

A STUDY OF PASHTO FOLKLORE: ITS ASPECTS AND NATION-BUILDING IN PAKISTAN

Muhammad Ali Dinakhel*
Fakhr-ul-Islam**

Abstract

Folklore has an impact on national values. It helps in understanding the ethnic and national identity. Individual and collective values of people are found in their folklore. Pashtuns have their own culture and history. Their folklore contributes to their national identity. They have rich folkloric background. Pashtunwali is their folkloric and unwritten constitution. They are proud of their folkloric code of life. Pashto folklore and Pashtun folk culture is an expression of individual, ethnic and national identity of Pashtuns. Folklore has further influenced political, economic and socio-cultural structure of Pashtuns. A major part of the national history of Pashtuns is seen in their folklore. It also shows that folklore plays a pivotal role in establishing the national history and national identity. One must look into these separate folkloric and ethnic identities and subsequent narratives and ideas before, during and after nation building. As we see that Pashtuns are living on both sides of Durand Line and have historical, ethnic and cultural ties with people across the border. Therefore in an heterogeneous post-colonial states like Pakistan, where we see a multitude of cultural practices and different folklores, Pashtuns' integration in nation building process needs a special attention and dialogue.

In our part of the world, a regional cultures are sidelined and silenced through different mechanisms. This policy of marginalization creates problems in the process of building a nation state and nation building. One should give space to all of the cultures in a multicultural society. If space is not given to all ethnic groups on the basis of their folkloric identity, then discontent follows which may cause troubles for state. In a multicultural society, everyone struggles for the visibility of their folklore. So ignoring divergent folklores in the process of building of nation state, may lead to the vanishing of indigenous wisdom. In this regard stakeholders must include voice and feeling of more social

* Research Associate/Lecturer, at Area Study Centre (Russia, China & Central Asia) University of Peshawar, Pakistan.

** Professor and Director at Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Pakistan.

sectors. Folkloric similarities and common motifs can help in the integration and nation building.

Multicultural States are facing problems in the process of nation-building due to ethnic and cultural diversity. Broadly-shared language, religion and international language are the tools used generally for nation-building. In developing countries, sometimes, these tools fail either due to movements of marginalized ethnic groups for maintaining their identity or politicizing the issue of ethnic and cultural identity. Economic, historical and cultural dimensions can greatly contribute to the idea of nation-building. To understand earnestly the economic, historical, linguistic, religious and cultural dimensions of nation-building in a multicultural society, one ought to study all these dimensions at grass-root level. Understanding and looking into these dimensions from the lay man's point of view is the part of folklore. As we know that folklore contributes to social, cultural and political narratives, therefore for complete understanding of the issues, ideas, and questions of nation-building, folkloristic study of ethnic and linguistic groups, within a state, is essential. This paper has taken into account different aspects of Pashto folklore which can contribute to the process of nation-building in Pakistan .The paper also discusses that possible role of the State for promotion of Pashtun ethnic identity. In this regard, enabling role of the state may promote pluralism, which may encompass all sub cultures and folklores at provincial and national levels. This support from the State, in terms of effort and resources for different linguistic and ethnic groups, may lead to effective nation-building.

Keywords

Nation-building, Pashtuns, Pashto, Folklore, Ethnic Identity, Culture, National identity

Research Questions

What are various aspects of Pashto folklore? Which aspects of Pashto folklore help in understanding and developing the idea of Nation-building in a multicultural society like Pakistan? How and what the State should do for Pashtun identity, in the light of their folklore, at regional and national levels?

Methods as Potential Theoretical Framework

This research has been carried out in theoretical framework of national and ethnic identity. For understanding of folkloristic basis of nation-building a folkloristic approach has been adopted. It is said that folklore is what folklorists study and folkloristic is as folklorists do

((Peter J., and Frank J., 1991). Folkloristic is a multidisciplinary subject. Its nature requires us to explore objects, ideas and events which lie on the other side of our academic fence (Peter J., and Frank J., 1991). A multi-disciplinary approach has been adopted for carrying out this study because it is said that the serious study of folklore must include methodology and theory culled from anthropology, sociology, linguistics, history of religions, literary criticism, and so forth, to meet the future challenges of this interdisciplinary field of inquiry (Korom, 2006). While carrying out this research the researchers have followed the following three major aspects of the study of folklore: cross cultural, holistic, and ethnographic field work ((Peter J., and Frank J., 1991)

To sum up, the research methodology employed for this project is that first of all Pashto folklore was collected from field and from available documentary and other sources. It was studied and analyzed in perspectives of ethnic identity and nation-building. After a deep study and thorough analysis of Pashto folklore, concepts, ideas, issues and problems related to nation building were separated and analyzed further for understanding the issues and ideas of nation-building. After a thorough analysis, compilation and documentation of the data a conclusion and was derived.

Understanding Folklore

Folklore has an impact on the ethnic identity of a particular ethnic group. We may know the basics of ethnic identity from the folkloric studies. Same is the case of Pashtun's ethnic identity which is implicit in Pashto folklore. Before going on to describe Pashtun ethnic identity in Pashto folklore, it is necessary to know about folklore. There are numerous definitions of folklore but in the following definition, the term 'lore' has been defined by providing a list of potential customs.

Folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greeting and leave-taking formulas.... It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama (and mime), folk art, folk belief (or superstition), folk medicine, folk instrumental music (e.g. Fiddle tunes), folk songs (e.g., lullabies, ballads), folk speech (e.g., slang), folk similes (e.g., blind as a bat), folk metaphors (e.g., to paint the town red), and names (e.g., nicknames and place names), folk poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph-book verse, epitaphs, latrinalia (writings on the walls on public bathrooms), limericks, ball-bouncing rhymes, jump-rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes, dandling rhymes (to bounce children on the knee), counting-

out rhymes (to determine who will be 'it' in games), and nursery rhymes ((Peter J., and Frank J., 1991)

Folklore forms are not limited to the above list but they also include graces, prayers, gestures, symbols, games, cries and calling of those vendors who are roaming in streets, designs of quilt and embroidery, recipes of various foods, etymologies of words etc., Based on folk knowledge, those conventional and traditional sounds which people use for giving commands to animals, and comments traditionally made after emissions of body that is after sneezes etc ((Peter J., and Frank J., 1991)

From the study of all of the folkloric genres described in this definition, one can easily know the basic information about a particular ethnic group. While studying Pashto folklore, not all mentioned above, but only a few genres have been studied and analyzed in the following lines:

Nation Building and Folklore

Nation building and national integration are two different terms but they are used in same meaning in this paper. The concept of nation building has been defined in the following words.

the term nation-building covers a vast range of physical, social, economic, and political phenomena extending from physiological integration in a human body, social integration in the fields of education, language, legal systems or literature, to economic integration of the advanced and the backward sectors of a society and integration of the primordial groups into a national community (Islam, n.d).

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. How to integrate variety of cultures and ethnicities into one nation, has been a problem since its inception. So far we have not been able to achieve that goal due to host of factors. Several steps taken towards that end have proven counterproductive. Scholars opine that:

Since its creation in 1947, Pakistan has been in search of a separate identity and legitimacy in order to distinguish itself from India. Compared to India, it was in a disadvantageous position because it adopted a new name which was unfamiliar to most people of the world. Since its creation, it has attached no such glamour and romance to its past civilization and culture as India. Therefore, to get recognition and place, it had to construct its separate identity (Ali, 2011).

The quest for separate identity of Indian Muslims through which Pakistan was achieved, was carried on after the independence. The forefathers incorporated that idea in the constitution of Pakistan. In that scenario small ethnic groups have always tried to assert their ethnic and national identity. Unfortunately that assertion was not taken positively. The people at the helm of affairs took that move a centrifugal tendency. They could not understand that these groups were like variety of flowers that could be arranged beautifully in the bouquet of one nation. That is how unity in diversity is all about. National and ethnic movements have always started for unity, identity and rights of the marginalized communities as stated by Smith in the following words.

Nationalism as an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'. In fact, this definition embodies elements from both the ideology and the language-cum-symbolism of the nation, with references to wider sentiments and aspirations (Smith, 1991).

Pashtuns have themselves demonstrated their ability to ensure unity in diversity in the areas they are living in, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. In both of these countries, Pashtuns are living in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies. But despite this multi-culturalism, they have not only maintained their identity but live with others in mutual coexistence.

The roots of Pashtuns ethnic identity can be found in their folklore. Therefore, the study of Pashto folklore is very important for understanding the Pashtun ethnic identity. As this importance of folklore in ethnic, regional and tribal identity has also been pointed out by Carol Silverman in these lines. Since the last two centuries folklore plays a pivotal role in legitimization of political regimes, defining cultural and historical identities. Folklore is sometimes used by those nations who are newly emerged for replacing ethnic, regional, religious and tribal cultures with unified national culture (Silverman, 1989).

There are numerous benefits of the study of folklore. The most significant one is that it helps in construction of ethnic identity as stated in the following lines.

While an argument can be made for the benefits of the study of folklore in order to encourage the self-awareness of a repressed people and reinforce their sense of pride in their traditions, folklore study is too

often limited by nationalism and other provincial feelings ((Peter J., and Frank J., 1991)

Ethnic folklore or the folklore describes ethnic identity, is a significant indicator of a group's traditional values. It is very important to study folklore of various ethnic groups in a multi-ethnism society. Sometimes, state wants mono-ethnic for the unity of the people of the country. This so called mono-ethnism creates problems rather than solving them. In the wake of repression, the relegated communities start struggle for their ethnic and cultural identity. Besides, state also attempts to take in control the folklore of various ethnic groups. This is also a way of sidelining particular ethnic groups. This situation has been described in a report stating that folklore is a tool by which the policy of culture of mono-ethnism is implemented.

There are many forms of the interference of the government in folklore activities. Some forms of government involvements are overt and some are covert. Examples of overt form are patronizing of festivals of folklore in educational institutions. On the other hand, the covert form determines the ways and directions of the research of folklore. Other type of government's involvement in folklore is that it adopts centralist policies about culture. These policies are often inconsistent because preservation of traditional folklore mainly on regional, ethnic and religious basis creates problems for a unified folklore culture. That is why government adopts selective policy about the preservation of folklore because it is coupled with political aim (Silverman, 1989).

In many ethnic communities of the world, the idea of nationalism has close links with folklore of the peasants and other marginalized groups. In 19th century this trend developed and the native peasants were considered as indigenous people and identity of the nation as stated in below report.

[in 19th century] the native peasants were viewed as the sole and identity of the nation, and folklore was the legitimate expression of the peasants. It is not an accident, then, that the rise of nationalism coincided with early collecting activities in folklore (Silverman, 1989).

From these points we can conclude that folklore helps in protecting identity of an ethnic group. Ethnic groups have the roots of their identity in their folklore and folk culture. Folklore and ethnicity or ethnic identity are closely related. In 19th century Herder presented a notion about nation with wide publicity and acceptance. He told that every nation is like an organic entity which has its own cultural institutions. Pure spirit and culture are usually reflected in a best way in

peasants' folk poetry. It is very important for sovereignty of a nation that they must search pure and original spirit of their past cultural and historical traditions. Likewise they should build their future on these cultural, historical and traditional foundations (Silverman, 1989).

Representation of Pashtuns Ethnicity in Pashto *Tappa*

Pashto folklore has many genres. *Tappa* is the most popular genre of Pashto folk poetry. Its formation is not attributed to any particular poet. It is believed that, in general, it originated from female. It consists of two lines. The first line contains nine syllables and the second line contains thirteen syllables. Ethnic folklore is a significant indicator of a group's traditional values.

In Pashto folklore there are many references about ethnic origin or asal nasal. A few proverbs about asal nasal (origin) are given below:

اصل په بنائست پتیري او یا په مال

Translation: Either beauty or wealth can camouflage the (ethnic) origin.

اصل په بنائست پتیري او یا په علم

Translation: Either beauty or knowledge can camouflage the (ethnic) origin.

ته او زه د یو اصله، ته په خه ساهو او زه کم اصله

Translation: You and I are from same origin, then how is it possible that you have a good origin while I have a bad origin.

It is obvious from these proverbs, that ethnic origin or noble blood is very important in Pashtun society. Some people from lower races try to hide or change their identity due to inferiority complex. There are also ways of changing and hiding ethnic origins. In the above mentioned proverbs there are three ways of changing and concealing identity and they are knowledge, wealth and beauty.

While studying and analyzing Pashto *tappas*, it can be observed that Pashtun men and women are very proud on their ethnic and national identity. This ethnic and national pride can be seen in the following Pashto *tappas*.

پښتانه واره شنه زمريان دي

چې وخت يې راشي په سيالی-توري وهينه (Raza, 1989)

Translation: All of the Pashtuns are as brave as lions/ when time comes they fight in competition with others.

In the first line of this tappa, a collective or a national pride has been described. It reflects that although, the Pashtuns have jealousy with each other but as a nation they praise everyone. It shows Pashtuns national and ethnic pride.

تورې به نه کړو نور به څه کړو

چې مو شوده د پښتنې رودلي دینه (Raza, 1989)

Translation: If we don't act bravely then what will we do? /Because we are breast fed by a Pashtun mother.

Here, in this tappa, we also see that how Pashtuns feel pride in adherence to Pashtunhood. It means that if someone is a child of a Pashtun mother, he must show bravery.

پښتانه واپه سره یو دي

ورک دې نفاق شي چې به دوي جدا کوبينه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: All of the Pashtuns are united/ may the disunity away from them to disintegrate them.

Once again, the collective or national pride has been described in this tappa.

پښتانه ټول په ننگ شریک دي

چې کله جنگ شي په سیالی سر و نه ردینه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: All of the Pashtuns are one in nang (bravery and honour)/ when it is war, they present their lives in competition with the enemy.

There are some common causes for which all Pashtuns stand with each other and even they compete with each other. These common causes are the basics of Pashtunwali, among them one is honor.

پښتنو سر و مال نه تېر شي

چې خپل هېواد درنه پردې نه شي مېښه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: O Pashtuns! Sacrifice your life and wealth/so that you may not disown your country.

In the above tappa, patriotism and love of Pashtuns for their homeland and soil has been depicted. They even don't care about their lives and wealth to be sacrificed for the sake of their homeland.

پښتون په هر څائې پېژندې شي

ملا یې نری وي کمر بند خوړلې وینه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: Pashtun is known everywhere/ he has a thin waist, thinned by kamarband (a magazine belt fastened around the waist).

Bravery and warrior spirit of Pashtuns is seen in this tappa.

چې د پښتون د تورې شرنگ شي

د جنگ میدان کښې غلیم لار ورته پرېږدینه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: when the sound of the sword of the Pashtun is heard/the enemy flees from the battlefield.

PRIDE OF PASHTUN'S WOMEN

As mentioned earlier, Pashtun men feel pride in their ethnicity and nationality. On the other hand, Pashtun women too feel pride in their ethnicity and identity. They are not only resilient and brave but wish to see their men courageous and patriots. These men might be their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons and other such relatives. Their sentiments and pride are described in the following tappas.

چې د سیالی په تول پوره شي

بیا به دې یار گنیم اخر پښتنه بهمه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: If you qualify for competition/ then I will consider you my beloved because after all I am a Pashtun woman.

په سپین میدان به در سره بهم

زه پښتنه د تورو نه تښتم مښنه (Raza, 1989)

Translation: I will be with you in the battlefield/ I am a Pashtun woman and I won't flee from swords.

پښتو مي تا سره کوله

ته به پښتو شوي وس د څه پښتو کومه (Shaheen, 1984a)

Translation: I was following Pashto (Pashtunhood) for you/ you abandoned Pashtunwali, now why should I follow it?

پښتني پېغلي خوشحالي کا

چې زلميان کاندې د انگرېز سره جنگونه (Shaheen, 1984a)

Translation: Pashtun girls passionately celebrate it/ when youths fight with British troops.

پښتون د جنگ په ډگر مړ شو

(Shaheen, 1984a) پښتنې جوته بې په وینه ږدي خالونه

Translation: A Pashtun died in battlefield/ Pashtun girls inscribing khals (tattoos) of his blood over their faces.

دا ته چې چې غمې اوسه

زه پښتنه يم ستا په پت به ناسته يم

Translation: You are proceeding abroad, don't worry / I am a Pashtun girl and I will be waiting for your honor.

خان د وطن په ننگ شهيد کا

(Shaheen, 1984) چې پښتنې جوته دي هر وخت يادونه

Translation: Sacrifice your life for the sake of the motherland/ so that Pashtun girls remember you every time.

In the above tappas, Pashtun women have explicitly demonstrated their bravery and liking for courageous partners. They love their homeland and social traditions. Pashtun women are loyalist. They never betray their beloveds and the motherland. It is generally believed that Pashtun young men learn the art of gallantry from their mothers. So in the process of nation building, they do not lag behind.

Reflection of Pashtun identity in Pashto proverbs

Proverbs lead us to the genre of folklore. These are sayings which are full of wisdom and explain fact of life based on vast experience of the older generation. They are transmitted to the other generation metaphorically and formulaically. There are numerous proverbs that describe the deep feelings and pride of Pashtuns regarding their ethnicity. Following are given some proverbs that depict these feelings:

پښتون په پت بڼه ښکاري

Translation: Pashtun looks good by maintaining honor and faithfulness.

پښتون په کور کېښې زېږي او په سنگر کېښې مري

Translation: Pashtun is born at home and dies in the battlefield.

پښتون په يوه پوهيږي

Translation: Pashtun knows only one way.

پښتون چې پښتو نه کړي نو زمکه دې پرې ډکه شي

Translation: A Pashtun who does not follow his code of life, should be buried in grave.

پښتون چې سل کاله پس بدل اخلي نو هم تادي کوي -

Translation: When the Pashtun takes revenge after hundred years, even then he makes hurry.

پښتون خپله ډوډۍ د بل په دسترخوان خوري

Translation: Pashtun eats his meal on the table of others.

پښتون وړوکه بار نه اوږي

Translation: Pashtun does not take light burden.

پښتون هر څه کاندي خو هېر نه کاندي

Translation: Pashtun does everything but he forgets nothing.

The above proverbs show some basic characteristics of a Pashtun. These include honor, bravery, faithfulness, generosity. He passionately follows the principles of the Pashtun code of life, such as revenge, hospitality and forbearance.

Self-Criticism

Besides good qualities, Pashtuns are not free from errors. They recognize and criticize this fact in their folklore. So in many genres of Pashto folklore, we find self-criticism by Pashtuns. Pashtuns know self-criticism helps in reformation of a society and race. So they never hesitate when it comes to their weaknesses. In this regard a few proverbs are given below depict that criticism:

پښتون نيم قران مني او نيم نه

Translation: Pashtun follow half of the Quran and deny the other half.

پښتانه مات کنډر ساتي

Translation: Pashtun guards the looted house.

پښتون دو تر بېلي او ډېر ان گتې

Translation: Pashtun loses the whole of his property and gets a small portion of it for keeping garbage.

پښتون به يا په پير ويرے او يا په پېري

Translation Pashtun is scared of either pir (saint) or of a ghost

پښتون د نوک په ځائے سوک ورکوي

Translation: Pashtun put the first where only nail can be accommodated.

پښتون ښه ته هم کافر وائي

Translation: Pashtun says kafir (infidel) even to a good thing.

پښتون له غيرته ځان اور ته اچوي

Translation: Pashtun sets himself on fire for the sake of honor.

As found in the tappas and proverbs discussed above, this ethnic and national pride has led them to a code of conduct which is known as Pashtu or Pashtunwali. The more they become proud on their ethnicity the greater they show their attachment to the Pashtun code of life.

Ethnic Identity and Pashtunwali

The ethnic and national pride of Pashtun men and women as described above, have led Pashtuns towards their code of conduct which is known as *Pashtunwali*. There are some elements which are considered necessary for *Pashtunwali*. They are: *badal* (revenge) *Melmastya* (hospitality) *Badraga/jalab* (accompanying the strangers) , *jarga* (Traditional conflict resolution) , *nang* (honor) *rewaj* (customs and traditions) , *panah* (asylum) , *nanawate* (petition for resolution of dispute) , *swara* (giving hand of a girl from oppressor's family to a man of the affected family) *hujra* (maintaining a guest house), *kalay kalwighi* (participation in ceremonies of the community), *sharmala** and the like. All those who don't observe these basic principles of Pashtunwali are excluded from Pashtun community. Thus Pashtunwali has become a code of conduct and a part and parcel of Pashtun ethnic

* Sharmala is a kind of jarga, usually called by the offender or his representatives, to seek a negotiated settlement of a quarrel or feud. Such a jarga has to negotiate between the parties and affect a settlement, in which the offender may have to agree to a compensation in some form or agree to give a daughter in marriage. (Sultan-i-Rome, *The North-West Frontier (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Essays on History*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2013, p.108)

identity. From the following few *tappas*, we can easily know about the essence of Pashtunwali:

په پښتو ټينگ ولاړ پښتون د ۷

بې پښتو نه مني پښتون مېړه پښتونه (Sultan-i-Rome, 2013)

Translation: A Pashtun holds on fast to *Pashtunwali*/ If he fails to do so. A Pashtu woman does not accept him as husband.

زه بې پښتو نه يم جانانه

چې بې پښتو شي هغه ورک د ملکه شينه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: O my beloved! I am not without Pashto (Pashtun code of conduct)/the one who abandons *Pashtunwali*, should be expelled from his country.

پښتو مې ستا په سر کوله

ته بې پښتو شوي اوس پښتو څه له کومه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: I was doing adhering to *Pashtunwali* for your sake /Now as you have abandoned Pashto (i.e. Not adhering to *Pashtunwali*), then what for should I follow it?

پښتو اسانه نه ده خلقه

څوک چې پښتو کړي پښتۍ ماتې گرځويڼه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: Listen! O people! Pashtunhood (or Pashtunwali) is not easy to observe/ those who abide by it, get around by with broken ribs.

ستا په پښتو مې دې قسم وي

سر به پرې ورکړم تا به او گتيم مټېنه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: I swear by your Pashtunwali/I will get you on the cost of my head (I will pay my head for you).

يو خوا پښتو ده بل خوا مينه

ما له افسوس مې د جانان په ننگ راځيڼه (Taier, 2012)

Translation: On one side is Pashtunwali and on the other side is love/I feel sorry for the faithlessness of my beloved.

Criticism on Pashtunwali

Despite the fact that Pashtuns know about the demerits of Pashtunwali but still they are following it religiously. Looking at the following proverbs, we notice a bitter criticism on Pashtunwali by Pashtuns themselves:

پښتو پينځم مذهب

Translation: Pashtunwali is fifth religion [for Pashtuns].

پښتو د خرۀ حبل د ډم

Translation: Pashtuns have antagonism like donkey.

پښتو نيم کفر د ډم

Translation: Pashtunwali is half of the infidelity.

Sometimes there occur internal crisis in a multicultural society and the government tries to suppress the various ethnic groups to promote monotheism. Monotheism is in a sense homogenization and social harmony. In this perspectives, the government can also take help from folklore because the most suitable policy in implementing mono-ethnism is passing through folklore. The government involvement in folklore has two ways that are overt and covert, by this way government can utilize folklore (Silverman, 1989). Cultural similarities are always there, reflected especially in folklore. Therefore, these similarities can bring together different ethnic groups as described in the following passage.

Folklore research has shown that tales, and many other items of folklore, have travelled from culture to culture and across national and linguistic boundaries throughout history. While each people may leave their special impression on a tale, no one culture can claim ownership (Claus, 1991).

To bridge the gap and to link people of various cultures, we should discover common folkloric motifs so that people of different cultural backgrounds may come together. This is important for their development, prosperity and peace.

Conclusion

Pashtuns, as an ethnic group, have their own language, culture and history. Their ethnic identity and pride are deeply rooted in their

folklore and folk culture. So their pride on their ethnicity has become part and parcel of their everyday life. This ethnic pride has deeply influenced their way of life. Hence, it has become their code of life which is called Pashtunwali. The pride of Pashtuns on their ethnicity has played a great role in the development of Pashto language, literature and culture. In almost all of the genres of Pashto folklore, Pashtun's ethnicity, nationalism and pride on their ethnicity can be observed. In short, the Pashtun folklore can help us in understanding Pashtuns and their way of life. The Pashtun folklore clearly tells us that they are fond of keeping their identity above all other considerations. In the nation building process, they can be accommodated by recognizing their distinction. Like other nationalities of Pakistan, Pashtuns have legitimate right to be recognized as distinct group. Their language, literature, folklore and culture need to be preserved and promoted. Only the policy of inclusiveness can ensure effective nation building. If Pakistan really wants to promote multiculturalism and multi-ethnicism, then it should give space to all ethnic groups, their languages, folklores and their cultures. The state should own and promote this diversity. Only through its promotion, unity in diversity may be maintained.

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