

Socio-Cultural Values and Its Relation with Honor Killing in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan

Arshad Khan Bangash^a

Abstract

This paper aimed to investigate various socio-cultural values about the prevalence of honor killing in tribal areas of Pakistan. Through purposive sampling method, 37 respondents were selected consisting upon 'Maliks', FATA lawyers, and government officials from political administration. Data was collected through in-depth interview in the native language of the respondents which was translated into English, analyzed and discussed. The study concluded that tribal people had strict adherence to customary practices with beliefs in chastity and virginity of women. Moreover, doubtful and suspicious behaviours on part of women and incest relationship were not tolerated in the study area and local people restore their lost honor with blood which could never lead towards revenge. Rumors about dishonoring and its presentation in the media deteriorated the situations about honor killing. Creating education with regard to human loss, and interpretation of virginity by revisiting cultural and physical milieu was presented policy recommendations in light of the study.

Introduction

Honor killing is a deliberate attempt to kill someone either for actual or perceived illegitimate sexual behaviours and relationships (Hassan, 1999; and Roberts, Campbell and Lloyd, 2013). In such honor based murders mostly male family members and relatives are involved while targeting the violators of honor norms (Gill, 2008; and Onal, 2008) due to their denial of an arranged marriage, fallen victim to a sexual assault (Human Rights Watch, 2004) involvements in extra marital affairs, forced marriage, disobedience towards family patriarch, desires for seeking employment and looking for divorce etc. (Joseph and Nagmabadi, 2003).

Previous research studies suggested that the prevailing cultural traits of honor killing are deeply rooted almost in all parts and ethnic groups of Pakistani society, which is endorsed by customs and traditions and inscribed in cultural patterns (Amnesty International Report, 2008; and Dyer, 2015). Such occurrence of honor killing could not be limited to a particular group, however; it is considerably found in those parts of the society which is markedly ignorant, uneducated, less developed, under developed and belonging to the rural setup of the country (Shah, 1998; and Ullah, 2010).

Galtung (1990) stated that structural composition and its cultural acceptance as one of the main determining factor of violence in different ethnic groups and societies. He further added that cultural aspect is mainly used to justify and legitimize structural violence which is further supported by religion, ideology, arts and language etc. Along with other, honor killing is also considered as form of violence within the domain of culture (Bennett, 2007). He further opines that honor killing is projected in the dominant discourses in the form of cultural violence. Such cultural norms about violence as evoked at individual level but re-enforced by family and community within the broader social context (Ullah, 2010).

In contrast to cultural components of the society about honor killing, its structural aspects also perpetuate violence against women, which are socially constructed and product of the

^a Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Gender Studies, Bacha Khan University, Charsadda

historical processes (Coomarswamy and Kois, 1999). Furthermore, Gill (2008) elaborated the occurrence of honor killing with long standing socio-cultural practices in terms of women subordination through necessary means by men segment of society.

Similarly, Ullah (2010) concluded that traditions mechanism dictate honor killing and evokes various types of punishment if such customs are violated. Moreover, these practices are sanctioned and endorsed by the traditions and customary laws (Ali, 2001). Cinthio and Ericsson (2006) explored that honor killing is the result of values system in an analogy that she violate honor norms and supposed to die in order to restore the honor as such contextual shameful behaviour cannot be tolerated at any cost. Kirti, Kumar and Yadav (2011) attached honor crimes with social mechanism that work as social threat framework, justified under the pretext of social customs and traditions to prevent individuals from having moral autonomy and exercising choices.

In context of Pakistani society in general and Pakhtun society in particular honor killing is the outcome of socio-cultural values, as Jafri (2008) argued that the practice of women killing in Pakistan is often associated with the restoration of honor usually carried out on the demand of cultural and historical reasons. Smartt (2006) and Agosin, (2002) depicted that honor killing is legally and culturally accepted phenomenon in Pakistan and it cannot be subjected and examined from the human rights perspective in Pakistan society, as the defenders claim that these customs and traditions are the accepted discourse of country instead of regular laws. In consonance to these conclusions, Asian Human Rights Commission Report (2011) highlighted that honor killing is a part of cultural traditions in Pakistan and conception of women honor and property is deeply rooted in the socio-political and economic landscape of the society.

Methods and Procedures

The present research study was carried out in Kurram Agency, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan to investigate different causative factors about the prevalence of honor killing in the study area. The domain of the study was narrowed down to the socio-cultural and customary practices regarding honor killing. Keeping in view the sensitive nature of this study, it was neither feasible nor possible to collect information directly from victim families, as it was the violation of cultural norms about honor killing prevalent in the area and also in defiance of the research ethics. That is why, a sample size of 37 respondents were selected from government officials of the political administration, lawyers belonging to Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) organized under FATA Lawyer Forum, Peshawar High Court and 'Maliks' (tribal prominent leaders) of the study universe through purposive sampling method. The selected categories of the respondents had an extensive knowledge about the issue and victims of honor killing by virtue of their professional wisdom as an administrative officials, legal experts and members of the 'Jirga' respectively. Moreover, data was collect from the respondents through in-depth interview and the same was transcribed on the spot. After collection of the relevant information from respondents in their native language (*Pakhtu*), the same was translated into English, then after; various theme were extracted which were analyzed and presented in a form of results and discussions.

Research Themes Derived from The Collected Data

The following research themes were derived from the collected data which were later on descriptively presented in results and discussions.

1. Beliefs in chastity and virginity of a woman are strongly observed in the study area and often its leads towards honor killing.

2. Perceived illegitimate relation, doubtful and suspicious behaviours of a woman are associated with honor killing.
3. Strict adherence to customary laws, traditions and practices of Pakistani tribal areas is strictly observed in the study area.
4. Killing in the name of honor does not lead towards revenge between the offender parties.
5. Restoration of honor with blood is considered a customary penalty for those who violate the normative order about the notion of honor.
6. Rumors about dishonoring promote honor killing but in reality no one even think of spreading false rumors in the area.
7. Presentation of dishonoring in the media could further deteriorate the situations for those who violate the normative order about honor.
8. Incest relationship does not prevail in the study area due to strict observance of customary practices and respect for blood relatives.
9. Norms of honor are practiced by all castes without any confusion and exception.

Results and Discussion

Beliefs in chastity and virginity of women are strongly observed in Pakistani tribal areas both at familial and communal levels. People deviation from protecting these values related to chastity, modesty and virginity invite negative social sanctions in the form of removal of the violators. Previous studies suggested that a married girl is supposed to present the sheeted cloths being stained with blood to justify her virginity (Turgut, 1998). Moreover, maintenance of these social virtues has deep and sound embodiment in familial, religious and cultural perspectives of the study areas. In this regards, Reimers (2007) concluded that women chastity and modesty is one of the basic and essential components of the family honor in various parts of world. Similarly, the prevalence of strong patriarchal structure in tribal societies and its functional acceptance intentionally sustain women subjugation through various discriminatory practices. The concept of honor is deeply rooted in patriarchy with the main focuses on the underlying legitimating beliefs about the absolute nature of male authority over women (Parrot & Cummings, 2006). Tribal men manipulate women chastity, virginity and modesty as per their own andocentric interpretations which further enhance women denial from their lawful rights and freedom. Any women, who presented chastity and virginity to an alien person are subjected to killing and such honor based violence could only be observed in practice, where patriarchal norms is in prevalence (Campbell, 1964; and Knudsen, 2004). These cultural values are not that much easy to get visible in the eyes of everyone but still people in tribal society expect a virgin woman and present their wives as virgin. But no one exactly knows about the virginity of a woman except her husband. Most of the women in the area are virgin although suspicion on virginity of a woman causes divorce as well instead of honor killing after the very first '*Korwalay*' (sexual intercourse). The reason of exceptional divorce after the very first sexual intercourse is mainly the outcome of an absence of witness regarding the dishonor deeds of a woman. Because if a woman is killed on grounds of losing her virginity then the killer is supposed to kill her illicit sexual partner as well. This unilateral killing may cause enmity between the families in the form of blood revenge. That is why, killing on the issue of losing virginity without valid evidences are avoided and the problem is resolved through the divorce of that particular woman. However, cultural hard cores often force their wives to accept the alleged illicit relations along sexual partner. If the accomplice is identified then both of the partners are killed. But if she does not confess the illicit relations then the woman alone faces the brunt. Moreover, it would be much shameful for a tribal man to spend life with a woman who lost her virginity before marriage. In other words, the woman will first face severe

consequences in the form of either killing or divorce and second, if she is not killed or divorced then she will face routine domestic violence from the family members of her husband. It is pertinent to note that if a woman is killed alone without killing her alleged partner then it results into a family feud as in such a situation, the family members of the deceased woman ask for the actual reason of her killing. If the male family members fail to provide sufficient evidences of her killing then it leads towards family feud in tribal society. As in tribal social structure, the concept of honor is attached and believed in the chastity, virginity and modesty of a woman. However, loss of women virginity could not be proved lethal unless it is made public amongst the masses. Furthermore, keeping it secret regarding women virginity leaks embodies the male social disgrace and often leads to his social defamation and thwarting of his social standing in the society as well.

Evidences from the history reflected that women perceived illegitimate relation before and after marriage was in relation with honor killing, as doubtful and suspicious behaviours of women was not tolerated in tribal society. Previous studies also highlighted that the concept of honor killing could be traced back to Pre-Islamic era and primitive cultures of the desert tribes (Hussain, 2006). However, at present positive changes took place in the socio-cultural values of tribal societies as now a day strict actions are taken only in case of actual illegitimate relationship with actual and compact proofs. Geographical differences with reference to honor based killing had changed over time and will in the periods to come as well (Eck, 2003). This paradigm shift is the possible result of strong segmentary lineage system and egalitarianism. That is why women perceived illegitimate relations have no more space in such a tribal structure. As at present, in majority of the cases tribal people exercised the practice of honor killing only when they had factual information about illegitimate sexual relationship of women. However, to some extent suspicion of having illicit relations may also cause honor killing, which is mainly the outcome of '*Paighoor*' (taunt). It is eminent to notice that the rate of such killing was not reported in true terms, rather indicating five percent cases only, while the rest had been attributed to the real violation of the prevalent normative order". Moreover, in tribal context, '*Paighoor*' performs dual role of social regulation and social integration as applied by the famous French Sociologist Emile Durkheim in his study of suicide (Ritzer, 2010). As evident that '*Paighoor*' plays a vital role in regulation of honor related matters. Because if someone stigmatized women on ground of suspicious illicit relations, it exacerbates the social regulatory dynamics of family, which could land their comprehensive social integration within the preamble of prevalent social structure. The social integration is highly vibrant to omit the shameful disgrace of social stigma of honor killing.

Tribal people had strict adherence to customary laws, traditions, and practices about honor killing as tribal cultural history is a testimony to a long standing occurrence of honor killing. . Cinthio and Ericsson (2006) explored that honor based killing is the outcome of value system and in case of these norms violation a woman must die in order to restore the honor. In a local context it is believed that '*dah kali oza ho dah narkha ma oza*' (adhere to the local customs and traditions or leave the village/area). Pakhtun tribal code strictly followed the reinforcement of customs and traditions which are primarily patriarchal in nature. Their practices divulged a man to be always dominant and had the authority to manipulate the public and private sphere of women. Men have the authority to controlled women and to preserve patriarchy by investing gigantic negative powers to avoid any sort of misbehavior related to women (Kandiyoti, 1988; and Eck, 2003). Socio-cultural values of tribal society always restrict a man to violate the societal norms about honor and declare it for him to maintain his honor at all costs. Failures to such customary practices were deemed irreparable and seldom had any re-compensation approach. It is indicative of the fact that Pakhtun culture is comprehensively devoid of any compromise rather believing in restoration of

honor at the cost of human lives. Such strict adherence to this widespread customary practice have peculiar characteristic of social cohesion, integration and regulations. Tribal people strictly obey the codes of '*Pakhtunwali*' (*Pakhtun* code of conduct) regarding honor killing and failure in this regard result the emergence of fissures in the mirror of social structure. Moreover, they kept their custom and traditions over and above the religion and state formal institutions which is the result of long standing history of this heinous crime in the area evident from '*Turizuna*' (written customary law of the study universe). Section-50 of the *Turizuna* (1944) clearly defined that "whoever is found committing sexual intercourse with any married women or a widow or a virgin, both the man and woman ought to be killed on the spot". Such interpretation acknowledged that it is not only the local people and practices but the British government of that time provided legal cover to honor killing in tribal societies.

Besides the common prevalence of honor killing in tribal societies of Pakistan it could never lead towards revenge. The observed cases of honor killing elaborated that killing of both the offenders diminishes the chances of revenge between the families. However, in some cases eliminating one offender and leaving another alive may pave the way for family feuds. It is a recognized fact in the area that the offenders of honor related norms has to be strictly punished according to the customary practices. Moreover, if both the illicit sexual partners are killed on the spot, it will never sustain enmity between the families of the offenders. The famous local proverb '*Patkay hum lar ao tikray hum lar*' (both man and woman must be killed) proclaims that if somebody indulge with a woman sexually, they will test its repercussion. Another customary proverb of the area explains it in a more vibrant way that '*Topak warpasy khlas dhay*' (the gun trigger is ready for shooting the offenders). It means that he/she will be killed wherever and whenever they are found. Furthermore, in cases like when a woman is killed while male absconds, the adulterous family demands the offender for the purpose to be killed. If the male family members support the offender instead of handing over to the victim family, then it can further deteriorate the situation and lead to revenge. Nevertheless, if male family members agree on the customary practice '*topak warpasy khalas dhay*' which means that the adulterer must be killed whenever and wherever he is found, then it does not lead to a family feud and revenge rather it indicated towards the upholding of local practices of social order. This shows that although honor occupies an immense position in Pakhtun tribal societies but similar is the case of human live and nobody is allowed to kill someone without compact and justifiable reasons. However, killing on moral grounds is justified in tribal society both in the eyes of the customary practices and law of area. In this regard, Section-50 of *Turizuna* (1944) stated that "whoever is found committing sexual intercourse with any married woman or a widow or a virgin, both the woman and man can be killed on the spot. If the offender escapes and woman is arrested and killed by her relatives and no evidence is forthcoming of the charge against the accused, then the relatives of the woman shall have to take ten oaths to the effect that they have seen themselves the man committing sexual intercourse with the woman and that he has escaped. The charge will be considered as proved and when the accused is arrested he will be punished under Indian Penal Code (IPC). If the accused has absconded to some independent territory he can be killed there by the relatives of the woman with impunity. If the accused is killed on the spot while committing the offense and the woman escapes and goes to her parent's house or elsewhere and denies the charge, her owners shall have to take ten oaths to the effects that the accused was killed on the spot while committing sexual intercourse with the woman, and that the woman escaped. In such a case the woman will also be punished under the Indian Penal Code (IPC). On her release from imprisonment the woman will be sold beyond a radius of twenty miles of her village and her '*Rasmana*' (bride price) will be paid

to her husband. If the adulterer is killed on the spot while committing sexual intercourse and the woman escapes and goes to her parent's house or elsewhere and denies the charge, her owner will have to take ten oaths to this effect that the accused was killed on the spot while committing adultery and the woman escaped. In such a case he (complainant) will be given the benefit of sudden and grave provocation and will not be punished". In conformity to the above argument it would be mentioned that honor killing does not lead towards revenge if both the offenders are killed on the spot. However, in case of killing of one party and the escape of another, the offender (he/she) will be charged under the previous Indian Penal Code (IPC) and currently Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) for adultery. Furthermore, if any one of them is escaped, the killer will simply take ten oaths for proving the guilt.

The local people of Pakistani tribal societies restore their lost honor with blood by killing the offenders who are involved in an act which is in contrast of the normative social order. It is generally believed by tribal people that enacting customary penalty of honor killing can restore the lost familial honor to some extent. Although through these tribal customary practices, women were treated as a source of family honor while honor is closely linked with respect and social standing of the men (Ruane, 2000). However, avoiding such penalty causes extreme dishonor to that particular family in prevalent tribal setup as honor killing is attached to the concept of honor and shame and shame is strongly interconnected with the killing of offenders. The concept of shame and honor measures normative expectations on behalf of women behaviour and it's providing roots for honor crimes (Feldman, 2010). It has also a support in the prevalent socio-cultural values and long standing history of honor killing in the area. Moreover, it could be assessed as an outcome of a woman's subordinate status and strong hold of patriarchal roots in tribal society. This entails a man to manipulate woman in every sphere of life through exercising this authority. This scenario is eminent both at individual and institutional levels. Henceforth, Pakhtun society adopted a rigid principle of killing and the honor norms violators is supposed to be met with severe punishment by maintaining the prevalent social order to keep consistency in the existing culture. Either tolerance or ignorance to such deeds brought unabated war within the families of the offenders and their respective lineage. Such punishment (honor killing) is a tool to restore honor against the shame which is only possible through washing the stigma by blood faced by the male family members. On the other hand, if the violators are leave alive then obviously it will create room for taunt for successive generations. Such concept of taunt worked as a social pressure agent in tribal society which compels male family members to go for severe steps and to purify their honor through slaughter of both the offenders.

Although norms about honor are strictly observed in Pakhtun tribal societies, however; rumors about dishonoring further promote honor killing in the area. Arnold (2001) found that an allegation over a female can trigger honor related crimes on the basis of rumors even. Because it should be kept in consideration that in tribal society no one even think of spreading false rumors regarding such a sensitive issue of dishonoring, as it is viewed a matter of life and death. That is why in most of the cases, rumors are based on factual ground and such grounds are enough for taking the lives of both the offenders. Furthermore, if the rumor about dishonoring is displayed in any sort of media, then it becomes an extra compulsion on the woman family members to restore its honor through killing the offenders. The data further suggested that the role of rumors in honor killing is also manifested in local proverb that '*Pa Kor Spak da Wahalo, Aw Pa kali Spak Da Wajalo Day*' (The defaming person at domestic level shall be beaten and defamed at village level shall be killed). This clearly shows that rumors play a pivotal role in honor killing in the area as currently it is one of the biggest tools to expand the information at macro level in the form of

disseminating information's through both print and electronic media. In other words, rumors produce counter social pressure which tarnish the social status and image of the dishonored family and its members, which further resulted killing of that woman who damaged family honor along with her alleged partner. On the other hand, if it is come to known that the rumor was false in nature than the speeder of rumors will face the cost in terms of severe punishment. Because such rumors degraded family reputation in public as such matter no more remained within the four walls of the family. This stigma further motivates male family members of the honor norms violators to restore honor by killing the offenders. In this patriarchal disposition the woman is sanctified and all the burden of honor lies at her shoulder that is why such patriarchal structure does not tolerate any misconduct on part of the women which threaten family reputations. Thus, rumors in tribal social society are imperative and based on factual grounds, which are fully endorsed by the local community.

In consonance to the above, presentation of dishonoring in the media further deteriorated the situations. About the role of media, Raza and Hussain (2016) contended that media is one of the biggest tools to expand the information at macro level in the form of disseminating through both print and electronic media while highlighting women problems. Although, tribal people had less access towards media in the past and therefore the presentation of dishonoring in media rarely happened. But if media reported such incident, it will no doubt pave the way for honor killing as media have the force and capacity of instigating and persuading male family members to restore the honor by killing the alleged deviants of the normative order. After the 9/11 incident, military intervention in the area indirectly resulted in some alteration in the socio-economic and cultural dynamics of the area. These changes are observed in the daily forecasting and broadcasting of FATA through print and electronic media. However, the local people were not ready for that much change in the media institutions, as they considered it as one of the challenging event in the prevalent social process. Tribal population has been under tremendous pressure of acquiring alien elements in their lives due to the different kinds of innovations with both negative and positive repercussions. In this respect, especially the use of advance mobile technology (Smart Phones) is negatively influencing the local population in general and youth in particular. Such type of technology provides an easy access towards making contacts with women which further erodes the elements of social maintainability pertaining to the status of a woman. Thus making viral of such videos certainly leads to honor killing of a woman while the male violators often disappear from the scene, if not killed soon its viral. Shortly, if any dishonoring case presented in the media then there is no other option except killing to restore the honor.

Incest relations is not tolerable in federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan but such practice of incest relations did not prevail in the area due to the reasons like strict adherence to values about honor and respect for blood relatives. That is why there is no room for incest relation in the social structure and functional fabrics of tribal society, flavored with high morality, close social networking and dominant role of '*Masharan*' (family elders) with esteemed respect to a woman. Moreover, any possibility of incest relationship had to be curbed by killing the alleged victims with certain other labels like incidental electric shock, incidental fire caught up, heart attack and falling from the roof and becoming prey to a strong bullet etc., to get emancipation from the offenders as well to maintain the family honor. In short, incest relation did not exists in the area due to the reason of high respect for moral values and strong patriarchal hold, which never provided a space for such sort of illicit relations with those who were closely connected through blood. Furthermore, tribal people also strongly believe in religious values and morality, which are completely enshrined with respect to a woman.

Last but not the least; honor killing is practiced by all caste of the area without any confusion in Pakistani tribal areas and there is no exception in observing this customary practice about honor norms violation. Hussain (2006) pointed towards the inclusions of all major and sub clans, having beliefs in honor killing practices irrespective of their family and educational background. The informal provision in the normative structure is collectively owned by all inhabitants irrespective of their caste, creed or even religion with slight variations. As this practice of killing on honor grounds, is more keenly observed by the indigenous tribal population and local landholding. Moreover, in case of inferior caste like ‘*Hamasaya*’ (renter caste, occupational caste or artisan caste) such practices are differently observed. The written customary practices suggested that “If anyone is found committing sexual intercourse with his ‘*hamasya*’s’ wife and killed with the woman on the spot, the murderer will be given the benefit of grave and sudden provocation. The whole procedure and punishment in case like this will be the same as in Para-50 of *Turizuna*, but the accused person only will prove his innocence by his own oath together with nine others” (Turizuna, Section-51). These inferior caste are also predetermined in Section-8 of the Turizuna (1944) and its includes carpenter, Potter, Blacksmith, Weaver, *Paracha* (donkey bearers), Cobbler, *Nandaf*, *Musali* (slum dwellers), *Dum* (barber), *Hindu*, Nomads and any other person who cultivates another man’s land and inter into a contract of ‘*Hamsayagi*’ (living under the protection of local land owner) with land owner or an absconder or emigrant from other places living under the protection of a *Kurmi Naik* (local land owner) falls under the category of ‘*Hamsaya*’. Thus, in case of a person belonging to the inferior castes of the area are supposed to prove his innocence by his own oath together with nine others, if he killed someone with his wife in case of having sexual intercourse with her. Such justification is totally different from that of the superior castes of the area, where there is no need for proving his innocence through taking ten oaths. Shortly, permanent families of the area follow norms of honor almost equally; however the migrated families in the area in such cases try to avoid observing honor norms but they have to leave the area silently. On the other hand, where tribal families migrated to settle urban districts they did not observe norms about honor as strictly as those living in tribal society.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The present concluded that tribal people had strict adherence to customary laws, traditions, and practices about honor killing and they had strong beliefs in chastity and virginity of women. Deviation from these values invites negative social sanctions in the form of removal of the violators of honor norms. Moreover, doubtful and suspicious behaviours on part of women were not tolerated in Pakistani tribal society. However, strict actions were taken only in case of actual illegitimate relationship with actual and compact proofs. Moreover, local people restore their lost honor with blood by killing the offenders involved in an act which is in contrast of the normative social order, but such killing never lead towards revenge between the offenders families. The study further concluded that rumors about dishonoring promote honor killing in the area, while presentation such cases in the media further deteriorated the situations. Incest relations were not tolerable in the area, but it’s did not prevail in the area due to the reasons like strict adherence to values about honor and respect for blood relatives. Educating all stakeholders with regards to human loss, interpretation of virginity by revisiting in cultural and physical milieu was presented some of the recommendations in light of the study.

References

1. Agosin, M. (2002). *Women, Gender and Human Rights: A Global Perspective*. London: Oxford University Press.
2. Ali, R. (2001). *The dark side of honor: Women victims in Pakistan*. Lahore: ShirkatGah.

3. Amnesty International Report. (2008). Different voices. Retrieved From: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2008/06/different-voices-20080602/> dated on June 28, 2016.
4. Arnold, K.C. (2001). Are the Perpetrators of Honor Crimes Getting Away with Murder?: Article 340 of the Jordanian Penal Code Analyzed Under the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. *American University International Law Review*, 16(5): 1343-1409.
5. Asian Human Rights Commission Report (AHRC). (2011). *Pakistan: Eleven persons were killed in the name of honor during the first four months of 2011 in Sindh province*. Retrieved From: <http://Www.Humanrights.Asia/News/Ahrc-News/Ahrc-Art-029-2011> dated July 11, 2012.
6. Bennett, J. (2007). *Scratching the Surface: Democracy, Traditions, Gender*, Heinrich Boll Foundation, Lahore, Pakistan. Retrieved From: https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/scratching_the_surface_commentary.pdf dated Sept 2, 2012.
7. Campbell, J. K. (1964). *Honor, Family and patronage: A study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
8. Cinthio, H., and Ericsson, M. (2006). *Beneath the surface of honor: A study on the interplay of Islam and tribal Patriarchy in relations to crimes of honor in Jordan*. Lund University: Middle East Studies.
9. Coomarswamy, R., and Kois, L.M. (1999). *Violence against women*. New York: Transnational.
10. Dyer. E. (2015). *Honor' Killings in the UK*. London: The Henry Jackson Society.
11. Eck, C. V. (2003). *Purified by Blood: Honor Killings Amongst Turks in the Netherland*: Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
12. Feldman, S. (2010). Shame and honor: The violence of gendered norms under conditions of global crisis. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33(4): 305-315.
13. Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3): 291-305.
14. Gill, A. (2008). Crimes of Honor' and violence against women in the UK. *International Journal Comparative and Applied Justice*, 32(2): 243-263.
15. Hassan, Y. (1999). The fate of Pakistani women. *The New York Times*. Retrieved From: <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/03/25/opinion/the-fate-of-pakistani-women.html> dated Sept 15, 2013.
16. Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2004). *Honoring the killers: Justice denied for "honor" crimes in Jordan*, Retrieved From: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2001/04/05/> dated August 15, 2011.
17. Hussain, M. (2006). Take my riches, Give me justice: A contextual analysis of Pakistan's honor crimes legislation. *Harvard journal of Law and Gender*, 29: 223-246.
18. Jafri, A. H. (2008). *In Honor Killing: Dilemma, Ritual, Understanding*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
19. Joseph, S., & Nagmabadi, A. (2003). *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures: Family, Body, Sexuality and Health*. BRILL, 3.
20. Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender and Society*, 2(3): 274-290.
21. Kirti, A., Kumar, P., and Yadav, R. (2011). The face of Honor Based Crimes: Global concerns and solutions. *Int J Crim Justice*, 6(1&2):343-57.
22. Knudsen, A. J. (2004). 'License to kill: Honor killings in Pakistan', Chr. Michelsen Institute. Retrieved From <http://www.cmi.no/pdf/?file=/publications/2004/wp/wp2004-1.pdf> dated October 17, 2016.
23. Onal, A. (2008). *Honor killing: Stories of men who killed*. London, San Francisco: Saqi.
24. Parrot, A., & Cummings, N. (2006). *Forsaken females: The global brutalization of women*. Lanham: Rowman, Littlefield Publishers.

25. Raza, S.H. and Hussain, S.S. (2016). News Coverage of Physical Violence against Women: Where Do We Position. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*, 19.
26. Reimers, E. (2007). Representations of an Honor Killing. *Feminist Media Studies*, 7:239-255.
27. Roberts, K., Campbell, G., and Lloyd, G. (2013). *Honor-Based Violence: Policing and Prevention*, CRC Press.
28. Ruane, R. A. (2000). *Murder in the name of honor: Violence against women in Jordan and Pakistan*. Retrieved from <http://www.abo.fi/institut/imr/norfa/Katja%20Luopa%20honor%20killing.pdf> dated July 15, 2012.
29. Shah, N. (1998). "A story in Black: Karo-Kari Killings in Upper Sindh." In *Reuters Foundation*. Oxford Press.
30. Smartt, U. (2006). Honor Killing. *Justice of the Peace*, 170 (6): 151-177.
31. Turgut, P. (1998). *Loss of honor means death in Turkish region*. Retrieved from <http://metimes.com/issue98-17/reg/honor.htm> dated December 11, 2015.
32. (Turizuna, 1941). Written customary practices of Kurram Agency.
33. Ullah, M.Z. (2010). *Honor killing in Pakistan under theoretical, legal, and religious perspectives: An analytical study of honor killing abuse and disconnecting Islam from this ancient brutal tradition*. (Master's thesis). Malmo University, Sweden.