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Illiteracy and its Relation with Honour Killing in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Of Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper aimed to explore that how illiteracy contributes in the way honour killing in tribal societies. A sample size of 377 respondents was randomly selected comprising of 'Maliks' of the study area. To get inferences and draw conclusion, the data was crossed tabulated and Chi-Square test statistics were used at bi-variate and multi-variate levels. Moreover, at multi-variate level background variable i.e. marital status of the respondents was controlled. Research findings highlighted significant association of honour killing with illiteracy, education brought positive changes in honour norms, less observance of the normative order by literate women, and fear of sending female to the educational institutions. Moreover, honour killing was non-significantly associated with teachings of honour norms, and higher rate of killing among illiterate than literate. All stakeholders need to be educated over the magnitude and direction of human losses through ultra judicial killing, education regarding social equity, harmony and integration with particular emphasis on gender equity need to be imparted, educated chunk of population are required to perform their positive role, and study materials about human rights in general and women rights in particular need to be incorporated in the syllabi were forwarded some recommendations in light of the study findings.

Key Words: Honour Killing, Jirga, Purdah, Kurram Agency, Maliks, FATA.

Introduction

The term 'honour' contains a number of definitions i.e. high esteem, respect, reverence, reputation and good name etc. (The Oxford English Dictionary, 1989), with the sole aim of self-worth through their action and behavior for fulfilling the cultural obligations (Khan, 2006; and Sirman, 2004). It measures an individual

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social prestige within society and depends upon the collective communal views of a person (Wells, 2001). However, honour killing is an attempt of killing either for actual or perceived illegitimate sexual relationships and behaviours (Hassan, 1999; and Roberts, Campbell and Lloyd, 2013) mostly targeted by male family members (Gill, 2008; and Onal, 2008) or relatives due to their denial of an arrange marriage, fallen victim to a sexual assault (Human Rights Watch, 2004), extra marital affairs (Joseph and Nagmabadi, 2003), desires for seeking employment, forced marriage looking for divorce or disobedience towards family patriarch.

Moreover, honour killing could be explained by taking into account the complex, educational, socio-political and cultural contexts in which they are located (Knudsen, 2004). Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) advocated that education plays an important role in changing the people perceptions and mindset, and women rights are more supported by the educated people. The Sindh Department of Education Report (2007) examined that the education department of Sindh Province of Pakistan blamed illiteracy for higher rate of honour killing in the province. The report further expounded that during the year of 2002, four hundred people both male and female were killed in the name of honour in the province due to the prevailing higher rate of illiteracy. Hussain (2006) contended that honour crimes mostly occurred in rural tribal areas and they are by no means limited to uneducated classes.

Theoretical debate about the role of education in eradicating the practice of honour killing highlighted that higher rate of illiteracy do not significantly change the mindset of the students due to the strong hold of customary practices and traditions (Miller, 2009). Contrary to the above contention, Eck (2003) propounded that educated urban do not consider honour killing as a means to purify their honour. Mansur et.al (2009) elaborated that education play dual role in case of honour crimes i.e. that educated perpetrator will adopt more elaborate scheme to commit honour crimes and at the same time they would be less likely to commit such crime. They further added that the expansion of education at secondary and university level reduce the ability of men to control women and potentially weakens the honour code in society. The study was initiated with the sole objective to know about the role of education institutions in honour killing.

Research Design

The study at hand was carried out in Kurram Agency, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan under the quantitative approach. To increase the efficiency of the researcher and to make the procedure easier 377 respondents, comprising 'Maliks' were randomly selected through proportional allocation method while using the criteria of sample size determination given by Sekaran (2003). Moreover, the selected respondents by virtue of their professional wisdom as members of the 'Jirga' had an extensive knowledge about the issue and victims of honour killing. Five levels closed ended interview schedule was developed with dependent variable (honour killing) and independent variable (educational aspect) for the collection of the relevant information's from the selected category of the respondents. Furthermore, responses given in the interview schedule for digging out the respondent's opinion were categorized into two options namely agree and disagrees in order to ensure healthy response pertaining to understanding of each question on part of the respondents. The data was interpreted at uni-variate level to display a clear layout of the data through frequencies and percentage distribution. Furthermore, to draw association between variables, the dependent variable (honour killing) was indexed and crossed tabulated with independent variable (educational aspect of honour killing) at bi-variate level while using the application of Chi-Square test statistics. Moreover, for establishing spurious and non-spurious association between variables, the data were analyzed at multi-variate level while controlling marital status of the respondents.

Data Analysis

Education has greater impacts on the lives of people and the rate of crime is largely associated with the level of literacy. To assess the impact of education with relation to honour killing several statements were designed with relevance to educational aspect of honour killing including; literacy decrease the rate of honour killing, higher rate of honour killing among illiterate than literate, education can brought positive changes in the norms related honour, teaching of honour norms in educational institutions, educated women less likely followed norms related honour, educated women are much prone towards honour killing, education promote violation of the norms related veil 'Purdha' and fear of sending female to educational institution respectively.

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Table About Uni-Variate and Bi-Variate Statistical Data

Attributes/State	Strongly	eergA	Undecide	ergasiD	lgnortS	Bi-variate
ments	Agree		d	e	y ergasiD e	statistics
Literacy decrease the rate of	236 (62.6)	52 (13.8)	45 (11.9)	31 (8.2)	13 (3.4)	$\chi^2 = 19.577$ P=0.001
honour killing Higher rate of honour killing among illiterate	247 (65.5)	28 (7.7)	79 (21.0)	23 (6.1)	00 (0.0)	$\chi^2 = 4.713$ $P = 0.194$
than literate Education brings positive changes	236 (62.6)	37 (9.8)	56 (14.9)	39 (10.3)	9 (2.4)	$\chi^2 = 16.172$
in the norms related honour Teaching of	00 (0.0)	24	38 (10.1)	72	243	$P=0.003$ $\chi^2=5.240$
honour norms in educational institutions		(6.4)		(19.1)	(64.5)	P=0.155
Educated women less likely followed norms related honour	90 (23.9)	159 (42.2)	58 (15.4)	65 (17.2)	5 (1.3)	χ ² = 10.496 P=.0.033
Educated women are much prone towards honour killing	183 (48.5)	61 (16.2)	54 (14.3)	65 (17.2)	14 (3.7)	χ ² = 13.118 P=0.011
Education promote violation of the norms related veil 'Purdha'	242 (64.2)	43 (11.4)	53 (14.1)	31 (8.2)	8 (2.1)	χ ² = 15.276 P=0.004
Fear of sending	158 (41.9)	45	43 (11.4)	75	56	$\chi^2 = 23.846$

female to	(11.9)	(19.9) (14.9)	P=0.000
educational				
institution				

Uni-Variate Analysis

The above table indicated explanation regarding educational aspect of honour killing. The research findings proposed that majority of the respondents 62.6% strongly endorsed that literacy decreased the rate of honour killing. It can be inferred from these results that education equips a woman to look around, decides over role adoption as appropriate one and move in action as per dictations of the societal norms. In most of the countries across the globe honour killing was found in strong relevance to lack of education in comparison to societies, where the literacy rate is high (Rehman et.al, 2012). Moreover, provision of education to women could make a comeback in case of women to acquire their self esteem and dignity, which in turn could pave way towards more uplifts (Moghadam, 2003).

Majority of the respondents 65.5% strongly acknowledged higher rate of honour killing among illiterate than literate. These findings had strong similarities to the earlier results Hussain et.al, (2016) who identified illiteracy as the root cause of many evils, including honour killing. Moreover, patriarchal prevalence and social disparities had led to more chances of honour killing, where the poor and less educated were more prone to it (Sev'er and Yurdakul, 2001).

Similar the above results, majority of the respondents 62.6% strongly considered that education can bring positive changes in the norms related honour. These findings vividly interpreted by showing the support of local with regards to education. Attainment of education enabled a woman to choose the appropriate role for herself from a bigger whole, which must be in a justifiable preamble of this society's expectations. Pakhtun society was restricted to have emancipation from the traditional and patriarchal chains of life and had been crippled with low literacy and less empowerment (Naz, Ibrahim, and Ahmad, 2012). Moreover, Hassan (1995) explained that male dominance has brought disproportionate equation on gender basis in Pakistani society.

In addition, large number of the respondents 64.5% strongly opposed the statement about teaching of honour norms in educational institutions. These findings disclosed the non-preaching of honour killing related issues in the schooling institutions. It could be due to the reason of strong feeling of shame to discuss about a woman in public; as such discussion was strictly prohibited in Pakhtun's culture (Barlas, 2002). Mostly the teachers consider honour killing as cultural and seldom talk over it in the class (Dyer, 2015).

Similarly, a reasonable number of respondents 42.2% agreed with the notion that educated women less likely followed norms related honour. Although, 48.5% respondents strongly considered, that educated women are much prone towards honour killing. On the other hand, majority of the respondents 64.2% strongly acknowledged that education promotes violation of the norms related veil 'Purdha'. It could be attributed to the prevalence of Islam related psyche in the study area. Pakhtun proud to claim their selves as religious, as it is clearly mentioned that Islam as religion has faith in women segregation from male in most aspects of human life. The growing number of women as honour killing victims were found having roots in violation to family honour and their respective loss of virginity (Elden, 2004).

An appropriate number of the respondents 41.9% disclosed a strong agreement with the notion regarding fear of sending female to the educational institutions. Although, women education had not been encouraged in the study area, but still change pertaining to rise in female education could be ascertained. Men usually considered providing education to woman as futile. The only reason that they have to be married to another household, where she is supposes to carry out household chores (Babur, 2007).

Bi-Variate Analysis

The above table explained the relationship between educational aspect and honour killing. Education is the backbone of both the developed and developing countries. It has played an anchor role in the social and human development of all societies. Moreover, education also contribute towards the development of trained human capital and making them viable citizens in order to obtain maximum results towards social maintainability.

A significant relationship (P=0.001) discovered between literacy and honour killing. Education is essential in dictating towards the rights and wrongs. Moreover, social systems are often under the influence of acculturation and assimilation through the process of educational attainments. Low education and illiteracy prevalence drastically cripples a system's capacity to expand rather believing in displaying rigidity. These findings were in line to Hilly (2010) who examined that in under-developed countries due to insufficient knowledge and awareness, people do not even recognize violence. These results further suggested that literacy was highly proportional to honour killing and the rate of honour killing was higher among tribal regions where the rate of literacy was low as compared to the settled parts of the country. Awan (2013) stated that the educational indicators for Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) for the year 1998, 2003 and 2004 reflected that literacy rate in tribal areas is 17.42 percent as compared to 35.41 percent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Moreover, the overwhelming illiteracy in the area, tribal people considered education as an effective instrument which can mitigate the rate of honour killing. However, Department of Education Sindh Report (2007) contended that during the year of 2002 about four hundred people of both genders were killed in the name of honour (Karo-Kari) in the province of Sindh and illiteracy is blamed for the higher rate of honour killing. Moreover, honour crimes mostly occurred in remote areas whereas highly educated urbanites do not practiced honour based crimes as a mean to purify their 'Nang' (honour) (Eck, 2003).

Contrary to above, a non-significant relationship (P=0.194) detected between higher rate of honour killing among illiterate individuals than literate and honour killing. These findings suggested the occurrence of the events of honor killing irrespective of educational background and class and caste consideration. This act of honour is over all mandatory and sundry once the honour related case is made public. Conversely, Khan (2006) and Idriss (2011) highlighted that honour killing mostly take place in less developed areas and underprivileged villages with no or low educational attainments of the people. Furthermore, in tribal areas education does not play a pivotal role in mitigating threat of honour killing as both literate and illiterate were perceived to be equally observing norms related to honour. However, the ideally perceived notion and reported view of the local people indicated about literacy could mitigate the rate of honour killing as reported by Rehman et.al, (2012) that in developed and well educated societies would have lower or no cases of honour killing as compared to lesser developed nations. Pakhtun society symbolizes for lack of education and the existence of barriers to empowerment. These impediments have positively contributed towards honour killings (Naz, Ibrahim and Ahmad, 2012). Hussain (2006) also stated that honour crimes in rural tribal areas are by no means limited to illiterate class only rather both the literate and illiterate could have profound faith in it.

In contrast to the above results, a significant relationship (P=0.003) extracted between education can bring positive changes in the norms related honour and honour killing. It could be attributed from these findings that education can positively influence societal norms related to honour as education is an effective instrument in internalizing the rationale thinking. Through educated people not only become aware about their own society and culture but they come to know about the normative patterns of others as well. On the other hand, higher rate of illiteracy may contribute to the vulnerability of the population towards the overall conservative milieu of the society. This makes people unable to stand against the structurally prevailing and functionally accepted phenomenon whether constructive or lethal. These findings were in support to the arguments put forwarded by Baker et al., (1999) that lack of education and economic emancipation has reduced the women plight helpless in Pakistan. Denial to women education is primarily based on the assumption that daughters are to married to other household, where they are supposed to do household chores. Inequality in educational system on the basis of gender is based on strong patriarchy, which desist a woman to attain education (Hussain et al., 2016). However, contrastively, Mansur et al. (2009) concluded that the expansion of education at secondary and university levels weakens the ability to control women and potentially weakens the honour code in society, while Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) stated that in Jordan mostly educated women speaks for the rights of women and honour based crimes. On the other hand, the research study conducted by Miller (2009) concluded that higher education do not bring major changes in student's mind set regarding the issue of honour killing.

Unlike to the above, a non-significant association (P=0.155) discovered between teaching of honour norms in educational institutions and honour killing. The result showed that teaching about honour killing was neither the part of academic curriculum nor generally discussed by the teachers in class rooms. It might be attributed to the strong normative structure of tribal society where discussion on such types of issues was considered as taboos in the area. Similarly, a non-significant association (P=0.210) was extracted about the notion that religious clerics often speak about honour killing in 'Juma' (Friday) prayers and religious sermons. These results further revealed that although honour killing was in practice, but deemed as a proscribed social norm. Its exercise was only attributed to maintaining the prevalent social order and treating the taboos and other ill practices with iron hands. The only philosophies of executing on their lives had a strong root in the stability and consistency of the prevalent culture. These findings were similar to Baker, et.al. (1999) that complex phenomenon of honor killing aimed at containing the women behavior through domination for the impede upholding value system in Middle East. Containment of women folk under the garb of tendering respect to prevalent values and norm had generated honour killing. This honour killing has close relation to the existence of patriarchy, which advocated for male dominance (Ishaq, 2010).

In contrast, a significant relationship (P=0.033) observed between educated women are less likely to follow honour norms and honour killing. The general ratio of female education in the tribal areas was much lower as compared to the settled areas of the country. Women belonging to tribal areas had no courage to breach the normative social order. Education though had made them raise voice, but not strong enough to counter the centuries old customs. Awan (2013) elaborated that in tribal society only 3.00 percent of the total women population was literate. It can further be inferred from the above figures that gender based differences are not only existed in educational field but almost in every sphere of tribal social life. The male segment of the tribal social organization has always advantages over female due to the strong patriarchal structure of the society. It could be further assumed that the educated woman of tribal society was less likely to follow the norms related to honour, but she could not challenge the existing pattern of customary practices explicitly or implicitly. She was still marginalized within this male endocentric and chauvinistic culture and had

limited freedom to challenge the existing traditional status quo. In consonance to these results, Kakakhel (2005) indicated that the less observances of honour based cultural norms among educated men and women.

Similarly, a significant relationship (P=0.011) existed between proneness of educated woman and honour killing. These results indicated that educated women were much more prone to the acceptance of changes as compared to the illiterate. However, these results have some limitation by taking in consideration which is somehow different in nature. Such as, the educational infrastructure for women was not that much advanced; available in other settled parts of the country and, secondly, if the ratio of the occurrence of honour killing cases between the literate and illiterate female folk of the area, indicated that literate were more vulnerable than illiterate. It is a recognized fact that education provides logical reasoning and improves sense of challenging the conventional normative patterns. In this regard, Eck (2003) derived consonant conclusion and stated that more highly urbanized and modern people do not care about their 'Namus' (honour) in its traditional form.

Likewise, a significant relationship (P=0.004) extracted between education promotes violation of norms related veil 'Purdha' and honour killing. Wearing a veil or covering head and face was mandatory for women in tribal society. Observance to this is an expression of cultural pride and religiosity in the area where women were expected to observe this cultural custom of gender segregation. Besides, the strong prevalence of 'Purdha' in the area, the dismal position of education further augmented the observance of veil in the area. However, these women, who had acquired knowledge, were found least bother about this traditional reality. This could be due to the reason that educated women often challenge the normative structure of the society. Furthermore, literally speaking 'Purdha' is used in a sense of covering different parts of the body, but it is also used to seclude women from men and maintain their sexual purity. Women are limited to the four walls of the home but in case of getting education, women were supposed to go outside their homes, which could shatter such strict observance of 'Purdha' for those who opted for attainment of education outside the home. Education had the strength to violate the norms in relation to 'Purdha', which may result in the incidents of honour killings.

Education can empower a woman to redefine herself with assuming greater role at part of men outside home. This in turn could threaten the very fabrics of social order of patriarchy (Moghadam, 2003).

Furthermore, a highly significant association (P=0.000) observed between fear of sending female to educational institutions and honour killing. These results suggested that the local people had doubts and were critical regarding the normative structure of educational institutions. Such institutions were accommodating a number of students from the locality. They might have exposure to new advents of life, which could endanger the prevalent normative order as explained by Moghadam (2003) that attainment of education may empower a woman to think, seek and adopt a greater role of her-self in comparison to man. Such priorities of woman can thwart the normative social order of a society. Socialization in such educational institutions may cause lowering the socio-cultural boundaries and its utility for the young girls. In such circumstances, girls may behave and act differently from the normative expectations imposed by male family members. Such social situation develops psychological apprehensions in the mindset of family members, and may result into the dare consequences for women folk including the exercise of the normative axe of honour killing.

Table Representing Multi-Variate Analysis Statistical Analysis

Marital	Educational	Honour Killing		Total	Statistics
Status	Aspect				
Married		Agree	Disagree		
	Agree	145(41.5)	186(53.1)	331(94.6)	χ2=3.415
	Disagree	8(2.3)	11(3.1)	19(5.4)	P=0.181
Unmarried	Agree	15(55.5)	10(37)	25(92.5)	χ2=0.110
	Disagree	9(2.4)	12(3.2)	21(5.6)	P=0.947

Multi-Variate Analysis

The above table explored the effect of marital status of the respondents on educational aspect of the respondents. Education has been considered to be a game changer for the assessment and acceleration of social change. Education has proved and attained high success in the most advanced societies. However, it could not achieve the desired results in the traditional and primitive societies. The association between educational aspects and honour killing was found nonsignificant in both married (P>0.181) and unmarried (P>0.947) groups of the respondents. It could be concluded from these results that the role of education was ineffective in containment of honour killing. The obvious reasons were embedded in the traditional mechanics, which considered the upholding of honour killing as obligatory and sacred. Attempts from educationalists and other leading civil society activities failed to address the customary practices of the norms of honour killings. These findings endorsed the inference derived by Kanwar (1989); and Waheed (2010) that honour killing is deeply rooted in cultural traits and based on situational determinations. Honour killing is a cultural norm, which violation is taken as taboo with significant association to cultural practices exercised at family level (Korteweg, 2012).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The results concluded that education can positively influence both proscriptive and prescriptive social norms and it is an effective instrument of internalizing rational thinking regarding honour killing. However, the capacity of tribal social system about the concept of honour was crippled due to the prevailing illiteracy in the area. This could further contributed towards insufficient knowledge, awareness and lack of violence recognition. In contrast, educated women have the courage to breach the normative social order in a way of less observing honour norms. Moreover, education is positively associated with the violation of norms related veil 'Purdha' and in this way they are much prone towards honour killing due to the violation of honour norms. Fear of such norms violation in future related to honour and honour killing; restrict parents from sending their female children to educational institutions, as the local people were critical about the normative structure of the educational institutions. The study further disclosed that norms about honour were not taught in the educational institutions as it is neither the part of syllabi nor generally discussed by the teachers inside the class rooms. That is why honour based killing equally prevail both among literate and illiterate irrespective of their educational background. Provision of equal opportunities regarding education over the magnitude and direction of human losses through ultra judicial killing, incorporation of reading materials about human rights in general and women rights in particular in the syllabi, positive role performance by the educated chunk and education regarding social equity, harmony and integration with particular emphasis on gender equity need to be imparted were presented some of the recommendations in light of the study findings.

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