HONOUR KILLING: ILLITERACY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WOMEN SUBORDINATION IN TRIBAL AREAS OF PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT
This study was carried out with the sole objective to determine the relationship between education and pervasiveness of honour killing in tribal areas of Pakistan under interpretative methodology and qualitative tools of data collection i.e. in-depth interviews. A sample size of 45 participants consisting upon 38 Maliks and 07 government officials from political administration was selected through purposive sampling method. Education is greatly associated with the mitigation of crime and deviancy from society in a positive direction. Likewise, it can play its role in decreasing the rate of honour killing by discouraging such barbaric customary practices. However, with special reference to tribal areas of Pakistan and the practice of honour killing, education does not play its role in true spirit as required. Both educated and illiterate population of tribal areas equally endorsed the norms related to honour and are being involved in honour killing. Moreover, educated women in tribal areas are more prone to honour killing, as they goes beyond the wishes of family patriarch in matters permitted by the religion, values and state constitution. Further, they less likely observed the established norms related to veil and preferred to wear ‘Paranony’ in place of ‘Burqa’. Teaching materials about honour conception and honour killing is neither the part of curriculum nor taught within the class room environment. Lastly, the study concluded that sometimes parents avoids to send their daughters for getting formal education with the fear that after getting education they might violate the established pattern about honour norms. Inclusion of teaching materials about barbaric customary practices in syllabus, creating awareness among the people
regarding ultra-judicial killing of women, importance of human life and understanding of women in light of the teachings of Islam and medical sciences were forwarded some of the recommendations in light of the study findings.

KEYWORDS

INTRODUCTION
Honour is mostly noticed in its absence and got attention when people commit dishonorable deeds which are recognized across various cultures and communities (Cohan, 2010). It is defined as a value system based on norms, values, traditions, communal rules and ethical principles regarding feelings of respect and admiration to run the social system in a way that nobody either shattered or abused the trust (Ahmad & Din, 2013; Gill, Begikhani & Hauge, 2012). Through this phenomenon of an individual prestige and social standing is measured within society that is based on collective views regarding an individual (Wells, 2001). However, killing in the name of honour is premeditated murder of women for actual and perceived illegal sexual relation including sexual assault, refusal of arranged and forced marriage, affairs beyond marriage bound, seeking employments, demand for divorced and disobedience towards patriarchal authority (Hassan, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Joseph & Nagmabadi, 2003; and Roberts, Campbell & Lloyd, 2013). In such killing mostly male family members and relatives are involved while some times women are also involved in such deeds of brutality (The Free Dictionary, 2007; Gill, 2008; Nesheiwat, 2005; and Onal, 2008). Further, in most of the cases women are the victims of honour killing, however; male also become victim of such killing in some parts of the world typically viewed as collateral victims where both the offenders are put to death (Asia Pacific Women’s Watch, 2004; and Gill, 2008).

Shah (1998) concluded that killing in the name of honour was the part of ancient normative orders that still exists in Pakistan with different names such as ‘Siyahkari’, ‘Karo-Kari’, ‘Kala-Kali’ and ‘Tor-Tora’. Further, Pakistan is marked with the highest rate of honour murders as every year almost 1000 women are killed in the country out of the total 5000 cases across the globe (Ullah, 2010; and United Nations Population Fund, 2000). According to Siddiqui, Hamid and Siddiqui (2000) and Eck (2003), honour killing is usually the result of restoring family honour to purify the shameful immoral act that is supported by customary practices, normative order and traditions. This act of killing could be traced back to pre-Islamic period and ancient culture of desert tribes (Hussain, 2006; Sen, Humphreys and Kelly, 2003; Hussain, 2006; and Wikan, 1984). Similarly, honour killing is perpetrated within the scaffold of patriarchy that look around the notion about women subordination and determination of their
Moreover, Smartt (2006) highlighted that honour killing is both legally and culturally observable fact in Pakistan while Ahmetbeyzade linked the same with physical bodies of women, their emotions, sexualities and chastity (Ahmetbeyzade, 2008). Agosin (2002) and Gill, (2006) blamed state authorities in the pretext of non-interventions as most of the cases either received no punishments or received lenient sentences. Further, more often than not, honour crimes are without court trials or by taking side of men. Indeed, the responses from legal institutions are seen as exceptional with implicit support from state institutions and traditional dynamics (Kogacioglu, 2004). Moreover, Brand (1998) affirmed that honour killing as an economic crime by putting women to kill due to inheritance disputes (Amnesty International, 1999). Likewise, Faqir (2001) attached honour killing with the subordination of weak, working class and poor.

The available body of knowledge also suggested that the prevailing high rate of illiteracy could also be blamed for honour killing as four hundreds male and female were put to death in the name of honour only in Sindh province of Pakistan due to higher rate of illiteracy (Sindh Department of Education Report, 2007). Lastly, Hussain (2006) concluded that honour killing most often happened among the uneducated classes of rural tribal areas.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE
This research study was carried out with the sole objective to examine the association of illiteracy with the promotion of honour killing in tribal areas of Pakistan.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
1. Does education play any role either positive or negative with regard the norms related to honour in tribal society?
2. Does any variation is found regarding the rate of honour killing among literate or illiterate?
3. Who are more prone to the violation of honour norms, norms related veil ‘Purdha’ and honour killing?
4. Does honour norms are taught in the educational institutions?
5. Are parents avoiding sending their daughters to formal educational institutions with the fear that later they will violate the established honour norms of the area?
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
This research study conducted in tribal district Kurram of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa erstwhile Kurram Agency, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan to ascertain an association between illiteracy and the pervasiveness of honour killing in tribal areas of Pakistan. The nature of the study was interpretative and based on qualitative tools of data collection i.e. in-depth interviews with the participants. The study population was comprised of 45 participants including 38 Maliks (Prominent leaders of the area) and 07 officials from political administration selected from three tehsils i.e. Alizai, Sadda and Parachinar of district Kurram through purposive sampling method. Before formal initiation of the interviews with participants, the researcher personally briefed them about the nature of the study with the intentions to obtain their clear point of views about the issue at hand as per the aforementioned series of questions. The participants responses were received subjectively and their statements were properly recorded in black and white during the time of interviews by the researcher. The pre-design questions were asked in the native language i.e. Pashtoon of the participants and likewise answers were recorded in Pashtoon. After completion of each interview, the participant response was translated into English. Once the process of data collection was completed, the data was initially transcribed which was then analyzed and presented in descriptive order as peer the given details.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
Education plays a pivotal role in people lives which is greatly associated with the mitigation of crime and deviancy from the society in a positive direction. In the modern globalized era, education syllabi and curriculum could easily transmit worldviews of the people and can create a space for new ideas. In this context, tribal are not exceptional and could be more or less influenced by the same process. Currently, they are the part of quality educational institutions either in the capacity of students or employees in settled areas of the country. Through the process of social interaction they are in continuous contacts with their co-fellows that broaden their horizon and vision of understanding and analyzing the world. Further, extremism, terrorism, the emergence of talibanization and its corresponding intervention by the military institutions, a lot number people were internally displaced and shifted to other posh areas of the country from their native lands. This process of migration to settled parts brought them in close familiarity with the culture urbanized areas and opened new arena of understanding about modern means of communications and new technologies. Such like situations in turn surged female status and issues like honour killing to some extent. In this regard, study results contended that education equipped women population regarding their decision over the adaptation of an appropriate role and to move in action as per the approved societal parameters. Literacy contribute towards the trained social capital and makes individuals viable citizens by bringing maximum results towards social sustainability and maintainability through dictating right and
wrong. In contrast, lack of education had strong relevance with honour killing. Honour killing is connected in great relevance with illiteracy in comparison with societies where the rate of literacy is higher (Rehman, Imamuddin, Daudpota & Arain, 2012). Further, provision of women education could make a comeback to acquire dignity, and self-esteem that resulting pave way towards women uplifts (Mojab, 2002, Moghadam, 2003, and Murugananthan, 2014). Social system of any society most often remained under tacit pressure of assimilation and acculturation process based on educational achievements and illiteracy crippled down the system capacity of expansion as much prone towards displaying rigidity. Hilly (2010) examined that in under-developed societies people do not or less recognized violence due to lack of awareness and insufficient knowledge. Moreover, illiteracy is higher proportional to honour killing in societies like tribal regions which are more often facing the curse of such killing. Education indicators about Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) for the years 1998, 2003 and 2004 indicated low literacy rate i.e. 17.45 % in comparison of 35.41 % in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Awan, 2013). This could tell us an overwhelming illiteracy in tribal areas and could be blamed for honour killing as an effective instrument of increasing the rate of such occurrences. Tribal areas are also isolated from other parts of the country, hence; greatly focused on the local normative orders. Eck (2003) contended that honour killing mostly occurred in remote areas as a means to purify ‘Nang’ (Honour).

The study further highlighted that education is an effective tool of social change and it bring positive changes in the normative structure about honour. Women attainments of education make them able to take an appropriate role form the larger society in a permissible preface of societal prospects. Naz, Ibrahim & Ahmad (2012) concluded that in the past tribal society was restricted to patriarchal and traditional chains and has been crippled with less or no empowerments and literacy. This could be the reason that literacy influence societal norms regarding honour in a positive manner and work as an effective mechanics to internalize rational thinking among its members. Education not only creating awareness among people about their own culture but make them able to know about the normative orders of others as well. In contrast, illiteracy make the population vulnerable towards societal conservative milieu by restricting them to oppose whether constructive or lethal structurally prevailing and functionally accepted phenomenon. In Pakistani society illiteracy and economic emancipation of women reduced their plight and become helplessness (Baker, Gregware and Cassidy, 1999). Further, teaching community of Pakistani society is not free and above from the normative structure and are supposed to observe and obey the very rigid established cultural norms. They have very little choices and freedom with regard to disseminate knowledge and skills. They are supposed to follow cultural norms in true spirit while teaching to students. Likewise, they are also required to teach from already developed and approved curriculum which is outdated and less focused on women empowerment.
On the other hand, curriculum containing reading materials about women emancipation and true spirit of religion may alter the long standing established way of life in a positive direction. This could empower the most neglected women population through strengthening humanitarian principals and replacing centuries old conservative traditions and customs of barbarism and cruelty as expressed by one of the participant. The expansion of education within a society at secondary or university level weakened people aptitudes about controlling women and potentially lighten honour regulations of a society (Mansur, Shteiwi, and Murad, 2009). Similarly, discriminating women with regard to education also hinder their overall empowerment and provides roots for honour killing in tribal society. Hussain, Gillani, Fatima, and Ahmad (2016) described that gender discrimination in education is based on strong patriarchal ideology that desist women to attain education. Women denial from education is purely based on the postulation of daughter’s marriage in other families, where their main duty will be only household chores. Such mindset lags behind women with reference to educational attainments and henceforth become an easy target of honour killing. Educated women in Jordan speak for their rights and stoppage of honour crimes (Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013). In contrast to these results, Miller (2009) believed that higher education cannot bring any major change in the mind-set of students about honour killing.

Another participant added that tribal people are well aware about positive role of education in minimizing strong traditional hold, hierarchal stratification and obstructing honour killing. The association between modern state apparatuses and FATA lack greater social, economic and political synchronization. Regular state machinery does not operate in tribal regions as they function in settled areas of the country. The long standing imposed Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) by British rulers in the region operates day to day affairs of FATA inhabitants. These regulations are still continued in the region and never challenged by many successive governments of Pakistan since the independence in 1947 with the intention to maintain the status quo and to obtain their geo-political strategic goals and objectives in the region as mentioned by a participant. Such institutional discrimination kept FATA and tribal people underdeveloped as state authorities are never extended in the area at all. In turn, traditional hierarchy remained intact in the area and routine affairs of FATA are governed through indigenous customary practices instead of regular justice and administrative system. Thus, along with other multiple factors both educated and illiterate people equally endorsed the notion of honour under the shade of traditional observance of honour killing. Another participant disclosed that honour killing is found in both literate and illiterate communities which show that a great majority of illiterate tribal dominates the educated class in matters related to honour irrespective of their educational background, class and caste. In comparison to less developed nations, educated and developed societies have low rate of honour killing (Rehman,
Imamuddin, Daudpota, and Arain (2012). However, conversely to the study results, Khan (2006) and Idriss (2011) connected honour killing with less developed areas where people are having either no or low educational attainments. In short, tribal society symbolizes illiteracy and the continuation of blockade to women empowerment that promote honour killings. Hussain (2006) elaborated that in rural tribal areas, honour killings by no means is only restricted to illiterate classes rather both illiterate and literate have deep faith in it.

A participant while sharing his viewpoint stated that as compare to illiterate, educated women less likely observe the normative structure and honour related norms due to the reason of their qualification and exposure to external world. They seek maximum opportunities of obtaining freedom and their education remove the intensified pressure regarding observing honour norms in true spirit. Kakakhel (2005) stated that educated men and women less observe honour based cultural norms. Another participant added that in tribal society mostly female are either less qualified up to primary level or totally illiterate as educational facilities are not easily available in the area due to less governmental attention. Further, in some places even if education facilities are available, the same are used for other purposes by the local people such as marriage functions, funerals and ceremonial gathering etc., that also hampered women education. Awan (2013) concluded about the available statistics of education and stated that only 3% of the total women are educated in tribal society. Moreover, a participant disclosed that there is no proper check and balance mechanism on women educational institutions in the area in general and far flung areas in particular. That is why the concerned administrative officials have weak control on these institutions on regular basis. On the other hand, the local elite are influential and they manipulate the administrative affairs of female educational institutions directly or indirectly. All these once come together, then its gives birth to the backwardness of tribal women in respect of educational attainments. Furthermore, another participant added that educated women does not observe norms related honour and veil in a way as it is observed by the illiterate women of the area. However, female education is low as compare to male and in return they have no courage to break the normative expectations. Although, education make an individual wise and encounter centuries old traditions. Thus, it could be inferred that gender discrimination exist in every spheres of life in tribal society that make them disadvantaged by putting them on the mercy of patriarchal structure. Therefore, women in tribal society are not able to breach the honour norms and to challenge the existing customary pattern either explicitly or implicitly. So that they are still marginalized and live within this male endocentric and chauvinistic culture. This could make them further vulnerable to honour killing by decreasing their capacity of challenge the existing traditional status quo.
Teachings regarding honour norms are not the part of educational institutions of tribal society and this is mainly the result of the normative orders where women are not discussed in public spheres. Barlas (2002) stated that feeling of strong shame is attached with a discussion related to women and is strictly prohibited in tribal culture. Furthermore, the same is neither the part of devised syllabus from the government agencies nor considered an appropriate for a teacher to discuss the same in the class room environment. This could be accredited to value system, customary practices and prevailing normative order of tribal areas where discussion on honour related issues are considered as taboos. In consonance to these Dyer (2015) contended that most often teachers avoiding to discuss honour killing in class rooms and considered it as a cultural phenomenon. Moreover, a participant was of the view that educated women are more prone to honour killing in comparison to illiterate. Beside the fact, the both educated and illiterate women are put to death on honour grounds, so that it is neither illiteracy nor education that could be blamed as a sole cause of honour killing. However, the cause of honour killing in the area is the violation of honour norms and anyone who violates these norms about honour will be punished with death. But still the chances of educated women killings are much higher than the illiterate one due to the reason that most often they resist the patriarch decision. Educated women are also have greater chances of interaction with alien male as they get exposed to male segment of the society while leaving from home to educational institutions. Keeping any sort of association with stranger male either positive or negative may also cause their killing in the name of honour. The preferences and choices of literate women get changed and in turn they might refused to become the part of arranged marriage and their refusal of an arranged marriage can also cause their killing as a participant mentioned. Furthermore, a participant disclosed that education create awareness among women regarding their rights and obligations, that in turn make them able to stand for the attainments of such rights given by the customary laws and state constitution. In such like situations, sometimes they demand for job and employment as well which may not be permitted by the family patriarch; so that, they goes against the wishes of patriarch which may lead to their killing in name of honour. Thus, education as a recognized fact unable women to reason logically and followed by improvement in their capacity of opposing the conventional normative patterns. In this connection, consonant conclusion was drawn by Eck (2003) who stated that modern and highly urbanized women do not care the concept of ‘Namus’ (honour) in its traditional setup and form.

Furthermore, study results highlighted that women education promotes the violation of norms related to ‘Purdha’ (veil) as disclosed by a participant during interview with the researcher. He stated that educated women in tribal society do not observe the prescribed traditional practice of ‘Burqa’ (shuttle-cock), rather they preferred to wear a traditional shawl for covering their overall physical organs ranging from toe to head,
known as ‘Paronay’. Shortly, they do not observed the norms related to veil in its traditional way while going outside the homes either for getting education or attending marriage ceremonies and funerals. Although, covering all physical organs is mandatory for tribal women to express cultural pride and religiosity in a way to segregate women from male and keep them pious. However, beside its strong observance among tribal women, the dismal position of literate argumentum adherence to veil among those who acquired knowledge and less bothered about such traditional realities. Thus, women with education mostly challenging the normative structure and less believed on sexual purity. They go outside the four walls of home for getting education that shatter strict adherence to ‘Purdha’. Moreover, education strengthens their aptitude to violate norms in contrasting relation to ‘Purdha’ that may result their killing in the name of honour. In consonance to these, Moghadam (2003) concluded that women get empowered through education and redefined her own self with a different role that threaten the very social fabric of patriarchal order. Such strict prevalence of ‘Purdha’ could also be attributed to the religion of the area and psyche devolved within the shade of religion as tribal people often considered himself as religious and believed on women segregation.

Another participant added that people in tribal society most often avoiding women education and sending their female to education institutions due to the reason that after getting education they may breach the established societal norms about honour. They considered women education is futile due to various reasons. Babur (2007) concluded that women have to be married to another family and are supposed to carry out domestic chores. Tribal people have had critical thinking about the normative structure of schools and colleges. They have doubts over the syllabi of these institutions as well. They believed that women education enable them to be exposed to new advents of life that may put them in danger to violate honour norms. Moghadam (2003) stated that women education makes them empower to wish, think, adopt and seek a wider role for her-self in an association to men. Such like preferences of literate women can thwart the long standing established traditions, customary order and normative practices of the society. Another participant viewed that women socialization in formal educational institutions lowered the importance of ascribed socio-cultural and traditional boundaries for women and its usefulness for them. So that, educated women in turn behaved differently in contrast of the normative order and expectations that are wished and imposed by the family patriarch. Resultantly, men segment of the society develops a psychological apprehension of terrible consequences of education for women folk including the exercise of the normative axe of honour killing.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS
The study investigates the mandate to examine the association between honour killing and education in tribal areas of Pakistan. The study results disclosed that tribal people
believed that education can decrease the rate of honour killing through bringing positive changes in the normative orders and customary practices about honour and honour killing. However, in tribal social fabric both literate and illiterate equally observed the norms about honour due to the reason that most of the people in the area are either illiterate or influenced by the mindset of the majority. The literate populations in tribal society have the mindset that if they avoids honour killing then they will be secluded by the co-community members and be labeled as coward. Further, honour norms are not taught in educational institutions by teachers, as teaching such issue within the class room’s environment is considered as taboos. Study further concluded that as compare to illiterate, educated women less observed and followed norms about honour, that is why; they are much more prone to honour killing in the area as most often they violate honour norms and less observed the normative order regarding ‘Purdah’. Such feelings further deteriorate the situations and restrict women from getting education which not only enhance the rate of their illiteracy but as well provide an easy room for suppressing their rights. Tribal people should be educated about the direction, importance and magnitude of human life; ultra-judicial killing of women should be strictly punished by the state authorities, women should be understood in light of Islam, propagation regarding the acceptance of anti-social actions should be discouraged, women virginity should be explained in light of medical literature and honour killing should be propagated as against Islam were forwarded some of the recommendations in light of the study findings.

REFERENCES


