

Public Perception About Honour Killing: A Case Study Of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province – Pakistan

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Abstract

To regulate the male and female sexual conduct, every society has approved channels, based on cultural value. Those who violate these codes of conduct are subject to social penalty irrespective of gender. Honour Killing is a type of social penalty, awarded to the violator of Honour. The concept of Honour varies from society to society and culture to culture. It is associated with sexuality, money, property, country, dignity and women. It is believed that ten of hundreds of women and men are killed on the pretext of either having actual illicit sex or perceived sex relation. To probe the nature and causes of the issue, an empirical study was conducted in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province has an estimated population of roughly 21 million. The largest ethnic group is the Pashtuns who form about two-thirds of the population. Pushtun who are also spelled Pakhtun or Pathan. Pashtuns love strong moral character. They do not allow moral corruption. For this research qualitative and quantitative data was collected through structured and unstructured interview guide. A total of 60 respondents were selected through stratified and purposive sampling techniques. Similarly, in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 out of 60 respondents for obtaining genuine information on the issue. It was found; that Honour killing is culturally induced, practiced and demonstrated on violation of sexual code of conduct. It is an old practice which exists since time unknown. This practice has been projected by media and human rights activist. Religions have no place for such killing. Islam stresses on prevention from sexual deviancy. It is not a social problem of NWFP, because its frequency is low as compared to other social problems.

تلخیص المقالہ

مرد اور خواتین کے درمیان جنسی طرز عمل کو باضابطہ بنانے کے لیے ہر معاشرے نے کچھ ذرائع پسند کیے ہیں جو تہذیبی انداز پر مبنی ہیں جو ان ضابطہ حیات کی خلاف ورزی کرتے ہیں صنفی امتیاز کے بغیر معاشرتی جرمانے کی زد میں آتے ہیں۔ عزت کے نام پر قتل معاشرتی جرمانے

کی ایک قسم ہے جو عزت کی خلاف ورزی کرنے والے کو دی جاتی ہے۔ عزت کا تصور ہر معاشرے اور تہذیب میں مختلف ہے۔ یہ جنس پرستی، دولت، جائیداد، شان و شوکت اور عورت کے ساتھ جڑا ہوا ہے۔ یہ مانا جاتا ہے کہ ہزاروں عورتیں اور مرد صرف اس بہانے کی بنیاد پر قتل کر دیئے جاتے ہیں کہ وہ ناجائز جنسی تعلقات کے مرتکب ہوئے ہیں۔ اس مسئلے کی وجوہات اور فطری عمل کی تحقیقات کے لیے خیبر پختونخواہ کے صوبے میں ایک تجرباتی مطالعہ کیا گیا۔ خیبر پختونخواہ صوبے میں اندر ۲۱ ملین کے لگ بھگ آبادی ہے۔ سب سے بڑا نسل گروپ پشتون ہیں جنہوں نے آبادی کا ۳/۱ حصہ قائم کیا ہوا ہے۔ پشتون کو عموماً پشتون بھی کہہ کر پکارا جاتا ہے۔ پشتون مضبوط اخلاقی کردار سے محبت کرتے ہیں وہ کسی بھی قسم کی غیر اخلاقی بد عنوانی کی اجازت نہیں دیتے۔

کیفیتی اور کمیٹی مواد رسمی اور غیر رسمی انٹرویو کے طریقے سے حاصل کیا گیا ہے۔ ۶۰ جواب دہندہ کو Stratified اور Purposive sampling کے طریقے سے چنا گیا تھا۔ اسی طرح تفصیلی انٹرویو ۶۰ میں سے ۱۱۰ افراد کے لیے گئے تاکہ مسئلہ کے اصل حقائق کو جاننا جاسکے۔ یہ معلوم ہوا کہ عزت کے نام پر قتل معاشرتی طور پر رائج ایسی رسم ہے جو جنسی طرز عمل کے ضابطہ اخلاق کی خلاف ورزی پر عمل میں آتی ہے۔ یہ ایک ایسی قدیم رسم ہے جو نامعلوم وقتوں سے جاری ہے۔ اس رسم کی میڈیا اور انسانی حقوق کے علمبرداروں نے زیادہ تشہیر کی ہے۔ مذہب میں اس قسم کے قتل کی کوئی گنجائش نہیں ہے۔ اسلام تو جنسی اجارہ داری کی روک تھام پر زور دیتا ہے۔ یہ NWFP کا سماجی مسئلہ نہیں ہے کیونکہ اس کی شرح دیگر سماجی مسائل کے مقابلے میں کم ہے۔

Background

Honour Killing is a form of killing in which women or men are killed in the pretext of immorality or illicit sex. It is that form of violence in which both gender are killed. Although, only female victims are reported by the media. For example, in the first six months of year 2002 a total of 624 women were killed in the name of Honour. Out of this number 274 were killed by husbands, 90 killed by brothers, 34 of the victims were mothers who were killed by their sons, and 64 killed by relatives including uncles, first cousins (Daily Mashirq, Peshawar, August 7, 2002). In the year 2003, 1,261 cases of honour killings were reported in Pakistan. Similarly as many as, 1250 women were killed in the name of honour in the year of 2004 (Dawn, Islamabad, Jan; 07, 2005). These reports lack gender wise data of victim of honour killing.

There are different opinions about the concept and practice of honour killing. The feminists or the NGO's groups have different approaches than the traditionalist. According to traditionalist every society has their own customs and traditions. If someone violates normative code of that society, he or she must be punished irrespective of their gender and status. Here lies the crux of the problem that culture and religion are lumped together. To know the nature and causes of the issue, following questions were set forth for investigation.

1. What is honour?
2. Why killing of women in the name of honour?

3. Why woman is a symbol of honour and not man?
4. How do Pashtun justify honour killing?
5. Is it a social problem in Pashtun society?
6. What law says about the practice of honour killing?
7. Has religion to do anything with honour killing?
8. Is it simply a culture-induced practice?
9. Study design

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province was selected as a universe of the study. Sample was taken from a multiplicity of strata purposively. A total of 60 respondents were taken through a stratified –purposive sampling strategy. Out of this total 10 respondents were those who had expertise in their respective area like lawyers, anthropologists police officers, religious scholars , human rights activists and common influential persons who had important role in conflict resolution.

Tool of Data Collection

Qualitative and quantitative interviews were conducted for data collection. The purpose of the quantitative interviews was to know about the personal profile of the respondents and obtain information regarding honour killing. Similarly, the qualitative portion included open-ended questions to probe insight information about the multi facets of honour killing. It helped the researcher to get a clear view about the problem from the selected experts in their special areas. In-depth interviews were conducted with the purpose to know background, nature, and solution of the problem. This kind of data could not be collected through other tool of data collection. Tape-recorder was used for recording the actual information. It was very useful in qualitative interviews taken from the 10 expert respondents.¹ After recording, the researcher transcribed the recorded data. Selections of respondents were made from both the rural as well as the urban areas.

Context

The study was carried out in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province has a total area of 72521 sq.kms. It is situated on the north west of Pakistan. Society in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province is predominantly Pushtoons.

Pakhtoonwali is a code of life code which covers all aspects of the Pakhtun way of life. Pakhtuns live their lives according to the code prescribed for them by Pakhtunwali. Anyone who ceases to follow this code ceases to be a true Pakhtun or a member of the Pakhtun code. As due to the geographical and environmental conditions Pakhtuns live a hard and tough life which is followed by extreme temperament. They

are intolerant and impatient people. Pakhtuns love strong moral character. They do not allow morally corrupt people to stay around them i.e.; in the neighbourhoods or villages. Women cannot even think of marrying the man of her choice. Women are never encouraged to live alone. Divorce, illicit relations, runaway marriages and prostitution is strongly condemned by the Pakhtuns. Extreme moods make them take any action even at the cost of their lives.
 Prof. Dr. Salma Shaheen²

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis: Discussion

A. Data About Respondents Profile:

Gender-Wise Distribution of the Respondents

74% of the respondents were males who were part of the sample selected purposely due to the complicated aspect of the issue. But it is necessary to clarify that selection of the gender was not purposive. The researcher was most interested in the person irrespective of gender, who could explain either one or more aspects of honour killing. Every person in the sample had his own mind set like lawyers, religious scholars, human rights activists, anthropologists, socially influential persons who explained various aspects of honour killing. 26% of the respondents were females having different mind set and different opinions. Most of the male respondents, interviewed by the researcher were gender transformative. They were fully aware of the gender-imbalance and women rights in society in general.

Educational Status of the Respondents

86% of the respondents were literate and majority of them i.e. 28/43 (65 %) ³ possessed education up to postgraduate level. As most of the respondents were selected purposively and belonged to different walks of life like human rights activist, lawyers, and state officials. 4% of the respondents were Ph.D. The respondents had very clear ideas of the Pukthoon culture and traditions. 14% of the respondents were illiterate but were very important to the study. These people were known as community gatekeepers or traditional leaders. They were not literate but their roles in conflict resolution were important in their localities. Besides these leaders ordinary/lay people were also interviewed.

Ethnicity of the Respondents

76% of the respondents were Pushtoons. As the study was restricted to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province where majority of the people are Pushtoon, 8% of the respondents

were Afghan refugees who reside there from the last two decades. 20% were Punjabis and well aware from the customs and traditions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. 6% of the respondents were Urdu speaking, who are also non-Pushtoons living in the urban area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The data collected was not restricted to Pushtoons only but all those who lived in the target area and knew the customs and traditions were also considered to avoid any sampling bias.

Occupation and Monthly Income of the Respondents

46 % of the respondents were government servants. 40% of the respondents were private servants working in industries, private institutions, farming, retired government servants, practicing lawyers and NGO workers. Some of the respondents were religious scholars, leading prayers, teaching in the religious seminaries. One respondent was in business; one was jobless educated youth, and five from different occupations. 12% respondents had monthly income of up to Rupees 3000 a month. 26% earned up to rupees 6000.00 a month 14% were earning up to rupees 9000 rupees a month, 4% made up to 12,000 rupees and 12% earned up to 16,000 per month. Majority of them were government employees, earned up to 17,000 rupees and above. Two respondents had no jobs.

B. Respondents' Perception About Murders and Killing in Society

Causes of Killing/Murders in Pushtoon Society

14 % of the respondents said that killings in Pushtoon society occur on the basis of Zan, Zar and zameen (woman, wealth and land and property). If a woman is dishonoured, she and the dishonoured are killed, if some one is being deprived of his wealth and property, he kills or is being killed. Another important cause shared by 26% of the respondents was about the lesser role of Judiciary. The process and procedure of court and kachehri are so complicated and cumbersome that cannot give justice to anyone and is always on the side of the exploiters. 10% of the respondents said that killing in society occurs due to the culture of badal (revenge). 18% of the respondents criticized the wrong policies of government. Policies related to some of the basic needs of the people like education, health, sanitation, inflation, employment are directly affecting the people. Even the legislative process is very slow. Due to these deprivations, the people have lost trust in the state institutions. 8 % of the respondents said that killing occurs due to jealousy among pushtoons. They always want to see themselves on the top due to which they are always in a continuous struggle that leads to factions and feuds. 24% of the respondents said the “main causes of killing in our society are the social deprivation and injustices meted out to poor people. Poverty was considered as the major cause, which breeds other problems. Due to poverty the people are living very deprived and frustrated lives.”

Gender Base Information About Killings

92% respondents have information about gender wise killing cases and responded that mostly victims are males. It is because that male is considered to be custodian of Zar, Zan, and Zameen (money, woman and land). They are always functioning outside the four walls and are exposed to dangers. Women are normally restricted to four walls and prone to killing. Even in honour related killing woman is mostly the victim. It is true that in honour related killings, females are easy prey as they cannot run away while males have the liberty to save their skin but the life after that becomes more problematic. The man absconds and for years cannot dare come back to his home town or he will have to face the same thing as the murdered woman.

Only 4% of the respondents said that females are the victims to killing in society while 4% of the respondents said that males as well as females are the victims.

C. Respondents' Perception About Honour Killing

Source of Awareness Among Respondents About the Honour Killing

Regarding honour killing cases all respondents reported that they are well aware of it. Most of the respondents said that they got this awareness through media. This means that honour killing concept has been projected in the media and now everyone is aware from the term coined by the media. All of the respondents said that honour-killing cases did occur in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. 62% out of 100 % reported that it occurred rare, they regarded it an established code of conduct and said that due to its deterrence no one can take any immoral or illicit action. 14 % respondents were of the opinion that it is most frequently occurring and probably they were from NGOs who were advocating and creating awareness about the issue. For them this was a problem but for majority it was an issue. Some 24% respondents were of the opinion that the killing does happen but in most cases it is not reported and hushed up or given some other reason for the murders due to the flawed police system.

Honour is socially constructed phenomenon and exists in every society, depending upon its normative structure and values. Similarly, the practice of honour killing exists in society. It is generally believed that honour killing exists only in Muslim society which is wrong. It exists even in Non- Muslim societies of the world⁴. Pushtoons are not exempted from this practice. The Culture of Pushtoon is centuries old and exist before the advent of Islam. A woman was a symbol of honour even before the introduction of Islam.

"I don't think that woman is more vulnerable in Pushtoon society. Pushtoon gives respect to women. In case of violation of norms of society, both woman and man are killed. There are cases in which the

concept of honour is misused for their vested interests which are totally wrong. Both men and women are liable to follow the norms of society like chastity, abstinence from extra marital relation, respect to elder, hospitality, etc. In Pushtoon society, it is very well known saying that: Mari de daa qaam dee, mateezaa dee da zaan daa, means if someone being killed on the pretext of self defense or defending land from the occupation, revenge (badal) of close relative, then, the whole tribe will unite and will take action against his/her murder,, but if someone being killed on the pretext of immorality or elopement, then, no one will stand with him or her and will be considered as their personal matter. Due to such immoral act the membership of both the violators will be abandon from society. Even, the tribe declares that both parties should take action against the violators. Due to this concept, no body can think about immorality or extra marital sex, it is because of this law of deterrence”.

(Interview with Anthropologist)

“it is a relative term, in United states if some one burnt the flag of the state, he or she will be killed on the spot because they considered it as the violation of honour

(Interview with law expert)

Pushtoon society has tribalistic characteristics, having informal and unwritten laws. Honour is actually an English term, which is not representing the concept of ghairat or Izzat but in modern literature, there is no other alternative word. Kinship in Pushtoon is a sort of Pushtoon state which has its own laws. Honour Killing is not only associated with women folk but in Pushtoon society, if someone walks in the field of some one else, that is enough for killing. They considered it as matter of honour.

“Where the status of each gender is considered, a man has high status than women, but this does not mean that there is exploitation of women. Woman is considered as the most honorable segment of society. Her status is defined by the status of man. If a person is khan, she is known as the wife of khan etc. so far the gender imbalance is concerned, it is due to division of labour. Male are assigned such jobs which are very tough and hard. Suppose, in rural areas of Pushtoon society, male do ploughing while female serve them meal or water. In decision making process, male is dominant figure. But this dominancy is not based on exploitation. Even there is clear cut difference in the status of elder and younger, elder is considered more superior than younger. This hierarchy is due to social structure of Pushtoon society”.

(Interview with Anthropologist)

View About Honour Killing in Islam

Islam has clear stance about honour killing. The Holy Quran and the Hadiths clearly says that killing a person without any just reason is like killing the whole humanity. Punishment for any sinful or criminal behaviour is awarded by the state after fulfilling defined requirement. In the Holy Quran Allah says that human being is the best creature. Adultery and fornication is strictly forbidden. The Holy Quran teaches prevention and protection from immoral actions and behaviours in a society. It leads to anarchy in society. All of the respondents said that Islam has nothing to do with Honour killing. It is purely a cultural practice. In Islam there are very rough and tough criteria for immoral behaviour. No one can kill a person on mere allegations or even actual involvement. Islam stresses on prevention of such action which may lead to Honour killing.

“Islam disallows honour killing. He further said that Pushtoo is not only a name but also denotes, “Nang, ghairat (means honour) and support for the oppressed, Hayaa and sharam (chastity). There were 1,24,000 Prophets of God to educate the people how to lead thier lives. All the Prophets preached to the people, not to cross the limits, support injustice committed by the powerful. In support of this, he said that Musa opposed Pharaoh, who used to kill innocent children and ordered the people to bow before him. Hazrat Ibrahim faced the tyrant of his own time, a powerful king and refused to bow down. The human beings have been witnessing such experiences since the dawn of humanity. Before, the advent of Islam, the Arab by their code and considered it a matter of their honour to bury their daughters alive. It was not acceptable for them to marry off their daughters. Abu Jehal, at the time of his death asked for his neck to be cut deep at the base so his head would stand high among the rest. Taking such foolish pride in their customs also existed about honour killings.”

(Interview with religious expert)

Honour killing practice exists in society since time unknown. This is purely a cultural practice. Religion has nothing to do with this cultural practice. Islam has abolished this culture fourteen centuries ago. Islam stressed on the preventive side of such cases. Honour killing is extreme condition. Hayaa, (chastity) Purdah (veil), no free mixing of sexes, rights to woman including inheritance law, proper marriages with consent of both gender etc are preventive measure advocating by Islam for prevention of Honour killing cases.

“----- if people follow true Islamic laws and principles can remained away from such extreme and heinous action. Islam condemns such situation which creates or stimulates a person for taking immoral

action. If situation reached to such level, then such matter will be dealt in privacy. In case of rape, fornication, and adultery, sensationalization and publicity should be avoided. It has very negative consequences and impact for the individuals and society at large. For punishment, Judge or Qazi will follow the prescribed procedure for decision. Once a lady named as Aamidia, came to the Holy Prophet and told Him that she has committed a sin. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) turns his face and remained silent. After passing some time, the lady again came to the Prophet and narrates the same story. The Prophet turns His face again and remained silent. When she came for the third time, the Holy Prophet replied that wait for the birth of baby. When she gives birth to a baby, she again came to the Holy Prophet and asks for the punishment. He replied that feed her until this baby gets grow. She did so, finally the Holy Prophet announced penalty as per Islamic injunctions. After awarding penalty, the Holy Prophet said that she is now clean from that sin and declared innocent".
(Interview with religious expert)

Respondents' View About Honour Killing as Social Problem

Social problem refers to a problem emerging in a society due to social interaction of people and who take it as a threat to social life and make collective efforts for its solution. Finding shows that Pushtuns do not consider honour killing as a threat to their social fabric. Incidents of honour killing occurs but its frequency is very low as compared to other social problems. Regarding killing as a social problem, there were diverse views. Some respondents regarded it as social problem and said that women are at high risk. While most of the respondents said that it was not a social problem. 30% of the respondents said that honour killing is a social problem. 70% of the respondents said that honour killing is not a social problem, because its frequency is not very high as compared to crimes. If we compare honour killing with other problems like poverty, lack of educational facilities for females, unemployment etc it is not such a serious problem.

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, it is not considered as a social problem because its frequency is very low as compared to other provinces of Pakistan like Sindh. 02 % out of hundred cases would be of honour killing.⁵ It is believed that women are the main victims of honour killing cases, while in general killing, male is the major victim. It is believed that it is a culture of preserving, securing and conserving one's particular status. If some body violates the code of conduct, then, he or she is punished just to preserve their status in society. In order to keep their head up in society, they will take action against the violator. They will be setting in hujra (Meeting place in Pushtoon society) or in jirga (Council of conflict revolvers) if they have not taken any action, he will be labelled as shameful person (Dalla). He will always face Paighore (taunt) in his society.

“I want to share with you a practical example of social problem and solution through collective efforts. Once we were on study tour to village of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province.. We were sitting in a hujra (Meeting place in Pushtoon culture) and observing gathering of people in the form of counsel or jirga. They had decided that no one will offer or demand dower to their daughter on marriage. It was decided that if someone violate this code of conduct, they will be heavily fined and punished. It has released tension and burden of the people of that area. This action was taken as a reaction to the custom of dowry which was causing and affecting female and male. Most of the poor people were unable to pay dower to their daughter due to which their daughters were getting older. Now, if we compare, honour killing with this problem, it is not a social problem. Anthropologically speaking, this problem has been projected and sensationalized by media and NGOs.”
(Interview with Anthropologist)

There are different opinions about the concept and practice of honour killing. Some say that it is a positive custom while some say it is an exploitative custom.

“Positive aspect of honour killing is that people avoid immoral action, extra marital sex, adultery and fornication. Two motives are common in human actions, greed and fear. These are the two motivating factors for human action. One forbid and de-motivates a person for doing something wrong or against the customs while other motivate and stimulate someone for doing something. The concept of Heaven and Hell are persisting to keep the human action balance. Heaven is reward for good deeds while hell is reward for bad deeds. These motives are fitted in human nature. Similarly, honour killing in pushtoon society is rewarded for bad action. It is deterrence for a woman to protect him from diversion from the right path. Even it prohibits a man from doing so”.
(Interview with common community person)

“Most of the people associate intentional and planned murder with the honour killing for getting relaxation from the law and society. They knew that such murders are not liable for revenge or reaction from the victim’s family. Even, they pretend it a matter of sudden provocation through which they get relaxation in the law. So, in my opinion, this is wrong custom, it must be abandoned now. It has violated the rights of both men and women.”
(Interview with Feminist)

Law and Honour Killing:

There are two types of laws in a society, one is procedural law and the other is precedential law or precedent law. Procedural law means written laws and formal laws of the state. Currently we have both Islamic and English laws in our legal system. In honour killing cases, such laws are given less importance. Pushtoons do not believe in procedural law because of its complicate process and lengthy process. Registering FIR and then attending courts for years and then waiting for decision is actually a lengthy and difficult process. Similarly, there are precedential laws which are informal and also called as customary laws, which are based on precedents. People follow precedents in honour killing cases rather than lodging FIR and following lengthy process.

There is a section in Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) called as grave and sudden provocation which gives relaxation to the culprit of honour killing. This is faulty law which needs textual and procedural changes.

“Of course, PPC is faulty law. Along with this, we don’t have any scientific procedure for recording evidence. The whole case depends upon the evidence of Information Officer who is police officer having no knowledge and skill except his personal observation. Finger printing is very important piece of evidence but we don’t have any scientific tool for probing finger print of the culprit. Similarly, forensic laboratories are located in provincial headquarters which are not equipped with modern technologies and skillful forensic experts. Due to this weakness, presenting clear picture of the case is very difficult. It affects the procedure of the case. Mostly, Information Officer bribed by one party which changes the nature of the case”.

(Interview with Police Officer)

It was found that there are many loopholes in law of the state regarding probing and investigation. Similarly, Hudood laws which were enacted in regime of Zia ul Haq, were full of short comings. Although, major changes had been brought in the law.

“Hudood Laws related to adultery is quite faulty, suppose, in a rape case, a victim has to produce four such witnesses who are noble and who have seen her during raping and penetration. It is a poor section because no body commits such crime in front of crowd of people. This section has weakened the position of female victim. There is a weakness in the law not in the procedure. Before, the promulgation of Islamic laws in the form of Qisas and Diyat Ordinance, there was section 304 of CRPC, which was related and concerned with the sudden and grave

provocation. According to this section if a person commit murder and he/she justified this act with sudden and grave provocation, this will be considered as killing but different from planned and intentional killing because in such killing the motive is different, while 302 of CRPC is about the intentional and planned killing. Seeing a relative woman, involve in illicit sex with a person other than her husband, naturally provoke a person. He may get out of control and can take any sever action leading to killing. In such cases, law shows leniency and may award less punishment liker imprisonment. This was shortcoming which was mis-used by many culprits for enjoying relaxation in the law. But when, Qisas and Diyat ordinance was promulgated, it has abolished section 304. In this ordinance, honour killing is a simple killing which has no relation. The concept and grave and sudden provocation was abolished. ”
(Interview with Law expert)

It is believed that customary law is stronger than law of the state. Principally speaking, state law should not be obedient to customary law. The state law should be clear and transparent.

“----- murder is considered as a crime against state. Right to life is fundamental in the constitution. No one can take the life of anybody; even one cannot take his/her own life. If some one commit suicide and he/she remained alive, he/she will be punished. In Qisas and Diyat laws, such crime is considered as crime against the state and culprits. Under the Islamic law, the power is given to the party. If party wants to make compromise and reconciliation, they can do so with the proper permission of the court. If court is satisfied, it will allow them for reconciliation. It is because that in many cases the culprit is either husband, brother, father or other close relative. Suppose, if a husband killed his wife for involvement in adultery, now, the legal heir of the woman is her children. Now, the culprit is father, in such condition, the party makes compromise with each other”
(Interview with Law expert)

The Islamic law is being criticized by human right activists that the power of reconciliation should not be given to the party but to the state. State should decide and punish the culprit irrespective of their blood relation. Similarly, human right activist also, criticized Islamic law that it may lead to interference in to the private life of people. Suppose, if a couple, is walking on road and police stop them for investigation, they have to prove their relation, otherwise, they may be arrested and put behind the bars. Similarly,

if a girl has been raped and she approached for seeking justice, she has to produce four eye witnesses. If she fails, she will be punished.

“In rape case, the culprit is never set free for such action. If victim is unable to produce eye witness, the court will analyse the situation and will announce decision in favour of the victim after solid proof. The culprit is not set free so easily. If court is unable to award punishment under Hadd, it can award punishment under the Tazeer. ”
(Interview with Police Officer)

D. Respondents’ Perception About Honour

Respondents’ View About Honour Being Lumped with Women Only

Honour is a feeling and value determined by culture. The word “honour”, is derived from honos, honoris, in classical Latin. Honour means respect, esteem, and prestige (“Izza” in Arabic, “Namoos” in Persian and Turkish, and Ghairat in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi.). (Khan, Tahira S. 2006). The concept and practice of honour vary from culture to culture and society to society but it exists in every society irrespective of developed or less developed status. Concept of honour is injected through socialization. Family, education and religion are the major institutions which teach the concept of honour. Pushtoons are no exception. They are more conscious about honour. Pushtoon associates honour with everything they possess and its care is considered as prime responsibility. Pukthoon associates honour with tribe, customs, living standard, female, land, blood relations and guest.

“Women are honour of man. Anything happen to women, honour will be disrupted. One cannot give a woman status to a man. Because women are considered as the most honourable segment of society”.
(Interview with Police Officer)

10% of the respondents said that honour is lumped with females, if involved in illicit relation because of male dominancy and patriarchy. 20 % respondents reported that females are considered as a symbol of honour. If she is suspected of having illicit sex she is killed to restore the honour of society. If she is set free it will be a big stigma for the society in the form of Paighore (taunt). 20% respondents said that honour is associated with females only. They are expected to be loyal to their marital partner. In case of violation of the code of conduct, she is being killed for the restoration of honour but if male involved in homosexuality they are ignored. 60 % respondents said that honour is lumped with the involvement of women extra marital relation because it has biological consequences like pregnancy and child bearing which is considered again very

dishonoring and shameful act. Such child is called illegitimate which has no space in Pushtoon culture. 10 % respondents said that female is much oppressed in Pushtoon society. They cannot speak against honour related violence. Women are considered as a symbol of honour in Pushtoon society. They have status of mother, sister, wife and daughter which are considered as most honourable relations. Any dishonoring action or attitude may lead to strong retaliation. As far as the socio-economic status of women is concerned, it is very low because of the low socio-economic situation in a society. Poverty, deprivation and illiteracy prevail among Pushtoon society of NWFP which has affected the status of women.

“Honour is an established value since time immemorial. Even the concept of honour existed in Greek writings. Honour is a prestige of person, family, state and society. Protection of these consists in every society of the world. Suppose, US armies considered it an honour to protect their states from the foreign invasion. They can kill the attacker. It can be called as honour killing. Similarly, if someone violates the honour of family or intends to lower the honour of the family, the members will retaliate and will protect it at any cost. I personally believe that the concept of honour is universal. It is found and exists in every society irrespective of developed and less developed status.”

(Interview with Human rights Activists and Law professor)

“In Pushtoon society, honour is known as Izzat or Ghairat. These concepts are deeply embedded in the culture of Pushtoon. There are different levels of honour. If brother or sibling use abusive words, it is not considered as stimulating factor for reaction but if the same words being used by Tharboor (cousin- paternal uncle sons) are considered as violation of honour”.

(Interview with an Anthropologist)

So far the feminists are considered, they think it as an abusive concept. Associating honour with woman affect their status and rights. It oppresses the women segment in Pushtoon society.

“The concept of honour among Pushtoon is totally un-Islamic. Pushtoon wali is the code of conduct in Pushtoon society, which is based on Tharboor wali (competition and hostility) and aziz wali (loyalty to relatives). These two concepts are the major cause of gender disparity and lack of development. Development and positive change is not possible until and unless they give up Aziz Wali. These two

concepts cause nepotism, injustice and patriarchy in Pushtoon society. Hujra which is a common place of setting and meeting in Pushtoon society has very negative role in administration of justice especially to the vulnerable segments of society.”
(Interview with Feminist)

Conclusion

After a thorough analysis of the primary data and discussion, the researcher reached to the conclusion that honour and honour killing in Pushtoon society is culturally induced concept and practice. Pushtoon of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province has defined culture and tradition which is based on pushtoon wali, in which there is no space for immoral relation. In case of violation, they punish the violator. Killing in Islam is strictly forbidden. So far the social problem is concerned; honour killing is not a social problem in Pushtoon society as its frequency is very low as compared to other problems. So far the status of woman is concerned, they give high regard and respect to them. They considered them as a symbol of honour and prestige. Due to high status, there is high expectation from them. In case of violation, they face punishment irrespective of gender.

End Notes

1. 10 experts in the field of law, Anthropology, criminal justices, Islamic scholars, feminists, local conflict resolver (Jirga baz) were select purposively. Such sample is also called experience survey. Those are eminent personalities and scholars. They were selected after a thorough analysis and discussion with the supervisor.
2. Prof. Dr. Salama Shaheen the Ex-Director of Pushto Academy, University of Peshawar. She mentioned this statement in her Urdu book “Peshawar Sheher and Riwayaat: Published by Pushto Academy, University of Peshawar with collaboration of Look warsa- Islamabad. ” means “Peshawar City and Tradition”. The researcher also discuss this statement with her on 14-07-2010. She said that I have mentioned this statement in my above cited book (Page. 95) and also quoted from another book “Pushtoonwali: Pushtoono Ka Tharze Hayat awar Ikhlaaq” (P. 61-63) under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Salam Shaheen and published by above cited publishers.
3. As per the original source i.e. M.Phil Study 2007, 28 out of 43 respondents which make 65% But here we will mentioned only 65 %.
4. Prof. Dr. Amir Zada who is the Professor of Social Work, University of Peshawar and supervisor the researcher for this research and article. He mentioned that the Murder of Lady Diana was honour Killing case, because she was in love with a person.

5. This statement was spelled by Nadeem Azam, Assistant Professor Law College University of Peshawar during In-depth Interview held on 20th July, 2005.

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Mr. Nadeem Azam, Law College, University of Peshawar, dated July 20th, 2005.

Mr. Sohail Adnan, Law College, University of Peshawar, July 16th, 2005.

Mr. Zobair Khan, Coordinator Human Rights Centre, law College, University of Peshawar, July 18th, 2005.

Mr. Farooq Ahmed Jan Baber, Director CPS, SSP, NWFP, dated July 25th, 2005.

Ms. Rakhshanda Naz, Aurat Foundation, Peshawar, NWFP.

Dr. Johar Ali, Department of Sociology, University of Peshawar, September 14th, 2005.

Prof. Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Dean Faculty of Seerat and Islamic Studies, UOP.

Mr. Ali Gohar, Oxfam (Campaign to end Honour Killing), July 12th, 2005.

Mr. Shaukat Ali, (Community member) Swat, July 22nd, 2005.

Mr. Arshid Khan Afridi, Jamrud Khyber Agency, July 11th, 2005.

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Advocate Sherafgan Khattak, Rehman Plaza, Khyber Bazar Peshawar, July 27th, 2005.

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Ms. Yasmin Bibi, Shirkat Gah, University Town, Peshawar, July 13th, 2005.

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Glossary

Aziz Wali	(Loyalty to relatives)
Al- Nisa	(Verse in the Holy Quran related to WomenoH)
Badal	(Revenge)
Begharata	(A person who could not take his revenge)
Biradari	(Lineage)
Dala	(Person who depend upon other)
Ghairat	(Honour)
Ghairatmand	(Brave)
Hadith	(Traditions and sayings of the Holy Prophet- PBUH)
Hujra	(Meeting place in Pukhthoon culture)
Hudood	(Fixed punishment for the adulterator prescribed by the Holy Quran)
Izzat	(Respect associated with the ego of a person)
Jirga	(Council of elders)
Khel	(Clan)
Khan	(Landlord in Pukhthoon society)
Kari	(Blackened female who have illicit sex)
Karo	(Blackened male who have illicit sex)
The Mashriq	(the East, Urdu daily)
Murtad	(Apostate)
Malannat	(Cursing)
Melmasthiya	(Hospitality)
Mari De Da Qam	(Pushtho proverb that Tribe will seek revenge murder)
Mateeza de Da Zan	but if you escape with a woman, it is your personal matter
Matam	(Grief)
Mehar	(Dowry)
Namoos	(Respect, Prestige and Honour)
Nanawathi	(Begging for Pardon)
Nafaqa	(Maintenance of wives)

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