

European Journal of
Philosophy, Culture and Religious Studies
(EJPCR)



**Critical Analysis of the Works by Fredrik Barth, Akbar S.
Ahmed, and Charles Lindholm on Swat Pashtuns**

Zumra Nawaz Cheema



Critical Analysis of the Works by Fredrik Barth, Akbar S. Ahmed, and Charles Lindholm on Swat Pashtuns

Zumra Nawaz Cheema

National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 46000, Pakistan

Email: zumracheema22@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper focused on analysing the three very famous ethnographic works on Pukhtun Society of Swat. First, the work of Fredrik Barth “Political Leadership among Swath Pathans, was analysed then analysis of counter work to Barth’s done by Akbar S. Ahmed, “Millennium and Charisma among Pathans”, then there was critical review of the work by Charles Lindholm “Frontier Perspectives: Essays on Comaritive Anthropology”. Works of Louis Dupree, Talal Asad and Micheal Meeker, have also consulted to critically analyse the works of the mentioned authors. This paper is an effort to examine the fact that the works of Fredrik Barth, Akber S. Ahmed, and Charles Lindholm present partially true picture about the socio-economic settings of Swat Pashtuns but not a fully appropriate, impartial and correct image of that society. If one would fully depend on these works to understand the economic and political circumstances of Swat society, then it would be probably insufficient and misleading owing to a significant difference in the writings of all these writers though written from the same society. It means that all of them were writing from the different positions, from separate cultural, educational and professional backgrounds. Their backgrounds have great influence on their writing, which made their work subjective and biased. Thus, it assumes that though an anthropologist tries to remain impartial and objective while writing about any culture, he cannot be, because of his cultural restriction. So, there is an effort to give an answer to the research question by applying the idea of post-modernist approach of James Clifford “writing culture”, also getting support by the Michel Foucault ideas of “Knowledge/Power” in discourse analysis. Thus, it is supposed here that work of each above mentioned authors is a partial truth, because in an ethnographic work author plays a central role and he writes ethnography as an auto-biography (based on his/her cultural limitation).

Keyword: *Pathuns, ethnography, discourses, Orietalist approach, Swat society, Yousafzai culture, authority, partial truth.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Swat Valley is a narrow, green agricultural valley at the western side of the Himalayas, in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region of Pakistan, bordering on Afghanistan. At the time of Barth's study in the early 1950s, its majority population was Muslim, although it was sufficiently non-egalitarian society that caste was a salient principle. Pakhtuns were monopolized on the land and politics of the Swat at that time. Pakhtuns were consisted upon 20% of the total population. They were powerful and administrators. All non-Pakhtuns, except the Saints, were clients and working tenants of the Pakhtuns. The Pakhtun chiefs collected rents of 3/4 to 4/5 of tenant harvest, which they used on hospitality, gifting, and lending. Other than Pakhtuns land-lords, The Saints or Sufis were other influential figures in the Swat area based on their Islamic virtues of piety, learning, and sanctity.

2.0 FREDRICK BARTH

Fredrik Barth is a Norwegian scholar, whose life and career has taken him throughout the world. He was born in Germany and he got his early education in Norway. After receiving an M.A. at the University of Chicago in 1949, he began doctoral studies at the London School of Economics under Edmund Leach. He did fieldwork in Swat from February to November, 1954, with funding from the Royal Norwegian Research Council. While Barth was doing his field work his supervisor Leach was appointed as lecturer at Cambridge University. Thus, Barth followed him there, and completed his doctoral thesis, "The Political Organization of Swat Pathans" in 1957. His monograph titled "Political Leadership among Swat Pathans" is based on his thesis.

2.1 Political Leadership among Swat Pathans by Fredrik Barth

Political Leadership among Swat Pathans by Fredrik Barth is based on his field work in 1954, is circulated around the organization of Swat society on the basis of genealogies and economic basis. He evaluates that how the authority and corporate groups emerge out of personal relations. The first two chapters set forth the problem of the book, and the general ecology and ethnology of the area. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the social organization of the people: underlying frameworks of caste, consanguinity, neighborhood, and affinity, Chapters 5-9 deal with political organization: inequality and authority, land tenure and political relations, chiefs, saints, alliances and blocs. Chapter 10 is a brief political history of Swat. After a concluding chapter, there are appended cases of blood feuds. (Krade, 2009)

More specifically, in his work, Barth attempted to describe the political structure of Pashtun society in the Swat valley. Mutual aspects of patron-client bonds are demonstrated in such contractual relationships as those between tenant and landowner and between crafts persons and village farmers. The focus of political authority is on landowners or those who have rights to land and who preside over a men's house (hujra). Bonds between Saints and their followers are also said to constitute patron-client units. The ability to command a large following signals to rivals that an army can be mobilized should disputes escalate into warfare. Barth asserts that the contractual relationships between leaders and their dependents underlie the territory's political system and the establishment of social order within it.

Though, Fredrik Barth's "Political Leadership among Swat Pathans" is a classic example of "methodological individualists". Somewhat anticipated against E. E. Evans-Pritchard's who expressed social structure as the key to understanding political relationships in tribal societies, Barth emphasized the role of individual initiative and choice in the creation of political authority. In shifting attention from social structure to the individual, Barth's work is a critical milestone in the development of anthropological theory, presaging the rise of

rational choice and practice theory. Barth's study of the Swat Pathans in Pakistan also generated an interesting debate within anthropology. (Edwards, 1998). But his methodological individualism approach also got a lot of criticism and has challenged by many scholars, i.e, Akbar S. Ahmed, Talal asad Louis Dupree, Micheal Meeker etc.

His cultural and education background has great impact on his interpretation of Swat society. Firstly, the title of his book "Political Leadership among Swat Pathans" is questionable because the term "Pathan" is an Anglo-Indian terminology, which has negative connotation in Pashtun society. (Ahmed, Pukhtun Economy and Society (Routledge Revivals): Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society, 2013) It is generally regarded as unacceptable in Pashtuns. (Hart, 1982). Secondly, his individualistic approach or more probably rational choice theory is not relevant to the societal structure of Swat. In this way, he is viewing the political and economic structure of Swat through the lens of Western individualistic model as Barth said, "...in systems where no choice is offered, self-interest and group advantage tend to coincide, since it is only through his own group that any individual can protect or improve his position. Where, on the other hand, group commitments may be assumed and shed at will, self-interest may dictate action which does not bring advantage to the ; and individuals are able to plan and make choices in term of private advantage and a personal political interest.in this respect the political life of swat resembles that of western societies" (p.2) (Barth, 1959)

Here, Barth remains unable to understand the basic structure of the Swat society. As he said " *Our central problem then is to explore the kinds of relationship that are established between the persons in Swat, the way in which these may be systematically manipulated to build up positions of authority, and the variety of politically corporate groups which result*". (Barth, 1959)

Talal Asad challenge the Barth's focus on free choice as the central operating principle of Swat society. In contrary to Barth, Asad view is that it was not free choice but the presence of a sovereign landowning class that was the key to political leadership in Swat. The system does not regulate itself as it were after the consent of all participants has been obtained. It is regulated by a dominant class of landowners who exploit the landless. Once the agrarian class structure is recognized as the basic political fact... it becomes no longer possible to represent the political system as essentially made up of opposing blocs in dynamic equilibrium, a system which is simply the result of a multitude of choices (p.82) (Asad, 1972).

The main focus of Barth works is khans, who have authority on his subordinates on the basis of land. Traditionally, a chief's area of authority was temporary, in large part because of the custom of periodic land redistribution, but even with the end of land redistribution, Barth indicated that there was considerable flux in the composition of different factions because of the changing fortunes of individual chiefs and the continuing ability of followers to shift their allegiance to a different leader. The second focus of Barth's concern was with leaders he referred to as "Saints" whose authority is premised on their association with Islam. In contrast to khans, whose success requires a reputation for self-assertiveness and ruthless defense of their interests, well-regarded saints will have established a reputation for "moderation, piety, indifference to physical pleasure," as well as "wisdom, knowledge, and control of mystical forces" (p.101) (Barth, 1959). Cultivation of these qualities, along with a dignified, pacific manner and disciplined observance of Islamic rituals, confirms villagers' respect for saints; in some cases, saints inspire awe and veneration. In Barth's words, a reputation for holiness.

Barth views the Swat society with the view of Khans. At the one hand he divided the whole Swat society into non-landed class (tenents and their followers) and their network of

relationship with Pashtun khans (Land-owners) on the basis of the contracts. According to him *“Each chief establishes, as it were, a central island of authority, in the form of a men's house group, in a politically amorphous sea of villagers. From this centre his authority extends outwards with decreasing intensity”* (Barth, 1959). Non-landed class is not only dependent on landed class for their livelihood, but also for taking loans and protection. They are not free in taking any kind of socio-political decisions.

On the other hand, Barth is viewing swat enterprise through the Norwegian angle, in which a man is very calculated in cost and revenues. He sought ways to maximize his profit and minimize his loss. He has multiple choices and strategies to get ultimate political power (Louis Dupree, 1977)”. The Yusufzai khans who balance each other in power to ensure some form of rough equilibrium, while all the time maneuvering to join an alliance or bloc (‘dalla’) that would lead to an advantageous position, and therefore maximizing power over the rival bloc of khans”. (Ahmed, Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 1976) Furthermore, Barth is generalizing Yusufzai values on all the people of Swat, whether Yusufzai Pashtuns are in minority in the area. He should not overshadowed the other people of the swat. According to Ahmed Yusufzai depict a deviant picture of the norms.

In addition, Barth only focus on the urban economic structure, while he did not explain the rural society of swat, or people living in the highland areas of Swat. Resultantly, he did not explain the role of saints and Sufis on the lives of people in those areas. *“An inevitable khan’s eye-view of politics enters Barth’s analysis of Swat society, which partly explains the ‘minimization’ of the impact of the wali on Swat society and exaggeration of the role of Khans”*. (Ahmed, Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 1976) He overlap the terms saint, wali, pir, and mullahs, likewise he did not differentiate into the term chief and khans in Swat. (Charpentier, 1977) Saints are spiritual bodies who do not have any interest in getting profit in this world, while mullahs whom Akbar said *“Barthian man”* mostly work in the interest of khans to get monetary profit.

Leadership in Swat society has been divided into Khans and Saints. Had Barth further subdivided the categories of religious leaders into orthodox (Mullahs, Sayyeds Mians) and the unorthodox (Sufis like the Akhund)...the ‘orthodox mullah’ (and also Barthian Saints) work within the village social organization, and in practice with the good will of the khans, the Sufis works outside the village organization and established normative patterns of social behavior (Ahmed, Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 1976).

Although, Barth apply individualist method to understand Swat political leadership, but there is not congruence in theoretical approach and empirical data. His model do not have explanatory strength about the true picture of the Swat society. As Asad has said *“... together with evidence about village and kinship loyalties among Swatis in general, must render inadequate the market-type, individualistic, contractual model as the basic analytic framework for understanding the total political structure of Swat”* (Asad, 1972).

Another flaw of Barth work is that he just illustrated self-balancing side of society while he did not demonstrate the degenerative side of Swat society. ...Anthropologists are not been able to gauge the extent to which a tradition was the product of irresolvable disruptive processes. Unable to perceive degenerative processes in political experience that are out of control, anthropologists have not fully appreciated the darker side of institutions as a temporary stabilisation of injustice in the form of organised violence.... Fredrik Barth is usually considered an eminent critic of structural-functionalism and a thorough realist about the

role of political conflict in shaping cultural and social institutions. Yet his book, *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*, is faulted by a moral vision that obscures the implications of violence in political experience. (Meeker, 1980)

This was the critical review of the Barth work. Now there will be a critical analysis of Akbar S. Ahmed book “*Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*”, which is a counter work to Barth’s work.

3.0 AKBAR S.AHMED

Akbar S. Ahmed was working as political agent in Orakzai agency of the federally administered tribal agencies (FATA), Pakistan. Due to serving as government official he get reach to the internal knowledge of these areas. He was also the husband of granddaughter of Wali of Swat.

3.1 Millennium and Charisma among Pathans by Akbar S.Ahmed

His book “*Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*” first published in 1976, which presents an analysis of the Swat Pathans, the people of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, who belong administratively to Pakistan despite being a fiercely independent group, with their own codes and ways of life. Akbar S. Ahmed, who knows the Swat Pathans well through his family connections, presents a clear and sophisticated analysis of their complex society. The study provides an anthropological and critical re-examination of the ethnography of the Swat Pathans and the author suggests specific alternative models of social organization.

The book also represents an important contribution to the general debate in the social sciences between the ‘methodological individualists’ and the ‘methodological holists’, and challenges some of the theoretical and methodological premises in anthropology. He believes that the ‘Swat models’ have inadvertently become the basis for generalized, and often incorrect, understanding of models of Pathan socio-political organization in the social sciences (Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, 1976).

He criticizes the work of ferdrick Barth on the basis of three points. First, ethnological ethnocentricity; According to Ahmed Barth interpret swat society through the angle of Norwegian entrepreneur, in which returns exceeds costs. Secondly, Barth is generalizing Yusufzai Culture on whole of the Swat society as a norm, though they are a minority. Thirdly, Khans remain stuck in maximizing their interests not the bulk of the people. (Louis Dupree, 1977). Ahmed work gives a good analysis of Barth’s work. His work is also not fully true about the society of swat Pashtuns and in many aspects his work is also questionable. When he attack on Barth’s idea of transactionalist saying it as Norwegian entrepreneur imposing on the Pashtuns .he said that, this idea could be relevant to khan landlord and tenants structure (in qalang area) but it cannot fully apply on Nang areas where people are under the great influence of Sufis. They do various humane acts not to get material advantage but to get spiritual gain.

If the Barthian landlords are busy ‘seizing’, ‘attacking’, ‘manipulating’ and ‘ousting’ they still represent only activities of a small percentage of the total population.it is difficult to envisage the small Pathan landlord or a peasant ‘attacking’ and ‘seizing’ with impunity. Certain behaviour of pathan behaviour can be understood mainly in terms of mystical sufi behaviour. The imposition of the transactionalist framework, in toto, on the Swat pathan

lays Barth's work open to charge of a form of ethnocentricism.... (p.59) (Ahmed, Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 1976).

Moreover, Ahmed challenges the concept of Barthian Saint by adding that these are the men who maximize their worldly benefits by aligning with khans. Wherever, Sufis are those who do not have any concern with material gain of this world. According to Ahmed Barth wrongly use the idea of saints. He said that lose of this world is gain for Sufis. To comprehend a Sufi frame of reference in Barthian 'transactionalist' term (such as 'manipulating', 'maximizing', 'strategizing'- Barth, 1966) is to fail to understand the dominant element in sufi consciousness and the cognitive values as seen through sufi eyes; it is also to impose a sterile sociological framework of analysis and the reference. There is a polarity of difference in the two vocabularies and even in the definition of similar concepts. (p.88) (Ahmed, Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology, 1976)

Here there is no contradiction between Barth's "self-interest" position and Ahmed's holistic "social matrices". Because though interest of two categories of people are different and conflicting, as one category prefer to maximize worldly or material gains while other category prefer to have spiritual gains, but both kind of people are competing for maximizing their own individual interests. So, in this way Ahmad is wrong in criticizing Barth idea of transactionalist. In another way Ahmad unfairly criticize Barth by saying that he adapted Norwegian entrepreneur lens to view Swat economic and political system. Individualistic gains and materialistic behaviour is not restricted to Western capitalist societies. It can be found in the countries all over the world. Though, Barth's idea of material gain is appropriate in case of mullahs, khan and political leaders either do not apply on the whole of the Swat society.

Moreover, as Ahmed criticize the work of Barth saying that he overemphasize on the conflict arising behaviour of land-lords, but in view of Micheal Meeker Barth correctly insist on the forceful and conflicting behaviour of khans. Limitations of Barth's analytical paradigm have led to inaccuracies in his description of political experience in Swat; nevertheless, it is concluded, his book remains a good ethnography of Swat overall....Barth correctly insist on the role of pragmatic and rational strategies in connection with the use of force and a resort to coercion (p.685) (Meeker, 1980). Ahmad also overemphasis on the self-less and interest-less kind of Sufis and, as he said they are not men of this world. But in some way saints and Sufis also were entangled in the logic of enhancing its own power with compare to the other Sufis of the Swat. They were also competing with each other for getting more influence and prestige among more and more people.

Saints have a place in Swat, because chiefs are devoted to force. But Saints themselves are not free from the pervasiveness of the logic of power in Swat. As leaders of followings, as competitors with other saints with followings, and as men whose role as peace-makers require them to exercise authority over chiefs, they too are tainted by a quest for influence and prestige. They are men of peace in principle, but not altogether in fact (p.697) (Meeker, 1980). Moreover, Ahmed is not correct in dividing the society into two categories Nang and Qalang Pathans. Nang society is not like that which is fully and constantly remain under the influence of saints and Sufis. In this way Ahmed ignore the change and development in the society under the influence of capitalism and globalization. As Charles Lindholm in his article said that swat society has greatly transformed under the influence of regional and international changings (Lindholm, Swat in Retrospects: Continuities, Transformation and Possibilities).

In summarized way, Ahmed superimposed the heroic behaviour of saints or Akund on the Swat society. One can see his personal biasness and cultural context in this regard. As he was not an anthropologist but he was a political agent and he was also the husband of granddaughter of Wali of Swat. So, in this way he exaggerated the personality and influence of Wali on the lives people.

In short Akbar S. Ahmed gives much romanticized image of Swat Pushtuns. He exaggerated and caricaturize the Pashtun wali (a cultural identity comprises of many positive and negative conducts) on the whole Pashtun society which is a generalized form of cultural code and stick to Pashtuns as a sign of pakhtuness. Although there is nothing substantial or ideal sort of moral character which could be fixed to a whole society, because societies are comprise of people, and there is vast division and distinction among people, moreover, there is no cultural facts, economic and sociological interventions always remain there. But I think there is a mystification under the pakhtun wali cultural code. As Akbar, Barth and Lindholm gave much importance to some cultural characteristics specific to Pashtun society i.e. honour, Turborwali, hospitality, Hujra, Jirga and egalitarianism etc, though these kind of things are also present in many other ethnic groups in more or less in the same form i.e. in Punjab there is also concept of “sharika”, which is alike turbors, Panchayat system is also prevail in Punjab which is alike Jirga in Pukhtuns and “Dara” Hujra kind of place but as cultures remain changing and these kind of traditions have also changed to some extent.

Moreover, there is also hierarchy in Pashtun society that is also not fully egalitarian...there are no landlords and tenants, no master and slaves, no ruler and ruled. A certain hierarchy and inequality exist in society between men and women, senior and junior lineage and pakhtun and non-pakhtun, but they are not based on deterministic economic factors or ritual and commensal ones (p.358) (Ahmed, Pukhtun Economy and Society (Routledge Revivals): Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society, 2013).

According to Charles Lindholm, if Akbar blamed on Barth to overemphasis on the violence and individualism in Pashtuns of Swat, then Ahmed himself exaggerate the unity and organization in Islamic society. It seems that these contrasting images pose a real problem for anthropological analysis, a problem which is perhaps best dealt with by going back to the source, that is, to the colonial reports and ethnographic themselves. The men who wrote these documents has their own particular interests in mind as British Raj attempted either to dominate or to accommodate the renellious Pathan people of the north-western border in what is now Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan.(p.4) (Lindholm, Frontier Perspectives: Essays on Comparative Anthropology, 1996).

Furthermore, everyone of this ethnographer did fieldwork on Yusufzai Pukhtuns of Swat which are a minority there and they are not native there. Thus, to generalize their cultural acts on the whole of the population of pukhtun in Swat is not true, which would be misleading and inappropriate.

4.0 CHARLES LINDHOLM

Charles Lindholm is an American anthropologist. He has done a lot of work on Pukhtun of Swat. He has collected a number of essays on different life dimensions of Pukhtun on the basis of his fieldwork in Swat in 1970's. He also has work on Middle East and Central Asia. His work is considered as a remarkable contribution in anthropology.

4.1 Frontier Perspective; Essays in Contemporary Anthropology by Charles Lindholm

In his book “Frontier Perspective; Essays in Contemporary Anthropology” he use various such terms which shows that he is writing under the influence of orientalist prejudices.

I also discuss the problem of the assimilation of Muslims, who believe in human equality, into Hindu caste system, with ranks occupational categories....i am making a claim that an understanding of a tribal Islamic society such as Swat is worthwhile not only in itself, but also a means for gaining a wider comparative understanding of larger world systems.in particular, I want to draw attention to the fact that even Swat is a small world that has much in it that we often think of as Western and modern: (p.ix) (Lindholm, *Frontier Perspectives: Essays on Comparative Anthropology*, 1996).

As he used the terms Hindu Caste System, Islamic society and Western and modern, this give an expression of Orientalist approach “we and they”, which makes him biased and subjective to some extent. Moreover, when he compare Swat Pukhtuns characteristics with Middle Eastern and Central Asian countries, it seems that he is writing with some specific pre-perceptions and generalizing some characteristics to whole Middle-East Central Asia and South Asia. Though he did field work only in specific areas of these regions. Furthermore, Charles accused Akbar and Barth that they used colonial sources in their work, but he himself used the term “Pathan” for Pashtuns in many places which is a colonial term. Moreover, he also views the Swat society through an ideal angle of Pukhtunwali.

The ‘true pukhtun’ is proud and fearless, courageous in warfare (wether inside or outside the home) and generous to the guest; he (or she) prefers death to dishonour, and though he might lie, cheat and steal, he will never beg; he values his independence above all else and never submit to the domination of others; he upholds the tenets of Pakhtunwali.... (p.25) (Lindholm, *Frontier Perspectives: Essays on Comparative Anthropology*, 1996). Pukhtunwali is an ideal type cultural model in Pashtuns derived from literary, storiological, archival material and considered as a yardstick to measure normative or deviant behaviour in Pashtun society.(p.256) (Ahmed, *Pukhtun Economy and Society (Routledge Revivals): Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*, 2013).whereas there is no truth in cultural settings. Existent structures and institutions are built on discursive discourses on the bases using power and knowledge. There is no way to come out of structural and cultural discourses. Discourses are presented as truth in structures, and they are transferring within generations through individuals (p.13) (Phillips, 2002).

Our knowledge of the world should not be treated as objective truth “....our ways of understanding the world are created and maintained by social processes (Burr 1995: 4; Gergen 1985: 268). Knowledge is created through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is true and false. Within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences.... (p.6) (Phillips, 2002)

5.0 CONCLUSION

Whole above mentioned debate was an effort to reach at the conclusion that there is no any substantial truth about cultures, and one cannot reach to the total reality on the basis of anthropologists’ findings. Anthropologists can present a “Partial Truth” after inclusion and exclusion of knowledge about a specific culture. Ethnography is actively situated between powerful system of meaning.it poses its questions at the boundries of civilizations,

cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion (p.2) (Clifford, 1990).

Discourses are deeply embedded in systems and structures, under which we are functioning without questioning the. These powerful discourses have become normative patterns and it is very difficult to though out of them...In a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold, relations of, power which permeate, characterise and constitute the Social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and ~functioning of a discourse (p.93) (Foucault).

Moreover, James Clifford's argument is very appropriate and strong in explaining the phenomena. He is a post-modernist thinker and argues that ethnographies, to date, are not objective. Therefore ethnographies should be considered a type of literature and a form of art. According to him ethnographies are fusion of literary theory and ethnography. Ethnographies are "situated between powerful systems of meaning". Ethnographies are inherently subjective because they are interpretations of a culture by an anthropologist. Therefore, they should not be considered scientific or objective, because ethnographers use knowledge of their own culture in order to evaluate another culture (Clifford, 1990). Ethnographies are artifacts in which author plays a significant role while writing them. They construct knowledge on the bases of ethnographic data. Thus, while ethnographer writes about a culture his background reflex in his writing, he cannot become free of his socio-cultural luggage. In this way ethnographic writings could be called as fiction as they are "something made or fashioned" (p.6) (Clifford, 1990).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed, A. S. (1976). *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Ahmed, A. S. (2013). *Pukhtun Economy and Society (Routledge Revivals): Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*. Routledge.
- Asad, T. (1972, 03). Market Model, Class Structure and Consent: A Reconsideration of Swat Political Organisation. *Man*, 74-94.
- Barth, F. (1959). *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. New York: Athlone Press, University of London.
- Charpentier, C.-J. (1977, 09). *On Two Views of the Swat Pushtun [and Comments]*. Retrieved 12 23, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2741406>.
- Clifford, J. (1990). *Writing Culture*. Dehli: Oxford University Press.
- Edwards, D. B. (1998, November). Learning from the Swat Pathans: Political Leadership in Afghanistan, 1978-97. *Wiley*, 25, 712-728.
- Foucault, M. (n.d.). *Knowledge/Power; Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon BookS, New York.
- Hart, D. M. (1982). *Selected Essays of Fredrik Barth: Process and Form in Social Life*. Retrieved 12 23, 2016, from The Middle East Journal: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326368>
- Krade, L. (2009, 10 28). *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans. Fredrick Barth (Book Review)*. Retrieved 12 23, 2016, from Wiley Online Library: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1525/aa.1961.63.5.02a00280/pdf>

Lindholm, C. (1996). *Frontier Perspectives: Essays on Comparative Anthropology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lindholm, C. (n.d.). *Swat in Retrospects: Continuities, Transformation and Possibilities*. Bostan University.

Louis Dupree, F. B.-J. (1977, 9). On Two Views of the Swat Pushtun. *18*, 514-518.

Meeker, M. E. (1980, 12). The Twilight of a South Asian Heroic Age: A Rereading of Barth's Study of Swat. *Man, New Series*, *15*, 682-701.

Phillips, M. J. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications.