pathan Code of Conduct. *Badal,* the greatest commandment of Pukhtunwali perpetuates feuds for generations. Spain cites woman, land and money as the major causes of disputes among Pukhtun. The obligation to take revenge is grounded in man's pride. He also discusses invisibility of women and the culture of silence about women amongst Pukhun. An indigenous understanding of Pukhtunwali comprising notions, institutions and customary

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[43] Warburton, R., Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898. John Murray, London 1900, pp351

[44] Qanoon-e-Rawaj-e-Kurram (Turizona). Compiled by Khan, A., (1944). Trans. S. Ghundikhel, and S. Kakakhel, (1947).

[45] Spain, J., The Pathan Borderland. Mouton & Co., Hague 1963, pp293

practices is sought from *Pukhtane Lar Khood,* [46] The Pukhtun Guide, by Sadiqullah Rishten.

Benedicte Grima, in *The Performance of Emotion Among Paxtun Women,*[47] published in 1992, attempts to fill the gap in anthropological literature on feminine Pukhtunwali. In her view, available literature on Pukhtun has only been depicting behaviour of male population as normative. However, she argues that Pukhtun men and women are socialized in two different worlds; Pukhtun women have their own behavioral expectations, self-images, emotions, rites and public discourse. Samandar Khan Samander, in *Pukhtane,*[48] Pukhtun Women, compiles eleven stories to depict ways woman performs Pukhtunwali in her role as mother, wife and above all, the site of Pukhtun honour. He also enlists essential attributes of a Pukhtun woman.

Veronica Doubleday, in *Three Women of Herat: A Memoir of Love Life, Love and friendship in Afghanistan,*[49] published in 2006, traces the situation of Afghan women since 1970s, prior to the war, to the refugee camps in Pakistan during 1980s. In her view, customary practices and laws had been oppressive before the war. However, war disrupted the gradual process of reform and emancipation of women. War surpassed the issue of women's rights and reinforced patriarchal forces, both the so called Islamic fundamentalists and Soviet backed regime. In 1985, visiting Afghan women in refugee camps in Peshawar she observes that relief work was heavily weighted in favor of men and women's life was strictly regulated by Islamist Jehadi groups. Isabelle Delloye, in *Women of Afghanistan,*[50] informs us about the life of Afghan women during 1970s. In her view, intense labor and motherhood seems to be the purpose of existence for Afghan women. Woman is treated like a property by male relatives. In early 7os women had joined the paid employment as;

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[46] Rishten, S., Pukhtane Lar Khood, (Pukhtun Guide). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2000

[47] Grima, B., The Performance of Emotion Among Paxtun Women. University of Texas Press, 1992, Reprint by Oxford University Press, Karachi 1993, pp241

[48] Samander, Khan. Pukhtane, (Pukhtun Women). University Book Agency, Peshawar 1975, pp192

[49] Doubleday, V., Three Women of Herat: A Memoir of Love Life, Love and Friendship in Afghanistan. Jonathan Cape, London 1988, pp225

[50] Delloye, I., Women of Afghanistan. Trans. M. Jager, Ruminator Books, Saint Paul Minnesota 2003, pp200

female doctors, nurses, school and university teachers, office employees, bakers and factory workers. However, women workers were paid low and they had to do all household chores, including taking care of 6-8 children, in addition to work outside.

Hafizullah Emadi, in *Politics of Development and Women in Afghanistan,*[51] published in 1993, investigates the relationship between growth of capitalism and women's development in Afghanistan. He establishes that capitalism plays an ambiguous and contradictory role in developing countries, often resulting into uneven development, intensification of class struggle and national liberation movements. The study reveals that capitalism benefited only a small segment of Afghan society. Education and employment opportunities were available mostly to women of upper and middle classes and women from low-income classes were marginalized. The awareness and struggle for gender equality was, therefore, limited to the women of the privileged class. They formed organization and associations for the social, political and economic development of women, but their struggle was not successful owing to limited participation of women and political instability.

Apart from histories focusing on women, general history of Afghanistan has also been studied to have an overall understanding of the society through various eras, and to relate gender issues to larger social, political and economic context. Louis Dupree's *Afghanistan,*[52] is an extensive history covering land, people, social practices, foreign invasions, advent of Islam, emergence of Durrani dynasty and constitutional monarchy. Vartan Gregorian traces changes in the socioeconomic and political formations of Afghanistan in *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880-1946.*[53] Leon B. Poulada, in *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929,*[54] extensively deals with revolutionary steps of King Amanullah to modernize Afghanistan and the causes of his failure.

Since this work looks at the role of political factors in shaping Pukhtun

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[51] Emadi, H., Politics of Development and Women in Afghanistan. Paragon House Publishers, New York 1993, pp150

[52] Dupree, L., Afghanistan. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1980, pp778

[53] Gregorian, V., The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880-1946. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 1969, pp 586

[54] Poulada L., Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929. Cornell University Press, London 1973, pp318

gender consciousness/relations, in this regard Sarfraz Khan's *Special Status of FATA: Illegal Becoming Licit,*[55] provides relevant insight. He argues that special status of FATA, a colonial construct, sustained by Pakistan, has been serving the interests of powerful domestic establishment and its international allies; while for tribal people, it has been the source of underdevelopment and denial of fundamental human rights. Sarfraz Khan and Samina take the argument ahead in *Patriarchal Social and Administrative Practices in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Pakistan: A Case for Gender Inclusive Reforms.*[56]They argue that the confluence of colonial and Pukhtun customary institutions has been instrumental in sustaining and strengthening patriarchal practices leading to inferior status of Pukhtun tribal women.

Dushka Saiyid's *Muslim Women of the British Punjab: From Seclusion to Purdah*[57] and Azra Ali's *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947,*[58]enable understanding gender relations in the context of British colonialism. Syed Waqar Ali Shah Kakakhel, in *Pukhtane Khaze O Da Qaam Khidmat*, [59] Pukhtun Women and Service to Nation, brings to fore a huge body of letters and articles contributed by women in Pukhtun magazine (published since 1928). It enables understanding impact of Pukhtun nationalist movement on gender consciousness.

Biographies of Amir Abdur Rahman,[60] and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,[61] are also a valuable source of having an insight into the situation of Pukhtun and a glimpse of the life of women.

Tahira S. Khan, in *Beyond Honour: A Historical Materialist Explanation*

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[55] Khan, S., 'Special Status of FATA: Illegal Becoming Licit'. In: Central Asia. 2008, No.63, Area Study Centre (Central Asia), University of Peshawar, pp 7-38

[56] Khan S., and Samina, 'Patriarchal Social and Administrative Practices in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Pakistan: A Case for Gender Inclusive Reforms' In: Central Asia. 2009, No.65, Area Study Centre (Central Asia), University of Peshawar, pp19-44

[57] Saiyid, D., Muslim Women of the British Punjab: From Seclusion to Purdah. Macmillan Press, London 1998, pp145

[58] Ali, A., The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947. Oxford University Press, Karachi 2000, pp291

[59] Kakakhel, W., Pukhtane Khaze O Da Qaam Khidmat, (Pukhtun women and Service to Nation). Bacha Khan Research Centre, Peshawar 2012, pp272

[60] Khan, S., (ed.), The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan. Oxford University Press Karachi, first published in London in 1900, reprint in Pakistan 1980

[61] Khan, G., Zama Jwand aw Jaddujehad (My Life and Struggle). Daulati Matbua', Kabul 1983, pp741

women use *tapa* like Arab women as a discourse of defiance, to express sentiments that challenge the tribal code. Basing on *tapa*, Sarfraz Khan and Samina, in *Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives*,[67] delineate patterns of expression of women's desires and aspirations in Pukhtun society. They also discuss ways Pukhtun women use tradition as modality for change.

Pukhtun gender consciousness has also been assessed through analysis of Pukhto proverbs and folk stories. Proverbs reflect collective wisdom, culture, manners, customary practices, gender norms and relations. Mohammad Nawaz Tair has compiled a huge collection of Pukhto proverbs in *Rohe Mataluna*.[68] Pukhto folk stories compiled in *Milli Hindara*[69] and *Honour Relevant Stories*,[70]portray masculine/feminine normative traits, roles and relations.

Gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun has also been assessed through analysis of Pukhto fiction. Pukhto short stories by Zaitoon Bano such as; *Da Nakhtar Wona*, The Pine Tree, *Purza*, Part, *Mat Laas*, Broken Arm, *Zanzeerona*, Chains, *Chelamche*,[71] etc., and Major Altaf's *Dunkacha, Mateeza* and *Be Nura Nargas*[72]depict women's plight in Pukhtun society. Pukhto novel such as: *Khwakhe Ingor*,[73]Mother and Daughter in-law; *Peetay*, Burden;[74] *Gul Khan*,[75] *Spin*, White,[76] *Da bang musafari*,[77] and *Sangsar*,[78]Stoned to Death, shed light on woman's status in Pukhtun society.

Various studies such as: Provincial Commission on Status of Women

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[67] Khan, S., and Samina, 'Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives'. In: Central Asia. 2010, No.67, Area Study Centre (Central Asia), University of Peshawar, Peshawar, pp 1-26

[68] Tair, M. (ed.), Rohe Mataluna. (Proverbs of the Mountains). Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1975, pp238

[69] Noori, M., (ed.) Milli Hindara. Norani Kutub Khana, Peshawar, pp284

[70] Mangal, A., (ed.,) Da Nang Qissi (Honour Relevant Stories). Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan, Kabul 2005

[71] Bano, Z., Kachkul (Begging Bowl). Maktaba-i- Arjhang, Peshawar 1991 pp216; Bano, Z., Jwande Ghamoona (Alive Sorrows). 2nd ed., Azeem Publishing House, Peshawar 1985, pp199

[72] Khattak, A., Zai Che Zo Janat ta (Let's Go to Heaven). Danish Kitabtun, Peshawar 2005, pp227

[73] Shabnam, I., Khwakhe Ingor (Mother and Daughter in-Law). Danish Kitabtun, Qissa Khwani Bazar, Peshawar 1973, pp

[74] Khattak, T., Peetay (Burden). University Book Agency, Peshawar, pp332

[75] Taizai, S., Gul Khan. Kamil Pukhto Adabi Jirga Pabbu, Noushehra 1999, pp222

[76] Tarakai, N., Spin. The Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan, Kabul 1978, pp132

[77] Tarakai, N., Da Bang Musafari. The Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan, Kabul 1978, pp150

[78] Tarakai, N. Sangsar (Stoned to Death). Pukhto Adabi Ghurzang, reprinted in Quetta 2009, pp195

of Honour Related Violence,[62] published in 2006, locates the roots of patriarchy and misogynistic religious, legal, cultural and political institutions in economy. She observes that sale of daughters for economic benefits, is a common practice amongst Pukhtun living in Baluchistan, NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Karachi and Afghanistan. Poverty accelerates sale of daughters to even strangers among war stricken people in Afghanistan, she argues. The practice of *volvar,* continues amongst Pukhtun due to inflation and high cost of living despite living in urban areas like Peshawar or Karachi, she explains. Modernity and education does not reach low-income people.[63]

Pukhto Adab Kkhe Da Mermano Brakha,[64] The contribution of Women in Pukhto Literature, M. Phil., dissertation of Shahjehan, published in 1993, lists female Pukhto writers from sixteenth to twentieth century giving us brief biographical account and glimpses of literature they created. In his view, contributions of women in both classical and modern Pukhto literature has been significant but remained mostly undocumented and unexplored owing to inferior status of women in Pukhtun society. An anthology of diverse subjects/ issues, ranging from love to mysticism, nationalism, social justice and gender, are given emotional and artistic treatment by women writers.

A very important source material to know gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun, specifically women, is a genre of Pukhto folk poetry *tapa.* A large majority of *tapa* is considered to have been coined by women. *Rohe Sandare*,[65] published in 1984, is an extensive collection of *tapa. Tapa* voicing women's criticism of patriarchal, tribal, Pukhtun practices demonstrates higher levels of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun women. In studying *tapa,* insight has also been drawn from Abu-Lughod's *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society,*[66] wherein she studies a genre of Arab folk poetry *ghinnawa,* a short song. The study is carried out in the context of Arab patrilineal, patriarchal, tribal culture, driven by a code of honour. Pukhtun

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[62] Khan, T., Beyond Honour: A Historical Materialist Explanation of Honour Related Violence. Oxford University Press, Karachi 2006, pp361
[63] Ibid., pp 155-6
[64] Shahjehan, Pukhto Adab Ke Da Mermano Brakha (The Contribution of Women in Pukhto Literature). Pashto Academy, Peshawar 1993, pp535
[65] Shaheen, S., (ed.), Rohe Sandare, (Songs of the Mountains). Vols. 1-2, Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1984
[66] Abu-Lughod, L., Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society. University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles London 1986, Reprint 1988, pp259

conducted a study on Labour Laws to promote female labour participation,[79] *Swat: The Main Causes of the Breakdown of Governance and Rise of Militancy*, [80] by Khalid Aziz; National Commission on the Status of Women conducted a study *Nizam-e-Adl: Inside Out*;[81] *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Politics,*[82]by Shirkat Gah; *'Honour Killing' in Pakistan and Compliance of Law*,[83] by Aurat Foundation also provide insight into the life of Pukhtun women.

Laws, policies, decree and edicts promulgated, in Afghanistan-during the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman till post-Taliban regime-and in case of Pakistan-during British Colonial period till 2015, have also been reviewed to discern changes in the status of Pukhtun woman.

Neither of the above cited works provides a comprehensive understanding of gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun in Afghanistan and Pakistan nor discusses its impact on the status of Pukhtun women. Therefore, a growing need for a comprehensive, coherent, and consistent work dealing with philosophical foundations of gender consciousness that impacts status of Pukhtun women has been felt. This work is a modest but pioneering attempt in: delineating philosophical foundation of Pukhtun gender consciousness; charting notions of masculinity and femininity, gender roles and relationships; identifying social, political and economic factors shaping Pukhtun gender consciousness, impacting status of Pukhtun woman in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

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[79] Butt, R., Report on Review of Labour Laws. Provincial Commission on Status of Women, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2012, pp27

[80] Aziz, K., Swat: The Main Causes of the Breakdown of Governance and Rise of Militancy. RIPORT, pp69

[81] Kamal, S., Nizam-e-Adl: Inside Out. National Commission on Status of Women. 2010, pp83

[82] Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Politics. Shirkat Gah, 2009

[83] Lari, M., 'Honour Killing' in Pakistan and Compliance of Law. Aurat Foundation, 2011, pp84

CHAPTER 1

UNFOLDING GENDER, GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS, STATUS OF PUKHTUN WOMEN AND PUKHTUNWALI

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to appraise philosophically Pukhtun gender consciousness impacting status of women. To understand Pukhtun gender consciousness, it becomes imperative to understand terms such as gender, gender relations and Pukhtunwali. Therefore, this chapter defines and discusses key terms Gender, Gender Relations, Gender Consciousness, Pukhtunwali and Status of Women, in considerable detail. It also makes an effort to specifically distinguish gender consciousness,* *gender consciousness*** and gendered consciousness. ***

The chapter comprises following sections and subsections:

1.1 Gender
- 1.1.1 Biological Determinism
- 1.1.2 Sex/Gender Distinction
- 1.1.3 Social Constitution of Sex and Gender
- 1.1.4 Dialectics of Biological/Physical and Social Factors in Constituting Gender

1.2 Gender Relations
- 1.2.1 Matriarchy
- 1.2.2 Patriarchy
- 1.2.3 Factors Shaping Gender Relations

1.3 Gender Consciousness

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* This work uses gender consciousness, an inclusive term, referring to all patterns and levels of appraising masculine/feminine attributes, roles and gender relations. It includes both *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness

** This work uses term, *gender consciousness*, written in italics, to refer to a specific level of consciousness that discerns, condemns and ushers into efforts for reforming patriarchal gender relations

*** This work uses term, gendered consciousness, to refer to a consciousness that dogmatically and passively adheres to patriarchal gender relations

1.3.1 Social and Historical Underpinnings of Consciousness
1.3.2 Politics of Consciousness and Gender
1.4 Status of Women
1.4.1 Determinants and Indicators of Status of Women
1.4.2 Pukhtunwali and Status of Pukhtun Women
1.5 Conclusion

1.1 GENDER

This section delineates and assesses various trends in explaining gender. 'Gender' is an English term, from Latin '*genus*' meaning, kind, type, or sort,[84] ultimately derived from an ancient Proto-Indo-European word-root, '$g^{e}n$', meaning to produce, giving rise to the words, kin/gin, meaning, kind or class.[85] In grammar, gender refers to the distinction between classes of nouns i.e., masculine, feminine, common and neuter. Connotation of gender has varied across cultures and history. Beginning with two non-sexual polarities in ancient thought; gender, in the modern era, has been mainly defined in terms of sexual differences, cultural interpretations of those differences; the ensuing social roles, behaviors, traits, abilities, and sense of identity of being a woman and a man. Gender is a system that classifies/divides human beings and various dimensions of their life such as; biological, socio-political, economic, spiritual and intellectual into man/ woman, male/female, masculine/feminine, private/public, subjective/objective etc. Ways of classifying human beings greatly influence them; they think of themselves as of a certain type or kind and act, accordingly. Gender is prescriptive in nature, grants meaning, 'to be a woman and/or a man', in a society. It ascribes culturally specific social, political, economic attributes and opportunities to the sexes.

Gender has mostly been defined in terms of sex, i.e., biological differences between man and woman. Gender hierarchy has often been justified as essential and strictly determined by given, constant and universal biological differences between the two sexes. There have been efforts to redress inequality by defining gender as the cultural interpretation of sex; and classifying some of the differences between man and woman as natural,

[84] The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition, Vol.VI. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989, p.427
[85] Connell, R., Gender. Polity Press, Cambridge 2002, p.7

universal and constant; while others as fluid, variable and culture specific, hence, capable of reforms. However, hierarchies cannot be overthrown with positing sex as a natural, constant and universal foundation for the social constitution of gender. It is, therefore, considered indispensable to understand the nature of differences between men and women, and interplay of biological and social factors in constituting gender, i.e., social roles, identities and relationships associated with sex differences.

Four major trends can be distinguished in explaining gender: 1) biological determinism/essentialism; 2) social construction of gender founded upon given, constant and natural biological differences; 3) social constitution of both biological and gender differences; 4) dialectical interplay between biological and social factors, constituting gender.

1.1.1 Biological Determinism/Essentialism

Biological determinism/essentialism claims that masculine/feminine attributes, abilities and behaviours are determined by biological factors. Social and political being is ultimately grounded in body. Socio-political organizations including gender reflect innate biological differences. Various strands of biological determinism attempt to establish that sex causally determines gender roles, identities and relationships. This view portrays almost all the differences between man and woman as essential, universal, necessary, constant and ahistoric. It tends to naturalize gender based division of labour, social roles, relationships, privileges and discriminations. Biological determinists argue that chromosomal and hormonal differences between male and female lead to different levels of analytic ability, rationality and aggression. Male aggression, competition and dominance have therefore been deemed indispensable for group survival, social integration and stability of social order.[86]

Leading biological determinists of 19th century argue that different constitution of male and female bodies enables fulfilling of predetermined

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[86] See Sociobiology Study Group of Science for the People, 'Dialogue. The Critique: Sociobiology: Another Biological Determinism'. In: Bio Science. 1976, Vol. 26, No. 3, Oxford University Press, pp. 182-186. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1297246, (accessed on October 04, 2014); Perry, M., and and George Albee 'The Deterministic Origins of Sexism'. In: Race, Gender & Class. 1998, Vol. 5, No. 3, Jean Ait Belkhir, pp. 122-135. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674878, (accessed on October 04, 2014)

social roles.[87] In case of humans, primary role of a male has been to protect and provide for female and offspring; while of female is to bear and rear. Charles Darwin, though rejects determinism and fixity, nonetheless, remains deterministic when explains gender. For him male developed higher mental abilities in their role as defender. "They [male] have, also, in the case of mankind, to defend their females, as well as their young, from enemies of all kinds, and to hunt for their joint subsistence. But to avoid enemies or to attack them with success, to capture wild animals, and to fashion weapons, requires the aid of the higher mental faculties, namely, observation, reason, invention, or imagination."[88] For determinists distinct social roles, traits and abilities of man and woman require different education and training. Edward Clark dares to argue that energy spent in education adversely impacts women's essential reproductive function. Hence, opposes higher education for women and declares, "let her whole education and life be guided by the divine requirements of her system."[89]

Biological determinism sustained as sociobiology during 20th century. Wilson defines sociobiology as "the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior."[90] It explains social behaviour in terms of genes, evolution and natural selection. Not only physical traits but behaviour has also been evolved to promote group survival and reproduction. Male aggression is considered genetically determined and reproductively advantageous.[91] Sociobiology ignores role of culture, environment and human agency. Sociobiological studies make generalizations about human behavior, on the basis of non-human organisms, particularly primates; thereby ignore 5 million years of evolutionary development of human brain.[92] According to Sandra

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[87] Bem, S., The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1993, pp.9-13

[88] Darwin, C., The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex. Vol. II, John Murray, London, p.327

[89] Clark, E., Sex in Education; or , A Fair Chance for Girls. J. Osgood, Boston 1875, p45. Retrieved from http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18504/18504-h/18504-h.htm, (accessed on October 25, 2010)

[90] Wilson, E., Sociobiology: The New Synthesis. The Belknep Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge &Massachusetts 1975, Reprint 1978, p. 4

[91] Ibid., pp 7-30

[92] See Ruse, M., Sociobiology: Sense or Non-Sense. D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht 1985, pp152-62; Bleier, R., 'Bias in Biological and Human Sciences: Some Comments'. In Signs. 1978, Vol. 4, No. 1, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 159-162 at p.161. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173333, (accessed on October19, 2010)

Bem, sociobiology naturalizes sex, class and race based inequalities. The advent of sociobiology in 1970s had been an attempt to counter feminist and civil rights movements.[93] Refuting sociobiology Bleier argues that "Humans have a cerebral cortex that provides for conceptualization, abstraction, symbolization, verbal communication, planning, learning, memory, and association of experiences and ideas. It permits an infinitely rich behavioral plasticity that frees us, if we choose, from stereotyped behavior patterns."[94] In her view, manifestation of the cortex's functions in human behavior is associated with social, cultural environment.

Biological determinism has strong bearing on socio-political, economic and religious discourse, and the consequent assigning of social roles, rights and privileges to women and men. Woman's child bearing capacity is used to justify restricting her to a domestic role; while man's muscular strength qualifies him a hunter or warrior, hence, a protector/ provider. Moreover, higher rational capacity enables men to manage and lead public sphere of politics and economic activities.

Biological determinism is reductionist; it explains all social phenomena in terms of biological differences and ignores role of both, physical, social, environment and human praxis. Hence, imposes cultural biases on nature to render social relations of power and dominance, granted. This position is allied with dogmatic materialism and essentialism that undermines human creative possibilities and sustains gender inequalities, blocking gender reform as well as progress towards an egalitarian society.[95]

1.1.2 Sex/Gender Distinction

Distinction between sex and gender emerged against the backdrop of a need to address social inequality between man and woman. Over last two centuries thinkers, concerned with women's rights and emancipation, have been challenging biological determinism. Investigating the relative roles, attributes, responsibilities and privileges in private and public spheres,

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[93] Bem, 1993, pp.14-17

[94] Bleier, 1978, p.161

[95] Haraway, D., 'Animal Sociology and a Natural Economy of the Body Politic, Part I: A Political Physiology of Dominance'. In: Signs. 1978, Vol. 4, No. 1, The University of Chicago Press, pp 21-36. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173323, (accessed on June 12, 2009)

feminist scholarship has demonstrated that there exists very few natural, constant differences between man and woman. A vast majority of these differences varies across cultures and history, hence, shaped by social factors.[96] As nature is deemed inescapable, therefore, sex (as natural) is distinguished from gender (as social construct). Feminists posit gender as a social construct distinct from sex in order to pave way for egalitarian gender constructs.

For instance, Marry Wollstonecraft (1759 - 1797), the pioneer of the modern feminist movement,[97] attempts to explain intellectual, moral, and some of the physical, differences between man and woman, in social and historical contexts. In her view, feminine attributes such as; submission, naivety and innocence are not natural, rather product of bad education, social norms, values, lack of liberty, and the goals set for women in life from the very childhood by the society. These feminine attributes, she considers, are the cause of women's retarded intellectual and moral growth and result in keeping her dependent. "The only difference I can see comes from the fact that soldiers [men] are free to see more of life than women are."[98] She even considers the difference in physical strength to be caused by the norms of beauty that force women to acquire delicate constitution, [99] and at the same time giving men an edge over women for their muscular strength. She rejects identification of women with their bodies rather, demands equal rights and opportunities on the basis of having reason, the universal human faculty common to man and woman.[100]

Forerunner of feminist movement in the US, Sarah Grimke (1792-1873) claims that, "Intellect is not sexed." [101] She rejects division of duties and

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[96] See De Gouges, O., Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen. 1789; Wollstonecraft, M., A Vindication of the Rights of Women. 1792; Engels, F., The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. 1884; Woolf, V., A Room of One's Own, 1929; De Beauvoir, S., *The Second Sex*, 1949; Freidan, B., The Feminine Mystique, 1963; Butler, J., Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, 1990

[97] Klein, H., '*Feminism*'. In: The Encyclopedia Americana. Vol.11. American Corporation, USA 1951, p. 107

[98] Wollstonecraft, 1792, p16

[99] Donovan, 1994, p.8

[100] Wollstonecraft, 1792, pp 12-24

[101] Grimke, S., '*Letter IX: Heroism of Women—Women in Authority*'. In: Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman: Addressed to Mary S. Parker, President of the Boston Female anti-Slavery Society. 1837. Retrieved from http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/book-sum/grimke3.html#letter9, (accessed on Septemebr15,

spheres between man and woman as mere arbitrary opinions. She argues that man and woman are equal; the Creator has endowed intellectual powers and assigned moral responsibilities to the humans without distinctions of sex. She, therefore, asserts that, "whatever is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman."[102] The roles and responsibilities of woman and man are not determined by nature, rather shaped by social factors. Women's intellectual growth is hampered by men, who have reduced women to playthings for the gratification of their desires.[103]

Simone De Beauvoir (1908-1986) argues that a clear division between natural and cultural factors exists in shaping women's roles. In her view, biology alone is not sufficient to set up a hierarchy of sexes and to fix an inevitable destiny for women. Further, biology is not enough to define womanhood, becoming woman is a process in which biology, economy and social condition has played a role. [104]

Various studies demonstrate that strict division of personality traits, intellectual abilities, social roles and physical features simply on the bases of sex differences is problematic. Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin in 'The Psychology of Sex Differences'[105] demonstrate that very little sex differences between various psychological traits and abilities such as verbal, quantitative, spatial and visual actually exist. Further, the controversy, whether these traits and abilities are innate or acquired could not be conclusively resolved. M. Marini argues that the source of sex differences appearing at any age is not clear. Sex differences among infants can be a result of socialization i.e., different treatment of boys and girls by parents from time of birth, and even sex differences that appear only in late childhood and adolescence may not be necessarily free of biological influence.[106]

Wide variation across cultures and epochs in the meaning of masculinity and femininity raises doubts about strict biological determinism and shows

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2010)

[102] Ibid., Letter XIV: Ministry of Women

[103] Ibid.

[104] Beauvoir, 1993 , p.34

[105] Maccoby, E., and Carol Jacklin, The Psychology of Sex Differences. Vol.1, Stanford University Press, 1978, pp. 15-53

[106] Marini, M., 'Sex and Gender: What Do We Know?' In: Sociological Forum. 1990, Vol. 5, No.1, Springer, pp 95-120 at p.102. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/684583, (accessed on October10, 2010)

that masculine and feminine are unstable categories, lacking essential content. Margaret Mead, in 'Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies'[107] delineates cross cultural variation in man's and woman's attributes, in three New Guinea tribes. Amongst the Arapesh tribe, both men and women were equally parental and feminine; aggression and assertiveness were common features of both the sexes amongst the Mundugumor; in the Tchambuli tribe, women were assertive and businesslike and men decorative and sentimental. Socio-economic roles of women and men have also varied over the time subject to the change in the material conditions and corresponding ideologies.[108] The belief that biological maleness and femaleness necessarily lead to manhood and womanhood has also been undermined by hermaphrodites, people whose biological sex is undetermined, but yet they identify themselves as man or woman and behave accordingly.

During 1970s, feminists began using 'sex' and 'gender' as two distinct categories basing on a huge body of literature that demonstrated, behaviour, abilities and social roles are not essentially determined by biological sex rather pertain more to culture. Ann Oakley (b. 1944), borrowing the terminology from Robert Stoller, a US psychiatrist, is the first one to elaborate this distinction. 'Sex' is a biological term and Stoller defines it, as an algebraic sum of physical conditions such as; "chromosomes, external genitalia, internal genitalia (e.g., uterus, prostate), gonads, hormonal states and secondary sex characteristics."[109] Gender, on the other hand, has psychological and cultural connotation. Individuals are assigned gender groups on the basis of their biological features. Yet, Oakley claims that sex plays minimal role in determining one's gender. Gender is as much a function of dress, gesture, occupation, social network and personality, as possessing a particular set of genital.[110]

The feminists began emphasizing the distinction between sex and gender following the realization of the fact that biological sex differences have been exaggerated to maintain male dominance through division of labor between

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[107] Mead, M., Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies. Harper Perennial, New York 2001, First published by William Morrow 1935, pp: 58-75; 178-200; and 229-240

[108] Stearns, P., Gender in World History. Routledge, New York 2000, pp. 10-16

[109] Stoller, R., Sex and Gender: The Development of Masculinity and Femininity. H. Karnac Books Ltd., London 1984, p.9

[110] Oakley, A., Sex, Gender and Society. Gower Publishing Company, Hampshire 1985, p.158

women and men and unequal access to resources in a society. For instance, man's physical strength or his role in reproduction has been grossly exaggerated to establish his superiority. On the other hand, woman's cognitive skill has been undermined to keep her subordinate. Though, at times greater differences in intelligence, height and physical strength may exist between members of the same sex due to socio-economic and racial differences than there exist between members of opposite sex groups. Biological differences do exist between men and women but become problematic when traits, abilities and opportunities are associated with them to make a gender privileged or deprived.

Distinguishing sex from gender and defining gender as cultural interpretation of sex helps rejecting the notion that 'biology is destiny'. Though sex does not causally determine gender; however, sex as natural and 'given', provides certain constant bodily characteristics upon which a variable, social construction of gender is built. This view, therefore, cannot fully escape essentialism and determinism by natural order.

Feminist thinkers, in 1980s onward, began questioning distinction between sex and gender. Linda Nicholson, terming this position as biological foundationalism, pointed out that the influence of sex seems essential in interpreting the concept of gender.[111] Though gender is not strictly determined by body, still body is considered the site of character formation. Gender despite being socially constructed is ultimately grounded in nature as gender is considered a social response to constant bodily differences. Moreover, some constant features of body such as reproduction may invoke similar interpretations across cultures. This conception of gender inculcates social constancies in response to constant biological features and entails similarities in the meaning of womanhood and manhood and commonalities in gender norms across cultures and history.[112] Feminist theories based on sex/gender distinction have been criticized for universalizing (read essentializing) middle-class white woman's experiences, undermining issues and experiences of

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[111] Nicholson, L., 'Interpreting Gender'. In: Signs. 1994, Vol. 20, No. 1, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 79-105 at p.82. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174928, (accessed on July 07, 2010)

[112] Ibid., pp.95-96

women of colour, working class and third world.[113]

1.1.3 Social Constitution of Sex and Gender

Feminist thinkers in post-structural tradition reject sex/gender distinction that posits sex as natural upon which gender is socially/culturally constructed. They offer social/cultural/linguistic explanations of gender and consider both sex and gender as socially and historically constituted. [114] What counts as sex is influenced by social factors. Society not only shapes behavior and traits but it also shapes how bodies are viewed, defined, evaluated and positioned. Bodily differences are always formulated within a socio-historical and theoretical context. Meaning of bodies vary across cultures, women are not only socially but also corporeally diverse. Butler, therefore, rejects gender as a social category imposed on a sexed body; instead, argues that both, sex and gender, are socially constructed. Sex is not a fixed category, it is also 'discursively produced'.[115] Bodies are seen through gendered lenses, our knowledge of the body is clouded by sexist social biases. We think of bodily differences between man and woman due to social construction of gender.

Elizabeth Grosz rejects body as ahistoric, pre-cultural and distinct from cultural representation. Cultural and historical representations constitute bodies; they are culturally, racially and sexually specific entities. [116] Positing body as natural foundation upon which gender is constructed has itself been a social construct. Meanings of bodies are grounded in social relations of power. Cultural discourse of gender establishes sex as unconstructed, natural, constant and given. The professed scientific, objective knowledge of bodies reflects, legitimizes, reinforces and reproduces male dominance.[117]

Differences are produced by language and culture. Language is a system of differentiation that assigns meanings and articulates things through oppositions. Language does not reflect sex and gender differences, rather

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[113]Baden, S., and Anne Goetz, 'Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing'. In: Feminist Review. 1997, No. 56, Palgrave Macmillan Journals, pp. 3-25 at p.15. Retrieved from http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0141-789%28199722%290%3A56%3C3%3AWN%5BWYC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-7, (accessed on October10, 2010)

[114] Colebrook, C., Gender. Palgrave MacMillan, New York 2004, p. 9

[115] Butler, J., Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. Routledge, New York and London 1990, pp.9-11

[116] Grosz, E., Volatile Bodies: Toward A Corporeal Feminism. Allen & Unwin, New South Wales 1994, P.3

[117] Haraway, 1978, p.22

constructs them through contrasts and hierarchical oppositions. "The linguistic mechanism is geared to differences and identities, the former being only the counterpart of the latter."[118] Language constructs identity through relations of difference, opposition and hierarchy. Post structuralism claims that we are not biologically determined rather we are constructed by "a social discourse and/or cultural practice." [119] Our experience of self is mediated by social discourse. Traits, individual and collective identities are constructed within a social reality. This view overemphasizes the role of social factors, i.e., language/discourse in explaining gender; undermining the role of body, material conditions and praxis.

1.1.4 Dialectics of Biological/Physical and Social Factors in Constituting Gender

Biological determinism and sex/gender distinction essentialize gender either as a natural or a social given, granting it a sort of normativity. Moreover, correlation between sex and gender and the consequent conceptualization of women as coherent homogenous group and their oppression caused by sex alone seems too linear and simplistic. Gender need not be isolated from race, class, age, sexual orientations, ethnicity etc. There does not exist an agreed upon common singular determinate meaning of woman across cultures and history. Similarities in the meaning of womanhood may exist, however, its meaning, women's issues and experiences, vary considerably with class, race, religion, regimes, epochs and sexual orientations. Accordingly women's needs and demands are also diverse in different contexts.[120] Cultural/linguistic approach to gender does attempt to escape essentialism and grants primacy to the cultural/linguistic aspects of human life; however, it ignores the role of body, material conditions and human agency in constituting gender.

In search of more inclusive, comprehensive and dynamic approach to explain gender, feminist scholars have, therefore, been finding interaction of

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[118] Saussure, F., Course in General Linguistics. Trans. W. Baskin, Ed., C., Bally, and Albert Sechehaye. Philosophical Library, New York 1959, p.108

[119] Alcoff, L., 'Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory'. In: Signs. 1988, Vol. 13, No. 3. The University of Chicago Press, pp. 405-436 at p. 416. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174166, (accessed on February 22, 2013)

[120] Nicholson, 1994, pp. 79-105

biological and social factors more cogent in explanation of gender difference.[121] Marxist view of human nature that takes into account physical and material conditions, human needs and conscious human activity (agency) provides more comprehensive and dynamic understanding of gender. For Marxists, humans are conditioned by material and social environment; however, conscious human activity can transform environment and relationship to it.[122]

Alison Jaggar, following Marxist tradition, attempts to develop a dialectical conception of human nature: asserting correlation of social norms, practices and bodily changes. For her, masculine/feminine physiological and psychological attributes and types result from dialectical interrelation between biology, social factors and physical environment. This interaction is mediated by praxis, conscious human labour. Human nature, a productive activity has partly been determined by biology. Human biology including sex differences, in turn, has partly been constructed socially. Body has been ascribed different meanings in diverse historical contexts, though it is a historically specific variable, not a context or a foundation upon which gender is constructed.[123] Human beings continuously create and recreate their physiological and psychological constitution.

Haraway too, affirming role of human labour in shaping sex and gender argues, "Neither our personal bodies nor our social bodies may be seen as natural, in the sense of outside the self-creating process called human labor. What we experience and theorize as nature and as culture are transformed by our work."[124] Division of labour on the basis of sex difference in production and reproduction has primarily been determining the prevailing constitution of masculinity/femininity.[125]

Biological, social, political, economic factors and human praxis interact in constituting gender. The influence of one or other factor varies in constituting gender; changes in the modes of production have been reconstituting gender

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[121] Marini, 1990, pp. 95-120

[122] Spirkin, A., Dialectical Materialism. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1983, chapter 3. Retrieved from http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/spirkin/works/dialectical-materialism/index.html, (accessed April 27, 2010)

[123] Jaggar, 1983, p.303

[124] Haraway, 1978, p.25

[125] Jaggar, 1983, pp.303-304

roles. For instance, traditional role of man and woman in public and private spheres was reversed in the beginning of 19th century in Europe. Britain's booming textile industry began employing women and children in greater numbers, consequently, the economically marginalized men began performing domestic duties. However, in the second half of 19th century, following the decline of textile industry and rise of shipbuilding, heavy engineering and coal mining, re-established men's monopoly over jobs and re-emphasized women's domestic role.[126]

Moreover, during First World War, huge employment opportunities were created in Europe. Men volunteered or conscripted for military service, a great number of women joined labour market to keep the economy going. They had to work even in munitions factories and workshops. Confining woman to biological role of reproduction alone was effectively challenged, rather, her ability to work and contribution to national economy was highly eulogized. As soon as the war ended, the question of woman's ability to work in public sphere resurfaced, and also efforts to push her back to assume domestic role.[127]

Similarly, Pukhtun women in Afghanistan, prior to Mujahideen/Taliban regimes, had gradually been breaking shackles of biological determinism, expanding and occupying space in public sphere, i.e., economy and politics.[128]

During Peoples Democratic Regime, women had even joined the armed forces.[129] However, after Taliban took over, women were strictly confined to four walls and reduced to mere body and sexuality.[130]

Assigning social, political and economic attributes on the basis of sex difference is contextual, time specific and mutable. For instance, several social and political factors of 18th and 19th centuries contributed towards the emergence of women's suffrage movement in the US and Europe. French and

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[126] German, L., Sex, Class and Socialism. Book Marks, London 1994, pp. 19-38
[127] The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol.11, American Corporation, U.S.A. 1951. P. 107-111
[128] See: Khan, S and Samina, 'Politics of Policy and Legislation Affecting Women in Afghanistan: One Step Forward Two Steps Back'. In: Central Asia. 2013, No. 73, Area Study Centre (Central Asia), University of Peshawar, Peshawar, pp 1-24
[129] Taizai, S. Z., The Saur Revolution (1978-86). Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar 1986, Printed and Published by The Frontier Post Publications, Peshawar and Lahore, 1991, p 80
[130] See: Collett, P., Women's Rights in Afghanistan. The News, November 11, 1995; Farman, Da Afghanistan Islami Emarat Da Amir-ul-Momineen Khasusi Daftar. Decree by Special office of the Amir-ul-Momineen's August 1998

American revolutions; women's participation in social reform movements, such as Evangelical,[131] Temperance,[132] and Abolition,[133] during 18th-19th centuries; assertion of inalienable natural rights, a legacy of enlightenment; women's revolt against double moral standards, legal and social discrimination; women's participation in paid employment and subsequent demands for equal pay and opportunities, raised feminist consciousness and enabled women to win the right to vote by the turn of the 20th century.[134]

On the other hand, Pukhtun woman's right to vote has still vehemently been contested, particularly in rural and tribal areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, even in 21st century. Men in FATA had been denied the right to vote till the end of 20th century (1996), a right granted to women (even Pukhtun) in other parts of the country and world at large. A multitude of factors such as; colonial policies, tribal culture, low literacy rate, closed society and strong patriarchal control put legal and social constraints on women's right to vote. Men, in FATA, rural areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan, often forbid women exercising right to vote. However, women rights activists are mobilizing both, men and women, to facilitate exercising women's right to vote. They also demand annulment of poll results if women are barred to cast vote.

Summing up, definition of gender has been an outcome of feminist consciousness/politics, borrowed from grammar, referring to masculine/feminine nouns, gender, in social sciences, has been defined to

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[131] The religious revivalism of the Evangelicals was based on the individual's personal experience of salvation, and a desire to help convert others.

[132] Temperance movement, a social reform movement, against excessive drunkenness, had a strong appeal for women. As drunkenness of men was the source of physical abuse and poverty for many families. However in the meetings of temperance societies women were invited to listen only, they were not allowed to speak. In the US, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, struggled for women's right to speak at the temperance conventions. This struggle eventually led to the formation of a separate association, the Women's State Temperance Society, with Susan B. Anthony as the secretary. This platform was used to discuss feminist issues. Elizabeth Cady Stanton claimed that no woman should live in the relationship of wife to a confirmed drunkard.

[133] Abolitionist movement was a movement to end the practice of slavery and trade in slavery in the United States, Europe and Africa. It had its roots in the period of enlightenment which gave the ideas of natural rights and human freedom. As a result of this movement the institution of slavery ceased to exist in the United States and Europe by 1888. Quakers or the Society of Friends in the American Colonies were the first whites to denounce slavery around the mid of 18th century. They believed all humans are equal before God, they all have a spark of spirit.

[134] Cott, N., The Grounding of Modern Feminism. Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1987, pp. 17-50

understand and reform hierarchical social divisions/relationships between man and woman. Since this hierarchy has been legitimized predominantly through biological determinism, therefore, feminists defined gender, a social construct, in opposition to sex, a natural given. Gender refers to psychological and social differences between man and woman. Though this conception of gender, based on sex/gender distinction, rejects biological determinism, however, body still remains a constant, universal ground of psychological and social differences between man and woman. When body is taken as a constant, it entails existence of common attributes both, in man and woman, across cultures, implying, women's issues and experiences are similar too. Though gender is assigned on the basis of sex difference, nonetheless, masculine/feminine attributes and experiences of men and women vary considerably with class, race, nationality and religion also.

Some feminists, therefore, propose alternative understanding of sex and gender. One approach, grounded in post-structuralism, considers both, sex and gender, as socially constituted through language/discourse. It subsumes sex under gender; wherein, gender not only includes psychological traits, behaviour, roles and relationships but also the ways body is viewed, defined and evaluated. Granting primacy to language and discourse, this approach fails to take into account role of material forces and human praxis in constituting gender. Dialectical materialism offers inclusive, comprehensive and dynamic approach to explain gender. This philosophy does not take body as constant, and explains constitution of gender, as an outcome of dialectical interplay between biology, social, political, economic factors as well as human praxis. This approach enables us appreciate diversity and variations, in the organization of gender, experiences and issues of women in different geographic locations as well as socio-historical, economic, political and cultural contexts.

1.2 GENDER RELATIONS

This section defines gender relations, its various forms and discusses factors shaping these relations.

"Gender relations refer to complex, culturally and historically specific social systems that organize and regulate interactions between women and

men, as well as their relative social value [status]. They simultaneously encompass ideas, practices, representations, and identities that pertain to gender."[135] Gender relations not only refer to relationships between men and women but also include interrelationships between male and female bodies, masculinity and femininity, male body and masculinity, female body and femininity, amongst men and amongst women in public and private spheres of a society. Gender relations permeate all aspects of human life such as; subjective identity, sexuality, family, workplace, education, property ownership, state, society and religion. They are manifested in assigning roles and status associated with sex differences, cultural norms of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior, division of labour and resources, rights and privileges.

Gender relations have mostly been oppositional and hierarchical. They predominantly inscribe masculinity on male and femininity on female body; and relate human beings to each other as masculine (dominant) and feminine (subordinate). Prevailing gender norms reflect social, political and economic conditions and determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. As during war, man's aggression to kill and maim and woman's motherhood, to bear and rear brave sons of nations, is eulogized. Such conceptions, mostly reflecting interests of the powerful segment of the society, persist in the post war period too and adversely affect gender relations. Similarly gender images born out of specific socio-economic and political conditions keep influencing gender relations in changed circumstances too. Gender norms have mainly been fulfilling needs and interests of dominant social groups. Kate Millet, therefore, terms the relations between sexes political, "The term "politics" shall refer to power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another." [136] Politics of gender renders one group [male] dominant and the other[female] subordinate. Humans, however, are not solely at the mercy of socio-economic and political forces; rather, they possess the capacity to create more egalitarian gender relations, through individual and collective conscious

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[135] Cook, N., Gender Relations in Global Perspective: Essential Readings. Canadian Scholars' Press, Toronto and Ontario 2007, p.1

[136] Millet, K., Sexual politics. University of Illionis Press, Urbana and Chicago1969, p23

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efforts.

Gender relations comprehend both material conditions and human consciousness. They are dynamic, created and recreated through conscious human labour in specific socio-historical contexts. Gender norms create binaries of intellect and emotion, public and private, personal and political, associated with male and female. However, human beings in their social existence either adhere or/and challenge these binaries reconstituting gender relations. The interplay of socio-historically specific forms of masculinity and femininity, socio-economic and political formations and various levels of gender consciousness may either preserve and reinforce existing gender relations or reconstitute them.[137]

There has never been a universal and fixed pattern of gender relations; they vary across cultures and epochs. Gender relations may be classified as egalitarian, hierarchical, and/or a combination of both. Egalitarian gender relations are found amongst foraging societies; where woman's economic status is equal to man and she is more in control of her sexuality and reproductive capacity.[138] Since gender relations amongst Pukhtun have been classical example of hierarchical form, therefore, a detailed discussion of egalitarian relations is beyond the scope of this work.

Hierarchy in gender relations can be discerned through: unequal evaluation of male and female bodies and masculine, feminine attributes (over-evaluating one and devaluing the other); social division of labour on the basis of sex differences (restricting opportunities for one or the other); unequal access to and control of resources; role in the decision-making process, privileges and prestige. Hierarchy of relationships within a men/women group, based on gender attributes such as masculinity, aggression, competitiveness, beauty, submissiveness, motherhood etc., can also be considered gender relations.

There are two well-known forms of gender hierarchy; Matriarchy-authority of women over men and Patriarchy-authority of men over women.

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[137] Schwarzkopf, J., Unpicking Gender: The Social Construction of Gender in the Lancashire Cotton Weaving Industry, 1880-1914. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Abingdon, Oxon 2004, p. 2

[138] Begler, E., 'Sex, Status, and Authority in Egalitarian Society'. In: American Anthropologist. 1978, Vol. 80, No. 3. Blackwell Publishing, pp. 571-588 at pp.585-86 Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/677013, (accessed on September 30, 2010)

1.2.1 Matriarchy

Matriarchy has been derived from Greek words, '*mater*', mother and '*arche*', rule. Matriarchy means rule by woman. On assumed analogy of patriarchy, matriarchy has been considered a form of social organization, where mother is head of a family and descent is reckoned through mother.[139] Lewis Morgan's research amongst aboriginal tribes of the United States, organized on the principle of mother-right, suggests existence of matriarchal gens as predecessor of patriarchal gens. In matriarchal gen women exercised power over men.[140] Engels (1820-1895) combines historical materialism with Morgan's research and concludes that advent of private property led to the overthrow of matriarchy and emergence of patriarchy.[141]

Existence of matriarchal societies has been questioned by many owing to lack of sound anthropological evidence proving existence of matriarchal societies ever in history.[142] On the pattern of patriarchy, matriarchy must be a system dominated by women. They must hold power over men at micro and macro levels, defining social, moral values as well as construct language and culture. However, there has never been a society in which women defined the norms of sexuality, decided marriage for men or commodified men.[143]

Matrilocal and matrilineal societies have been in existence, where woman are relatively autonomous. She can often choose her spouse and prenuptial chastity is not demanded. Consequently, she is free from various restrictions imposed by male relatives.[144] Gender stratification, relations of dominance, control and authority, are closely linked with economic surplus and private property.[145]

1.2.2 Patriarchy

Patriarchy has been derived from Greek words, '*pate*r', father and

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[139] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. IX, 1989, p.473

[140] Morgan, H., Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization. Bharti Library, Calcutta 1944, first Published by Macmillan & Co., in London 1877, pp 281-290

[141] Engels, 1942, pp 86-90

[142] See Rosaldo, M., and Louise Lamphere, (ed.), Woman, Culture, and Society. Stanford University Press, California 1974, p.3; De Beauvoir, 1993, p.65; Lerner, G., The Creation of Patriarchy. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford 1986, p.31

[143] Lerner, 1986, p.30

[144] Ibid., p.31

[145] Collins, R., Janet Chafetz, etall, 'Toward an Integrated Theory of Gender Stratification'. In: Sociological Perspectives. 1993, Vol. 36, No. 3, University of California Press, pp 185-216 at p. 199. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1389242. (accessed on June 07, 2008)

'*arche*', rule. Classical Patriarchy refers to a form of family characterizing possession by father/husband of supreme authority over the person and property of the group that includes all individuals having a common male ancestor, the wife and children, the slaves and the adopted persons.[146]Patriarch is the chief or head of a family. A family, tribe or community organized under the principle of the rule of the father or the eldest male of a family too is known as Patriarchy.[147] In a prototype patriarchal family several generation of a common father live together along with their wives. The male head of the family has absolute authority over the life and death of his family member and the slave. Since men's authority does not remain confined to his family and extends to the public sphere too. Hence, patriarchy also refers to the social system in which men are dominant in relation to women.[148] In patriarchy woman becomes father's property, who gives her in wedlock according to his suitability.[149]For Gerda Lerner, 'Patriarchy' is the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women, in the family and society at large. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and women are deprived of such power.[150]

Since authority is exercised in regular patterns, therefore, religion, customs, legal and moral codes, as well as sociological and scientific theories have been developed and manipulated to establish and reinforce male authority. Gender hierarchy like all other social hierarchies has been traced to customary, divine, or natural causes in all civilizations.[151] Women may also exercise social power and control over other's labour, resources, and product. The system is still termed as patriarchal because authority remains associated with masculinity, though acquired by a female body.

Feminists have been attempting to identify and understand myriad manifestations of women's subordination to men in a society, to trace its root cause, and redress. For Juliet Mitchell patriarchy refers to kinship systems in

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[146] The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol.21, 1951, p.401
[147] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol., XI, 1989, pp.344-345
[148] Holmes, M., What is Gender? Sociological Approaches. Sage Publications, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi and Singapore 2007, p.2
[149] De Beauvoir, 1993, pp 88-89
[150] Lerner, 1986, p.239
[151] Gailey, C., "Evolutionary Perspectives on Gender Hierarchy". In: Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research. Beth Hess and Myra Ferree, (eds.), Sage Publications, California 1987, p.32

which men exchange women and to the symbolic power which fathers have within these systems.[152] It is the subjugation and economic oppression of women by men. Patriarchy also refers to a system which specifies woman's role as a mother and a domestic labourer. Patriarchy is a system of domination and subordination. For Kate Millet patriarchal society is organized upon two principles: 1) domination of male over female 2) domination of older male over younger.[153]

Several features characterizing patriarchy can be identified amongst Pukhtun. Kinship is traced to a common male ancestor, and father heads the family. Father/brother/husband/son possesses the right to kill a woman in the name of honour. Economic oppression of women has been sustained and reinforced by continuous use of customary practice (Pukhtunwali), denying women the right to own land. Age and sex are primary determinants of social status and authority, both in private and public spheres. In a traditional Pukhtun setting men also control women's productive and reproductive capacity.

1.2.3 Factors Shaping Gender Relations

Variations across cultures and history suggest that gender relations are not given, constant and strictly determined by biology. They are a form of social relations, Marx (1818-1883) claims, "social relations are just as much the products of men [sic., humans] as linen, flax, etc."[154] Gender relations are shaped by a range of biological, historical, social, political, and economic factors. Gender relations have been continuously changing with development in education, skills and technology; access to information, urbanization, secularization and modernization. Feminist thinkers cite various factors shaping gender relations, including: division of labour, private property,[155] aggression and muscular strength, reproduction, sexuality, production, paid employment, household production, culture, violence, state,[156] belief systems and symbols.[157] However, reproduction and production are considered primary

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[152] Mitchell, J., Psychoanalysis and Feminism. Allen Lane, London 1974, p.402
[153] Millet, K., 1969, p. 25
[154] Marx, K., *Poverty of Philosophy*. In: Marx, Engels, Lenin: On Historical Materialism. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1972, Reprint 1976, pp 77-83
[155] Engels, 1942, p88
[156] Walby, 1990, p16
[157] Lerner, p.26

factors in organizing social relations: according to Engels, "The social organization under which the people of a particular historical epoch and a particular country live is determined by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor on the one hand and of the family on the other."[158]

Division of labour on the basis of sex difference in production and reproduction has been instrumental in shaping gender relations. Marx argues that the division of labour leads to various divisions amongst individuals. It determines the relations of individuals to one another with reference to the material, instruments and products of labour.[159] It determines and affects gender roles, status of women, control over resources, social value assigned to bodies, labour and its products. In primitive societies division of labor took place on the basis of sex differences. Social survival bound women to childbearing and rearing, while men catered to the needs of subsistence and defense.[160] Maternal responsibility restricted woman's mobility, men wandered far and wide to hunt and took part in tribal wars. Men, therefore, had been in a better position to acquire and control valuable resources of their societies.

In Engel's view modes of production shape the organization of all spheres of human societies including family.[161] Birth rate is subject to material conditions, higher birth rate is desired when dominant class needs labour power to exploit. Hunting gathering societies, with no surplus and little to exploit, preferred low birth rate, and at times achieved it through infanticide.[162] Gender relations have also been varying with changes in the modes of production. Women's status was relatively high in horticultural and foraging societies, where they were the primary producers. However, the emergence of pastoral industry increased importance of male labour,[163]and lowered the status of women. Emergence of complex social organization intensified gender stratification. Agricultural, pastoral, and industrial societies

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[158] Engels, 1942, p4
[159] Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1976, p.19
[160] Sanday, P., 'Toward a Theory of the Status of Women'. In: American Anthropologist. 1973, Vol. 75, No. 5, Blackwell Publishing, pp 1682-1700 at p1683. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/674056, (accessed on September 30, 2010)
[161] Engels, 1942, pp17-44
[162] Jaggar, 1983, p305
[163] The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol.21, 1951, p401

have all been male dominated. In agricultural societies extended family was the unit of production and, location of work did not separate from the family. Urbanization, technological advances and industrialization changed production patterns, women's role in farming decreased. Family under capitalism also led to further separation of labour from family work and women were more confined to child care.

Gender relations vary in diverse socio-economic formations. Patriarchal authority is stronger in feudal, rural, closed and isolated communities with low literacy and strong social networks, compared to urban, commercially vibrant and industrially developed societies, where women constitute significant part of labour force.[164] Political factors also greatly affect gender relations. Ages of fighting in and around Pukhtun land has made male dominance and aggression a vital factor in shaping gender relations amongst Pukhtun. Afghan war has intensified male control, both in public and private spheres. Absence of a strong centralized political power and an effective unified modern state, in Afghanistan, has been sustaining primitive, patriarchal and androcentric tribal system of political and social organization. Lack of strong, political, social, economic, democratic, legal and judicial institutions, provides space for inter and intra tribal feuds, sectarian/ethnic violence and armed uprising. It further increases Afghan woman's dependence upon men for protection and livelihood. Similarly, weaker state, informal tribal law enforcement institutions in FATA, nurturing the myth of 'tribal autonomy' sustains and reinforces male authority in protecting family/tribal honour and resources. Consequently, bearing sons and be an obedient servant to the protectors/providers and elders of the family becomes an essential role of woman. State ideologies and policies also affect gender relations. For instance, during reign of People Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), bride price (commodification of woman) was banned, women were encouraged to join workforce, and to increase female literacy an extensive woman literacy program was launched. However, following Taliban take over, previous advances favorable to women were reversed, even stepping out of women of their houses without male relatives was banned.

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[164] Khan, Beyond Honour, 2006, pp155-6

Gender relations, a form of social relations, have been shaped by a range of biological, historical, social, political, and economic factors. Referring to interrelationships between men-women, and masculinity-femininity, gender relations ascribe roles and status on the basis of sex differences. Comprehending ideas, practices and identities, gender relations, have been power structured, hierarchical and oppositional, primarily organized to fulfill the interests of the dominant class. Division of labour in production and reproduction is of profound importance in organizing gender relations.

Socio-historically specific organization of production and reproduction shapes specific gender relations. Proceeding from material conditions into human consciousness, these relations are then reflected in notions, symbols, customs, institutions, laws and policies. However, the association between gender relations and consciousness is not mechanical and one-sided. Gender consciousness multifariously develops dialectically within gender relations. Human agency has been actively negotiating all constituents of gender relations. Individuals and groups have been challenging patriarchal organization of production and reproduction through praxis.

1.3 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS

This section attempts to define gender consciousness, discussing social and historical groundings of consciousness as well as politics of consciousness and gender, it makes a distinction between gender consciousness, *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness.

'Consciousness' carries varying connotations in philosophy, psychology, neurosciences, feminism and social activism. Philosophical consideration of consciousness spans over a range of metaphysical, epistemological and moral issues such as: mind/body relationship; origin of ideas; relation of ideas to external reality; existence of innate or *apriori* ideas/structures in human mind; personal identity; subjective experience; and freedom of will etc. Study of consciousness has generated irreconcilable controversies between Materialism/Physicalism, Idealism and Dualism that are beyond the scope of this work. [165] Consciousness, in this work, refers to conceptual framework

[165] Materialist theories either deny consciousness or reduce it to physical states and behavioural dispositions. Dualist theories do not reduce consciousness to brain and affirm the

reflecting existence; social relations; history; aspirations, interests, ideas, actions of individuals and social groups such as, gender, class, race, nation etc.

'Gender consciousness', a compound term, the first constituent part, 'Gender', refers to specific, social, political and economic attributes associated with being male/female; sense of identity and social organization of roles and relationship between men and women. The second constituent of the term, i.e., 'Consciousness' has been derived from Latin roots, '*con*', together and '*sci*', knowing.[166] Literal meaning of consciousness, 'knowing together' or 'shared knowledge', points towards social grounding of consciousness. Gender a social phenomenon and its consciousness develops within a group/society, hence a social process. Specific masculine/feminine norms and roles; gender relations; mutual knowledge and common feelings of a group are known and learned with/from others in a society. Individual gender identity is also informed by how others perceive her/ him in social interactions.

Consciousness has been defined as awareness of personal/collective identity, and concern or sensitivity towards some social injustice.[167] Gender consciousness may mean one's sense of personal gender identity, i.e., identifying oneself as a man, woman, both, or neither; group identity i.e., awareness of belonging to a particular gender and being supportive of gender solidarity; concern over gender based discrimination and hierarchies, as well as sensitivity towards gender equity.[168]

Herring and Marken distinguish three levels of gender consciousness: low, median, and high. Low gender consciousness, neither discerns gender disparities nor is concerned; median level gender consciousness discerns gender disparities but is not concerned about it; high gender consciousness fully discerns gender disparities and power play in gender relations, and also commits to effect change.[169] For Glennellen, all degrees of gender consciousness discern gender discrimination, however, various degrees operate at different levels of social existence. One termed, 'sex-equity',

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existence of non-physical psychical phenomena. However, dualists fail to offer satisfactory account of the interaction between mental states and physical states.

[166] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. III, pp.756-7

[167] Ibid.,

[168] Herring, S., and James Marken, Implications of Gender Consciousness for Students in Information Technology' 2008, p229

[169] Ibid., pp240-41

focuses on elimination of traditional, common and overt stereotypes, normative traits and characteristics ascribed to the sex differences and ensuing imbalance in the relationship between the sexes. Second degree termed, 'gender-awareness', consists in recognizing deeply embedded cultural meanings of being male and female and questioning gendered assumptions underlying organization of various institutions.[170]

In short, gender consciousness comprises diverse cognizance and appraisal of masculine/feminine physical, social, political and economic attributes, gender role and relations and underlying ways of assigning attributes on the basis of sex differences. Since, one may dogmatically accept, critically assess, reject, reform or transform ascribed masculine/feminine attributes, roles and relations, gender consciousness is, therefore, heterogeneous, exhibiting varied patterns and levels. We can specifically distinguish gender consciousness, *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness. Gender consciousness, an inclusive term refers to all patterns and levels of cognizance and diverse appraisals of ascribed gender roles and relations. *Gender consciousness* not only discerns and condemns gender based discriminations and hierarchies, but also motivates collective political action to transform social formations that give rise to discriminatory, hierarchical, patriarchal gender relations/consciousness. Gendered consciousness refers to passive and dogmatic adherence to normative masculinity/femininity considering it granted, natural and divine. Notions of normative masculinity/femininity reflect experiences and interests of one gender, i.e., men while marginalizing the other i.e., women, sustain and reinforce patriarchal gender relations. (For further discussion on gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* see section 1.3.2 below)

1.3.1 Social and Historical Underpinnings of Consciousness

Consciousness refers to the states of mind or mental representations, i.e., perceptions, ideas, concepts, intensions etc., and accompanying subjective phenomenon of self-awareness.[171] John Locke (1632-1704) defines consciousness as, "the perception of what passes in a man's [sic., human] own

[170] Pace, 2000, p. 29

[171] Landesman, C., '*Consciousness*', In: The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Vol. 2, The Macmillan Company & The Free Press, New York 1967, pp191-93

mind".[172] In the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel (1770-1831) argues that consciousness is the activity of mind in relation to an object, whether external or internal.[173] According to Fichte consciousness of self (ego) is not possible without the other (non-ego). Consciousness is unity of self and other; and we are aware of the self as an activity.[174] Hegel also relates self-consciousness to human interaction with other conscious beings. Self-consciousness can arise if the self recognizes selfhood in itself and others. Self-consciousness consists in mutual recognition of subjectivity.[175]

Dialectical Materialists argue that consciousness of 'self' and 'other' is grounded in human relation to the surrounding in such a way that subjectivity and objectivity are interwoven. Human, a productive being, becomes self-conscious through acting on nature to satisfy her/his needs. Human needs, though biological in the beginning, have been continuously evolving in accordance with changing modes of production. In her/his struggle against nature, to overcome and transform it, humans also become conscious of nature as an independent existence.[176] Human interaction with nature and other conscious beings is manifested in socio-political, economic institutions and relations.

Hegel makes an important contribution to the study of consciousness by explaining evolution of consciousness in socio-historical context. Individual consciousness is shaped by historical forms of social life and collective consciousness of an age or a society.[177] However, in Hegel's view social reality is the embodiment of Absolute Mind. Human consciousness merely displays the order of this reality. This view deprives individual consciousness of its active creative and transformative functions. Marx rejects Hegel's view of consciousness as an entity in itself, beyond human beings shaping social life and individual consciousness. On the contrary, Marx argues that consciousness is the consciousness of real active human beings.

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[172] Locke, J., An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Pennsylvania State University, 1999, First published in 1690, p.98
[173] Hegel, Introduction to Phenomenology of Spirit, 2004, pp49-57
[174] Copleston, F., A History of Philosophy. Vol. VII, Doubleday, New York 1985, pp 40-46
[175] Hegel, Phenomenology of Spirit, 2004, p111
[176] Marx, *The German Ideology*, p29
[177] Hegel, G., The Philosophy of History. Trans. J. Sibree, Batoche Books, Ontario 2001, pp 23-4

Consciousness does not exist outside the life process of human beings, nor does it precede life. As Marx proclaims, "Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life."[178] Basing on Marxist views, we may, therefore, conclude that gender consciousness is product of social life, shaped by historical forms of social life and collective consciousness of a community or a society. However, historical forms of social life and collective consciousness do not reflect an absolute mind or idea; rather are the products of concrete human activities. Gender consciousness is grounded in material conditions and manifests in practice.

Interaction with other conscious beings is a necessary pre-requisite for the development of self-consciousness. One's own selfhood demands as a condition the recognition of this selfhood by other selves. Self-consciousness develops through mutual recognition, i.e., recognizing other as self-consciousness, autonomous, and being recognized by other as conscious, autonomous being. Other self is like a mirror, in which a self discovers him/her self as a free conscious being.

In Hegel's famous master-slave dialectic, master succeeds in obtaining recognition from the slave; while the master does not accord that recognition to the slave. Hence, by not recognizing slave as an autonomous conscious being, master deprives himself of the reflection of his own self, as a free conscious being, in the slave.[179] Despite this fact, humans may deny recognition to other selves and reduce them to 'other' or objects. In patriarchal gender relations, man has reduced woman to the status of object, 'the other'. Simone terms the tendency to dominate other as the 'imperialism of human consciousness'. In her view, biological and economic conditions have been instrumental in reducing woman to the status of other.[180] Self requires 'other' for self-consciousness to construct its identity against the other; in case of gender identity, man reduces woman to the 'other/object', defining himself and construct hierarchically his masculinity against woman. To recognize his own selfhood and freedom, man needs to recognize selfhood of women. *Gender consciousness* means recognition of woman as an autonomous

[178] Marx, *The German Ideology*, p23
[179] Hegel, Phenomenology of Spirit, pp115-19
[180] Beauvoir, 1993, pp60-69

conscious being having the right to define herself and choose goals of her life.

Dialectical Materialism offers a dynamic view of reality. World does not comprise finished and fixed entities; rather an organic system of inter-connected processes.[181] Reality is therefore, subject to change and historical development. Human existence is a social activity. System of thought, objects, practices and social reality are inter-connected. New meanings, concepts are grounded in the activity of human beings belonging to a social group. Marxists argue that human activity is not only initiated by biological needs or instincts, but also by thinking, and thinking is primarily social.[182] Social systems interpret consciousness and consciousness shapes social systems.[183]

The dialectical relationship between thought and material conditions implies that human ideas change material conditions and changed material conditions give birth to new thought. Thought has some relative independence; though it develops in an environment but it also helps change the environment. Consciousness assimilates historically evolved abilities for interaction with nature and society and moves forward by developing new abilities.[184] Concepts of social relationships are the reflection of actual relationships.[185] From these various conceptions of consciousness we can conclude that: consciousness is the state of being cognizant of ourselves and other; awareness of 'self' and 'other' is inter-related; and the other includes physical environment, social systems comprising roles, relationships, practices and fellow beings. Both, individual identity and group consciousness, are not only shaped by biological factors and particular experiences of an individual or group but also by larger material, social, cultural, historical forces and thought systems such as; language, traditions, cultural and religious institutions. During the development of consciousness individuals and groups endorse, reject, modify, transform and overthrow thought systems, norms, practices and institutions.

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[181] Engels, 1941, p44

[182] Schmitt, R., 'The Materialist Dialectic'. In: Science & Society. 1989. Vol. 52, No. 4, Guilford Press, pp. 441-456 at p 452. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40402911, (accessed on May 05, 2012)

[183] Ibid., p.451

[184] ibid.,

[185] Marx, K., *Feurbach. Opposition of Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook*. In: Selected Works. Vol.1. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1969, p 80

Gender consciousness, a form of social consciousness, is shaped by economic, political, ideological, and biological i.e., reproduction and sexuality, factors. Reproduction, sexuality, and child rearing are also social and historical processes. Every generation finds itself with material and social conditions, gender norms and practices handed down by previous generations. These productive and reproductive conditions are further developed by each generation; although they may also become prescriptive/ restrictive for successive generations.

Gender consciousness begins with the awareness of disparities in existing gender attributes, identities, roles and relations; and proceeds to improve existing gender relations. Since consciousness is grounded in relationships determined by social, political and economic factors, it cannot be changed or overthrown simply by being critical but requires conscious political activity to alter/overthrow existing social, political and economic order and relations that gives birth to this particular consciousness.[186]

1.3.2 Politics of Consciousness and Gender

Consciousness is socially produced in human interaction with physical and social environment to satisfy human needs. Our interaction with the world influences the way self-identity and external reality is conceptualized. Thought is constructed within a social system, from some standpoint in the system and often serves interests of a particular group.

Rationalists base conceptual frameworks on *apriori* ideas/concepts. For them, reason, essential human nature, provides us *apriori* ideas/concepts. Rationalists stress that systems of knowledge in any domain shall be deductively built upon self-evident *apriori* ideas, like mathematics. This way one can have universal, invariable, objective and absolutely certain knowledge about the world.[187] Such knowledge is not influenced by individual's body, sensations, emotions, interests and larger social context; rather these are considered sources of error. Even in morality and politics, rationalists argue in favour of universal and objective values; though, the knowledge of these values requires transcending subjective feelings, personal biases and interests.

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[186] Marx, K., *The German Ideology*. In: Marx, Engels, Lenin: On Historical Materialism. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, p35

[187] Copleston, F., A History of Philosophy, Vol. IV. Doubleday, New York 1985, pp.15-17

Various strands of empiricism, such as; British Empiricism, Phenomenalism, Logical Positivism, reject universal, *apriori* ideas/concepts and values.

Empiricism claims that knowledge is ultimately constructed from sense data; scientific knowledge is unbiased, objective and empirically verifiable. Like rationalists, empiricists believe that knowledge is uninfluenced by emotions, interests, values, sex differences, race and class. Consciousness has no social and historical preconceptions. Dialectical Materialist and Feminist epistemology emphasizes the role of concrete socio-historical and material context in shaping sense experience. Even the most immediate sense experience is mediated through concepts and categories socially acquired throughout the ages. Interaction between biology and sociolinguistic environment is necessary to develop cognitive capacities.[188] Experience and knowledge claims are produced through socio-historically specific standards and practices. Moreover, authenticity of empirical knowledge requires social agreement and public verification. It, therefore, cannot escape the influence of social relations.

Jennifer Ring considers empiricists' model of objectivity impossible, since it demands complete denial of subjective existence in the acquisition of knowledge. It also inculcates incompatible dichotomy of subject and object. Subject is uninvolved, and passively receives impression; while truth resides in an inert object out there.[189] Dialectical Materialist Feminists reject an essential, rational and ahistoric self, a universal and disembodied knower, who is the source of certain knowledge and truth. They argue that social relations of sex, class, race etc., constitute self and shape conceptual frameworks.[190]

Dialectical Materialist epistemology rejects static view of consciousness; on the contrary it offers a dynamic view that overcomes conflicts and oppositions of subject/object, consciousness/material reality, thought/practice. Marxists argue that humans are in dialectical inter relationship with other human beings and non-human world, essential human activity is praxis,

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[188] Nelson, L., '*Empiricism*'. In: A Companion to Feminist Philosophy. Eds. Alison Jaggar and Iris Young. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Oxford, Carlton 1998, pp30-38 at p.30

[189] Ring, J., 'Toward a Feminist Epistemology'. In: American Journal of Political Science. 1987, Vol. 31, No. 4, Midwest Political Science Association, pp 753-772 at p 758. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111223, (accessed on May 16, 2012)

[190] Jaggar, 1983, p.358

human consciousness is an aspect of praxis.[191] Since human activity is purposive, basic categories of thought are also shaped by human purposes. Various segments of a society have conflicting interests; varied categories of thought reflect those interests. [192] Prevailing consciousness reflects interest of the dominant class, which inculcates and reinforces domination of the ruling class. It makes existing hierarchical social arrangement appear as natural, divine, inevitable and justified, hence, suppresses consciousness of the oppressed.

Socialist Feminists agree with Marxists' view of consciousness as a social and practical construct. In Marxist epistemology class position shapes one's consciousness; while feminist consider gender pivotal. However, socialist feminists consider sexual division of labour in production and reproduction of paramount importance in shaping one's consciousness. Moreover, for them gender, class and race intersect and shape one's conceptual framework, i.e., consciousness.[193]

This view of consciousness has far reaching implications upon understanding gender consciousness and relations. It dethrones ideas, concepts and categories from mysterious, transcendent and *apriori* positions, and creates a space to challenge and change existing androcentric conceptual frameworks that justify gender hierarchies and injustices. It also implies that gender consciousness cannot be studied in isolation from social, historical, political and economic context. Notions of masculinity and femininity are determined by modes of organizing production, reproduction, sexuality and child rearing.

Consciousness is neither a product of an impersonal, detached, disembodied, rational self nor derived from pure sense data unaffected by emotions, interests, values, sex, race and class. Rather, it is the product of concrete human activities carried out in specific socio-economic and political formation. As human activity is carried out to satisfy both material and spiritual needs and interests, hence, consciousness reflects politics of these needs and interests. Marx considers consciousness a person's sense of self as a

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[191] Spirkin, 1983, chapter 3
[192] Ibid.,
[193] Jaggar, 1983, p.370

political and social being.[194] Since gender consciousness is the awareness of one's relationship to the political and social world on the basis of one's biological sex, it is, therefore, not only political but also group consciousness such as; class, race and age consciousness.

Group consciousness means identifying with a group and knowing its position in a power hierarchy. It leads to accepting, challenging and rejecting legitimacy of existing power hierarchy, and working with the group towards a collective solution to group problems.[195] Patricia Gurin classifies *gender consciousness* as a type of political group consciousness. She uses four parameters of group consciousness to measure *gender consciousness* of women: Identification of women with other women; discontent with the power and influence of their group; withdrawal of legitimacy of existing patriarchal authority, and women's collective orientation towards change in patriarchal power relations.[196] According to Carroll, *gender consciousness* does not contend with the cognition of gender disparities and identification with women, it ushers into collective, rather than individual, political efforts to solve women's problems.[197]

Gendered consciousness accepts while *gender consciousness* rejects hierarchical gender relations. Gendered consciousness considers hierarchical gender relations, gender based division of labour, gender roles and relationships, fixed, natural, universal, biologically determined and/or divinely ordained. Power, privilege and resources are declared birthright on the basis of sex difference. It often reflects standpoint and interests of the dominant group, tending to maintain status quo and power base of the dominant group, hence, retrogressive.

The most prevalent forms of gendered consciousness have been androcentric, essentialist, hierarchical and dichotomous. They entitle man to

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[194] Marx, K., Third manuscript: Private Property and Communism. In: Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Trans. Martin Mulligan, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1959, http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/preface.html

[195] Duncan, L., 'Motivation for Collective Action: Group Consciousness as Mediator of Personality, Life Experiences, and Women's Rights Activism'. In: Political Psychology. 1999, Vol. 20, No. 3, International Society of Political Psychology, pp 611-635 at p 612. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792164, (accessed on November 13, 2009)

[196] Gurin, 'Women's Gender Consciousness', 1985, pp 143-163

[197] Carroll, S., 'Gender Politics and the Socializing Impact of the Women's Movement'. In: Political Learning in Adulthood. Ed. Roberta S. Sigel. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1989, pp 306–39

control woman's sexuality, productive and reproductive capacities. Gendered consciousness is dogmatic, uncritically accepts all sorts of dogmas from religion, culture and science, producing and sustaining discriminatory and hierarchical gender relations. Androcentric thought and patriarchal social, political, economic institutions are manifestations of gendered consciousness. This fails to acknowledge role of human agency, praxis, social and physical environment in the constitution of gender identities, roles and relations. It is also unable to recognize historical nature of social relationships and possibility of transforming them. Transition from gendered to *gender consciousness* is characterized by reflective and critical understanding of, as well as collective intellectual and political struggle against, androcentric conceptual frameworks, practices, patriarchal norms and institutions.

Gender Consciousness challenges and rejects conceptual framework that naturalizes/legitimizes gender relations and stratifications. It rejects biological determinism and constant, universal foundations of gender relations. *Gender consciousness* is dynamic, dialectical and inclusive, takes into account the interrelationship of biological, social, political and economic factors in constituting gender. It begins with discerning discrimination and oppression in a society on the basis of sex difference and develops into: a deeper critical understanding of gendered power relations embedded in social, political, cultural, religious and economic institutions; also a will to transform/reform gender relations; and taking conscious political actions in this regard. *Gender consciousness* strives to reorganize social relations in such a way that woman is not subordinated to man's authority. Moreover, her body, role in production and reproduction, and feminine traits are no more devalued. *Gender consciousness* recognizes woman as an autonomous conscious political being having the right to define herself and choose goals of her life. This conceptual framework rejects the very notions of masculinity/femininity defined in patriarchal terms based on violence, domination, aggression and submission. It offers alternative definitions of masculinity and femininity, and positioning of the two in a society leading to non-hierarchical and egalitarian gender relations.

Gender Consciousness of women is reflected in awareness of gender based: hierarchies; discriminations; division of labour, rights and privileges. It

may lead to organized efforts to alter gendered consciousness and ensuing hierarchical gender relations. *Gender consciousness*, like class consciousness, may arise in men also. Proceeding from contemplation of women's lives, *gender consciousness* of men is reflected in their sensitivity towards discriminations against women and conscious political struggle to create egalitarian gender relations. *Gender conscious*, both men and women, recognize social, historical and dialectical constitution of gender and realize the need for joint political struggle against gendered consciousness and hierarchical, patriarchal, gender relations.

1.4 STATUS OF WOMEN

This section attempts to delineate determinants and indicators of status of women. It also describes and discusses Pukhtunwali and its dialectical interplay with status of Pukhtun women. Status is a collection of rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities. It is affected by indigenous economic processes, political forces, social institutions and practices, which are broadly affected by regional and global economy of states and markets.[198] When an individual fulfills social, political and economic activities/responsibilities and claims rights, rewards and privileges, (s)he performs a role. Role may be termed as the dynamic aspect of status.[199] Status has been mainly defined in terms of economic and political rights. Both material and ideological factors operate in determining status. Sex has been one of the primary determinants of status. Division of labour and corresponding allocation of occupations has predominantly been on the basis of sex difference, justified historically with reference to weaker muscular strength and reproductive responsibilities of women.

1.4.1 Determinants and Indicators of Status of Women

Modes of production and reproduction have generally been identified as prime determinants of status of women. The inequality between men and women increased following change in economic activities from gathering and hunting to agriculture.[200] According to Simone de Beauvoir, woman's inferior

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[198] Moghadam, V., Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East. Second Edition, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado and London 2003, p 2
[199] Linton, R., The Study of Man. Appleton Century Crofts, New York 1936, pp113-14
[200] Stearns, 2000, p 2

status originated due to the bondage of reproduction and consequent absence from productive labour.[201] In Engels's view large scale participation of women in social production shall improve their status.[202] Sanday explains woman's status with reference to the tasks performed historically for human social survival. Three tasks have been considered vital for group survival i.e., subsistence, defense and reproduction. The interrelationship between biological and environmental factors determined assigning of these tasked roles.[203] Since reproductive task naturally fell on woman, it limited her participation in other activities. Men acquired higher status than women in political and economic spheres due to their major contribution to subsistence and primary role in warfare activities. Consequently, men usurped control over strategic economic resources and participation in economic activities, led to increased power, prestige, influence, hence, superior status.

Women have been performing productive activities along with child rearing such as; gathering (food, water and fuel), horticulture, weeding, harvesting, thrashing and livestock rearing. Their contribution to subsistence, though significant, did not necessarily entail improvement in status. Many societies undervalue products of woman's labour, undermine her role in subsistence and even deny ownership and control over the distribution of products of her labour. Rather, they bestow upon men ownership and control over distribution of important resources, resulting into significant improvement in status of men at the expense of women. Moreover, the link between production and women's status is also mediated by culturally specific classification of productivity and value, in a society. 'Productive labour' and 'economic activities' are contested concepts. There has been a tendency to limit productive labour to industry and markets, and exclude household activities from this ambit. Child rearing, domestic labour, subsistence farming, fetching water and fuel, cooking, washing and looking after the entire household and each family member, all formidable productive activities, have predominantly been kept unpaid and/or undervalued.

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[201] Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 1993, pp 31-34

[202] Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1942, p39

[203] Sanday, P., 'Toward a Theory of the Status of Women'. In: American Anthropologist. 1973, Vol. 75, No. 5, Blackwell Publishing, pp 1682-1700 at p1649. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/674056, (accessed on September 30, 2010)

Sharp gender segregation and strict demarcation of public and private spheres also adversely affect woman's status. It curtails development of physical and intellectual capacities, increases all sorts of dependence including economic, limits sexual, legal and political rights.[204] Post marital residence and rules of descent also affect women's status. In matrilineal, matrilocal societies woman have more political influence and economic control over resources than patrilineal and patrilocal societies.[205] Pukhtun tribes are patrilineal and patrilocal, rather patriclocal norms are so strong that a woman is not allowed to leave the house of her husband even after his death. It curtails her right to divorce and remarriage in case she is widowed.

Role in warfare activities also immensely affect status of women. War, throughout the history, has been primarily a male domain. There is little historical evidence of societies in which women had been primarily fighters. Even in the present day world men constitute 97% of the soldier population.[206] Wars have been fought to capture or protect material resources (such as land, energy, trade routes etc.) and to protect members of the kin groups/tribe/nation. War enhances dominance of men, reinforces extreme versions of masculinity and influence definition of masculinity in the post war period as well. Men and masculinity are eulogized during war. The association of, masculinity with bravery and victory; femininity with cowardice and defeat, is emphasized and reinforced. There is also considerable increase in violence against women during and after war resulting into adverse effect on status of women. According to Caroe, "the lands which are now Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of Pakistan have seen perhaps more invasions in the course of history than any other country in Asia, or indeed the world."[207] Continuous fighting has increased the value of masculine attributes such as chivalry and aggression and they have come to be highly eulogized. Oral history of Pukhtun suggests that men's role as warrior plays major role in

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[204] Martin, K., and Barbara Voorhies. Female of the Species. Columbia University Press, New York 1975, p.48

[205] Margolis, M., 'The Relative Status of Men and Women'. In: Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Culture. (Eds.) Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, Boston, Dordrecht, London, Moscow 2003, pp137-145

[206] Goldstein, J., War and Gender. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001, pp10-19

[207] Caroe, O., The Pathans. Oxford University Press, Karachi 1983, p.25

assigning prestige and power to them. Men are portrayed as arms to fight wars for the honor and welfare of the family/tribe/fatherland (See Section 3.4). They as fighters have exclusive claim to own land. Conversely, the status of woman improves during times of peace.

Colonialism/Imperialism has also been greatly affecting status of women. The issue of woman's status has been central to imperialist designs. The British justified their expansion on the pretext of civilizing and modernizing the colonies and to liberate the oppressed people including women. They used the plight of women in India such as *satti*, polygamy, child marriages and confinement as moral justification to impose their rule.[208] During the colonial period situation of women may have improved in certain areas such as; health, education, etc.,[209] nevertheless, the net effect has been detrimental to the cause of women. [210] As mode of production is an important determinant of woman's status in the society. Foreign domination disturbed mode of production in the colonies and consequently affected social relations and woman's status. Imperialist exploitation ruined cottage industry and subsistence agriculture; consequently, disrupting woman's role in economy. To sustain their economic and political dominance, Imperial powers did create institutions that reinforced male superiority. Moreover, they have also been disrupting indigenous pro-women reform efforts. The Britain allegedly facilitated uprising against reformer King Amanullah in early 20th century.[211] The West led by the US played pivotal role in toppling PDPA's regime in Afghanistan that stood for women emancipation in the last two decades of the 20th century. In both cases they provided money and arms to anti-women extremist forces of *Bacha-i-Saqa*[212] and fundamentalist Mujahideen. The United States has made

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[208] Liddle, J., and Rama Joshi, 'Gender and Imperialism in British India'. In: Economic and Political Weekly. 1985, Vol. 20, No. 43, pp (WS72-WS78) at WS72. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4374973, (accessed September 14, 2012)

[209] See: Forbes, Geraldine. Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine and Historiography. Chronicle Books, New Delhi, 2005, pp.86-87; Ramanna, Mridula. Health Care in Bombay Presidency, 1896-1930. New Delhi: Primus Books, 2012, p.132

[210] Liddle, J., and Rama Joshi. 1985, p. WS72

[211] Gupta, B., Afghanistan: Politics, Economics and Society. Frances Printers Limited, London 1986, p. 59

[212] *Bacha-i-Saqa's* real name was Habibullah. He was a Tajik bandit and lived his early life in Peshawar. He toppled Amnanullah's reformist regime in January 1929. During his nine months rule he reversed all pro-women measures taken by Amanullah. He closed girls' school, imposed veiling and seclusion on women. For details see: Khan, S and Samina, 2013, pp 5-6; Ghani, A., and Abdul Jalil Najfi (Eds.), A Brief Political History of Afghanistan. Najaf

arguments relating liberation of women from oppressive practices before attacking Iraq and Afghanistan.[213]

Equal status of women to man in a society demands equal rights, opportunities, access to resources and power. Various approaches to measure the status of women in currency include: Legal, political and economic rights; Evaluation and ranking of masculine and feminine attributes in a society; Division of labour and definition of productive work; freedom to multifarious development as an individual; State of women's bodily and sexual rights; Difference in moral standards for men and women.

Sanday lists four principal indicators to assess status of women: female control over resources; external or internal demand or value placed on female produce; female participation in political activities; and the presence of female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests.[214] Indicators of female status according to the universally agreed upon norms such as The Universal Declaration on Human Rights; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW); The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, include: women participation in decision making processes; access to economic resources including land, credit, information, communication, science and technology, vocational training and markets; equal participation in social and economic development; women's control over all aspects of their health including fertility; equal opportunities of education and training to develop their full human potential.[215] International norms also emphasize that women must have equal right to vote and to be elected on the basis of equality to participate in policy making and to hold public offices.[216] Women must have economic independence which entails the right to work, freedom to choose profession,

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Publishers, Lahore 1989, pp 755-56; Wahab, S., and Barry, Y., A Brief History of Afghanistan. Facts on File, New York 2010, p 110

[213] Jabbra, N., 'Women, Words and War: Explaining 9/11 and Justifying U.S. Military Action in Afghanistan and Iraq'. In: Journal of International Women's Studies. 2006, Vol.8, Issue 1, pp236-255. Retreived from http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol8/iss1/18 (accessed on Novemeber 3, 2015)

[214] Sanday, 1973, p.1649

[215] Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm, (accessed on August 04, 2012); Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf, (accessed on August 04, 2012)

[216] United Nations' Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995, pp.2-4

equal opportunities of promotion and equal remuneration.

Various studies demonstrate that high rate of fertility, low rates of, literacy and labour participation in commercial activities are directly linked to lower status of women.[217] Presence of violence including all practices that violate physical integrity and human rights of women; unequal access to health care and other public services and discriminatory practices in marriage e.g., forced or early marriage also serve as indicators of lower status of woman in a society.

Predominantly male dominated social, political and economic structures affect women's status. However, some of these structures have been transformed and reformed through individual and collective actions. Human actions and social structures are interrelated, social and natural structures emerge through human actions and they affect or constrain human actions. There is interaction between social structures and human agency. Conscious individual and collective political actions have also been playing a major role in shaping status of women.

1.4.2 Pukhtunwali and Status of Pukhtun Women

Pukhtunwali, a tribal code of conduct, renders individual rights, roles and status subservient to the welfare of the whole. Tribe, clan and family always precede the individual. Social relations including gender have been organized for the survival and socio-economic wellbeing of the whole family/clan/ tribe. "Pukhtunwali comprises: Notions such as *nang/ghairat*, honour/pride, *melmastia*, hospitality, *badal*, revenge, *khegara,* benevolence, *panah,* sanctuary; Institutions such as, *jirga*, council of elders, *hujra,* male community centre, *hasher,* collective work, *lakhkar,* tribal army; Traditions such as, *teega*, cease fire, *rogha*, peace-making, *nanawate*, forgiveness, *swara*, marrying girl to make peace, *meerata,* woman without male progeny."[218] Majority of these notions, institutions and traditions uphold compassion, togetherness, standing by kins, friends and the weak, collective thinking and acting for social cohesion.

Melmastia, one of the essential features of Pukhtunwali, not only entails

[217] Moghadam, 2003, p.4

[218] Khan and Samina, 'Patriarchal Social and Administrative Practices in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Pakistan: A Case for Gender Inclusive Reforms', 2009, p21

provision of food and comfort, but giving protection to the guest and taking revenge for any violence or harm incurred to the guest too.[219] Man's honour and prestige in the community is determined by the number of guests he receives and the manner of hospitality, he provides. *Khegara*, to relatives, friends, neighbours and anyone who needs help and support is highly commendable. *Jirga* resolves conflicts and provides for important decisions of family/clan/tribe to be taken through consultation. It functions as legislative, judiciary and executive.[220] Its jurisdiction includes private and public affairs, civil and criminal disputes. *Hujra*, male community centre, where men gather to rest, enjoy gossip and take important decisions. *Hashar*, refers to collective participation in harvesting, thrashing, digging, wells, canals and other communal works.[221] *Panah,* is granted to anyone who asks for it, often not even denied to the enemies. *Lakhkar*, tribal army, is constituted to fight common enemies of the clan/tribe.[222] Most of the prescribed Pukhtun attributes such as: honour; chivalry; compassion; courage; uprightness; justice; keeping words and trusts; standing by the weak, poor, needy and women; generosity and modesty are also relational and construed to strengthen the familial, tribal and other social bonds.

Social authority and privileges amongst Pukhtun are mainly determined by gender, age, wisdom and chivalry. Gender is one of the most fundamental principles of organizing social, political and economic relationships. The very organization of Pukhtun tribes is gendered. Pukhtun tribal structure is based on patrilineal blood kinship. Each *qaum*, tribe, is composed of agnatic kin groups descending from a common male ancestor. *Qaum* is subdivided into sub-tribe: *Khel*, clan; *tapa*, clans; *kandae*, sub-clans; *plareena* (plural of father), many families having a common ancestor; and finally *plar*, father, who represents *kor*, family, the basic unit of the tribe.[223] Though father represents the family, however, to keep family intact and strengthen it inwardly has been woman's

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[219] See Rishten, Pukhtane Lar Khood, 2000, p.61; Spain, 1972, p42

[220] Bangash, M., Political and Administrative Development of Tribal Areas: A Focus on Khyber & Kurram. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1996, p 97

[221] Khan, T., The Tribal Areas of Pakistan: A Contemporary Profile. Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore 2008, pp79-84

[222] Spain, 1963, p 76

[223] Khan, S., 'Special Status of FATA: Illegal becoming Licit'. In: Central Asia. 2008, No. 63, pp 7-38 at p9

task.

Spaces are also arranged on the basis of gender divide amongst Pukhtun. *Hujra* and *Jumat*, mosque, are exclusively men's spaces. In traditional Pukhtun setting men spend most of their time at *Hujra*. Women's sphere of activity and entertainment is mainly confined to *kor,* home, and *gudar*, stream or any place where women go to fetch water. However, men's access to *kor* and *gudar* is not forbidden. Nevertheless, Veronica Doubleday argues that Afghan women are able to have a social and cultural life of their own in privacy from man, which the western feminists have, recently, started enjoying through founding women's forums and clubs.[224]Pukhtun women are increasingly loosing these women friendly spaces due to urbanization, migration and displacement.

Majority of Pukhtun customs, traditions and institutions impede women's empowerment. They either exclude or marginalize women in the decision making process and property ownership, two very important indicators of women's status. *Jirga*, a purely male institution, does not sanction woman either as member, a witness or a complainant. Woman may access *Jirga* only through male relatives. In case of grievances against male relatives, she cannot find any recourse. Traditional land distribution entitles only men to land ownership. Man's sole claim to own land proceeds from his historical role in the occupation of land by force, as well as role in protecting land during armed conflict with other tribes/clans/families. A common Pukhtun saying relates, 'man wins land by force of arms', therefore, women cannot demand share in land. Restriction on women's land ownership not only empowers men but also adversely affects reproductive rights of women. Women are forced to give birth to numerous children in order to bear male descendant. Absence of male child also awards license of remarriage to a man.

Nang/ghairat, the most fundamental notion of Pukhtunwali, is mainly located in women's sexuality and land. A man's commitment to Pukhtunwali is reflected through regulating sexuality of female relatives. It also determines his status in Pukhtun tribal society. Male relatives, of alleged not chaste women, cannot raise their heads in the community. They suffer harassment

[224] Doubleday, 2006, p13

and taunts, *peghor*, are called names, *beghairat/bepat*, dishonored/disgraced, for not being able to exercise control over their women.[225] Both woman and land are jealously guarded and killing is justified to uphold man's honour.[226] Men live and die for honour; woman, the embodiment of man/family/tribe's honour, is subjected to strict regulation. Pukhtunwali prescribes that women should be quiet, reserve and modest. Demonstrative mannerism, laughing and speaking loud are considered social offences.[227]

Badal, has taken primacy over *Teega*, cease fire, *rogha*, peacemaking, *nanawate*, giving in or forgiveness. *Badal* is not only directed against the aggressor but also against his family, clan or tribe.[228] *Badal* also perpetuates feuds for generations. Some very cruel practices such as *meerata,* killing all male family members of the enemy, including infants, are also carried out to quench the desire of *badal*. Man's power, muscular strength and ability to participate in wars are highly valued in a society vulnerable to armed conflicts. Man, as a warrior and defender of familial/tribal, resources i.e., land, water, cattle; and honour i.e., women, is elevated to a higher position than woman. Social status in traditional Pukhtun setting is largely determined by the number of *mattey* (arms), male family members, and reputation of female relatives. Need and desire for male offspring elevates importance of women's reproductive capacity but lowers her status. Further, patrilineality demands chastity of women to bear undisputed heir of father's name and property. According to Isabelle Delloye intense labor and motherhood seems to be the purpose of existence of Afghan women. "The value of girls lies first in the hymen and then in male children".[229] Birth of a male child is celebrated with aerial firing and it demonstrates his role from the very outset.

In traditional Pukhtun setting, women greatly contribute in the subsistence activities. Their productive activity is not confined to domestic sphere only. They fetch water, rear children, produce handicrafts, and perform domestic chores such as; cooking and washing. In the fields, they are involved in

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[225] Khan, The Tribal Areas of Pakistan: A Contemporary Profile, 2008, p76
[226] Khan and Samina, 'Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives' 2010, pp 3-4
[227] Emadi, Politics of Development and Women in Afghanistan, 1993, p16
[228] Spain, 1963, p.64
[229] Delloye, I., Women of Afghanistan. Trans., Marjolijin de Jager, Ruminator Books, Minnesota 2003, p39

sowing, weeding and harvesting alongside men. Animal husbandry and shepherding is, most of the time, women's job. Women are mainly responsible for milking goats and cattle. They also prepare dairy products such as butter, yogurt, cottage cheese, dried curd (Kurat, a very popular food item in Afghanistan).

Despite woman's contributions in subsistence activities, it is considered man's duty to provide for the family. Paid employment or entering of women into business is neither approved nor encouraged. Man's primary duty is to provide livelihood and security to the household. They have been working as labourer in big cities in the country or expatriate worker in the subcontinent, Middle East, Far East and the West. Despite restricted mobility, women have also been lending hand in generating income. In their own locality, they sell milk, homemade dairy products, eggs, poultry, fuel, embroidery, handicrafts and tailor clothes.

Gender and age intersect to determine traditional division of labor on the basis of sex differences. Gender stereotyping becomes marked in middle and upper classes; urban, commercial cultures and nuclear family system. In traditional setting young mothers are not confined solely to rear children at home. Their labour power is required more to fetch water and wood. Infants are looked after by older women and men of the family, younger boys and girls. Mother and mother-in-law's act as watchdogs over younger women of the family. Women also assist men during armed conflicts. During war, women supply food, water and ammunition. They can move freely even in the time of no *tigga*, it is against tribal mores to fire women in the enmity.[230] Older women yield greater authority than younger men of the family. They help choose brides for their sons and are also consulted in other major decisions of the family. Younger women are strictly forbidden to go shopping. Men not only do grocery but also buy women clothes and shoes. Older women, however, are often not debarred from shopping.[231]

Patterns of *purdah*, veiling, vary amongst Pukhtun tribes in Afghanistan. They are subject to socioeconomic conditions. Amongst Kuchi, the nomads,

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[230] Afridi, Q., The Hill Tribes: Along the Durand Line. Self-Published, Peshawar 2003, p66
[231] Khan, S., and Samina, 'Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives' 2010, p13

women do not veil in public and wander afar for shepherding the flocks. Amongst semi-pastoral and semi-agriculturist tribes women partially cover their faces when they leave the house or out of respect for elders. Their mobility within the locality is not restricted. They visit neighbours, relatives, and shrines. Afghan nobility maintain strict *purdah*, their women confined to four walls have little to do except comparing their clothes and jewels. Poor families cannot afford to seclude their women.[232] Gender segregation and veiling is strictly observed when families live among strangers. Therefore, most of Pukhtun women wear *burqa* in cities and refugee camps, even if they were not wearing it in their villages.

Amongst Pukhtun, one is identified through one's family/clan/tribe. Both man and woman express themselves through their relations and friends. Individuality, in general, specifically of women, is brutally suppressed, fearing, this might lead to assertion of sexual and bodily rights. Cultural traditions have inculcated and reinforced the concept of self-denial of women to such an extent that mostly women are not introduced by their given names, rather they or others introduce them by their husbands', sons', fathers' or family name.

Decision of marriage is taken by the parents of bride and groom. Both, boy and girl are expected to accept choice of the elders. Boy, somehow, may find ways to solicit his choice; however, girl can't dare to endanger [masculine] honour of her relatives and her own life by expressing fondness for a boy. *Volvar*, an old Pukhtun practice, is still an important part of marriage deal concluded between two families. Hafizullah Emadi considers it a compensation for the money spent on the girl's care and upbringing.[233] Though a majority of Pukhtun oppose, interpreting *volvar* as bride price and argue that *volvar* is contribution of groom, an earning hand, towards wedding expenses incurred by bride's family. Large bride price and grand feasts are considered a matter of prestige for both parties. In order to meet the expenses, weddings are delayed and in the period between engagement and wedding, groom has to send gifts, clothes and sweetmeat on festive occasions such as

[232] Pennel, 'Among The Wild Tribes of The Afghan Frontier', 1909, p192
[233] Emadi, 1993, p20

Eid, Nawruz, Shavqadar.[234] The custom of *volvar* might have been originated in a good spirit, but in practice it is oppressive for both, the bride and the groom. Young girls are wedded to older men in return for higher bride price. Similarly boys keep on working as expatriate labour to earn and fulfill demand of a large *volvar* resulting into delayed marriages of men.

Endogamy and exchange marriage to strengthen family networks is common. Even the so-called leading progressive Pukhtun men denied women the right to consent marriage. For instance, former Khalqi Premier Hafizullah Amin's daughter, Ghaurgati, is said to have fallen for a non-Pukhtun man, Rafiq. Family pressured her to marry paternal uncle's son in an exchange marriage.[235]

Women are also used as pawn, *swara*, to settle blood feuds and honour related disputes. *Swara* refers to both, the custom of marrying women to settle blood feuds, and the unmarried daughter or sister of the offender given over in marriage to the aggrieved family. According to Kamali, three women are given for each man killed and one for each wounded person among Durrani tribe. If a woman runs away with another Durrani, three women are given in compensation.[236] Though *swara* prevents bloodshed but an innocent girl is made to suffer for the crimes committed by her father/brother. Minor girls have also been given over in *swara*. The woman often lives miserably in the enemy's house and is treated like a maid. A man may also clear his debt by giving a girl in marriage, not only to pacify an unfulfilled vengeance.[237]

Pukhtunwali demands women to bear everything in silence. Obedience and submission to husband and not to complain to anyone including parents is a highly commendable feminine virtue. In case of trouble with husband or in-laws, girl's parents do not intervene. Divorce is a social stigma, it is therefore considered shameful for a woman to seek divorce.[238] Divorce also means loss of children to a woman, since children belong to the paternal blood-line. Custody of the children in case of divorce or death of the husband is granted to husband or his family. *Kontun*, widowhood, of a widow is eulogized if she

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[234] Kamali, H., Law in Afghanistan: A Study of the Constitutions, Matrimonial Law and the Judiciary. Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden 1985, p.83
[235] Raja, A., The Tragedy of Afghanistan. Trans., Khalid Hassan, Verso, London, pp143-44
[236] Kamali, 1985, p. 91
[237] Baba Khel, 2003, p2
[238] Emadi, 1993, p23

does not remarry and preserves her chastity. A woman having sons is especially expected not to remarry and raise sons, since she might be provided for and protected by her son.[239]

Exclusion of women from *Jirga* and land ownership adversely impacts status of women. Mystification and association of honour with women and consequent culture of silencing them creates and expands space for oppressive and discriminatory practices carried out against them. Jirga, purely a male body, often does not intervene in domestic issues and considers them to be addressed within the family. Local customs and traditions provide no mechanism to redress issues of domestic violence, forced marriage and honour killing. Woman's essential familial role allows man to perform his role as member of the tribe, to become rational, warrior, therefore, the owner of land and other strategic resources.

Confluence of Pukhtunwali and state's, colonial and imperialist policies in Pukhtun areas have often been perpetuating strife, militarizing Pukhtun tribes, legitimizing patriarchal, anti-women practices of Pukhtunwali and lowered status of Pukhtun women. British colonizers created health and education facilities, and paved way for political participation of women, benefitting Pukhtun women in Northern India. Nonetheless, their policy of non-interference in the culture and religion of natives legitimized anti-women customary practices.[240]

They further created institutions that reinforced male dominance and superiority of man over woman. British excluded North West borderland from mainstream judicial, political and administrative systems of British India, governing most of the Pukhtun areas through Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), 1901,[241] along with an oppressive, exclusively male dominated system

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[239] Khan and Samina: 'Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives.' In: Central Asia. 2010, No.67, Area Study Centre (Central Asia), University of Peshawar, Peshawar, pp 1-26 at p15

[240] Liddle, J., and Rama Joshi, Gender and Imperialism in British India, 1985

[241] The British first promulgated FCR in 1872 to control collective crimes by the tribes residing in Peshawar Velley and Afghan border region. Failing to reduce the crimes rate, the regulation was revisied and named The Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1887. Following formation of NWFP, the British Government implemented FCR, 1901, with little revision in the previous regulation of 1887 and implemented in NWFP, Balochistan and the tribal belt along Durand Line. Following creation of Pakistan in 1947, NWFP and Baluchistan were liberated from the oppressive regulation, however, FATA still remains subjected to this

of political administration. Subsequently, the successor state Pakistan retained FCR and colonial, patriarchal, political and administrative institutions in Pukhtun borderland. FCR not only legitimized Pukhtunwali as customary law, in the garb of so called 'tribal autonomy'; but also impeded rule of law, democratic governance, development, human rights and gender equality. It paved way for denying Pukhtun women fundamental rights to life, property, education, health, mobility and work etc., in the name of Pukhtunwali, not only in FATA but in the adjacent settled areas too. Exclusively male dominated conditions in FATA provided a pretext for honour stricken Pukhtun in settled areas to commit honour crimes, deny women share in inheritance and consent marriage.

Similarly, nexus of local, regional and global actors blocked and reversed pro-women reforms in Afghanistan. They heavily played on Islam, Pukhtun notions of honour, chastity of women, chivalry and masculine aggression of men during 'Great Game', 'Cold War' and 'War on Terror' to achieve their vested interests. Britain allegedly played a role in inciting a revolt against reformist, progressive and pro-women Amanullah's regime in Afghanistan. Exploiting Pukhtun notion of honour, the British printed and circulated pictures of Queen Soraya in western dress, during her European visit, to increase support for Bacha-i-Saqao against King Amanullah. They also blocked tribesmen from the Indian side to go to the aid of Amanullah.[242] Consequently, an uprising of tribal chiefs, feudal, clergy and conservatives broke out apparently against the social reform, specifically, of women's emancipation, enunciated by Amanullah regime. When Daoud encouraged unveiling women in Afghanistan in 1959, the Pakistani news media ridiculed the move and reported falsely that police forcibly rippled off women's veils.[243] Later, expansionist designs of US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan colluded with

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colonial oppressive regulation. For details see: Khan, S., and Abdul Hameed Khan, 'The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR): A Socio Political Assessment'. In: Central Asia. 2012, Area Study Centre (Central Asia) No.70, pp1-12; Ullah, A., 'Governance Reforms in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan: The Past and Present'. In: Journal of Political Studies. 2015, Vol.22, Issue 1; Nichols, R., (ed.). The Frontier Crimes Regulations: A History in Documents. Oxford University Press, Karachi 2013

[242] See: Dupree, L., Afghanistan. Princeton University Press, Princeton & New Jersey 1980, p.453; Fletcher, A., Afghanistan: Highway of Conquest. Cornell University Press, New York & Ithaca1966, pp.222-3; Tanwir, H., Da Afghanistan Tareekh O Khapruni (History & Journalism in Afghanistan). Afghanistan Institute Holland, 2001, pp81-82

[243] Dupree, p.554

local warlords to disrupt another pro-women reformist regime of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. In April 1980, Afghan Mujahidden exploited Pukhtun notions of honour and chastity of women, apart from many other factors, to mobilize people against PDPA's regime. For instance, an allegedly fabricated letter of an Afghan girl studying in Moscow was widely circulated, especially in girls' educational institutes. It stated that she and 8 other Afghan girls were forced to cohabit with animals in an experimental laboratory in order to perfect a new hybrid race. In case, Soviets were not pushed out of Afghanistan, all Afghan girls will meet the same fate. Angry and violent demonstrations led by Afghan women disrupted life in Kabul for 3 days resulted into police firing and killing of 2 girls.[244]

A large majority of Pukhtun notions, customs and institutions emerged to build tribal social cohesion. Pukhtunwali has been an amalgam of both, masculine and feminine, notions, attributes and roles. It included: care, compassion, benevolence, fellowship, sharing, standing by kins, friends and the weak, decision making through consultation, collective thought and action. However, continuous strife, local, regional and global forces contributed to establishing supremacy of masculine notions, attributes and roles, and not only stalled but also reversed pro-women reforms and significantly lowered status of Pukhtun women. Pukhtun notions of revenge, aggression and chivalry acquired primacy over forgiveness, peacemaking and dispute resolution that serve interests of the empires, states, local tribal chieftains and clerics. Pukhtunwali has become identical with control, regulation and suppression of all creative productive and reproductive faculties of Pukhtun women. On one hand Pukhtun woman's role in production is undermined, undervalued and unpaid, on the other her reproductive and domestic role has been encouraged. Resultantly, Pukhtun woman is denied ownership and control of her body, property, offspring, reward of her production and reproduction. A Pukhtun woman's sole purpose of existence is then confined to guarding her chastity and bearing male arms [descendants] i.e., undisputed heir of property, family name, and defenders of empires, states, religion and Pukhtunwali. Her consequent objectification and commodification not only causes but also

[244] Raja, The Tragedy of Afghanistan, p. 208

perpetuates lower status of Pukhtun women.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Gender, referring to culturally specific masculine/feminine, social, political and economic attributes, identities and roles, has either been explained as natural and/or a social given. Biological determinists' claim that sex causally determines gender, renders physical, social, political and psychological differences, between man and woman, essential, universal, necessary, constant and ahistoric. This approach undermines role of both, physical, social, environment, and human praxis in shaping gender relations/consciousness. Biological determinism not only naturalizes gender based division of labour, social roles, relationships, privileges and discriminations, but also sustains gender inequalities and impedes development of *gender consciousness*. Sex-gender distinction bases social construction of gender roles and relations upon given, constant and natural biological differences, hence, cannot fully escape essentialism and biological determinism. The approach known as biological foundationalism does not claim causal relationship between sex and gender, still paves way for universalizing issues, concerns, experiences, interests and aspirations of middle and upper middle class, educated white women at the expense of women of colour, indigenous, working class and colonized women. Social/Cultural Constitution of sex and gender has also been found wanting, for emphasizing role of social, cultural, linguistic factors in explaining gender and undermining the role of body, material conditions and human praxis.

Dialectical materialist understanding of gender seems more cogent, inclusive, comprehensive and dynamic. Building upon the view that human nature is a productive activity, partly determined by biology and there exists no fixed human essence; rather material and social existence constitute it. Human biology including sex differences has partly been constructed socially. Body has been ascribed different meanings in diverse historical contexts, though it is a historically specific variable, not a context or a foundation upon which gender is constructed. Biological, social, political, economic factors and human praxis interact in constituting gender, i.e., masculinity/femininity.

Gender relations encompass identities, practices, ideas and representations pertaining to gender, and manifest in: assigned rights, privileges, roles and

status associated with sex differences; cultural norms of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior; division of labour and resources. Gender relations have mostly been invalidly understood as natural, fixed, oppositional, dichotomous and hierarchical. Though, gender relations have been shaped by a range of biological, historical, social, political, and economic factors, especially division of labour on the basis of sex difference in production and reproduction. Proceeding from material conditions into human consciousness, these relations are then reflected in notions, symbols, customs, institutions, laws and policies. However, the association between gender relations and consciousness is not mechanical and one-sided. Gender consciousness multifariously develops dialectically within gender relations. Gender relations interpret consciousness and consciousness shapes these relations.

Gender consciousness comprises how one views, evaluates and accepts/rejects/alters prevalent notions of masculinity/femininity, ways of assigning attributes associated with sex differences, gender roles and relations: One may either passively and dogmatically adhere to normative notions and practices of masculinity/femininity and gender considering them granted, natural and divine; or critically assess and alter. Therefore, this work has distinguished gender consciousness, *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness. Gender consciousness, an inclusive term, refers to all patterns and levels of cognizance and appraisals of gender roles, relations and identities. The term, *gender consciousness*, written in italics, refers to a specific level of awareness that discerns and condemns gender based discriminations and hierarchies, and motivates collective political action to transform social formations that give rise to discriminatory, hierarchical, patriarchal gender relations/consciousness. The term, gendered consciousness considers hierarchical gender relations, gender based division of labour, gender roles and relationships, fixed, natural, universal, biologically determined and/or divinely ordained. Power, privilege and resources are declared birthright on the basis of sex difference. It often reflects standpoint and interests of the dominant group, tending to maintain status quo and power base of the dominant group, hence, retrogressive.

Gender relations/consciousness and status of women, vary with socio-political organization, class, race, religion, regimes, epochs and sexual

orientations. Prevailing notions of gender relations and masculinity/femininity amongst Pukhtun not only reflect their social, political and economic conditions but also fulfill needs and interests of men and dominant social groups, in the name of Pukhtunwali. Malestream interpretations of Pukhtunwali have been elevated to a position considered essential and normative while subaltern feminine and egalitarian Pukhtunwali have been deemed deviant, hence, suppressed. Prevailing masculine notions, practices and institutions of Pukhtunwali not only exclude women from owning property and decision making, but also grant men absolute authority over women's body, actions and emotions. Undermining Pukhtun woman's contributions to production, these notions, practices and institutions relegate her to reproductive and domestic role, confined to the four walls. Consequently, she has been denied ownership and control over strategic resources, including reward of her productive and reproductive labour. Resultantly, gendered consciousness prevalent amongst Pukhtun elevates men and masculinity above women and femininity. Nonetheless, subaltern *gender consciousness* does appear that discerns and rejects androcentric, masculine notions, practices, institutions and hierarchical arrangement of gender relations. Offering alternative interpretations of Pukhtunwali, masculinity/femininity, *gender consciousness,* urges for conscious individual and collective political action to reform, transform or overthrow such notions, practices and institutions.

CHAPTER 2

PHILOSOPHY, GENDER AND GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS

INTRODUCTION

Discussing views of selected philosophers, regarding gender and status of women, this chapter brings forward gendered connotation of metaphysical, epistemological categories, from Greek to contemporary thought. It establishes that prevalent inherent gender biases have been instrumental in shaping and sustaining subsequent gendered consciousness and patriarchal relations. It argues that essentialism inculcates gendered consciousness while dialectical materialist, anti-essentialist, socialist feminists reject fixed, given, universal masculine/feminine essences and hierarchical gender relations by taking into account the role of body in conjunction with social, political and economic factors; thus pave way for *gender consciousness*.

The chapter comprises following sections and subsections:

2.1 Gender and Greek Thought: Legacy of Essentialism

2.2 Gender and Medieval Thought: Essentialism Sustained, Reinforced and Granted Divinity

2.3 Gender and Modern Thought: Departing From Essentialism to Anti-Essentialism

2.3.1 Essentialist/Gendered Foundations of Modern Thought

2.3.1 Enlightenment: Yet Essentialist and Androcentric

2.3.3 Anti-Essentialist Feminism via Dialectical Materialism: Towards Socialist Feminism

2.4 Conclusion

2.1 GENDER AND GREEK THOUGHT: LEGACY OF ESSENTIALISM

This section argues that current gendered consciousness and androcentric, patriarchal, socio-political and scientific discourse has been shaped by Greek binary oppositions and hierarchical world view, Platonic essentialism, and subsequent sexism in metaphysical, biological and socio-political thought of

Aristotle.

Greek philosophy has greatly been influencing human consciousness, social, political institutions and consequent human relationships. Greek thought reflected and reinforced misogynous culture. Binary thinking and Essentialism, originated in ancient Greek philosophy, have been major sources inculcating hierarchical gender relations and gendered consciousness.[245] Pairs of opposite categories such as; permanence/change, reality/appearance, nature/culture, mind/body, self/other, and reason/emotion, have been constituting gendered consciousness. Greek Essentialism explains types, qualities, roles and positions with reference to immutable, universal, and metaphysical Essences/Forms/Ideas. Binaries of discreet, discontinuous, fixed, mutually exclusive and hierarchal categories have a strong bearing on construction of gendered, identities, roles and relationships. Binary thought causes exclusion in social, political and economic institutions and practices, naturalizing marginalization.[246] Predominantly, Greek thought conceived cosmic order as hierarchical; wherein the inferior is subordinate to superior and exists to fulfill the purpose of the latter. The social order mirrored hierarchical relations of dominance and subordination, existent in the cosmos.

Pre-Socratic Greek philosophers, such as Anaximander, Anaximenes, Pythagoreans, Empedocles, Heraclitus and Parmenides, explained Universe through opposite principles and processes.[247] Pythagoreans forwarded 'male/female' as one of the ten pairs of opposites to explain entire cosmic process. Other pairs included; Limited/ unlimited, odd/even, one/many, right/left, rest/motion, straight/crooked, light/darkness, good/evil, and square/oblong.[248] In these pairs first category is superior to the second, hence, masculine is associated with right, straight, light and good; while feminine is associated with left, crooked, dark and evil. For Pythagoreans, masculine/feminine dichotomous hierarchy has been integral part of the

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[245] Kotzin, R., '*Ancient Greek Philosophy*'. In: A Companion to Feminist Philosophy. (Eds.) Alison Jaggar and Iris Young. Blackwell Publishing, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Oxford, Carlton 1998, pp 9-20 at p 12

[246] Prokhovnik, R., Rational Woman: A Feminist Critique of Dualism. Routledge, Florence KY 1999, p. 76

[247] Stace, W., A Critical History of Greek Philosophy. MacMillan & Co, London1920, reprint by Fine Books Printers in 1996, pp.27-28

[248] Ibid., p.37

cosmic scheme.

Subsequently, both Plato (428-348 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) continue exalting male/female or masculine/feminine from physical to metaphysical plane. These categories not only referred to bodies, but also to two opposite metaphysical modes, principles and tendencies. Both, Plato and Aristotle, consider male and female primarily metaphysical and hierarchical principles. Masculinity is conceived as an active power, while femininity is passive receptivity and potentiality, used by intellect to actualize itself. [249] Social relations between man and woman were the expression of hierarchical arrangement of these principles.

Metaphysical masculine and feminine principles had a bearing on the physical and social too, including evaluation of male/female bodies, construction of masculine and feminine norms, spheres of activities, roles and relationships.[250] Man embodied form, a male principle, and woman matter, a female principle. Hierarchical structure of the cosmos necessitated hierarchical organization of social and political life, man representing the archetype, and woman deviant and derivative.

Plato, in Republic, envisions equal opportunities of training and education for men and women;[251] nonetheless, his metaphysical framework; views about transmigration and preexistence of soul, goal of life and purpose of education establish woman as inferior kind of incarnation.[252] In Timaeus, Plato likens, form, a superior principle of the universe, to the father, and formless material receptacle that owes its reality to the form, to the mother. Intellect is universal and a male principle, while body is particular and associated with femininity. Woman, he considers, a degenerate and cowardly man.[253] In Republic, despite advocating similar education for men and women to enable realization of reason, and suggesting that some women might be better than some men, still Plato argues that men always excel women.[254] In relation to men, Plato

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[249] Colebrook, 2004, p. 6
[250] Ibid., p. 4
[251] Plato, Republic, Book V, pp 134-141
[252] Allen, C., 'Plato on Women'. In: Feminist Studies. 1975, Vol.2, No.2/3, Feminist Studies Inc., pp 131-138 at p.132
[253] Plato, Timaeus. Trans., B. Jowett, Retrieved from http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/1/5/7/1572/1572.txt, (accessed on December 12, 2012)
[254] Annas, J., '*Plato's Republic and Feminism*'. In: Feminism and Ancient Philosophy. (Ed.) Julie K. Ward. Routledge, New York and London 1996, pp 3-12

considers women an inferior kind of existence. He cautions the guardians against imitating women, slaves, or inferior sorts of men. Reincarnation of a man as woman in forthcoming generation, Plato considers a punishment for being coward or living an unrighteous life.[255] Pursuit of education requires detachment from bodily life and work, not available to women and slaves owing to indulgence in bodily work. The principle, that reason shall regulate other faculties of human nature, and in the state, rational elites regulate those involved in labor, implies men regulating women. For Plato, man and woman have distinct assigned roles and separate spheres of activities. Virtue of a man is to manage public affairs, while of woman to manage home and submission to husband, clearly demarcating public and private spheres for men and women respectively.[256]

Plato laid down foundation of essentialism, an important paradigm in philosophy in general and the 'Philosophy of Gender and Sexuality', in particular.[257] He claimed that there are metaphysical, eternal, immutable, and universal *eide*, forms or essences, which make things what they are. Particular sense objects are simply a reflection of fixed, perfect and unchanging forms.[258] Platonic essentialism explains social and moral hierarchies, identities and differences with reference to ahistoric, transcendental essences; it, therefore, blocks socio-historical development, reform and equity. Deficiencies and variations within a type of sensible objects are due to imperfect realization of these essences. This view rejects continuous variations from one type to another, since essences are considered exclusively different from each other. It also inculcates ideas of unchanging, eternal human nature; distinct masculine and feminine essences, mutually exclusive spheres of activity for women and men. Subsequently, essentialism has been dominating social, religious, philosophical and scientific thought not only in the Western world but in Arab and Muslim world too.

Aristotelian philosophy is based upon dichotomies of form/matter, universal/particular, and actuality/potentiality. These metaphysical categories

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[255] Plato, The Republic, p82
[256] Plato, Meno, p 2
[257] DeLamater, J., and Janet Hyde, 'Essentialism vs. Social Constructionism in the Study of Human Sexuality'. In: The Journal of Sex Research, 1998, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp 10-18 at p10
[258] Plato, The Republic, Book VII, pp193-219

are gendered i.e., form is male, active and rational while matter is female, formless and passive. Gendered metaphysical categories imply hierarchical positioning of man and woman in biological and sociopolitical domains. Feminist thinkers hold Aristotle responsible for establishing misogyny and sexism in Western thought, "it is the philosophy of Aristotle that must bear much of the responsibility for the fact that the man has survived up until our own day as the exemplar of the human condition, and that the woman is correspondingly - and by definition - relegated to a subordinate position."[259]

Aristotelian biology considers woman a defective man and assigns her subservient role even in reproduction. Though both male and female principles are fundamental to creation, however, male is the efficient cause of generation, while female, the matter upon which it works.[260] Male, the efficient cause, is the principle of movement in generation. "The male provides the 'form' and the 'principle of the movement,' the female provides the body, in other words, the material."[261] Form, the superior principle, is contributed by father, while matter, the inferior principle by mother. Moreover, male parent contribute three of the four causes; i.e., formal, efficient and final, while female only the material.[262] All bodies strive towards realization of this rational, form giving power; however, it is realized in varying degrees in various beings. Social hierarchy depends on the realization of male form in matter. Male rational form is not fully actualized in female body, hence, making her inferior in the scale of being.

In Aristotelian philosophy, inequality between male and female is natural and permanent, therefore, "the male is by nature fitter for command than the female,"[263] Aristotle defines essential nature of things in terms of functions, the primary female function being reproduction.[264] His world view is hierarchical and he establishes hierarchical relationships in every domain of

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[259] Songe-Møller, V., Philosophy Without Women : The Birth of Sexism in Western Thought. Continuum International Publishing, London 2003, p 79

[260] Okin, S., Women in Western Political Thought. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1979, p 82

[261] Aristotle, Generation of Animals, 1953, p109

[262] Cook, K., *'Sexual Inequality in Aristotle's Theories of Reproduction and Inheritance'*. In: Feminism and Ancient Philosophy, (ed.) Julie K. Ward. Routledge, New York and London, 1996, pp 51-67 at p 54

[263] Aristotle, Politics, Book 1, part XII. Trans., Benjamin Jowett. Retrieved from http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html, (accessed on February 12, 2013)

[264] Okin, 1979, p.82

existence. In *Politics*, he claims that state comprises households; and there are three kinds of relationship i.e., maser-slave; husband-wife, and father-child, in a household. He also maintains that in a family adult free male is superior to adult free women, free children and slaves. Husband rules over wife and father rules over children.[265] The household that Aristotle envisions is an epitome of classical patriarchy. Exclusive prerogative of free men to rule the household is justified as, "[f]or the slave has no deliberative faculty at all; the woman has, but it is without authority, and the child has, but it is immature."[266]

Greek essentialism has been inculcating androcentric, dichotomous, gendered consciousness. It has been the source of assigning given, fixed and universal essences to men and women. It has been justifying gender based division of labour, roles and resources. It has also been establishing and sustaining man's control over woman's sexuality, productive and reproductive capacities.

Though Modern thought rejects Greek, supersensible and transcendent, essences; yet it is widely held that there are essential, universal characteristics that make a thing what it is. Modern scientific thought shifts essences from metaphysical to physical plane and locates them in bodies. The confluence of essentialism with hierarchical, binary oppositions mostly results in identifying man's essence with rationality; while that of woman with body, therefore, sexual and reproductive function. Gender norms and relations no more manifest transcendent masculine and feminine principles but are biologically determined. (For detailed discussion see section 1.1.1) Essentialist framework also perpetuates in cultural and linguistic forms; and in all its variations limits women's possibilities and emancipation.

2.2 GENDER AND MEDIEVAL THOUGHT: ESSENTIALISM SUSTAINED, REINFORCED AND GRANTED DIVINITY

This section argues that gender consciousness in the medieval thought, with particular reference to Saint Augustine (354-430 C.E.) and Imam Ghazali (1058-1111), has been grounded in uncritical acceptance of dichotomous

[265] Aristotle, Politics, Book 1, Part, III
[266] Aristotle, Politics, Book 1, Part XIII

mind-body oppositions, classical Greek essentialism, hierarchical world view and ensuing patriarchal gender relations. Moreover, medieval thought provides religious sanctity to Patriarchy, at times contravening even fundamental precepts of equality and justice enunciated by religions of the time.

Greek thought greatly influenced Christian and Muslim thought in the Middle Ages. Both, Christian and Muslim Philosophers, heavily borrowed from Greek thought. However, revelation and faith dominated medieval thought rather than Greek Humanism that emphasized human experience and reason in pursuit of truth. Most of the medieval philosophers believed that reason can never discover ultimate truths about universe, they are only revealed to Prophets.[267] In medieval thought religion determined purpose of life and regulated every aspect of social life including gender relations. God determined existence, identity and value of a thing. Social order and gender hierarchy had been explained with reference to divine commandments to fulfill divine ends/purposes. In the realm of gender classical essentialism prevailed, rather medieval thought added a component of divinity to these essences. It not only rendered divinity to masculine/feminine attributes, roles and relations, but also made them sacred and unquestionable. Moreover, relations of authority and subordination at all levels in the universe including: God-creatures, reason- emotions/impulses/appetites, spiritual-physical, intelligible-sensible carried gendered connotation.

Saint Augustine acknowledges influence of Platonism, "[B]y having thus read the books of the Platonists, and having been taught by them to search for the incorporeal Truth, I saw how thy invisible things are understood through the things that are made."[268] He finds, "in the Platonists, at every turn, the pathway led to belief in God and his Word,"[269] and thus, attempts to fuse Platonism with Christianity. Resultantly, he develops a theistic essentialism that claims: God has created the world in a definite way; there are eternal, immutable Ideas/Forms that exist in the Mind of God; things in the world are

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[267] Melchert, N., The Great Conversation: A Historical Introduction to Philosophy. Mayfield Publishing Company, California 1991, pp 201-243

[268] Augustine, Confessions and Enchiridion, (Trans. and Ed.) Albert, C. Outler, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, p 113 Retrieved from http://www.ccel.org/ccel/augustine/confessions.pdf. (accessed on March 03, 2012)

[269] Ibid., p.118

regulated by laws of God; and there is an essential, moral and rational, human nature that should regulate body.[270]

Sustaining Greek legacy, Augustine considers hierarchical dichotomies of mind-body, and reason-passions as fundamental principles of the divine order. Moreover, these dichotomies continue carrying gendered connotations. Augustine compares subordination of wife to man, to subordination of body to soul, and commands controlling her as one ought to his body.[271] He relates superiority of soul over body, and reason over passions, to the knowledge of truth and obedience of God's will. Reason inheres in soul and our senses, passions and appetites must be regulated by reason. When human will is guided by reason, it acts in obedience to God; however, when the will is directed towards body and sensible objects, it loses control over passions. Pursuit of reason means proximity to God and pursuit of bodily pleasures remoteness from God.[272]

Augustine considers woman's body main source of inciting passions and loss of control of mind's will to the body. As reason ought to regulate lower faculties of human nature, man ought to control woman. Man attains his essential rational nature by resisting and controlling woman. Subordination of woman to man symbolizes will's control over passions and pursuit of reason. Body, woman, sexuality, impulses, appetite and passions entail remoteness from God.[273] Association of woman, body, and femininity with lust, temptation and sin in Augustine's philosophy is the outcome of combining Greek thought with biblical traditions that consider woman first to be tempted by serpent, who then incites Adam to disobey God.[274] Woman is therefore, conceived as impeding man's proximity to God. Human fall is cursed with a body which does not obey the rational will, and is vulnerable to be swayed by passions. In cultivating his will, resisting lust and mastering the body, man

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[270] Secada, G., Cartesian Metaphysics: The Scholastic Origin of Modern Philosophy. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, p.59

[271] Deutscher, P., Yielding Gender: Feminism, Deconstruction and the History of Philosophy. Routledge, London 1997, p. 142

[272] Mendelson, M., "Saint Augustine". In: The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 2012, (ed.) Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2012/entries/augustine/>

[273] Lloyed, G., The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy. University of Minnestoa Press, Minneapolis 1984. p.33

[274] Genesis 3:12 Retrieved from http://bibleresources.bible.com, (accessed on May 25, 2012)

renders himself closer to God.[275]

On the contrary, Augustine also considers woman equal to man as a rational being. He argues that woman like man is also created in the image of God; she is a compound of soul and body, and possesses a rational nature.[276] Rosemary Ruether highlights that despite considering woman equal to man as a disembodied soul, yet in relation to male spirit she stands for a body, in Augustinian thought. He associates woman with man's body that needs to be resisted/controlled by man's will.[277] The source of inequality between man and woman is located in woman's body and sexuality. Augustine justifies subordination of woman to man using biblical account of the creation of Eve that, "And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man,"[278] Since woman is not created by herself, rather created out of the man, therefore, the relationship between a man and woman is essentially of command and obedience.[279]

Despite spiritual equality and possessing a rational nature, woman remains unequal to man due to the order of creation. Moreover, she is subject to man like a natural impulse is subject to reason due to her body. Divine love and pursuit of reason requires overcoming body; for man it is the body of woman while for woman it is her own body and sexuality. Her body bears the brunt of not only her own rationality but of man also. She is not only responsible for her own passions, but of inciting man's passions too. Her body is the site of man's struggle to apprehend eternal truths, to achieve divinity and to become Godlike.

Augustine sustains Greek binary oppositions and essentialism, however, essentialism in his thought explains qualities, roles and positions with reference to divine order, God's will and proximity or remoteness from God.

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[275]Deutscher, 1997, p 144

[276]Augustine, 'On the Trininty' Book XII, Chapter 7, In: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Series 1, Vol.3, Trans. Arthur West Haddan, (ed.) Philip Schaff, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library 1887, pp 326-328. Retrieved from http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.html, (accessed on March 8, 2012)

[277] Ruether R.,' Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church', In: Religion and Sexism:Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions. (ed.) Rosemary R. Ruether, Simon and Schuster, New York 1974, pp 150-83 at pp162-4

[278] Bible, Genesis 2:22, Retrieved from http://bibleresources.bible.com, (accessed on May 25, 2012)

[279] Augustine, 'On The Good of Marriage', Trans. C. L. Cornish. In: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Series 1, Vol. 3, (ed.) P.Schaff, Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library 1887, pp. 583-4, http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf103.html

Man has an essential rational moral nature, while woman lags behind him in achieving rational nature owing to her body. Male-female hierarchical opposition intersects with soul-body, will-passion, intelligible-sensible and divine love-worldly pleasures oppositions; wherein female is associated with inferior category in each case.

Imam Ghazali is considered one of the most celebrated theologians, jurists and philosophers of Islam.[280] In *Tahafut al- Falasifa,* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), Ghazali refutes metaphysical theories of Al-Farabi (872-950) and Avicenna (980-1037), heavily influenced by Greek philosophy. He brought forward contradictions in their arguments regarding nature of God, human soul, causality and the universe. He demarcates the limit of reason in metaphysical inquiries and contends that God is rationally unknowable.[281] Though he differs in his conception of God and human nature from Greek philosophers; nonetheless, retains hierarchical, dichotomous and essentialist world view of Greek thought.

Human nature Ghazali claims, "know that Allah has produced you of two things viz the outer structure, the body which is visible to the naked eye and the inner self called the 'Nafs', 'Dil or Jan' (the heart or soul)."[282] Moreover, "Soul is like a horseman and body like a horse."[283] The essence of human beings is soul/spirit/heart, which is a divine principle, it is the *Amr*, Allah's will, command of God. Soul is also primarily and essentially a will. All other principles of human nature including body, senses, desires, passions and reason are subservient to the heart.[284] The principal duty of soul is divine love and knowledge.[285] Hierarchical opposition of soul and body rests in the capacity of soul to have 'Ma'rafat' cognizance and love of God; while of the body to be immersed in transitory pleasures and drift away from God. According to Ghazali God is primarily and essentially a willing agent. Human soul reflects the essence of God; knowing 'self' is a pathway to knowing God.

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[280] Sheikh, M., 'Al-Ghazali', In: A History of Muslim Philosophy. Vol. 1, (ed.) M.M. Sharif, Pakistan Philosophical Congress, Karachi 1961, p.581
[281] Shaikh, S., 'Al-Ghazali: Metaphysics', In: A History of Muslim Philosophy, Vol. 1, (ed.) M. Saeed Shaikh, Pakistan Philosophical Congress. Lahore 1961, pp 594-616
[282] Ghazali, Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, 2001, pp. 3-4
[283] Ghazali, Ihya Ulum-id-Din, 1993, p.97
[284] Ghazali, Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, 2001, p.9
[285] Ibid., pp3-4

Soul is a spiritual principle, it commands and regulates body. It is through will that soul actualizes its infinite spiritual possibilities and comes closer to God. Knowing oneself is indispensable to the realization of God's divine order, and this is the principal duty of soul. Perfection of soul may be achieved through intuitive knowledge; however, curbing passions and rational knowledge of things is a necessary prelude to the knowledge of God. Ghazali, like Augustine, retains dichotomous oppositions of soul-body, will-desires/passions, and explain them with reference to knowledge, love and proximity to God.

Ghazali envisions woman primarily in her biological function including bearing and rearing of children, providing care and affection to the family. Though he claims that woman is a helpmate of husband in fulfilling God's commands and restraining him from disobedience.[286] Yet he assigns her inferior and subservient status; and advises her to be happy in behaving like a dedicated servant and ministrant to the husband.[287] Essential attributes of a good woman include: obedience, faithfulness, sacrifice, piety, honesty, politeness, gratefulness and being agreeable.[288] Ghazali clearly demarcates masculine and feminine spheres of activities. Woman's sphere is confined to the household chores such as: cooking, washing, dusting, cleaning; and relieving man of these jobs to enable him to worship and earn living.[289] In his view best woman obeys her husband, whatever he commands and the worst woman avoids pleasing her husband.[290] A good woman is like a sheep, useful and affectionate to her family.[291]

Man's essential role is to provide for the family. Ghazali argues with reference to Quranic verses that man has authority over women, since he is endowed with the capacity to lead and discipline the household. He is also entrusted with the responsibility to instruct his wife in fundamental principles and worships of religion.[292] Prime objective of a woman's existence is the

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[286] Ghazali, Nasihat al-Muluk, 1964, p 160
[287] Ghazali, Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, p450
[288] Ibid., pp444-448
[289] Ibid., pp434-5
[290] Ghazali, Council for Kings, p. 163
[291] Ibid., p167
[292] Ghazali, Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, pp437-451

happiness of her husband.[293] Ghazali does not recognize woman's agency in matters of religion, she fulfills her religious duties through children and husband. A woman bearing more children, who worship Allah, is a service and duty to religion.[294] Woman fulfills the purpose of her life through biological function of reproduction, obeying and pleasing husband and performing domestic chores.

He considers woman intellectually, morally and spiritually inferior to man. Woman is essentially wicked, the ability to read and write will enhance her wickedness.[295] He compares feminine traits to animals and distinguishes 10 types of women; each type possessing a distinct quality of animals including: pig, ape, dog, snake, mule, scorpion, mouse, pigeon, fox and sheep. Out of these ten only one i.e., sheep type is good, they are useful and affectionate.[296]

Ghazali attributes physical, intellectual, socio-political and economic inferiority of woman vis-à-vis man to association of Eve with the original sin. Woman is punished with: weaker body, painful menstruation and childbirth; lesser share in inheritance; denial of autonomy and authority. Moreover, she can't be a ruler or a judge; she has to confine to house; not having control over herself, she can't divorce her husband while he can.[297]

Progressive Muslim thinkers argue that Quran clearly rejects the notion of original sin and does not single out Eve for disobedience of God and consequent fall from heaven.[298] Ghazali here seems to have been influenced by Christian traditions holding Eve responsible for tempting Adam to eat fruit from forbidden tree; consequently terming all women temptresses and sinful.

His teachings on matrimonial issues are discriminatory, benefiting men at the expense of women. In his view, men, the groom and the father of the bride, are decision makers in matrimonial affairs. Father shall approve husband for

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[293] Ibid., pp.463-4
[294] Ibid., p.428
[295] Ghazali, Council for Kings, p 163
[296] Ibid., p167
[297] Ghazali, Council for Kings, p164
[298] See Barlas, A., 'Believing Women', In: Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Quran. University of Texas Press 2002, p.138; Ashrof, M., Islam and Gender Justice: Questions at the Interface. Kalpaz Publications, Delhi 2005, p.72; Ali, A., The Quran, Women and Modern Society. New Dawn Press Group, Berkshire, Elgin, New Delhi 2005, pp45-46

his daughter.[299] Man is allowed to see his future wife, rather it is considered a *Sunnah*. Ghazali advocates marrying a virgin, with less *mahr* and ability to bear children. One can get more love from a virgin; a previously married woman will always have the first husband on her mind.

Wife is entitled to provision of livelihood by husband, provided she remains in boundaries and fulfills her obligations towards husband.[300] Wife is not only the site of man's honour and dignity, but shall also provide him services that enables him to single mindedly pursue his religious responsibilities.[301] She is enjoined with a long list of 'dos and don'ts' in marital relation: she should; be honest with expenditure; prefer husband's relatives over her's; not see the face of a stranger; not leave the house without husband's permission; not have the tendency to expose herself before others and not to peep out of the door or window; not disclose intimate details of marital life to anyone.[302] Extreme seclusion indicates identification of woman with her body and sexuality. It is also grounded in the belief that woman lacks reason and she can be easily tempted.

Ghazali advises a husband that "He should appreciate that the woman is born with certain recondite weakness. The husband's greatness lies in being considerate."[303] Husband has a long list of rights but wife is only entitled to maintenance and politeness, that also due to her weakness and man's magnanimity. In his view woman lags behind man in rational capacity. He, therefore, cautions that a husband shall not listen to wife in worldly affairs, it may bring him loss. [304] Ghazali reminds us of Meno,[305] wherein Plato stipulates exclusive sphere of activities and correspondingly separate virtues for men and women. (See section 2.1)

Ghazali's views on human nature and masculine/feminine attributes, roles, relationships and respective sphere of activities demonstrate gendered consciousness. Ghazali, like Augustine, is a theistic essentialist; for him, masculine/feminine essences are fixed, universal and given by God. Failure in

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[299] Ghazali., Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, pp444-448
[300] Ibid., p.450
[301] Ghazali, Council for Kings, p 171
[302] Ghazali, Kimiya-i-Sa'adat, pp463-4
[303] Ibid., p448
[304] Ghazali, Council for Kings, p171
[305] Plato, Meno, p2

actualizing one's essence is sinful and brings wrath of God. For Ghazali, human being is essentially a spiritual and willing agent; however, his thought suffers from incoherence since he assigns agency to man only and denies woman the freedom to choose and act. He identifies woman' essence to body and activities associated with reproductive function, such as; providing care, affection and services to the husband and children. Reminiscence of Greek thought, associating male with activity and rationality; while female with materiality and passivity, is clearly evident in Ghazali.

Pursuit of truth and will of God requires detachment from mundane menial jobs, not available to women. However, her work enables men to earn pleasure of God. Purpose of existence of a man is, to obey and please God; while of a woman to obey and please husband. Husband-wife hierarchy resembles God-man hierarchy.

Like Greek thought masculine and feminine attributes, their spheres of activities and purposes of life are not only mutually exclusive but also hierarchical. Gender hierarchy serves to fulfill divine ends/purposes, enabling men to know 'self' and God. In Greek thought woman lacks reason, an essential attribute of humans. In the same strain, Ghazali denies will, essential human attribute, to woman; she cannot exercise her will rather has to submit to the will of man, not God.

Ghazali dogmatically accepts Greek essentialists and Christian doctrines on gender. His views on gender relations deviate from the spirit of equality and social justice in Islam. Islam considers woman spiritually equal to man. Ends fixed for men and women are the same, both need to overcome desires and passions to fulfill divine purpose. Progressive scholarship highlights that in Quran man is not the archetype of humans, women along with men are directly addressed in the Quran.[306] For instance: "And the believers, men and women,...."[307] and also "The hypocrites, both men and women,..."[308] Quran recognizes agency of woman, who freely chooses her actions; and is, therefore, held responsible for her right and wrong actions. Both men and

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[306] See Ali., 2005, p.46: Barlas, 2002, p.138;
[307] The Quran, Verse: 009.071, Trans. Mohammad Pickthall. Retrieved from http://www.islam101.com/quran/quranPikhthal/trans-pickthal.text, (accessed on June 22, 2012)
[308] Ibid., 009.067

women are promised reward and punishment in proportion to their deeds.

In medieval thought God rules over earth; man rules over family to establish God's order in the society. Medieval essentialism is grounded in divine essence. Social order reflects divine order and it, therefore, becomes sacred. Violation of patriarchal social order has been associated with sin and evil. Identification of man with reason, activity and will; of woman with body, emotion, sexuality, irrationality, passivity and sin perpetuates in the Medieval thought and greatly shapes modern thought too.

2.3 GENDER AND MODERN THOUGHT: DEPARTING FROM ESSENTIALISM TO ANTI-ESSENTIALISM

This section firstly brings to fore essentialist and gendered foundations of modern thought, secondly, it highlights that essentialism has been the source of androcentrism even in enlightenment thought. It discusses anti-essentialism with reference to dialectical materialism and argues that egalitarian gender relations require breaking shackles of essentialist thought (gendered consciousness) and overthrowing hierarchical gender relations based on sexual division of labour in production and reproduction.

2.3.1 Essentialist/Gendered Foundations of Modern Thought

Greek essentialism and hierarchical binaries have been instrumental in shaping gendered consciousness and hierarchical gender relations. Medieval thought, subsequently, sustained, reinforced and also affixed divinity to gendered essentialism. Thus modern thought, inherited essentialist and gendered foundations. Pioneers of modern thought retain view of an essential, fixed and universal human nature. They also propound gendered epistemological and ontological binaries such as; mind-body, reason-passion, objective-subjective, abstract-concrete, absolute-relative, freedom-determinism, and fact-value.

Modern thought originated, in 16th century, against the backdrop of conflict between absolute authority of the church and achievements in physical sciences. Several preceding events such as: protestant reformation; invention of printing press, discovery of New World, flourishing trade and commerce; flow of ideas, humanism, and free thinking paved way for the emergence of modern thought. Heliocentric theory of Copernicus challenged geocentric

view of the church and greatly influenced contemporary as well as subsequent thought.[309] In the West, the conflict between dogmas of religion and science culminated into ascendancy of scientific method.[310] Pioneers of modern thought such as Bacon (1561-1626) and Descartes (1596-1650) attempted to found philosophy on solid (read patriarchal/gendered) foundations on the pattern of exact sciences.[311]

Modern thought, in a spirit of free inquiry challenged traditional authority of the church and previous philosophies. It shifted the focus from God to natural and social world, asserting human capacities, self-actualization and socio-political reformation. Emphasis on reason, individualism, pluralism and diversity became important features of modern philosophy. Though modern thinkers abandoned several dogmas of the medieval era; however, did not transcend sexist, patriarchal/gendered, mind-body oppositions; hierarchical and essentialist world view and ensuing patriarchal gender relations. Even the greatest of philosophers of modern era (Descartes, Kant, Rousseau, Hegel) did not escape gender biases of their epoch; rather, constructed gendered paradigms that justified, rationalized, legitimized and even naturalized existing patriarchal gender relations.

Descartes, founder of modern philosophy,[312] reinstates Greek and Medieval binaries: mind-body, reason-passion, and freedom-determinism. Cartesian dualism considers mind and body two distinct substances (substance dualism). Mind is a free, active, indivisible and thinking substance; while body is an inert, divisible and extended substance. Mind uses body as an instrument to carry out will. Body causes sensation and passions in mind. Passions are considered a state of body, and need to be regulated by reason. Humans achieve freedom through clear and distinct perceptions, correct reasoning and regulating passions.[313] Reminiscent binary oppositions and conception of an essential, universal, rational and autonomous human nature in the philosophy

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[309] Copernican theory was later supported and improved by Galileo and Kepler
[310] Melchert, 1991, pp 263-285
[311] Mayer, F., A History of Modern Philosophy. 3rd Reprint, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi 1987, p4
[312] Melchert, p.287
[313] Descartes, R., Meditations on First Philosophy. 1641, Trans. John Veitch in 1901. Meditation VI. Retrieved from http://www.wright.edu/cola/descartes/meditation6.html, (accessed on January 21, 2013)

of Descartes; Greek and medieval association of masculine with mind and feminine with passions and embodiment have been adversely influencing gender consciousness in the modern era.

According to Copleston, Descartes has further deepened mind-body opposition. Since Aristotelian philosophy considers human being a rational animal i.e., a unity of soul and body. Soul is a form of body and contains biological, sensitive and intellectual principles. Descartes, on the other hand, reduces soul to mind or pure intellect, completely distinct from body.[314]Genevieve Lloyed affirms that Descartes' mind-body dualism sharpened and strengthened hierarchical differences between man and woman. Considering soul an indivisible thinking substance, "[h]e replaced the medieval philosophers' divisions between higher and lower parts of the soul with the dichotomy between mind and body."[315] In Aristotelian philosophy soul contains both masculine/rational and feminine/irrational principles; while Descartes conceives soul as pure thought, a masculine principle, only. Complete separation of, mind from irrational body, objective reason from subjective feelings justifies exclusive, gender roles, and public and private spheres of activity for man and woman.

Descartes, the leading exponent of continental rationalism, assigns primacy to reason in pursuit of knowledge. Reason is a faculty of innate ideas that provides us knowledge of God, fundamental truths of nature, existence, morality, logic and mathematics. These ideas are considered inherent and universally agreed upon. Descartes identifies human nature with reason. "I thence concluded that I was a substance whose whole essence or nature consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that "I," that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am, is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter, and is such, that although the latter were not, it would still continue to be all that it is."[316] Reason/mind is the essential human nature that can exist independently of body. Since mind has been carrying masculine and body feminine connotation; identification of human nature with

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[314] Copleston, A History of Philosophy, Vol.IV, p.143

[315] Lloyed, 1984, p45

[316] Descartes, R., A Discourse on Method. Part IV, Retrieved from http://www.gutenberg.org/files/59/59-h/59-h.htm, (accessed on January 28, 2013)

mind exalts masculinity. Reason is vested with moral authority over passions. According to Andrea Nye, a feminist philosopher, Descartes' dualist metaphysics and hierarchical relation between reason and passions objectifies woman and natural world for man to master and control.[317]

Cartesian dualism entails that reason is the universal human nature shared by both men and women, differences between them are bodily and sexual; sex is irrelevant to human subjectivity. In any case Cartesian philosophy overlooks the role of embodiment and social, natural environment in the constitution of human nature and knowledge. Above all, reason has been carrying masculine connotation since Greek era, and Cartesian view of rational human nature establishes primacy of male/ masculinity and excludes female/femininity.

Apart from Cartesian dualism and essentialist view of human nature, emphasis on scientific method and objectivity in modern thought has also set the stage for androcentric gendered consciousness and hierarchical gender relations. It is generally assumed that scientific knowledge is unbiased, objective and empirically verifiable. Objective reality exists independently of the knower.[318] Scientific knowledge is not influenced by subjective emotions, interests, history, values, sex, race and class. This view creates divisions, distinctions and hierarchies of subject-object, knower-known, reason-emotion and fact-value. It gives an atomistic, abstract, reductionist, and individualistic world view.[319] Moreover, this traditional view of scientific objectivity corresponds with masculine traits of being rational, analytic, detached and dominating; while contradicts feminine traits of being compassionate, emotional, relational, cooperative and nurturing. Androcentric thought has been sustained and reinforced in the name of science and objectivity. Knowledge has always been value laden and depicts reality from a particular social situation. Dialectical materialist thought attempts to bridge the gap between known-knower and subject-object (also see section 2.3.3).[320] Feminist

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[317] Nye, A., Feminism and Modern Philosophy. Routledge, New York and London 2004, p36

[318] Langton, R., 'Feminism in Epistemology: Exclusion and Objectification'. In: Cambridge Companion to Feminism in Philosophy. (eds.) Jennifer Hornsby and Miranda Fricker, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000, pp127-145

[319] Ring, 1987, pp. 753-772; Haraway, D., 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective'. In: Feminist Studies. 1988, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp 575-599, Feminist Studies Inc., Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3178066, (accessed on May 12, 2009)

[320] Marx, K., "Theses on Feurbach". In: Marx, Engels, Lenin: On Historical Materialism.

epistemology also exposes androcentrism in scientific theories about sex, gender and women.[321]

It is evident from the above discussion that modern thought is founded on: an essential, rational (male) human nature; gendered epistemological and ontological binary oppositions. Modern scientific method also sustains androcentrism through its claims to objective and universal knowledge and assigning primacy to masculine traits in the pursuit of knowledge.

2.3.2 Enlightenment: Yet Essentialist and Androcentric

The spirit of enlightenment had been to understand psychological, moral and social aspects of human nature with the help of reason and experience. Enlightenment philosophers promoted liberal thought, emphasized individual autonomy, socio-political reforms and equal rights for all, including women.[322] Several features of enlightenment philosophy such as: recognition of human subjectivity in the constitution of knowledge; greater emphasis on human rights, liberty and religious tolerance; have been favorable to women's emancipation. Nonetheless, essentialist ideas and gendered categories prevailed in liberal thought. It retains conception of an eternal, universal and rational human nature entitling individuals to equal rights on the basis of their capacity to reason. Moreover, it seems to associate rationality with social, political and economic activities performed by men and identify normative human nature with male nature, excluding experiences and activities of women.

John Locke (1632-1704) inaugurates enlightenment era by assigning primacy to human faculties in pursuit of knowledge, opposing divine right of the king, deriving sovereignty from social contract, and claiming natural rights to life, liberty and property for all. Locke, the leading exponent of British Empiricism, rejects innate ideas and claims that at birth human mind is tabula rasa, i.e., devoid of contents. Mind acquires all contents through sense

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Progress Publishers, Moscow 1972, Reprint 1976, pp11-13

[321] See Sobstyl, E., 'Re-Radicalizing Nelson's Feminist Empiricism'. In: Hypatia. 2004 , Vol. 19, No. 1, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 119-141. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810934, (accessed on April 04, 2011); Haraway, D., 'In the Beginning Was the Word: The Genesis of Biological Theory'. In: Signs. 1981, Vol. 6, No. 3. The University of Chicago Press, pp. 469-481 Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173758, (accessed on 12/05/2009)

[322] Copleston, F., A History of Philosophy. Vol.VI, Doubleday, NewYork 1985, p.3

experience.[323] Empiricism challenged fixed, given, universal and *apriori*, ideas; thereby weakening authority, most importantly, of the church and customs that always promoted patriarchy. It paved way for free thinking and religious tolerance, creating a space for those who later challenged divinely sanctioned gender hierarchy.

For Locke, right to rule has been grounded in social contract of equal, rational human beings. He questions absolute authority of man over wife and children in a patriarchal family. Since, the divine right of a monarch had been derived from the divine right of Adam to rule over Eve and earth. God granted the dominion over earth to both Adam and Eve, or human beings in common, argued Locke. "If it be said that Eve was subjected to Adam, it seems she was not so subjected to him as to hinder her dominion over the creatures, or property in them...."[324] Moreover, humans have been granted dominion over earth not over other human beings. The biblical verse, "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.",[325] does not establish the sovereignty of man over woman, asserts Locke. He suggests that in this verse God foretells what is going to be the fate of Eve on earth. At the time of fall, God granted Eve greater punishment than Adam and he gained an edge over woman owing to his lesser punishment. However, it does not mean he is granted divine right to dominate Eve. Laws of mankind and customs make woman subject to husband, "but there is here no more law to oblige a woman to such subjection, if the circumstances either of her condition, or contract with her husband, should exempt her from it, than there is, that she should bring forth her children in sorrow and pain, if there could be found a remedy for it, which is also a part of the same curse upon her:"[326] He also questions vesting father with all authority over children. In his view, mother equally shares this right. He, therefore, proposes to replace the term 'Paternal Power' with 'Parental Power'.[327]

Locke's distinction between real and nominal essences, allows space to

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[323] Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Vol. I, 1959, pp.37-91
[324] Locke, Two Treatises of Government, 1823, p.23
[325] Genesis 3:16
[326] Locke, Two Treatises of Government, 1823, p.33
[327] Ibid., p.126

human choice in construction of knowledge. Real essence, for him, is given, unknowable, underlying cause of an object's observable qualities, that makes a thing, what it is. A nominal essence, on the other hand, is 'product of human understanding', an abstract general idea, consisting of observed qualities shared by objects.[328] Feminists employ the idea of nominal essence to refute eternal feminine and masculine essences.[329] Moreover, the distinction between primary and secondary qualities concedes that knowledge of the world is mediated by human experience, thus making room for recognition of subjectivity in the construction of knowledge claims. Though Locke's thought has been conducive to *gender consciousness* in several ways; nonetheless, he retains androcentric mind-body dualism and conception of a free and rational (male) human nature, as his predecessor, Descartes, did.

Despite tall claims of human liberty and equality, great enlightenment thinkers, such as; Rousseau, Kant and Hegel had also been exponents of sexist, gendered categories, binary oppositions and patriarchal institutions. Inbuilt gender hierarchy in politically egalitarian system of Rousseau (1712-1778) has been founded upon the hierarchical dichotomies of culture/nature and reason/passion. It presupposes division of labor on the basis of sex differences, hence, confines women to domestic sphere due to biological capacity of child bearing and rearing, while makes men masters of the public sphere.[330] Culture, a public sphere of citizenship, presupposes the cultivation of rational faculty, hence, domain of the man. While woman due to her reproductive capacity associated with nature and confined to private sphere. Patriarchal family provides a natural basis of civic society, for Rousseau, and man heading the family qualifies for citizenship.[331] For Rousseau, a woman's whole being is determined by her sex. Following difference in sex, there is a different morality, education, access to truth and knowledge and socio-political roles.[332]

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[328] Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book III, Chapter III, Section 15, pp402-03

[329] Witt. C., *What is Gender Essentialism,* In: Feminist Metaphysics: Explorations in the Ontology of Sex, Gender and the Self. (Ed.) Witt, C., Springer Netherlands 2011, pp11-25 at pp23-24,

[330] Gatens, 1991, p.24

[331] Rousseau, J., Emile or Education. Dent and Sons, London 1972, p326

[332] Ibid., p.321

Despite inculcating gendered binary oppositions and hierarchical gender relations, Rousseau's thought allows understanding masculine/feminine norms as social constructs grounded in power relations; hence, in need of reconstruction to build an egalitarian society. He brought to fore the social origin of moral, political norms/values and their underlying power dynamics. For Rousseau, norms and values are collective social standards, internalized collectively while growing up in a society. These standards, serve ends of the powerful, enhancing their power in a society.[333]

Kant (1724-1804) too, identifies woman with her sex/biology, relating woman's role and her social and political rights to her sexuality. For Kant, woman's character is defined by natural needs: preservation of embryo, future generation, has made her timid and weak, and in need of masculine protection. Union between man and woman is required for survival of species, and for a stable union it is necessary that it must be hierarchical.[334] Kant bids farewell, by considering woman subordinate and a mere mean (reproductive capacity) to an end (preservation of species), to his second formulation of categorical imperative, i.e., 'never to treat any human being as a mean towards an end'.[335]

Moreover, Kantian emphasis on rationality, objectivity, universality and complete exclusion of emotions from the realm of knowledge; and the sense of duty, impartiality, autonomy, and suppression of emotions in moral sphere inculcates gender hierarchy. He owes it to historical identification of woman with emotions and particularity.[336]

Hegel too, identifies woman with the realm of nature, subjectivity and particularity; and man with ethics, politics, autonomy, individuality and objectivity.[337] Maintaining public/private distinction, Hegel, confines woman to private, i.e., to the domestic sphere. He conceives sons as heads of new families and daughters solely as wives. In private sphere, persons are members

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[333] Krasnoff, L., Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit: An Introduction. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, p. 37

[334] Kant, I., Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View. (ed.) Frederick Van de Pitte, Trans. V.L. Dowdell, Southern Illinois Press, Carbondale 1978, pp.219-222

[335] Kant, I., Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals. Ed. and Trans. Allen Wood, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 2002, p.xviii

[336] Schott, R., 'Kant'. In: A Companion to Feminist Philosophy. (Ed.) Alison Jaggar & Iris Young, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Oxford, Carlton 1998, pp. 39-48

[337] Hegel, G., Elements of the Philosophy of Right. (Ed.,) Allen Wood, Trans. H.B. Nisbet, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991, Reprint 2003, pp205-06

of family unit alone, need not to be individuals. Assertion of individual rights is necessary in public sphere. Man becomes self-sufficient individual in public sphere, while woman finds self-actualization in private sphere.[338] In marriage, husband and wife surrender individuality to become one personality, however, the personality is represented by husband in the public sphere, i.e., law and economy.[339]

Enlightenment philosophy has predominantly been androcentric and Eurocentric.[340] Since, it represents needs, aspirations, interests, experiences and perspectives of white, middle and upper middle class, men and defines social, political and moral norms in terms of traits and activities associated with them alone. Most of the leading enlightenment thinkers consider woman closely connected to body, not to mind. Due to reproductive capacity, they closely associate woman to nature, while man to culture, who expresses creativity through culture. Ontology of dualism and hierarchy re-inculcates and reinforces patriarchy. It sharpens the division between private and public spheres, reinforcing woman's confinement to the private sphere. Not only the social and political thought of leading enlightenment thinkers suffers from biological essentialism, the epistemology and moral philosophy also entails gender hierarchy.

Age of enlightenment, with its emphasis on human equality and autonomy, to interpret truth and morality without coercion from state and society, provided ground for the emergence of liberal feminism. Liberal feminists also adhere to the idea of an essential, ahistoric, rational human nature; however, reject biological essentialism in defining woman's role and sphere of activities advocated by leading thinkers of the enlightenment. They argue that all humans possess rational capacity irrespective of sex difference; hence, all should have equal opportunities to develop this capacity. Being rational, equal and autonomous, each individual, man and woman, has right to define and pursue his/her own interests.[341] Liberal feminists have been attempting to demonstrate that reason is gender neutral and gender difference

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[338] Ibid., p.214
[339] ibid., pp201-07
[340] Schott, R., '*The Gender of Enlightenment*'. In: Feminist Interpretations of Immanuel Kant. (Ed.) R. Schott, The Pennsylvania State University, 1997, pp319-327
[341] Beasley, C., What is Feminism? An Introduction to Feminist Theory. Sage Publishers, London 1999 , p 53

in intellectual, psychological and emotional attributes is not innate, rather, caused by social conditions.[342] They, therefore, demand equal rights and opportunities for women in all walks of life and seek social and legal reforms to enable them better realize reason/rational capacity.

Mary Wollstonecraft, an enlightenment thinker, the first liberal feminist, attempts to desexualize reason and passion, nature and culture.[343] In her view, reason is the faculty that distinguishes humans from other animals and the goal of life is self-realization and self-perfection. In this regard both men and women are equal, "[Women], in common with men, are placed on this earth to unfold their faculties...."[344] Women are denied the right to strengthen their bodies and minds in the name of female excellence, virtues and beauty. At the same time physical and actual intellectual strength is used to give men an edge over women.[345] Social norms and practices are responsible for underdevelopment of women's physical and intellectual growth and ensuing subordination.

Wollstonecraft may be considered a precursor of the theory of social construction of gender; for she explains, woman's physical and intellectual underdevelopment with reference to social norms and practices. In her view, the way out is to think critically (gender consciousness) about norms and practices. This may enable women to challenge their subjugation and slavery and to see the truth.[346] She advocates equal rights and opportunities for women on the basis of same rational nature that unfortunately has always been considered ahistoric, universal and a male nature. She ignores the role of productive and reproductive relations, race, class and biological factors in the constitution of human nature. Wollstonecraft does not explain the origin of social norms and practices that hinder women's self-realization and establish superiority of men over women.

Succeeding liberal feminists also retain reason as an essential human characteristic; while considering sex, race and class accidental features of human nature. The fixed, uncreated human nature can be modified by social

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[342] Jaggar, 1983, p.36
[343] Gatens, 1991, p.22
[344] Wollstonecraft, p5
[345] Ibid., p.2
[346] Ibid., p.12

and historical circumstances, nonetheless, it essentially remains the same. Liberal feminism seeks social and legal reforms to improve status of women and to overthrow obstacles in the way of self-actualization of women. [347] Liberal feminists argue that woman's inferior status proceeds from violating fundamental principles of liberalism i.e., equality, autonomy and justice. Liberal feminist's conception of human nature is individualistic; human interaction with other human beings and non-human world does not constitute human nature. A rational individual is prior to the social group. Liberal feminism retains mind-body hierarchical dualism, though mind is increasingly conceived as a capacity rather than a substance. [348] This dualism sustains demarcation between private and public spheres.

Liberal feminism does not take into account social, historical, context and power relations of gender, class and race in shaping masculinity, femininity, bodies, consciousness, desires, emotions and aspirations. It does not recognize woman's special needs arising from reproductive function. Though it advocates social and legal reforms to address oppression of women in patriarchal system; however, it does not investigate the origin of patriarchy and hence, fails to redress root causes of patriarchy. Liberal feminists recognize gender as a cultural construct. They also identify role of religion, customs and laws in subjugation and subordination of women, hence advocate social and legal reforms to combat the pillars of patriarchy. However, they overlook the foundations of patriarchy.[349]

Since liberalism envisions a fixed human nature, liberal feminism, therefore, assumes a fixed, universal and normative social and gender order. It articulates experiences, needs, interests and aspirations of white, middle and upper middle class, women. It ascribes universality and uniformity to a specific form of patriarchy, ignoring change and variation in the manifestation of patriarchy. This view is also essentialist, hierarchical, and Eurocentric. Essentialism generally limits human, specifically women's possibilities, potentialities and emancipation. To account for myriad manifestations of patriarchy and comprehensive and dynamic view of human nature, a case for

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[347] Jaggar, 1983, p.388
[348] Ibid., pp 27-30
[349] Ibid., pp40-47

anti-essentialist, dialectical, feminism becomes need of the hour.

2.3.3 Anti-Essentialist Feminism via Dialectical Materialism: Towards Socialist Feminism

Anti-essentialism rejects fixed, given, universal and invariable properties of things in the world and human beings. In the realm of gender, anti-essentialism denies given, universal, eternal and ahistoric masculine/feminine essences. A few leading anti-essentialist theories include dialectical materialism, existentialism, postmodernism, structuralism, post-structuralism etc. Since these theories oppose uniformity, fixity and determinism of social order and human character; feminists, therefore, find them emancipatory and employ to understand and redress issues of feminist concern.

Rejecting biological essentialism, Simone de Beauvoir inaugurates feminist anti-essentialism when she claims, "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman."[350] She recognizes the role of economic, historic, and social factors i.e., customs, religion and laws, along with biology in the constitution of feminine. Subsequent feminist anti-essentialists challenge causal determination of gender by sex; and a fixed, determinate, universal meaning of the category 'woman' or 'man'. They offer variable, diversified, dynamic and fluid view of gender. Social, linguistic and/or material factors are considered as variables constituting human nature. [351] Two broad streams of feminist anti-essentialist theories can be identified: linguistic/discourse theories-mostly reducible to idealism-assign primacy to language and culture in the representation and constitution of gender; while materialist and dialectical materialist theories assign primacy to material structures of production and reproduction.

The former reject existence of universal intrinsic qualities or essences, known through perceptions, language and culture. They question the claim that real essences shape our concepts, language and culture. These theories consider thought, reality, facts, knowledge, identities as linguistic or symbolic entities generated and sustained in a community.[352] Construction of identity or

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[350] Ibid., p.281

[351] Stone, A., 'Essentialism and Anti-Essentialism in Feminist Philosophy'. In: Journal of Moral Philosophy. 2004, Vol. 1, No. 2, Sage Publications Ltd., pp135-153

[352] Bruffe, K., 'Social Construction, Language, and the Authority of Knowledge: A Bibliographical Essay'. In: College English. 1986, Vol.48, No.8, National Council of

being and kinds/types is explained through social interactions, language, culture, cultural expectations, relations, discourse, perceptions and beliefs. Human traits are considered product of culture, rather than nature.[353] Gender is not causally determined by sex, rather language and culture construct both sex and gender differences.[354] A detailed discussion of discourse theories such as; Judith Butler's, Michel Foucault's and Derrida's, is beyond the scope of this work.

This work builds on the thesis that a comprehensive explanation of gender in terms of language, discourse, culture and social choices poses difficulties. Language, a historical, political and social phenomenon, is grounded in historic, socio-economic formations. Social choices are also shaped by material conditions of production and reproduction. Both thought and language are social constructs that develop through praxis, conscious physical labour that transforms nature to satisfy human needs. Social reality is not exclusively constructed by cognitive faculties and linguistic categories.[355]

Marxism provides several tools of analysis, such as dialectical and historical materialism, class-struggle and consciousness, alienation and division of labor that enable a comprehensive understanding of women's situation without falling into trap of hierarchical dualism, essentialism and androcentrism. It results into critical discussion of gender roles and relations, women's oppression, sexuality, and reproduction etc., in the context of natural environment, material conditions, human needs and agency, social and historical factors.

Marxism rejects sharp mind/body hierarchical dualism, and essential, eternal, fixed, rational [read masculine] human nature. For, Karl Marx (1818-1883), human nature, a free productive activity, is socially and historically constituted. Humans, unlike other animals, produce their means of subsistence, in the process transforming nature that in turn transforms human nature too. He rejects fixed social structures, roles and consciousness and claims that "the mode of production of material life conditions the social,

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Teachers of English, pp.773-790
Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/376723, (accessed June 06, 2012)

[353] Litosseliti, L and Jane Sundarland, Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis. John Benjamin Publishing Co., Amsterdam and Philadelphia 2002, pp1-17

[354] Gergen, K., Social Construction in Context. Sage Publications Ltd, London 2001, p. 2

[355] Jaggar, 1983, p.60

political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men [sic., human] that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."[356] Biological constitution and physical environment also greatly shapes the social and political being. Production of means of subsistence is conditioned by physical organization and it also determines the intercourse amongst individuals.[357]

Marx considers social relations the outcome of productive relations. Social and political structures evolve from life processes of definite individuals when they interact and produce materially against the backdrop of definite material conditions.[358] Marx assigns primacy to 'practice' in the construction of social reality. "Social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which mislead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice."[359] Human praxis transforms nature and creates social reality.[360] Human nature is a productive activity, and production is not carried out in isolation. It necessarily involves interaction with others. These interactions influence human behavior and create definite pattern of social relationships, structures, and institutions.[361] Human essence is not an abstract entity inherent in each single individual, rather "it is the ensemble of the social relations."[362] Thus human nature is necessarily constituted in society. There is no fixed, given, universal, human nature. Human praxis carried out in specific socio-historical circumstances shapes human nature. Donna Haraway also affirms that both the sexed body and gendered social, political being are shaped by human labour.[363]

Marx in, *The German Ideology*, opposes division of labor that he terms as, "fixation of social activity" which restricts an individual to a particular activity, imposed on him that he/she cannot escape.[364] Division of labor in the society enslaves humans. With division of labor each man is enforced to do a

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[356]Marx, K., *Preface to the Critique of political Economy*. In: Karl Marx: Selected Writings. (ed.) David McLellan, Oxford University Press, 1977, p389
[357] Ibid., P.18
[358] Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1976, p22
[359] Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*, 1976, p13
[360] Ibid.,
[361]Collin, F., Social Reality. Routledge, London 1997, p1
[362] Marx, *Theses on Feurbach*, 1976, p12
[363] Haraway, 1978, p25
[364] Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1976, pp 18-24

particular job, from which he cannot escape, and with it man's own deeds become an alien power opposed to him, enslaving him.[365] Marx roots the division of labor in a society, in the division of labor within the family, which is based on sexual differences. Marx argues that the division of labor within the family has caused enslavement of women and children. It has generated the first form of possession, i.e., the authority to regulate and appropriate labor power of others.[366] Sexual division of labour specifies separate work for man and woman, and their work is differently valued, assigning different status in the society.

Engels rejects biological essentialism, citing historical and material conditions that caused the oppression of women. He argues that woman's subordination is not natural, rather originated and became institutional and systematic in class society.[367] In Engels' view patriarchal family began with the institution of private property. It excluded women from participation in public production and confined her to private sphere. It also caused control over woman's sexuality to have children of undisputed paternity to inherit father's property.[368] Thus, we can safely conclude that division of labour on the basis of sex difference and private property led to man's control over woman's labour power, sexuality and reproductive capacity. It also established man's dominance in the realm of economy, politics and culture. Sexual division of labour in production and reproduction is the cause of women's oppression. Woman throughout the history has been predominantly defined in terms of sexuality and reproduction. Masculine and feminine physiques and characters are determined by historically specific ways society organizes sexuality and child rearing.

According to Alison Jaggar, socialist feminism, developed during 1970s, is the most consistent application of Marxist method to women's problems. The theory takes into account the confluence of men's dominance (patriarchy), class (capitalism), racism and imperialism in oppressing women.[369] It also emphasizes social and historical context in the constitution of gender. They

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[365] Marx, *Feurbach. Opposition of Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook*, 1969, p 35
[366] Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1976, pp31-34
[367] Ibid., p.54
[368] Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, p.89
[369] Jaggar, 1983, p.125

don't even consider biology given and ahistoric, it has been sexed and gendered in a society; hence, at least partly socially constructed; though gender is not an inevitable result of biology, it is highly contingent on social and historical processes. Socialist feminists claim that gender structures behavior, inner self and even physical self.[370]

Socialist feminism is heavily indebted to dialectical materialism. It provides for understanding the nature of things and humans in their relationships with other things, in socio-historical context. For Zillah Eisenstein, a renowned socialist feminist, dichotomous thinking hampers understanding complexities of women's situation and she, therefore, attempts to replace it with a dialectical approach.[371] Dialectical materialism rejects, fixed, given, universal types, traits and distinctions that give a fragmentary, disconnected and mechanical account of the reality. "For dialectic, concrete and particular things are always and essentially related, connected to and interacting with other things within a larger totality. This context of relations is internal and essential to the nature of things, not external and accidental."[372]The interrelationships amongst people, people and things, establish certain patterns of social relations. These social relationships shape thoughts, practices, intentions, values and identities. Human praxis produces and reproduces social relations.[373] For socialist feminists human nature is shaped by a dialectical relationship between biological constitutions, social and physical environment. Human beings continuously recreate their physiological and psychological constitution. Human nature is a historically changing phenomenon. This conception concedes historically determined and changing character of the production, sexuality and reproduction.[374]

According to Zillah Eisenstein, man's dominance i.e., patriarchy, and capitalist economy intersect to oppress women. In her view, confining women to noncreative and isolating domestic work is the cause of alienation in

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[370] Ibid., p126

[371] Eisenstein, Z., "Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism". In: Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. (ed.) Zillah Eisenstein, Monthly Review Press, New York and London 1979, pp 5-40 at p.6

[372] Sayers, S., "Marxism and the Dialectical Method: A Critique of G. A. Cohen". In: Socialism, Feminism and Philosophy: A Radical Philosophy Reader. (eds.) Sean Sayers and Peter Osborne, Routledge, London 1990, pp 140-169 at p143

[373] Ibid., pp.153-54

[374] Jaggar, 1983, p303

women.[375] Lindsey German explains the exploitation of women with reference to the nature of family within capitalist system. Economic power is the key determinant of women's status. In her view men's control of the means of production is an important determinant of women's status.[376]

Socialist feminists claim that the systems of organizing production and reproduction are in dialectical relationship. Sexuality, reproduction and child rearing are also included in the realm of economy and politics. Women's capacity to reproduce is considered one of the productive resources of the society and control over resources included control over women's sexuality and reproductive capacity.[377]

Instead of assuming universal and fixed human nature and social order, socialist feminism understands gender consciousness/relation, roles and identities in terms of productive relations, sexual division of labour, dialectical interrelationships, and socio-historical context. It, therefore, enables understanding varied manifestations of gender consciousness and relations in specific cultural and historical circumstances.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Neither philosophy nor consciousness develops in a void; various philosophies of the universe and human nature have been informed by, and in turn influencing, socio-political, economic arrangements and gender relations. Many of the metaphysical and epistemological categories have been carrying gendered connotations; consequently, shaping gender consciousness and relations. Two important philosophical paradigms i.e., essentialism and anti-essentialism underlie myriad patterns and levels of gender consciousness and relations. Greek Philosophy has been inculcating essentialist, dichotomous and hierarchical world view. Essentialism assumes given, universal, eternal and ahistoric masculine/feminine essences. Moreover, such essentialism associates masculine with rationality, knowledge and autonomy; and feminine with body, sexuality and reproduction. Medieval philosophy retains essentialism giving it a theistic form, rendering divinity to masculine/feminine attributes, gender

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[375] Eisenstein, 1979, p11
[376] German, 1994, p.20
[377] Hartmann, H., "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union". In: Feminism. Vol. I, (eds.) Susan Moller Okin and Jane Mansbridge, Edward Elger Publishing Limited, England and USA, 1994, pp177-191

roles and relations. Gender hierarchy becomes sacred, absolute, indubitable and indispensable that fulfills divine ends/purposes. Medieval thought perpetuates association of woman with body, emotion, sexuality, irrationality and sin, ingrained in Greek essentialism. It deepens gender hierarchies by vociferously denying woman will, reason, agency and activity. Essentialist view attempts to naturalize and legitimize social and moral hierarchies, demarcating mutually exclusive spheres of activity for men and women, arresting socio-historical development, reform and gender equity.

Some eminent philosophers of the modern era have also been adhering to essentialist, dichotomous and hierarchical world view. They envisioned a universal, fixed, essential, human nature unaffected by gender, class and race. This view could not escape defining universal human nature in terms of experiences, traits, activities and interests of 'white upper class man'. Feminist theories grounded in an essentialist framework also remained blind to the issues of women of colour in post-colonial states. They formulate theories on the basis of experiences of 'white middle class women' in capitalist societies.

Socialist feminism has been countering essentialism and repudiates given, universal, eternal and ahistoric masculine/feminine essences. It explains gender consciousness/relations, in the context of natural environment, material conditions, human needs and agency, social and historical factors. It, therefore, enables better understanding of gender consciousness/relations in specific socio-historical circumstances.

Dominant discourse on gender relations amongst Pukhtun manifests androcentric, essentialist gendered consciousness. It ascribes fixed essences to men and women, legitimized through an orthodox [male] perspective of Pukhtunwali and Islam. Masculinity has been primarily associated with reason, chivalry and aggression; femininity with irrationality, sexuality, and reproduction. However, gender consciousness and relations have also been undergoing a continuous, though gradual change owing to changing social, political and economic conditions. The change has been paradoxical rather than linear, having both progressive and retrogressive stages. In real life, a large majority of Pukhtun men and women cannot embody fixed hierarchical, dichotomous essences ascribed by Pukhtunwali due to these changes. Some, finding these essences and the consequent gender norms restrictive and

limiting, challenge androcentrism, hierarchical binaries and essentialism using words and/or deeds. Pukhto folklore and literature not only depicts prevalent patriarchal gender relations but also varied patterns and levels of gender consciousness. Next chapter discusses and analyses various genre of Pukhto folklore and literature to understand gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND PUKHTO FOLKLORE: SELECTIONS FROM MATAL,[378] QISA[379] AND TAPA[380]

INTRODUCTION

This chapter delineates and assesses varied patterns and levels of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*, in some selected genres of Pukhto folklore i.e., *matal*, *qisa* and *tapa*. It charts and discusses, how Pukhto folklore depicts, evaluates, accepts/rejects prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity and status of woman? It identifies androcentric, dichotomous, essentialist, hierarchical, Pukhtun gendered consciousness depicted in these genres. It also discerns varied levels of Pukhtun *gender consciousness*, offering alternative definitions of masculinity/ femininity that rejects gender inequity, patriarchal practices and recognizes woman's autonomy as well as fundamental human rights.

The chapter comprises following sections:

2.1 Pukhto Folklore

2.2 Gender Consciousness in Selected Pukhto *Matal*, Proverb

2.3 Gender Consciousness in Selected Pukhto *Qisa*, Folk Stories

2.4 Gender Consciousness in Selected Pukhto *Tapa*, Short Song

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter proceeds from *Matal* to *Qisa* and *Tapa*, to display progression from gendered consciousness to *gender consciousness* in the selected three genres of Pukhto folklore. *Matal*, voicing conventional male wisdom, predominantly exhibits gendered consciousness. *Qisa* too demonstrates prevalence of androcentric, gendered consciousness; however, with traces of alternative definitions of femininity as well, paves way for

[378] Pukhto Proverb
[379] Pukhto Folk Story
[380] Pukhto Short Song

transforming gendered consciousness into *gender consciousness*. *Tapa*, a predominantly feminine genre of Pukhto folklore, demonstrates prevalence of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun, specifically women.

3.1 PUKHTO FOLKLORE

Folklore is an aesthetic expression of norms, values, customs, world views, needs, and socio-political organization including gender of a community.[381] It is the product of the interaction between the community, its historical legacy and existing circumstances. It precedes written record and is transmitted orally and/or through demonstration. There are various forms of folklore such as: Oral Literature that includes spoken and sung expressions, for instance, proverbs, riddles, beliefs, superstitions, songs, myths, legends, romance, anecdote, saga etc.,: Material Culture that includes genres involving actions, performance and paraphernalia such as; folk life, physical objects produced in traditional ways, architecture, folk arts, and folk crafts: Customs, festivals, rituals, children games, folk drama, rites of passage, and folk dances. [382] Folklore in its various forms reflects sentiments, wisdom and aspirations of the community arising out of their living conditions. Folklore has the creative potential to articulate even forbidden or socially disapproved sentiments and emotions. Pukhto folklore comprises: *tapa/nemakai;*[383] *loba/ badala;*[384] *charbeta,*[385] *kakarhai gharhi,*[386] *matal, bagati,*[387] *qisa,*[388] *sandee/weerona/naari, babulali,*[389] *da attan naari,*[390] *da myendo sandari* (Allaho),[391] *arhona*[392] etc.[393]

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[381] Bascom, W., 'Four Functions of Folklore'. In: The Journal of American Folklore, 1954, Vol.67, No. 266 American Folklore Society, pp 333-349 at p 337. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/536411, (accessed on May 04, 2011)

[382] Dorson, R., 'Folklore'. In: The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.7. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1979, pp.461-63

[383] Short song

[384] Song, ghazal

[385] Quatrain

[386] Short song, mostly composed by Kakar, comprising two lines. The first line can be 7 or 8 syllables and the second must be 8 syllables. Kakar is a major Pukhtun tribe residing both in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

[387] duet

[388] story

[389] lamentation of the bride at wedding

[390] Atan (traditional Pukhtun dance) Song

[391] Mother's songs

[392] riddles

[393] Ahmad, S., Pukhtani Tolaneez Danish O Roman Pa Folklore Ke: Yawa Tehqeeqi O Tanqeedi Jaiza. (Pashtoon Folklore: Wisdom and Romance: A Critical and Analytical View).

Pukhtun society has predominantly been an oral society. Literacy amongst Pukhtun, specifically women, has been very low in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA, Baluchistan and Afghanistan.[394] A large segment of Pukhto folklore, produced specifically by women, has therefore been oral. This folklore, besides providing insight into actual gender relations in Pukhtun society, also gives vent to the feeling of resentment against oppressive patriarchal practices and expresses the desire to resist and revolt. The chapter charts and assesses manifestations of gendered and *gender consciousness* in three genres of Pukhto folk lore: '*Matal*', proverb; '*qisa*', [folk] story and '*Tapa*', short song.

3.2 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN SELECTED PUKHTO *MATAL*, PROVERB

This section aims at tracing and assessing gendered and *gender consciousness* in Pukhto *matal*, proverb. It charts and discusses Pukhtun notions of masculine/feminine attributes, prevalent Pukhtun gender relations and manifestations of patriarchal authority impacting status of Pukhtun women.

Proverb expresses, transmits and reinforces moral codes, values, gender norms, and customary practices.[395] Proverb, a condensed saying, is poetic, figurative, satiric and equivocal. Hidden and multiple meanings of proverbs can be interpreted in diverse ways according to the context. They can be used to say things in an indirect and impersonal way, without offending the other person.[396] Proverbs are based on consolidated wisdom and experiences stretched over ages. They reflect culture, manners, habitual practices, personality traits, conventions of grief and celebration, of a community. They are a common legacy and none claims to have composed them. They are founded upon universal facts, historical events, traditions, faith, superstitions,

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Unpublished PhD Dissertation 2012, Pashto Department, University of Peshawar, p.97

[394] 1998 Census of Pakistan <http;//www.census.gov.pk/Literacy.htm>; Literacy rate for youth in Afghanistan, Retrieved from http;//www.unicef.org/infobycountry/Afghanistan_statistics.html

[395] Başgöz, I., 'Proverb Image, Proverb Message, and Social Change'. In: Journal of Folklore Research.1993, Vol. 30, No, Indiana University Press, 2/3 pp 127-142 at p127. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3814313, (accessed on May 04, 2011)

[396] Siran, JL., 'Rhetoric, Tradition and Communication: The Dialectics of Meaning in Proverb Use'. In: Man. 1993, Vol. 28, No. 2, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 225-242 at p. 227. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2803411, (accessed on May 04, 2011)

myths, prejudices (religious, sexist, racist, ethnic, national, tribal etc.,), and morals derived from various situations, actual or imagined.[397]

Matal, proverb, constitute an important part of Pukhto folklore. S.S. Thorburn, a British Indian Civil Service Officer, compiled and translated *Pashto Proverbs*, in 1876. In his view, a short pithy statement generally believed to be a truism, widely accepted by the community, acquires the status of *Matal*. The saying has an appeal for the community, who takes it up and repeats in similar situations. It is the collective wisdom uttered by one into a brief sentence. *Matal*, like biblical text to the Christians, provides a rule of conduct to Pukhtun.[398] *Matal* expresses opinion of Pukhtun on any important social, political and cultural issue. As a source of conventional Pukhtun wisdom, *matal* have been providing practical guidance and moral instructions throughout the ages. *Matal* is generally believed to be a wise and pithy saying of an experienced elder (generally male) based on real life situation.[399]

A large body of *matal* expresses norms of interpersonal relationships including gender relations, both in private and public spheres. Moreover, *matal* mostly expresses hierarchical relationships through gendered metaphors. *Matal*, therefore, constitutes one of the most important sources of tracing gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* in traditional Pukhtun wisdom. Like other traditional, patriarchal societies, Pukhtun largely associate wisdom and experience with men. They speak from a position of authority and are listened to carefully. Hence, it is mostly the sayings of men that have acquired the status of *matal*. A huge body of popular *matal*, therefore, reflects gendered consciousness. Though some *matal* expressing *gender consciousness* do exist but are fewer in number and not as popular as those reflecting androcentrism and misogyny. Some more representative *matal* have been selected, translated and discussed to trace and assess gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*.

Da

1. د ښځې عقل د پوندو لاندې وي.[400]

khaze aqal da pundo landi we

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[397] Tair, Rohe Mataluna, 1975, p. 6

[398] Thorburn, S., Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier. Trubner & Co., London 1876, pp231-36

[399] Shinwari, M., (ed.), Da Mataluno Qisi (Stories behind Proverbs). Self-published, Peshawar 1995, p.63

[400] Proverb cited by a male respondent in Jalalabad, Afghanistan

Woman's reason is under her heels.

This is one of the most popular *matal* ascribing low intellectual capacity to woman as an essential and natural attribute. Mind-body and reason-passion dichotomies, enunciated in Greek and medieval thought, place reason above body and passions in human beings. Head is, therefore, considered the seat of reason that reigns over body, appetites and emotions. Moreover, reason has been associated with male and body/passions with female. Pukhtun gendered consciousness has been greatly influenced by these dichotomies and their gendered connotation. It places woman's reason under heels, signifying dominance of body and passions over reason. Consequently, bars women from activities associated with reason such as politics, education, employment or decision making in any area even her own life.

1. ښځه د وسواس په ورځ پیدا ده.[401] *Khaza da waswas pa wraz paida da*

Woman was born on the day of suspicion.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness classifies woman as irrational and superstitious. She is mostly deprived of education and exposure to new and scientific ideas. Hence, becomes prone to dogmas, uncertainties and unfounded superstitions.[402]

ښځه که هر څومره ښه ده، د سړي
2. خائے نۀ شي نیولے.

Khaza ka har somra kha da, da sarhee zai na shee neewale

To whatever extent a woman is good, she can never replace a man.

Gender hierarchy is taken as granted, natural and legitimate, an explicit manifestation of gendered consciousness. Even if a woman is very accomplished, she cannot be man's equal. There are innate differences between the two that can never be bridged.

3. بابا به وئیل، ادي به منل.[403] *Baba ba wayal, ade ba manal*

Father would command, mother would obey.

Patriarchy, rule of the father, amongst Pukhtun is depicted in the above

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[401] Tair, 1975, p299
[402] Tair, N., (ed.), Rohe Mataluna (Proverbs of the Mountains). Vol.2, Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1982, p.63
[403] Tair, Rohe Mataluna, Vol.1 1975, p.33

proverb. Father exercises absolute authority. Relationship between husband and wife is not egalitarian and democratic; it is like master and slave relationship.

More than a master, at times, husband is elevated to the level of God, like in the proverb below:

4. خاوند نوم د خدائے دے[404].

Khawand num da Khudai de

Husband, thy name is God.

Above cited *matal* depicts Pukhtun gendered consciousness that dogmatically adheres to hierarchical relations between husband and wife. Husband is called *Khawand*, owner, in Pukhto language. Primarily, *Khawand* refers to God. Husband is the owner of wife, and He relates to his wife like God to his creatures. Traditional Pukhtun men consider husband protector and provider, commanding authority over the life and death of his wife. She is expected to revere and obey him like God. For women respondents the proverb implies total, unquestioned (Godlike) submission to husband. Some enlightened men, on the other hand justify and argue that husband like God is kind, merciful and loving to wife, he fulfills all her needs and takes care of her worries.

5. پلار د کور ستن دہ[392].

Plar da kor stan da

Father is the pillar of home.

A pillar's job is to provide support to sustain a structure. Gendered consciousness portrays father as the pillar of the family who sustains family, a structured institution. He provides financial support; settles family disputes and prevents disintegration; he is considered the source of strength and practical wisdom in difficult times.

6. ادي هم د کور مېرمن شوه.[405]

ade hum da kor merman shwa

Even mother has become master [owner] of the home.

Gendered consciousness sustains patriarchal authority over women. It is

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[404] Ahmad. A., Mataloona: Pukhto Proverbs . Oxford University Press, Karachi1975, p.32

[405] Shaheen, S. (Ed.), Tor Sare (Women). Pushto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 2005, p 6

expressed through ridiculing authority of woman, since she is irrational and incapable of holding authority. Pukhtun society is so patriarchal that woman holding authority is unthinkable, the above cited *matal* is also used ironically when an insignificant and incapable person assumes authority.[406]

7. چې واک يې د مور وي، لاونۍ يې سپور وي[407].

Che wak ye da mor wee, lawanrh ye spor wee

Where authority lies with mother, meal is not sumptuous.

Gendered consciousness establishes and reinforces patriarchal, hierarchical gender relations. To impede transfer of authority to women, it cautions that everything will be spoiled if mother instead of father is holding authority. Only men are capable of decision making and exercising authority in a proper way. Women cannot handle authority and often misuse it.

8. چې د ښځو د صلاح شي، سړے خوار شي[408].

Che da khazo da salah shee, sarhe khwar shee

When one consults women, he becomes destitute.

Women are considered irrational, emotional and ignorant of most of the issues. If one consults them, they can misguide and mislead and be the source of destitution and loss. Above two *matal* resonates Ghazali's medieval thought who admonishes men in the *Council for Kings* to avoid consulting women in worldly affairs, since it brings loss and destruction. (See section 2.2)

9. څه ښځه او څه د ښځې ګټه[409].

Sa khaza sa da khazi gata

What is the worth of a woman and her income?

Gendered consciousness undervalues woman's labour and income. To prevent women's participation in the public sphere, it firstly bars women from paid employment and consequently labels incapable of income generation, thus inferior. When she earns she is given the impression that even her income is worthless. She is even denied control over her income. It is believed that

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[406] Bartlotti, L., and Raj Wali Shah Khattak (eds), Rohi Mataluna: Pashto Proverbs. Resource Publications, Eugene 2006, p.337

[407] Tair, 1975, p.159

[408] Proverb cited by a male respondent in Peshawar, Pakistan

[409] Tair, 1975, p 170

man's income has more *barakat*,[410] blessings of God; his lower income can better fulfill family's needs than a woman's higher income. Earning livelihood is considered primary role of a man. He, therefore, enjoy higher status and authority over women. Earning livelihood is also portrayed as a higher kind of occupation in comparison to tasks performed by women. It is unbecoming of a man if he cannot provide for the family and had to rely on women's income. He is looked down upon and taunted.

10. چې نۀ لري سړي، نۀ دي کورت خوري نۀ غوړي[411].

Che na laree sarhee, na de kurat khuree na ghwarhee

Those who don't have male relations, should not eat *kurat* (balls made of dried curd), and butter

Since only men can earn and provide for the family. Those not having male relatives are short of resources. They cannot afford good food. They are advised to have simple living and avoid extravagance. The proverb, highlighting importance and benefits of having male relatives, illustrates gendered consciousness. It implies that only men can provide good and prosperous life to their relatives. The greater the number of men in a family, the richer the family is.

11. ښځه کږه پښتی ده، ماته به شي، سمه به يې نۀ کړي[412].

Khaza kaga pukhtai da, mata ba shee sama ba ye na krhee

Woman is a rib, twisted; will break but not straighten.

The proverb refers to the creation myth: Eve was made out of Adam's ribs; held her responsible for misleading Adam and consequent fall of humans from heaven. Henceforth, every woman has to bear the brunt of Eve's sin to be labeled crook, devious, mischievous and not worth trusting. Being devious, an essential feminine attribute, cannot change. An instance of gendered consciousness i.e., adherence to normative masculine/feminine attributes as essential, natural and granted, is clearly visible.

12. د ښځو زده، هومره د شيطان هم نۀ زده[413].

Da khazo zda, homra da shaitan hom na zda

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[410] From Arabic Barakah, meaning blessings from God
[411] Matal cited by a male respondent in Jalalabad, Afghanistan
[412] Tair, 1982, p.63
[413] Tair, 1975, p.239

Woman's crafts surpass even that of devil.

Gendered consciousness portrays woman crafty, cunning and master in the art of deceit. Hence, advocates exclusion from position of authority and decision making and legitimizes control over her.

13. سل نايان چې راغوند کړي نو نيمه ښځه ترې نۀ جوړيږي.[414]

Sal nayan che raghond krhe, no neema khaza tre na joregee

Hundred barbers taken together are less than half a woman.

Barbers are looked down upon as lower social class by Pukhtun nobility. Apart from performing haircut, their job includes communication and propagation of messages and news, particularly about joys and sorrows. Here the analogy is drawn on the basis of similarity in being talkative, doing propaganda and disclosing secrets; hence not trustworthy. Gendered consciousness essentializes and identifies feminine attributes with lower social class.

14. په ښځه، په اس او په توره څۀ اعتبار دے.[415]

Pa khaza pa uss o pa tura sa eitbar de.

Woman, horse and sword cannot be relied upon.

Woman like horse and sword is considered unreliable. The proverb equates woman to things owned by man, a warrior. Complete control over horse and sword is expected of a warrior; loss of control may lead to falling down and death. It implies that woman, like a horse ought to be bridled, confined and strictly controlled. Loss of grip over sword, once it is out of the chest, may invite killing too. Horse and sword cannot be relied upon, since both serve the interest of the one who possess and exercise control. It is evident from the above *matal* that Pukhtun gendered consciousness identifies woman with objects, used and controlled by men, and advocates confinement, control and surveillance of women.

15. ښځې لـــه يـــا کـــور دے يـــا ګـــور دے.[416]

Khaze la ya kor de ya gor de.

Woman's abode is either home or grave.

16. ژرنده په شور ښائسته ښکاري، ښځه په کور.[417]

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[414] Tair, 1982, p.50
[415] Ahmad, 1975, p.13
[416] Ibid., p.47
[417] Shaheen, *Tor Sare*, 2005, p.5

Jranda pa shor khaista khkari khaza pa kor

Watermill working noisily and a woman at home, seems appropriate.

Above proverbs, restricting woman's space in Pukhtun society and confines her to the four walls. The only occasion woman shall leave four walls of house is upon death when taken to graveyard for burial. Though, in traditional Pukhtun setting woman's mobility is not restricted to such extent, she has been going out to fetch water, gather fuel, work in the fields, take out live stock for grazing, visit shrines and relatives. Gendered consciousness ordains women to stay home, and not to step outside unless extremely unavoidable. Such proverbs have been largely used prescriptively to, restrict woman's mobility, regulate her activities, deny her entry into the public sphere and establish patriarchal control. Men argue that: home is the domain of woman, where she is secure and rules; she becomes vulnerable when steps outside. In the name of ensuring chastity, security, dignity and honour of the woman and her family, she is advised to stay inside the four walls.

17. سر خړئيلے ښه دے، نه مېړه شړلے[418] *Sar khraili kha da na meerha sharhali*

Neither a head shaven is good nor an abandoned one by husband

The proverb informs us about prevalent forms of violence against women in Pukhtun society. Malestream Pukhtunwali designates woman as the site of man's 'honour'. Pukhtunwali of men consists in regulating body and desires of women. For any real or perceived violation of this so-called 'honour' ascribed by Pukhtunwali, a woman is either killed, abandoned, sold, expelled from the house and/or disgraced publicly by shaving off her head. Instead of condemning gender based violence, Pukhtun gendered consciousness blames women, victims of domestic violence, for disgracing and provoking husbands. Pukhtun gendered consciousness entitles a Pukhtun husband, a God's shadow, to command absolute authority over life and death of his wife. It manifests in taking pride over exercising this authority to uphold 'honour', presenting as a heroic act, while the victims of violence disgraceful and worthless.

18. د ژبوري ښځې نه د سخر کره ځائے شته نه د پلار کره[419]

Da jabaware khaze na da skhar kara zai shta, na da plar kara

[418] Bartlotti, L., and Raj Wali Shah Khattak, 2006, p.293
[419] Tair, 1975, p. 231

A long-tongued (rude) woman can neither abode at father's nor at in-laws'.

Pukhtun norms of femininity expect a woman to be docile, obedient and in servitude. She must bear everything in silence; answering back, raising voice or quarrel is not acceptable. Apart from setting normative behaviour for women, the proverb also identifies only two places, i.e., father's house and after marriage that of in-laws', available to woman. A dispossessed, she can never own a house, always has to reside at a place owned by men. In exchange for shelter she is to abide by normative rules of Pukhtunwali. Gendered consciousness exhibits these rules: in denial of property rights, even house, a shelter, to woman; continue suffering and living in silence and servitude, not to protest and raise voice in face of oppression, sustaining patriarchy.

19. یو لرګے به اور ونۀ کړي، دوه ښځي به کور ونۀ کړي.

Yo largai ba oor wo na krhi dwa khazi ba kor wo na krhi[420]

A single log cannot catch fire, two wives cannot abode together.

The proverb refers to rivalry, hostility and antagonism of two co-wives in a polygamous relationship. Rather than condemning discriminatory practice of polygamy, gendered consciousness holds women responsible for not living in peace. It presumes woman essentially unruly, jealous and quarrelsome.

20. مړۍ انـــــــه د مړي ـــــــرو جـــــــوهر دے[421].

Marhana da merho johar de

Chivalry is the essence of man/husband.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness considers chivalry an essential attribute of man and equates it with manhood. Absence of chivalry is considered lack of manhood and Pukhtunwali. Since man's essential role is of a defender of honour located in woman and fatherland, chivalry is normative for men only.

21. چې وخوري د نر لغته، داسې به کښيني لکۀ اورته[422].

Chi okhri da nar laghata, dasi ba keeni laka aurata

A man's kick makes one sit like a woman.

The proverb implies that in the face of masculine strength one has to submit and submission is associated with feminine. In Pukhtun culture power and weakness are mainly expressed through gendered metaphors. Gendered

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[420] Matal cited by a male respondent in Peshawar, Pakistan
[421] Tair, 1975, P.332
[422] Bartlotti, L., and Raj Wali Shah Khattak, *Rohe Mataluna*, 2006, p.117

consciousness associates power, aggression, fighting, victory and command with male; while fear, defeat, submission and subordination with female.

22. يا نر شه يا د نر چاکر شه[423].

Ya nar sha ya da nar chakar sha

Be a man or servant of a man.

Male, symbolizing chivalry and courage, is entitled to command and rule. Man, an embodiment of masculine Pukhtunwali, commands authority and is followed by weaklings, specifically women. The above proverb, declaring male/masculine the norm and prototype, while the rest deviant and subordinate, offers an explicit instance of gendered consciousness.

23. بويه چې راوړي زويه[424].

Boya chi rawri zoya

It seems unlikely she will bear a son

Son, a metaphor, stands for aim, a desired goal, accomplishment and achievement. Son, a male child, is highly desired and birth celebrated. Preference for male child is endemic amongst Pukhtun, having a son is rated a success, a purpose of life accomplished. It ensures continuity of lineage and support in old age. Identifying goals, success and accomplishment with a male/masculine is an expression of gendered consciousness.

24. زامن خوارۀ دي، غشي يې کارۀ دي[425]. *Zaaman khwaaga di, ghashi yi kaaga di*

Sons are dear, but their arrows/thorns are bent.

Bent arrows/thorns cannot be taken out of the body and they cause perpetual pain. The proverb expresses strong love and compassion for sons. It is considered a blessing to have a son, but they are so dear that one feels their miseries and troubles very strongly. Pain caused by their problems or separation is unbearable and un-diminishing to the parents. Son has also been used metaphorically to stand for something very dear and valuable. Expressing desirability and value in masculine terms is an instance of gendered consciousness.

25. تر بې کاره کښيناستل لور زېږول ښۀ دي[426].

Tar bekara kenastal lur zegawal kha dee

Better than sitting idle is to bear a daughter.

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[423] Tair, 1982, p.207
[424] Bartlotti, L., and Raj Wali Shah Khattak, 2006, p 159
[425] Ibid., p 280
[426] Tair, 1975, p 93

Clubbing idleness with bearing daughter reflects inferiority, undesirability, of and contempt towards female child. Bearing a daughter is considered a useless activity, slightly better than idleness. Expressing futility, failure and worthlessness in feminine terms is again an instance of gendered consciousness.

.26 زوے غواړه له خدایه، لور غواړه له مانه[427].

Zwe ghwara la khudaya, lur ghwara la ma na

Pray for a son to God, and beg me for a daughter.

Desire for, and worth of, a male child has been reiterated in this proverb. It belittles women, considering only male child a divine providence. One needs not to pray to God for a daughter as she is not preferred.

.27 د زوي مور د تندي څخه معلومیږي[428].

Da zwee mor da tandee sakha malomeege

Mother bearing a son is marked on forehead.

It is believed that forehead of a woman expecting a male child shines. It is considered a blessing of God and a great accomplishment for a woman to have a male child. The expression is generally used to foretell victory or achievement of someone. Identifying preference for, and achievements with, male child exhibits gendered consciousness.

.28 نر زوے په ورونې کښې نۀ پټیږي[429].

Nar zwe pa oranrhee ke na pateege

A male child can't be hidden in a wrapping cloth.

There is a practice amongst Pukhtun of wrapping neonate in a piece of cloth. It is argued that a male child exhibits signs of masculinity, activity, vigilance and aggression even at this stage. The proverb is also used to refer to promising people whose potential is evident from the outset. Gendered consciousness associates capability, activity and competence with male.

.29 بې وروره نۀ شې، تربور ظالم دے[430].

Be wrora na she, tarbur zalim de

May you not lose your brother, paternal cousin is cruel.

Pukhtun are patrilineal and patriarchal. Ownership of property and authority over women transfers to paternal relations in case one loses

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[427] Tair, 1982, p 26
[428] Matal cited by a female respondent in Peshawar, Pakistan
[429] Tair, Rohe Matalona, Vol.2, 1982, p.166
[430] Tair, 1975, p.48

immediate male relatives. In traditional Pukhtun setting a woman is treated like a minor, she cannot own property and needs a guardian to make major decisions. It has often been observed that paternal cousins expel women from their property and sell them off in mismatch marriages. One's real brother protects sisters against the cruelties of paternal cousins. The proverb informs us about patriarchal, tribal, gender roles and relations.

30. پښتون اول سوال نۀ کوي، چې کوي نو خور ته هم ودرېږي[431].

Pukhtun awal swal na kai, che kai no khor ta hom odreege

A Pukhtun begs not; if does, will queue even for sister

The proverb provides insight into Pukhtun gender norms, roles and relations. Man is the breadwinner and provider for his female relatives including sisters. Pukhtun norms of masculinity expect man to be independent and self-reliant. It is against Pukhtunwali and manhood to seek help from someone, specifically women. Begging, a shameful act, becomes further disgraceful if one begs from sister, a woman and a weakling.

31. تش لاس نر ښځه کوي[432].

Tash laas nar khaza kawee

Empty hands turn a man into a woman.

In line with the above discussion, this proverb also associates masculinity with financial independence and self-reliance; while poverty and dependence with the feminine.

32. ښځه په کالو نۀ درنېږي او نر په وسله[433].

Khaza pa kalo na draneege o nar pa wasla

A woman does not become worthier with jewelry, and a man with weapons.

Jewelry adds to a woman's beauty, and arms to man's chivalry. However, if a woman lacks natural beauty, ornaments do not make her prettier, similarly if a man is not inherently chivalrous, arms cannot produce that. Essentialism is evident in prescribing chivalry to man, the protector, and beauty, to woman, a decorative object of desire.

33. پېغله په شپه کوه، کونډه په کاتۀ کوه، طلاقه چرې مۀ کوه[434].

Peghla pa shpa kawa, konda pa kata kawa, talaqa chare ma kawa

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[431] Matal cited by a female respondent in Peshawar
[432] Matal cited by a male respondent in Jalalabad
[433] Tair, Rohe Mataluna, Vol.2, 1982, p.62
[434] Tair, 1975, p. 90

May wed, a virgin in the darkness of night, a widow after observing, a divorcee, never ever.

A virgin is the most preferred candidate for marriage, second comes widow, while marrying a divorcee is strictly admonished. Divorce is very rare in traditional Pukhtun setting. Divorce is a stigma for a woman, she is often considered a bad woman. The proverb states man-made rules that define and rank woman in relation to man only, an explicit demonstration of androcentric gendered consciousness.

.34 کونده چې ستړکي تورې، مېړۀ به وکړي[435].

Konda che starge toravee merha be wokrhe

The widow is wearing Kohl, she may marry.

Pukhtun gender norms expect a widow to live subsequent life in raising children and keep tied to the late husband, interest in remarriage is disapproved. Self-grooming of a widow implies a ridiculous desire to look for a husband. Gendered consciousness explicit in the above *matal* is disapproval of woman exercising autonomy and choice. It condemns woman to a life of eternal widowhood, ignoring her needs and emotions.

.35 کۀ پيسې ورکوې نو جينۍ به د کالا باغ نه هم راشي[436].

Ka paise warkawe no jeenai ba da kalabagh na hom rashee

If you pay for, the girl may even come from Kalabagh.

The proverb informs us about patriarchal Pukhtun customary practices, specifically commodification through the practice of *volvar*, bride price. As long as a man can afford the bride price, he will always find a girl to marry.

.36 چاته نارينه، په ګوټ کښې نارينه[437].

Cha ta nareena, pa gut ki nareena

To whom you show masculinity, only in a corner.

Above *matal* defines Pukhtun notion of masculinity. Manhood for Pukhtun demands display and use of force only against the powerful, not against the weak in a corner i.e., against women inside home. Weakness of women is taken for granted. Display of force in a safe corner, against the weak (women), contravenes norms of Pukhtun masculinity. Though the *matal* clearly demarcates private and public spheres associating former with women,

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[435] Tair, 1982, p.97
[436] Ibid., p.99
[437] Matal cited by a female respondent in Peshawar

feminine and weaklings; while later with men, masculine and strong, a manifestation of gendered consciousness; nonetheless, reproach to use of force inside home indicates that even traditional Pukhtunwali condemns domestic violence.

37. نر د غر سر وهي، نامرد خپل تبر وهي[438].

Nar da ghar sar wahee, namard khpal tabar wahee

Manly hits (climbs) hilltop, unmanly hits his wife.

This *matal* also states Pukhtun notion of masculinity. Climbing hilltop refers to achievements or accomplishment overcoming hurdles in the public sphere. A Pukhtun man is expected to flex his muscles against challenges and hurdles in the public sphere, not against his woman. The *matal* further strengthens the association of masculine with force and division between public and private spheres. It also implies that issues in the private sphere are trivial, while those in the public sphere are real. It is unmanly to get involved in trivial domestic issues.

38. سړي غرونه دي او ښځي يې ارمونه دي[439]. *Sarhi ghruna dee o khazi arhamuna dee*

Men are the mountains, women the support.

Mountain stands for grandeur and endurance. Men like mountains are believed to stand firm in face of hardships. They cannot be easily shaken by troubles, pressures and power, provided they are supported by women. The above *matal* indicates that the relationship between man and woman is not based on passive submission, rather cooperation. Though man stands primary and woman secondary; nonetheless, she has been alleviated from the status of an obedient servant.

39. ښځه د کور چراغ دہ[440].

khaza da kor chiragh da

Woman is the lamp of home.

The proverb reinforces division between public and private spheres, confining woman to the private sphere only. It eulogizes woman's role in the private sphere, comparing it to a lamp that reduces darkness and enables

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[438] Tair, 1982, p.169
[439] Ibid, p.294
[440] Bartlotti and Raj Wali Shah Khattak, 2006, p.299

vision. Woman alleviates darkness in the sense of troubles and confusions. She makes life easier for her family members. Manifesting gendered consciousness it restricts woman's realm of activities and grants her secondary and subordinate role.

40. سپينې پګړۍ سړيو ته ښځو په سر کړي دي[441].

Spine pagrhai sarho ta khazo pa sar karhi dee

White turbans are placed on men's head by women

White turbans amongst Pukhtun symbolize honour, dignity and authority. The proverb states that men owe their honour and dignity to women. Woman is above all the embodiment of man's honour; male relatives of allegedly loose women can't stand up in the society. They are looked down upon and given taunts. Man's standing in the community is, therefore, considered to be largely determined by female relatives, specifically wives.

41. هسې مۀ کوه انسانه، چې زوي ګران کړي، لور ارزانه[442].

Hasi ma kawa insana che zwe gran krhi lur arzana

O humankind, do not value son and devalue daughter.

In traditional Pukhtun setting male child is preferred and daughter is discriminated. The proverb disapproves gender discrimination prevalent in Pukhtun society. It also acknowledges that disparity between the sexes is not essential and natural, rather a social construct. Breaking shackles of traditional Pukhtunwali, it embraces universal human values of equity. It provides a rare instance of *gender consciousness* in Pukhto *matal*.

The above bird eye view of *matal* demonstrates that aggregate Pukhtun wisdom is predominantly androcentric. Moral code, values, gender norms, and customary practices depicted in *matal* demonstrate prevalence of gendered consciousness. Pukhto *matal* is replete with biases against women, reinforcing gender hierarchy. Woman is considered inferior, irrational, superstitious, crafty, cunning misleading and deceitful. These traits justify exercising man's control over her on the pretext of protection and dignity. Normative Pukhtun intra family gender relations are hierarchical: husband is the owner of wife commanding complete submission; father sustains family structure and brother protects sister. It is also evident that male child is preferred and female child is

[441] Ibid., p.291
[442] Tair, 1982, p 195

not welcomed. Proverbs also warn against women's role in decision making as it leads to loss and poverty. Woman's authority ridiculed and her income undermined. Moreover, gendered consciousness expressed in proverbs glorifies confinement of woman to the private sphere. Proverbs also give us insight that woman is treated like a commodity, as long as a man can pay, he will always find a wife. Moreover, a widow has limited and a divorcee has no prospect of remarriage. A widow is taunted and ridiculed if she desires to remarry. Power, chivalry, aggression, victory and command have been associated with male; while fear, defeat, submission and subordination with female. Norms of masculinity demand submission of the weaklings, specifically women to masculine power, nevertheless, use of force against women and weaklings is restrained. Though woman's complementary and supportive role in the family is highly appreciated, however, recognition of her individuality and autonomy is starkly missing in the proverbs.

3.3 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN SELECTED PUKHTO QISA, FOLK STORY

This section aims at tracing and assessing manifestation of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* by citing and analyzing selected Pukhto folk story, *qisa*. It charts and discusses Pukhtun notions of Masculine/feminine attributes, prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, manifestations of patriarchal authority, contestation between dominant and emerging alternative notions of gender roles and masculinity/femininity, impacting status of woman.

Pukhto folk story, *qisa*, addressing individual and collective problems, presents Pukhtun world view, history, social relations, gender norms, patriarchal customary practices and aspirations in a simple and lucid way. It provides both entertainment and pastime since time immemorial. In remote rural areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan, where access to modern sources of entertainment such as TV, radio and films is limited, folk story continue to be a popular primary pastime. Old men and women love to pass long winter nights narrating folk stories to grandchildren, thereby transmitting morals and values to future generations. In Afghanistan, special story nights are held at

hujra; people flock in to listen to stories from professional story tellers known as *nakalchee*; sumptuous food is prepared with chicken curry, dry fruits and green tea.[443] At home, women and children gather around senior most woman at night and request to narrate a story. During narration, they further spice the story up by singing songs, *tapa* and relating relevant *matal*. Pukhto folk stories have been mainly compiled and documented by men both in prose and poetry. These stories revolve around lovers and warriors, contain a moral and end up happily for heroic characters (mostly men) overcoming great hardships. Dynamics of relationship between man and woman in love and marriage; feminine beauty; punishment to treacherous disloyal wives; norms of masculinity/femininity and chivalry are some of the recurring themes of Pukhto folk stories. Folk story is an important source of communicating and inculcating socially appropriate masculine/feminine behavior and relationships. This section discusses some more representative stories that focus on gender norms and relations.

Qisa da Shahzada o Wazirzada, 'Story of a Prince and Son of the Minister', revolves around norms and values governing marital relationship and attributes of a good wife/woman. The story brings forth two women, an adulterous, treacherous, disloyal, ruthless wife of the prince and an obedient, caring, loyal, sacrificing wife of the minister's son. Prince's wife keeps a secret lover and murders the prince to be with her lover. Even her lover condemns her act, saying:

Na ناترسي بښځي داسي خو څوک نهٔ کړي
tarse khaze dase kho sok na krhee

Pa begunah khawand de [444] په بې ګناه خاوند دي وکړل دېر ظلمونه
okrhal der zulmuna

O ruthless woman, one does not act this way
Upon innocent husband, you inflicted cruelties

The lover abandons her saying, 'if she could deceive her husband, she may deceive him too.[445] On the other hand, loyal wife of the minister's son is prepared to lay down her life to uphold the honour of her husband.

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[443] Azmoon, L., (ed.), Ta Waya Kha: Olasi Naqluna (You Say Yes: Folk stories). Danish Publishers 2006, pp4-6
[444] Dilger, A., Qisa da Shahzada o Wazirzada (Story of a Prince and Son of the Minister). Norani Kutub Khana, Qisa Khwani Peshawar, p 17
[445] Ibid., pp11-14

She is eulogized:

پـــــــــه د اســـــــــي ښـــــــځې افـــــــــرين شـــــــــه

Pa dase khaze afreen sha

Che warsara چې ورسره وي د خاوند د عزت خيالونـــه[446]

wee da khawand da izzat khialona

Tribute to such a lady

Who is considerate to her husband's honour.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness defines woman/wife's being, deeds and virtue in relation to husband alone; disloyalty to the husband makes her a complete sinner and loser in this world and the hereafter. Her body is considered the site of man's honour and the primary virtue is to guard his honour. Medieval essentialist association of woman with body, sexuality and lust is clearly evident in Pukhtun thought.

Qisa Munawar Khan O Rokhana Jafadara, 'Story of Munawar Khan and Rokhana, the Disloyal', focuses on heroic deeds of a man and disloyalty of a woman. Munawar Khan, an orphan from upper Swat, fled his native village owing to rivalry with paternal cousins. However, he overcomes great hardships and succeeds in getting a job at the king's court in India and also in winning the hand of his daughter. As an accomplished man, he prepares to visit his native land along with his wife. On the way a Negro attacks him and succeeds in overpowering him.[447] After tying Munawar Khan to a tree, the Negro[448] spends some time in intimacy with his wife and then falls asleep placing his head on her lap. Meanwhile, Munawar Khan releases himself and kills the Negro. He resumes his journey along with his wife, but she cries bitterly, holding Negro's cap close to her heart. Upon realizing that his wife had lost heart to the Negro, Munawar abandons her saying:[449]

بـــــــي وفـــــــا ښـــــــځه ســـــــړے ارو‌ي پـــــــه ګنـــــــد

Bewafa khaza sarhe arhai pa gand

An unfaithful woman puts man into trouble

Pukhtun gendered consciousness reiterating biblical traditions associates

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[446] Ibid., p.51

[447] Wahab, A., Qisa Munawar Khan O Rokhana Jafadara (Story of Munawar Khan and Rokhana, the Disloyal). Mina Haji Abdul Khaliq Tajiran Kutub, Qissa Khwani Peshawar, pp 7-11

[448] It is evident that Pukhto qisa uses the term Negro derogatively and associated hyper sexuality with blackness.

[449] Ibid., pp.12-13

woman with body, lust and sin, while man with aggression, chivalry and conquest. Association of woman with lust justifies control over her that sustains and further reinforces hierarchical gender relations.

Gul Sanober stresses association of woman with lust, disloyalty and deceit too. It also eulogizes taking revenge and killing, essential masculine attributes. It depicts King Sanober, an extremely loving and caring husband; and his wife, Gul, a pretender, a very loving and loyal wife, but in fact a cheat. Leaving her husband asleep at night, she indulges in lustful activities with a group of Negros. One night Sanober chases her and finds out that she meets, dances and sits in the lap of men. Enraged, Sanober attacks Negroes and succeeds in killing all except one.[450] During a tough encounter, Gul assisted the remaining Negro in overpowering Sanober. The Negro was about to kill Sanober when his loyal pet dog attacked the Negro and rescued his master. After killing Negro, Sanober caged disloyal, treacherous Gul and made her eat left over of his loyal dog.[451] The story illustrates gendered consciousness: depicting woman as treacherous and disloyal; eulogizing man for killing and taking revenge; assigning a disloyal woman lower status than a dog and justifies maltreatment of women.

Dwa Wrona Wo, 'There were Two Brothers', partly similar to the above story offers alternative perspective of femininity.[452] The story begins with two prince brothers, having infidel wives. The two wives secretly kept Negro lovers, both were killed along with their lovers by the two prince brother. Demoralized, both brothers abandon the kingdom and left for jungle. In the jungle they met a man who had chained his wife. The man had a story similar to 'Gul Sanober'. He told the princes that he did not trust women, and never wanted to marry a woman, unless she grows up in front of him. He brought a baby girl, raised her with love and care. When she grew up, he married her and did not let her meet anyone. Still, she managed to find herself a young, healthy Negro as lover. Once the husband chased and found her beside lover; who was asleep. The husband, being old and weak, thought it a better chance to attack and defeat him during sleep. However, the wife awoke her lover and helped

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[450] Gujrate, A., Gul Sanober. Haji Mohammad Abdul Khaliq, Tajiran Kutub, Qissa Khwani Bazaar, Peshawar, pp50-51
[451] Ibid., p.44
[452] Azmoon, *Dwa Wrona Wo* (There were Two Brothers), 2006, pp59-87

him overpower the husband. The husband's pet dog arrived in time to rescue the master. Henceforth, he treated his wife worse than dog, kept her enchained and fed her left over of the dog. After listening to the man in the jungle, both the brothers got a firm determination to stay away from women, the infidel, lustful creature.

Wandering here and there, they reached a kingdom whose ruler had just passed away and the subjects looked for a new king. They offered the throne to one of the brothers; the prime minister also offered the newly selected king his elder daughter's hand. The king said that he will marry only on the condition that he will kill his wife the next dawn. Wazir's younger daughter had been very intelligent, she upon hearing about King's condition, immediately sensed the problem. She requested her father to wed her elder sister to the king, despite this fatal condition. On wedding night she accompanied her sister and started telling the king a very long story of a princess. The princess's father was leaving for pilgrimage along with his son; he left his daughter in the care of a Mulla, her religious teacher and his minister. In the absence of the king, the minister indulges himself in all sorts of vices including raping women. Mulla, on the other hand, made advances to the princess, which she courageously escaped. To avert reparation by the king, Mulla joined hands with the minister and conspired against the princess. Upon arrival, Mulla and minister informed the king that in his absence the princess had gone wayward and slept around with handsome men of the kingdom. Enraged, king ordered his son to kill his sister, the princess. The brother, instead of killing, leaves her in a jungle. There a prince of the neighbouring country meets, likes and marries her. After several years, she goes back to her father and succeeds in making her father believe that she has been innocent and pious. Father apologizes to the daughter and beheads Mulla and minister. It dawns before the story ends, and the king's condition of killing the wife by the dawn did not fulfill. The king leaves his wife alive and learns the moral that not all women are lustful and infidel, rather only one among 100 women is infidel.

Gender relations depicted in the story are hierarchical and patriarchal. Man, like a demigod, has complete authority over woman's life and death. He can commit honour killing, enchain woman and give daughter away in

marriage without her will. Man's right, to control woman's sexuality, inflicting violence upon her, in case of violation of his authority, has been taken for granted. However, the story attempts to improve perpetual degrading depiction of woman. Though it continues associating woman with lust and infidelity; nonetheless severs the necessary association of woman with lust and sexuality. It brings forth alternative models of intelligent and courageous women. In traditional Pukhtun setting, woman's inferior status has mainly been justified on the pretext of lust and infidelity as essential traits of her nature. This alternative perspective paves way for improvement in the status of women.

Woman's treachery, unfaithfulness and craftiness are recurrent themes in Pukhto folk stories, compiled and translated into English by F. H. Maylon, in 1911. 'The Story of the Gay Wife, Her Step Son, and a Labourer', depicts a promiscuous wife keeping several lovers. She plays tricks with her husband and stepson to meet her lovers, however, her stepson cleverly fails all her tricks.[453] 'A Modern Story of Tirah-and What Befell on the Way Thither', also depicts women as keeping secret lovers, untrustworthy and incapable of holding secrets.[454] 'The King's Tale and the Wazir's- A Fair Story', narrates the treachery of a queen, who is keeping a secret lover. She attempts to kill her husband to fulfill the demand of her lover. She is also shown to be an expert in witchcraft who turned her husband into a dog. However, the king succeeds in restoring himself to a human and turns his wife into a mule forever.[455] Stories like 'The King's Son-An Allegory', and 'The Story of Brother Nim Kuni', features strong desire for male issues.[456]

Some stories like 'The Story of the Three Brothers and the Ruby', positively portray women's intellectual abilities. In the story a king has two very intelligent daughters, who are famous for constructing and solving riddles.[457]The king refers complicated disputes to his daughters for settlement.

'Martyred Brothers', pays tribute to a widow who allows her three young sons to fight in the 2nd Anglo-Afghan War. Chivalry and honour of the young

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[453] Maylon, F., Pushtu Folk Stories. 1911, Reprint by National Institute of Folk Heritage, Islamabad 1980, pp2-5
[454] Ibid., pp. 20-25
[455] Ibid., pp14-16
[456] Ibid., pp26-28; pp37-40
[457] Ibid., pp6-14

men consist in fighting bravely and to be martyred for the freedom of their fatherland. Chivalry, honour and Pukhto of the woman, the mother, consists in sending sons to the battlefield and dispassionate patient, acceptance of death, the martyrdom, of sons.[458] For this, she is termed as *Nangialai Ade*, chivalrous mother.[459] Most of these stories present a degrading view of woman and affix intelligence and bravery only in case she submits, upholds, and reinforces patriarchal norms.

Shahzada Gulshan O Bibi Haroon, 'Prince Gulshan and Lady Haroon', revolves around heroic deeds of a prince and sets masculine norms. The prince demonstrates bravery and intelligence and in reward wins beautiful women.[460] The story exhibits essentialist gendered consciousness: inculcates chivalry, a masculine, and beauty, a feminine essential trait; it characterizes man as an active, aggressive subject while woman a passive, submissive object of beauty and pleasure.

Qisa da Zareef Khan Swati, 'Story of Zareef Khan Swati', focuses heroic deeds of Zarif Khan and offers a vivid instance of androcentric gendered consciousness.[461] It identifies intelligence, chivalry and ability to take revenge as essential masculine attributes. Young Zarif Khan, son of a landlord from Chakdara, flees native village for India, to escape cruelties of paternal cousins following the death of his father. They sell his sister into a mismatch marriage and younger brother into bondage. In India, Zareef succeeds in getting a job at the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Following hard work, he acquires a high court position and returns to his village accompanied by a group of armed men. He prevents forced marriage of his fiancée to paternal cousin, liberates brother of bondage, finds brother-in- law a decent job and punishes relatives for wrong doings.

Sher Alam Mamonai discusses love, jealousy between co-wives, honour killing, sacrifice for the sake of husband, manifesting gendered consciousness. Mamonai is the second and beloved wife of Sher Alam.[462] His first wife is

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[458] Mangal, 2005, pp34-65
[459] Ibid., p.57
[460] Swati, G., Shahzada Gulshan O Bibi Haroon. Abdul Hameed o Mohammad Saeed Tajiran Kutub. Mingora 1955, pp84-111
[461] Nokhari, N., Qisa da Zarif Khan Swati (Story of Zarif Khan Swati). Haji Abdul Hakeem O Abdul Ghafoor, Tajiran Kutub, Qisa Khwani Peshawar, pp12-21
[462] Jamal, Sher Alam Mamonai. Haji Faqir Mohammad & Sons, Norani Kutub Khana, Qissa

extremely jealous of Mamonai, her situation is depicted in the following verse:

Da khaze د بڅي مرګ ته حاجت نشته

marg ta hajat nishta

Bala pre okrha بله پري وکړه دا يې مرګ دے مړه به شينه[463]

da ye marg de mrha ba sheena

No need to kill a woman

Marry another one, death for her, she 'll die

The first wife, to get rid of Mamonai, accuses her of having illicit relationship with a man. Knowing, in case a woman is charged of infidelity, no matter whether the allegation is true or false; the only way to restore honour is to kill her. Mamonai, an ideal Pukhtun wife, has been aware of the tyranny of Pukhtun patriarchal tradition that in case husband does not kill the accused wife, he shall face humiliation and taunts. Therefore, she willingly embraces death to restore honour of her beloved husband.

She says:

هغه ژوند مې په دوزخ شه

Hagha jwandun me pa dozakh sha

Che ba me yar ta krhe چې به مې يار ته کړي همځولي پېغورونه[464]

hamzolee peghorona

May that life of mine be in hell

when my beloved's contemporaries hurl taunts at him

She tells her husband:

د سر او مال اختيار مې ستا دے

Da sar o maal ikhtiar me sta de

Che sa de khwakha چې څۀ دي خوښه وي په سر سترګو يې منمه

wee pa sar stargo ye manama

You possess authority over my life and property

Thy wish, I happily concede

نوم دي زما په سر کښې سپک شو

Num de zama pa sar ke spak sho

Beirta ba drun she ka de بېرته به درونه شي کۀ دي زۀ حلاله کړمه[465]

za halala krhama

I have brought you a bad name

Your honour will be restored, if you slaughter me

Khwani Bazar, Peshawar, pp 6-10

[463] Ibid., p. 20

[464] Jamal, *Sher Alam Mamonai*, p27

[465] Ibid., p36

Though Sher Alam is aware of Mamonai's innocence but has no option except killing her.

يـــــو خـــــوا تـــــهٔ بـــــل خـــــوا غيـــــرت دے
Yaw khwa ta bal khwa ghairat de
تـــــا چـــــې پـــرېږدمـــــه نـــنـــــګ غيـــــرت مـــــې
Ta che pregdama nang ghairat me
دوا ډه ځينـــــه[466]
dwanra zeena

You at one hand, honour at the other

Letting you alive, I lose both honour and chivalry.

A Pukhtun hero can single handedly eliminate huge armies but cannot bear a single taunt. He lacks courage to defy oppressive social norms, despite being at times aware of the injustices these norms perpetrate.

Sher Alam Mamonai is a daring instance of Pukhtun gendered consciousness. It eulogizes Mamonai for happily sacrificing her life to uphold the honour of her husband, inculcating a notion of femininity that serves the interests of men. Masculinity consists in strengthening and upholding patriarchal, oppressive, norms such as honour killing. Woman's life is secondary to man's honour. She lives to uphold the honour of her male relatives.

Aslam-Nekbakhta, a love story located in Jamrud,[467] during Mughal period, focuses on Pukhtun honour. However, notion of Pukhtun honour manifests androcentric gendered consciousness. Pukhtun honour (read male honour) resides in woman's body and fatherland. It is considered obligatory for both Pukhtun men and women to uphold Pukhtun honour at all costs. Pukhtun man's foremost duty is to fight for honour, in case he does not, he receives taunts to wear bangles like girls and stay home. When Mughal attacked Pukhtun land; Aslam, therefore, fought in arms to defend honour of fatherland.[468]

Aslam's beloved Nekbakhta committed suicide resisting attempted rape by Mughal soldiers. She laid her life to prevent disgrace of Pukhtun by Mughals. Her sacrifice is lauded since not only she protected her own honour

[466] Ibid., p33
[467] Jamrud is currently in Khyber Agency, FATA,
[468] Mangal, 2005, pp 24-31

but also her lover's and of Pukhtun.[469] Symbolizing woman as the site of Pukhtun honour reinforces patriarchy. It designates man as the guardian of honour, legitimizing regulation of woman, her exclusion from public sphere, restrictions on mobility, right to education and work, in the name of protecting honour.

Fateh Khan Barhech, lauds masculine chivalry and aggression, a manifestation of androcentric gendered consciousness. Fateh Khan, prince of Qalabist, a kingdom near Kandahar, is one of the highly acclaimed Pukhtun heroes. He arrived in India, along with only 59 friends, captured the forte of Gawarian and also looted kings' treasure. The Mughal ruler immediately sent a contingent of his men, who laid siege to the forte. However, the Afghans fought Mughal soldiers bravely; on the verge of defeat, Mughals invited Afghans for peace talks. However, they cheated Afghans and seized them unguarded. Still, Fateh Khan and his men were able to release themselves, continued fighting and killed Mughals. Meanwhile, Mughal army received reinforcement of a huge battalion, Fateh Khan Barhech and his handful of soldiers preferred to fight, in the face of a much powerful enemy, than surrender.[470]

Mard O Namard, 'Manly and Unmanly', is the story of two men symbolizing two gendered principles, traits and polarities. *Mard*, manly, is depicted as brave, intelligent, hardworking, honest, a man of character and principles; while *Namard,* unmanly is coward, stupid, incompetent and a cheat. *Mard*, working intelligently and bravely succeeds in marrying princess and also finds out a lost treasure. *Namard*, on the other hand, becomes first a thief, then a labourer at *Mard*'s palace and eventually gets killed and eaten up by wild animals.[471]The story is a manifestation of gendered consciousness. It associates masculinity with good traits such as; bravery, intelligence, hard work and honesty; while the lack of masculinity is associated with deplorable traits such as; cowardice, stupidity, incompetence and deceit. Exhibiting masculinity brings glory; while unmanliness brings poverty, disgrace and destruction.

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[469] Ibid., pp30-31
[470] Noori, 'Fateh Khan Barhech' In: Milli Hindara. pp5-27
[471] Noori, 'Mard O Namard, Manly and Unmanly'. In: Milli Hindara. pp38-43

Momin Khan Sheereno deplores honour killing of a lover and brings forth oppressive use of bride price to prevent love marriage.[472] The story also lauds Momin Khan's great feats of chivalry to rescue women, thus exhibiting traces of androcentrism. Momin Khan and Sheereno are paternal cousins. Their fathers, the two brothers, agreed to marry their offspring prior to even their birth. Following the death of the two brothers, Momin Khan developed property disputes with cousins, Sheereno's brothers. Momin Khan later found out about his engagement to Sheereno and went to see her. Both fell in love at first sight. Momin Khan asked for Sheereno's hand, but her brothers demanded a high bride price.

To pay for the bride price, Momin Khan had to go to India to earn more. In a kingdom of India, daily a woman was sent to feed a python. In case of failure in providing food to the python, it attacked the city, ate up men and destroyed property.[473] To protect men and the city, women were sacrificed. The hero, Momin Khan, fought gallantly, killed the python and rescued women.[474] The king offered him half of his kingdom and his daughter's hand. Meanwhile, Momin Khan received the news that his fiancé Sheereno will soon be wed to someone. Marriage to someone else of Momin Khan's fiancé has been a disgrace for him; hence, he left for his village in hurry and reached at night. He entered Sheereno's house to check whether she was home or gone off to her husband's house. When he reached her, Sheereno woke up; upon seeing a man near her, she shouted. Her brothers rushed and stabbed the intruder to death. They regretted to discover later that the slain had been Momin Khan, Sheereno's cousin. Everyone in the village mourned his murder and Sheereno declared him a martyr, since he laid his life for the sake of love.[475]

The story provides insight into prevalent oppressive patriarchal practices amongst Pukhtun. It informs us that woman's fate has always been decided by men. Her father/brother can promise her hand in marriage to someone, even before her birth and bar her from marrying the man of her choice in adulthood. Men are the decision makers and doers while women passive and submissive.

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[472] Noori, 'Momin Khan Sheereno'. In: Milli Hindara. pp.114-132
[473] Ibid., pp.99-100
[474] Ibid., p101
[475] Ibid., p.130

Men wage feuds/rivalries and women suffer. To settle score with Momin Khan of property dispute, Sheereno's brothers prevent her from being with the man she loved, her fiancee. In an oppressive traditional setting, it sympathetically brings forth sufferings of young men and women caused by oppressive patriarchal practices.

Talib Jan Gul ya Mulla Abbas O Gul Bashra, 'Talib Jan Gul or Mulla Abbas and Gul Bashra', is a love story of Gul Bashra, the only daughter of the ruler, and Abbas, the son of a rich businessman.[476] Both receive religious instructions in the same mosque and are in love since childhood. When Gul Bashra grows up, she is forbidden to go to the mosque; while Abbas continues studies. Following the death of his father, Abbas's mother wants him to quit studies and take charge of father's business. However, Abbas, a committed student, foregoes his share in business in favour of his brothers and continues studying. He abodes at a *hujra* in the mosque and people call him Talib Jan. Gul Bashra and Talib Jan continue meeting secretly and she daily sends him sumptuous food through her maid. After sometime the maid creates misunderstanding between the two lovers and Talib Jan breaks contact with his beloved. Deeply gloomy Gul Bashra falls severely ill, her father inquires her mother about the source of her grief. The mother is initially afraid and does not tell him about her falling in love. He, however, eventually finds out and is prepared to do anything for the life and happiness of his daughter.[477] He finds Talib Jan and requests him to marry his daughter, who happily accepts the proposal and Gul Bashra recovers quickly. On the eve of wedding night Gul Bashra and Talib Jan compose and compete in verses. At a certain point Talib Jan could not compose further and became speechless. He felt ashamed of losing poetry competition and of being less educated than Gul Bashra, a woman. He, therefore, decides to leave to complete his studies immediately. Gul Bashra urges him to stay; but of no avail. Away, his heart ached for her; hence, he decided to return. On the way back, he fell sick and died.

The story provides insight into intricacies of Pukhtun gender relations and consciousness. On one hand, Gul Bashra is not allowed to continue studies by her father, owing to Pukhtun norms; on the other, he arranges his daughter's

[476] Noori, 'Talib Jan Gul ya Mulla Abbas O Gul Bashra'. In: Milli Hindara. pp154-184
[477] Ibid., p167

wedding with a man of her choice. He did not invoke Pukhtun patriarchal norms of denying consent marriage and use violence. Thus contravenes Pukhtun gendered consciousness. Gul Bashra, unlike expected dominant perception about Pukhtun girl being passive and submissive, has rather been active, assertive and intelligent. She dares to love, arrange secret meetings with lover, sends food and is able to marry him too. While Abbas, though literate man and in love, follows expected masculine role, suffers from masculine pride and ego and could not stand lagging behind a woman, Gul Bashra, in reasoning and contest. The story can be cited as an instance of paradoxical Pukhtun gender consciousness. It does not revolve around man and masculinity alone; Gul Bashra, an equally important female character excels Taliba Jan, the male. Moreover, it does not necessarily associates masculinity with violence and aggression; and femininity with passive submission. Rather, it underscores adverse effects of masculine pride, grounded in a notion of inherent intellectual superiority of men over women, on human relationships and points out towards the potential of egalitarian gender relations in tribal, agrarian setting.

Qisa Da Adam Khan O Durkhanai, 'Story of Adam Khan and Durkhanai', is one of the most popular Pukhto love stories. [478] Both, Adam Khan and Durkhanai, belonged to influential feudal families of Swat. According to some sources they lived during the era of Mughal Emperor Akbar.[479] Durkhanai, an extremely beautiful girl, has been very enthusiastic about learning and her father hired a Mullah to impart instructions to her at home. She observed veil strictly and hardly stepped out of her house, however, word about her beauty, learning and chastity spread everywhere. She was engaged to a boy named Payawee. During a visit to her aunt's village to attend her cousin's wedding, men tried to have a glimpse of Durkhanai. Adam Khan, a very handsome man, poet and musician, also attended the wedding. He played rabab (traditional Pukhtun music instrument), sang, and mesmerized the audience especially women, who also heard him in a house adjacent to *hujra*. Durkhanai peeked over the wall to see him and Adam Khan also had a

[478] Ahmad, Qisa Da Adam Khan O da Durkhanai (Story of Adam Khan and Durkhanai). Khalid Kutub Khana, Peshawar, 1991, First Published 1872, Government Printing Press, Lahore, pp. 1-63
[479] Ibid., p5

chance to have a glimpse of her. Both fell in love at first sight. They exchanged love messages, gifts and even met secretly at Durkhanai's house, once at night. Adam Khan's love for Durkhanai could not remain hidden. Payawee's cousin taunted him that Adam Khan is in love with his fiancé. In reaction Payawee chased Adam Khan and shot him with an arrow, but he survived.

Payawee hurriedly arranged his marriage to Durkhanai. To prevent consummation of her marriage, Durkhanai fabricated a dream and asked her husband to wait for seven days. Meanwhile, she apprised Adam Khan of the situation. Adam Khan sought support of his father, he provided him cash and a hundred men. The father also ensured support of Mir Bami, an influential man who provided another three hundred men. Accompanied by four hundred men, Adam Khan left for Durkhanai's abode. Payawee was at that time out for hunting. Durkhanai had already received Adam Khan's message and waited in the doorway. Adam Khan took Durkhanai to Mir Bami's house. However, Mir Bami deceived Adam Khan and returned Durkhanai to her husband. Adam Khan went after Payawee and in the ensuing encounter some 40-50 men were killed from both sides. Payawee succeeded in taking Durkhanai to his home. Aggrieved Adam Khan fell ill and died, Durkhanai heard about his death and died instantly. Following her death, Payawee regretted that he caused separation between true lovers. There is a myth that bodies of Adam Khan and Durkhanai were found together in the same grave.

The story is in conflict with Pukhtun gendered consciousness in several ways and manifests traces of *gender consciousness*. Durkhanai's father fulfilling his daughter's desire to get education, negates Pukhtun gendered consciousness that denies woman the right to education and ascribes her low intellectual capacity that renders her incapable of education. Similarly, Payawee and Durkhanai's father do not commit honour killing in a traditional Pukhtun setting where killing of such a woman on any real or imagined violation of honour code is not only justified, rather lauded. Payawee also respects Durkhanai's will and refrains from imposing consummation of marriage. Durkhanai, though initially observed strict veiling, dares to love, violating Pukhtun patriarchal norms that strictly regulate woman's desires, emotions and actions. She defies expected norms of Pukhtun femininity,

exercising agency, chooses a man, secretly meets him and even elopes. She also resists consummation of unwanted marriage. Contrary to Pukhtun gendered consciousness, Durkhanai is not portrayed as infidel or lustful woman. Right to female education, love, consent marriage in face of arranged marriage, is acknowledged.

Folk story, *Yusuf Khan Sher Bano*,[480] focuses on love and revenge. The two lived in Swabi, during the reign of Mughal Emperor, Akbar. Yusuf Khan, an orphan, the only son of a widow, had been pampered much by mother and his sole sister. Fond of hunting, he possessed two dogs to assist him in hunting. He had to cross Sher Bano's house to reach hunting grounds almost daily. She fell in love at first sight when she saw Yusuf Khan, who crossed her street while she was peeking over the wall of her house. She befriended Yusuf's sister and sent him love message through her. Though the sister had been reluctant initially, since it had been against Pukhtun traditions and disgraceful to discuss such forbidden issue with brother, however, Sher Bano was able to persuade her. Yusuf Khan thrashed his sister for daring to pass him on the love message of a woman.[481]

Yusuf Khan's paternal cousins, to capture his property, planned to kill him during their hunting expedition. Yusuf Khan shot a wild goat which fell down a ravine. His cousins tied a rope around him, requested him to descend to the ravine and fetch the wounded goat. When Yusuf Khan was half way down the ravine, they cut the rope. He had a fall, however, was netted in a tree and saved luckily. Yusuf Khan was eventually saved by his mother, sister, Sher Bano and his dogs. While the three women were pulling him out of ravine, Sher Bano held him in her lap and embraced Yusuf. Passersby rushed, informed and taunted at her father that Sher Bano had found a lover in the hunting grounds. Father was furious at his daughter but Yusuf Khan's mother calmed him down and asked for Sher Bano's hand in marriage to Yusuf Khan. They were instantly engaged and both families began to prepare for wedding. However, Yusuf Khan had not been much concerned about his wedding; rather remained obsessed of taking revenge. He felt powerless, as he was alone and had numerous cousins as rivals. Since could not take revenge, he quietly

[480] Joshi, A., Yusuf Khan Sher Bano. Zeb Art Publishers, Peshawar, pp64
[481] Ibid., pp9-10

abandoned his village and left for India.[482]

On the way, he stopped at a village near Delhi, at night. Dacoits attacked that village, Yusuf Khan gallantly fought and killed all the dacoits. Next day, headman of the village took him to the Emperor Akbar, and praised his bravery who appointed him commander of a battalion. His quick promotions owing to his bravery and hard work could not reduce his gloom. Akbar, fond of Yusuf Khan, upon finding out the reason of Yusuf Khan's despair, granted him leave along with a contingent of men, enabling him meet his family, take revenge, and marry his beloved.

Back in the village, Yusuf Khan's cousins had expelled his mother and sister from home and property. While, Sher Bano's step mother have been conspiring to wed Sher Bano to her cousin. Both, Sher Bano's father and step mother forced her to forget Yusuf Khan and accept her step mother's cousin as husband. Sher Bano persuaded her father to permit her to wait one more year for Yusuf Khan. The year passed and Yusuf Khan did not appear. Hence, Sher Bano's parents arranged her wedding. Yusuf Khan arrived on the day of Sher Bano's wedding, stopping her wedding to someone else, married her. His cousins apologized and asked for forgiveness. He forgave them and Sher Bano and Yusuf Khan lived happily.[483]

The story of Sher Bano and Yusuf Khan offers a transition from androcentrism. It does not revolve around a male character and masculinity, rather brings forth female agency and resistance in face of patriarchal norms. Sher Bano deviates from dominant Pukhtun norms of femininity. She is not passive and submissive, asserts her agency, takes initiative in love, resists her marriage to someone other than her beloved and manages to wait one year for her fiancé against her parent's will. Unlike other stories, where men protect women, this story depicts women protecting man. Yusuf Khan, a traditional man, thrashes his sister for passing on love message of Sher Bano. He is more obsessed of revenge than love. Moreover, the story does not glorify revenge taking, rather highlights adverse impact of his inability to take revenge culminating in abandonment of his family and beloved.

The above bird eye view of Pukhto folk stories, demonstrate prevalence

[482] Ibid., pp16-17
[483] Ibid., pp24-51

of androcentric gendered consciousness. Masculine norms, honour and chivalry have mostly been the primary theme of *qisa*. Woman and femininity is derivative, constructed in hierarchical, binary opposition to man and masculinity. Woman mostly appears in relation to man, i.e., as wife, beloved, daughter and sister. Man has been predominantly depicted as warrior, protector of women and the fatherland. Essential masculine attributes ascribed to a Pukhtun man include: courage, bravery, intelligence, ability to overcome hardships, take revenge and protect women. He also guards patriarchal honour code and does not shy away from killing his loved ones to sustain the code. Moreover, masculinity predominantly appears as the norm, the archetype and non-masculine including femininity deviant and inferior. Preference for male child is also evident in the stories.

Pukhto folk stories abound with gendered metaphors, words, phrases expressing relations of hierarchy, power, domination either in terms of male/masculine or female/feminine. Human traits have also been given gendered connotation: *Mard*, manly, means brave, intelligent, hardworking and honest; while *Namard,* unmanly, is coward, stupid, incompetent and a cheat. Pukhtun gendered consciousness expressed in *qisa* also sustains Medieval essentialist association of woman with body, sexuality, lust and temptation.

Woman is considered possession of men, her killing or any other severe punishment is justified and legitimized, thus paving way for honour related crimes. Pukhto folk stories present three types of women: A bad woman is irrational, treacherous, crafty, incapable of keeping secrets and easy to tempt. She cheats her husband and deserves extreme punishment and humiliation for such deeds. A good woman remains chaste, guards honour of husband and willingly lays down life to safeguard husband's honour. She is brave and may step out of traditional role and boundaries in aid to or to replace men in the hour of need. She is considered intelligent when she allies with men in upholding masculine norms and patriarchal practices. Third type of woman transgresses Pukhtun patriarchal practices, asserts and exercises her agency. Still, she is not depicted in a degrading way. Rather, her emotions and acts to achieve her love and right to live as she wills are at times sympathetically acknowledged. The portrayal of bad and good women, manifests gendered

consciousness; the bad woman justifies patriarchal authority and denial of agency to woman. While good woman subscribing to the dominant notions of Pukhtun femininity upholds, sustains and reinforces patriarchal gender relations. While third type of woman offers alternative notions of femininity, asserts woman's agency and resists patriarchal authority, paving way for transforming gendered consciousness into *gender consciousness* and gender equality.

3.4 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN SELECTED PUKHTO *TAPA*

This section aims at tracing and assessing manifestations of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* by citing and analyzing selected Pukhto *tapa*. It delineates Pukhtun notions of masculine/feminine attributes, prevailing gender relations and patriarchal practices impacting status of Pukhtun woman. It brings to fore recognition of women's autonomy and human rights, concern over oppressive patriarchal, tribal, Pukhtun practices and urge for gender equality, expressed in tapa.

Tapa, a genre of Pukhto folk poetry, is a short song or verse comprising two lines. The first line is half and the second is full. *Tapa*, also known as *landai* and *nemakai,* contains 22 (9+13) syllables.[484] Throughout ages *tapa* has been the most popular genre of Pukhto folklore. It presents a comprehensive picture of Pukhtun life including: androcentric worldview, patriarchal practices and masculine code of honour. It also voices concern over gender based discriminations and hierarchies. Themes are as varied as; war, victories, nature, beloved, praise of chivalry of the male beloved, love of the homeland, laments of separation from the beloved, poverty, nostalgia, miseries of life in displacement. It is believed that men and women began composing *tapa* to pass long travel time, to far flung places, such as, mountains, forests, grazing grounds, water sources and battlegrounds; and during long, monotonous chores, such as thrashing and grinding grains.[485] It depicts emotions and events, in history, with variations through ages and is not a specialized genre

[484] Tair, N., *Tapa au Jwand* (Tapa and Life). Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1980
[485] Shaheen, Rohe Sandare,1984, p25

of poetry, to be composed by poets alone. Rather, common men and women compose it according to their life situations anonymously. *Tapa* possesses tremendous potential of creativity; can be maneuvered according to myriad situations and allows articulation of forbidden desires and emotions. Since *tapa* provides insight into existence, history, aspirations, interests, ideals and actions of Pukhtun, it is, therefore, a very important source material to know and assess gender roles, relations and consciousness amongst Pukhtun throughout the ages.

Though, both men and women compose and sing *tapa*, for above cited reasons, it has been favoured more, by women. Themes of *tapa* also reveal that it has been mostly composed by women and may be dubbed as a feminine genre. A large body of *tapa* indicates *gender consciousness* (women's opposition to patriarchal, tribal, Pukhtun practices and yearning for transformation including recognition of autonomy and fundamental human rights) or lack of it (eulogizing and aspiring for masculine traits). Some more representative *tapa* have been selected, translated and discussed below:

1. صورت زما واک یي د نورو

Surat zama wak yi da noro

ربه! تۀ واخلي دا بي واکه صورتونه[486]

Raba ta wakhli da bi waka suratona

Body is mine, regulated by others

O God! Take back these subjugated bodies

This *tapa* demonstrates that Pukhtun woman is conscious of gender based oppression and exploitation, resents subjugation, denial of right to liberty, lack of self-determination and authority over her own body. Intense feeling of bondage makes her prefer death over such a subjugated and regulated life.

2. چي دودی خورم دادا قارېږي

Chi dodai khoram dada qareegi

چي روپۍ شرنګ کړي، دادا شین د

Chi rupai shrang krhi dada sheen da

خندا شي نه[487]

khanda shi na

Upon eating loaf of bread, father is furious!

When money jingles, father turns green with laughter [delighted]

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[486] Shaheen, Tor Sare, 2005, p4

[487] Ibid.,

The above *tapa* articulates irony of the relationship of a Pukhtun patriarch and his subject, the daughter. He assigns her the status of a commodity, not of a human being. Father does not like to spend even on her subsistence (eating); however, is extremely delighted upon receipt of bride price, *volvor*. The tapa voices resentment of women over gender disparity in distribution of resources, even food.

3. په خواری خوار شي خپله پلاره!
khwarai khwar she khpala plara

pa zalimano sok په ظالمانو څوک خرګی نۀ خرڅوینه[488]
khargai na kharsaweena

May you suffer from poverty, Oh my father!

To cruel people, one does not sell even female donkey

Resonance of protest over commodification of her being is evident here too, Pukhtun women do not hesitate to condemn even father in case of disregard of welfare of female child.

4. د پښتنو پښتو ته ګوره
Da pukhtano pukhto ta gora

che lur o چې لور او خور لکه څاروي بیعه کوینه[489]
khor laka sarve baya kaveena

Look at the customs of Pukhtun

Bargain away daughter and sister, like chattel.

Here Pukhtun woman deplores masculine notions, customs and traditions of Pukhtun that sanctions sale of their sister and daughter like chattel. She ridicules masculine notion of honour. The honour of Pukhtun men consists in regulating sexuality of their daughters and sisters. They can even kill their female relatives for any real or suspected violation of boundaries set by men for women. However, they are not ashamed in selling and buying sisters/daughters.

5. هندوستانے شه روپی راوړه
Hindustane sha rupai rawrha

pa korano په کورنو روپو مې پلار نۀ درکوینه[490]
rupo me plar na dar kaveena

Go to India, bring rupees,

Father won't exchange me for local currency

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[488] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Khyber Agency of FATA
[489] Tair, Tapa au Jwand, p260
[490] Ziaran, S., and Momin Patwal, Pukhto Landai (Pukhto Short Song). Mossissa Nashriat Ariana. Peshawar, p476

In this tapa a girl urges her beloved to go abroad to earn more money to match formidable amount of bride price, to be paid to her father. Foreign currency not only values more than local currency but certainly worth more than her too. It possesses power to decide her destiny in favour of her beloved.

6. اخـــــر بـــــه مـــــا پـــــه لالا مـــــره کـــــړي
Akhir ba ma pa lala mrha krhee

Che de rebar pa wraz [491] چې دې ربـبـار پـه ورځ کښې دوه ځله راځينه
ke dwa zala razeena

Finally you will get me killed by elder brother

Since your messenger keeps on coming twice a day

Morey 7. مـوري کـۀ سـتـا کـارونـه نـۀ وي
ka sta karuna na we

tar gul khaista wom ma [492] تـر ګـل ښـائـسـتـه وم، مـا بـه هم ګـل خـوښـوونـه
ba hum gul khwakhona

O mother! Had not it been your deeds

Prettier than flower, I had been, would have chosen a flower for me too

8. د ظـالـم دې ظـلـم تـه ګـوره
Da zalim de zulam ta gora

yo mi wahi, bal [493] يـو مـې وهـې، بـل مـې ژړا تـه نـۀ پـريـږدېـنـه
mi jarha ta na pregdeena

Look at this cruelty of the cruel

First hits me, secondly, doesn't allow me to weep

Pukhtun women discern, enumerate and condemn acts of gender based violence such as; honour killings, forced marriages and domestic violence. Insecurity to life of a woman increases, in case she dares to fall in love. She resents patriarchal practices that permit forced marriage with a mismatch. She bemoans perpetration of physical violence contravening obligations of traditional (masculine) Pukhtunwali to bear male oppression in silence. However, *tapa* reveals that women not only discern, condemn and resist patriarchal oppressive practices but also yearn for reforms, thus exhibit higher level of *gender consciousness*.

9. جـانـــــان مـــــې يـــــو تـبـــــر يـــــې ګـــــن دے
Janan me yaw tabar ye ganrh de

za da de yaw la زۀ د دې يـو لـه مـخـه تـول تـبـر پـالـمـه
makha tol tabar palama

Beloved is one, his family is large

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[491] Ibid., p3
[492] Shaheen, Tor Sare, p4
[493] Ibid., p4

For this one's sake, I serve the entire family

Reflecting hardships of a daughter-in-law in an extended family, this *tapa,* informs us about division of labour in the family. Age and sex are primary determinants of one's role and status in a Pukhtun family. Younger woman, specifically daughter-in-law, is overburdened with household chores and expected to serve entire family. Oft repeated reason of boy's mother to marry and get a bride for her son is her own inability to work due to ailment and old age, hence, seeking assistance in fulfilling household chores. It is evident that essential role of a woman is confined to the household, i.e., to provide care and services to the family. Her labour is considered unproductive, hence, unpaid.

10. زما بي بي دادا ته وايه
Zama bebe, dada ta waya

khushala خوشحاله نۀ يم د ناکامه ناسته يمه[494]
na yam da nakama nasta yama

O my mother, tell father

I am not happy but stay there in compulsion

In traditional Pukhtun setting marriage is mostly arranged by father and considered an unbreakable and inviolable bond, despite provision of divorce (*talaq*, *khula*) in Islam. A Pukhtun woman is instructed since childhood that there is no way out even of unhappy marriage and expected to bear hardships and miseries of forced marital life in silence. Breaking silence, she dares to want her father know that she is compelled to live an unhappy marital life due to his decision. This represents recognition and resentment of Pukhtun woman against patriarchal practices i.e., *gender consciousness*, in a very traditional society.

11. *Pa* په هندوستان خوشحاله گرځه
Hindustan khushala garza

tarla ترله دي خپله په نامه دي ناسته يمه[495]
de khpala pa nama de nasta yama

Wander happily all over India

I, your own paternal cousin, continue waiting [engaged] in your name

In tribal and rural settings, male paternal cousin claims a birthright to marry his female cousin. Girls are often engaged to paternal cousins since

[494] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Peshawar
[495] Ziaran, Pukhto Landai, p46

childhood, at the moment of birth and even, at times, before birth. Boy may later have to go to big cities and other countries for employment and education. The fiancé has to wait, for years, at times, decades or entire lives, for his return to wed. She is considered his possession, even if he may not return to claim his right over her. Engagement amongst Pukhtun is considered as unbreakable a bond as marriage. Breaking engagement brings a bad name to the girl and her family, considered a disgrace and unworthy of being a Pukhtun. Finding and entertaining another proposal of marriage also invites taunts, feuds and troubles to the girl and her family. Bringing this oppressive patriarchal practice to limelight manifests *gender consciousness* in tribal and rural settings.

12. دادا په خپل کور کښې زړه کړم
Dada pa khpal kor ke zarha krham

da peghaltob bagh د پېغلتوب باغ مې خزان لوټ کړو مئینه[496]
me khazan lut krho mayana

Father made me reach old age at his home

the garden of my youth has been plundered by autumn, o my love

13. جانانه! دېر کونتون مې وکړو
Janana der kuntun me wokrho

nor da نور د کونتون طاقت زهٔ نهٔ لرم مئینه[497]
kuntun taqat za na laram mayana

O beloved! long widowhood I have suffered

to endure further widowhood, I find no strength, O beloved

14. خاونده! بیا دې ماسخوتن کړو
khawanda bya de maskhutan krho

bya me pa khwa ke بیا مې په خوا کښې موزیږے کوي خوبونه[498]
mozeegay kavee khobuna

O Lord, night is falling again,

Again the ugly sleeps by me

15. پلاره! په غبرګو سترګو روند شې
Plara pa ghbargo stargo rhund she

za shal زهٔ شل کلنه، سل کلن مې ودوینه[499]
kalana sal kalan me wadaveena

O father, may you be blinded by both eyes

I, aged twenty, a hundred years old weds me

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[496] Khan and Samina, 'Regulation, Oppression and Expression of Pukhtun Women: In 'Tapa' and Narratives', 2010, p18

[497] Shaheen, Rohe Sandare, 1984, p293

[498] Tair, Tapa au Jwand, 1980, p.260

[499] Ghalji, M., Nananai Landai (Contemporary Landai). Self-Published, Peshawar 2002, p.dal

Women, in *tapa,* dare to articulate and express forbidden issues considered taboo amongst Pukhtun. Masculine Pukhtunwali not only regulates woman's body but also her emotions and desires. These four *tapa* demonstrate that Pukhtun woman protests denial of fundamental human rights including sexual and bodily rights to her. She laments regulation, suppression and loss of desires and emotions caused by patriarchal authority. She bemoans separation from beloved/spouse, and living with an undesirable spouse, not matching her in beauty and age. Assertion of sexual and bodily rights in these tapa demonstrates *gender consciousness.*

16. په سفر څه، مۀ خفه کيږه

Pa safar za ma khafa kega

za pukhtana ba [500] زۀ پښتنه به ستا په پت کښې ناسته يمه

sta pa pat ke nasta yama

Go ahead on your journey, don't sadden

I, a Pukhtun woman, will sit [wait in chaste] in your honour

17. په سپين ميدان به ورسره يم

Pa speen medan ba warsara yam

za [501] زۀ پښتنه له تورو نۀ تښتم مئينه

pukhtana la turo na takhtam mayana

In the open field, I will stand by him*

I, Pukhtun woman, don't flee of swords, O beloved

Masculine notion of Pukhtunwali considers love a punishable crime. But a Pukhtun woman considers standing by her beloved in the face of all dangers, a commitment, demonstration of her Pukhunwali, thereby offering alternative feminine notion of Pukhtunwali. Masculine Pukhtunwali emphasizes aggression and control over other's (women's) bodies and emotions; on the other hand feminine notion of Pukhtunwali emphasizes commitment, autonomy and resistance in the face of oppression. Reassurance to departing lover of her loyalty and commitment to wait for him and reunite invokes the notion of Pukhtunwali. The lover is worried because in his absence, there is a risk that the beloved can be forced to marry another man. However, she expresses her unwavering commitment and courage to stand firm in all situations. She also dares to admit and openly declare her love and to be with

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[500] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Peshawar

[501] Ziaran, S., and Momin Patwal, Pukhto Landai (Pukhto Short Song). Mossissa Nashriat Ariana, Peshawar, p40

* Open field refers to the condition of facing enemy without any cover or protection.

her beloved, despite imminent danger to life. Overthrowing patriarchal control over her body and emotions, she refuses to be a regulated, passive and submissive being, thus expresses *gender consciousness*.

Tapa also provides us insight into social expectations regarding masculine/feminine roles. A huge body of *tapa* demonstrates that Pukhtun man is expected to be a great warrior. His foremost duty is to defend honour, women and resources of the family/clan/tribe/nation. He has been eulogized for fighting against the external aggressors, be that Mughal or British.

18. کۀ تور وربل مي ميراتيږي
Ka tor orbal me merateegi

Pa watan jang de پـه وطن جنګ دے، جانان نـۀ منعـي کـوومـه[502]
janan na manee kawoma

Even if I have to become a widow in youth

It is a patriotic war, I would not forbid beloved to participate

19. کۀ په سينه دي پرهر راوړو
Ka pa seena de parhar rawrho

Za ba da weer pa zai زۀ بـه د ويـر پـه ځائے خندا درتـه کـوومـه[503]
khanda darta kawoma

If you sustain wound on the chest

Instead of crying, I will welcome you with a smile

20. کۀ دي په جنګ کښي مېدان پـرېښو
Ka de pa jang ke maidan prekho

Kor de zai nishta darna کـور دي ځائے نشته، درنـه مخ بـه واړومـه[504]
makh ba waraoma

In case of fleeing from the battlefield

Home I deny you and will turn my face away

21. کۀ د وطن پـه نـنګ کښي مـړ شي
Ka da watan pa nang ke marh she

پـــه تـــورو زلفـــو بـــه کفـــن درلـــه ګـنـدمـــه[505]
Pa toro zulfo ba kafan darla gandama

Defending fatherland, if you get killed

with thread of my black hair, I will sew coffin for you

For malestream, dominant, interpretation of Pukhtunwali chivalry, aggression and patriotic sentiments are essential attributes of a Pukhtun man. Above cited *tapa* demonstrate that women have also been greatly influenced by malestream Pukhtunwali. They have been instrumental in motivating and

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[502] Salma, Rohe Sandare, 1984, p.542
[503] Ibid., p.541
[504] Ziaran, Pukhto Landai, p371
[505] Salma, Rohe Sandare, 1984, p.550

preparing men to participate in patriotic/tribal wars. They expect, rather demand, men to fight bravely and come victorious. It is glorified if beloved/husband of a woman falls fighting gallantly. Separation from beloved/husbands in case of martyrdom is taken pride in by woman. Even in case of defeat, she wants him to stand firm and not to surrender or flee. Women scoff at coward men, taunt them and do not consider them worth love, affection and care, thus increase burden of masculinity on men too. Eulogizing masculine traits of war heroes, women, partake in alleviating man's status and patriarchy. Instead of criticizing and overthrowing masculine norms, that oppress and discriminate against woman, *gender consciousness* is blurred and gendered consciousness is allowed to creep in. This illustrates gendered consciousness and provides evidence to the fact that warlike situations on Pukhtun land have been instrumental in shaping gendered consciousness.

22. پېغلـــو راځـــئ پگـــړئ پـــه ســـر کـــړو
Peghlo razai pagrhai pa sar krhu
pa watan jang de, zalmi zan [506] پـه وطن جنگ دے، زلـمي ځان ګوښه کـويـنـه
gwakha kaweena

O young women, let us wear turban

Since in time of patriotic war, young men are hesitant to fight

Prevailing gendered consciousness/discourse ascribes woman to domestic role only. Her primary function is to provide care and services to the family; while defense and warfare activities constitute primary role of man. Man, as war hero, earns love and reverence in the society. Women's participation in patriotic war is considered assumption of a masculine role as it calls women to wear turban, part of man's attire symbolizing man's honour. An illustration of internalized masculine, patriarchal norms, expression of a desire to acquire masculine attributes and earn respect and reverence by aping men, a manifestation of gendered consciousness can be witnessed.

23. کـــۀ د زلـمـــو نـــه پـــوره نـــۀ شـــوه
ka da zalmo na pora na shwa
فـخـــــر افـغـانـــــه! جـيـنـکـــــى بـــــه دي ګـتـيـنـــــه [507]
fakhre afghana jenakai ba de gateena

if young men could not accomplish

O Pride of Afghans! Girls shall support you win struggle

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[506] Ghalji, 2002, p.32
[507] Khan, Zama Jwand aw Jaddujehad (My Life and Struggle), 1983, p. 456

The above *tapa* had been sung by women during a women's public meeting, at Lund Khwar, District Mardan, where women pledged support to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as Fakhr-i- Afghan, in his anti-colonial struggle. He led 'the Red Shirts' anti-imperialist, Pukhtun nationalist, movement against the British Imperialism. This movement provided an opportunity to Pukhtun women to participate in political activities, earlier considered men's realm alone. This indicates women's ability, capacity and willingness to participate in political struggle, whenever they find an opportunity.

24. له نارينه نه مي څهٔ کم دي
La nareena na me sa kam dee

pa bebakai, naqis- په بېباکۍ، ناقص العقل مي شمېرينه[508]
ul-aqla me shmereena

What I lack that a man has

Shamelessly, counts me amongst irrational

Dominant gendered consciousness/discourse amongst Pukhtun considers woman lacking reason, the reminiscence of Greek and medieval gendered and essentialist thought (see sections 2.1 & 2.2); thereby justifying control over woman by a rational being embodied in man alone. This *tapa* condemns and challenges this prevailing notion of gender hierarchy. Pukhtun woman's *gender consciousness* is expressed through claims of equality to man in rational capacity.

25. له بدعمله زويه بښه وي
La badamala zweye a kha wee

sal ware, neka سل واړي نېکه و پتمنه لور چې وينه[509]
o patmana lur che weena

Than having a bad son

Hundred times better, to have a chaste and honourable daughter

In traditional Pukhtun setting male child is highly preferred. The *tapa* illustrates *gender consciousness* through rejection of preference for male child and underlying gender hierarchy. It asserts that worth of a human being does not depend on sex alone, rather, one's acts and deeds matter more.

26. ما وئيل زامن به مي عصا شي
Ma wayal zaman ba me asa shee

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[508] Ghalji, 2002, p.127
[509] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Jalalabad, Afghanistan

zan la juda shwal zama [510] خان له جدا شول، زما پوښتنه نه کوينه
pukhtana na kaweena

I thought, sons shall render support

Live separately, don't look after my well being

In all agrarian settings including Pukhtun, male child is preferred in anticipation of fulfilling the duty of care and financial support in old age. In the absence of provision of social security services by the state, dependence of elderly people on male child increases. Son is, therefore, not only heir to family name and property, but also shall ensure care in old age. However, with changing socio-economic conditions, extended family system is on the decline and the number of those who prefer living in nuclear families has been rising. Despite availing all privileges including family name and assets, married sons desert parents to live separately, hence fail to fulfill prescribed gender role of a Pukhtun man. The *tapa* informs us about the expected gender role of Pukhtun man and the rationale behind hierarchical gender relations as well as preference for male child.

Tapa, composed 1970s onward, reflect higher *gender consciousness* in the context of, shifting social, political, circumstances and emergence of anti-women religious extremism. [511]

.27 نور به نجوني نه خرڅيږي
Nore ba njune na kharseegi

inqalab band krhal [512] انقلاب بند کړل ناروا لور ولورونه
narawa lwar walwarona

No more selling of girls

Revolution put an end to exorbitantly high bride prices

Gender consciousness is expressed through hailing and supporting pro-women policies of the People's Democratic regime in Afghanistan. In October, 1979, PDPA banned exchange of a girl for money or commodities during wedding rituals, fixed 300 Afghanis *Mahar* in conformity with *Sharia.*[513]

Da .28 دا مجاهد، مجاهد ټول کړئ
mujahid, mujahid tol krhai

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[510] Ghalji, 2002, p.131
[511] Ibid.,
[512] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Kabul, Afghanistan
[513] Decrees of the Revolutionary Council and Decrees of the President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; Ministry of Justice; Kabul: June 1979

tanur pe sur تنور پري سور کړئ چې تري ښځې

krhai che tre khaze

خلاصي شينه[514]

khlase sheena

Pick all mujahid (warrior)

Set them ablaze in an oven, to emancipate women

Mujahideen, like Taliban, have been anti-women and perpetrated gender based violence. This *tapa* gives vent to the sentiments of anger against Mujahideen for their anti- women policies and practices. It not only condemns atrocities committed against women by these religious zealots but also calls for struggle and action against them. Aspiration for women's emancipation from violent religious extremists provides an instance of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun.

.29 د نارينه انصاف ته گوره

Da nareena insaf ta gora

mong ye مونږ يې کورو کښې زنداني ساتلي يونه[515]

koro ke zandani satali yuna

Look at the male notion of justice

Keep us imprisoned inside four walls of house

The *tapa* voicing *gender consciousness*, condemns confinement of women to four walls. Mobility of Pukhtun women have been restricted and regulated, however, historically they have not been confined strictly to four walls. Restrictions on women's mobility and eventual confinement increased with Talibanization. Taliban strictly banned women's mobility without a male relative. Confinement of women, Taliban justify with reference to scripture, however, women clearly discern it as a discriminatory, patriarchal practice perpetrated by men. They oppose confinement of women, an injustice, comparable to imprisonment.

.30 په ښځينۀ علم فرض دے

Pa khazeenao ilam farz de

talib la sok che da طالب لا څوک چې د خدائے امر ردوينه[516]

khudai amar radaweena

Pursuit of knowledge is obligatory for women

Who is Talib to renounce God's command

Gender consciousness is expressed by asserting woman's right to

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[514] Ghalji, Nananai Landai, 2002, p.65

[515] Tapa cited by a female respondent in Jalalabad, Afghanistan

[516] Ghalji, Nananai Landai, 2002, p.30

education. Since Taliban banned female education in the name of Islam, therefore, to renounce them the very provision of Islam regarding education is invoked.

31. چا اورېدلي چا لېدلي
Cha awredalee cha leadalee

da narawa che دا ناروا چې يې طالب په ښځو کړينه[517]
ye talib pa khazo krheena

No one heard or seen (unprecedented)

The injustices, *talib* are inflicting upon women

Violation of women's rights during the reign of Taliban is discerned and condemned as unprecedented acts of injustice, an explicit manifestation of *gender consciousness*.

32. پېغلي زلمي چې پته خولۀ وي
Peghle zalmee che pata khula wee

da tor talib tor hakmiat د تور طالب حاکميت به همېش وينه[518]
ba hameesh weena

If young women and men seal their lips (don't raise voice)

dark rule of black talib will continue for ever

This *tapa* not only condemns oppressive rule of Taliban but also passive submission to their oppression. Suffering oppression of Taliban in silence strengthens and perpetuates rule of Talib. Youth, both men and women, is therefore, urged to protest and resist Taliban. *Gender consciousness* is reflected through recognition of woman's role, alongside man, towards social and political change.

33. خوېندو پاڅېړئ يو کېږئ
Khwendo pasegai yaw kegai

څو به په پته خولۀ ګالی دا ظالتونه[519]
so ba pa pata khula galai da zaltuna

O sisters! Stand up and get united

How long we suffer humiliation in silence

This is an expression of high level of *gender consciousness*. Renouncing oppression and exploitation of women, it recognizes female agency for change. It calls for solidarity with women, promoting group consciousness and wage joint struggle to end oppression against women.

This bird eye view of *tapa*, a feminine genre of Pukhto folklore,

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[517] Ibid., p.43
[518] Ibid., p.32
[519] Ibid., p59

demonstrates prevalence of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun, specifically women. Women discern gender based inequalities both in public and private spheres. They condemn regulation of their bodies and emotions; commodification through bride price; confinement; denial of right to education, consent marriage and divorce; domestic violence and honour killing. Women question essential gender difference, normative masculine and feminine attributes and the ensuing notion of inferiority of women. Women also highlight the irony of sub-human nature of patriarchal relationship between male relatives and women. They raise issue of assigning women the hard, unpaid, undervalued duty to perform all household labor and take care of elders as well as male members of the extended family. Women put forward alternative and sublime definitions of Pukhtunwali in opposition to malestream Pukhtunwali. Women exhibiting *gender consciousness* do not dogmatically accept privileges, opportunities and discriminations associated with sex differences as given, natural, and legitimate. In this regard they identify not only the role of Pukhtun culture but also oppressive regimes such as Mujahideen and Taliban. In addition to exhibiting awareness of power structured gender relations, women also express commitment to effect change. They denounce oppressive customary practices and realize the need for collective actions to emancipate.

3.5 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the above discussion that selected genres of Pukhto folklore, i.e., *matal*, *qisa* and *tapa*, provide insight into prevailing Pukhtun gender relations and express both gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*. We are informed that Pukhtun gender relations have been hierarchical: man is superior to woman; male child is preferred over female; men regulate, and commodify woman; deny her, ownership of property, share in inheritance, and role in decision making; husband commands, authority over life and death of wife, and her complete submission. [Malestream]Pukhtunwali denies woman right to consent to marriage, divorce, education, work, liberty etc., and justifies confinement of, and violence against, woman, even her killing, on the pretext of defending honour.

Matal, mostly articulating conventional (male) wisdom, abounds with gendered consciousness. Femininity has been associated with lack of reason, deceit, fear, defeat, submission and subordination; while masculinity with wisdom, power, chivalry, aggression, victory and command. These essential masculine/feminine attributes legitimize hierarchical gender relations and control over woman. Gendered consciousness, expressed in *Matal* reflects hierarchical mind-body and reason-passion binaries. It starkly divides public and private spheres, confines woman to household, excludes her from decision making, both, in private and public spheres, and belittles her authority and income. At times, it does acknowledge complementary and supportive role of woman in the family, however, strictly denies her individuality and autonomy.

Qisa too, predominantly, demonstrates androcentric gendered consciousness. It has been founded upon essentialism and hierarchical binary oppositions wherein man/masculinity is primary, woman/femininity secondary and derivative. Essential masculine traits include: courage, chivalry, intelligence, ability to overcome hardships and revenge taking. Foremost masculine role has been to protect (read control) women, patriarchal honour code, family resources, especially land, and the fatherland. Pukhtun gendered consciousness expressed in *qisa* also perpetuates Medieval essentialist association of femininity with body, sexuality, lust and temptation. Moreover, it posits two mutually exclusive categories of good and bad woman. A good woman is chaste, submissive, obedient, embodying 'normative' Pukhtun femininity. She dogmatically adheres to patriarchal, Pukhtun notion of honour, and practices. Upholding those norms and practices (gendered consciousness), she may even step out of traditional feminine role and boundaries and acquire masculine traits. In binary opposition to 'good woman' is non-conformist, adulterous, lustful, 'bad woman', who violates patriarchal Pukhtun notion of honour. She is condemned in absolute terms, humiliated and severely punished. 'Bad woman', a construct, inculcates normative femininity, justifying patriarchal authority and denying agency to woman.

Gendered consciousness overlooks variation and transition between these two categories. Between these two polar opposites, traces of a third woman can be discerned in some folk stories. Transgressing Pukhtun patriarchal practices, she asserts and exercises her agency and her emotions and deeds to

live as she wills are still sympathetically acknowledged. This 'third woman' offers alternative notions of femininity, resists patriarchal authority, and paves way for transformation of gendered consciousness into *gender consciousness* and ossified patriarchal gender relations into egalitarian.

Tapa, a predominantly feminine genre of Pukhto folklore, demonstrates prevalence of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun, specifically women. Here Pukhtun *gender consciousness* discerns gender inequity both in public and private spheres. It condemns regulation and commodification of women's bodies and emotions; bride price; confinement; denial of right to education, consent to marriage and divorce; domestic violence and honour killing. It rejects essential masculine, feminine traits and ensuing notion of inferiority of women. It does not dogmatically accept privileges, opportunities and discriminations associated with sex differences as given, natural, and legitimate. It also questions gender based division of labour that assigns women hard, unpaid, undervalued household labor and taking care of elders and male members of the extended family. In addition to exhibiting awareness of power structured gender relations, women also express commitment to effect change. They denounce oppressive customary practices and stress the need for collective actions to emancipate. Pukhtun *gender consciousness* brings forth alternative and subaltern definitions of emancipatory, egalitarian Pukhtunwali in opposition to [malestream] Pukhtunwali.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND PUKHTO LITERATURE: SELECTIONS FROM PROSE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter delineates and assesses varied patterns and levels of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* by analyzing selected samples from selected genres of Pukhto prose. It charts and discusses how Pukhto prose depicts, evaluates, accepts/rejects prevalent gender relations, Pukhtun notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman amongst Pukhtun. It identifies dichotomous, essentialist, hierarchical, Pukhtun gendered consciousness depicted in pieces selected from Pukhtu prose. It discerns Pukhtun *gender consciousness*, offering alternative definitions of masculinity and femininity that rejects gender discriminations, patriarchal practices and recognizes woman's autonomy as well as fundamental human rights.

PUKHTO PROSE: Pukhto prose writing spans over a period of 800 years, claims Zalmay Hewadmal. Suleman Mako's Tazkerat-al- Awlia (616 AH-1219 AD); Bayazid Rokhan's Khair-al-Bayan (written somewhere in 950s AH-1550s AD) and Akhond Darweza's Makhzan al-Islam (1000 AH-1592 AD) has been considered pioneering works in Pukhto prose.[520] Over the centuries, Pukhto prose has evolved various genres such as: novel; short story; diary; memoirs; drama; biography; letters; essays etc. This work selects samples from two genres i.e., short story and novel. Both these genres manifest varied patterns and levels of gendered and *gender consciousness* by providing insight into prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, norms and practices (mostly patriarchal) impacting status of woman.

The chapter is sub-divided into:

[520] Hewadmal, Z., Da Pukhto Nasar Ata Sawa Kala (The Eight Hundred Years of Pashto Prose). Millat Printers Lahore,1996, pp 127-155

4.1 Gender Consciousness in Selected Pukhto Short Stories
4.2 Gender Consciousness in Selected Pukhto Novel
4.3 Conclusion

4.1 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN SELECTED PUKHTO SHORT STORIES

This section aims at tracing and assessing gendered and *gender consciousness* in selected Pukhto short stories. It charts and discusses prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, Pukhtun notions of masculinity/femininity, and patriarchal customs and traditions impacting status of woman. Pukhto short stories revolve around diverse themes such as; love, war, Pukhtun values, customary practices, nationalist sentiments and struggle for independence, family/tribal feuds, class and gender relations, social issues and need as well as efforts for reforms etc. Irrespective of chronological order, the section mainly dwells upon stories revolving around gender in the context of patriarchy; superiority of masculinity over femininity; plight of women, approval of submissive subordinate role of woman; rejection of discriminatory patriarchal practices, etc.

First Pukhto short story *Kunda Jeenai,* 'Widow Girl', has said to be written by Rahat Zakhaili (1885-1963) in 1917.[521] It discuses: Pukhtun customary practice of *volvar*, underage and mismatch marriages, superstitions that victimize women, confinement of women, expected self-denial of, and violence against women, especially widows and prohibition of remarriage. Discriminatory practices against women are considered a reminiscence of pre-Islamic era, the way of infidels and a deviation from the path of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Since Islam grants women equal rights. *Kunda Jeenai* narrates story of a young widow Marghai, aged 15, tempted by high bride price, tied by father in wedlock to a boy aged 9. The boy passed away after a few months. Her in-laws considering her *spera*, 'doomful' subjected to both physical and verbal violence, even attempted to take her life. Father-in-law used to severely beat her and once put her on fire for combing hair. Mother-in-

[521] Azam, A., Da Pukhto pa Afsanwe Adab ke da Khaze Olasi Maqam O kirdar (Depiction of Women in Modern Pashto Fiction). Phd Dissertation, University of Peshawar, p121

law threw taunts at Marghai, saying that she has been looking around for men. Hence, confined her to four walls, did not even allow going on rooftop or peeking over the wall. [522]

Marghai's own family was not much different from her in-laws. Since, her own mother scolded her for touching brother's wedding dress, during a visit to parents' house on the occasion of brother's wedding. The mother admonished her that being doomful widow, her touch, rather her presence around the bride and groom is not a good omen. Marghai committed suicide, as she expected better treatment from her parents, instead her mother too consider her doomful.[523]

Exhibiting *gender consciousness*, the story discerns and condemns prevailing discrimination against women, especially widow. The author disapproves popularly held belief of associating woman, especially widow, with misfortune, misery and shame that forbids widow to remarry and even to participation in joyful wedding of brother. Such superstitious notions forestall women's protest against gender inequality. The story indicates that parents are not mindful of daughter's wellbeing and consider her property of in-laws, since have pocketed a high bride price in exchange. The suicide of Marghai symbolizes lack of legal safeguards and any way out available to women. In traditional Pukhtun setting, women are taught to bear hardships and injustice in silence and not to complain or protest; in return, are promised to be compensated with high place in hereafter. Breaking the silence about prevailing violence, the author stresses the need to improve women's status in this world. The story also points out towards deeper internalization of patriarchal practices and gendered consciousness by women too when often found accomplice in strengthening oppression of women.

Pukhtane, 'Pukhtun Women', by Samandar Khan Samander (1901-1990), is a collection of eleven stories, claimed to be true.[524] The stories provide insight into essential feminine attributes, roles, prevailing oppressive patriarchal practices and relations amongst Pukhtun. Role model Pukhtun women, portrayed in *Pukhtane* are ascribed with submission, obedience,

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[522] Zakhaili, R., 'Kunda Jeenai', (Widow Girl). In: Da Rahat Afsane (Short Stories of Rahat). (Ed.) Afzal Raza, Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1977, pp39-44
[523] Ibid., pp 45-51
[524] Samander, Pukhtane , 1975

loyalty, fidelity, care and compassion. Woman is to bear and rear children, raise defenders of Islam and Pukhtun fatherland. Woman being the site of man's honour, *Pukhtane* advocates and reinforces regulation of woman's desires, emotions and suppression of autonomy. Woman's Pukhtunwali comprises suppression of desires, emotions and sexuality. Eulogizing woman's self-denial and submission to the will of men, it also advocates upholding [male] Pukhtun honour. However, fails to discern discriminatory practices including incidence of forced marriage and violence against women.

Qajeera of Charsada, a role model Pukhtun mother, motivated her son Gul Jamal to challenge the British army. She celebrates her son's martyrdom for the sake of fatherland and Islam.[525] '*Da pukhtane rawrhe wee da ghaza da para'*, [526] son born to Pukhtun woman has to fight, is a classic example of limiting Pukhtun woman's role to bearing and rearing defenders of Islam and Pukhtun fatherland. Zulekha of district Dir, outcasts one of her sons for not participating in war against the British and takes pride in martyrdom of her second son, thus fulfilling her prescribed role as a Pukhtun woman. Pukhtun nation demands '*Miande rawrha dase Miande, Che krhee oche wone tande'*, produce such mothers, who enable dried trees to blossom.[527] The story of Malalai of Maiwand, sanctions woman's even a leading role during nationalist wars. At some point during second Anglo-Afghan war, Afghan forces were on the verge of defeat and retreat; however, a warcry by a woman calling for martyrdom and avoid disgrace of cowardice rejuvenated Pukhtun men. They stood their ground, fought fearlessly and defeated the British.[528] A Pukhtun woman, to protect Pukhtun fatherland promoted strong nationalist sentiments amongst Pukhtun man and motivated them to fight and win nationalist struggles, absolving him of all domestic responsibilities. Though mostly assigned a subordinate supportive role, however, at times she may step ahead and assume a leading role too.

Another role model, 'Wazirai', embodies all Pukhtun feminine attributes including: beauty, honesty, modesty, piety, loyalty, fidelity, efficiency in domestic chores, is helpful to other women in the hour of need, and above all,

[525] Ibid., pp14-26
[526] Ibid., p85
[527] Ibid., pp81-100
[528] Ibid., pp. 51-58

strictly adheres to Pukhtunwali.[529] Wazirai receives a love message, through an old woman, of a handsome young man, Haleem Shah. Despite arising feeling of love for him; Wazirai does not step out of (patriarchal) norms of Pukhtunwali and forbids him from chasing her in streets. A true Pukhtana cannot tarnish her family's reputation, instead, advises Haleem Shah to observe norms of Pukhtunwali and send his parents with a proposal of marriage for her. Haleem Shah's proposal was refused by Wazirai's parents, still, she, an obedient Pukhtan daughter, submits to parent's will. At the same time, remaining loyal to her beloved, she declines all other proposals of marriage. Haleem shah strove hard to convince her to elope, but she stood firm and protected her chastity and family's honour. Though, she finds it difficult to resist, still prefers Pukhtunwali over love. Haleem Shah not withstanding her marriage to someone else, kidnaps her and puts before her a choice between imminent death or marriage with him. Wazirai willingly embraces death instead of abandoning Pukhtunwali.[530] Gendered consciousness demands of a Pukhtun woman to suppress emotions, abandon love and life in the path of following Pukhtunwali, i.e., unquestioned obedience to parents' will and protection of honour of the family.

In another story, Said Khanum is eulogized for committing suicide to restore her Pukhtunwali. Since, Pukhtunwali demands that woman's body shall not be exposed to anyone in any condition. Said Khanum, a good rider of rope swing, once riding swing near the riverbank, leaped it higher than any other girl in the village. Meanwhile, the belt of her trousers broke down leading to inadvertent exposure of her body in public. Ashamed of failure in observing traditional Pukhtun practice of purdah and chastity, she immediately jumped into the river and committed suicide. [531] Gendered consciousness expects unquestioned, infallible adherence to Pukhtunwali from a woman. This consciousness has been such deeply influencing both woman and man that even an inadvertent breach is not forgiven. Presentation of such role model Pukhtun woman is a glaring example of ascendancy of patriarchal relations and norms amongst Pukhtun.

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[529] Ibid., pp28-49
[530] Ibid., pp 36-47
[531] Ibid., pp170-182

Yet another example of woman's adherence to [malestream] Pukhtunwali is provided by 'Sahib Jan'.[532] She keeps on living with an impotent husband for decades and never revealing this secret to anyone in order to uphold his masculine honour. On the wedding night, husband requested her in the name of Pukhto to keep his secret. She suffered taunts of being issueless and infertile, still kept the secret till death. She never complained or quarreled with anyone, rather, remained chaste and respectful to her husband.[533] An instance of gendered consciousness that elevates woman to a role model for suppressing desires, emotions, remaining chaste and faithful to husband as well as keeping his secret to uphold masculine honour.

Pukhtane provides numerous instances of Pukhtun gendered consciousness that envisions woman in a limited and subordinate role. Biological essentialism is evident in reducing her to reproductive role. Moreover, she is expected to observe modesty and chastity; support male relatives in defense of [read male] Pukhtun honour. She can only assume a leading role if Pukhtun honour i.e., woman's sexuality and/or fatherland, is in danger either in the absence of men or their failure in defending honour. Essential Pukhtun feminine attributes enlisted in *Pukhtane* include: beauty, modesty, piety, chastity, honesty, loyalty, obedience, compassion, self-denial and efficiency in domestic chores. Assigning to, and following these attributes by women has been instrumental in establishing and sustaining superiority of men over women. Absolute adherence to patriarchal norms is expected of a Pukhtun woman and even a small unintended breach, is not permitted. Her life, desires and emotions are subservient to the norms set by man. Such role models depicted in *Pukhtane* instead of condemning, questioning and challenging oppressive patriarchal practices wholeheartedly adhere to these norms and practices. Showering praise and bestowing honour upon such women tantamount to transmit gendered consciousness to successive generations.

Da Wafa Jins, 'Loyal Species', by Tahir Afridi (b. 1939) revolves around a faithful, loyal, loving, caring wife, subjected to domestic violence, who accepts husband's taking a second wife, under duress, without protest, still

[532] Ibid., pp103-114
[533] Ibid., pp112-114

remains committed to him. [534] Before even marrying him, he had been the focus of her attention, and every single moment of her post-marriage life too, she devoted to him. Initially, the husband did care about her and had been loveful; however, gradually began finding faults, and committing violence, against her, both verbal and physical. Losing interest in her, the husband finally remarried. She bore everything in silence, proverbially believing that a Pukhtun woman has essentially to be faithful and loyal to husband. 'Pukhtun woman steps out of father's home in the palanquin and leaves husband's home upon death in coffin.' She even participates in wedding arrangement of her husband.[535]

The story informs us that prevailing gender relations amongst Pukhtun are hierarchical, grant men power to inflict violence on women and to take several wives. It also brings to fore essential Pukhtun masculine attributes: power, autonomy, detachment, violence and feminine attributes: care, love, loyalty, devotion, submission. Though the story brings forward plight of woman in polygamy, still exhibiting traces of gendered consciousness, portrays woman, a passive victim, who cannot cease caring about her tormentor. Moreover, it affirms the generally held belief that marriage is an unbreakable bond, no matter how bad it is. This consciousness keeps tying woman in bondage and reinforces hierarchical gender relations.

Hasina Gul Tanha (1968) in *Weenza*, 'Slave Girl', relates plight of a female underage domestic servant, subjected to continuous rape by her master, a feudal lord's son. The lady of the house is an accomplice in sexual exploitation of servant by her son.[536] The story illustrates collusion of class and gender in oppressing the poor woman. The master derives his power over poor girl from both class and gender. The lady identifies with her privileged class, rather than gender, to enjoy power and partake in strengthening patriarchy. It also brings to fore dual exploitation of the poor woman i.e., her labour and body in patriarchal, class ridden, Pukhtun society.

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[534] Afridi, T., Panrhe Panrhe (Falling Off). Azeem Publishing House, Peshawar, 1976, pp.161-165

[535] Ibid., p.164

[536] Gul, H., 'Weenza (Slave Girl)'. In: Nemgarhay Kitab (Incomplete Book). Peshawar 2010, pp.44-46

Maatay da Cha[537], 'Whose Defeat', identifies essential masculine attributes adversely impacting women. A married, issueless Pukhtun feudal lord taunts and beats his wife for failing in delivering heir to family, property and name. The wife retorts back once, refers to those medical reports of both clearly indicating his inability to impregnate. In an attempt to take revenge of wife and uphold masculine pride, the husband marries yet another poor, young, pretty girl. He orders his personal secretary to spend nights with his bride and to impregnate her. This way he thinks he will be able to make people believe that he (the husband) is potent, a man. The story ably puts forward: taboo and forbidden topics intricately; paradoxical expressions of masculine attributes, pride and exercise of power over women in traditional Pukhtun setting. Ridiculing false and shallow Pukhtun masculine pride offers an instance of *gender consciousness*. Essential masculine attributes include potency and ability to guard woman's sexuality. Since, the feudal lord passes on his woman to secretary, in an attempt to prove his potency. It becomes evident that Pukhtun masculinity and pride rests primarily on potency, not protecting woman's sexuality. His power over women has been derived from patriarchy and class and the oppressed woman has to pay the price for his masculine pride and impotency. She has to face taunts, beating and even sleep with another man to make people believe that her husband, the feudal lord, is potent. Also evident is the absolute authority of man over woman and complete denial of autonomy to woman in Pukhtun society.

Though, the above cited two stories of Tanha exhibit *gender consciousness*; however, some other stories of the same author, grounded in biological essentialism, ascribe essential feminine attributes to woman such as; reproduction, motherhood, care and love for husband and child. Both, *Nemgarhay Kitab*[538], 'Incomplete Book', and *Tasweer*[539], 'Painting', define woman in terms of reproduction and rearing children. Purpose, fulfillment and meaning of life of a woman locate in motherhood. She is like an unfinished book or painting without a child. *Laar*,[540] 'Path' compares two women, who happened to be sisters-in-law, in an attempt to establish that essential role of a

[537] Gul, 'Maatay da Cha (Whose Defeat)', 2010
[538] Gul, 'Nemgarhay Kitab (Incomplete Book)', 2010, pp58-61
[539] Gul, 'Tasweer (Painting)', 2010, pp66-70
[540] Gul, 'Laar (Path)', 2010, pp 21-25

woman is to provide love and care to husband. It envisions woman as a body to tempt and seduce man. One, a caring wife, is mindful of her husband's choice while even selecting a dress or wearing make-up, to attract him more. Not only she cooks his favourite, delicious dishes but also warmly receives him upon return from work. She has been successful in sustaining her husband's interest in and love for her. On the other hand, her husband's sister, does not take into consideration husband's needs and desires. Though, she had a love marriage, however, remains occupied more in taking care of her often ailing son. Not only she does not dress up or wear makeup but also prefers to sleep in a separate room, other than that of her husband. This results into husband's loss of interest in and love for her. Realizing that her husband is no more in love with her, she returns to her ancestral home. There she had an opportunity to review and compare her lifestyle with brother's wife. She concludes that she had not been fair to her husband and deprived him of his due rights over her. Subsequently, she dresses up in husband's favourite colour, wears make up and proceeds to husband's house. Adhering to classical, patriarchal notion that woman's essential role is to provide love, care and services to man, the story illustrates gendered consciousness. Rather than demanding of husband or state assistance in child care and child health care, Tanha expects Pukhtun woman to live up to these gigantic expectations by becoming dedicated wife and a committed mother only.

Sahib Shah Sabir brings forth class dynamic of gender relations. *Spina Lopata*, 'White Scarf',[541] narrates sexual exploitation of a poor woman by a rich landlord. Gul Afzal, a landlord, is interested in Ghutai, the beautiful daughter of his tenant. Gul Afzal is 45 years old, having two wives, yet thinks himself eligible to marry a woman of high status rather than poor Ghutai. To have extramarital sexual relation with her, Khan arranges Ghutai's marriage to his hardworking, efficient and obedient servant Kashmale. After marrying Ghutai, Kashmale feels even more obliged and indebted to his master. In love with his wife, Kashmale dreams to buy her an expensive white scarf like Khan's wife. During jaggery production season, Kashmale plans to steal and sell jaggery; while Khan, to keep him away from his wife, orders Kashmale to

[541] Sabir, S., 'Speena Lupatta (White Scarf)'. In: Wawre O Gulona (Snow and Flowers). Pukhto Adabi Jirga, Malakand1986, pp.46-53

guard workshop at night. Not able to resist being away from his newlywed wife, Kashmale once at night steals a sack of jaggery and reaches home. While knocking at his door, he feels some sounds and movements inside his house. His wife opens the door, he enters a room and unloads stolen jaggery in a corner. Suddenly, Khan appears, declaring, 'he was there to catch Kashmale red handed with stolen jaggery', shoots him and leaves. Ghutai spreads a white scarf that Khan had gifted her over dead body of Kashmale.[542] A Pukhtun feudal lord, a classic patriarch, holds complete authority over life and death of not only his own wife and children, but also his servants'. He considers his servants' life and wife his property. Exhibiting both, class and *gender consciousness*, the story discerns interplay of relations of production and hierarchical sexual relations that lead to exploitation of a poor man and oppression of poor woman in traditional Pukhtun setting. The feudal, deriving his power from both class and gender, imposes sexual relations on female relatives of his tenants and servants. Also evident is the disapproval amongst upper classes for marriages in lower class, even a polygamous, middle aged, rich man is not ready to marry a young beautiful woman from lower class.

Sanga, again locates the bases of Pukhtun woman's oppression in dialectical interplay of class and gender. Sanga, a young beautiful girl, encountered Sparlay at a village festival and fell for him at first sight. Parents wedded her to wealthy Nur Khan, aged 75, in anticipation of material comforts for Sanga and some monetary benefits for themselves. Nur Khan had three wives already but remained issueless and wanted a male child. He did not admire Sanga's beauty, simply needed a fertile soil to sow his seeds. Though, Sanga's mother following traditionally held beliefs declared that men never grow old; all a woman needs is to be fed and clothed. On the contrary, Sanga dreamed a young handsome groom, she could fall in love. Upon seeing old Nur Khan as groom, she lost senses following a loud cry. [543] For author, this cry is an expression of defiance against patriarchy. Though, she dares to resist, but there exists no way out in traditional Pukhtun setting, hence, loss of sanity. Illustrating *gender consciousness*, the story provides insight into biological

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[542] Ibid., pp.46-53
[543] Sabir, 'Sanga'1986, pp 39-45

essentialism, hierarchical gender relations, suppression of woman's autonomy, commodification of woman, forced marriage, urge for defiance in woman and absence of avenues for assertion of female agency. The issueless old man considers Sanga a young body, a mere tool of reproduction, shall provide him heir to family name and property. He derives power over woman from confluence of class and gender. Sanga, dares to love and defy, is not a traditional submissive Pukhtun girl; however, lack of alternatives available to woman in a highly restrictive Pukhtun feudal society results into her insanity.

Syed Ehsanullah Hir in *Nakama Meena*, 'Failed Love', depicts similar conditions of Pukhtun women in Afghanistan. Noor Jan, aged 14, is in love with her young, poor cousin. Like Sanga, she also fell victim to commodification and committed suicide to escape forced marriage to an 80 years old widower, a big landlord.[544] The story also points to lack of alternatives and inability of woman to find a way out in an oppressed setting.

In *Ghamjana Merman*, 'Sad Lady', Hir discerns and condemns oppressive, discriminatory practices against Pukhtun women. Zareen, aged 14, had been wedded to Fareed, an octogenarian. Zareen's father, apparently an advocate of women's rights, fell prey to power, prestige and wealth of Fareed. Zareen and her mother did not expect of him to force his daughter into a mismatch marriage. To their dismay, not only he received a very high bride price of his daughter, Zareen, but also felt honour in becoming a relative of the rich, powerful and influential man. Fareed fell ill three months after his wedding to Zareen, remained bedridden another 9 months and died. In the meantime, Zareen delivered a daughter and did not care about her daughter, since she reminded her Fareed's lust. Fareed's elder son forbad the young widow (Zareen) of remarrying, since he considered it a disgrace to his late father. Zareen had to follow his command and stay tied to her husband's name like an obedient, faithful Pukhtun woman.[545] Hir, expressing *gender consciousness*, condemns child, forced, mismatch marriages, bride price and restriction on widow's remarriage. Rejecting the notion that disobeying father's/husband's command is a major sin committed by a woman, the author

[544] Hir, E., 'Nakama Meena (Failed Love)', In: Ranzoor (Ailing). Pashto Academy, Kabul 1967, pp36-54
[545] Hir, 'Ghamjana Merman (Sad Lady)' 1967, pp 97-107

brings forth the counter narrative that a woman commits sin and crime if she does not protest against patriarchal discriminatory notions and practices. Moreover, he rejects motherhood, care and love for child as essential feminine attributes. A woman in forced marriage may not be pleased with her motherhood and does not care about her child.

Nur Mohammad Tarakai (1917-1979) in *Da Bazgar Lur,* 'Landless Peasant's Daughter' written in 1958, relates commodification of woman in feudal setting. A landless peasant borrows 1250 Afghanis in loan of a usurer moneylender to pay for funeral expenditures of his wife. The moneylender adds usurious interest and claims an amount of Afghanis 3500 after 14 months. The *bazgar* was unable to pay back that huge amount, hence, the landlord sent his men to take away all his valuable belongings, even his oxen. Despite depriving the *bazgar* of his oxen leaving him unable to earn his livelihood, the loan could not be fully repaid. To repay the remainder, the moneylender's secretary tried to persuade the *bazgar* to offer his young daughter (still a child) in marriage to the moneylender, aged 60, already having three wives. To further convince (read pressure) the *bazgar*, a Mulla was sent by the moneylender, who citing Islamic provisions declared that non repayment of one's loan is committing a grave sin. He also stressed that offering daughter's hand in marriage to the landlord in return for waiving of unpaid loan is in conformity with Islam. Next day, the *bazgar* committed suicide after handing over his daughter to a woman sent by the moneylender.[546] The story, manifesting both class and *gender consciousness*, brings forth the interplay of feudalism, usury, patriarchy, role of clergy and misinterpretation of religion, resulting into exploitation of poor *bazgar* and commodification of his daughter.

Major Altaf Khattak in (1958) *Mateeza*, 'The She Eloper', discusses instruments sustaining patriarchy that render woman vulnerable and dependent upon men for protection. *Mateeza* relates plight of a poor orphan, having no siblings. Young men of her village hurl abuses and insults, harass her by frequent sexual advances, accusing her of having illicit sexual relations with a number of men. Almost each young man claims, in public, to have sexual

[546] Taraki, N., 'Da Bazgr Lur (Landless Peasant's Daughter)'. In: Da Bazgr Lur. Ed. Sadiq Jharhak, Pukhto Adabi Ghurzang, Quetta 2010

relations with her. For author, she is vulnerable owing to her youthful beauty and because of absence of male guardians, *plar o da mato takrha o zorawar wronrha*, i.e., father and powerful arms of muscular brothers. [547] In the absence of male relatives to protect her from harassment and insults of other men, she quietly disappears and people dub her *mateeza*, the eloper.[548] The story discerns prevailing gender based violence against women in traditional Pukhtun setting, a manifestation of *gender consciousness*. It also demonstrates how difficult it has been for a woman to break shackles of patriarchy that perpetuates by keeping woman vulnerable and dependent upon men. No protection is available to woman except male relatives, resulting into sustenance of patriarchy and reinforcement of superiority of men over women.

In, *Be Nura Nargas*, 'Blind Daffodil', Khattak condemns objectification of woman manifested in some recently acquired match making practices amongst certain sections of Pukhtun society. It discusses adverse psychological impact of these patriarchal, discriminatory and humiliating practices, girls are subjected to, in this process. Female relations of an eligible groom pay visits to several homes in order to find a girl, pretty, obedient and well trained in domestic work, and belonging to a noble family. In such visits, girls' family warmly receives visitors, exchange pleasantries and serves sumptuous food, ostensibly prepared by the girl. The girl appears before visitors wearing best clothes and make up, covering her head pretending to be modest. The visitors critically examine her from head to toe and ask questions aimed at determining her skills in domestic work. In case of non-selection of the girl as bride, she feels humiliated and rejected. Following repeated rejections on such occasions, Nargas lost interest in life, suffering from low self-esteem. Her self-esteem gradually restored later, as a result of acquisition of higher education and employment.[549] The story offers an instance of *gender consciousness* that condemns discriminatory practices that treat young girls like objects to be presented for scrutiny and selected or rejected. The story also points towards path of women empowerment in education and employment.

Qalandar Momand (1930-2003), in *Sharam*, 'Shame', questions

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[547]Khattak, 'Mateeza (The She Eloper)'. In: Zai Che Zo Janat Ta (Let's Go to Heaven). 2005, pp 87-92 at p.89-90

[548]Ibid.,

[549] Khattak, 'Be Nura Nargas (Blind Daffodil)'. 2005, pp109-122

associating woman with shame and honour amongst Pukhtun. Depicting plight of a widow, he demonstrates that widowhood carries stigma and her each act has been considered shameful. As a heir of honour of late husband, remarriage is a shame, stepping out of four walls or even to work from home is a shame; since, it involves interaction with middle men. Sending her kids outside to play enabling her without interruption spin yarn at home and earn livelihood also raises suspicions. A young man of the village who employed sons of the widow to help the poor family was also subjected to taunts for helping the widow. Even mother of the young man suspected his sincerity and intentions, maltreated widow's children and spoke ill of her too. Finding it impossible to simultaneously preserve honour and earning livelihood, she quietly left the village. The young man's mother took a sigh of relief retorting that shame disappeared, the son, to the contrary, believes that abandonment of a poor widow by village has been a shameful act. [550] The story deplores: confinement of widow to late husband's house; denial of widow's right to remarriage and employment; and suspecting widows for accepting or seeking help from male. He terms it leaving widow with absolutely no way out to earn her livelihood. The story also brings to fore role of women in strengthening patriarchy and restricting space for fellow women too.

Surayya Hawa, in her short stories, focuses on myriad manifestations of patriarchy in Pukhtun society. *Pukhto Tar Sara Shwa*,[551] 'Pukhto Accomplished', traces adverse impact on women of prevalent malestream interpretations of Pukhtunwali, specifically in terms of revenge. It also discusses bride price, excessive [domestic] workload on women and honour killing. Bakht Sultana's father after receipt of Rs. 6000 as *volvar*, bride price, wedded her in a rich land owning family. Fetching a high bride price, he considered a sign of honour, though Sultana's mother was saddened in sending daughter to a far flung village. Bakht Sultana remained overburdened with household chores and seldom visited parents' house.

Bakht Sultana's brother-in-law once got injured during a brawl with neighbouring landowner. Bakht Sultana's husband and brother-in-law planned

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[550] Momand, Q., 'Sharam' (Shame). In: Gajre (Bangles). University Book Agency, Peshawar 1958, pp29-38

[551] Hawwa, S., 'Pukhto Tar Sara Shwa', (Pukhto Accomplished). In: Tor Sare (Women). Danish Kitabtun, Peshawar 2004, pp 14-48

to take revenge by killing their adversary, however, to escape punishment, they were to accuse the man of having illicit relations with Bakht Sultana and kill her too. Bakht Sultana's mother in law overheard the plan and helped her flee. She reached her father's home along with her infant son. Since, her father could not keep her at his home against her husband's will, he sent her, along with brother, to Mardan. She sought refuge from an affluent family and began working as a domestic servant to raise her child. Meanwhile, her husband and his brother bought a girl from Swat for Rs. 3000 and killed her along with their enemy in the name of honour, accusing them of having illicit relations. Later, Sultana's husband traced her and urged to return back home. Upon her refusal, he threatened her to take his son away. She had to leave that place and the work. The story brings forth subhuman status of woman and absolute authority of man over woman's life in Pukhtun society. Man can abuse woman, disgrace, defame and even brutally kill her without impunity. It also elicits heavy toll women pay for men's urge to take revenge to uphold Pukhtunwali. Payment of bride price makes man owner of a woman's life and honour, wife and children become his property. The story can be cited as an expression of *gender consciousness*, since it charts and condemns several discriminatory practices against women.

Hawwa, in *Be Wafa,* 'Unfaithful', discusses commodification and oppression of women in exchange marriages. Gulmeena's mother passed away, leaving behind 5 young children. Her father not able to pay bride price, in exchange, wedded his daughter, Gulmeena, aged 8, to mentally disabled brother of his new wife. Being an obedient Pukhtun daughter, she never complained to her father, devoting her life to serve handicapped husband and look after him like a mother.[552] Though, the story narrates plight of Gulmeena in exchange, child and mismatch marriage; nonetheless, eulogizes her role of being an obedient daughter, a caring mother and committed wife. The story exhibits traces of *gender consciousness* in discerning oppressive patriarchal practices, however, sustains and reinforces secondary subservient status of Pukhtun woman by ascribing categorical care, love and commitment to husband as her essential attributes.

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[552] Hawwa, 'Be Wafa' (Unfaithful), 2004, pp49-62

Lur[553], 'Daughter', condemns Pukhtun customary practice of *Swara*, marrying girl for peace making. The custom commodifies woman, uses her as pawn to make peace with rivals. Following Aleena's brother's elopement with a girl, to settle ensuing conflict with the girls' family, her father paid 500,000 rupees and also gave Aleena in *swara*. She is wedded to the girl's brother, to restore their honour. Mother-in-law denies her status as son's wife and openly declares that she will arrange a proper wedding of her son. In-laws treat her like perpetrator of an honour crime against them, taunt and remind her brother's shameful act. She is underfed, not allowed to dress up, and kept overburdened with domestic chores. Not allowed to visit her family, she could not even meet her dying mother. Her brother enjoys life with his beloved wife; while Aleena suffers despite being innocent because of her gender. She, therefore, abhors being a woman, and does not want any other woman to suffer like her. After giving birth to a daughter, she lost her senses and strangled her daughter to death.[554] Manifesting *gender consciousness,* the story portrays miserable life of Pukhtun woman, a victim of gender based violence and discriminatory practices. It points to secondary, subservient, subhuman status of woman in Pukhtun society. She is deprived of autonomy, since her father decides to sacrifice her to protect his son's life. He forces her into an unhappy, miserable marriage that results into her insanity and loss of her infant daughter's life. A woman in face of deep rooted patriarchy has lost all hopes of improvement in the lives of women even in distant future, kills her infant daughter.

In *Dwaima Nikah*[555], 'Second Marriage' Hawwa focuses again on suppression of woman's autonomy in Pukhtun society. Zareena married twice and each time had to suppress her choices, feelings and emotions to obey commands of her husband. First husband Rustam, a widower and father of an adolescent son, Janbaz, instructed her to be like a mother to Janbaz. She tried to take care of Janbaz, but of no avail. He treated her like a servant and did not even refrain from hurling insults and abuses. Years passed by and Zareena had become mother of two daughters, but her status remained that of a Janbaz's

[553] Hawwa, 'Lur' (Daughter). 2004, pp91-100
[554] Ibid., pp99-100
[555] Hawwa, 'Dwaima Nikah', (Second Marriage), 2004, pp101-114

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[553] Hawwa, 'Lur' (Daughter). 2004, pp91-100
[554] Ibid., pp99-100
[555] Hawwa, 'Dwaima Nikah', (Second Marriage), 2004, pp101-114

servant. Soon after Rustam's sudden death, Zareena arranged marriage of Janbaz to a pretty and decent girl. Zareena and her two daughters had now been at the mercy of Janbaz Khan who had even started hitting his step sisters as well. Finding it difficult to tolerate maltreatment of her daughters, Zareena left Janbaz's house. She married second time, her new husband Firdaus Khan had been nice to her and the daughters. Janbaz had been angry at her step mother's second marriage and took away his half-sisters to punish Zareena. She met her daughters secretly at a neighbour's house, however, Janbaz discovered. He went to see Firdaus Khan and taunted him of being unable to bridle his wife like a true Pukhtun man. Firdaus Khan could not accept a blow on his Pukhtun masculinity, he, therefore, strictly warned Zareena against visiting Janbaz's village. He made her suppress her maternal love for the sake of his masculine honour. The story demonstrates that a woman's entire life is regulated by male relatives, even a step son. After first nikah, she was subservient to parental love of her husband, and after second nikah, to the honour of husband. The story, illustrating *gender consciousness*, also points to the issue of a woman's right to child custody. Patrilineality is so strong amongst Pukhtun that even claim of a paternal step brother over child custody is stronger than a mother's.

Tor Sare delineates gender discrimination within the family. Parents prefer son and allocate him more resources ignoring four daughters. Son is: given better quality and more quantity of food, at times, even share of sisters; admitted to an expensive private English medium school, daughters to a free public sector Urdu medium school. Son driven in car to the school, daughters have to walk; he has access to private tuition, the girls have to study on their own. The youngest, very intelligent daughter Lalo always secures first position in class. Each year the mother wished that instead of Lalo her brother would have stood first. To her, Lalo's intelligence had been of no use, since Lalu was just a *tor sare* i.e., mere weak young girl. Since the world belongs to men, their talent and education may uplift the family. Lalo's brother was poor in studies and ended up working as a clerk in a factory. On the other hand, Lalo secured first position in M.Sc., and was offered scholarship to study in the

USA.[556] *Gender consciousness* identifies and charts areas of gender discrimination, highlighting denial of equal opportunities of growth, learning and development to female at par with male children within the family. The story also demonstrates that woman is in no way inferior to man, rather can excel man, despite unfavorable circumstances. However, her achievements have been belittled in patriarchal settings.

Wagma Saba Amir, an Afghan author, expressing *gender consciousness* in her short stories, focuses on women's problems emerging in the wake of war, displacement, migrations and poverty. *Da Wawre Laman*, 'Snow in the Foothill', brings forth adverse and traumatic effects of war on women. Amongst the sounds of guns and canons, people flee for life: A woman's husband and daughter abandoned home, leaving behind an infant son and mother who refused to part with house and belongings to guard against thieves of Gulbadin and Rabbani. A few moments later, a mortar shell hits her courtyard, frightened, she ran away along with her infant son, wrapped in a shawl. She joined crying women and children on the road. People carried valuables while she clung to her infant son and continued running. On the way, she tried to look for her daughter and husband but could not find them. On the road covered with snow, she encountered a still woman in labour pain accompanied by a little girl. She took the woman to a side of the road and helped her deliver a baby boy. The woman died and she picked the neonate to wrap him with her son, but found her own son missing in the shawl.[557] The story manifests *gender consciousness* in highlighting gender dimension of war and sufferings of women during war. Woman suffers loss of house, belongings, family members and life. She is so deeply attached to house and its belongings that even in face of imminent threat she initially resists parting with them. She leaves everything behind to save her son's life, but she loses him too. Maternal mortality also rises during war.

Khpal Watan Kashmir De, 'To everyone Motherland is Kashmir' is the story of a young, pretty, Afghan refugee girl, Palwasha's wedding to an old man in an attempt to enable immigration of her entire family to England. Afghan refugees, residing in refugee camps or slums, usually live in poverty

[556] Hawwa, 'Tor Sare (Women)' 2004, pp.132-142
[557] Amir, W., Da Wawre Laman (Snow in the Foothill). Danish Khaprandoya, 2004, pp18-23

and misery. Only those can afford to live in posh areas of Peshawar who are supported financially by relatives working in Europe and the US. It has, therefore, been a dream of most Afghan refugees to immigrate to Europe or America to earn better livelihood and support refugee relatives in Pakistan. Palwasha's uncle, a US national, did support Palwasha's family and provided for the cost of living in Hayatabad, Peshawar. Palwasha dreamed of her wedding to a young, handsome groom, while father dreamed to immigrate to the US or Europe with the entire family. A proposal of marriage of a British national Afghan, based in London, for Palwasha was, therefore, immediately accepted. Groom's family showed a picture of a young handsome man, and a telephonic *Nikah* followed. Upon arrival at London airport, Palwasha found out that the groom was neither young nor handsome as shown in the picture, rather ugly and more than 50 years old.[558] The story, manifesting *gender consciousness*, points to commodification of woman in the wake of war and displacement. Palwasha's father, keen to have a British national, son-in-law, and to immigrate, did not pay attention to daughter's dreams, desires, feelings and emotions. Palwasha was wedded in haste, without appropriate inquiry regarding suitability of the groom. In order to actualize his dream to immigrate, father sacrificed Palwasha's youthful dreams. It is also evident that war in Afghanistan and limited or no income generation opportunities for refugees have intensified commodification of woman. She has been wedded into mismatch marriage to bring direct or indirect financial benefits to the families.

Wrustai Nakha, 'Last Target', depicts plight of educated, working woman, overburdened by work both at home and workplace. Oppressed by husband and exploited by employer, she suffers violence for not fulfilling her role as a mother and fears employer's retaliation in case of delay in completing assigned tasks. Loud, critical, angry shouts of husband accusing her of not taking care of infant son woke Ghotai up, before dawn. He scolded Ghotai for being more interested in job than household chores and also hit her hard resulting into bleeding nose. Despite her being worthless and failing in taking care of his son and household, he provides for food and clothing to her,

[558] Amir, W., 'Khpal Watan Kashmir De' (To everyone Motherland is Kashmir). In: *Da Wawre Laman (Snow in the Foothill)*. Danish Khaprandoya 2004, pp35-39

taunted he. Wiping her bleeding nose, she picked his son and left for hospital bare feet. She embarked a taxi, but later found out that she does not have money to pay fare, since forgot purse at home. Giving taxi driver her gold ring as a guarantee, she requested him to wait at hospital gate and promised to pay him back two way fare upon returning home. When she came out of hospital after son's treatment, the taxi driver had disappeared. She attempted to ride back home on a bus, but was disembarked by the driver for not having money to pay the fare. Bare feet, she had to walk a long distance. On way back home, she tried to muster strength to handle husband's fury over the lost ring. Remembering that it has been 8th of March, and she had to write a speech for Women's Day celebration at school, distressed her even more. In case of not writing the speech, half of her salary was to be deducted by the employer. [559] The story manifests *gender consciousness* in aptly depicting situation of contemporary working Pukhtun woman. She is oppressed and exploited both due to her gender and class. Husband, society and state considers child bearing and rearing the responsibility of woman alone. She is neither assisted in take care of children and household by husband owing to strict adherence of Pukhtun man to division of labour on the basis of sex difference nor provided childcare facilities by state both in community and workplace. Employment alone does not empower her, rather exploitation of her labour at workplace compounds patriarchal oppression. Since, neither family, a unit of production, supports and enables professional excellence, nor, the working conditions are favourable to facilitate her in reproduction. Her role in production and reproduction is either not recognized or belittled. Moreover, she is denied control over her productive and reproductive capacity. Employer owns product of her labour and husband owns the son and controls her income too.

Zaitun Bano (1938) writes extensively about issues adversely impacting woman's status in Pukhtun society, such as; gender segregation, confinement, denial of rights, maltreatment of widows, heavy workload, sexual objectification and honour killing. Exhibiting *gender consciousness*, she discerns and condemns oppressive, discriminatory patriarchal practices, and rejects essential feminine attributes and roles assigned to Pukhtun women.

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[559] Amir, 'Wrustai Nakha' (Last Target), 2004, pp44-48

Departing from traditional Pukhtun notion of femininity ascribed to women i.e., passive, obedient and submissive, mere to bear and rear children, she presents a resilient, assertive, productive and independent role model Pukhtun woman. Not limiting woman's role to reproduction, Bano appreciates her contribution in the sphere of production, both within four walls of house and in the job market, underscoring women's unrecognized labour both in public and private spheres. Her characters have not only been involved in hard household work but also in producing both goods and services as labourers, teachers, nurses, domestic and home based workers.

In, *Maat Laas*, 'Broken Arm', Bano shatters the myth that considers woman, 'a broken arm', always in need of support of male relatives. Zubaida married her cousin in face of parents' opposition. Husband later divorced her, however, she decided not to lean on parents and brothers. Instead of returning to parents with complaints against husband, as traditionally expected from a divorcee, *Maat Laas*, she chose to stand on her own feet. She began working as a teacher to earn her livelihood and retain her independence.[560] Bano challenges traditional gendered consciousness by approving consent marriage, a fundamental human right of women. Highlighting women's agency and competence, she stresses significance of women's economic independence in the struggle for empowerment.

In, *Da Shawe Panrha*, 'Rosewood Leaf', Bano boldly raises issues hitherto considered taboos amongst Pukhtun such as; women's sexual needs, desires and adverse psychological effect of unfulfilled desires. Breaking silence, she depicts expressions of sexuality in highly oppressed and gender segregated Pukhtun society. The segregation is so endemic that even a woman eating leftover food of men not related to her is highly disapproved. Bano artistically describes how eating that left over food becoming a means and expression of defiance against patriarchy and sexual fulfillment for women. Moreover, touching and hugging pillows used by male guests also expresses unmet sexual desires.[561] Pukhto folklore and literature, portrays woman's sexuality either negatively i.e., lustful, unfaithful, treacherous or does not

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[560] Bano, Z., 'Mat Laas' (Broken Arm). In: Jwandi Ghamoona (Alive Sorrows). 2nd ed., Azer Taj Saeed, Maktabai Arjang, Peshawar1985, pp28-45 at p199

[561] Bano, 'Da Shawe Panrha' (Rosewood Leaf), 1985, pp115-131

recognize it at all i.e., asexual, celibate and chaste. Pukhtun society has double standards and expects of a woman to hide and suppress her desires. Bano recognizes woman's sexual needs and desires and adverse impact of regulation and suppression, thereby, widening the sphere of woman's rights to include sexual rights as well.

In *Chelamchee*, 'Wash Basin', Bano attempts to refute instances of gendered consciousness amongst Pukhtun, portraying woman disloyal, lustful, seductress, treacherous and deceitful. She relates story of a woman lured into sexual relation with men, promising marriage and later refusal to keep promises on one or other pretext. Bano accuses man of misleading, seducing and deceiving woman. He reduces woman to a sexual object to gratify his sexual desires and finally discards.[562] In order to refute the generally held notion that woman is essentially lustful and seductress, hence, needs to be reined in; she portrays woman naive and innocent, misled and seduced by man. However, her depiction too reinforces need of male guardian and protector to safeguard woman, resulting into strengthening patriarchy.

In *Kekhe*, 'Worm', Bano charts and condemns manifestations of feudal patriarchy amongst Pukhtun. Feudal patriarchal mindset locates man's honour in woman's sexuality; consequently confines, segregates and restricts her, inflicts violence upon her, even commits honour killing. A Pukhtun feudal patriarch exercises absolute authority over female relatives. They are not allowed to, have contact and interaction with men, hear male voices even attend phone calls. Set a very high standard of match to his daughter, leading to her remaining unmarried. Desperate, she develops sexual relation with a servant, the only man accessible, believed to be impotent and abnormal. Finally, father kills her when discovered that she is pregnant. [563] The story illustrates absolute authority of a feudal patriarch over life and death of women and servants. In the name of honour, he regulates and suppresses woman's sexuality; denies autonomy; controls mobility; decides her marriage and even kills with impunity. Bano, exhibiting *gender consciousness*, bemoans absolute patriarchal authority and lack of woman's autonomy in Pukhtun feudal setting. Urging recognition of woman's sexual needs, she condemns

[562] Bano, '*Chelamchee*' (Wash Basin), 1985, pp. 154-199
[563] Bano, '*Kekhe*' (Worm), 1985, pp132-153

cruel, inhuman practices carried out to suppress woman's sexuality.

Bano, in *Parhaona*, 'Rest Breaks/Spots', narrates countless, unending, services husband demands of wife. Mor Bibi, despite old age, performs all household chores alone. Since, husband did not want to abandon ancestral home and refused to move in with his three sons, posted elsewhere. Mor Bibi had mostly been ill and one morning lacked even strength to get up to drink water, despite being thirsty. But she immediately jumped out of bed when husband angrily demanded morning tea. She could not dare delay her master's command. While she was making tea, the husband shouted again for water. When she gave him chilled water, he scolded her for not bringing him water at room temperature. After serving him water and tea, she realized her thirst and need for water. Suffering from high fever, she found it difficult even to sit but began doing a heap of dishes, during which she fainted. Hearing the noise of breaking dishes, husband entered into kitchen and found her laying on the floor. He said angrily, '*Nawab lur, da hees kaar na ye*', Nawab's daughter, good for nothing, you sleep even in the kitchen.[564] The story, illustrating *gender consciousness*, brings to fore unacknowledged, unpaid, domestic workload of woman that she performs without any break. The story also bemoans master-slave relationship between husband and wife. Husband, like a demigod commands and wife has to obey. Even old age, bearing and rearing three sons do not improve her status. It is evident that essential feminine role is to provide services to husband and other family members; while masculine role is to command.

The above demonstrates that Pukhto short stories express both gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*. Not only these stories provide insight into prevailing gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity and patriarchal customary practices amongst Pukhtun, but also manifest varied existent responses towards gender hierarchy and discrimination against women ranging from; absolute, unquestioned adherence to partial acceptance, condemnation, total rejection, to urge reform. It establishes that prevalent gender relations amongst Pukhtun are hierarchical and patriarchal; man exercises absolute authority over woman, denying her autonomy both in

[564] Bano, Z., '*Parhaona* (Rest Breaks/Spots)'. In: *Neeza Warhay*. University Publishers, Peshawar 2009, pp40-49

private and public spheres. Father/brother/husband, male (paternal) relatives and even in-laws, control and regulate woman's mobility, actions, desires and emotions. Pukhtun patriarchy bestows upon men not only power to inflict violence upon women in the name of honour but also entitlement to take several wives, simultaneously. It also establishes that patriarchal relations have deeply been internalized by women, and hence, become instrumental in preserving and further strengthening patriarchy by transmitting it to succeeding generations.

Manifestations of gendered consciousness, in selected Pukhto short stories, ascribe to woman, essential feminine attributes such as: submission, obedience, loyalty, fidelity, care, compassion, love, devotion, honesty, modesty, chastity, patience, sacrifice and efficiency in domestic chores. Essential masculine attributes ascribed to man include: honour, command, power, autonomy, detachment, aggression, violence, sexual potency, ability to guard woman's sexuality. On the basis of sex differences, it strictly divides labour, roles and sphere of activities for Pukhtun man/woman. It prescribes reproductive, domestic, subordinate and relational role to Pukhtun woman, confines her to four walls, to bear and rear children, especially son, heir to family name and property. Not a 'subject', she is merely an obedient daughter/sister, loyal wife and caring mother. It commands Pukhtun woman total adherence to patriarchal norms, not permitting a minor, even inadvertent violation. Rendering marriage an unbreakable status, it even lauds living with an insane, impotent husband, Pukhtun wife's sacred duty. Role prescribed to Pukhtun man is to guard honour, located in woman's sexuality, property and fatherland, provide for the family and defend faith. Man's control over, and regulation of woman's desires and emotions has been legitimized and reinforced, by declaring her site of [male] Pukhtun honour and reducing her to an object. Prescribing essential feminine/masculine attributes and roles, gendered consciousness sustains rather strengthens male authority and privileges in the family, social, political and economic spheres. It results into legitimizing patriarchal control over women's productive, reproductive capacities and creations, i.e., exercise of Pukhtun man's control over Pukhtun woman's bodies, thought, emotions, labour and products of labour.

Manifestations of *gender consciousness* in selected Pukhto short stories

not only discern but also condemn patriarchal discriminatory practices against women such as: preference for male child; confinement; suppression of desires; *volvar;* underage/ mismatch/ forced/exchange marriage; *swara*; honour killing; polygamy; violence against women, especially widows; and prohibiting widow's remarriage etc. Exhibiting traces of anti-essentialism, *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun rejects absolute and unquestioned adherence to notion of Pukhtun essential feminine/masculine attributes and roles confining woman to tool of reproduction within the four walls. *Gender consciousness* dares to reject theistic essentialism that considers violation of essential attributes and roles, especially disobedience to father/husband, as a major sin, committed by Pukhtun woman, rather, it declares passive submission to patriarchal authority, discriminatory notions and practices, graver sins.

Gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun discerns collusion of class and gender in oppressing women in general, especially poor. Men often derive power over women both by belonging to upper class and dominant sex. It discerns, numerous ways woman's labour and body, is subjected to exploitation in patriarchal, class ridden, Pukhtun society. Feudal lord, empowered both by class and gender, forcibly imposes sexual relations upon female relatives, tenants and servants. Paying *volvar,* rich, promiscuous, polygamous, old and ugly men compel poor, young, virgin, pretty, underage girls, to wed. Moreover, payment of *volvar* awards husband ownership over woman's life, sexuality, labour and offspring. Tracing factors perpetuating patriarchy, this consciousness finds gendered, androcentric interpretations of Pukhtunwali and Islam instrumental in keeping woman vulnerable and dependent. Misinterpretation of sacred text by Muslim clerics has been legitimizing and promoting oppression of, and violence, against women.

Pukhtun *gender consciousness* envisions woman a human being, a 'subject', independent, educated, working, resisting violence, protesting against discriminations and asserting human rights. Highlighting women's agency, competence and urge to become autonomous, *gender consciousness* points towards lack of avenues and spaces for women to assert. Such absolute lack of avenues and alternatives in highly restrictive Pukhtun society may either drive woman into insanity and suicide or a few more resilient, conscious

Pukhtun women find ways and create opportunities and assert agency, exercising autonomy.

4.2 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN SELECTED PUKHTO NOVEL

This section aims at delineating and assessing Pukhtun gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* by analyzing samples taken from selected Pukhto novels. It charts and discusses prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notion of masculinity/femininity, as well as patriarchal customs and traditions impacting status of woman, related in Pukhto novel.

Pukhto novel writing spans over a period of more than a century: Rahat Zakhaili wrote first Pukhto novel *Mah Rukha*, a love story, in 1912. Second novel appeared after a gap of more than two decades, Noor Mohammad Tarakai wrote *Be Tarbiata Zwe*, 'Untrained Son', in 1939.[565] Subsequently, a number of Pukhto novels based on themes as varied as; love; historic, semi-historic legends; social, cultural, political, class and gender oppression, appeared.

Peghla, 'Unmarried Girl', by Sahibzada Mohammad Idrees (1902-1984), a love story, written in 1950, revolves around conflict between love and obligation to follow patriarchal notions and practices of Pukhtunwali. The novel advocates adherence to patriarchal Puktun customs, traditions and regulation/suppression of emotions, exhibiting gendered consciousness. It also provides insight into Pukhtun notion of masculinity and femininity. Riaz, an educated Pukhtun young man, engaged to his maternal cousin, fell for Nelofar, a Pukhtun student of a medical college, in Lahore. Adhering to Pukhtun notions rendering engagement as sacred, unbreakable and inviolable as marriage, Riaz deliberately suppresses his love for Nelofar. Since masculine Pukhtunwali considers breaking engagement and abandoning one's fiancée not only *beghairatee,* a shameful act, but also disobeying parents. Nelofar, though in love with Riaz, refrains to express, to uphold Pukhtun notion of femininity, expecting a woman to be chaste, modest, celibate and exercise self-control. [566]

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[565] Khalil, H., Pukhto Novel: Tehqeqi aw Tanqeedi Jaiza (Pashto Novel: A Critical Appraial). Bagram Pukhto Adabi Jirga, Peshawar 2000, p.45

[566] Idress, M., Peghla (Unmarried Girl). Idara Isha't Sarhad, Peshawar, pp435

Reinforcing gender hierarchy, the novel, terms Pukhtun man essentially strong, brave and capable of guarding woman's sexuality, honour and life; while woman essentially weak, incapable of protecting herself, thus, in need of male protector. Nelofar, an educated, independent girl travelling alone in the train from Peshawar to her college in Lahore; has still been portrayed weak and in need of man's protection, because in face of attack on her, Riaz comes to her rescue.[567] For author, *Nartob*, masculinity, is expressed in overcoming challenges and facing dangers; while avoiding danger and not protecting women and weaklings is *namardi*, non-masculinity. Masculinity, a superior trait, has been universally praised, even a preferred daughter is dubbed as *nara lur*, masculine daughter. Gendered consciousness amongst Pukhtun, illustrated in *Peghla*, assigns primacy to patriarchal customs and traditions in opposition to human desires and emotions. Patriarchy advocates regulating and suppressing desires and emotions of not only women but of men too. Since, both Nelofar and Riaz, have been eulogized for suppressing emotions. It is evident that gendered consciousness is retrogressive, since it demands adherence to primitive Puktun customs and traditions, in fast changing settings even from highly educated and independent individuals. Moreover, it associates masculinity with physical strength and power; while femininity with weakness and vulnerability, thus legitimizes gender hierarchy. Elevating man as protector of woman's life, sexuality and honour, it renders space to man's control and authority over woman.

Syed Rasul Rasa (1910-1990), in *Mamonai*,[568] charts notions of Pukhtun pride/honour, rejects gender equality and advocates confinement of women to the four walls. For Rasa, veiled, segregated, confined, modest and chaste Pukhtun woman is source of (male) Pukhtun pride.[569] In case a Pukhtun woman, anywhere in the world, is not adequately veiled, dressed, or transgresses prescribed code of modesty, brings disgrace and humiliation to all Pukhtun (read men).[570]

Mamonai, is a modern, educated, Pukhtun, young woman of Afghan origin residing in Iran along with her family. She wears western dresses, has

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[567] Ibid., pp 150-202
[568] Rasul, R., Mamonai. University Book Agency, Peshawar, pp248
[569] Ibid., pp59-68
[570] Ibid., p.206

male friends, and opposes confinement and veiling of Pukhtun women in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In her view, women in Kabul are kept within four walls as prisoners; to go out, they have to wear *burqa,* again a prison.[571] She supports women's participation in public sphere and believes in gender equality. She meets and falls for an educated but conservative, traditional, young man, a Pukhtun from Pakistan. Disapproving Mamonai's views, attire and her interaction with men, he attempts to convince Mamonai that her views regarding gender roles and relations are pervert. She, does not concede gender inequity initially; however once her lover rescues her when she was about to drown while having swim in a river; she finds out that her beliefs about gender equity were ill-founded. It dawns upon her that woman is essentially weak and man is her natural protector and guardian. To face challenges in public sphere is task of man, while stay at home is good for woman, a weak creature.[572] The story, a vivid instance of essentialist, androcentric gendered consciousness amongst Pukhtun, sustains and reinforces gender hierarchy and gendered division of public and private spheres. It is also evident that Pukhtun honour is essentially masculine and located in woman's body, emotions and activities. Hence, regulation, subjugation and subordination of Pukhtun woman has been legitimized in the name of Pukhtun (male) honour. Gendered consciousness even sanctions regulation of Pukhtun woman, in any part of the world, by Pukhtun man, even not related to her, in the name of upholding Pukhtun honour.

Mohammad Ibrahim Khan Shabnam in *Khwakhe Ingor*, 'Mother and Daughter in-Law', approves woman's right to consent marriage and share in inheritance.[573] He condemns prevalent discriminatory, practices amongst Pukhtun such as; mourning birth of daughter,[574] polygamy on pretext of not having a male child,[575] and transferring share in inheritance to brothers/nephews in the absence of male child but presence of female child.[576] Despite advocating some fundamental human rights of women, Shabnam

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[571] Ibid., p57
[572] Ibid., p197
[573] Shabnam, I. M., Khwakhe Ingor (Mother and Daughter in-Law). Danish Kitabtun, Qissa Khwani Bazar 1973, p.175
[574] Ibid., p.5
[575] Ibid., pp14-15
[576] Ibid., p.12

envisions woman in a limited domestic role of an obedient wife and daughter-in-law.

He charts a long list of dos and don'ts for Pukhtun woman, especially wife and daughter-in-law. A Pukhtun woman ought: not assert her will contravening husband's and in-laws'; to bear in silence violence, inflicted by husband and/or in-laws, in the name of Pukhtunwali and family's honor; to devote herself to serving husband and in-laws; not question husband's absolute authority; not complain about domestic violence to anyone, even her own parents and brothers; not to step out of husband's house, even if he or in-laws push her out.[577] A woman of pure Pukhtun blood and superior lineage naturally follows these dos and don'ts and is termed a good Pukhtun woman. A bad woman questions absolute authority of men over women, she asks, "What sins women have committed that they are doomed to always obey the order of their husbands?"[578] She leaves husband's house on trivial issues and then provokes her father/brothers against her husband and in-laws. Her complaints and provocations often result into disputes between her male relatives and in-laws, at times causing blood feuds.[579] The novel exhibits gendered consciousness despite recognition of some fundamental rights of women. It prescribes essential attributes and roles to Pukhtun woman, demanding absolute submission to masculine force and authority, to fulfill obligations of Pukhtunwali. Raising questions and resisting male authority by a woman has been considered a sin and violation of Pukhtunwali. Woman's essential role has been to keep extended family intact and strengthen familial bonds amongst the in-laws. She has been denied the right to protest and resist injustices against her.

Bibi Nurah, by Takreem-ul-Haq Kakkhel, is a collection of instructive letters of a husband, residing away from hometown, to wife, living in his extended family. *Bibi Nurah* claims woman to be naturally inferior to man, prescribing essential attributes to woman and man that sustains and reinforces hierarchical gender relations. Like *Khwakhe Ingor*, *Bibi Nurah* also offers woman a long list of do's and don'ts, assuming woman to be, superstitious,

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[577] Ibid., pp46-57
[578] Ibid., p.57
[579] Ibid., p.80

ambitious, biased, tempted to control others, irrational and governed by passions. Hence, she is essentially incapable of assuming authority and leadership.[580] Therefore, it becomes obligatory upon woman to seek man's, i.e., husband's, guidance and instructions in both, religious and worldly affairs, as well as family matters. Husband instructs wife to forget her own relatives, since, a woman's real abode is her husband's home and his family. She ought to sincerely serve husband and his relations, but abstain from attempting to take control of household affairs. She can only win husband's and in-laws' hearts by being caring, nurturing and bear in silence heavy workload and unpleasant circumstance.[581]

For author, woman always feels insecure that her husband may get attracted to some other woman and go for second marriage. Terming woman *kog large,* crooked stick, *che be taudedu na sameegi*, that cannot straighten without heating, the author justifies polygamy to fix a woman who quarrels often and fails in duties towards husband and in-laws. [582] Motherhood is highly eulogized and son argues in favor of more rights to mother than to wife. Woman's participating in public sphere is violative of laws of nature, she like a precious, delicate and beautiful object is secured within the four walls.[583] All letters advise wife to acquire and cultivate attributes such as; obedience, care, patience and self-sacrifice, to serve and hold extended family together.

The author approves education of women merely to enable them to read and write, considering higher education an obstacle to girl's skills in domestic chores. In his view, urban woman does not perform household duties, instead wears make-up and half sleeve shirts, cut their hair short and go to watch movies in cinema halls. They lose innocence and modesty, essential attributes of femininity, thus fail in commanding respect. A traditional Pukhtun woman commands more respect, since, she performs her duties. Moreover exchange marriage is justified in the name of rendering greater protection to woman and bride price as assisting poor parents in bearing wedding cost of their daughters.[584] On a positive note, he opposes Pukhtun notions rendering

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[580] Kakakhel, T., *Bibi Nurah*. Uinversity Book Agency, Peshawar 1963, p.81
[581] Ibid., pp 5-21
[582] Ibid., pp 167-174
[583] Ibid., p.150
[584] Ibid., p.181-89

marriage and engagement inviolable, sacred bonds and supports widow's right to remarriage.[585]

Bibi Nurah provides vivid instances of gendered consciousness amongst Pukhtun. Reiterating hierarchical, gendered binaries of reason/passion, public/private spheres, enunciated earlier in Greek and Medieval thought, it reinforces patriarchal gender relations amongst Pukhtun. Manifesting essentialism, it associates man with reason and woman with passions. It denies woman role in decision making at all levels, even in household affairs. Though woman has been assigned secondary, subordinate status in the family; nonetheless, mother is preferred over wife. Woman has been assigned gigantic task of cohesive integration of extended family. It Justifies polygamy and legitimizes confinement of woman to the household in the name of natural law.

Aseer Mangal (1955) in *Tarla*,[586] discussing adverse effects of agnatic rivalry amongst Pukhtun, approves birthright claim of a paternal male cousin to marry a woman. Zalmay Gul began dreaming about his female paternal cousin Badama without having seen her. He asserted inherent right over her, believing that, *tarla da tarbor da*, 'female cousin is property of the male paternal cousin'. Zalmay Gul's uncle had developed enmity with his brother and nephews. Still, Zalmay Gul decided to visit his uncle's home located in ancestral village primarily to see Badama and pursue paternal cousin's right over her. He anticipated that his uncle will accept him as nephew and his right to marry Badama. Soon after meeting, the two cousins fell for each other. However, his uncle did not reconcile, outraged, threatened to kill him and pushed him out of his house. Meanwhile, Badama's maternal aunt put forward her son's (maternal cousin) proposal for her. Badama assigned primacy to paternal cousin's claim over her, retorting, *Zaat plar pase zee*, 'descent is patrilineal', implying she preferred paternal cousin.[587] She also instructed Zalmay Gul to advance *Ghag* i.e., a customary Pukhtun practice to publicly announce a paternal cousin's claim over a woman by resorting to shoot in the air in front of her house. None may dare marrying a *ghag wahale khaza*, a

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[585] Ibid., p.111
[586] Mangal, A., *Tarla* (Paternal Female Cousin). Da Pukhto Adabi Chaman, Tal 1986, pp142
[587] Ibid., p.34

woman claimed by a paternal cousin, since it implies enmity with the man and his family who has advanced *ghag*.[588] Zalmay Gul could not flex his arms and use guns, lacking essential Pukhtun masculine attributes. Badama could not muster courage to defy father who forcibly wedded her to maternal cousin. Unable to bear separation from his beloved cousin, Zalmay Gul breathed his last on her wedding day. The novel manifests existing paradoxical gender relations and/or consciousness amongst Pukhtun. On one hand it deplores manifestations of patriarchy i.e., Pukhtun agnatic rivalry, forcible separation of lovers and forced marriage of woman. While on the other, it takes patrilineality for granted, legitimizes and reinforces claim of paternal male relatives over woman. Similarly, though Badama dares to love, defying Pukhtun patriarchal honour code; however, she wants her lover (paternal cousin) to invoke *ghag*, an oppressive and discriminatory Pukhtun practice against women, to deter forced marriage. Zalmay Gul too, notwithstanding agnatic rivalry, founds his claim over Badama upon patriarchal and patrilineal notions and practices i.e., paternal cousin's right; but is unable to supplement with force (lacks essential masculine attributes of power and aggression) to prevent Badama's marriage to maternal cousin. The story can be cited as one of the most illustrious instances of gendered consciousness; since it leans on patrilineality and claim of paternal cousin to counter patriarchal control of father over daughter. In traditional Pukhtun setting, authority signifies not only gender but age too. Young Zalmay could not effectively challenge existent patriarchal authority of experienced father over Badama in favour of paternal cousin.

Abdul Nasir Zakhmi in, *Warha Bibi,*[589] 'Young Lady', advocates suppression of emotions, and strict regulation of, woman's actions, since, she has been axis of family's (read male relatives') honour. He promotes absolute submission of Pukhtun daughter to father's will as an essential feminine attribute. At the same time, he ridicules extreme veiling and confinement of women in Pukhtun rural, feudal settings. Women rarely are allowed to step out of their houses and interact with males, even servants. Occasions to visit

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[588] Ibid., pp.124-25

[589] Zakhmi, Abdul Nasir. Warha Bibi (Young Lady). Hashnaghar Pukhto Adabi Tolana, Charsada 1977, pp184

relatives are marred with heavy curtains drawn between women and outer world as well as driver during travel.[590]

In *Warha Bibi*, a real Pukhtun woman can't even imagine challenging father's decisions, she, rather happily submits to his will and upholds father's honour. She, therefore, suppresses emotions, desires and feelings. Baskai, a young girl from an affluent family, is attracted to her driver and wishes to marry him. Her father, though pampers her much, however, accepts a proposal of her marriage to his friend's son without consulting her. Baskai resents father's decision and shares this with brother's wife. Brother, upon hearing it from wife, became furious and considers Baskai's resentment tantamount to defiance of Pukhtunwali. Since, Pukhtun customs and traditions, for him, do not sanction daughters to challenge father's decisions, or express like/dislike of a man. A Pukhtun woman shall: suppress emotions, desires and feeling; refrain from taking interest in issues pertaining to her marriage; and submit to father's will.[591]

Baskai's expression of love towards her driver and intention to confront her father to review decision of her marriage infuriated the driver (read male). He warned her that love disgraces, defames and stigmatizes woman in Pukhtun society. Pukhtun parents consider it shameful to seek daughter's consent for marriage and daughter too never opposes their decision. Baskai retorted that giving away a daughter in marriage without consent is equivalent to sale of animals in *mandi,* market.[592] Baskai incited him to elope; the driver declined with disdain, saying, 'A Pukhtun woman has a body and a heart, owned, possessed and governed by others (read, male relatives, especially father). In case a girl disgraces father, she deserves to be murdered and cut into pieces.'[593] He compares a girl to a rose that either becomes part of a bouquet, decorates mantelpiece or gets trampled under feet and decays, i.e., marries the man chosen by father, living honourably or earns disgrace by asserting her will. The driver succeeds in persuading Baskai to right path of Pukhtunwali, consequently, she submits to father's will, i.e., marries the man of his choice.

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[590] Ibid., p. 17
[591] Ibid., p.52
[592] Ibid., pp.43
[593] Ibid., p 140

The novel exhibits gendered consciousness, legitimizes patriarchal authority over woman's body and emotions. It inculcates absolute submission to father's will in Pukhtun woman as an essential attribute to reinforce and legitimize patriarchy. It justifies denying women rights to consent marriage, fundamental freedom of opinion and expression. It dehumanizes and objectifies woman as well as sanctions honour killing in case she dares to assert her agency and defy patriarchal honour code of Pukhtunwali.

Naseer Ahmad Ahmadi, in *Ranrha*, relates a tragic love story of a poor orphan girl set in Ghazni, Afghanistan. A pretty, poor, young orphan dares to love a rich feudal lord's son and commits two major sins: violates Pukhtun honour code and attempts to trespass class boundaries. Consequently, to teach her a lesson, her lover's father conspires bringing into play Pukhtun notion of essential feminine attributes of a woman being chaste and modest. Since a minor, even unfounded, suspicion of a woman having illicit sexual relations may tarnish her image and ruin life. Therefore, the feudal bribes a man who slanders of having relations with Ranrha.[594] Without verifying the fact of the matter, not only the lover turned away from Ranrha terming her unfaithful, disgusting but also became contemptuous towards her. No option left, Ranrha had to marry the slanderer, who, subsequently, maltreats and throws taunts at her of having illicit relations with the rich man's son.[595] The feudal lord's son proceeds abroad to attain higher education, falls for a rich, beautiful, highly educated woman, approved by his father and marries. He leads a happy married life; while Ranrha suffers miseries of carrying stigma of being not chaste, pain of separation and maltreatment of husband, hence, dies at a very young age.

The novel expresses *gender consciousness* and brings into lime light the confluence of both patriarchy and class in oppressing a poor woman. It discerns patriarchal notions of male honour and feminine chastity, as mechanisms of exercising control over and punishing, oppressing, woman. Using money, the feudal lord commodifies these patriarchal notions not only to defame Ranrha in the eyes of his son, but also prevent him marrying her. Resultantly, son's masculine honour surpasses his love emotions, becoming

[594] Ahmadi, N., *Ranra* (Light). Momand Khaprandoya, Kabul 2009, p.125
[595] Ibid., pp.48-81

instrumental in preserving class interest in the name of defending Pukhtun honour and preserving Pukhtun traditions.

Ghazi Sayyal (b. 1933), in *Mangarai*, [596] 'Small Venomous Snake', portrays women in active and assertive roles challenging men and patriarchy. Shahnaz and Jafar, paternal cousins, engaged since childhood, grew up in love and looked forward to their marriage together. Following father's fatal illness, Jafar had to sell his property to cover father's medical and funeral expenses. After father's death, Jafar's uncle did not want to wed his daughter to a poor, property less nephew. Instead, the uncle engaged Shahnaz to his rich friend, Amin's son, in exchange for a hefty bride price. For Shahnaz, her previous engagement had been an inviolable sacred bond and marriage to anyone else not Jafar, not only unthinkable, but a grave sin. Pukhto is keeping one's word in all situations; to uphold Pukhto, she refused to submit to the will of the father. Shahnaz's mother, initially, supported her, but husband's coercion coupled with physical violence not only forced her to abandon her daughter but also persuade daughter to submit before the patriarch. She related, it is each daughter's destiny to marry whomever father has chosen for her. Shahnaz bemoaned that not only woman/ mother preserves and transmits patriarchal norms and values, but also instructs daughter to suppress and regulate feelings, desires and emotions, obey men and submit to their will. Not bowing in absolute submission to father's will, 'an essential duty of a daughter', Shahnaz instead asserts to create her own destiny. Following forced wedding, she did not let husband consummate marriage. Husband, a demigod, and Shahnaz his possession, attempted to commit marital rape. In the event, an armed Shahnaz shot her husband dead and fled with Jafar, her previous fiancé.[597] A brother of her husband who chased them and shot at Jafar was killed too by Shahnaz. Shahnaz and Jafar began living as happily married couple in a remote village, bore two children, a girl and a boy. Meanwhile, revengeful Amin continued looking for them and finally succeeded in locating them. He, in Jafar's absence, attacked, disgraced and killed Shahnaz. Terrified children of Shahnaz fled away to save their lives. Upon return, Jafar looked for his children but did

[596] Sayyal, G., *Mangarai* (Small Venomous Snake). Danish Publishers, Peshawar 2005, pp. 249
[597] Ibid., pp 27-34

not find them. The girl Mahnaz, was adopted by a martial art trainer; and the boy found refuge in an issueless family. Mahnaz had witnessed her mother's hard life and tragic murder in face of masculine force and authority, refused to believe that woman is essentially physically weak. She decided to become *Mangarai*, 'a small poisonous snake', learned martial arts not only to defend her own rights, but also to fight against oppression and discriminations, especially gender based, in the society. Woman has always been oppressed, discriminated and denied fundamental human rights; even religion grants man control over women. Man has reduced her to an object of sexual gratification.[598]

The novel portrays paradoxes in gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun. Rejecting submission and weakness as essential feminine attributes of Pukhtun woman, it portrays alternative Pukhtun role model of active, assertive, brave and physically strong women. Woman defies patriarchal control and authority, asserting agency. She dares to define Pukhtunwali in terms of keeping promise to her lover, contravening father's command. The novel disapproves women's role in transmitting patriarchal values and instructing daughters to be submissive and passive. It not only discerns and condemns patriarchal notions and practices amongst Pukhtun, but also incites women to revolt against patriarchal authority. However, instead of finding political, legal and social recourse, the novel advocates acquisition of masculine traits, i.e., resort to use of armed violence, to counter patriarchal authority and secure women's rights.

Taj Khattak in *Petay*, 'The Burden', condemns maltreatment of woman, terming her a burden and threat to family honour, amongst Pukhtun. She deplores patriarchal Pukhtun notions, customs and traditions tormenting woman and indifference of parents towards wellbeing and happiness of female child.[599] These Pukhtun customs and traditions have been regulating and controlling every domain of woman's life ranging from feelings, emotions, desires and views to practices. She has been denied, fundamental human rights, opportunities to exercise agency and stand on her own feet. Submitting, always, to others' will, life is taken as a burden by herself and a burden for others too. Family members, especially male relatives, consider having an

[598] Ibid.,147-49
[599] Khattak, T., *Peetay* (Burden). University Book Agency, Peshawar, pp 332

unmarried sister/daughter like carrying a heavy load or burden on their weak shoulders. Sultana's father barred her, at the age of 7, to go to school, following her mother's demise. He felt insecure in sending the 7 years old to school, believing that she holds the reigns of his honour.[600] Similarly, her brother began feeling threat to his honour when the girl turned 15 into unmarried sister, following the death of the father. To get rid of the burden, Sultana's proud Pukhtun brother tied her at the age of 15, in wedlock to a jobless and abusive, Aslam, aged 38. On wedding day, elderly female relatives told her that a Pukhtun woman marries only once; divorce and remarriage is a stigma and deviation from Pukhtunwali. Moreover, obeying and serving husband is a religious duty of woman, as Husband is the name of God. Sultana suffered husband's violence in silence with religious devotion, having faith and anticipated reward, if not here, then, in hereafter. [601] Even the thought of abandoning husband never occurred to her; after Aslam threw her out, she clung to his doorway.[602] She worked hard to provide for her son and jobless husband and realized that she is not weak but had been taught to believe that she is weak.

Though, Sultana submits to patriarchal authority more often than not; nonetheless, raises critical questions about prevalent notions, customs and traditions discriminating against women in Pukhtun society. She pondered upon: Why a female child, her talent and labour is undervalued amongst Pukhtun? Why a girl is taught that she is inferior to man? Why a few words of Nikah entitle husband to exercise absolute authority over life, body and labour of woman? Why is it a woman's fate to bear violence in silence?

Demonstrating *gender consciousness*, the novel rejects absolute authority of man over woman as well as oppressive Pukhtun practices against women. Expectations of absolute submission of woman to husband, it ascribes to misinterpretations of Islam and Pukhtunwali.[603] Challenging notions of essential physical weakness and intellectual inferiority of woman, the novel affirms woman's capacity to become independent through labour. It also recognizes that patriarchal Pukhtun notions and practices suppress woman's

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[600] Ibid., pp 5-31
[601] Ibid., pp 20-47
[602] Ibid., p131
[603] Ibid., p125

intellect and courage, compelling her to appear weak and dumb. It also points towards adverse impact of locating honour in woman, that results into, denial of right to girls' education, mismatch marriages and forced to submit to man's command, and suffer aggression and violence in silence due to lack of alternatives.

Riffat Perveen, in *Tata Dewa*, 'Dim Lamp', condemns patriarchal Pukhtun customary practices, especially forced marriage of a widow or engaged woman to brother of the deceased. Fathers of Sadiq and Bakhtawara were paternal cousins. Soon after Sadiq's employment, his parents planned his marriage. Upon receipt of Sadiq's consent for Bakhtawara and father's approval of that, Sadiq's mother proceeded to Bakhtawara's house with proposal. Bakhtawara's mother was pleased and promised to deliver the message to girl's father, since she did not possess authority to accept/reject the proposal. [604] The two fathers met in Hujra and agreed to wed Sadiq and Bakhtawara. Though Bakhtawara liked Sadiq, still had been a little upset at her engagement, since her father did not even bother to seek her consent. She thought, had father engaged her to someone other than Sadiq, she could do nothing except submitting to father's will. A son may still find a way to express displeasure over father's decision but a daughter neither has the opportunity nor sanction to disagree. A woman possesses: heart, but not allowed to grow seeds of love; capacity to think, but not permitted to hold or express her opinion. She further bemoaned that parents may seek daughter's opinion on trivial issues such as buying bangles and dresses; but don't bother taking into account her feeling and emotions when it matters the most on occasion of choosing a spouse. Bakhtawara terms Pukhtun marriage a fire and girls its fuel that has led to annihilation of countless girls, turning their emotions, desires and dreams into smoke and ash.[605]

Safdar, Bakhtawara's elder brother, was engaged to Mussarat, whose father-in-law was interested in Bakhtawara for Mussarat's brother, in exchange marriage. Bakhtawara's father accepted Sadiq's proposal before even Mussarat's father expressed his intention. Bakhtawara's engagement to Sadiq angered Mussarat's father and he threatened to break his daughter's

[604] Perveen, R., Tata Dewa (Dim Lamp). Pukhto Adabi Society, Islamabad 2000, pp-22-32
[605] Ibid., pp27-43

engagement to Safdar. Bakhtawara could understand and sympathize with Mussarat's plight who had developed fondness for Safdar, but was helpless in face of rigid father. Bakhtawara feared in case her father revoked her engagement to Sadiq, disregarding her feelings, there is nothing she can do. [606]

On the day of wedding, during aerial firing a bullet hit Sadiq's chest, killing him on the spot. Eventually, Sadiq's father demanded Bakhtawara's hand for Samad, Sadiq's elder brother, who had already been happily married and father of a son. Sadiq's father told Bakhtawara's father that according to Pukhtun customary practice, Bakhtawara belongs to and shall be married to Samad, brother of the deceased. Both, Samad and Bakhtawara's father resented this decision, however, could not dare deviating from Pukhtun customs. Mother too attempted to persuade Bakhtawara citing obligatory adherence to Pukhtun customs. Bakhtawara terms these practices discriminatory, in case of her death, Sadiq's father would not have proposed Sadiq's wedding to her sister, widow or ugly. Both mother and daughter could not find any path to salvation except education and awareness.[607]

Samad disagreed with father's proposal and attempted to stop him. Citing examples, he argued that how a rich and influential man of their village contravening Pukhtun riwaj, refused to wed his daughter to younger brother of the deceased. Since, the rich man considered the younger brother a mismatch for his daughter. Samad stressed that poor and the weak are compelled to follow Pukhtun customs while the rich and powerful may violate so-called Pukhtun customs with impunity. Father finally steps back from his decision.[608]

The novel hotly debates and discusses Pukhtun gender relations and customary practices. It discerns and condemns oppressive, discriminatory Pukhtun customary practices against women and manifests *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun. It recognizes woman's right to consent marriage and discerns exclusion of women from decision making even matrimonial. It disapproves exchange marriage and forced marriage of a widow or engaged woman to brother of the deceased. These practices treat woman, a commodity, possession of man, to be exchanged and/or transferred

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[606] Ibid., pp.39-40
[607] Perveen, Tata Dewa, 2000, pp121-26
[608] Ibid., pp126- 132

to other male relatives. Citing deviation from Pukhtun customary practices by powerful segment of the society, it rejects the notion that Pukhtunwali has been strictly and uniformly adhered by all segments of Pukhtun society. Highlighting mutability of these customary practices, challenges their sanctity and legitimacy and paves way for reforms.

Sher Zaman Taizai (1931-2009) in *Gul Khan*,[609] delineates and condemns masculine attributes, traditionally ascribed to Pukhtun man, such as; aggression, violence and vindictiveness. He brings forth alternative humane role model Pukhtun man. Gul Khan, a progressive, enlightened and peace loving Pukhtun man, resents taking revenge and bride price, denounces violence and blood feuds with cousins and relatives, in the name of Pukhtunwali. He does not consider misuse of power, aggression, revenge, regulation and oppression of women Pukhtunwali. For Gul Khan, forgiveness and giving asylum, even to one's enemies, constitute Pukhtunwali. He supports women's right to, consent marriage, share in inheritance and education. He faces tremendous adverse social pressure and taunts for stepping out of prevalent (read masculine) Pukhtunwali, and dubbed as *beghairat*, dishonoured.[610]

Sher Zaman Taizai, in Gul Khan, offers groundbreaking instance of rejection of malestream Pukhtunwali by a male Pukhtun author, manifesting *gender consciousness*. He effectively challenges masculine Pukhtunwali, highlighting those progressive, enlightened Pukhtun men who not only denounce aggression, violence, vengeance but also promote peace, a prelude to gender equality and improved status of women.

Salma Shaheen (b. 1955), in *Ka Ranrha Shwa*,[611] 'If Light Prevails', brings forth plight of women while adhering to feminine attributes ascribed to Pukhtun women. It discusses problems faced by Pukhtun women belonging to different strata of society including; illiterate, but feudal and educated, middle class. Aisha is a highly educated, middle class working woman, strongly adhering to prevailing Pukhtun notion, 'woman is the site of family's honour'. Therefore, extremely concerned about her reputation, while stepping out of

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[609] Taizai, S., Gul Khan. Kamil Pukhtu Adabi Jirga Pabbu, Noushehra 1999
[610] Ibid., pp 98-112
[611] Shaheen, S., Ka Ranrha Shwa (If Light Prevails). Peshawar 2010, pp147

house, working as a school teacher, she strives hard to promote girl's education. She bemoans strict confinement of Pukhtun women and denial of fundamental rights and freedoms, especially right to education and share in inheritance.

Aisha believes woman is a human being created by God, reduced by man to a subhuman creature.[612] To establish and reinforce patriarchy, men strictly confine women to four walls, denying them public space and opportunities to develop abilities, acquire skills and build self-confidence. It not only causes but also perpetuates and reinforces physical, moral and intellectual inferiority of women, resulting into lack of *gender consciousness* keeping them ignorant of rights and responsibilities, hence prey to easy exploitation by men.[613] Despite discerning and condemning gender based discriminations and injustices committed in Pukhtun society, she adheres strictly to prescribed feminine attributes of loyalty, care, love, self-sacrifice and suppressing desires, feelings and emotions.

Sultan Khan, a feudal patriarch of a village where Aisha resides, exercises strict control over family, especially womenfolk. Sultan Khan did not sanction women to step out of his fort like residence. Women, especially the younger ones, spoke less and in very low voice. He forcibly married his educated and only son, Abbas, with illiterate niece, Jamila. Even two female grandchildren, i.e., daughters of Jamila and Abbas, were not allowed to attend school. Sultan's wife requested Aisha to teach the two girls at home. Women were not only forbidden to seek medical attention at a hospital, but also not permitted to be examined by a male doctor at home. Jamila developed complications during delivery and died since lady doctor was not available in the village.[614]

To have grandsons, Sultan Khan commands Abbas to remarry forthwith, this time too with another illiterate niece. Meanwhile, Abbas had fallen for Aisha, who tutored his two daughters. He mustered courage this time to refuse marrying his paternal cousin, however, did not dare to express his desire to marry Aisha. He has been well aware of the fact that his parents will

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[612] Ibid., p.47
[613] Ibid., p.12-14
[614] Ibid., pp20-21

never accept an educated, middle class, working woman as his bride.[615] Aisha too loves Abbas and anticipates in silence change in attitude of Abbas's parents. Meanwhile, she became lecturer at university. Before leaving village for university, she was able to persuade Abbas to admit his daughters into a school. Aisha refused several good proposals of marriage during employment in the university, anticipating to marry Abbas. She not only remained faithful to her lover, but also caring and loving to siblings and parents. She provided for parents, supported siblings in completing education, finding employment and getting married.

Finally, she began feeling lonely, became sick and tired of taunts hurled upon her due to being unmarried. Yearning for a companion, she began looking around for a suitable candidate. She began wearing makeup, colourful dresses, interacting with men, laughed and dined. However, men refused to marry her on one or other pretexts such as; age, education, work or interaction with men etc. She gave up attempts to find a husband following repeated rejections, insults and defamation.[616] After a few more years, one of her unemployed students fell for her and succeeded in persuading her to marry him. She lived happily with him for some time and became mother of a daughter. Following three years of marriage, jobless husband proceeded to the US in search of a job, consuming all her savings to pay for his visa and travel expenses. He abandoned Aisha after a short span of time and married an American citizen.[617] Broken hearted, Aisha dedicated all her love and care to daughter Ranrha. Despite being a single parent, Aisha proved to be an exemplary mother, provided best possible education to Ranrha and wedded her to a successful doctor in the US. Ranhra's husband, apparently nice and educated, turned out to be abusive. Worn out by hardships and loneliness, Aisha developed fatal cancer. On her death bed, she related Ranrha, though during my entire life, I have remained faithful to lover/husband, offered care and sacrifices to him and relatives, however, advise you to live your own life according to your own choice and attain your own happiness. Following Aisha's death, Ranrha took paid employment, divorced husband and remarried

[615] Ibid., p.49
[616] Ibid., p108
[617] Ibid., pp127-129

a man of her choice. She fulfilled her mother's dream of asserting herself as an individual, exercised choice and claiming rights.

Exhibiting *gender consciousness*, the novel brings forth adverse effects of adherence to essential feminine attributes ascribed to Pukhtun women. Rejection of woman on the pretext of age, better education and employment while selecting a wife, reinforces naivety, illiteracy and dependence. It also disapproves economic exploitation of working women within the family. It advocates inculcating female agency and standing for one's rights in contrast to being passive, submissive and self-sacrificing. The novel discerns and condemns patriarchal Pukhtun practices such as; women's confinement, violation of right to life, health, education, property and consent to marriage, stressing assertion of self-interest and exercising choice and improve gender relations. An instance of liberal feminist thought that emphasizes individual autonomy, choices and self-interest, however, fails in taking into account underlying socio-economic conditions that inculcate, sustain, rather promote gendered consciousness and patriarchal discriminatory practices against women. These conditions not only shape individual choices, but also define space to assert/deny individual rights and freedoms. Gender equity not only demands critical consciousness of these conditions, but also organizing collective political action to transform.

Nur Mohammad Tarakai's novels raise gender issues in socio-economic context and exposes nexus of feudalism and absolute authority of men, especially elders and clergymen in oppressing women. This unholy nexus robs woman of her status as a human being, identifies her with a piece of land, a currency note, abused and exchanged at man's will to his benefit.

Nur Mohammad Tarakai, in *Spin*,[618] focuses on adverse effects of polygamy, exclusion of women from decision making and commodification of women, especially widows, in Pukhtun rural, feudal setting. The novel relates plight of four co-wives cohabiting under one roof along with numerous children. Under resourced, wives and children often quarrel amongst themselves over food and other necessities of life. Senior wives feel marginalized and younger ones privileged and better provided. Following

[618] Tarakai, N., Spin. The Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan, Kabul 1978, pp132

husband's death, eldest son of the first wife, Spin, succeeds as head of the family. Prior to discussing inheritance issue with male elders, Spin orders his mother to leave room. Mother resents this act but can't dare to oppose and complied murmuring, 'he has begun acting as his father did'.[619] Not only, women have been denied right to speak in important affairs, but are often forcibly silenced by men invoking honour. It has been considered disgrace for a family if a woman speaks loudly and her voice is audible to men outside. Clerics play pivotal role in strengthening patriarchy by instructing men at mosques that exercising strict control over women is a religious duty of men.

Since widow is property of husband's male relatives; Spin, therefore, assumes ownership of step mothers. He conspires with village elders and cleric and sells his youngest step mother, in order to grab bride price and deprive his younger step brothers of their inheritance. An edict was readily made available by the village cleric regarding preference for a widow to marry someone from amongst the in-laws or one chosen by them. Though Islam grants widow the right to marry a man of her choice, however, Pukhtun customs and traditions disapprove, therefore, widow shall, refrain or shall be termed shameless.[620] Emboldened by the edict, Spin forcibly weds young widow without even consulting her male relatives.

Manifesting *gender consciousness*, the novel discerns and condemns polygamy, taking bride price, excluding women from decision making, and absolute authority of men over women prevalent amongst Pukhtun. It exposes nexus of traditional elders, clerics and self-seeking men that use misinterpretations of Pukhtunwali and Islam to oppress women as well as establish and reinforce man's authority over women.

Nur Mohammad Tarakai, in *Da Bang Musafari*,[621] 'The Journey of Bang', narrates few of abundantly prevalent instances of Commodification of women amongst Pukhtun: A poor landless Pukhtun lad dreams to own land in exchange of bride price, to be received, of his sisters. A poor widow, unable to provide sureties, borrows money from a money lender who lends thinking,

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[619] Ibid., p.29
[620] Ibid., pp 41-55
[621] Tarakai, N., Da Bang Musafari (The Journey of Bang). The Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan, Kabul 1978, pp150

"each one of widow's two daughters is worth 20,000 Afghanis".[622] Widow is saddened by the fact that not only her own bride price but her daughters' too shall be consumed in paying off debts and interests incurred by parents.[623]

Nur Muhammad Tarakai, in *Sangsar*,[624] 'Stoned to Death', underscores manifestations of patriarchal authority and plight of Pukhtun women. It raises issues of preferring male child, barring women from paid work and rendering them inferior to men. A sick and old widow, mother of two young daughters, mourns: absence of male issue; daughter being a heavy burden; and daughters lament being females. The widow, sole provider, works as domestic servant, daughters, being uneducated and unskilled young girls, do not go out to work. In the absence of male siblings, paternal uncles demand share in bride price of the girls, on the pretext of being heirs to their late father. They also pressure the widow to either demand higher bride price or hand over the girls to them to fetch a hefty price. One of the uncles expresses his desire to offer underage niece into marriage to his octogenarian *Pir*, spiritual guide.[625] Commodification of woman, manifested in high bride price, not only oppresses woman resulting into forced or mismatch marriages, but also adversely affects the groom and his family, resulting into sale of property or falling into debt to pay bride price.

Male issue, a breadwinner, is preferred; likened to a light that kindles the household, family becomes destitute in his absence. Life of women without male relatives is gloomy and meaningless. Bearing son fulfills the purpose of existence of a woman. In case of failure to bear a son, life becomes worthless. A male child not only earns livelihood and supports parents but also shields mother against violence of husband and in-laws.[626]

Men taunt at women that they are inferior and women, too, have internalized man's instruction of their inherent inferiority. Both men and women are taught to believe that God has created woman as *Naqis-ul-Aqal*, lacking intellect. To establish woman's inferiority, she is barred from paid work and then accused of not being able to stand on her own feet, support

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[622] Ibid., p.122
[623] Ibid., p.123
[624] Tarakai, N. Sangsar (Stoned to Death). Pukhtu Adabi Ghurzang, Quetta 2009, pp 190
[625] Ibid., pp 58-120
[626] Ibid., pp122-32

herself and become financially independent.[627]

The novel is a vivid illustration of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun. It not only discerns and condemns oppressive patriarchal practices but also traces underlying socio-economic causes. Notion of woman's inferiority is grounded in her socially constructed inability to earn livelihood. Similarly, preference for male child is also founded upon need of protector and provider, the role assigned to men alone in traditional Pukhtun society. The novel condemns possession and control over woman as property, exposing claims of paternal male relatives to own women in an effort to grab bride price.

This demonstrates that Pukhto novel not only provides insight into prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity and status of woman, but also expresses both gendered and *gender consciousness*. It establishes that prevalent gender relations amongst Pukhtun are hierarchical and discriminatory against women; man is entitled to exercise absolute control and authority over woman, ranging from attire, feelings, desires, emotions, expression, mobility, action, productive and reproductive labour as well as creation. It also establishes that Pukhtun patriarchy bestows upon man ownership of property and fruits of paid work, solely assigning him the role to protect and provide for woman and children, thus instituting his superiority. Ironically, it bars woman from paid work and owning property, terms her naturally inferior to man, not being able to stand on her own feet, or able to support herself and become independent.

Instances of gendered consciousness in some selected Pukhto novel: advocate adherence to patriarchal Pukhtun notions, customs, traditions and institutions; declare woman naturally inferior to man; and prescribe fixed, constant and essential masculine/feminine attributes to man and woman. Pukhtun man has been essentially: strong; brave; revengeful; capable of regulating and protecting woman's sexuality, honour and life; wise and helpful to women and weaklings. While woman has been essentially: weak, vulnerable, irrational, superstitious, greedy, biased and governed by emotions and desires. To legitimize and reinforce gender hierarchy, gendered

[627] Ibid., p.57

consciousness portrays woman incapacitated to assume power, authority and leadership, thus, renders man's protection and guidance in religious, worldly and family affairs, mandatory. Moreover, Pukhtun notion of femininity demands of woman to be: chaste, modest, celibate, obedient, caring, hardworking, patient, efficient in domestic chores, exercising strict self-control and suppressing her agency.

Designating woman the prime site of Pukhtun honour, gendered consciousness, sanctions regulation/suppression of woman's desires, feelings and emotions, by any Pukhtun man, not even related to her, in the name of upholding Pukhtun honour. It invokes and justifies gender based violence, even, honour killing to uphold [male] Pukhtun honour.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness envisions woman in solely domestic role of: caring mother, obedient wife, daughter and daughter-in-law, to serve and strengthen family bond as well as keep extended family intact. It commands women to bear, in silence, violence inflicted by husband and/or in-laws and burden of heavy workload. Education and participation in the public sphere have been considered impediments to women's domestic role and skills.

Gendered consciousness instructs that woman's Pukhtunwali manifests in passive submission to man's authority. A woman, questioning patriarchal authority is considered a threat to existing social order, hence, termed a 'bad' woman. Gendered consciousness is grounded in hierarchical, gendered binaries of reason/passion, public/private spheres, enunciated earlier in Greek and Medieval thought. Manifesting essentialism, it associates man with reason and woman with passion. It denies woman role in decision making at all levels, even in household affairs. It dehumanizes and objectifies woman as well as sanctions honour killing in case she dares to assert agency and defy patriarchal honour code of Pukhtunwali. Pukhtun gendered consciousness inculcates strict demarcation of public and private spheres; confining woman strictly to the private i.e., four walls only.

Gender consciousness discerns and condemns patriarchal discriminatory practices such as; preference for male child, bride price, underage, mismatch and forced marriage, polygamy, mourning birth of female child, denial of share in inheritance to women and excluding women from decision making. It advocates woman's right to life, health, education, self-development, consent

marriage and share in inheritance. It discerns patriarchal notions of male honour and feminine chastity, as mechanisms of exercising control over and punishing, oppressing, woman. In contrast to passive and submissive roles, *gender consciousness* visualizes women as active and assertive agents challenging men and patriarchy. Manifestation of *gender consciousness* reject sex differences, especially woman's weakness and intellectual inferiority, as fixed, innate and natural; rather it traces it to social, political and economic factors. Perceived intellectual inferiority of women is understood as a result of continued economic dependence upon men, breeding and perpetuating slave mentality in women.

Instances of *gender consciousness* challenge mainstream/malestream interpretations of Pukhtunwali that focuses on male aggression, revenge and regulation/oppression of women. *Gender consciousness* locates roots of prevailing oppressive and discriminatory practices to material conditions. The unholy nexus of feudal, traditional elders and clerics, to increase their vested material gains and benefits, plays an instrumental role in oppressing women, misinterpreting Pukhtunwali and Islam. It not only brings into lime light confluence of both, patriarchy and class, in oppressing a poor woman; but also discerns, function of honour and feminine attributes, in serving interests of the dominant sex and class.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Selected samples from short stories and novels demonstrate that Pukhto prose expresses diverse patterns and levels of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*. These patterns range: from absolute, unquestioned, willful adherence; to partial acceptance, condemnation, and urging reforms in patriarchal Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, Pukhtun customs and traditions, impacting status of Pukhtun woman.

Gendered consciousness exhibit varied androcentric, essentialist, hierarchical and dichotomous patterns. Gendered consciousness passively and dogmatically adheres to patriarchal Pukhtun notions, customs, traditions and institutions, considering them granted, natural and divine. It prescribes fixed, constant and essential masculine/feminine attributes to Pukhtun man and

woman, declaring woman naturally inferior to man. Considering woman an object, property and a commodity, gendered consciousness, legitimizes practices that commodify woman into: forced, underage, exchange marriage; taking, bride price, monetary and worldly favours; giving in *swara* to resolve blood and honour related feuds. It sanctions paternal male cousin's birthright claim to marry his paternal female cousin and in case of violation, advance *Ghag* over her. Following the death of fiancé/husband, a widow is treated as property of husband's male relatives. Gendered consciousness authorizes husband's male relatives to forcibly remarry the widow to deceased husband's brother or even sell her to pocket bride price.

Gendered consciousness does not recognize woman an autonomous conscious self, having right to define herself and choose goals of her life. Rather, reduces her status to the symbol of [male] Pukhtun honour. Consequently, subjected to total confinement, regulation and suppression of desires, feelings and emotions, gender based violence, even honour killing, in the name of upholding male honour.

Gendered consciousness manifests in ascribing fixed, constant and essential masculine/feminine attributes to man and woman respectively. Masculine attributes include: honour, command, power, magnanimity, autonomy, detachment, aggression, violence, potency, ability to guard woman's life, chastity and sexuality. Essential feminine attributes include: submission, obedience, loyalty, fidelity, care, compassion, love, devotion, honesty, modesty, piety, patience, sacrifice together with efficiency in domestic chores. These notions of masculine/feminine attributes have not only been shaped by confluence of essentialism with hierarchical binaries of mind-body, reason-passion and public-private; but also identify man with mind and reason, while woman with body and passion. As mind controls body and reason regulates passions, similarly man has been entitled to control women's productive, reproductive capacities and creations, i.e., woman's body, thought, emotions, labour and products of labour.

Pukhtun patriarchal gender relations and gendered consciousness are grounded in strict division of labour, on the basis of sex difference, in production and reproduction. This division determines and affects social value assigned to sexed bodies, roles, status, privileges, labour and product of labour

and control over resources. Woman has predominantly been envisioned to fulfill her essential, natural and biological role, i.e., to: bear and rear children, especially son, the heir of family name and property. On the basis of reproductive capacity, she has also been relegated to perform a limited domestic role to serve husband, children and in-laws; keep extended family intact and strengthen familial bonds amongst the in-laws. Therefore, her participation in public sphere has been deemed violative of laws of nature. Man's role has been to guard woman's sexuality, defend Pukhtun fatherland and Islam, protect family honour and property; provide for the family; command and make decisions both in private and public spheres. Woman's body, talent, labour and produce of labour have been considered inferior to man.

Instances of *gender consciousness* exhibit varying, progressive levels: from rudimentary level that underscores plight of Pukhtun women, discerns and condemns underlying oppressive patriarchal practices; to median reformist level, resonating liberal feminism, that advocates women's fundamental rights to education, healthcare, work and consent to marriage; questions some masculine/feminine attributes as fixed, immutable, natural and essential; locates oppression of women in Pukhtun socio-economic conditions; discerns nexus of class, clergy and gender in oppressing women; to rare instance of higher level *gender consciousness* that brings forth alternative definitions of Pukhtunwali, contravening mainstream masculine Pukhtunwali; urges conscious, organized and collective political action to overthrow notions of essential masculine/feminine attributes and transform socio-economic structures shaping such patriarchal Pukhtun notions, customs, traditions and institutions.

CHAPTER 5

GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND PUKHTO LITERATURE: SELECTIONS FROM POETRY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter delineates and assesses patterns and levels of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* in Pukhto poetry, citing and analyzing selected verses of selected Pukhto poets. It charts and discusses how Pukhto poetry depicts, evaluates, accepts/rejects prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman? It identifies dichotomous, essentialist, hierarchical, gendered consciousness depicted in selected verses. It also discerns *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun that not only offers alternatives to prevalent masculinity/femininity, reject gender inequities, patriarchal practices but also recognizes woman's autonomy and human rights. The chapter primarily dwells upon selections from twentieth and twenty first centuries' Pukhto poetry that revolve around gender themes, irrespective of the gender of the poets. However, to set the historical context, it briefly discusses Pukhto poetry of the preceding period too.

The chapter is sub-divided into:

5.1 Gender Consciousness in Pre-Twentieth Century Pukhto Poetry

5.2 Gender Consciousness in Pukhto Poetry of the Twentieth/Twenty-First Centuries

5.3 Conclusion

5.1 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY PUKHTO POETRY

This section cites and briefly discusses a few verses of selected pre-twentieth century Pukhto poetry. These samples provide a cursory look at prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman prior to dawn of the twentieth century.

History of Pukhto poetry dates back to Amir Karor (r. 139 AH, 757 AD), the first ever known poet in Pukhto. Only one of his poems survived, that focuses upon Pukhtun [male] chivalry, taking revenge, and war. He eulogizes chivalry, fearlessness and art of war, takes pride in being invincible and conquest of vast lands.[628] This first ever sample of Pukho poetry affirms that chivalry has always been considered an essential masculine and superior human attribute amongst Pukhtun. Assigning primacy to a masculine attribute and eulogizing male's role in warfare has been reinforcing superiority of men over women.

Khushal Khan Khattak (1613-1689 AD), one of the greatest Pukhto poets, is known for diverse themes ranging from love, beauty, mysticism, religion, medicine, astrology to politics and morality. However, masculine chivalry and feminine beauty are the most recurrent themes in his poetry.[629]

Khushal's poetry abounds with prescription of essential masculine/feminine attributes and roles.

مـــــــرد بـــــــه نـــــــهٔ شـــــــي پـــــــه گفتـــــــار
Mard ba na she pa guftar
څـــــــو پـــي ـــــــدا نـــــــهٔ کـــــــري کـــــــردار
Su paida na krhe kirdar
چـــــــي عـــــــزت ورڅخـــــــه نـــــــهٔ وي
Che izzat warsakha na vee
مـــــــرد هغـــــــه نـــــــهٔ دے پکـــــــار
mard hagha na de pakar
مـــــــرد بـــــــه غـــــــم کـــــــه د خپـــــــل شـــــــرم
Mard ba gham ka da khpal sharam
د غـي ـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــرت، د اعتبـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــار[630]
da ghairat da aitbar

Can't become a man by mere speech
Unless perform deeds
If without dignity
Need not be a man
Man shall always keep his reputation,

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[628] Hotak, M., Pata Khazana (Hidden Treasure). Reprint Education Ministry, Kabul 1960, first published in 1729, pp57-59
[629] Shakeeb, A., Da Khushal Khattak Ashar Da Qafia, Form Au Badi'ye Khkula La Nazara (Khushal's Verses, A View at the Beauty of Rhyme, Form and Rhetoric). Da Alumo Acacdemy, Kabul 2010, p.13
[630] Khattak, K., Da Khushal Khattak Kulvat (An Anthology of Khushal Khattak), Vol.1. Da Alumo Academy, Kabul 1980, p.66

of honour, of trust

In another poem Khushal relates:

Da د زنانۏ په حساب دي مردان مۀ شه
zananao pa hisab de mardan ma sha
che la چي له زېبه له زېنته هم اغوش وي[631]
zeba la zeenata ham aghosh wee

Men need not resemble women

and indulge in ostentation and embellishment

He also prescribes:

Mard hagha che مرد هغه چي همت ناک، برکت ناک
himmatnaak, barkat naak
له عالمه سره خوږ په زيست و ژواک
la alama sara khog pa zeest o zwak
Lag wayal der لږ وئيل ډېر يي کول په خاموشی کښې
ye kawal pa khamoshai ki
Da ghunche ghunde khula د غُنچي غوندي خولۀ ډکه، سينه چاک[632]
daka, seena chaak

Man, the daring one, the influential

Sweet to everyone, during his entire life

Saying less, doing more in silence

Face filled with smile, chest wide open

For Khushal, a man is assertive, aggressive, does not allow anyone to insult him and always takes revenge for any wrong against him. He does not take pride in lineage; instead relies on deeds for respect. An honest man of action, he always keeps his word and reputation.

Khushal charts and ascribes a long list of feminine attributes to Pukhtun woman desirable to man. A desirable Pukhtun woman shall be: chaste, caring, pleasant, seek virtuous and abstain away from immoral company. Must look after guests and patients, be good at cookery and cleaning, she has to be truthful to such an extent that avoids even her mother in case she is a liar. Such a pious and upright woman is a key to a man's successful life.[633]

Khushal's poem, *Arteene pa aqal kame,* 'Women Lacking Reason', enumerates long list of woman's vices; gravest being disloyalty, treachery,

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[631] Cited by Khadim, Q., '*Da Khushal O Rehman Mawazna*' (A Comparison of Khushal and Rehman). In: Nangyale Pashtoon. Pashto Tolana, Kabul 1966, p.74
[632] Khattak, 1980, p.105
[633] Ibid., pp.251-52

hypocrisy, callousness and ungratefulness. Women appear pretty though are uglier inside; though are shaped like humans but sub-human in real nature.[634] Thus, warns men, he:

Mar مار په مثل دے د بڅي
pa missal de da khaze
de pa چې په سوړه دي بهتر
surha ke behtar
Che چې له سوړي نه بېرون شي
la sorhi na berun shee
khlas ba na vee خلاص به نۀ وي له خطر[635]
la khatar

Like snake, women are
Better, inside the hole
When out of the hole
Shall not be free of danger

Khushal associates masculinity with: aggression, victory, action, honour, trust and respect; and femininity with: lack of reason, disloyalty, treachery, hypocrisy, callousness and ungratefulness. Illustrating and reinforcing sharp division of labour on the basis of sex difference, for him, Pukhtun man's essential role is to protect and uphold honour; while woman is to provide care and services to husband, family members and guests. Acquisition of feminine traits is highly degrading for man. Manifesting gendered consciousness, Khushal dehumanizes woman, assigning her an ostentatious, limited domestic, relational and subordinate role. Associating negative attributes with woman and femininity, Khushal justifies patriarchy, confinement of woman and male control.

Abdur Rehman Baba (1653-1711), a mystic Pukhto poet, departing from traditional notion of masculinity comprising: honour, command, power, autonomy, detachment, aggression, violence, sexual potency and ability to guard woman's sexuality. He defines masculinity in terms of self-restraint, austerity and generosity.

Ka sok mard de kho hagha کۀ څوک مرد دے خو هغه دے په دنيا کښې
de pa dunya ke
Har che na هر چې نۀ لري حاجت په دا دنيا[636]
larree hajat pa da dunya

[634] Ibid., pp.486-7
[635] Shakeeb, 2010, p.116
[636] Rehman, A., Diwan-e-Rehman Baba (A Collection of Rehman Baba's Poetry). Zeb Art

Manly is the one in the world, who

needs not worldly things

In another poem he says:

Wale mard ولي مرد پکښې هغه دے *pake hagha de*

Che sakhi wee hom چې سخي وي هم پارسا[637] *parsa*

The Man, if one is

generous and pious

Da د مردانو کار لۀ نفسه سره جنګ وي *mardano kaar la nafsa sara jang wee*

Na zanan نۀ زنان غوندې له نقشه نګينه *ghondi la naqsha nageena*

تر ناپاکو ناريښو دا بهتره *Tar napaako nareenao da behtara*

Pak پاک دامنه پرهيزګاره ارتينه[638] *damana parheezgara arteena*

Men's job is to fight carnal self

Not like women, indulge in adornment

of impious men, better

a chaste and pious woman

For Rehman Baba, masculinity comprises: recognizing mortality of this world; struggle against sensuous self; and emancipation from love and bondage to mundane objects and sense pleasures. Superiority of humans does not depend upon sex differences alone; rather consists in overcoming passions, to be pious and generous. Though, struggle against carnal self seems a masculine endeavor to Rehman Baba; a woman able to overcome sensual self is [manly] better than a man, who fails to do so. Dissociating masculinity from command, power, detachment, aggression, violence, sexual potency and ability to guard woman's sexuality, still, Rehman Baba has been entrapped in gendered consciousness by associating masculinity with overcoming carnal self/ passions that are grounded in the Greek/ Medieval hierarchical, gendered, dichotomies of mind-body and reason-passions/emotions/appetites etc. The dichotomy entails that as reason and mind ought to regulate passions and body respectively, similarly, man ought to regulate woman. Hence, even a mystic

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Publishers, Peshawar 1998, p.9

[637] Ibid., p.9

[638] Ibid., p.55-56

endeavour to regulate and suppress passions sanctions subjugation of woman and authority of man over them.

Gendered consciousness, manifested in praise of masculine attributes, has not been peculiar to Pukhtun men alone. Pukhtun women have also internalized and nurtured it. For instance, Merman Spina (b. around 1800), eulogizes masculine chivalry, aggression and victory, while paying tribute to Shah Kamran and Pukhtun men for successfully countering Persian forces, in a lengthy epic poem.

Pa jang ki har yaw laka په جنګ کښې هر يو لکه غټ شين زمرے
ghat sheen zmare

Dwai دوي وو مېړونه پښتانۀ توريالے[639]
wo merhona pukhtana turyali

Everyone during war, brave like a Grand Green Lion

They were fearless Pukhtun warriors

She urges male Pukhtun youth to defend the fatherland and national pride and envisions, rather lauds Pukhtun man, a fearless, invincible warrior, defender of [male Pukhtun] homeland and honour. She uses metaphor, lion, for Pukhtun man, signifying courage and chivalry. She assigns primacy to masculine roles and traits for survival and subsistence of Pukhtun nation. Not only, she reinforces masculine Pukhtunwali but also establishes superiority of man over woman.

Mulla Walidad (r. 1845) in *Da Merha Haq,* 'Husband's Right', renders divinity to authority of man over woman. For him, to obey, serve and please husband is religious duty of a woman that wins her pleasure of God and consequently, a place in the heaven. Mulla Walidad, illustrating medieval theistic essentialism, explains gender roles and relations with reference to divine order and commandments.

Da merha د مېړۀ حق اطاعت دے
haq ata'at de

Farmailee فرمائيلي پيغمبر دي
peghamber dee

Hara khaza che هره ښځه چې وفات شي
wafat she

چې مېړۀ ځيني راضي وي
Che merha zani raazi wee

[639] Benawa, R., *Pukhtani Mermani* (Pukhtun Women). Kabul 1944, pp76-80

Pas jannat ba ye پس جنت به يې روزي وي[640]
rozi wee

Husband's right is to be obeyed

The Prophet decreed

Every woman upon death

If had kept husband pleased

Shall earn paradise

Though, he makes the hierarchy, between man and woman, fixed, sacred and unquestionable; nonetheless, grants religious sanctity to woman's right to education.

فرض دا علم زده کول دي
Farz da ilam zda kawal dee

Zaruri ye ضروري يې هم لوستل دي
hom lwastal dee

Pa har په هر چا چې مسلمان وي
cha che musalman wee

کۀ مرونه کۀ زنان وي[641]
Ka marhona ka zanan wee

To seek knowledge is the duty

Mandatory too is to read

Upon every Muslim

Whether man or woman

The above indicates that pre-twentieth century Pukhto poetry had predominantly been exhibiting gendered consciousness. Patriarchy has been granted cultural or religious sanctity, rendering hierarchical relationship between man and woman, fixed, sacred and unquestionable. Prescribed essential masculine attributes included: chivalry, aggression, command and authority; while feminine: care, chastity, obedience and patience. Moreover, man has been depicted as assertive, revengeful, winner, active, honourable; while woman irrational, disloyal, treacherous, hypocrite, callous and ungrateful, providing sufficient reason to justify absolute authority of man over woman. Though, woman has been assigned an ostentatious, domestic, relational and subordinate role; still her right to education has been recognized as a religious duty. Pukhtun women too internalized superiority of masculine

[640] Rishteen, S., (Ed.) *Pukhtana Shura'a* (Pukhtun Poets), Vol.II. Da Pukhto Tolana, Kabul 1942, p408
[641] Ibid., p406

roles/attributes and have been instrumental in transmitting patriarchal values and inculcating gendered consciousness.

5.2 GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS IN PUKHTO POETRY OF THE TWENTIETH/TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

This section cites and discusses selections from Pukhto poetry of twentieth and twenty first centuries to chart and assess diverse patterns and levels of Pukhtun gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness*. It delineates and evaluates prevalent Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, patriarchal customs and traditions impacting status of Pukhtun woman.

Hamza Shinwari (1907-1994), father of Pukhto ghazal, wrote about Pukhtunwali, mysticism, love, beauty and morality. He considers Pukhtunwali an essential male code of conduct, exhibited in fearlessly fighting to uphold [male] Pukhtun honour. For him, Pukhtun man is a lion, who never bows down in face of threats and pressures.[642] Apart from chivalry, Hamza also ascribes to Pukhtun men essential attributes of hospitality, honesty, standing against injustice and by the weak, respecting women and guarding woman's [sexuality] chastity.[643]

Pukhto tor saro پښتو تورسرو ته درانۀ کاتۀ دي
ta drana kata de

Da peghlo juno da د پيغلو جونو د عصمت نوم دے[644]
ismat nom de

Pukhto renders women high esteem

comprises chastity of unmarried girls

Che pa kaar shee da چې په کار شي د سړي هغه سړے دے
sarhee haga sarhe de

Gani kha tre na ګڼي ښۀ ترې نه د پت په حقله سپے دے[645]
da pat pa hakla spay de

man, the one, helping others

Or, nobler to him, a dog

Condemning honour killing of Mamonai, he considers it violation of

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[642] Shinwari, H., Ghazavane (Morning Stretch). Hamza Academy, 1996, pp41-41
[643] Shinwari, H., Da Hamza Shinwari Kulyat (Collection of Hamza Shinwari's Poetry), Vol.II. Da Ittela'ato o Farhang Wazarat, 2008, pp1192-1193
[644] Ibid., pp1192-1193
[645] Ibid., p1072

Pukhtunwali.

Da nashunki دا ناشونکي کۀ د کړو وه، د کړو نۀ وه
ka da krho wa da krho na wa

Sher Alam شېر عالم پښتو ګڼله، پښتو نۀ وه
pukhto ganrhala, Pukhto na wa

Da der sharam na د ډېر شرم نه غېرت دے سر ټيټ کړے
ghairat de sar teet karhe

De sitam ta haq دي ستم ته حق حېران پښتني پت دے[646]
heran pukhtane pat de

What a paradox? Had to commit, though, inept

Considered Sher Alam Pukhto, it were not

What a shame, honour bowed down head

this oppression, bewildered Pukhtun honour

Elsewhere, poem *Khaza*, 'Woman', depicts plight of Pukhtun woman bearing hardships in silence, denied expressing feelings and emotions.

Che ye na چې يې نۀ راځي په خولۀ د زړۀ خبرې
raazi pa khula da zrha khabare

Haal ye حال يې وايي ګرمي اوښکي مرغلرې[647]
wai garmi okhke marghalare

Cannot voice what she endures

pearly tears reveal untold story

.....

چې رنګينه د دنيا پرې افسانه ده
Che rangeena da dunya pre afsana da

چې په مخ يې د زړۀ شمع پروانه ده
Che da ishq da jazbato astana da

Da د تهذيب او تمدن ده بنياد ښځه[648]
tehzeeb o tamadun da bunyad khaza

adds colours to tale of the world

abode to emotions of love

foundation of culture and civilization is woman

For Hamza, woman founds culture and civilization in her domesticity and motherhood: not only, she keeps intact family, basic unit of the society, but also transmits cultural values to future generations. Despite sympathetic portrayal of voiceless sufferings of Pukhtun women and condemning honour killing, Hamza still counts as an instance of Pukhtun gendered consciousness.

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[646] Ibid., pp1278-79
[647] Ibid., pp1203
[648] Ibid., pp1206

Since, defines Pukhtunwali in terms of masculine attributes and roles; considers woman a weaker creature, in need of man's protection; associates woman with emotions and colour; and assigns her primarily a domestic role.

Dost Mohammad Khan Kamil Momand (1915-1981) defines Pukhtunwali in terms of masculine chivalry, establishing superiority of men over women. He takes pride in legacy of Pukhtun martyrs and warriors most notably: Aimal Khan, Darya Khan and Khushal Khan Khattak. He instructs Pukhtun men that:

چې سر دې پرېوځي خو چې تيټ نۀ شي دښمنانو ته[649]

Che sar de preywuzi kho che teet na she dukhmanano ta

Let your head fall, but not bow down in front of enemies

Elsewhere, Kamil declares that he, a Pukhtun man, is ready to face swords, spears, arrows, and willing to shed blood, to defend Pukhtun honour and homeland. Pukhtun warrior man has always been victorious in every battle. [650]

کۀ بابړه کۀ تکر دے
Ka Babarha ka Takkar de
کۀ دومۍ کۀ پېښور دے
Ka domail ka pekhawar de
چې خپل سر مې دے شېندلے
Che khpal sar me de shendalay
هر مېدان مې دے گټلے[651]
Har maidan me de gatalay

Babarha or Takkar

Domail or Peshawar

laid down my head

won every battlefield

Pareshan Khattak (1932-2009) in *Ranzura Pukhto*, 'Ailing Pukhto', enlists honour, manliness, chivalry, sincerity, humanity, equity, democracy, hospitality and independence essential features of Pukhtunwali.

Pukhto kho pat, پښتو خو پت، ښېګړه، توري او وفا ته وايي
khegarhe, ture o wafa ta wa
Pukhto kho nang, پښتو خو ننګ، غېرت، عزت ته او حيا ته وايي
ghairat, izzat ta o haya ta wai
Pukhto dranakht o پښتو درنښت او سرېتوب او قربانې زېږوي[652]
sarheetob o qurbani zeegawe

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[649] Momand, K., Da Fikruno Deewi (Enlightening Thoughts). Idara Ilm o Fun Pakistan, Peshawar 1993, p116
[650] Ibid., pp 95-101
[651] Momand, 1993, p 105

Pukhto is honour, benevolence, chivalry and loyalty

Pukhto is honour, pride, respect and modesty

Pukhto generates dignity, manliness and sacrifice

Elsewhere, he ascribes essential attributes of modesty and chastity apart from love, care, sincerity, truth, honesty and honour, to Pukhtun woman. He lauds woman for suffering hardships in silence and still doing great things. He calls her embodiment of modesty, chastity and a lamp that burns itself to emit light.

Sar na سر نه تر نوکو پوري تولـه حيا نه پتـه
tar nuko pore tola da haya na pata

From head to toe, veiled in chastity

.....

Zama yaqeen de pa lahad زما يقين دے په لحد کښې به هم پت وپالي
ki ba hom pat upalee

Sal Durkhanai tre qurban sha [653] سل درخانې تري قربان شه د پښتو نخښه ده
da Pukhto nakha da

certainly, she shall uphold honour even in the grave

better than hundred Durkhanai, she is symbol of Pukhto

In *Pukhtana Kochai*, 'Pukhtun Nomad Woman', Pareshan Khattak compares female university students with nomad women. For him, educated young women, wearing tight revealing clothes, violate Pukhtun code of conduct. Influenced by the West, they have forgotten lessons of honour taught by great Pukhtun heroes such as; Khushal, Aimal and Malala and embarrass all Pukhtun. Conversely, hardworking nomad women fully clad, modest and chaste, not only wear loose clothes, but also wrap themselves in a long thick shawl, *Pukhtun Parhoney*. They do not allow any one lay hand on *Pukhtun Parhoney* and honour. Khattak observed three nomad women in a bus, not taking any interest in young and handsome men. In case of bus conductor's touch even the shawl, the youngest not standing violation of *Pukhtun Parhoney* hit the conductor, and warned him never to touch a Pukhtun woman's shawl. Khattak salute them for guarding Pukhtun honour.[654]

Da Pukhtane abai parhone ta د پښتني ابې پرونې ته يې لاس واچېدو
ye laas wachedo

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[652] Khattak, P., *Tanrhaki* (Blisters). Edition 5, Peshawar 2006, p55
[653] Ibid., pp99-100
[654] Khattak, *Tanrhaki*, 2006, pp17-22

La de ba bala koma لـه دي بـه بـلـه كـومـه پـېښه شـي د ننـګ دپـــاره
pekha she da nang da para
Da de na pas ba da Malala د دي نـه پـس بـه دا مـلالـه چـاتـه صبر كـــوي
cha ta sabar kawee
Che la maiwanda ba ra [655] چې لـه مـېونـده بـه راپـاخـېږي د جنګ دپـــاره
paseegi da jang da para

Lay hand upon Pukhtun mother's shawl
cannot be a bigger challenge to honour
after this whom for will Malala wait
to rise from Maiwand to fight

...

Zama da khule na sa be زمـا د خـولـي نـه څۀ بـي وارە شـانـتـه دا وخـتـل
wara shanta da ukhatal
Che ta be shaka Pukhtana ye چې تـۀ بـي شكـه پـښتـنـه يـي اي كـوچـې پـښـتـنـي!
ay kochai Pukhtane!
Sta pa ghairat bandi [656] ستا پـه غـېرت بـانـدي قـربـان شه پـــه پـنـــدونـو دګـــرى
qurban sha pa pandano digrai

Suddenly uttered me
You are without doubt a Pukhtun, O Pukhtun nomad
Bundles of degrees are worthless in face of your honour

Pareshan Khattak can be cited as an instance of gendered consciousness amongst Pukhtun, since he considers Pukhtun woman a symbol of [male] Pukhtun honour. Therefore, Pukhtun woman has been ascribed essential attributes of chastity, modesty and required to observe strict veiling. Khattak lauds her for suffering hardships in silence and providing comfort to others, thereby inculcates passive submission and self-sacrifice. Foremost duty of a Pukhtun woman is to guard Pukhtun honour located in her chastity and sexuality. Fulfillment of this duty determines woman's status in Pukhtun society, claims Khattak. He also associates female education with Westernization, loss of modesty and Pukhtun values.

Shagul Gulzada, a contemporary Afghan woman poet, assigns primacy and superiority to masculine chivalry, terming Afghan man, lions and falcons.

د ا د افـغـانـــــــــــــــــــــــانـو كـــــــــــــــــــــــــــور
Da da Afghanano kor
د ا د بـــــــــــــــــــــــــــاتـورانـو كـــــــــــــــــــــــــــور
Da da baturano kor

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[655] Ibid., p21
[656] Ibid., p22

دا د شـــــــــــنو زمريـــــــــــانو کـــــــــــور[657]

Da da shno zmaryano kor

This abode of Afghans

Abode of the chivalrous

Abode of green lions

She ascribes essential attribute, honour, to man and chastity, to woman:

Sta da kho zwanano pa ستا د ښو ځوانانو په لاسونو کښې غېرت ويـــنم

lasuno ki ghiarat wenam

Sta da khaisto peghlo [658] ستا د ښائستو پېغلو په سترګو کښې عزت ويـــنم

pa stargo ki izzat wenam

In the hands of your good young men, honour, I find

in the eyes of pretty young women, chastity, I find

She considers motherhood an essential feminine role and locates woman's value in bearing and rearing brave sons of the nation.

Khaza mor da merhano da, ښځه مور د مېرنو ده، د باتورو پښتنو ده

da baturo pukhtano da

Che da ture pa shranga ye [659] چې توري په شرنګا يې رېږدولے دے جهان

regdawale de jahan

Woman, mother of the courageous and chivalrous Pukhtun

the world shuddered of whose blaring sword

She restricts woman to familial roles:

[660] ښځه مور ده، ښځه خور ده، بله شمع د خپل کور ده

Khaza mor da khaza khor da bala shama da khpal kor da

Woman, a mother, a sister, alight candle of her house

Shagul Gulzada ascribes essential, hierarchical, roles and attributes to man and woman, offering an explicit instance of gendered consciousness. She designates chivalry and honour, essentially masculine, while chastity, feminine attribute. Man's essential role is to protect while woman's to bear and rear brave sons of the nation. Shagul limits woman's role to the four walls and assigns primacy to masculine role, thus establishes superiority of masculine over feminine.

Similarly, Rabia Mumtaz, another contemporary poet, stresses woman's reproductive and familial role in *Da Hawwa Lur*, 'Eve's Daughter'. For her,

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[657] Gulzada, S., *Wraka Marghalara* (Lost Pearl). Al Azhar Khprendoya Mossissa, Peshawar 2004, p67

[658] Ibid., p.10

[659] Ibid., p61

[660] Ibid., p62

woman's essential role is to bear and rear children, provide care and services to each family member. Woman ought to: suffer hardships in silence, happily serve family members' needs, and remain chaste to uphold [male Pukhtun] honour. She ought not to violate [male] Pukhtun honour and become source of humiliation for male relatives.

سـتا د پښـو لانـدي جنـت دے
Sta da pkho laande janat de
نـيـک اولاد لـه لـوئے نعمـت يـې
Nek aulad la loy naimat ye
کـۀ تـۀ لـور يـې نـو رحمـت يـې
Ka ta lur ye no rahmat ye
کـۀ تـۀ خـور يـې نـو راحـت يـې
Ka ta khur ye no rahat ye
[661] د خاونـد د کـور رنـا يـې
Da khawand da kor ranrah ye

Under your feet, heaven lies

Bless for noble offspring

If, daughter, then mercy

If, sister, then comfort

Light, in husband's abode

Lupata, 'scarf' ascribes to woman modesty and chastity as essential feminine attributes. Rabia insists that women should always wear *lupata* to keep their heads covered. A veiled, modest and chaste woman not only looks graceful but also commands respect.

sharam haya de sta pa شرم حيا دي ستا په خټه کښـې اخښـلي وي بـس
khatta ki akhali wee bas
pa de khoyeuno ba har [662] په دي خويـونـو بـه هر چاتـه درنـه ښـکارېږي
cha ta drana khkarege

Modesty and chastity shall be your nature

these traits shall command respect from everyone

Lur, 'Daughter', declares woman locus of man's honour.

Ta ghairat da runrho, da تـۀ غيرت د ورونـو، د بـابـا د سر شملـه يـې تـۀ
baba da sar shamla ye ta
Chare spaka ma she pa [663] چرې سپکه مۀ شې، په رښتيـا قـيمتي لال يـې تـۀ
rishtia qeemti laal ye ta

Honour of brother, you are, father's turban

May not you be devalued, you priceless ruby, truly

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[661] Mumtaz, R., Parhonay (Shawl). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2004, pp20-22
[662] Ibid., p70
[663] Ibid., p89

Manifesting gendered consciousness, Rabia Mumtaz confines woman to a limited reproductive, domestic and relational role. She envisions woman as mother, daughter, sister or wife, but not as an individual. To successfully accomplish her familial role, Rabia ascribes to woman essential feminine attributes including: chastity, modesty, submission, care and patience. Since, she is the locus of male Pukhtun honour, her value and respect consists in strict adherence to Pukhtunwali and protecting honour of her male relatives.

Asmat Qaney lauds masculine chivalry and incites Pukhtun men to fight for the honour of Pukhtun homeland. A real Pukhtun warrior fearlessly fights to liberate his homeland and does not falters in laying down his life. His sacrifice earns him reverence in the community and love of young beautiful women. A Pukhtun beloved relates to her lover that he can only win her love, if he fought fearlessly and shed blood for the homeland.

د وطـــــــــــــن د پـــــــــــــت دپـــــــــــــاره
Da watan da pat la para
ســـــــر مـــــــي کيښـــــــود پـــــــه تلـــــــي کښـــــــې
Sar me kekhod pa tali ke
مـــــــا رنګينـــــــه وينـــــــه تـــــــويې کـــــــړه
Ma rangeena weena toi krha
لـــــــه خپلـــــــواک بهـــــــار لپـــــــاره
La khpalwak bahar la para
اوس چـــــــې تـــــــول تـــــــوتې تـــــــوتې يـــــــم
Os che tol totey totey yam
ســـــــتا لـوظونـــــــه راتـــــــه يـــــــاد دي
Sta lozuna rata yaad dee
چـــــــې وئيـــــــل بـــــــه دي ســـــــلګو کښـــــــې
Che wayal ba de salgo ke
تـــــــوتې تـــــــوتې پـــــــه تـــــــورو راشـــــــې
Totey totey pa toru raashe
Che parharuna de gandam [664] چې پرهرونه دي ګنډم خولۀ درکومـــه *khula darkawoma*

In the honour of homeland
ready to sacrifice life
I shed my young blood
to achieve spring autonomy
finally, my wounded body
remind me your words
you kept saying while sobbed

[664] Qaney, A., Saandi pa Naghmo Ke (Wailing in Songs). Da Afghanistan Islami Jamiat da Lekwalo O Wenawalo Tolana, 1990, pp1-6

cut of swords into pieces

stitching your wounds, shall kiss

Elsewhere, Qaney declares that a Pukhtun man never retreats in battlefield and is always willing to sacrifice life and property for the homeland. He takes pride in being offspring of great chivalrous Pukhtun heroes such as Ahmad Shah Abdali and Mir Wais. A Pukhtun warrior happily leads bloody path to victory.

زهٔ د تېښتي والا نهٔ يم، ګوره نر يم
Za da tekhte wala na yam, gora nar yam
Na pa maal yam, [665] نهٔ په مال يم، نهٔ په ځان يم، نهٔ په سر يم
na pa zan yam na pa sar yam

I am not the one who flees, look am the man

Am ready to sacrifice property, person and life

Asmat Qaney associates masculinity with war to defend fatherland, aggression and violence, instantiating gendered consciousness. The essential role, he ascribes to Pukhtun man, is of a warrior and protector of Pukhtun honour and fatherland. A Pukhtun man earns love, respect and honour of all by becoming a fearless warrior, defender of nation and protector of Pukhtun honour. To further perpetuate and strengthen masculine Pukhtunwali, he assigns Pukhtun woman a supportive role of inciting and motivating men to fight war while defending homeland and stitch his wounds and love him.

Haziqa Harvi (b.1961) ascribes essential attribute of bravery to Pukhtun man and role to defend fatherland and uphold Pukhtun honour. She calls sons of the nation to: wake up from slumber, assume role in public sphere, study, work hard and cultivate chivalry to serve and defend interests of the nation.

Watan pa ta bandi وطن په تا باندې نازېږي، ګرانه زويه زما
nazeegi, grana zweya zama
Ta da zmare pa seir da khpal تهٔ د زمري په څېر د خپل وطن خدمت وکړه
watan khidamt wokrha
Pa kochniwali ki da khpal په کوچنيوالي کښې د خپل مکتب درسونه وايه
maktab darsuna waya
Pa zalmitob ki ye sha askar o [666] په زلميتوب کښې ښه عسکر و شجاعت وکړه
shujaat wokrha

Homeland is proud of you! My dear son

serve your homeland like a lion

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[665] Ibid., p34

[666] Momin, M., *Osani Shairan* (Contemporary Poets). Da Afghanistan da Alomo Academy, Kabul 1988, p42

in childhood, learn your lessons at school

in youth, become its soldier and display chivalry

These verses of Haziqa illustrate gendered consciousness. She considers man alone the guardian of homeland and ascribes chivalry as an essential attribute to sons of the nation. Moreover, she assigns primacy to man's duty to serve and bravely defend nation which indicates underlying notions of superiority of man over woman.

Sulaiman Layeq (b. 1930) in *Mard O Namard*, 'Man and Unmanly', identifies masculinity with superior while lack of it with inferior human traits, actions and status. Man, chivalrous as a lion, accomplishes grand deeds; while unmanly, coward as a jackal, occupies himself in trivial affairs. Man abodes, ocean, while unmanly, a brook; the former grants while the other receives. Manly is reluctant to accept favours, and returns at cost of even his life, while unmanly begs and is not ashamed of even stealing. For Layeq, therefore, unmanly is worthless to a man.[667]

د مردانـــــو لـــــه نـــــامردو څـــــۀ نســـــبت دے

Da mardano la namardo sa nisbat de

چې ـــــــــــــــرۍ اس د خونړيـــــــــــــــو مې ـــــــــــــــدانونو

Cheri ass da khunarho maidanuno

[668] چې ـــــــــرۍ خټـــــــو کښـــــــې نښـــــــتے يـــــــو تټـــــــوکے

Cheri khato ki nkhate yu tatuke

man and unmanly cannot be compared

a horse of bloody battlefield

or a mule stuck in mud

Elsewhere, he doubts manliness of those who sell daughters into mismatch marriages. He laments that contemporary Pukhtun men have lost all good traits of great [male] ancestors. They are no more, brave, competitive, and keeping promises.

پـــــــــه پـــيســـــــــو لـــيلامـــــــــوي وړې لـــــــــورانـــې

Pa paiso lelamawee warhi lurani

[669] ودوي پـــــــــه ســـــــــل کلـــــــــن اتـــــــــۀ کلنـــــــــې

Wadawee pa sal kalan ata kalani

Auction young daughters for money

Marry eight year [girl child] to a centennial [old man]

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[667] Laiq, S., Sandare Pa Sawe Watuno Ki (Songs in Burnt Alleys). Pukhto Adabai Ghurzang, Quetta, p104

[668] Ibid.,

[669] Ibid., p118

Though, Sulaiman Layeq condemns child marriage and bride price; nonetheless, exhibits traces of gendered consciousness. Not only, he prefers traditionally essential masculine attributes, i.e., chivalry, competition and warfare abilities, but also dubs superior human traits and actions, such as; generosity, keeping promises, helping others and returning favours, as manly/ masculine.

Poetry of Abdul Rauf Benawa (1937-1987) reflects paradoxes of Pukhtun gender consciousness. On one hand, he condemns discriminatory practices against women, especially bride price and honour killing, exhibiting traces of *gender consciousness*. While on the other hand, he envisions woman in a limited role of a sister, needing brother's support and protection or a mother to bear and rear defenders of Pukhtun honour and fatherland, thus strengthening patriarchy.

In his view, absence of men or masculine men is a deplorable situation. Woman is essentially weak and needs male protector; he grieves for weak and helpless girls, not having brothers to guard them.[670]

Da Pukhtun pa د پښتون په ویر اخته یم چې ژړېږم
wir akhta yam che jarhegam
Pukhtunkhwa ke njuna پښتونخوا کښې نجونه پاتې دي نر نشته
pate dee nar nishta

Mourning for Pukhtun, I weep

Left are girls alone in Pukhtunkhwa, not a Man exists

Da bi vazlu د بې وزلو نجونو ورونو مګر نشته[671]
njuno wronrha magar nishta

Alas! helpless girls don't have brothers

He stresses and eulogizes woman's primary role of motherhood and raising male guardian of Pukhtun honour. A mother, in *Da Mor Naraa*, 'Call of a Mother', urges her son to learn new sciences and skills, work hard to compete with the world; and uphold Pakhtun honour, a legacy of great Pukhtun ancestors.[672]

د پښتون پت وساته
Da Pukhtun pat wosaata

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[670] Benawa, A., Da Benawa Shaire Kulyat (An Anthology of Benawa's Poetry). Da Hewad Nashrate Tolana, Quetta 2000, p.85
[671] Ibid., pp48-49
[672] Ibid., pp52-53

د پلار غيرت وساته
Da plar ghairat wosaata
انسانيت وساته
Insaniat wosaata
خپل شان و شوکت وساته[673]
Khpal shan o shoukat wosaata

Guard Pukhtun honour

Guard father's honour

Guard humanity

Guard your prestige and power

Elsewhere, Benawa considers Ahmad Shah Abdali's mother, Zarghona Ana, a role model Pukhtun woman. He lauds her for bearing and rearing a great Pukhtun hero, who united and led the nation. For Benawa, great nations are raised by learned mothers; he, therefore, stresses the importance of women education.[674] Condemning oppressive Pukhtun customary practices against women, he compares bride price to eating flesh and sucking blood of one's daughter. He stresses that men should be aware of women's rights; and they should also educate women on their rights.[675]

Poetry of Ghani Khan (1914-1996), too reflects paradoxes of Pukhtun gender consciousness. He condemns oppressive, discriminatory, patriarchal practices; still ranks masculinity above femininity. His poetry is rampant with identification of honour and Pukhtunwali with masculine chivalry and oft repeated calls to Pukhtun to fight for the honour of Pukhtunland.[676] For Ghani Khan, Pukhtun man is essentially fearless, resists oppression, happily embraces martyrdom but never retreats.[677]

Khudaya shukar che paida خدایه! شکر چې پیدا دي له دي قام کړم
dee la di qaam krham
Da Pukhtun da nar wajud د پښتون د نر وجود دي یو اندام کړم[678]
dee yu andam krham

Thank God, for have born in this nation,

To be made an organ of a Pukhtun male body

A [superior] male body symbolizing Pukhtun nation, manifests underlying

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[673] Benawa, A., *Da Benawa Preshana Afkaar* (Worrisome Thoughts of Benawa), Vol.1. Da Pukhto Tolani Da Adbiato Sanga, Kabul 1956, pp52-53

[674] Ibid., pp.164-168
[675] Ibid., pp.169-172
[676] Khan, G., *Latun* (Search). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2005, p.6
[677] Ibid., pp.38-40
[678] Ibid., 2005, pp. 393-394

notions of inferior, secondary and subordinate status of woman. A reminiscence of Greek thought that rendered male body perfect and normative while female body imperfect and deviant, is obvious. For Ghani Khan, love of Pukhtun fatherland comprises an essential part of Pukhtun masculinity. A Pukhtun [man] is ever ready to fight and sacrifice life for the love of Pukhtun honour.

نر څه ښځونے وي چې شیدا نۀ شي په قام[679]
Nar sa khazune wee che shaida na she pa qaam

Man is effeminate, if does not madly Love his nation

It is evident from the above line that Ghani Khan places femininity lower than masculinity. He reiterates a typical Pukhtun sarcasm of calling man an effeminate, if acts cowardly or disgracefully. The verse associates masculinity with honour, power and courage; while femininity with shame, disgrace and weakness.

Ghani Khan narrates hardships of Pukhtun woman in *Hai Hai Zama Laila*, 'Alas! My Beloved'. The poem graphically depicts and bemoans plight of Pukhtun woman subjected to hard labour and adverse circumstances. She looks after cattle, fetches water and fuel, makes dung cakes and lights fire. Wearing shabby clothes, with dried lips, messy hair and face smitten by smoke; she tirelessly works to entertain guests of male relatives. [680]

Ghani, in *Naave*, 'Bride', scoffs at prevailing Pukhtun practices of denying consent marriage to woman and forcing her into mismatch marriage for monetary gain. Ghani Khan terms forced marriage, in exchange for bride price, prostitution. He contrasts pain and sorrow of a daughter, victim of forced marriage, weeping secretly behind a quilt; with that of a father who happily pockets bride money of his daughter. He condemns prevalent commodification of women, wherein ugly indecent old but wealthy man is preferred to marry a tender beautiful girl, over a decent young but poor man.[681] Ghani Khan's 'Nurse', is essentially kind and caring, and he deplores reducing woman to an object of pleasure, a role determined and assigned to her by men.[682]

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[679] Ibid., P.649
[680] Ibid., pp.249-50
[681] Ibid., pp532-33
[682] Ibid., p.534

Poetry of Ajmal Khattak (1925-2010) provides numerous instances of identifying Pukhtunwali with masculine honour and chivalry. He emphasizes manly and warlike character of Pukhtun nation. Considering bravery and courage an essential attribute of Pukhtun man, he repeatedly terms him a Lion.[683]

He takes pride in being son of a race of great warriors in the line below:

Za da sarbazano [684] زۀ د سربازانو بابا گانو توريالے زوے يم
babagano turyale zwe yam
Of fearless ancestors, I, a chivalrous son

In *Da Ghairat Chagha*, 'Cry of Honour', Khattak reminds Pukhtun man the obligation of honour to follow the footsteps of great Pukhtun warrior heroes, and emancipate Pukhtun nation and fatherland. He calls passionate, committed, fearless sons of the soil to struggle for self-rule, autonomy and egalitarian society in the Pukhtun land.

ولې دلې د شنو زمرو جالې کښې
Wale dale da shno zmaro jaala ki
دلې دلې د توريالو څالې کښې
Dale dale da turyalo saala ki
Charta چرته تاؤده وينه به نۀ يې چې واوري؟
tawda weena ba na ye che wawree
Charta ki sra weena ba چرته کښې سره وينه به نۀ يې چې واوري؟
na wee che wawree
here in the den of green lions
here in the brave's abode
Would not be hot blood that listens
Would not be red blood that listens

Pa په خپله خاوره خپل جنت جوړوم
khpala khawra khpal jannat jorhawum
Pa khpal olas [685] په خپل اولس خپل حکومت جوړوم
khpal hukumat jorhawum
shall make the homeland, our heaven
shall establish self-rule of the people

In another poem *za hom zalmay yam*, 'I am a young man too', he

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[683] Khattak, A., Da Jwand Chagha (Call of Life). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2006, See p. 135; p.221 and p228
[684] Khattak, A., Da Ghairat Chagha (Call of honour). Reprint University Book Agency, Peshawar 2012, first published in 1958, p95
[685] Ibid., pp5-8

considered it duty of the young to overthrow an unjust, oppressive social order, keeping people in bondage. Foremost task of a Pukhtun young man is to emancipate fatherland of exploitation and control by the alien, to create a system wherein children don't die of hunger, poor labourer is not exploited, human worth is not determined by wealth and honour of women is protected.[686]

Che me da mor da sar چې مې د مور د سر پرونے لا تار تار پروت وي
parhonay la taar taar prot wee
Za ba da masto زۀ به د مستو لوپټو خوبونه څۀ ووينم
lupato khobuna sa owenam
Che ma da khor sar la sar tor چې مې د خور سر لا سرتور وي د ظالم دلاسه
wee da zalim da laasa
Za ba da toro زۀ به د تورو پلوکو خوبونه څۀ ووينم[687]
paloko khobuna sa owenam

Torn apart shawl of my mother, still lying
Does not let me dream of colourful scarves
bare head of my sister at the hands of the cruel
does not let me dream of black hair

The above samples demonstrate that Ajmal Khattak exalts man as the guardian of fatherland, national honour; savior of women, the weak, the poor and children.

Gendered consciousness associates attributes, such as; weakness, cowardice, inferiority and disloyalty to the term, *jeenai*, 'girl'. Rejecting negative connotation of the term *jeenai*, in the poem *Sok Wai Che Jeenai Ye*, 'Who Says a Girl, You are?', Khattak brings forth instances of woman's loyalty and bravery to: counter derogatory connotation of the term, ascribing superior masculine attribute of bravery to the girl, extending realm of her activities beyond four walls to encompass battlefield to defend national honour.

Ta me da watan da تۀ مې د وطن د ډيوې بله لمبه گې يې
deewi bala lamba gai ye!

You are flame of lamp of the homeland

Kala da ghairat کله د غيرت مېدان کښې توره ابدالي يې
maidan ki tura abdalai ye

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[686] Ibid., pp101-103
[687] Ibid., p 103

ته خو دُرخانی یې
Ta kho Durkhanai ye
ته خو ملالی یې
Ta kho Malalai ye
څوک وایي چې جینۍ یې[688]
Sok wai che jeenai ye

At times you are Abdali's sword in the field of honour

You are Durkhanai

You are Malalai

Who says a girl, you are?

Fairylike beautiful Pukhtun woman performs feats of bravery, like Malalai of Miawand, to uphold the honour of great Pukhtun [male] ancestors.[689] He praises Pukhtun woman for her beauty, love and care. Since, he envisions Pukhtun woman as the locus of [male] Pukhtun honour, he emphasizes chastity as an essential attribute. He considers Pukhtun woman superior to Western woman by virtue of being modest, chaste, and loveful.[690]

He depicts dual exploitation of Pukhtun woman by virtue of her sex and class. He warns the poor young village girl to be careful when she goes to fetch water. As the world belongs to the wealthy and powerful men, who use force to imprison beautiful women and play with their youth and beauty.[691]

Khabar خبر شوي په ښائست دي زورور دي
shawee pa khaist de zorawar dee
Da malak د ملک کاکا زامن ډېر ځيګرور دي
kaka zaaman der zigravar dee

Cognizant of your beauty is the powerful

Uncle Malik's sons are very manly/valorous

Elsewhere, he mourns over marriage of the most beautiful girl in village to an old ugly feudal lord, and terms her day of funeral.

Pa buda khan dagha په بودا خان دغه زمونږه خوارکی وادهٔ شوه
zamonga khwarakai wada shwa
Pa turaban da gul په توربان دا ګل اندامه ښاپېرۍ وادهٔ شوه[692]
andama khapeerai wada shwa

to old ugly feudal lord, our poor girl is wedded

To Turaban,[693] this rose-like fairy is wedded

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688 Khattak, A., Da Jwand Chagha (Call of Life). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2006, p.95
689 Ibid., p. 290
690 Ibid., p.289
691 Ibid., p.344
692 Ibid., p.350

Though, he aptly understands the confluence of sex and class in oppression and commodification of woman. Nonetheless, falls prey to Pukhtun masculine honour and chivalry; thereby, relegating woman to a secondary, subordinate status as locus of [male] Pukhtun honour.

Gul Pacha Ulfat considers Pukhtun man essentially a warrior while woman a mother. He considers chivalry an essential constituent of [masculine] Pukhtunwali:

تيره توره مې دا خوښه په غېږ
Tera tura me da khwakha pa gharhai

Na mrayo ghondi نۀ مړيو غوندي په غوږ کښې سره کړی
pa ghwag ki sra karhai

shrilling sword, I love, around neck,

unalike slave, with a red ring in ear

...

بې له توري پښتو نۀ ترسره کيږي
Be la ture pukhto na tar sara kegi

Pukhto پښتو مري که يې له توري بيله کړی[694]
mree ka ye la ture beyala krhai

without sword Pukhto can't be accomplished

Pukhto ceases, devoid of chivalry

Eulogizing chivalry, Ulfat promises Pukhtun man that chivalry rewards fame and reverence, even after death. Tomb of a brave martyr becomes a shrine for pretty Pukhtun women to pay homage.

Pa tura bandi che marh په توره باندي چې مړ نۀ شي څوک يې نۀ پيژني
na she sok ye na pejani

Dase mazar ta pukhtani داسې مزار ته پښتني ملالی نجونه نۀ ځي[695]
malali njuna na zee

If not martyred displaying chivalry, no one knows you

Pukhtun pretty girls don't visit such tomb

Assigning primacy to masculine chivalry in his poem, *Tura, Pukhto, Pukhtunwala,* 'Sword, Pukhto, Pukhtunwali', he locates decisive power in swords and claims that only chivalry can change destiny of a nation. Justice can only be established with sword; Pukhtun man, therefore, ought to inculcate love for sword and be chivalrous. Chivalrous alone can rule the

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[693] In Pukhto folk stories, Turaban, a genie, kidnapped and imprisoned Gulandama, a beautiful fairy, to force her into marriage with him

[694] Ulfat, G., *Ghwara Asha'r da Gul Pacha Ulfat* (Selected Verses of Gul Pacha Ulfat). Da Pukhto Tolani da Adbiato Sanga, Kabul 1955, p159

[695] Ibid., p154

world, chivalry reigns while reason obeys, even Plato bows down to the chivalrous. Pukhtun women should bear and rear chivalrous Pukhtun warriors to defend fatherland.

پښتونواله نام و ننګ دے
Pukhtunwala naam o nang de
ننګیالے اصیل پښتون دے
Nangyaley aseel Pukhtun de
ځان وژل د ننګ دپاره
Zan wajal da nang da para
د پښتون سرې ژوندون دے[696]
Da pukhtun sarhe jwandun de

Pukhtunwali is glory and honour

Chivalrous is true Pukhtun

Dying for honour

is life to the Pukhtun man

He demands Pukhtun women to bear and rear brave sons of the nation.

چې يې له ويرې فرعونان بد بد خوبونه وينې
Che ye la veyari fironan bad bad khobuna veenee

scared Pharaohs have nightmares

له پښتنو ميندو نه هسې ماشومان غواړم[697]
La pukhtano maindo na hase mashuman ghwarhama

of Pukhtun mothers, I demand such brave children

His poem *Da Khazo Shikwa*, 'Grievances of Women', enlists patriarchal, oppressive, discriminatory practices denying Pukhtun woman autonomy, consent marriage, freedom of expressions and mobility. He grieves over plight of a Pukhtun daughter who is not only barred to join her beloved, but also forced to suffer all violence in silence.

Da juhal pa د جهل په تيارو کښې به اوسيږمه تر کومه
teyara ki ba osegama tar koma
Ma sok da ilm o fan ما څوک د علم و فن پوهې رنا ته نۀ پرېږدي
pohe ranrha ta na pregdi
La ma na tarbiat da له مانه تربيت د پوهه اولاد غوښتل خطا دي
poh aulad ghukhtal khata dee
Talim ta me che sok da تعليم ته مې چې څوک د مکتب خواته نۀ پرېږدي[698]
maktab khwa ta na pregdi

How long shall I reside in murky ignorance

No one allows me access to light of knowledge, arts and wisdom

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[696] Ibid., p124
[697] Ibid., p136
[698] Ibid., pp225-226

demand of me raising wise children is unwarranted

if not allowed to go school to study

Gul Pacha Ulfat exhibits paradoxes in development of gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun. On one hand, he adheres to [masculine] Pukhtunwali, ascribes essential masculine/feminine attributes and roles to man and woman and elevates masculine chivalry and aggression; while on the contrary, he advocates fundamental human rights of women. He designates chivalry not only an essential masculine attribute but also an essential component of Pukhtunwali, indispensable to freedom and survival of Pukhtun nation. Ascribing Pukhtun man essential role of a warrior/protector/defender of Pukhtun honour and fatherland, he lauds masculine violence, aggression and warfare, consequently establishes and reinforces superiority of masculine over feminine. He associates chivalry with victory, dominance, freedom, justice, honour, fame and glory; while cowardice with anonymity, subordination and slavery. He even subordinates intellect/reason to physical power, chivalry and aggression. Considering reproduction and motherhood essential attribute and role of a woman, he demands Pukhtun woman to bear and rear brave warrior sons to defend nation. However, he creates space for women's right to education within the ambit of traditional masculine Pukhtunwali, as he requires and justifies female education to enable women better groom sons to defend and uphold Pukhtun honour. He also advocates woman's rights to mobility, consent marriage and freedom of expression.

Contrary to a large majority of his predecessors and contemporary Pukhtun poets, Ashraf Maftun (1922-2004) challenged fundamental notions and practices of Pukhtunwali.

Nan che نن چې کوم کار تاته غېرت ښکاري

kom kaar ta ta ghairat khkari

څه موده پس به جهالت ښکاري[699]

Sa moda pas ba jahalat khkari

An act, you deem honour today

Will appear ignorance, a while later

Honour, has predominantly been declared immutable and an essential constituent of [male] Pukhtunwali by a large majority of Pukhtun poets. Instances of gendered consciousness often invoke notion of honour, as the

[699] Maftun, A., *Skondare* (Tweaks). University Book agency, Peshawar 1981, p487

cornerstone of [male] Pukhtunwali, to perpetrate and legitimize primitive, patriarchal, oppressive, anti-women practices. By affirming transitory and mutable nature of honour, Ashraf Maftun shakes the very foundation of patriarchy.

He dares to write sympathetically about the most oppressed and notorious segment of womenfolk i.e., sex worker.

Ay da hawa اې د حوا د لوړې بدنصيبې خوار و زارې
lure badnasebi khwaro zare
Ay da khpal mahol rasm o اې د خپل ماحول د رسم و رواج دلاسه خوارې
riwaj da laasa khwary
Sa ushu? Mazhab ka څه وشو؟ مذهب که نادانې نه راشړلې يې
nadanai na rasharhli ye
Ya ka farsuda يا که فرسوده اخلاقو دېخوا رالېږلې يې
ikhlaq dekhwa ralegali ye
Ya ka sakht iflas, zalim يا که سخت افلاس، ظالم غربت دلته راوستې يې
ghurbat dalta rawaste ye
Ta pa asliyat ki loe ته په اصليت کښې لوئے خدمت د مخلوقات کړې
khidmat da makhluqat kṛhe

O Eve's daughter! Unfortunate, wretched and poor
O victim of your milieu, customs and traditions
So what? If religion expelled you, ignorantly
Or outdated morality sent you here
Or extreme poverty and oppression brought you here
you, actually, render great service to human beings

.....

Ta ta gunah nishta تاته ګناه نشته د حالاتو نه مجبوره يې
da halato na majbora ye
Kaar da gunah na kṛhe [700] کار د ګناه نه کړې ګناهګاره مشهوره يې
gunahgara mashahura ye

You are innocent, but compelled by circumstances
you don't commit sin, but known as a sinner

For Maftun, a sex worker is victim of poverty, customs, traditions, religious/moral codes and man's deceit. Contrary to general perceptions about her as an evil creature, Maftun alleviates her to the level of innocent angel, embodying piety and beauty. She serves humanity by providing rest, comfort and company to helpless and the lonely.

Maftun does not explicitly deal with gender roles, attributes and relations.

[700] Ibid., pp99-100

Nonetheless, he paves a way to depart from traditional gendered consciousness grounded in essential gender roles /attributes considered immutable and essential [male] honour known as Pukhtunwali.

A large number of women poets explicitly challenge patriarchal character of Pukhtunwali. Hameeda (1918-1960) in her poem *Na Pregdi*, 'Does not Sanction' delineates numerous restrictions imposed upon woman in the name of Pukhtunwali: freedom to go out, get education, speak truth, even laugh and dress at will. She brings to fore role of mothers in cultivating compliance in daughters by giving instructions to remain chaste. Woman's chastity has been the cornerstone of patriarchal control, providing justification and legitimacy to denying woman her fundamental rights and liberties in the name of safeguarding her chastity.

Qanoon da pukhunwali قانون د پښتنوالي مي صحرا ته نۀ پريږدي
mi sahra ta na pregdi
bi zaya mi har cha sara بې خايه مي هر چاسره خندا ته نۀ پريږدي
khanda ta na pregdi
pa kor ki ra ta wai mor په کور کښې راته وايي مور او ورور درس د عصمت
ao wror dars da ismat

Pukhtunwali does not allow me to go out
does not sanction me to laugh anywhere with everyone
At home mother and brother pester me with lessons on chastity

---

ma wali ilm o ما ولي علم و فن نوي دنيا ته نۀ پريږدي
fun navi dunya ta na pregdi
pat dard laram pa zrha ki پټ درد لرم په زړۀ کښې خو ښکاره وئيلے نۀ شم
kho khkara waile na sham
zalim aw zorawar mi [701] ظالم او زورور مي حق وينا ته نۀ پريږدي
haq veina ta na pregdi

Why don't they let me have exposure to new world of science and art
Keeping pain hidden in my heart, I can't express in the open
the cruel and the oppressor do not permit voicing the truth

Exhibiting *gender consciousness*, Hameeda, loudly protests oppression of Pukhtun women. Denouncing Pukhtun code of conduct that not only confines woman to four walls, restricts mobility and freedom of expression, prevents exposure to modern education, to the world of science and art, but also disapproves simple pleasure such as laughing at will. She yearns for freedom

[701] Shahjehan, 1993, pp.161-162

of mobility, expression, education, work and enjoyment.

Syeda Bushra Begum (1922-2002) is the first Pukhtun woman to have a published anthology of poems titled, *Zeeray,* 'Pleasant News'. [702] Her poems focus on discriminatory practices against women and importance of women's education to develop Pukhtun nation. She envisions a larger role of women in struggle of independence and to develop the nation. Bushra Begum deplores limiting woman's role to four walls and denying Pukhtun women access to multifarious branches of knowledge such as; history, politics and economy.

Da Pukhtane Khor Faryad, 'Sobbing of a Pukhtun Sister' laments denying Pukhtun woman right to education, forbidding her reading, writing, develop intellect, participate in development of nation, protest against oppression, above all knowing true teachings of Islam. Women are caged and forbidden to break open their chains.[703]

Ma jaarha zrha dalta ki مۀ ژاړه زړۀ دلته کښې اوښکې تویول منع دي
okhke tweyaval mana dee

Da sarhad khazo ta ikhbar [704] د سرحد ښځو ته اخبار کتاب کتل منع دي
kitab katal mana dee

Don't weep, O heart, shedding tears is forbidden here

Frontier women are forbidden to read newspaper and books

Pukhtun Plar Ta, 'To a Pukhtun Father', protests discriminating daughter and preferring son: depriving female child of education and share in inheritance. She questions prevalence of old archaic views about daughters in contemporary world that: value daughter, lesser to even cattle; reproach her for low intellectual capacity, despite father being himself responsible in keeping her ignorant. She warns Pukhtun father of adverse impacts of keeping daughters ignorant and illiterate on development of Pukhtun nation. Educating daughters, she considers mandatory if one loves Pukhtun. [705]

ځۀ به جواب کړي کۀ ایمان په خدائے قیامت لري تۀ
Sa ba jawab krhe ka iman pa khudai qayamat lare ta
د لور او زوي په منځ کښې فرق د محبت لري تۀ
Da lur o zwe pa manz ki farq da mohabat lare ta
[706] زوي دي مالک شي د لکونو لور محرومه پاتې
Zwe de malik she da lakhuno lur mahroma pate

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[702] Begum, B., Zeeray (Pleasant News). University Book Agency, Peshawar 1956, pp 192
[703] Ibid., p114
[704] Ibid., p114
[705] Ibid., p115
[706] Ibid., p115

How will you account for? If you believe in Day of Judgement

Your love discriminates daughter and son

Son inherits lakhs, while daughter remains deprived

Da Pukhtane Lur Gila, 'Complaint of a Pukhtun Daughter', protests forced marriage.

Laka sarvee de betaposa لکه څاروے دي بې تپوسه حواله کړم د بل
hawala krham da bal

Hes da aram koshish mi na [707] هیڅ دٰ ارام کوشش مې نۀ کړي د سبا دپاره
krhe da saba da para

Like cattle, without consent, handed me over to someone else

Without efforts for my future comfort

Ghokhta, 'Request', prescribing modesty and chastity to woman, advises her to refrain from adornment and adopt simplicity.

چې د عصمت څادر يې خور ۆ په اوږو هغه يُو
Che da ismat tsaadar ye khor wo pa ugo, hagha yu

پاکدامنی کښې د دنيا مونږه نظير کړي ربه ![708]
Pakdamanai ki da dunya munga nazeer krhe raba

We are, those, wearing shawl of chastity over shoulders!

Let God become us the role models in chastity

Da Watan Meena, 'Love of the Homeland' urges women to: cultivate love of the homeland; actively participate in nation building; investigate causes of poverty, ignorance and subjugation of Pukhtun; understand loss and benefit of the nation; and lead the nation to success and dignity.[709]

Che taraqi da qoam watan da چې ترقي د قوم وطن د ځان زينت وګڼو
zan zeenat uganrhu

Khob da ghaflat na di baidare خوب د غفلت نه دي بېدارې شي زنان د وطن
shee zanan da watan

Nasluna warha ainda ba نسلونه وارهٰ ائنده به محبان وي د قوم
muhibban wee da qoam

Ka pa baidaro paiyo loi [710] کۀ په بېدارو پئيو لوئے شي فرزندان د وطن
shee farzandan da watan

Shall consider development of the nation and homeland, our adornment

women shall wake up from the slumber of ignorance

All future generations shall be patriot

sons raised by awakened mothers

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[707] Ibid., p117
[708] Ibid., p39
[709] Ibid., p60
[710] Ibid., p60

Manifesting traces of *gender consciousness*, Bushra rejects Pukhtun notion of natural and essential intellectual inferiority of woman, rather brings forth its social causes including confinement of woman and denial of access to education. She demands rights to education, consent marriage and share in inheritance. Advocating larger role of woman in social and political spheres; she, still assigns primacy to her motherhood role of raising patriotic generation of sons. Hesitant in claiming inalienable rights as an individual, she rather makes woman's rights subservient to liberation and development of the Pukhtun homeland.

Poetry of Alif Jana Khattaka (1927AD) focuses on improving status of Pukhtun nation and women. Depicting plight of Pukhtun nation, especially women, her poetry calls to liberate and speedily develop Pukhtun nation with equal benefits and opportunities to women. She declares that improving status of Pukhtun women is mandatory if one wants to improve overall status of Pukhtun nation. She depicts women's oppressed situation in graphic details: equates customary veiling and confinement to imprison women, denial even to access clean drinking water and fresh air. Not only it hampers physical and mental growth, but also induces dormancy and idleness in women. Justifying oppressive patriarchal practices in the name of Islam is to commit infidelity, roars Alif Jana.

دا مي مطلب نۀ دے چې ظلم د خپل پلار وښايم
Da mi matlab na de chi zulam da khpal plar ukhayam
زړونه وريتۀ د خپلو خوښندو پۀ انګار وښايم
Zrhuna vreta da khpalo khwendo pa angar ukhayam
زړۀ مي دا غواړي چې ړاندۀ سماج ته لار وښايم
Zrha mi da ghwarhee che rhanda samaj ta lar ukhayam
د رواجي پردي نقصونه تار په تار وښايم *Da riwaji parde nuqsuna tar pa tar ukhayam*
خدايه! د ژبي طاقت د زړۀ طاقت راکړي *Khudaya da jabe taqat da zrha taqat raki*

The aim is not to expose oppression of my father
fire burnt hearts of my sisters
Want to guide blind society to right path
to expose in detail faults of customary veiling
O' God! grant me strength and courage to speak

.....

kor ki da khpale khaze haal کور کښې د خپلې ښځې حال د یو ګړی وګوره
da yaw garhai ugora
tang naghare shledale kat تنګ نغرے، شلیدلے کټ، ماته پیړی وګوره
mata perhai ugora

Mind for a moment plight of your woman inside house

small burner, torn out bed and broken chair

.....

dase داسې پرده د زنانه، زنانه پن زیاتوي
parda da zanana zananapan zytavee
zuaf da badan zytavee ضعف د بدن زیاتوي، ویره د دښمن زیاتوي
veyra da dushman zytavee

this veiling increasingly weakens woman

bodily weakness her and increases fear of enemy

.....

Ta da mazhab pa num pa ته د مذهب په نوم په ما څومره ظلمونه کوي
ma sumra zulmuna kavee
Ta yi mazhab bole zama ته یې مذهب بولي، زما په خیال کفرونه کوي
pa khyal kufruna kavee
Khudai o Rasul bande da خدائے او رسولص باندې د غیر اعتراضونه کوي
ghair aiterazuna kavee
Deen da Islam دین د اسلام بدناموي ټول رواجونه کوي
badnamavee tol riwajuna kavee

In the name of religion you severely oppress me

you call it religion, in my view it is infidelity

you are contemptuous to God and prophet of others

you defame Islam and indulge in customs alone

.....

Da de fitrat chi vi bashar دا دے فطرت چې وي بشر په ممنوعاتو حریص
pa mamnuato harees
Zaka nazar vee da har nar څکه نظر وي د هر نر په مستوراتو حریص
pa masturato harees

It is in nature of humans to be tempted by the forbidden

that is why every man keeps on staring at women

.....

Juram na wrande sazagani جرم نه وړاندې سزاګاني ورکول څه پکار
warkawal sa pakar
Paki bibyane pa koro ki پاکې بیبیانې په کورو کښې بندول څه پکار
bandawal sa pakar
Khaze hum zrhuna lari zrho ښځې هم زړونه لري، زړو کښې خواهشات لري
ki khwaheshat laree

Sar ki maghza lari سر کښې ماغزه لري، ماغزو کښې احساسات لـــري
maghzo ki ehsasat laree

Kanrhee kho na dee hum کانې خو نه دي هم دا ستا په شان جذبات لـــري
da sta pa shan jazbat laree

Kha khayalat laree بلکې له تانـــه زيـــات لـــري
balke la ta na zyat laree

Da be gunah marghai di دا بې ګناه مرغي دي بند کړي په پنجرو کښې ولـي
band krhi pa panjro ke wale

Waya krhi khakhi dee وايه کړي خښې دي ژوندی په اديرو کښې ولـــي
jwandai pa adeero ke wale

Der pa zillat warta nazar ډير په ذلت ورته نظر کوي د سپو په مثال
kave da spo pa missal

Pa na khabara yi [711] په نه خبره يې وهي د پردو خرو په مثـــال
wahe da prado khro pa missal

Why to punish one prior to committing a crime

Why confine to four walls innocent women

Women do possess hearts and desires

do possess brain in heads and feelings

not stones, they do have emotions as you do

Do possess good ideas rather more than you

Why to cage these innocent birds

Why to bury them alive in the graveyard

You look down upon them like bitch

Beat them up like alien's donkey without pretext.

Alif Jana exhibits *gender consciousness* and counts as one of the first feminist voices amongst Pukhtun. Explicitly denouncing oppressive, patriarchal customs and traditions, she demands an enabling environment, where both women and men can flourish. She advocates women's fundamental rights to life, health, education, mobility, and work, deeming it necessary for the development of nation. She declares that in the realm of ideas and emotions women are equal if not superior to men. She condemns veiling and confinement of women and links it to higher prevalence of diseases amongst women.

Salih Muhammad Muslih (b.1929) advocates women's right to education. In the poem *Da Yawi Peghle Arzoo,* 'Aspiration of an Unmarried Woman' he articulates young women's desire to study, learn new arts and skills apart from domestic ones to play larger role in the society. He rejects the notion that

[711] Shahjehan, 1993, pp.212-216

women prefer an ostentatious role and need ornaments, dresses and cosmetics to colour face, nails and lips. Rather than improving appearances women want to improve intellect and way of life, to bring peace in families and society. He calls women to muster courage and assert their right to education.

مـــــنلے نـــــۀ شـــــو نـــــور تـهمـــــت د جهالـــــت
Manaley na shu nor tuhmat da jahalat
مـکتـــب دپـــ
Maktab da para
Da jwandana khwanduna د ژوندانۀ خوندونه علم او کمال سره دے
ilm o kamal sara de
Bi ilma jwand de wrak shee [712] بې علمه ژوند دي ورک شي چې تل جنجال سره دے
che tal janjal sara de

will not accept stigma of ignorance anymore upon us

for school

taste of life is in knowledge and talent

down with life without knowledge, always full of trouble

Bilqis Makeez (b.1941) condemns patriarchal, oppressive, discriminatory Pukhtun practices and welcomes pro-women legislative and social reforms during the reign of PDPA.

In her poem *Muskai Sha Khaze*, 'Smile! O Woman', Bilqis not only graphically depicts oppression and violence against Afghan woman, but also rejoices over new dawn, promising dignity, equality and fundamental human rights to women. Bilqis laments that Afghan woman had been subjected to: confinement, ignorance, illiteracy, heavy domestic labour and violence, prior to the revolution. Reduced to an object, she had been forced to suppress all her emotions and autonomy. Rose like young girl either became a dancer to entertain a Khan, feudal lord, at his Hujra, or forcibly sold into marriage and entertain an ugly old man. She appreciates Afghan women's contributions in revolutionary struggle.[713]

Ta pa tyaro ki zaledi تۀ په تیارو کښې ځلیدې رنـــا رنـــا وې ښـــخې
ranrha ranrha ve khaze
Da zamani pa tor tamuno ki د زمانې په تورتمونو کښې پیدا وې ښځې
paida ve khaze

You did twinkle in darkness, O woman

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[712] Momin, M., *Osani Shairan* (Contemporary Poets). Da Afghanistan da Alomo Academy, Kabul 1988, pp111-112

[713] Mazhari, K., *Pukhtani Leekwali O Shairani* (Pukhtun Women Writers and Poets), Vol.I. Da Afghanistan Da Alumo Academy, Kabul 1987, pp109-118

Born in an epoch of murky darkness, O woman

.....

Da nareena o sta tar نارينه او ستا ترمينځ به مينه مينه نه وه
manz ba meena meena na wa

Da kor pa kunj ki ba د کور په کُنج کښي به پرته لکه اشيا وي ښځي
prata laka ashia ve khaze

Uss no rapasega uchata اوس نو راپاځيږه اوچته شه بدلون وګوره
sha badlun wogora

Haga badlun che ta pa [714] هغه بدلون چې ته په زړۀ کښي پرې شيدا وي ښځي
zrha ke pre shaida ve khaze

Between man and you, love was not love

You were lying in a corner of the house, like an object

Stand up, rise, to behold the change

That change you adored deep in your heart, O woman

In *Taupir*, Difference/Discrimination, she again regrets that she had been living in the dark, within the four walls; not permitted to see dawn. Pre-destined to perform domestic drudgery, she had not been allowed to hold pen and learn arts.

Da bekarana دا بيکرانه دنيا توله راته يوه خونه وه
dunya tola rata yawa khona wa

Da njalitub pa juram [715] د نجلي توب په جرم بنده ما بهر نه ليده
banda ma bahar na leeda

Limitless universe was reduced for me to four walls

Incriminated being a woman, thrown into dungeon could not peep out

Still, she nurtured dream to create an egalitarian society, free of gender based discriminations, wherein she could learn, teach, and achieve her independently chosen goals. She dreamed to fly in the air, but was distressed to see broken by discriminatory customary practices, her wings. Upon hearing revolutionary call promising abolishment of discrimination between man and woman, she responded and joined hands.

Waarha insanan dee haq da واړه انسان دي حق د چا تلفيدے نه شي
cha talfeday na shee

Nar be la khaze sar manzil [716] نر بي له ښځي سر منزل ته رسيدے نه شي
ta rasedaley na shee

All are humans, no one can be denied rights

Man without woman can't reach goalpost

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[714] Ibid., pp112-113
[715] Ibid., pp113-114
[716] Ibid., pp 115

Manifesting higher level of *gender consciousness*, Bilqis Makeez discerns and condemns patriarchal, discriminatory practices against women such as; confinement, suppression of desires and emotions, violence, heavy domestic labour, denial of right to education and work. She rejects commodification and objectification of woman, urging freedom of expression and creating her own destiny. Considering woman equal to man, she supports measures taken by revolutionary regime to abolish gender based discrimination and exploitation.

Saad Ullah Jan Barq (b. 1950) brings to attention plight of women in traditional Pukhtun setting. He depicts situation of a young Pukhtun girl and what she goes through while about to be sold into marriage. Men gather outside home to negotiate and bargain her bride price, like a cow; alone, she weeps and shivers inside.

پته ژړېږي، اوښکې بهېږي، ورو ورو رپېږي، خان له په کور کښې

Pata jarhegi, ukhke baheegi, ro ro rapeegi zan la pa kor ke

جينې خرڅېږي، بيعه يې کېږي، بيا به رژېږي، پېنډی لاهور کښې

Jenai kharseegi, baya ye keegi bia ba rejeegi Pindai Lahore ke

بهر کتونه، پرې بالښتونه، ږيرې برېتونه، به ټول صلاح کړي

Bahar katuna, pre balakhtuna, geeri bretuna ba tol salah krhee

دا به روانه کړي ناګهانه، کور د بابا نه لکه د غوا کړي[717]

Da ba rawana krhee nagahana, kor da baba na laka da ghwa krhee

Weeps unseen, sheds tears, shivers lightly, alone, inside house
Girl is being sold, price is being negotiated, to worn out in Pindi, Lahore
Outside, on charpoys with pillows, beards and moustaches all consult
All of a sudden, shall take her away, from father's house, like a cow

He grieves over unhappy youth of girls of his village who grow old too quickly owing to harsh living conditions. Due to unequal access to water and food, rose like cheeks and lips of girls fade and dry. Youthful emotion are strictly regulated and suppressed; even forbidden to have colourful dreams. Still buds are sickled, to prevent them bloom and blossom.

زما د کلي پېغلي د خودی نه خبر نۀ شوې

Zama da kali peghle da khudai na khabar na shwe

وړې وي بيا زړې شي، د ځوانی نه خبر نۀ شي[718]

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[717] Barq, S., Zarghuna (Flourishing). University Book Agency, Peshawar 2010, p279

Warhe wee bia zarhe shee da zwanai na khabar na shwe
Young women of my village are not allowed to explore the world

Young girls, grow old, are not allowed to explore youth

Elsewhere, grieves over sexual objectification of young girls and highlights the prevalent direct association between poverty and increased vulnerability of women. He depicts helplessness and discomfort of a beggar's daughter, aged 10-12, who has been subjected to lustful stares in marketplace. Men consider a poor man's daughter an easy object to gratify their lust, like a flower plucked, ruined and thrown. Their sharp, piercing eyes stare at her, like wolf at its prey. Helpless poor beggar, the father, cannot protect her and she bows down her tearful eyes.

ځاه! څه رنګه ريږي او بوږنيږي ځان کښې ځان پټوي
Ah! Sa rang rapeegi o bugneegi zan ki zan patawi
هر يو بورا تري سترګو سترګو کښې لمن شوکوي[719]
Har yaw bora tre stargo stargo ki laman shukawi
Oh! How she shivers, fears, hiding in herself

each moth stare tears away her shirt

Saad Ullah Jan Barq by discerning and condemning anti-women Pukhtun practices, not only manifest *gender consciousness*, but also identifies confluence of gender and class in exacerbating plight of Pukhtun woman. He deplores bride price, sexual objectification and commodification of women and graphically depicts their adverse impacts upon status of Pukhtun women.

Safia Sidiqui (b. 1962), in *Mor*, 'Mother', addresses son, to appreciate mother's contributions in his success and achievements. Man's success have often been considered product of his own innate superior strength, intellect and hard work. On the contrary, Safia reminds man that he owes his existence, success and achievements to woman/mother. Without Eve, Adam could not get descendants; and without mother who carries baby in womb for months, nurtures through blood and flesh, raises in loving embrace, gives first lessons of life, teaches distinction between good and bad, man could not become a scholar, conqueror and champion.[720]

کـــــــهٔ مـــــــې پـــــــه خپلـــــــه غېـــــــږ کښـــــــې
Ka me pa khpala gheeg ke

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[718]Ibid., p93
[719] Burq, S., *Brekhna* (Radiance). Baang-e-Haram, Peshawar 1969, pp60-62
[720] Sidiqui, S., *Naloste Kitab* (Unread Book). Khushal Farhangi Tolana, 1997, pp. 59-60

Ta ta تاته سبق د ژوند پيل کړے نۀ وے
sabaq da jwand peel karray na way
Ka me pa کۀ مې په شو بدو پوهه کړے نۀ وے
kho bado poha karhay na way
نو راته ووايه تۀ چيري بيه وي؟
No rata owaya ta cheeri ba wee
زما نامتو زما اتله زويه!
Zama naamto zama atala zwaya
Pa har sa poha په هر څۀ پوهه زما عاقله زويه![721]
zama aqila zwaya

If I, in my embrace
had not began lessons of life
had not taught you good and bad
tell me where you would have been
my famous, my hero son
all-knowing, my wise son

Another poem titled *Khaza*, 'Woman/Wife', narrates wife's contributions in man's life. Adam's life would have been incomplete, without loving Eve. If woman had not smiled at man, gazed lovingly at him, held his hand on long difficult pathways of life, where the man would have been? And today he has autonomy and freedom, while woman in the name of womanhood remains enchained and imprisoned.[722]

اوس تۀ ازاده او خپلواکه گرځي
Us ta azada au khpalwaka garze
او زۀ د ښځي په نوم
Au za da khaze pa nom
ستا زولنې ښکلوم
Sta zolanai khkulum
او ستا پنجرې ساتمه[723]
Au sta panjre satama

Now you roam around free and autonomous
And I, in the name of womanhood
Kiss your chains
And keep your cages

Though, influenced by traditional mindset, Safia envisions woman as mother and wife, nonetheless, attempts to uplift her status and create greater recognition of her role and contributions in man's life. She aptly points out

[721] Ibid., p60
[722] Ibid., pp61-2
[723] Ibid., p 62

that woman's love, care and companionship has enabled man to become autonomous; while man has imposed restrictions on woman in the name of womanhood. She laments essential relationship between womanhood, submission, servitude and confinement.

Kubra Mazhari (b. 1954), in *Da Tor Sare Ghag*,[724] 'Woman's Voice', not only depicts and condemns women's exploitation, but also calls for transformative action. She rejects Pukhtun notion of natural superiority of men over women, rather ascribes it to the use of force and economic factors. For her, both man and woman possess equal potential at birth, however, the former becomes master, enslaving the latter.

Ta pa khpala pakhpal تا پخپله پخپل زور دے ځان لوئے کړے
zor de zan loe karhe

You, automatically became superior using force

Sta qudrat da ستا قدرت دا ستا پيسې، پوله پتے دے
sta paise, pola patay day

نۀ فطرت نۀ پيدايښت د خدائے[725]
Na fitrat, na paidawakht da khudai

Your power lies in your money, [landed] property

Neither natural, nor creation of God

Deploring denial of human rights to women, she urges them to stand for their rights. She vows to win autonomy and eliminate darkness of ignorance, bondage, confinement and weakness.

Tyare khatmoma, تياري ختمومه، خپل حقوق غواړمه
khpal haquq ghwarhama

Poh پوهه شه زياتي محرومۍدلے نۀ شم[726]
sha ziatee mahromedale na sham

Eliminating darkness, I demand my rights

Beware! Can't be kept deprived anymore

She condemns exploitation of female domestic worker at the hands of mistress and lauds hard labour of a young Pukhtun woman.

Da aghzu daki pkhe د اغزو ډکي، پښې دي يو وړي ديارہ لمر کښې
de yu wagi da para lmar ki

Zan karhawe sta la himmat ځان کړوي ستا له همت بيکار سرونه قربان[727]
be kar saruna qurban

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[724] Mazhari, K., Lambey (Flames). Da Qamuno O Qabailo Da Charo Wazarat, Kabul 1985, pp1-3
[725] Ibid., p.3
[726] Ibid., p.19

Thorns ridden feet, to earn merely a corn cob, under scorching sun

You work hard, can't be matched by idle heads

For her, it is joint duty of both men and women to struggle to liberate nation/motherland of colonial/imperialist forces. She yearns to abolish class and gender disparities, win independence, establish self-rule and autonomy of the Afghan people. She admires past Afghan heroine including Nazo, Zarghona and Malai, and aspires to follow their footsteps.[728] She brings forth instances of women's bravery and intelligence in the field of politics, literature, science, technology and even battlefield, from all over the world, to counter prevalent notions about inferiority of woman. Paying tribute to Rabia Balkhi, Rosa Luxemburg, Angela Davis, Indira Gandhi, Bendra Naike, Leila Khalid and Perveen Itesami, Kubra Mazhari incites Pukhtun women to overthrow the chains of patriarchy.[729]

Ta ajaza, siyah تۀ عاجزه سیاه سره نۀ یې، لوئے طاقت یې خورې!
sara na ye, loe taqat ye khure

Kamzore na ye, nim کمزورې نۀ یې، نیم وجود د بشریت یې خورې!
wajud da bashriat ye khure

you are not the hapless weak, a great force, you are! O sister

Weak, you are not, half of the humankind, O sister, you are

.....

خو اوس بندي د پلارواکی په زور زحمت یې خورې![730]
Kho os bandi da plar wakai pa zor zahmat ye khuri
Now enslaved, you are, by oppressive patriarchy, O sister!

Kubra Mazhari illustrates *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun by challenging patriarchal thought and practices. Dispelling natural hierarchy between man and woman, she declares equality between man and woman, possessing equal potential, capabilities, worth and dignity. She envisions larger role of woman beyond confines of four walls and incites both men and women to struggle together to create a just and peaceful society, based on self-rule and autonomy. She takes into account the confluence of imperialism, class and gender in oppressing women. A staunch believer in female agency, she motivates women to abolish patriarchal constraints upon their freedom and

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[727] Mazhari, K., *Da Zrha Veeni* (Blood of Heart), Pukhto Tolana, Kabul 1977, p13
[728] Mazhari, 1985, pp44-48
[729] Ibid., pp126-128
[730] Ibid.,

development and overthrow imperialism and class oppression.

Salma Shaheen focuses on women's feelings, emotions and problems. For her, relationship between man and woman is essentially oppressive and exploitative; since, father commands obedience of daughter, brother sells sister, and husband seeks services and entertainment from wife.[731] Comparing carefree childhood with adult life of a Pukhtun woman, Salma underscores her plight, confinement, and oppression. She condemns life under surveillance, loss of individual freedom and will.

په ساعت کښې مې خندلے، په ساعت کښې مې ژړلے
Pa saat ki me khandale pa saat ki mi jarhale

[Wish] could laugh now and cry then [at will]

چې په هيڅ نۀ پوهيدلے، زۀ هم هغسې وړه وے
Chi pa hes na pohedale za hom haghase warha ve

[Wish] had not comprehended anything and remained a child

.....

چې د مورہ تښتيدلے، زۀ هم هغسې وړه وے
Chi da mora takhtedalle za hom haghase warha ve

Could run away of mother, had remained a child

په کوټو باندې ختلے، زۀ هم هغسې وړه وے
Pa koto bande khatalle za hom haghase warha ve

Could climb roof tops, had remained a child

زۀ د کورہ بې پروا وے او خوشحاله په صحرا وے
Za da kora beparwa ve o khushala pa saara ve

Had no care of home and be happy outside

لکه اوس چې راته ګورې داسې نۀ راته کتلے
Laka os chi rata goree dase na rata katale

As they judge me now should not have

مور او پلار مې خندېدلے، زۀ هم هغسې وړه وے
Mor o plar mi khandedalle za hom haghase warha ve

[wish] parents could unworriedly laugh and I had remained a child

زۀ د ګل يوه کلی وے، خو نظر د ګلچين نۀ وے
Za da gul yawa kalai ve kho nazar da gulcheen na ve

I were a blossoming bud, but without the sight of gardener

په چمن کښې غورېدلے، زۀ هم هغسې وړه وے
Pa chaman ki ghwarhedalle za hom haghase warha ve

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[731] Shaheen, S., Raweel (Jasmine). Pashto Academy, Peshawar 2004, pp93-94

Could flower in the garden, I had remained a child

نۀ مي ويره وے نۀ ترهه، بي پرسانه گرځيدلے[732]

Na mi vyera ve na traha be pursana garzedalle

Could wander freely and fearlessly

Balaa, 'Hag', brings forth adverse impact of recent surge in militancy, on Pukhtun woman. Salma mourns that Pukhtun woman had already been facing confinement, malnourishment and low literacy. Some women struggle to win fundamental rights; while others are still to be made aware of those rights. Plight of Pukhtun woman has further exacerbated with emergence of militancy; since, these explicitly anti-women militants have been torching girls' schools and imposing harsh restrictions on women.

لا خو حقونه چا دركري نۀ ؤ

la kho haquna cha dar karhee na wu

لا خو دي ستركي وچي شوي نۀ وي

la kho de stargi oche shawe na ve

دا څۀ بلاه بلا

da sa bala balaa

په تا نازله شوله

pa ta nazila shwala

وايي بُرقعه په سر كه

wai burqa pa sar ka

تياروكښي ژوند تيروه

teyaro ki jwand terawa

خو د حوا لوري!

kho da hawa lure

You have not been granted yet rights

Your tears haven't yet dried!

Yet another hag

Inflicted upon you

Commands wearing cloak

Lead life in the dark

But, O' Eve's Daughter

...

بس ماتي به نۀ قبلوو

Bas matay ba na qablao

راځه چي لوظ وكړو

Raza che loz wokrho

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[732] Shaheen, S., Za Hom Haghase Warha Ve, (Wish had Remained a Child). Millat Printers, Lahore 1996, Pp102-103

مونږ که په خپله سیمه امن غواړو
Mung ka pa khpala seema aman gwarho
نو ورسره
No warsara
مساوات غواړو حقوق غواړو
Masawat ghwarho haquq ghwarho
انصاف غواړو[733]
Insaf ghwarho

Let us not accept defeat
Let us commit
If, we want peace in our homeland
in addition to,
wanting equity, rights
and justice

She urges women to continue resisting oppression and struggle for gender inclusive peace and justice.

Salma Shaheen, illustrating *gender consciousness*, not only discerns but also condemns varied manifestations of patriarchal control and authority over Pukhtun women. In the private sphere, father/brother/husband regulate and control all aspects of Pukhtun woman's life ranging from desires, emotions, feelings and thought to actions; while in the public sphere militants determine, in the name of Islam, her dress code, mobility, access to job, health and education facilities. She stresses the need to raise *gender consciousness* of women; appreciates women's agency; calls them to resist patriarchal control; and create an equitable, just and peaceful society.

Fatim Jan (b.1913) rejects perceived natural superiority of man over woman and condemns prevalent discriminatory practices against Pukhtun woman. Men also assigned lower value to woman's capabilities, labour and product of labour. She stresses equality of rational capacity of man and woman; however, opines that difference in muscular strength used by men led to institutionalization of hierarchical gender relations, which she deplores.

Zor ki farq de, shaoor زور کښې فرق دے، شعور کښې دے یکسانه
ki dee yaksana
Fazilat, فضیلت، برغیز، د نر په نصیبه شو
barghaiz, da nar pa naseeba sho

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[733] Shaheen, S., *Intekhab e Shaheen* (Selections of Shaheen). Pashto Academy, Peshawar 2011, pp25-26

Pa kamai پـه کـمی د قـوت شوه ښځه بـې ځانـه[734]
da qwat shwa, khaza be zana

differ in physical strength, same in reason

privilege, superiority, became male's fortune

less physical strength deprived woman of will

The poem *Da Khazo Maqam*, 'Status of Women', is a condemnation of depriving women of equal rights in a country created in the name of Islam, a religion ostensibly granting men and women dignity and equal rights. On the contrary, Pakistani state and society discriminate and oppress women. Although, female excel male in several ways such as; learn speak earlier, possess higher political consciousness and can create a more peaceful society, as they have been maintaining peace at home. However, they have been excluded from all political institutions.

Pa dunya ki che پـه دنـيـا کښې چې رواج د ظلم عام شـې
rawaj, da zulam aam shee
چغـــــــــــه وي اول، د ښـــــــــــځو کـمـــــــــــزوري
Chagha wee awal, da khazo kamzorai
Khaze wroke ښځې ورکـې شوې تـيـارو د جهـالـت کښې
shwe, tyaro da jahalat ki
نـــــــــران ســــــــر دي د ابـــــــتم پـــــــه تـيـــــــاري[735]
Naran sar dee, da atom pa tayrai

Increased oppression in the world,

Gives rise to the slogan of women's weakness

Women disappeared in the darkness of ignorance

Men occupied themselves in making atomic bomb

Da Pukhtano Juno Waduna, 'Weddings of Pukhtun Girls', condemns underage forced, and mismatch marriages in exchange for bride price. Fatim Jan laments that Pukhtun man undertakes daughter's marriage, a profitable trade to alleviate his own poverty and even sells her on easy to pay installments to poorer men, in utter disregard to her safety and wellbeing. Pukhtun man has acquired the license to oppress and exploit woman, with impunity, in all relationships.

Da د پښتون د قـام هـر ظلـم تـبـاهي ده
Pukhtun da qaam, har zulam tabahi da

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[734] Jan, F., *Perzoyene da Fitrat* (Well-wishes of Nature). Gulzar Pukhto Adabi Jirga, Mardan 1990, p34-5
[735] Ibid., p49

ودول د لونـــــــــــــو هـــــــــــــم ســـــــــــــود اګري ده

Wadawal da lunrho, hom sodagari da

Nabaleghe نـابـالـغي خرڅوي، رحم پـري نـه کـري

kharsawee, raham pre na krhi

Na manzura نـامـنظوره ورتـه دوي، مـنت زاري ده[736]

warta dwe, minnat zaari da

each oppression destroys Pukhtun nation

marrying daughter is also a business

selling underage, no mercy for them

rejects pleas and requests

Fatim Jan illustrates a vivid example of *gender consciousness* amongst Pukhtun. She discerns and condemns patriarchal practices such as; bride price; underage, forced, mismatch marriages; exclusion of women from decision making in the public sphere; and ascribing lower social value to woman's work and body. Repudiating notions of natural superiority of man over woman, she brings forth socially constructed nature of these inequalities. She confirms equality of man and woman in all capabilities except physical strength. She considers gender based discriminations against nature and spirit of Islam.

Haseena Gul Tanha (b. 1968) charts and condemns prevalent discrimination against Pukhtun woman ranging from preference for male child to regulation and suppression of desires, feelings, emotions, thought and actions.

Discrimination against Pukhtun woman begins at the moment of birth; a daughter's birth has always been mourned, while son's celebrated amongst Pukhtun. In, *Pukhtun Wror ta Yaw Gila,* 'Complaint to a Pukhtun Brother', Tanha finds preference for male child over female not only one of the important causes of uneven, hierarchical, oppressive relationship between brother and sister, but also discriminations at home and society at large. Even mother: prays for a son, rejoices, over male, mourns, daughter's birth; fulfills, son's, suppresses daughter's needs and desires, impeding growth of woman's agency. Consequently, elevated brother acquires superiority, looks down upon sister, an inferior creature. Tanha pleads to brother that she is not inferior in any way; since, you are Adam's son and I am Eve's daughter. Woman is an

[736] Ibid., pp80-81

agent and has a role to play in history. History has been silent about woman and undermines her role and contributions; Tanha, therefore, intends to write (her) story, not (his)tory.

څـــــــــــومره څـــــــــــان اوچـــــــــــت ګنـــــــــــې
Sumra zaan uchat ganrhe
زهٔ درتـــــــــــه څـــــــــــهٔ نـــــــــــهٔ ښـــــــــــکارم
Za darta sa na khkaram

Such an arrogant! You
consider me insignificant

...

دلتـــــــــــه يـــــــــــوه خبـــــــــــره ده
Dalta yawa khabra da
زهٔ مـــــــــــور غورځـــــــــــولي يـــــــــــم
Za mor ghurzawali yam
تـــــــــــهٔ مـــــــــــور اوچـــــــــــت کـــــــــــړے يـــــــــــې
Ta mor uchat karhe ye
تـــــــــــهٔ هـــــــــــم د دي مـــــــــــور نـــــــــــه يـــــــــــې
Ta hom da de mor na ye
زهٔ هـــــــــــم د دي مـــــــــــور نـــــــــــه يـــــــــــم
Za hom da de mor na yam

Here, mind this
Mother threw me down,
Mother elevated you
You belong to this mother
I too belong to this mother

...

تـــــــــــهٔ چـــــــــــې راشـــــــــــې وخانـــــــــــدي
Ta che rashe ukhandee
زهٔ چـــــــــــې راشـــــــــــم ژاړي دا
Za che rasham jarhi da
دي کښـــــــــــې زمـــــــــــا څـــــــــــهٔ قصـــــــــــور؟
De ke zama sa qasur?
زهٔ کـــــــــــهٔ راپـــــــــــيدا شـــــــــــمه
Za ka ra paida shama
زهٔ هـــــــــــم يـــــــــــو کـــــــــــردار لـــــــــــرم
Za hom yaw kirdar laram
غـــــــــــواړم چـــــــــــې ادا يـــــــــــې کـــــــــــرم[737]
Ghwarham che ada ye krham

Laughs, when you are born
when I am born, she weeps
Is it my fault?

---

[737] Tanha, H., *La Ma Na Ma Bailega* (Don't Breakup with Me). Da Khakhi Kultori Tolana, Peshawar 2009, pp132-133

that I am born

I, too, have a role

Want to play it

Mahal, 'Palace', depicts misery of a woman, in confinement.

Za manam che sta pa زۀ منم چې ستا په فکر دا ښائسته محل دے
fikar da khesta mahal de

Kho che bahar da de mahal خو چې بهر د دې محل نه ټۀ يواځې ووځې
na ta yawaze uze

Pa ma pase dade mahal په ماپسې د دې محل تمبې راوارِوي ټۀ
tambe rawarawe ta

Da hawagano, د هواګانو، خوشبويانو لارې وترې ټۀ
khushboyano lari utarhe ta

Granted, you think it a beautiful palace

But, you step out of this palace, alone

On me, you shut doors of this palace

paths of winds and fragrances, you tie down

...

Ma ta da de mahal hama ماته د دې محل همه معنې بدلې شې بيا
mane badale shee bia

to me, entire meanings of this palace change

...

د دې محل د ډيوالونو تور او سپين ډيوان مې لا ويرِوي
Da de mahal da diwaluno tor o speen dewan me la weyrawee

Zama na da mahal de زما نه دا محل دې بېرته واخله، ساه مې ووځې
berta wakhla, saah me uzee

چې يوه سياه واخلم په زوره زوره[738]
Che yaw saah wakhlam pa zora zora

of this palace white and black monster walls scare me dead

take back of me this palace of yours, that suffocates me

so that I can sigh a deep breath

Patriarchy sanctions four walls of the house, a sacred and secure place/palace for woman, wherein, she rules like a queen. It confines woman to the four walls in the name of protection from hardships in the public sphere, in fact, denies her paid productive labour, to perpetuate her oppression, subjugation and inferior status. Dispelling this myth, Haseena Gul declares monsters four walls of the household tantamount to confinement, suffocating and choking her to breathlessness and death.

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[738] Ibid., p109

Her poem *Pukhtane Mermane,* 'Pukhtun Women', laments that women are barred: to comprehend meaning of their existence; to be aware and fulfill their needs, desires and aspirations; to express their feelings, emotions and thoughts; to exercise choice for themselves; and to stride with contemporary times. Women have always been shedding tears over their love; suppressing their voices; burning and burying youthful emotions. Pukhtunwali demands women to submit to brother, father, in short all men.

مونږ ته د خپل اظهار هنر جانانه کله راځي؟
Mung ta da khpal izhar hunar janana! Kala razee

Do we know the art of expression, My love

مونږه د خپل قسمت په هیڅ یو فیصله کښې نۀ یو
Munga da khpal qismat pa hees yaw faisala ki na yu
We are not part to any decision of our destiny

مونږ د ورور په وړاندې
Munga da wror pa wrhande
We, in front of brother

کله د پلار په مخکښې
Kala da plar pa makhke
at times, in face of father

mung da Adam مونږ د ادم د هر یو زوي په وړاندې
da har yaw zwee pa wrhande
We, in front of every son of Adam

mudam da khpalo hosalo pa salo مدام د خپلو حوصلو په څلو لاس وهلے
laas wahale
Always, caressed tomb of our patience

hum mo da khpal هم مو د خپل وجود او خپلې هستی
wajud o da khpali hastai
نه ته تل انکار کړے دے
na tal inkaar karhe de
Have also always negated, our body and whole existence,

zaka che da riwaj de, ځکه چې دا رواج دے، ځکه چې دا قانون دے
zaka che da qanun de
Since, this is custom, this is law

دا پښتو ده[739]
da pukhto da
This is Pukhto

She urges women not to submit anymore to oppression, to rise for

[739] Ibid., pp53-4

revolution, overthrow primitive thought and riwaj. She commits, along with fellow women, to evolve, cultivate and create, new thought, laws, practices, and riwaj. She urges women to: cherish and express their emotions, embrace body, rejuvenate spirits, choose, create and become masters of their own destiny. She calls upon women to wipe tears, laugh and sing songs of life.

Exhibiting *gender consciousness*, Heseena Gul Tanha discerns and condemns prevalent patriarchal practices amongst Pukhtun such as; preference for male child, discrimination against girl child, regulation and suppression of woman's desires, feelings, emotions, thought and actions. Not only, she rejects notions of inferiority of woman and superiority of man, but also protests invisibility of woman in history, stressing need to bring forward herstory. She promotes female agency, calling upon women to foster solidarity with fellow women and choose their destiny, define womanhood and transform whole social order.

The above demonstrates that Pukhto poetry in twentieth and twenty first centuries not only expresses gendered consciousness but also provides varied levels of *gender consciousness* in the wake of changing socio-political circumstances. Gendered consciousness ascribes fixed, essential and hierarchical attributes and roles to Pukhtun man and woman; defines Pukhtunwali in terms of masculine attributes, especially chivalry and aggression; relegates woman to a limited, domestic role and calls for strict regulation of her emotions, feelings and actions. *Gender consciousness* discerns and condemns oppressive patriarchal practices; challenges sanctity of essential masculine/feminine attributes and roles; claims fundamental human rights; extends woman's role to participate in struggle against patriarchy, religious extremism, colonialism and imperialism.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Selected verses of selected Pukhto poets demonstrate that Pukhto poetry provides varied patterns and levels of gendered consciousness and *gender consciousness* depicting prevailing Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, and status of woman. These patterns and levels range: from absolute, unquestioned, willful adherence; to partial acceptance and

absolute condemnation; from urging reforms, to total transformation; of patriarchal Pukhtun gender relations; notions of masculinity/femininity; Pukhtun customs and traditions that adversely impact status of Pukhtun woman. They also reveal prevalent paradoxes in gender consciousness amongst Pukhtun.

Some patterns of gendered consciousness emphasize: manly, warlike character of Pukhtun man and nation; identify masculinity with superior and lack of it with inferior human traits, actions and status; eulogize chivalry, fearlessness, invincibility of Pukhtun man and his conquest of vast lands; ascribe fixed, constant, essential masculine/feminine attributes/roles, and associate masculine with power, honour, courage; and feminine with weakness, shame and cowardice. Some other patterns of gendered consciousness term: acquisition of, feminine traits by a man highly degrading, cowardly; masculine traits by a woman desirable.

Essential masculine attributes ascribed to Pukhtun man include: chivalry; aggression; generosity; honour; command; hospitality; honesty; rendering help to the needy; standing, by the weak and, against injustice; respecting women and guarding their [sexuality] chastity. Manly asserts, competes, keeps promises, resists oppression, willfully embraces martyrdom and never retreats. At the same time, Pukhtun woman has been ascribed with a wide range of essential feminine attributes. However, two distinct patterns of essentialism can be distinguished. A pattern ascribes chastity, modesty, obedience, love, care, compassion, honesty, piety, hard work and amiability to Pukhtun woman; contrarily, another pattern ascribes immodesty, disloyalty, treachery, hypocrisy, deceit, callousness and ungratefulness to [not Pukhtun] woman. Both patterns share reproduction, motherhood, irrationality, frailty, cowardice as essential feminine attributes and expect Pukhtun woman to be obedient, loyal, modest, patient, truthful, upright and well versed in domestic chores. These patterns also assign essential masculine/feminine roles to man/woman. Pukhtun man's essential role is to protect and uphold [male Pukhtun] honour and fatherland; while woman's essential and religious role is to obey, serve and please husband and in-laws that wins her pleasure of God. She not only keeps intact family, the basic unit of the clan/tribe/society, but also transmits Pukhtun patriarchal values to future generations. To perpetuate and strengthen

masculine Pukhtunwali, a pattern of gendered consciousness assigns Pukhtun woman the role to support, incite and motivate men to be aggressive and chivalrous. Yet another pattern emphasizes woman's role to regulate and suppress her sexuality, the locus of [male] Pukhtun honour. She ought not to violate [male] Pukhtun honour and become source of humiliation and disgrace of male relatives.

Most of these patterns envision woman in a limited, reproductive, domestic and relational role i.e., of a: loving, caring and hardworking wife; an obedient daughter; sister, needing brother's support and protection or a mother, bearing and rearing defenders of Pukhtun honour and fatherland. Mothers of great Pukhtun warriors are eulogized as role models, who bore and reared great Pukhtun heroes. Not an individual, woman, has been assigned lower social value, even lesser than a cattle.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness markedly exhibits medieval theistic essentialism as it explains gender roles and relations with reference to divine order and commandments. It manifests Greek and Medieval hierarchical, gendered, mind-body and reason-passions/emotions dichotomies too. Gendered consciousness associates woman with passions/emotions, and masculinity with struggle against and overcoming of carnal self/ passions. The dichotomy entails that reason/mind (man) ought to regulate passions and body (woman).

Above cited patterns assign primacy to masculine attributes, especially chivalry, and man's role in warfare to defend fatherland and conquering vast lands, reinforce superiority of men over women and adversely impact status of Pukhtun woman. At the same time stressing primacy to woman's chastity provides cornerstone to patriarchal control over woman. Resultantly, notion of, chivalrous Pukhtun conqueror and protector of lands and honour; grants him control over a chaste Pukhtun woman, who bears him son, legitimate heir to family name and property. This not only results into denial to her fundamental rights and liberties such as; life, mobility, education, property, work, consent to marriage, expression etc., but reinforces inferior status.

Gender consciousness delineates and rejects numerous restrictions imposed upon woman in the name of Pukhtunwali and Islam. Various levels of Pukhtun *gender consciousness* discern, condemn, call for conscious,

organized, collective action, to reform, transform or overthrow existing Pukhtun patriarchal practices, gender roles and relations. Rudimentary level of *gender consciousness* discerns, condemns honour killing, bride price, forced, underage, exchange marriage; however, remains oblivious to woman's fundamental right to, mobility, education, work, property, consent to marriage and, participation in decision making, both in public and private spheres.

Reformist level of *gender consciousness* discerns and condemns: preference for male child; confinement, customary veiling, sexual objectification and commodification of Pukhtun woman; denial of right to, education, develop intellect, political participation, knowledge of multifarious sciences, especially religion, history, politics and economy; regulation and suppression of woman's feelings, desires, emotions, thought and action; gender based violence; and forcing women to bear all suppression, oppression and violence in silence to uphold Islam and Pukhtunwali. Reformist *gender consciousness* not only discerns and condemns but also protests and resists extreme oppression of Pukhtun woman, both in private and public spheres, in the wake of ongoing surge in extremism and militancy over Pukhtun land, in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pukhtun woman's status has been adversely affected by: increased regulation and control over all aspects of her life, ranging from desires, emotions, feelings to thought and actions by father/brother/husband, in the private sphere; and increased restrictions imposed upon her such as; observance of dress code, mobility, access to job, health and education facilities by even unrelated men, extremists and militants, to uphold Islam, in the public sphere.

There are traces of higher transformatory *gender consciousness* that not only reject Pukhtun notion of natural and essential intellectual inferiority of woman, but also ponder upon its causes and create space for elevation of status of Pukhtun woman. National liberation movement and class consciouness have been instrumental in emergence of such higher level of *gender consciousness*. National liberation movement extended realm of woman's activities beyond four walls to encompass battlefield and politics to defend national honour and urged women to join struggle against colonial/imperial forces. Class consciousness enabled discerning adverse impacts of confluence of class and gender upon status of Pukhtun woman. It

calls upon Pukhtun woman: to investigate causes of poverty, ignorance and subjugation of Pukhtun; abolish class and gender disparities; establish self-rule and autonomy; and lead the nation to success and dignity. This higher transformatory level appreciates and promotes female agency; stresses the need to raise *gender consciousness* of women; calls upon women to foster solidarity with fellow women, resist patriarchal control; overthrow primitive thought, *rawaj*, laws and practices; urge women to choose their destiny, define womanhood and struggle to transform entire social order to create an equitable, egalitarian, just, peaceful and prosperous society. *Gender consciousness* advocates women's fundamental rights to life, health, education, mobility, work and role in decision making, deeming it necessary for the development of nation and abolishing class differences.

CONCLUSIONS

Investigating association between gender consciousness and status of women amongst Pukhtun, this work established that there exists a direct, but dialectical relationship between gender consciousness and status of Pukhtun women. The work also repudiates the generally held belief that an *apriori*, fixed and monolithic understanding of gender i.e., masculinity/femininity, exists amongst Pukhtun. It demonstrates that Pukhtun gender consciousness has been non-monolithic, heterogeneous and rather paradoxical. Varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness, predominantly gendered consciousness, i.e., dogmatic, androcentric, mercantile, essentialist, dichotomous, ossified and deterministic may be distinguished alongside traces of *gender consciousness,* i.e., critical, egalitarian, rudimentary, reformist, progressive, dynamic and transformatory. These patterns and levels of gender consciousness reflecting dialectical interplay of a wide range of social, political and economic factors, most notably property relations, and division of labour in production and reproduction, in turn, shape gender consciousness/relations and impact status of Pukhtun women.

THE DIALECTICS OF PUKHTUN GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS: STATUS OF PUKHTUN WOMEN

Departing from normative usage of the term 'gender consciousness' that offers static, piecemeal, partial, fragmentary and vague understanding, this work proposes more inclusive, comprehensive, dynamic and dialectical usage of this term. Gender consciousness used as an inclusive term refers to all patterns and levels of cognizance and appraisal of masculine/feminine attributes, roles, gender relations, individual and collective gender identities. *Gender consciousness,* written in italics, unequivocally refers to a specific level of awareness that discerns, condemns and/or motivates political action to reform/transform: patriarchal, androcentric notions of masculine/feminine attributes, roles and relations; division of labour, rights and privileges on the basis of sex differences. *Gender consciousness* has been distinguished from gendered consciousness that refers to dogmatic and passive acceptance/adherence to patriarchal, notions of masculinity/femininity and

gender relation, considering it granted, natural, divine and universal. The inclusive term gender consciousness comprehends both *gender consciousness* and gendered consciousness (See section 1.3).

Discussing diverse manifestations of gender consciousness, this work has identified its varied patterns and levels. Varied patterns of Pukhtun gendered consciousness dehumanize woman, reduce her to an object, site of male Pukhtun honour, a commodity, an instrument of reproduction and means to provide care and services to [male] family members.

Androcentric pattern of Pukhtun gendered consciousness deems man/masculinity primary, normative and superior, while woman/femininity derivative, deviant and inferior. Woman is reckoned only in relation to man, i.e., a mother, wife, beloved, daughter and/or a sister. It assigns primacy to: [male] Pukhtun honour; masculine attributes, especially chivalry, aggression; and his role in warfare to protect and preserve Pukhtun family/tribe/nation. This pattern renders woman's existence subordinate to man's honour, locating [male] Pukhtun honour in woman's body, sexuality, emotions and activities. It bestows legitimacy upon man's right to regulate, subjugate, subordinate and even kill Pukhtun woman. Her (paternal) male relatives, husband and his (paternal) male relatives may regulate every dimension of Pukhtun woman's life, ranging from feelings and emotions to thought and practices. Men, not even related to her, may dare to regulate her actions, anywhere in the world, in the name of upholding Pukhtun honour (See sections 3.2, 4.2 & 5.2). The pattern prescribes that a Pukhtun woman ought to be: chaste, modest, veiled, segregated and confined to the four walls. Not only, it suppresses autonomy and encourages violence against woman; but also denies her rights to life, health, education, work, consent to marriage, freedom of opinion and expression.

Elevating chivalry and aggression above all other human attributes, this androcentric pattern ascribes to man the role to defend [male Pukhtun] honour, woman, land and fatherland. This pattern confers upon men conquest, acquisition, protection, and thus ownership, of land and other strategic resources. This state of affairs has been internalized by a large number of women to such an extent that instead of being critical, they too, eulogize [male Pukhtun] chivalry, aggression and victory by singing songs and weaving

stories. Many more women have been instrumental in motivating and preparing brothers/sons/husbands to wage patriotic/tribal/family feuds and wars. They scoff and hurl taunts at coward men and do not consider them worth love, affection and care (See section 4.1). This provides evidence to the fact that frequent invasion and wars over Pukhtun land necessitated man's role in warfare that shaped gendered consciousness. The pattern confers gendered connotation upon human attributes and relations, equating masculine with superior and feminine with inferior, and vice versa.

Mercantile pattern of Pukhtun gendered consciousness trades woman as a commodity, legitimizes bride price, *swara*, forced, early and exchange, marriages. A well-known Pukhtun proverb relates, 'as long as a man can pay, he will always find a woman' (See sections 3.4 & 4.1). Paying bride price entitles man to own woman, her life, productive and reproductive capacities, labour and fruits of her labour. The pattern not only condones violence against woman, a private property, but also denies right to consent to marriage. Father/brother may settle her marriage with anyone, even prior to her birth and forbid her marrying the man of her choice. A widow is often forced to marry her deceased husband's male relative or man chosen by her [male] in-laws. They can sell her into marriage, to recover previously paid bride price, and snatch children too, since, children belong to father alone. Adherence to this pattern justifies exchange marriage, in the name of, securing greater protection for woman and bride price, assistance to poor parents, to meet wedding costs of daughters.

When androcentric and mercantile patterns synthesize, they generate and reinforce patrlineality, and birthright claim of a paternal male cousin to marry his cousin. A common Pukhtun edict declares 'descent is patrilineal', *Zaat plar pase zee*. Similarly, another relates that *tarla da tarbur da*, 'female cousin belongs to the male paternal cousin'. Woman is considered property of her father/ husband/ their male relatives. Reduced to a property herself, she is denied to own property. This justifies *Ghag*, a customary Pukhtun practice of publicly laying a claim over a female especially of a paternal cousin's by resorting to aerial gunfire in front of her house. None may dare marrying a *ghag wahale khaza*, a woman claimed by a paternal cousin, since it implies enmity not only with the male but also his extended family, even the clan.

Dichotomous pattern of Pukhtun gendered consciousness constructs woman irrational, superstitious, emotional and inferior to man in hierarchical binaries of mind-body and reason-passions. The pattern excludes women from activities associated with reason and position of authority such as property ownership, politics, education, employment and decision making, both in public and private spheres. Considering her incapable to hold, and suspecting her to misuse, authority, Pukhtun men are cautioned not even to consult women. Lack of reason has been used to justify control over her by the rational being, a man.

As Greek/Medieval dichotomous thought envisaged man-woman or husband-wife relation in terms of mind-body, reason-passion and master-slave, Pukhtun gendered consciousness deems husband-wife relations strictly and solely in terms of command and obedience (See sections 2.1, 2.1 & 3.2). The very Pukhto term *Khawand*, husband, denotes owner/God [of wife]. An admixture of Pukhtunwali and Islam, this dichotomous pattern bestows upon husband absolute authority over woman's life and death, expecting to revere and obey Him, the shadow of God. To obey, serve and please husband in this world has been deemed a religious duty of Pukhtun woman that wins her pleasure of God and confirm place in the heaven. Since childhood, Pukhtun woman is instructed that woman marries once; divorce and remarriage is a stigma and deviation from Pukhtunwali. She is expected to ignore and forget her relatives, and insisted that her real abode is her husband's home and relatives, his family. She is not to step out of husband's house, even if pushed out by husband and/or in-laws. In case of failure in performing duties towards husband and in-laws, physical violence and polygamy is justified, even necessary to fix her. A good Pukhtun woman neither questions husband's absolute authority nor complains about domestic violence to anyone, even her own parents and brothers. A woman, questioning absolute authority of men over women is termed not-Pukhtun, bad and/or of an inferior descent.

Essentialist pattern of Pukhtun gendered consciousness ascribes predetermined masculine/feminine social roles on the pretext of essential physical and psychological differences between man and woman. This pattern legitimizes superiority of men over women through biological determinism/essentialism, and/or theistic essentialism. Not only it renders

physical, social, political and psychological differences, between man and woman essential, universal, necessary, constant and ahistoric but also affixes divinity to authority of man over woman. This essentialist, deterministic pattern undermines role of physical and social environment, division of labour and human praxis in shaping gender relations. Assigning woman an ostentatious, limited reproductive, domestic, relational and subordinate feminine role, it elevates man to perform superior masculine role of provider and protector. Moreover, woman's labour to provide care and services to the family is considered [feminine] not productive, hence, unpaid and inferior; while defense of fatherland/ honour and earning livelihood a masculine occupation requiring superior masculine physical and intellectual abilities and labour. This pattern not only reflects but also reinforces prevalent gender based division of labour and sharp demarcation between public and private spheres. Glorifying and sanctifying confinement of woman, in the name of natural or religious law, it also looks down upon man in case he fails to provide for the family and relies on women's income.

Essentialist patterns project image of brave, aggressive, sexually potent, intelligent, autonomous and detached man. One, able to guard woman's sexuality, face challenges, overcome hardships and inflict revenge, is a Pukhtun man; while lacking these attributes and unable to fulfill such role is considered not only not-Pukhtun but rather unmanly. Similarly, these patterns project images of good or bad, and real or so-called Pukhtun women. A real, good Pukhtun woman is pious, modest, chaste, loyal, submissive, obedient, caring, compassionate, honest, truthful, hospitable, beautiful, pleasant and efficient in domestic chores. One that bears domestic violence in silence, keeps extended family intact, strengthens familial bonds amongst the in-laws, strictly adheres to malestream Pukhtunwali by willingly sacrificing her feelings/desires/emotions, even life to safeguard father's/husband's honour. This image reflects and reinforces prevalent patriarchal property relations and gender based division of labour; and ascribes to woman the role to: bear and rear children; raise defenders of Islam and Pukhtun fatherland; and heir of family name and private property. Contrarily, bad woman is emotional, crafty, disloyal, deceitful, treacherous, hypocrite, callous and ungrateful. This image maintains biblical and medieval essentialist association of woman with body,

sexuality, lust, temptation and sin. This bad woman cheats husband and deserves extreme punishment and humiliation for such deeds. She is termed *kog large,* crooked stick, *che be taudedu na sameegi*, that cannot straighten without heating i.e., beating (See section 3.3).

Both images i.e., of good and bad Pukhtun women, sustain and reinforce prevalent gender based division of labour and property relations amongst Pukhtun. Both imply man's urge of a woman to provide him heir of undisputed paternity as well as care and services. Both establish and reinforce patriarchal authority and superiority of men over women. Good woman subscribes to the dominant notions of Pukhtun femininity and upholds, sustains and reinforces patriarchal gender relations. While bad woman justifies exercising control over her that sustains and further reinforces hierarchical gender relations.

Dichotomous and essentialist patterns synthesize in associating masculinity with chivalry, reason, command and victory; while femininity with fear, emotions, submission and defeat.

Varied androcentric, mercantile, dichotomous, essentialist, but deterministic, patterns of Pukhtun gendered consciousness not only adhere to, but also reinforce, patriarchal Pukhtun gender relations, notions of masculinity/femininity, customs and traditions, and adversely impact status of Pukhtun woman. These patterns fuse together and establish absolute authority of man over Pukhtun woman, denying her individuality and agency. Reflecting and reinforcing prevalent patriarchal property relations and gender based division of labour amongst Pukhtun, these patterns of consciousness perpetuate exclusion of woman to owning landed property on pretext of man's role in acquiring and protecting land, and by reducing her to private property/ an object/ a commodity, possessed by man. Considering woman an irrational, weak, even a subhuman creature, Pukhtun gendered consciousness ascribes lower economic and social value to her productive capacities, activities and outcome. Pukhtun woman, reduced to mere a body, has been expected to fulfill essential, natural and biological role i.e., to: bear and rear children, especially son, the heir of family name and property. Moreover, emphasis on reproduction and motherhood further relegates her to a domestic role to serve husband, children and in-laws; keep extended family intact and strengthen

familial bonds amongst the in-laws. Her participation in public sphere has been rendered antithetical to laws of nature, Pukhtunwali and/or Islam. Man's role has been to command, guard woman's sexuality, defend Islam and Pukhtun fatherland, to protect family honour, property; provide for his family; and make decisions both in private and public spheres. These patterns of gendered consciousness restrict Pukhtun woman's mobility, access to healthcare, education, information, economic resources, participation in political and training opportunities and development of her full human potential, resulting into inferior status.

Pukhtun gendered consciousness sustains and reinforces discriminatory practices against woman, beginning at the very moment of birth; wherein female birth is mourned, male celebrated. Both men and women are taught to believe that God has created Pukhtun woman as *Naqis-ul-Aqal*, lacking intellect. Barred from paid work, she has been accused of lacking ability to stand on her own feet, support herself and become financially independent, hence, essentially inferior. Considered inferior, irrational, unproductive and a potential threat to [male] Pukhtun honour, female child is discriminated, against male child, in terms of access to food, clothing, schooling and share in inheritance. Pukhtun woman is objectified, confined, denied right to education, work, property, consent to marriage, role in decision making and equal status. Gendered consciousness not only sustains gender inequalities, impede development of *gender consciousness* and reforms in gender relations, but also prevents progress towards an egalitarian society.

On the contrary, Pukhtun *gender consciousness* challenges patriarchal notions, discriminatory practices and gendered division of labour denying women fundamental rights and lowering their status. Critically evaluating the dogma of male superiority, *gender consciousness* opposes biological and theistic essentialism that grant attributes, status, privileges, opportunities on the basis of sex differences not only given, natural and divine, but legitimate too. *Gender consciousness* takes into account adverse impact of patriarchal Pukhtun notions (gendered consciousness), practices and institutions (material conditions) on physical and intellectual development of women, hence, denounces notions of essential physical weakness and intellectual inferiority of Pukhtun woman. *Gender consciousness* dares to reject theistic essentialism

that considers violation of essential attributes and roles of Pukhtun woman, especially her disobeying father/husband, a major sin. Contradicting this notion, it declares passive submission to patriarchal authority, discrimination and a graver sin. Rejecting that woman is an irrational, passive and submissive being, it calls upon woman to transgress Pukhtun patriarchal practices, assert and exercise agency, to improve her status (See sections 3.4 & 5.2).

Gender consciousness rejects oppressive, discriminatory patriarchal Pukhtun practices establishing absolute superiority and authority of man over woman. It renders commodification of woman and her total submission to commands of father/husband misinterpretations not only of Islam but Pukhtunwali too and brings forward subaltern egalitarian understandings of Pukhtunwali. Challenging malestream interpretation of Pukhtunwali in terms of power, chivalry, aggression, revenge, regulation, oppression of women in the name of [male] Pukhtun honour, *gender consciousness,* brings forward subaltern interpretations in terms of forgiveness, offering asylum (even to enemies), keeping promises, helping the weak and the poor and resisting injustice. Denying immutability, sanctity and legitimacy to ossified Pukhtun customary practices, it demonstrates prevalent varied degrees of adherence to such practices and its repudiation, often, by powerful segments of the Pukhtun society, *gender consciousness,* paves way for reforms in Pukhtunwali to improve status of Pukhtun woman.

Pukhtun *gender consciousness* brings forward diverse notions of non-dichotomous, non-hierarchical masculinities/femininities. Contravening traditional Pukhtun notion of femininity i.e., an irrational, passive, obedient and submissive creature, it constructs images of rational, prudent, resilient, assertive, productive and independent Pukhtun woman. It also reconstructs alternative images of humane, progressive, enlightened and peace loving Pukhtun man, who resents revenge taking, bride price and denounces violence and blood feuds, in the name of Pukhtunwali. Such alternate notions pave way for egalitarian gender relations and improvement in the status of Pukhtun women.

Pukhtun *gender consciousness* has been dynamic, not static, exhibiting two progressive levels: i.e., rudimentary and reformist; and traces of higher transformatory level of gender consciousness.

1) Rudimentary level of Pukhtun *gender consciousness* underscores and bemoans plight of Pukhtun woman; discerns and condemns naked, extremely oppressive Pukhtun patriarchal practices, such as; honour killing, *swara*, *volvar*, forced, child and exchange marriage, mourning birth of female child, domestic violence and burdening woman of heavy domestic workload. Recognizing woman's right to life, it negates the notion that woman is mere an object or chattel, owned by man, who can exercise absolute authority over. Nonetheless, granting superiority of man over woman, it invokes passion of sympathy and mercy towards a weaker creature, in order to reduce her abject suffering and pain, not considering her still an individual, a human being, having inalienable human rights to justice and equity. In opposition to gendered consciousness, even rudimentary level of *gender consciousness* elevates status of woman from an object/commodity to a human being, though weaker and still inferior.

2) Reformist Pukhtun *gender consciousness*, in addition to discerning and condemning oppression of Pukhtun woman and recognition of right to life, also advocates her right to education, healthcare, work and consent to marriage. Beside discernment of oppression of Pukhtun woman, it also exposes underlying collusion of tribal men, chieftains and clerics against Pukhtun women in general, especially poor. It also reveals numerous ways woman's labour and body, is subjected to oppression and exploitation in tribal, feudal patriarchal Pukhtun society. It brings to fore adverse impact of confluence of Pukhtunwali, clergy, oppressive regimes, war, militancy and displacement on Pukhtun women. Not restricting woman's role to reproduction alone, it recognizes her productive labour within four walls and encourages her in the labour market too. It also condemns oppression and exploitation of contemporary Pukhtun working woman overburdened by dual expectations of traditional caring, loving wife/mother and of an efficient hardworking worker, both, in private and public spheres,. It also discerns and condemns lack of opportunities for women to earn livelihood.

However, reformist level of *gender consciousness* does not call for transformation of social, political and economic structures and conditions that result into patriarchal, androcentric, essentialist constructions of gender i.e., masculinity/femininity, impeding women in achieving equality and

fundamental human rights. Hence, this level is unable to effectively improve status of Pukhtun woman. Since, rights may not be claimed and asserted by woman but shall be granted by male authority. Going to school and workplace might be allowed, but her mobility shall still be regulated by all male and elderly female relatives. Access to and control over strategic economic resources remains still out of her reach owing to male dominated social, political and economic structures. Rarely, she may receive share in inheritance, but effective control of her share in property shall transfer to husband/son from father/brother. Sexual and bodily rights may be recognized to limited extent, seeking girls' consent to marriage, in order to prevent cases of extreme mismatch and forced marriages. Woman is still denied sexual, bodily, intellectual autonomy and conscious, free productive and reproductive labour. Deprived of freedom of speech, action and association, Pukhtun woman does not find any organized platform to protest and overthrow oppressive patriarchal structures and conditions, except anonymous expression in genre like *tapa*, folklore and poetry.

There are traces of higher level of Pukhtun *gender consciousness* that seek to transform socio-economic formation and offer alternative interpretations of religion and Pukhtunwali to improve status of Pukhtun women. This level of *gender consciousness* not only extends sphere of women's rights to include sexual and bodily rights, but also affirms female agency and calls for collective affirmative action to change gendered, class ridden socio-economic formation and regimes.

These varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gendered and *gender consciousness* are grounded in dialectical interplay of social, political and economic factors, such as: tribal, feudal subsistence economy; transition from collective ownership of land to private, individual; market economy, gender based division of labour, and notion of [male] Pukhtun honour; urbanization; increased education and employment in general, especially of women; weaker democratic, legal, judicial, and law enforcement institutions. The interaction of varied patterns and levels of Pukhtun gender consciousness and material conditions has resulted into paradoxical development of gender consciousness and gender relations. Since, it not only reproduces and reinforces existing gender relations, but also at times reconstitutes them. Its impact on the status

of woman is not only linear and direct but complex, paradoxical rather dialectical, generating conflicting roles, images and expectations of both man and woman.

Despite discerning and condemning some extremely oppressive patriarchal Pukhtun customary practices, g*ender consciousness* has been unable to successfully transcend notions of [male] Pukhtun honour and feminine chastity and to dethrone man's protective and woman's reproductive role. Following increased employment of Pukhtun women in the job market, Pukhtun man's [essential] role of a provider has been questioned. However, his role of a protector has not yet been challenged effectively. Since, perpetual crises, war, feuds, absence of pro-women laws, institutions, especially police enable notion of [male] Pukhtun honour and role of Pukhtun man, of defender of fatherland and women, to reign supreme. Therefore, recognition of Pukhtun woman as a conscious autonomous human being, having control over her body, labour and income is still a distant dream.

Woman is still expected to excel men not professionally, but in self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-regulation. She may go out of four walls to school and work but neither to participate in social and political activities nor to entertain herself. Primary and secondary level of education is considered sufficient to train her as good mother and domestic worker, while higher, technical and scientific education, a threat to femininity. Despite being an educated working woman, she is recognized in relation to male relatives, not an individual. Marriage and motherhood continue to be raison detre of life of almost every Pukhtun woman. Participation of Pukhtun woman in public sphere is limited to teaching and healthcare professions, seldom is she allowed performing a role in business, politics, judiciary, sports, police and armed forces etc. Inclusion of women in customary decision making institutions, such as Jirga, is still forbidden; while in formal institutions, such as local government and legislature, is limited and not very effective.

Since, status of woman is product of interaction between material conditions, gender relations and gender consciousness. Hence, improving status of Pukhtun woman requires organized, collective and conscious political action to: repudiate supremacy of gendered consciousness prescribing androcentric, essential masculine/feminine attributes; recast socio-economic

conditions, lowering status of Pukhtun woman; formulate anti-essentialist, socialist, feminist, egalitarian, transformative political program of action and its implementation; reform existing property relations, gendered division of labour, ensure equal employment opportunities, provision of childcare facilities, better policing, pro-women laws, women's effective representation in both, customary/traditional and formal decision making institutions.

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