

RESEARCH ARTICLE

## The Cultural Side of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement: The Politics of Cultural Alternatives in Pakhtun Society in the time of British Colonialism

Nadeem Ahmad <sup>a</sup> Danish Ahmad <sup>b</sup> Tariq Khan <sup>c</sup>

**Abstract:** The present study focuses on the cultural side of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (KKM) in Pakhtun society. The KKM was started by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan popularly known as Bacha Khan in the then NWFP in early twentieth century as socio-cultural reform movement which later turned into freedom movement. The findings of the study are based on fieldwork research conducted in district Swabi of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from September 2011 to February 2012. Data of the research was collected through participants observation, in-depth interviews, informal discussions, focus group discussions, and case studies with living Khudai Khidmatgars, elders of the area, experts, politicians, and academicians using purposive and snowball sampling. Findings of the research suggests that KKM was a non-violent movement carrying reformative agenda which proved a tool of inspiration for the Pakhtuns that brought about revolutionary change in the culture and arts of the Pakhtun society. KKM opened more than one hundred schools, trained thousands of non-violent Khudai Khidmatgars (serving people in the name of Allah), used non-violence as a philosophy and strategy to eliminate internal feuds and religious and sectarian violence. It discouraged unnecessary expenditures in personal and collective life and social stratification. KKM also started a monthly journal, organized literary and artistic gatherings. The cultural side of the KKM brought about a paradigm shift and left extraordinary social and cultural impacts on the Pakhtun Society, which can be seen in different aspects of the lives of the Pakhtuns today.

**Keywords:** Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, Social Movements, Socio-Cultural Reforms, Cultural Alternatives, Pakhtuns, British India, British Colonialism

### Introduction

Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (KKM) was founded in November 1928 in Utmanzai village of District Charsadda of the then NWFP. The KKM was the continuity of *Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afghana* (Organization of Reforms among Afghans) and *Da Sarhad da Zalmo Jirga* (Frontier Youth Council) which both were reformative organizations working for reforms in the Pakhtun society (Marwat, 2011). The unique side of the movement was that it was focusing the rural areas i.e., small villages and towns hitherto neglected by other political organizations. In a very short span of time, it created a popular support throughout the province and made a very strong organizational structure comprising of the people from different age, ethnicities, and religious groups, which shows the secular side of the movement (Shah, 2007).

Initially the KKM was a social movement having a social agenda, however, with the passage of time the difficulties and hurdles put forward in the easy sailing of the KKM made it a political movement. The arrest of the leadership of the movement and banning its activities forced the movement to forge an alliance with the Indian National Congress and to start a political struggle against the British colonialism. However,

<sup>a</sup> Visiting Faculty, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilization, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

<sup>b</sup> Lecturer in Anthropology, Edwards College Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

<sup>c</sup> Assistant Professor, Department of Pashto, Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

being active in politics of resistance, the KKM runs its social agenda i.e., serving humanity through various socio-economic reforms.

As stated earlier, before its inception, the leadership of the KKM was already working on the reformation of society in the form of running of Azad Schools, elimination of internal feuds, and cleaning of houses, streets, and towns. The foundation of the KKM expedited the reformation program and added more to it i.e., organizing of literary gatherings, theater, a force of non-violent workers, and a journal named *The Pakhtun*. Most of the research had been carried out to cover different aspects of the KKM: political, anthropological, historical, and philosophical. However, very little effort has been made to cover the cultural side of the KKM. The present study aims to investigate the cultural side of the KKM. Prime focus of the research is to investigate and analyze how the reformative agenda of the KKM worked as cultural alternative?

### **Methodology and Theoretical Framework**

Fieldwork for this research was conducted in the district of Swabi in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The reasons for the selection of the district Swabi are manifold. The district had remained a stronghold of the KKM. Another reason was the presence of dozens of living Khudai Khidmatgars in the district of Swabi, who were the focus of this research. Along with Khudai Khidmatgars, elders with knowledge of the movement, politicians, experts, and academicians were also interviewed for this research. According to the nature of the study, the respondents were selected through purposive and snowball sampling. Data for the research was collected through participants' observation, in-depth interviews, informal discussions, focus group discussions, and case study methodologies. The collected data was transcribed by the researchers and analyzed through thematic analysis. During the stage of analysis, certain core themes and sub-themes were merged from the data in accordance with their nature. Furthermore, the method of thematic analysis also helped in developing the main argument of the research.

### **Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

The study falls into the domain of social movement, as defined by social scientists in different ways. Eyerman and Jamison argue that the aim of the social movement is to replace old ideas with new ones for the purpose of bringing about change in culture and society and solving conflicts and crises in society (Ron & Jamison, 1991). Furthermore, Nick Crossley sees social movements as the output of the collective consciousness and efforts of the people, which come as the result of conflict in society.

Escobar criticizes the role of anthropology in documenting and focusing on social movements before the 1970s, when other disciplines of social science focused on social movements and produced a whole body of literature. Escobar argues that social movements emerging from the crisis of modernity shape themselves towards the constitution of new orders, embodying a new understanding of social life and politics that results in the formation of collective identities (Escobar, 1992).

More narrowly, this research comes within the framework of the "cultural side," or in other words, the 'Boasian perspective,' of the social movements, which are also called "strategies of nonviolent resistance by Sharp (2013) and by Gregg (2018). Sørensen and Vinthagen says that social movements reform and remodel cultures in many ways, which is why culture can't be viewed as a symbolic form alone in social movements (Sørensen & Vinthagen, 2012). The prose works as a cultural alternative to construct and promote the narrative of historical identity, which works as a stimulant for the unity of the peasants (Guha, 1988). In the context of Latin America, kinship ties and ethnicity work as stimulants in social movements (Laclau, 1986).

The Pakhtuns fight three wars with Britishers, which are called the first, second, and third Anglo-Afghan wars, continuously in 1837, 1877, and 1919. The Pakhtuns won all these three wars; however, they

fell into the worst form of life. Moreover, during all these years, from the first Anglo-Afghan war to the freedom of the subcontinent, the Pakhtun society passed through the worst types of violence and hardships: tribal feuds and inter-clan feuds, the worst form of Khanism, and illiteracy.

On the other hand, the Indians were also fighting Britishers for their freedom on many fronts. After the second decade of the 20th century, British colonialism was heading towards its downfall. The reason for their downfall was that, on the one hand, the Britishers were engaged on many fronts, while on the other hand, the colonial Subcontinent saw many liberation movements, including political, revolutionary, reformative, and liberation movements (Marwat, 2011). It was the result of the social movement that political awareness was taking root among the people of British India. The people of India were fed up with British colonialism, and they wanted the British to withdraw from India.

The political developments occurring in parts of India also affected the socio-political scenario of Pakhtun society. In response, different movements emerged in Pakhtun society, headed by different leaders. In the NWFP of colonial India, the society was very different from other parts of India because of the structure and socio-economic status of the Pakhtun society, which was tribal, egalitarian, and mostly illiterate. However, there was still a response to the Britishers in different forms, including Khilafatist or Black Shirt movements, radical nationalist movements of Haji Sahib Turangzai, the freedom movement of Faqir of Ipi, and the Marxist movements of Maulana Abdur Raheem Popalzai and Kaka Jee Sanobar Hussain. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai also commenced a similar movement named *Ror Pakhtun* (Pakhtun Brotherhood) in Balochistan (Marwat, 2011). During the same period, the KKM also emerged as a nonviolent movement, first as a reform movement and then as a political movement.

In the context of KKM, the socio-cultural reform agenda worked as a cultural alternative where the opening of schools, producing literature including prose and poetry, organizing theaters, and socio-cultural and economic reform agendas worked as stimulants to cause people's resistance. The cultural reformative struggle of the KKM brought up a generation of freedom fighters who struggled against British imperialism. The socio-cultural program of the KKM also brought a revolutionary change in the lives of the Pakhtuns, as termed by Kurtz in that cultural program of the KKM, speaking of "a new life for the Pathans" and bringing "a great splendid revolution in art, in culture, in poetry, in their whole social life".

## **Discussion and Analysis**

The socio-reform agenda of the KKM worked as cultural alternative in Pakhtun society. KKM opened schools, worked for elimination of internal feuds and enmities, worked for elimination of social stratification, redefined cultural codes, and practices, and worked for revival of art and literature. The KKM use different strategies for bringing socio, cultural and economic reforms in society. The cultural alternatives of the KKM are briefly analyzed and discussed in the following pages.

### **Opening of Schools: An Alternative Education System**

After completing his basic education, Bacha Khan decided to join the British Army. However, he changed his mind soon before joining when he observed the maltreatment of the British officers by the Indian soldiers. After denying the joining of the British army, Bacha Khan, and Haji Sahib Turakzai opened a school in his village of Utmanzai in 1912 (Marwat, 2011). There was no proper education system in the province, and only a few missionary schools were available, which were aimed at producing clerks who would carry out the British official works (Kaka, 2011). The aim of the Azad school of Bacha Khan was to educate the Pakhtun youth on one hand and to end social evils in society on the other. Bacha Khan believed the main cause of social evils in Pakhtun society was a lack of awareness, and only through education could they compete with the rapidly developing world (Khan, 2011).

The idea of expanding the school system took a turn when Bacha Khan visited Afghanistan during the Khilafat Movement. Participation in the Khilafat Movement taught many lessons to Bacha Khan, as he writes time and again in his writings that the only way to get freedom is to educate and organize people for resistance. This time Bacha Khan decided to open a school in 'Dir' district, the then princely state run by the Nawab of Dir. However, he was expelled by the Nawab soon after he opened school. Bacha Khan came back to Utmanzai, made the Utmanzai school a high school, and started his educational activities in Utmanzai.

The school system took a turn when Bacha Khan, along with his fellows, founded Tanzeem Islah ul Afaghina, which was aimed at bringing reforms to society through education and reformation. Dozens of schools were opened in different localities of the province in a very short time, reaching 100 in the next couple of years. The curriculum of the schools was designed by Khudai Khidmatgars and included courses in modern, religious, and vocational education (Shah, 2007). The schools were also centers of social and political awareness for the public, including elders, through the organizing of art and literary gatherings.

Looking into the educational activities of Bacha Khan, the then Chief Commissioner of N.W.F.P., Sir John Maffi, complained to Bacha Khan's father and asked him to stop his son from participating in such activities. Bacha Khan, however, compared the imparting of knowledge and the opening of schools to the worship of the Creator, which could not be discontinued at any cost. The *British commissioner also equated these schools with a gun with which Bacha Khan would sooner or later hit London*. The British knew that through educational activities, Bacha Khan wanted to make the Pakhtun nation aware. That is the reason the British sent Bacha Khan and his fellow Khudai Khidmatgars to jail again and again.

To make these schools successful, Bacha Khan first and foremost took the initiative by sending his children to the school, followed by his other companions (Khaliq, 2011). By doing this act, Bacha Khan wanted to convince the people to send their children to school. Khaliq Baba further added that Bacha Khan also availed himself of the chance of public meetings during the annual ceremonies of the schools to give awareness to the illiterate society regarding the importance of education. Talking about the popularity of the education system of the KKM, a respondent quoted that it was the result of these educational activities that Pakhtuns started sending their children to school, dropping guns against each other, and fighting against British imperialism (Khan, 2012).

As mentioned earlier, during British colonialism, Pakhtun society was under the influence of religious clerics who were campaigning against the KKM's educational activities and propagating them through different means. The couplet by clergies was popular, as quoted by Pordal Khan Kaka, that is: "*Sabaq da madrassi wai, Da para da paisy wai, Pa jannat k ba ye ze na v, Pa dozakh k ba ghoty wai*". ("Those who learn in schools are none but money's tools; in heaven they will never dwell; they will surely go to hell"). The couplets were propagated against the education system of the KKM with the purpose of stopping people from sending their children to school (Khan, 2011).

However, the Khudai Khidmatgars also left no place to propagate for Azad Schools, i.e., the Khudai Khidmatgars actively campaign for education in their socio-political gatherings. In his speeches, Bacha Khan used to say that "*Your children have no right over you except education*," as quoted by Aziz Manirwal, a famous poet from Swabi (Manirwal, 2011). During a focus group discussion, Faiz Muhammad Kaka and Bacha Khan used to say that "*revolution requires knowledge, understanding, and individuals of revolutionary spirit*" (Kaka, 2011).

The KKM not only propagated male education but also female education. The men's approach to women's status in Pakhtun society always remains very backward. A western writer who went in 1984 to a Pakhtun area field clinic during the Afghans' battle against the Soviet occupation claims that most of the greatly injured women died because the male members of the family did not want their women to be treated by a male doctor (Moorhouse, 1988). Bacha Khan used to say that women have the same right to education

as men, and educated women can only bring about change in nations. However, KKM considered women an important part of society and strongly believed that the role of women in society was as inevitable as that of men. Bacha Khan argued that educated women have a great hand in reforming society, so encourage women's education and their due participation in politics.

Through their teachings and practices, the KKM proved to be strong believers in women's participation in every aspect of life, including politics, and it is the reason many of the women writers and poetesses who emerged worked with the KKM. Talking about KKM's role in educating women, a respondent narrated that "*one of the important aspects of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was that it gave a lot of importance to female education*" (Yousafzai, 2012). The KKM not only propagated formal education but also campaigned for educating elder women at home (Khaliq, 2011).

Bacha Khan and his fellow Khudai Khidmatgars always used very positive examples for the propagation of women's education. Talking on the strategies of the KKM for propagating women's education, a respondent added that Khudai khidmatgars always used to say that women's education is very necessary because we need women doctors to treat women, and to produce women doctors, we need women teachers. Sending his daughter Mehr Taj to England for higher education in 1932 is another example of countering the stereotypical image of Pakhtun society. It was the reason that the KKM saw women members, including Syeda Bushra Begum and Alif Jan Khattaka, in their movement who produced quality literature both in prose and poetry (Momand, 2011).

### **Elimination of Internal Feuds and Enmities**

Before the advent of KKM, the Pakhtun society was passing through a very hard situation. In Pakistani as well as in foreign scholarship, the radiant and violent feature of the Pakhtun society is associated with geographical location, as Toynbee, quoted by Mukulika Banerjee, termed the geography as "radiant" (Banerjee, 2000). There were individual, family, and tribal enmities among Pakhtuns because the codes of Pakhtunwali, including *Badal* (revenge) and *Tarburwali* (a type of competition with paternal cousins), were creating conflicts in society (Lindholm). Many precious lives were lost in inter- and intra-clan as well as family feuds.

Raj Mohan Gandhi writes that before the KKM, the Pakhtun tribes and individuals were engaged in internal conflicts that were perishing many precious lives. He writes that there was only a small period during the harvesting of crops when a self-proclaimed truce or cease fire was in place from both sides to have a peaceful harvesting of crops to store grains for the whole season. The period of harvesting crops was the only time window in the conflict-filled lives of Pakhtun tribes.

To unite Pakhtuns, it was necessary for the KKM to eliminate enmities and feuds among people. It is the reason the KKM based its ideology on nonviolence and enmities and feuds among people. It is the reason the KKM based its ideology on nonviolence. KKM believed nonviolence is more powerful than violence, and violence has a higher probability of defeat than nonviolence. The nonviolence ideology serves two main objectives: to eliminate internal feuds and unite people; and to resist Britishers through nonviolence strategies. To propagate nonviolence among Pakhtuns, KKM used different strategies. It was made compulsory for a Khudai Khidmatgar not to be part of any feud, and if any Khudai Khidmatgar became part of any enmity, he would not remain a member of the KKM.

Furthermore, the KKM continuously propagated nonviolence in their political gatherings, meetings, magazines, and other avenues. During propagation, the Khudai Khidmatgars highlighted the benefits of nonviolence and the disadvantages of internal feuds and enmities. The KKM also founded jirgas (committees) in villages and towns that were assigned to solve conflicts among people. According to respondents, the Jirgas founded by KKM were successful in negotiating between people and have solved hundreds of bloody enmities and feuds among Pakhtuns.

In a very short time, KKM was successful in bringing people to nonviolence, which resulted in the popularity of the movement. Talking about the efforts of the KKM in eliminating internal feuds, a respondent stated that "besides all other reforms, the ideology of non-violence brought fruitful results, which made the movement the hallmark social, political, and psychological contribution for the Pakhtun society" (Yousafzai, 2012). The respondent further added that the effect of the KKM is still visible in the form of nonviolent resistance to militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The struggle of the KKM changed the attitudes of Pakhtuns, who left internal feuds and enmities and started struggling against British colonialism. Talking on the success of the KKM in promoting nonviolence philosophy, a respondent narrated that "*it was the result of non-violence philosophy and that the KKM prepared seventy thousand (70000) non-violent army*" (Yousafzai, 2012; Esawaran, 1984). The philosophy of nonviolence was not only successful in eliminating internal feuds but also challenged the academic and social stereotyping of the Pakhtuns, who were always depicted as violent people.

### **Elimination of Social Stratification**

During and after British colonialism, both in official records and academic works, the Pakhtun egalitarian structure was divided into Pakhtuns and non-Pakhtuns (Gandhi, 2004). Those who come under the tribal structure of the Pakhtun lineage system were called Pakhtuns, and those who belong to occupational castes were called non-Pakhtuns. The concept of Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun took place among the general population during and after colonialism and is still functional in one way or another. Furthermore, the British have also awarded dozens, hundreds, and thousands of acres of land to those who were loyal to them.

The unconditional support of Britishers by Khans and Maliks and the unfair distribution of land have created a social hierarchy and stratification among Pakhtuns. The social stratification caused various types of problems for almost the entire population of society. The compulsions such as "*Da Saokay Begaar*" (labor of security of government properties) and "*Da Malak Toray*" (fee of Malik) were due to people from the government side. In the "*Da Saokay Begaar*," the common people were assigned number-wise duties where they would spend nights to look after the Khans, Maliks, or government properties (Muhammad, 2011). In the "*Da Malak Toray*," it was necessary for common people to give sixty rupees to the Khan or Malik of the area to get permission for the marriage of a son or daughter (Kaka, 2011). Furthermore, the occupational caste was not allowed to buy land, nor could they send their children to school. Only Khan, Nawab, and Maliks could cast votes; the common people didn't have the right to vote before the KKM.

Looking into the situation, the KKM feels it necessary to work on the elimination of social stratification and the class structure of society. The KKM uses different strategies to eliminate the social structure and unite people under the KKM. The KKM put forth a simple principle where everyone living in Pakhtun society, speaking Pashto, and practicing the Pakhtun code of conduct were considered Pakhtun, rather than division based on Pakhtuns and non-Pakhtuns. The membership of the KKM was made open to people from any tribe, caste, age, or religion so that everyone could join the organization. Furthermore, the occupational classes were also given proper space in the organizational structure of the KKM, where they were also given high ranks, which helped in eradicating social stratification both in idea and practice.

The KKM used many forums to propagate the eradication of social stratification in society. The start of vocational education was also intended to put an end to the concept of Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun based on occupation and to encourage Pakhtuns to promote their own products. Bacha Khan himself started Charkha (a local textile making machine) in his house to give the message that occupations are respected and may not be associated with the caste system. The KKM also propagated the elimination of social stratification in their writings and speeches. Bacha Khan used to give different examples from Islamic history, i.e., he used to say that almost every prophet was affiliated with a specific occupation.

Through its propagation and practices, the KKM brought a lot of changes to the social structure of Pakhtun society. The KKM was successful in eliminating social stratification in many extinct societies. The injustices such as *Da Saoky Begaar* and *Da Malik Tory* ended. The opening of schools by the KKM also provided children of every class with the opportunity to study. The right to vote and permission to buy land were also given to the occupational caste.

### **Redefining Cultural Practices and Codes**

The Pakhtun society is believed to function through Pakhtunwali, which has certain codes such as *Melmastya* (hospitality), *Badal* (revenge or reciprocity), and *Nang* (honor). Soon after its emergence, the leadership of the KKM was critical of the said cultural codes, which in one way or another were a hurdle in the way of change and development. Along with codes, there were also practices that were causing social and economic loss to society and were also hurdles in the way of change and development in society. The practices refer to the giving of heavy meals in festivities such as marriages and deaths and practices like *Isqaat* (distribution of money and other items on deaths). Both the codes and practices were reviving around *Tarburwali*, which created a type of competition in Pakhtun society. *Tarburwali*, in one way or another, strengthens the said codes and practices. For instance, one would spend a lot of money on festivities just to show himself stronger than his paternal cousin (*Tarbur*).

The KKM was of the view that to reform society and get freedom from Britishers, it was necessary to redefine the codes and practices of society. It is the reason the KKM brought a reformative agenda through which it transformed the concepts of the codes and practices of Pakhtunwali. The concept of bravery and revenge was changed so that bravery wasn't to kill one's own brother but to fight for freedom against Britishers. The concept of *Badal* was a change from revenge to reciprocity, where people started helping each other. The concepts of nonviolence and tolerance also played a vital role in transforming the codes and practices of Pakhtun society.

Furthermore, the code of *Melmastia* was also redefined and reinterpreted by the KKM where people were prohibited to spend a lot of money on *Melmastia* rather to keep it simple. Bacha Khan himself refused to accept *Melmastia* on many occasions while saying that spend money on the reformation, welfare and independence of people rather spending it on *Melmastia*. Talking on transforming the concept of *Melmastia*, a respondent added that the Khudai Khidmatgars were forbidden to eat food with someone else when they are on visit to other areas. They were strictly guided to brought maize bread, onion and jaggery with themselves so they may eat it during visits to other areas. Furthermore, it was rule of the KKM to work for at least two hours a day wherever they are, so that they may not be burden on society.

Giving of hefty feasts in honor of marriage and death was also prohibited. Giving of the *Isqaat* during funeral rites. were also prohibited by the KKM, and individuals were instructed to donate their money to the KKM or directly to the needy rather than dividing it among the clerics. Additionally, it was strictly forbidden for Khudai Khidmatgars to spend a lot of money on musical performances while getting married. Speaking of the "Kifayat Shouaari" (saving) of the KKM, a respondent claimed that it altered people's perspectives so that they began spending money on their welfare rather than on entertainment (Urahman, 2011).

### **Revival of Art and Literature**

The Pakhtun society was experiencing cultural decay prior to KKM. The cause was Pakhtuns' protracted war with the British, which kept them in the dark and prevented them from engaging in any creative endeavors. The KKM had a big influence on Pakhtun literature and art by introducing a proper program for both. During this time, music, stage plays, and literature (poetry and prose) all underwent a paradigm shift. Many well-known poets, musicians, and writers rose to prominence and promoted Pakhtuns in their fields.

In 1927, the KKM launched a monthly publication that was founded by Utmanzai and had Bacha Khan as its first editor. The magazine gave poets and writers a place to start writing about social issues and problems. The magazine's main goals were to unite Pakhtuns against the British and to advance Pashto literature and language. The publication quickly became well-known and served as an effective vehicle for spreading KKM's message to the public. The publication was crucial in bringing together poets and writers and creating avenues for gifted individuals to express themselves and write about social issues and problems.

The KKM has a literary magazine but also gives poets a lot of attention and space. As was previously mentioned, there was a cultural decline in the 19th century. The decline of culture also affects poetry, where no such notable poet was born throughout the century. Only folk poetry was written, and it tended to emphasize romanticism and bravery, which the poets used to advance themselves or other causes. However, KKM placed a special emphasis on the poets because of their solidarity and contributions to the cause of social reform and independence from the British. On various occasions, the KKM organized *Mushairays* (poetry summons) for poets. The creation of theme-based poetry was required of poets in *Tarhi Mushairay*, which were also organized. These efforts of the KKM brought a paradigm shift both in Pashto poetry both terms of its subjects and themes as well as in terms of genres.

Along with poetry, the KKM also worked on prose, which again contributed both in the promotion of language and awareness of people. The Khudai Khidmatgars were tasked to write a daily diary which will help them in documenting in situation and condition they face in their struggles for freedom and will also preserve and promote language and literature. Dozens of books have been published based on diaries of the Khudai Khidmatgars which claims to be major contribution to Pashto prose throughout history (Yousafzai, 2012).

The stage dramas also played a very vital role in spreading awareness among people. The stage plays presented by the KKM are claimed to be the first stage plays performed in Pakhtun society. Written by Khudai Khidmatgars, they were presented during the annual ceremonies of Azad schools, which focused on issues and problems of the Pakhtun society. Talking about stage dramas, a respondent added that a drama title called "Dre Yateeman" (three orphans) got very popular and was based on the story of three orphans whose father was killed by Britishers and who were living in a very tough condition. In the said stage drama, the three sons of Bacha Khan, including Ghani Khan, Wali Khan, and Ali Khan, performed key roles in the drama (Kaka, 2011). Along with that, there were also different stage plays presented to the public on different occasions. The stage dramas were aimed at reforming society by reinterpreting different concepts and ideas for the purpose of getting freedom from Britishers.

## Conclusion

The KKM was born in a time and space where there was violence both from within and from outside Pakhtun society. The centuries-long fights with outsiders have perpetuated violence in the segmentary lineage nature of the society, which has turned into internal feuds and enmities before and during British colonialism. In the circumstances, it was not easy to unite the Pakhtuns to fight the British for independence. However, through using different strategies based on nonviolence philosophy, the KKM had united the Pakhtun in such a way that even Britishers wondered, as quoted by a British commissioner, that 'with the education system and nonviolence philosophy, the KKM is going to hit London soon'.

While uniting people to fight against Britishers, the KKM initiated a socio-cultural and economic reform agenda and the revival of arts and literature, which worked as a cultural alternative for the movement. The people were given education, feuds and enmities were eliminated, social stratification was discouraged, cultural codes and practices were redefined and reinterpreted, and arts and literature were revived and promoted. The said socio-cultural-economic reformative agenda and revival of literature worked in producing

cultural knowledge that helped both reform and unite people. The cultural alternative strengthened the base of the KKM among the masses, and the KKM proved to be the strongest resistance movement against Britishers in the subcontinent.

The KKM's sociocultural program had a significant impact on Pakhtun society in addition to working against colonialism. The heritage of nonviolence is still very much alive in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's post-9/11 circumstances for this reason. In a nutshell, one could conclude that while the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement is no more, the Khudai Khidmatgari is still around.

## References

- Banerjee, M. (2000). *The Pathans Unarmed*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Esawaran, E. (1984). *Non-Violent Soldier of Islam: Badshah Khan, A Man to Match his Mountains*. Northern California: Nilgiri Press, 1984.
- Escobar, A. (1992). Culture, practice and politics: Anthropology and the study of social movements. *Critique of anthropology*, 12(4), 395-432. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X9201200402>
- Gandhi, R. M. (2004). *Badshah Khan: Non-Violent Badshah of Pakhtuns*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Gregg, R. B. (1959). *The Power of Non-Violence*. Canton, Maine: Greenleaf Books.
- Guha, R. (1988). *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaka, A. W. (2011, 10 21). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Kaka. (2011, November 23). FGD. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Khaliq, A. (2011, December 13). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Khan, K. (2011, November 17). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Khan, N. (2012, January 5). Personal Interview . (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Laclau. (1986). New Social Movements and the Plurality of the Social. In D. Sclator, *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America* (pp. 27-42). Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- Manirwal, A. (2011, November 28). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Marwat, F. R. (2011). *The People of Power: Unarmed Pakhtun*. Peshawar: Bacha Khan Research Centre.
- Momand, Z. (2011, October 26). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Moorhouse, G. (1988). *To the Frontier: A Journey to the Khyber Pass*. London: Phons.
- Muhammad, J. (2011, October 29). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Ron, E., & Jamison, A. (1991). *Social Movement: A cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Shah, W. A. (2007). *Northwest Frontier Province: History and Politics*. Islambad: NIHCR.
- Sharp, G. (1973). *The Politics of Non-violent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publication.
- Urahman, S. (2011, November 19). Personal Interview. (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)
- Yousafzai, N. u. (2012, January 17). Personal Interview . (N. Ahmad, Interviewer)