

# Honour Killing: An Instrument of Women Subordination in Tribal Areas of Pakistan

*The study was carried out in District Kurram, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan with the core objective to examine various factors associated with the occurrence of honour killing in tribal society in a positivistic manner by using questionnaire as a tool of data collection. A sample size of 377 respondents consisting upon Maliks (prominent leaders of the area) by virtue of their wisdom and member of Jigra institution selected through simple random sampling method. The collected data was analyzed and presented at univariate level of analysis to draw clear picture of data through frequency and percentage distributions. The association between dependent and independent variables were determined at bivariate level with the help of Chi-Square test application. The study concluded that honour killing is considered as normal and acceptable act in tribal society according to long standing normative structure and customary practices and the local also believed that this heinous act should be protected and preserved through any means. Further, the local cultural identity protects this brutal act under the shade of socio-cultural values and religious dogmas, however; public attitudes regarding honour killing were more rigid in the past than the present. Moreover, in case of any breach of honour norms, both the offenders are killed on the spot without any mercy as there is no other available alternate of honour killing for restoring the honour and washing the shame. The study also concluded that in case of rape, mostly the victims are forgiven while the rapist is brought to killing sword. However, there is no evidence of children killing below the age of puberty in the name of honour in the study universe. Likewise, women looking for divorce, women remarriage after divorce from husband and women inability to conceive have no association with honour killing in tribal society. Lastly, it is assumed that silence with regard to the violation of honour norms neither encouraged nor prevailed, however; the situation gets further worsen once the same gets public. Creation awareness among all stakeholders over the direction and magnitude of human lose, taking strict actions by state authorities and law enforcement agencies about honour killing, understanding women role and body in light of the teachings of Islam, revisiting the concept of virginity and chastity according to physical milieu of women, and formation of special laws for the protection of women were forwarded some of the policy recommendations in light of the study results.*

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

## Introduction

The word honour contains number of definitions such as reverence, respect, good name, high esteem, and reputation, having sole aim regarding self-worth of an individual with respect to their actions and behaviours for fulfillment of cultural obligations and to measures their social prestige within a given social structure (Khan, 2006; Sirman, 2004; Oxford English Dictionary, 1989; and Wells, 2001). Killing in the name of honour is planned murder of women mainly committed by male family members or relatives either for actual or perceived illicit sexual relations on part of women beyond the prescribed boundaries due to their

1 involvement in love, refusal of arranged or forced marriage, fallen victim to a  
 2 sexual attack, extra marital relations, desires for jobs and disobedience towards  
 3 patriarchal authority etc. (Gill, 2008; Hassan, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2004;  
 4 Joseph and Nagmabadi, 2003; Onal, 2008; Roberts, Campbell and Lloyd, 2013;  
 5 and The Free Dictionary, 2007). Although, in most of the cases women are the  
 6 main victims of honour killing, but some time male also becomes victims and  
 7 subjected to honour killing with a rare proportion typically viewed as collateral  
 8 victims by killing both the offenders (Asia Pacific Women's Watch, 2004; and  
 9 Nesheiwat, 2005).

10 Honour killing statistics disclosed that every year across the globe, five  
 11 thousands women were killed in the name of honour norms violation, while the  
 12 highest rate of such killing is found in Pakistani society with almost one-fifth of  
 13 the total cases and one thousand in number (United Nations Population Fund,  
 14 2000; Ullah, 2010). The strong traits and deep roots of honour killing are found in  
 15 all parts of the country that is also endorsed by culture, inscribed in the customary  
 16 practices, and recognized by people behaviours with almost equal acceptance by  
 17 all ethnicities and sub-cultures (Shah, 1998; and Ullah, 2010).

18 The reasons behind honour killings are numerous and varying from society to  
 19 society. The long standing history of this criminal act showed that honour killing  
 20 are mainly supported by the customary practices and could be traced back to  
 21 primitive culture and Pre-Islamic period, where women were killed for bringing  
 22 dishonour to their family members (Hussain, 2006; and Pervizat, 2003). However,  
 23 not only in the past but as well presently such killings are carried out to purify and  
 24 restore the lost honour of the family that was resulted due to immoral and  
 25 shameful act of female family members (Siddiqui., Hamid., and Siddiqui, 2000;  
 26 Eck, 2003; Hussain, 2006; and Wikan, 1984).

27 Honour killing are also carried out within the framework of patriarchy. The  
 28 patriarchal social structure justifies the preservation of social construction of  
 29 honour norms, values and traditions. That mainly revolves around the contention  
 30 that women are subordinate to men, so that they can control their public and  
 31 private affairs (Gill, 2008). Through sexuality, male impose their view regarding  
 32 femininity over female and women internalize their prototypical feminine  
 33 sexuality as per the yardstick of the normative orders that further perpetuate  
 34 patriarchal structure and conceptualizes men right of woman killing  
 35 (Ahmetbeyzade, 2008; Darvishpour, 2003; and Walby, 1990). However, it is not  
 36 only masculinity that perpetuate honour killing but other socio-cultural factors also  
 37 play its role in an increasing rate of honour killing in the country such as prevision  
 38 in the customs and traditions of the country for honour crime that is also somehow  
 39 legally accepted (Bennett, 2007; Coomeraswamy and Kois, 1999; Goldstein, 2002;  
 40 Jafri, 2008; and Smartt, 2006)

41 Moreover, some scholars believed that the religion of Islam provided basis for  
 42 honour killing; however, neither Islam nor other religion support honour killing as  
 43 the Islamic theological rationale forbidden honour killing (Hassan, 2008). So that  
 44 it cannot be associated only and only with Islam as Jews, Christen and Druze etc  
 45 are also committed honour killing (Gill, 2008). In this regard, Kutty (2000)

1 concluded in a similar manner by stating that “There is no concept of honour  
2 killing in Islam”. In consonance to these, Hassan (2008) illustrated that the  
3 theological rationale of Islam does not sanction honour killing.

4 The role of state authorities cannot be ignored while considering honour  
5 killing in a context of no intervention being considering it as a private matter.  
6 Mostly the killers either remain unpunished or received lenient sentence (Agosin,  
7 2002; Gill, 2006). Community members, police officials and state judiciary have  
8 much lenient outlook under the grasp of cultural excuses towards the perpetrators  
9 of honour killing (Honour Killings Report, 2010). Amnesty International Report  
10 (1999) and Brand (1998) linked honour killing with economic crime and  
11 inheritance disputes. Land dispute can also be blamed is one of the actual  
12 causative motive behind honour killing (Lari, 2011). Faqir (2001) disclosed that  
13 honour killing is based on the subordination of poor, weak and working classes  
14 which intensify high economic growth and social mobility (Faqir, 2001).

15 Education advocate an important role in altering the mindset and people  
16 perception as educated people greatly supported women rights (Eisner and  
17 Ghuneim, 2013). Hussain (2006) contended that by and large honour based crimes  
18 occurred in uneducated classes of rural tribal areas. Vitoshka (2010) blamed  
19 political instability as a leading factor of honour killing. In political contexts,  
20 policies and actions of the state institutions contributes towards continuing  
21 violence in the name honour (Kogacioglu, 2004). Khalil (2010) endorsed that  
22 liberty and life of women in Pakistani society is treated as per the parameters of  
23 prevailing socio-political norms. Lari (2011) examined the role of tribalism and  
24 feudalism and added that it is very difficult for law enforcement agencies to  
25 control honour killing.

## 26 27 28 **Research Methods**

29  
30 The study at hand was carried out in District Kurram of tribal regions of  
31 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan to examine various causative factors associated  
32 with the occurrence of honour killing in tribal society. The nature of the study was  
33 positivistic and a questionnaire ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree  
34 was used as a tool of data collection to draw meaningful results and to inspect all  
35 possible relations linked with different aspects of honour killing by integrating all  
36 major variables. The universe of the study was comprises of different villages of  
37 all three tehsils of District Kurram i.e. tehsil Alizai, Sadda and Parachinar. To  
38 increase the validity and reliability of data and to avoid any complications in  
39 drawing clear conclusion, 377 respondents out of 1612 were proportionally  
40 selected from ‘*Maliks*’ category of study universe (Tribal prominent leaders  
41 known as Maliks/Lungi holders/Spingiri in the native language) through simple  
42 random sampling method, keeping in view their extensive knowledge about  
43 honour killing and victims of such killing by virtue of their professional wisdom as  
44 members of the ‘*Jirga*’ (Legal Council). The data was analyzed at uni-variate and  
45 bi-variate levels of analysis with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences

(SPSS)-20 version and Chi- Square test statistics. At uni-variate level the data was presented with help of frequencies and percentages distribution to give clear picture and lay out of the data. The association between dependent variable (honour killing) and independent variable (factors associated with honour killing) was determined with help of bi-variate analysis while using Chi-square statistical application.

### Study Results and Analysis of the Data at Uni-Variate and Bi-Variate Levels

Honour killing is an important phenomenon that exists in most of the underdeveloped, third worlds and even in advanced countries to some extent. The traditional patterns of social life and cannot be limited to tribal societies only, as it is not exceptional and tribal oriented only. Study findings regarding the prevalence of honour killings in tribal areas were restricted to the following statements. The respondents' perceptions in this regard were produced as given below both at uni-variate and bi-variate levels:

| Attributes/Statements  | Strongly Agree  | Agree           | Uncertain      | Strongly Disagree | Disagree        | Total         | Bivariate Analysis |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Honour killing is considered as normal act in tribal area                    | 287<br>(76.10%) | 49<br>(13.00%)  | 14<br>(3.70%)  | 27<br>(7.20%)     | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |
| Preservation and protection of honour based cultural identity                | 294<br>(78.00%) | 56<br>(14.90%)  | 13<br>(3.40%)  | 14<br>(3.70%)     | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |
| In the past attitudes of the people regarding honour killing were more rigid | 245<br>(65.00%) | 110<br>(29.20%) | 12<br>(3.20%)  | 10<br>(2.70%)     | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |
| Both gender becomes victims of honour killing                                | 237<br>(62.90%) | 70<br>(18.60%)  | 28<br>(7.40%)  | 36<br>(9.50%)     | 6<br>(1.60%)    | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |
| Children/minor victims of honour killing                                     | 2<br>(0.50%)    | 37<br>(9.80%)   | 23<br>(6.10%)  | 62<br>(16.40%)    | 253<br>(67.10)  | 377<br>(100%) | P>0.05             |
| None availability of honour killing alternative                              | 232<br>(61.50%) | 74<br>(19.60%)  | 31<br>(8.20%)  | 29<br>(7.70%)     | 11<br>(2.90%)   | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |
| Silence in case of honour norms violation                                    | 9(2.40%)        | 17<br>(4.50%)   | 9 (2.40%)      | 79<br>(21.00%)    | 263<br>(69.80%) | 377<br>(100%) | P>0.05             |
| Divorce and honour killing   | 00(0.00%)       | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 16<br>(4.20%)  | 60<br>(15.90%)    | 301<br>(79.80%) | 377<br>(100%) | P>0.05             |
| Remarriage of women after getting divorce and honour killing                 | 00 (0.00%)      | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 30<br>(8.00%)  | 78<br>(20.70%)    | 269<br>(71.40%) | 377<br>(100%) | P>0.05             |
| Women inability of getting pregnant results honour killing                   | 00 (0.00%)      | 00<br>(0.00%)   | 14<br>(3.70%)  | 55<br>(14.60%)    | 308<br>(81.70%) | 377<br>(100%) | P>0.05             |
| The rapist is killed, not the victim   | 232<br>(61.50%) | 26<br>(6.90%)   | 66<br>(17.50%) | 18<br>(4.80%)     | 35<br>(9.30%)   | 377<br>(100%) | P≤0.05             |

### Discussion

The commonly prevail violent act of honour killing is considered as normal and up to the standard expectations as per the devised yardstick based on socio-cultural values and normative order of tribal society and communal wishes to

1 perform the same. Frequencies and percentage distribution in the above table  
2 contended that most of respondents 287 (76.10%) strongly endorsed that honour  
3 killing is considered as normal and acceptable act in tribal society according to  
4 customary practices and significantly ( $P \leq 0.05$ ) associated with each others at bi-  
5 variate level of analysis. Societal acceptance towards this heinous act of honour  
6 killing among the locals enjoying strapping deep roots in the existing normative  
7 orders and social dynamics of people life. It has mainly perpetuated due to people  
8 beliefs in restoration of long standing acknowledged and praised practices, to  
9 uphold the ancient mode, preserve and safeguard these socio-cultural perspectives.  
10 In other words it an attempt towards the pervasiveness of sturdy resistance to  
11 social dynamism. These results are in close propinquity in meaning and  
12 interpretation to argument reproduced in Honour Killing Report (2010) stated that  
13 being cultural and traditional in implication to local state laws implementing  
14 authorities usually turns a deaf ear to these acts. This could also be the reason that  
15 tribal people have strict adherence to their own customary practice, traditions and  
16 normative order that sustain honour killing. Tribal people follow the codes of  
17 'Pakhtunwali' (Pakhtun codes of conduct) in true letter and sprits and considered  
18 these informal ways of life even above the formal laws of the state and religion.  
19 Inconsonance to these derivatives Pope (2004) elaborated that cultural and  
20 customary practices greatly influence individual perception and attitudes about the  
21 world. Such acceptance of honour killing can also be seen in Section- 50 of the  
22 'Turizuna' (written customary codes of the Kurram Agency) that clearly defines  
23 that "whoever is found committing sexual intercourse with any married women or  
24 a widow or a virgin, both the man and woman ought to be killed on the spot".

25 Moreover, majority i.e. 294 (78.00%) of the respondents strongly  
26 acknowledged the protestation and preservation of honour based cultural identity  
27 and the same was significantly associated ( $P \leq 0.05$ ) with each others at bi-variate  
28 level of analysis. The brutal act of honour killing is not only supported by the local  
29 people but they also intend to protect and preserved this violent act. Although,  
30 such killings in totality are mainly attributed to socio-cultural perspectives,  
31 however, strict adherence to exercising and preservation of honour killings are not  
32 only supported by norms and values but as well as misunderstood as religious. As  
33 somehow the same is also perpetuated as religious act by the ignorant people that  
34 sustained under the shade of theological rationale. Badawi (1971) and Douki  
35 (2003) described that the acceptance of violence cannot be solely attributed to  
36 religion, however; often rationalized through religion besides the fact that these are  
37 found in traditional and socio-cultural milieu. The prevalent patriarchal structure  
38 in tribal society also provides roots for the preservation of honour killing in the  
39 area as woman status is *tribal* society is highly volatile that empower men and  
40 subjugated women in different spheres of life. In this regard Gill (2008) contended  
41 that in honour based patriarchal societies men honour are associated with women  
42 and male are expected to protect family honour. Further, women deviation from  
43 these established normative pattern brought dishonour and shame for male  
44 members of the family that is as intolerable (Kandiyoti, 1988).

1 An alarming majority i.e. 245 (65.00%) respondents strongly considered that  
2 previously people attitudes in tribal society regarding honour killing were more  
3 rigid as compare to present and the association between the variable was  
4 significant ( $P \leq 0.05$ ) at bi-variate level of analysis. This could be attributed to the  
5 increasing interaction between tribal people and the dwellers of settled areas of the  
6 country, that might altered people attitudes with regard to honour based crimes.  
7 Besides the fact that tribal cultural identity witnessed long standing happening of  
8 honour killing that was based on strictly reinforced customs and traditions of  
9 patriarchal nature, manipulated the private and public sphere of women. Further,  
10 evidences form history showed the role of masculinity along with other socio-  
11 cultural factors that contribute in increasing rate of honour killings in different  
12 areas of Pakistan (Jafri, 2008). Moreover, tribal people in the past had less access  
13 towards media institutions and therefore they were less aware about ideas of right  
14 and wrong. But after the 9/11 incident, Pakistan army and other law enforcement  
15 agencies intervene in the area that indirectly resulted some changes in the social,  
16 political, economic and cultural dynamics of the society. This could also provided  
17 a space for daily forecasting and broadcasting in the area through electronic and  
18 print media that stands as an influencing factor of moulding people attitudes  
19 regarding honour killing. Similarly, increasing rate of education in the area also  
20 mould the behavioural traits of tribal people in a positive manner. Likewise,  
21 certain amendments in the constitution of the country by defining honour crime as  
22 crime against the state might be one of the leading reason of bringing change in  
23 people attitudes. In the past proper legislation regarding honour killing were absent  
24 in Pakistan but special laws has been passed by the government to defined killing  
25 in the name of honour is an intentional murder (Khalil, 2010).

26 Furthermore, the study results in the above table disclosed that majority i.e.  
27 237 (62.90%) study population strongly supported that both genders becomes  
28 victims of honour killing and the association between the variables was significant  
29 ( $P \leq 0.05$ ) at bi-variate level. The Asia Pacific Women's Watch Report (2004)  
30 reports added that both gender are subjected to honour killing with proportion of  
31 women victims than men. In most of the cases, women are prioritized victim of  
32 honour murders with rare proportion of men adulterers typically viewed as  
33 collateral victims (Devers and Bacon, 2010). The widespread modus operandi of  
34 such killing duly sanctioned that when a person from any gender is found in  
35 violating the normative order and cultural taboo, than they have less chances of  
36 escape, and have to face the axe of killing justified under the shade of honour.  
37 Such like socio-cultural procedure dictated that killing of the violator at any cost  
38 irrespective of their caste, class, colour, creed and gender in tribal cultural setup.  
39 Therefore, both man and woman in equal proportion had to fall prey to honour  
40 killing in Pakistani tribal society, being practiced and accepted. That is why  
41 women and their seducers are never forgiven but remained at stake, if they violate  
42 the prescribed honour norms. Thus, both men and women easily becomes the  
43 victim of killing as sympathetic attitudes on part of adulterers have no provision in  
44 tribal social system.

1 In contrast to above, 253 (67.10%) respondents were strongly agree with the  
2 conception of children honour killing and the statement was non-significantly  
3 associated ( $P>0.05$ ) with honour killing at bi-variate level. These results negated  
4 the arguments made by previous researchers that even children born outside the  
5 wedlock and new born babies have to face the inhuman act of honour killing (Eck,  
6 2003; and Chesler, 2010). Shelley (2007) also stated in an analogous direction by  
7 stating that children are killed by their parents to restore their respect. Although, it  
8 is evident from the aforementioned findings that the culturally the practice of  
9 honour killing is sanctioned that entails killing in the name of honour without any  
10 type of gender discrimination in case of violating the normative social order. But  
11 in contrast to these results there are either no or lesser chances of children killing  
12 in the name of honour. The same might be the reason that even if unlawful  
13 relations exist between man and women, the same does not reached to a particular  
14 stage where a woman give birth to an illegitimate child, as after visibility of their  
15 pregnancy they ought to be killed for their unacceptable pregnancy. Further, it is  
16 also widely accepted in the area that biologically children are unable to have  
17 sexual intercourse before reaching to the stage of puberty, so that they remained  
18 safe from such inhuman act of brutality. However, it is important to be mentioned  
19 that as per the local definition of child in tribal society is as a person who is not yet  
20 reached to the age of puberty and it does not fall under the definition of Child  
21 Rights Convention i.e. 18 years. Moreover, it could also be the reason that some  
22 people want to hide illegitimate relations of their women, therefore; they may  
23 killed newborn babies in privacy to cover up illegitimate relations of their women,  
24 that's never highlighted. As a consequential factor of elder found in illicit relations  
25 children and even new born babies become victims to kill (Turgut, 1998).

26 Moreover, 232 (61.50%) of the respondents strongly endorsed that no other  
27 alternative of honour killing is available to remove the shame and restore the  
28 honour and the association of the statement with honour killing was significant  
29 ( $P\leq 0.05$ ). Gonzalez (2000) contended that blood is considered the only alternate  
30 source of erasing dishonour in tribal social system. That is persistently and  
31 immensely practiced, supported, sanctioned and continued within the Pakistani  
32 tribal codes of conduct (Ali, 2001). It could be the reason that violation of honour  
33 norms always remains a major issue of concern and any breach in this regard is  
34 intolerable at family and communal level. Therefore, any one is found of  
35 consigning this breach his had to face an instantaneous death. Honour killing is an  
36 intense phenomenon that is still practicing with sole aim to honour and social  
37 order (Pitt- River, 1966). Furthermore, honour is also attached with the social  
38 standing of individuals within tribal social hierarchy and no one want to be in the  
39 lower ladder of such hierarchal division of society. That is why if someone abuse  
40 the trust, ultimately he or she will be put to death with impunity. Women role is  
41 demanded as per the normative orders based on existing hierarchies and privileges  
42 that are blended with crimes related to honour killing (Feldman, 2010). Although,  
43 in some parts of the country shame should be washed with giving women for  
44 marriage to the affected dishonoured family, but the same is not applicable to  
45 tribal cultural setup in totality. Similar to these, Boehm (1984) concluded that

1 dishonouring other than adultery can only be purified by offering a girl to the  
 2 aggrieved family members from the violator clan or tribe to restore the lost  
 3 honour. But this could not applicable in case of illicit sexual relations and killing  
 4 of the offender is the only alternative option of honour restoration and shame  
 5 removal.

6 An alarming majority i.e. 263 (69.80%) respondents strongly opposed the  
 7 statement if the honour related norms is violated, silence is considered the best  
 8 option and the association between variables was non-significant ( $P>0.05$ ) at bi-  
 9 variate level. In tribal society, challenging someone shame and damaging their  
 10 honour is unforgiveable deed. That demand from the bereaved family members to  
 11 retaliate irrespective of their ethnic background and socio-cultural standings. In  
 12 this regard, honour killing is a matter of acute reprisal but strongly personified in  
 13 the cultural perspectives of tribal society. The embodiments of such killing in  
 14 tribal social system further sanction honour killing in all segments of the society.  
 15 Further, it is not only the informal social structure that enhance the rate of honour  
 16 killing but formal social institution also supported honour killing that state  
 17 “whoever is found committing sexual intercourse with any married women or a  
 18 widow or a virgin, both the man and woman ought to be killed on the spot”  
 19 (*Turizuna, Section-50*). Such steps are usually taken when the honour of family is  
 20 at stake within the society. That is why; this extreme solution becomes a single  
 21 choice after the failure of other alternatives (Pitt-Rivers, 1966). Lastly, tribal  
 22 people prefer to die rather to compromise honour and avoiding honour killing put  
 23 them in shame forever, therefore; they goes for taking severe steps by taking the  
 24 lives of the offenders. A life that is considered an ideal one in *tribal* society almost  
 25 dedicated to honour and the locals by all means and costs wants to sustain and  
 26 protect it. *Pakhtunwali* is a socio- cultural life patterns for *Pakhtuns* and their life  
 27 is devoted to honour, that they want to win by all means and must be won even if  
 28 it’s put their lives at stake. (Khattak, Muhammad and Lee, 2014).

29 Likewise, majority of the respondents 301 (79.80%) and 269 (71.40%)  
 30 respectively strongly discarded the notions that neither women looking for divorce  
 31 nor their remarriage of women after divorce result honour killing. Further, the  
 32 relationships between the variables in both the cases were also non-significant  
 33 ( $P>0.05$ ) at bi-variate level of analysis. The social system of tribal society is  
 34 utterly patriarchal where women population does not enjoying any freedom of  
 35 expression with meticulous orientation to mate selection and partner. The  
 36 endorsement of honour killing is an intense form of patriarchal power that is  
 37 safeguarded by providing legal shield to male values and interests under the shade  
 38 of state institutions (Pope, 2004; and Smart, 1990). Therefore, women have either  
 39 no or very little role in taking divorce from husband, although; seeking divorce is  
 40 considered is as an act of disobedience in tribal socio-cultural orientation. In  
 41 negation to these results, Asamoah-Wade (1999) concluded that in case of women  
 42 desires for divorce, the parents of women always remained partners in such killing.  
 43 That is usually the result of dishonouring a husband so that instant killing of  
 44 women is certain (Hussain, et. al., 2016). Similarly, killing of women who  
 45 intended to remarriage after divorce have no room in tribal society. These results



1 be a sign of a breathing space for women remarrying after divorce persisted in  
2 tribal culture. The same provision could have tacit support both from the religious  
3 injunctions and socio-cultural values that entailed women to remarry after divorce  
4 or death of her husband. Because after getting divorce the previous husband have  
5 nothing to do with the future of his ex-wife and she comes under the direct control  
6 of her family of orientation. Although, previous studies negate this notion by  
7 stating that women remarriage after divorce is as considered an act against the  
8 normative structure by considering divorced woman as man honour and rarely  
9 afford her remarriage after her divorce (Eck, 2003; and Sev'er and Yurdakul,  
10 2001).

11 Further, majority i.e. 308 (81.70%) respondents strongly opposed the  
12 statement that women inability of getting pregnant results honour killing and the  
13 association between the variables was non-significant ( $P>0.05$ ) at bi-variate level.  
14 Male child is considered as gun and symbol of power in tribal society so that  
15 women infertility perceived as a threat to masculinity. Therefore, those women  
16 who are to reproduce a child may not enjoy equal respect and prestige amongst the  
17 family members and community equal to that of a woman with children.  
18 However, such stigma of sterility never leads to killing of the infertile woman.  
19 This could be the reason that men in tribal society have the opportunities to go  
20 for more than one wife and in such cases they get married with another woman for  
21 the purpose to continue their lineage system. Similarly, the religious teachings also  
22 enable Muslim men to have four wives that could curb the issue of woman  
23 infertility indirectly.

24 Likewise, majority of respondents 232 (61.50%) strongly considered that if a  
25 women is raped, the rapist is killed and not the victim women and the association  
26 of the statement was significantly associated ( $P\leq 0.05$ ) with honour killing at bi-  
27 variate level. Committing of rape or male attempt to rape had no pardon rather to  
28 face a certain death analogous to cultural perspectives (Eck, 2003). Further, a  
29 person involved in a rape is supposed to be killed for his violation or tries to  
30 violate the honour of a woman. On the other hand the girl received an apology  
31 from their family members if they found her as innocent. Similarly, previous  
32 studies also suggested that rape discredited the victim family members that  
33 absolved of being killed due to her no intentions of doing so (Kaya, 1996; and  
34 Hussain, et.al., 2016). Besides the study results it was also observed that in March  
35 1999, a 16 years psychologically disabled lady namely Lal Jamilla of *Mazuzai*'  
36 tribe of the study universe was shot to killed by their native tribesman in front of  
37 tribal gathering after being raped by a local government official as it was believed  
38 that she ashamed the tribe and only remedy of her killing is left (Gonzalez, 2000;  
39 and Mayell, 2002). Such occurrence clearly showed even in some cases the victim  
40 of rape are also become vulnerable and supposed to be killed.

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## 1 **Conclusion and Recommendations**

2  
3 The study concluded that honour killing is considered as normal act in tribal  
4 areas of Pakistan having implicit support from longstanding socio-cultural values  
5 and customary practices, mainly perpetuated with intentions to wash the shame  
6 and restore the lost family honour. This heinous crime not only existed in the area  
7 but the local people also intend to protect and preserved this cultural identity and  
8 to have strict adherence to the normative order, traditional and socio-cultural  
9 milieu. However, people attitudes in this regard are changing in a positive  
10 direction as compare to the past due to local interaction with developed areas,  
11 increasing education in the area, people access to print and electronic media and  
12 amendments in the constitutions of the state, favourable to mitigate honour killing  
13 by defining the same as intentional crime and crime against the state. Both the  
14 gender become victims of honour killing and anyone who violate this cultural  
15 taboo had to face the axe of killing without any sympathy on behalf of the  
16 offenders. Further, children and newborn babies never become the victim of  
17 honour killing by having lesser chances of illegitimate babes as after visibility of  
18 women illegal pregnancy they ought to be killed on the spot by their family  
19 members. The only alternate in the area is killing the offenders to remove the  
20 shame and restore the honour being lost due to immoral act of women, however;  
21 there is no room for silence if the honour is lost. Moreover, neither women  
22 demand for divorce nor her remarriage after divorce resulted honour killing in  
23 tribal areas. Similarly, women inability to reproduce a child has no space for  
24 honour killing and in case of rape, the rapist is killed and not the victim. The local  
25 leaders (Maliks), religious clerics, educated chunk of population and political  
26 workers have to play their true role to curb the issue, provision of equal rights to  
27 women, creation of awareness about the importance of life and immediate  
28 intervention of state authorities directly in matter related honour killing were  
29 presented some of the policy recommendations.

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