

**BRIDE PRICE AND WOMEN IDENTITY IN
CHITRAL**



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CHITRAL**



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Abstract

Bride Price is widely practiced in Chitral. This custom includes, beautiful young girls, being trafficked in the name of marriage. A local broker (Dalal), an outsider, and unknown people are involved in trafficking. In 2002 to 2006, there were 2,870 cases of trafficking and these cases ended on murder, divorce and prostitution. Majority of fake grooms are above 50 years old and already married. They introduce themselves as high government officers or land and business owner of Punjab, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkawah to the local people in Chitral and requested for marriage of a woman and got married with her. The social exchange theory interprets, bride price, as a system of marriage payment, where women are themselves exchanged as part of family traditions. In this scenario, women have limited control on the decision making and their body, either sexually service or reproductively. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews, in different parts of the Chitral district. Data were collected from eight (8) respondents. The study shows the travails of women being subjected to traditions. The profile of respondents proved that the girls married in other than Chitral have been trafficked.

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Chapter No.1

INTRODUCTION

This research is designed to explore the link between bride price and women trafficking in the name of marriage in Chitral. The major focus of this research is to investigate bride price and its negative impact on women and girls, that affecting marital life, individuals and families in Chitral.

In the recent past, the “selling of girls” was widely practiced in Chitral. Women trafficking in the name of marriage emerged as a big issue, which affected the reputation of Chitrali community. Consequently, of the marriages performed in other provinces were unknown.

Bride price has been culturally approved as a marriage practice in Chitral, where the groom has some obligation to give money. Being unaware to this custom, the people of other provinces think that Chitralies sell their daughters. A study conducted by the Regional Women Empowerment Project (RWEPP) reveals that 74 percent of Chitrali girl’s marriages in others provinces or districts in Pakistan are unknown and allegedly fake or conducted by criminal groups. The Study found that women trafficking in the name of marriages is done for domestic exploitation (fray, divorce, murder) and to use such girls for terrible and prostitution trade. As can be seen by the preceding data, women trafficking by the name of marriage have been become problematic issue for Chitral community (Chitral Time 2010).

Consequently, this study shows that women are trafficked because she is being subjugated by her tradition. It is also because the culture of Chitral pays more attention to the man than the woman. The study mainly focuses

on the internal trafficking of women and girls in Chitral. It aims to help assess the extent and structure of the practice in the district Chitral.

Chitral is the district of Khyber PakhtunKhwa, situated in the North of Pakistan and has a connection with Afghanistan (Wakhan). Chitral is famous for its natural beauty as well as for its unique culture. Being a part of Khyber PakhtunKhwa this society is highly influenced by Pashtun and Afghan culture. Even than Chitral is one of the peaceful and secure areas of Pakistan.

Bride price or bride wealth which is used to make customary marriage is a common practice in urban and rural areas of Chitral. Bride price consists of a contract, where the material elements or money is paid by the groom to the bride's family in exchange for the bride, her work and for her ability to produce children. Therefore bride price and women identity in Chitral, the social exchange theory interpreted it as bride price, a system of marriage payment exchange, where women are themselves exchanged as a part of family contract. In other words, women identity as is negligible (Ritzer 2005:736).

Similarly, Chitral is a male dominated society (patriarchal society). In a patriarchal society where bride price exist women are consider as commodity from one kin to another kin. Men are considered as principal decision makers for family and women have lack of power. Most of the times due to the patriarchal system women identity has been challenged. Therefore majority of women are uneducated, they get early marriages, against their well. Latter on it leads to the marital instability, at the end it

appears in the form of divorce, murders and prostitution. As a result women become victim of oppression every day (LAPH 2008: 1).

In the same manner, given the close link between poverty, vulnerability and bride price, it is likely that women trafficking rose in urban and rural areas in Chitral. Comparing with the other regions of Pakistan, people of Chitral are poor. 36% of population in Chitral live below the poverty line. 10% of population live in urban areas while 90% population in rural areas. Chitral city is the only urban settlement in the district Chitral and rest of the 463 are rural areas. In comparison to the rural and urban areas, poverty rate is high in rural areas. The traders of the girls mostly target poor families. Hence the internal trafficking of women is higher in rural areas of Chitral. In summary, the women trafficking in the name of marriage are just because of the poverty (Pastakia 2004:8-9).

Hence, high rates of poverty and the absence of law for prohibiting such types of marriages are mostly due to poverty and custom of bride price of the natives. They marry their daughters in early ages. Once girls get married the groom's family considers them commodity of their family. Consequently the husband and his family misbehave with her and treat her like an animal.

1.1 What is Bride Price and Bride Wealth

Both systems of marriage bride price and bride wealth are an amount of money, marital items or property paid by the groom or his family to the bride family. The only difference between these two systems of marriage is just in the times of payment.

Bride Price refers to the “payment made by a man to the bride’s family (Copper 2014:24)”

Bride wealth refers to the “property given by the groom to the family of the bride, to compensate them for the loss of their daughter (Copper 2014:24).”

1.2 Concept of Mahr (bride’s wealth) in Islam

Mahr is a traditional system of marriage been practiced in Chitral. It is obligation of the groom or his family to pay money, marital items and property to the bride’s family at marriage time. It is also called gift of bride.

However Islamic law explains that the groom should give the bride a gift called Mahr before the completion of the marriage. A Mahr differs from the standard meaning of the bride-price that is not for the bride's family, but the bride to keep for herself.

In Quran, Mahr is quoted as below:

وَأْتُوا النِّسَاءَ صَدُقَاتِهِنَّ نِحْلَةً فَإِن طِبْنَ لَكُمْ عَن شَيْءٍ مِّنْهُ نَفْسًا فَكُلُوهُ
هِنَا مَرِيئًا

”And give the women [upon marriage] their [bridal] gifts graciously. But if they give up willingly to you anything of it, then take it in satisfaction and ease” (An-Nisa: verse 4).

Under Shari'a law, which imposes a Mahr as a condition for marriage? It is intended as a safety net for women. In the first period of Islam marriage system was quiet simple. Marriages were performed in a simple way. Any expenditure engaged in this performance was quite minimal, not a burden for each family. As Prophet Muhammad stated: “the most blessed marriage is one in which the marriage partners place the least burden on each other” (Al-Haythami, Kitab ab-Nikah, 4:255).

However in Chitral majority of the population are the followers of Islam. Therefore customary groom's family gave both Mahr and Bride price at marriage time to bride's family. Thus, in Islam there is no concept of Bride price but there is a concept of Mahr.

1.3 Marriage Events in Chitral

There is another important event among the natives of Chitral and it's known as *ruxayo angik* (to bring bride) in local term and celebrated vey pomp and show. During engagement ceremony both male and female do not need to take permission to meet each other. If the female parents agree, the male parents take a watch, ring or necklace along with themselves and visit female house for celebrating the engagement ceremony which is known as *gali botaik* or *wachik* in local term. They give some dresses

along with some other gifts to the bride. On the other hand the bride put on a watch on groom's wrist. In local term it is called *Allah u Akbar* thus the engagement is considered as conformed.

The marriage ceremony is performed usually when the marriage day is near, At this event villagers and relatives are invited. Villagers and relatives bring different types of gifts for the bride and this gift is known as *Pandar* or *chi ghech* in local term. Groom wears his marriage dress in this event for few hours.

The event in which the close relatives are usually invited is known as *xaak doyoo* in local term. Relatives give different types of gifts like money, goats etc. Later the *Dashman* starts Nikkah in the presence of few witnesses from both sides. In this ceremony both the bride and the groom are asked if they are willing. After their agreement *Dashman* recites some holy verses from the holy Quran which is usually considered as Nikkah. Haq Mehr is also decided in this event according to the financial status of both bride and groom. Hence the marriage is being performed.

1.4 Traditional Practice of Bride Price and Poverty

By keeping in view the empirical data which has been collected during the field work, some questions are been raisin. First, is bride price a traditional practice in Chitral community? Or poverty has prevailed the Bride Price in Chitral? However on basis of the gathered information it is quite easy to decide that the practice of Bride Price prevails in Chitral due to the culture practice as well as it is the root cause of the poverty.

First, Bride Price prevails in Chitral because of poverty. The population of Chitral is above one million. The age distribution of the people of Chitral is predominantly young, majority of the population is below the age of 19. Consequently, the size of the workforce is limited, which restricts the ability of local communities to generate resources (Pastakia 2004:10).

For this reason, no doubt poverty is one of the major factors which create a situation where the young girls get married in the early ages. The importance and certainty of the Bride Price, is generally very high, leads to late marriages among young men. This is because the Bride Price is high, and these men wait until they have enough money to cope with the burden of paying the Bride Price. Often due to the poverty most of the families in rural areas, consider the girls as a burden for their families.

In contrast, the traders of the girls mostly target financially poor families on the behalf of some local brokers. Interestingly these traders and brokers selected young and beautiful girls, most of the time their age is below twenty. More than 51% of the girls get married in fifteen years or below. About 35 percent of the girls get married between 15 to 20 years. 86 percent of the girls of age twenty or below that become the victim by these fake people. Mostly murder and divorce cases were funded 16 to 17 years (Noor Education Trust 2010).

Likewise, in a study conducted by the Anjuman e Dawate Azimatin (ADA) in 2002 to 2006 this organization deal 2870 cases which are include murders, divorce and prostitution. Majority of fake grooms are above 50 years old, already married and introduce them self as high

government officer or land and business owner. In the other words, poverty is a major factor for the women trafficking by name of marriage in Chitral (Haftroza Nama e Chitral: 7 August 2009).

1.5 Statement of Problem

Has bride price affected the women's marital life in Chitral? Due to the custom of bride price the people belonging from other regions of Pakistan think that Chitralis sell out their daughters. Bride price, as a system of marriage payment, where women are themselves exchanged as part of family traditions.

1.6 Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is that bride price effect women's identity, as she is being considered as the exchange of commodity. The central objective of this study is to give awareness to the local community of Chitral that they shouldn't marry their innocent daughters to those people who come to Chitral not for marriage but for the trafficking of girls.

The main objectives of this study are:

- 1- To highlights the issues of bride price and women identity.
- 2- To highlight the effects of bride price on the marital life of girls in local community
- 3- To indicate those people which are involve in girls trafficking in the name of marriage.

1.7 Significance of the Study

On the bases of this study the researcher likes to emphasize the issue of bride price custom and women identity. The study provides the

information to the local people about the consequences of the bride price on women marital life. The study is based on recognized information can encourage the upcoming generations and as well as existing people to think about this harmful issue of bride price.

Chapter No. 2

LITERATURE

Bride price is a type of money exchange which is paid by the groom or his family to the father of bride or head of bride house at the marriage ceremony. To see this custom it is necessary to understand the root causes which diminish the women identity in society as well as people's perception about this traditional practice. Kress (1977:441) and Anderson (2007:156) argued that this custom is prevailing in well settled areas in agriculture belt and tribal areas of the world, due to strong role of female in agriculture. Zaman (2009:15) in traditional and tribal societies, generally the payment of bride price in form of money and valuable assets like land, net-money, property and livestock. Rander and visaria (1984:648) found that in African society where goods and bride both travel along one another in an opposite side, Bride Price is considered as an exchange of resources, which are received by the bride's head of family or received by a brother to get wives.

Bride price also indicates the 'the selling of girls'. According to ancient Hindu literature Manu the act 'Kanyadan' or virgin daughter, where daughter seen as sale for profit, in form of bride price, and regarded as shameful Rander and Visaria (1984:648). The money which is paid by the groom family to the bride family consider as the equitant spent on her growth, socialization, and labor Zaman (2009:15). Payments between two families (bride price) can be largely enough to affect women identity, welfare and society's distribution of wealth Anderson (2007:155).

There are many causes behind this traditional practice (Bride Price). The initial cause of this practice is poverty which leads bride's families for

selling their daughter. Thiaria (2009:7) found that majority of the people consider that there is a connection between poverty and Bride price, therefore, during study on Uganda community she took interview from 180 people in general public and 27 from bearer and agency. Approximately 82.4% from general public believed that there is connection between poverty and bride price and 75% from bearer and agency believed that there is connection between poverty and Bride price. One quarter of interviewers said that this connection is complex one, due to transaction of money and goods between two families does not necessarily produce the results of poverty, it is a traditional practice which is valuable for this society.

Another major cause of Bride price is patriarchal society. Trocaire (2008) revealed that in patriarchal society where women have lack of political power over the household are usually governed by the father, brother or a husband, considered as a principle decision- maker, early marriage of girl and married against their will, and indicate male dominancy in society. This situation does not allow women to become economically independent; they are economically dependent on male. This thing brings women trafficking in society which diminished women identity and as well as violate women rights. In this situation (male dominant society) Bride price is always in the favor of women; because there is possibility that this factor would reduce Polygamy which is usually practiced in rural areas. The reason is that this practice imposes financial burden on the male, therefore there is certain level of restriction for men to obtain second

wife, in sub-Saharan(African society) where more than 95% population are polygamous, due to burden of marriage payments falling to the groom's side Zaman (2009:15) and Anderson (2007:157).

The reason why women become victim by the trafficking business? Noor (Chair neither person nor education trust: 5) analyzed that 16 women were become victims of trafficking business through traditional practice of bride price in NWFP. Therefore the traditional practice of bride price could not be denied, because it is one another cause for diminishing women identity in society. Similarly there were other causes, like lake of awareness and absence of proper laws which plays vital role in trafficking business of women. Advocacy and organizational awareness can help to reduce the traditional practice of bride price, however the area which lacks a platform to discuss these issues for organization, it is necessary to design those types of strategies through which local community people take collective action to improve the women identity in society.

Similarly bride price has negative and as well as positive consequences for bride or groom and those societies where it exists. It is also called micro level (Bride and Groom) and macro level (societal) consequences.

The first consequence of bride price for a micro level (bride and groom) the payment of bride price symbolizes the transaction the right of the girl's sexual and economic services to the husband. Population Council Program (PCP) the main motto of this program is to prevent pregnant child marriages. PCP examined that in Ghana society where bride price role explains as important in marriage, decreases premarital pregnancy

increasing due to traditional practice of bride price, PCP research result suggested that this phenomenon prevails because of bride price which is viewed as a burden for groom and his family. That is why the younger people no longer attached within traditional practice of bride price, and thus they are highly involved with premarital sexual activities and widely a negative motivational influence for formal marriages (GanaAmin and Ashish2011).

The second consequence of bride price is the subjugation of women to their husbands. According to Babae and Babae (2012:151) contradiction between traditional African society and European colonization (modernization) has brought complicated matters for African society, particularly while it has dealt with the autonomy issues of women. Due to modernization the subject of women subordination is not fully addressed within African society, because from a famine perspective this contradiction opened a new option for women. It doesn't mean that conflict between African society and modernization totally changes the role of women which she has played in African traditional society. However modernization addressed free will, individualism and self determination. It has defined what is necessary for community. Especially for those African societies where bride price is prevailed women are considered as property and subordinator. Modernization defined for African society as a self-determination, freedom and individual own desire within African society.

The third consequence of bride price for a micro level (bride and groom) Ngutor, et al. (2013:65) argued that bride price represent the value of women in society but on the other hand bride price is a transformation of productive and reproductive services by the girls to the groom's family which is actually domestic violence of women rights, and in patriarchal society this is one of the big issue which lead diminishing of women identity in society. According to Thongo (2000) in Kenyan society where culture preconception also play a big role, it persist as women as subordinate to their men and traditional practice (bride price) upon the groom totally control over the bride because the bride price payment ensure him that he has not only handover property and rights of bride but also considered as he has buy a women. That is why this thing leads to diminishing of women identity in society.

For societal level of bride price consequences, it is traditional practice of marriage which is hugely impact on women life and also affected families, children, men and community development. According to Thiara(2009:4-5) Traditional practice of bride price in past time operated as wholesomely to give formal recognition to the marriage in society and also provide protection to women against abuse.

This traditional practice is also considered as a source to establish the partnership between two families. However today due to commercialization bride price has lost its traditional value in society. That is why in modern societies bride price appears as “ buying of girls as a commodity” that is one of the big factor which lead towards sexual abuse,

divorce and marital instability. In such condition where if bride family is unable to repay the bride payment, women leave their marital homes and turn back to their natal homes.

In those societies where bride price exists people have different perceptions about this traditional practice. Some people think that it is good because it is a gift of money which is given by the groom's family to the bride family. While some people consider it problematic because of women's trafficking. According to Throcaire (2008:1) sham marriage and women trafficking chiefly for two reasons, first women as labor, second women as prostitution. On the other side some people perceive that this traditional practice indicates gender inequality in society. Rassjo and Kiwanuka (2010:157) argued that traditional practice of bride is an inherent part of marriage in African society where bride price relates with domestic violence, because bride price payment gives the sense of buying girls and considers her as one of her husband's commodities.

Assimve (2013:22) investigated people's perception about bride price, according to man and women's relationship on the basis of bride price, gender inequality, role of class and modernization. By looking at the relationship between women and bride price payment, it is clear that it creates a situation where males try to verify their influence and power over the women and women are trying to fulfill their roles and expectations as these roles and expectations have to be socialized by society over time. It is one of the major reasons that bride price payment affected wife and husband's relationship. In other words bride price payment does not only

lead to buying women and perches their freedom, but also leads to husband ownership and sexual right of the wives, which indicates gender inequality in society; i.e. physical violence and less decision making power by the women.

From the religious point of view, in Christianity when man gets married actually he gets cherished gift in the form of wife and it is responsibility of groom first to pay something to the wife's family and to go to the church for wedding so God can bless them with harmony.

Another perception about bride price is class dynamic, means bride price practice among the rich and poor class is difference, like exchange of property, food items and dressing at marriage time is differently practiced between poor class and rich class.

Chitral is a secluded and remote part of Pakistan; it is situated in northern part of Khyber Pkhtunkhwa. Chitrali society is highly influence by Afghan and Pashtoon culture, therefore this society is patriarchal. Trocaire (2008:1) found that this society mostly influence by Afghan and Pashtoon customs, in Afghan and Pashtoon culture where life strictly governed by the men, therefore women have been victimized by the. Women have no right to get marry according to their will. So this conservatively restricted situation leads to diminishing of women identity in society.

Chitral due to influence of Afghan and Pashtoon culture bride price highly exist. Society strongly favors the early marriage of girls. Poverty is one of the big factors for bride price and early marriage of girls.

2.1. Assumption

The major assumptions of study are given below...

- 1- Due to the bride price women identity is demolished in the society.
- 2- Bride price prevails in agriculture and tribal areas of the world.
- 3- Bride price is considered as an exchange of resources, which is paid by the groom to the bride's family.
- 4- Bride price indicates "selling of girls" because of bride payment.
- 5- Poverty is one of the major factors for traditional practice of bride price.
- 6- Patriarchal society and lack of women political empowerment brings women trafficking.
- 7- Bride price symbolizes the transformation of right, sexual and economic services of girls to the husband.

Chapter No. 3

THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

3.1. Social Exchange Theory and Bride Price

Social exchange theory is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology. Social exchange theory focuses on social exchange of commodities which are both touchable or untouchable and more or less rewarding and costly. This exchange of social activity occurs between two people or more than two (Ritzer2005:736).For bride price and women identity, this theory interpreted as a system of marriage payment exchange, where women themselves aer exchanged as a part of family contract. In this scenario women have limited control over their bodies, like sexually and in term of their services or reproductively. So that when bride moves to her husband's house, she will adjust in her original house as an exchange commodity, labor and transmission of property. It means bride price indicates the circulation of money and commodity among households.

Exchange of commodity (paying bride price) gives sense to the groom's family. Bride becomes their goods, services and property which they owned. However bride price as a social exchange of commodity (paying bride price and bought off women) indicates dehumanization of women, violence against women and destabilized marriage.

3.1.1. Social Exchange Theory Model

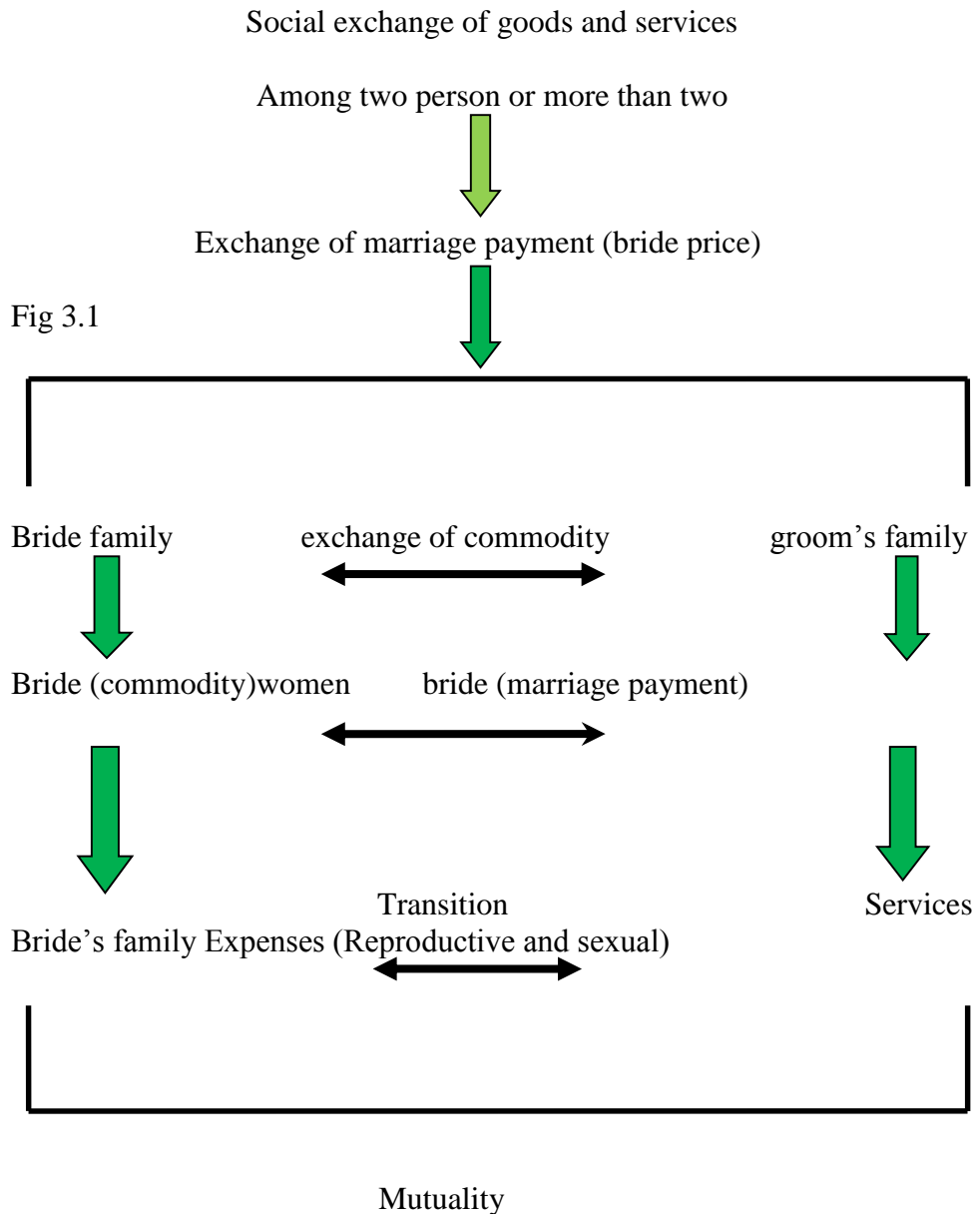


Fig 3.1 indicates a relationship between bride price payment and bride services. Two families (brides and grooms) exchange commodity (women). Bride's family gives commodity while grooms family pay bride payments for services (reproductively and sexual).

3.2. Barter System and Bride Price

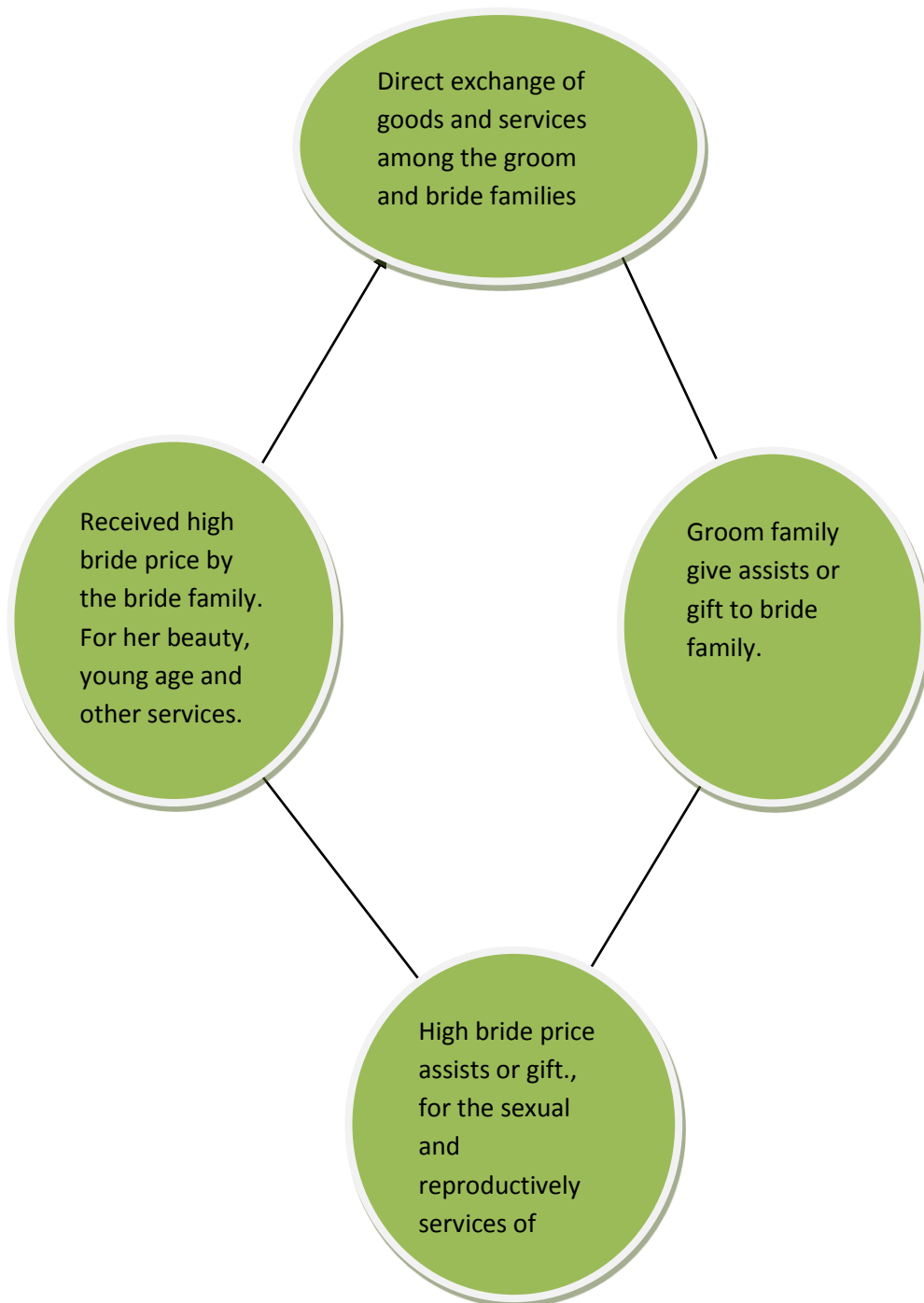
Barter system is a process in which the direct exchange of goods and services without money hands. If someone has a good or a particular service to offer, and requires another good or service, he / she can either find someone with the corresponding requirements (Williams 1996:1).

In ancient human society the relationship among the people was based on reciprocity. Bronis law Malinowski (2007) gave an example of two communities in primitive time. First one was calling Coastal (fisher) and second was inland (Farmer). Both communities were established a better system reciprocal exchange of goods. The Coastal gave fish to Inland and received vegetable from them. There was an obligation for each community to involve into the reciprocated system for mutual benefits. Therefore, barter system relates with bride price the exchange of commodity (bride and bride price) between two families exist as a cyclic system. One party gives girl and the second gives assists.

Fig 3.2 showed that people are directly exchange goods and services. Bride family received high price for her (bride) beauty, young age and other services. Groom family pays money, assist or gift to bride family for the sexual and reproductively services.

3.2.1. Barter System Model

Fig 3.2



3.3. Application of Social Exchange Theory and Barter System

The social exchange theory and barter system both were applicable in the scenario existing in Chitral. Because the social exchange theory and barter system theories elaborate the exchange of commodity or the exchange of gift among the people. There is traditional practice bride price exists in Chitral; therefore bride price indicates the circulation of women rights in form of marriage payment. Where bride family gives daughter and groom family give money or assists. Therefore both are reciprocated, and both are involved to exchange of bride as a commodity.

Bride price custom commonly practices among the Chitral community. Bride price payment is paid for the rights of economic and social value of Chitrali women which creates problems for women marital life and as well as for Chitral community. Prevalence of bride price among Chitral community indicates valuable standard of women in community. In Chitral community it's an obligation for the groom's family to pay bride price to the bride's family. Because it is part of marriage pattern. But on the other hand some people especially from other provinces believe that Chitrali people sale out their daughters. Therefore the trafficking of women by the name of marriage is being practiced since a long time. This thing motivates other people from other provinces marry with young, beautiful girls in Chitral.

3.4. Proposition

- 1-** Bride price payment indicates the exchange of bride as a commodity.

2- Reciprocity system indicates reciprocity system. Both families are reciprocated, like one gave other received and other gave second one received.

Chapter No. 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher chooses Chitral for research, because bride price is practiced in marriage commonly in Chitral. Being a resident of this particular area, the researcher felt that he can easily make an access to the information about bride price and women identity. A qualitative research method was used in this study and the data was obtained through interview guide.

4.1. Universe

The universe of research was Chitral town (situated in north of Pakistan) which includes Oyon valley, Dangaricandeh, Broz, Soweer valley. It was easy to access these areas and mostly marriages in down cities have done in these areas. Therefore researcher has made effective research in these areas.

4.2. Targeted Population

It is difficult to study the whole population, so the researcher selected male (victim girl's family member's cousin, father) and female population (young married girls, divorced and prostitution). Male were included for murder cases interviewing because of in-depth and accurate information while females were included for their past marital life.

4.3. Sampling Frames

Snowball sampling method was used for collecting in depth information. It was difficult to directly meet every respondent of the research. Since this society is patriarchal hence females are not permitted to take interview. these areas due to patriarchal system no one female's respondent were ready to give interview. Therefore the researcher has chosen snowball

sampling where the respondents became ready for interview with reference to the other people.

4.4. Sample Size

The researcher collected in-depth information from sample of eight (8) respondents. A sample size of 8 respondents was enough to get required information about the bride price and women identity in Chitral.

4.5. Tools for Data Collection

The researcher designed an interview guide for data collection. Interview guide is an important instrument used to collect in-depth information from respondents. It was a detailed chart used for collection of in-depth information.

4.6. Technique for Data Collection

The researcher used mobile phone and voice recorder for getting information from respondents, because it was difficult to remember every word of respondents. The researcher also used pen and pages to write information, where some respondents were not ready to take interview for recording.

4.7. Data Analysis

The researcher used qualitative data coding technique for analyzing data. When process of coding becomes completed, researcher merged related codes with each other's. Then the researcher formed themes by the three steps, open, axial and selective coding to analyze the data which researcher collected from different individuals through in-depth interviews.

4.8. Opportunities and Limitations

Conducting study on bride price custom was too much risky and sensitive. It was also difficult to collect unbiased data from respondents, because the respondents didn't want to share their feelings openly with the researcher. The researcher had also faced a lot of difficulties while collecting data. The researcher also faced difficulty as he was unaware about this sensitive issue. Because there was possibility of asking direct questions and it would break the relation between researcher and respondent. In some case researcher was strictly bound to avoid voice recode, just use pen and pages to write answers of the respondents.

The research work provides an opportunity to the local people to understand the bride price payment and its impact on women's identity and marital life. The research work also provided an opportunity for the young generation that they should keep in mind disadvantages and outcomes of bride price.

4.9. Ethical Concern

The researcher followed the moral tenets while conducting in-depth interviews. The researcher first politely took an appointment before conducting interviews from the respondents. To obtain an unbiased data researcher didn't hide his identity from respondents. The researcher has kept the confidentiality of feedback of respondents. The researcher was successful in creating frankly relation with respondents.

Chapter No. 5

FINDINGS

In qualitative research for data coding process the researcher organized the raw data into conceptual categories and created theme and concept. Data coding is an integral part of data analysis in qualitative research.

This chapter provides an outline of the interviews and conversation of the researcher respondents before discussing them in the next chapter. The profile of respondents has shown that the girls married in down cities have been trafficked. Women trafficking by the name of marriage seen, women as a valuable commodity sold by her family and owned by her husband. In other hand traditional practice of bride price acceptable within Chitral community. The researcher selected 8 respondents for in-depth interview, 6 respondents got married in down city, and one respondent got married within Chitral community, and last one got married down city but in an affluent family. The researcher hides the identity of all respondents for securing them.

In this chapter the researcher explored the final findings of the study. After conducting in-depth interviews the researcher documented all case studies. After that, the researcher form thematic headings from thematic coding techniques and later to fully explain each thematic heading.

5. Findings

5.1 Women are considered as Transformation of Goods and Services

Bride price indicates that women as an investment and she becomes an asset to her husband and his family. In this scenario woman is considered as a valuable commodity owned by her husband and his family and sale

out by her male family members. Moreover she is been considered as an income generating mechanism in her young age.

During interview, in divorce case respondent's uncle told that the bride price is part of our custom. There is obligation for groom family to pay bride price to bride family. According to him this custom shows women have value in our society, because paying of bride price indicates the status of women in society. When researcher asked, if women have great status in your society then why you don't give them right to take decision by herself? He replied, "In our society men have the power of decision, and it is obligation of women being as daughter or wife to accept men decision. When researcher said "You said women have great value in our society than why you don't give them the decision making power?", Then the respondent uncle was silent. As a result women do not have the right to make decision for her marital life. Even they don't have the right to marrying the man they love.

The traditional practice of bride price exists in Chitral; therefore bride price indicates the circulation of women rights by the men in the form of marriage payment. Where bride's families give daughter and groom family gives money. Therefore both are reciprocated, and both are involved in exchange of bide as a commodity.

In one divorce case the respondent replied that she wants to get divorce from her husband, but her husband is not ready for divorce. Because of groom's family demanded 200,000 (bride price) and 5 tola gold which they had paid at marriage time, and her father can't pay this. Bride price

custom commonly is in practice among the Chitral community. Bride price payment is paid for the rights of economics and social value of Chitrali women which creates problems for women's marital life as well as for the community. Prevalence of bride price among Chitral community indicates valuable standard of women in community. In Chitral community its obligation for the groom's family to pay bride price to the bride's family. Because it is part of marriage pattern. On the other hand some people especially from other provinces believe that Chitrali people sell out their daughters. Therefore the trafficking of women by the name of marriage has been practiced for long time. This thing motivates others people from other provinces marry with young, beautiful girls in Chitral. At the end they come to Chitral and with the help of local broker they get married with these innocent girls and then use them for their greedy purpose. As a result women of Chitral become a commodity which is transmitted within two families.

5.2 Bride Price and Self and Security of Women

Women in Chitral and in many other tribal societies choose to sacrifice their personal dreams for the sake of security. Even they know that they are being subordinated by the men. Such types of women not only have limited control on their lives but also surrender their own wishes and desires in front of man. In these situations women are unable to declare openly their wishes because they understand the authority of the head of family. If they express their wishes openly then they will have to suffer.

Women in Chitral community expected to deny her and serve to the man in her life.

Divorce and murdered cases indicate that women give everything for the sake of security. According to in one murdered case, after the police investigation, she was killed by her husband with knife and tether. The researcher asked about the reason of murder from her cosine he replied, the reason of this murder was demand of husband from wife to sale herself to other people and bring money for him, because her husband paid 60000 rupees at marriage time to her father, and he used to consider his wife a slave. Second reason was that her husband family want male baby.

Same in second murdered case, 15 11 years old girl was killed by her husband. This case still field in Peshawar high court the decision is still pending. The lawyer of this case told that this marriage was done in September 2007. PKR 80,000 was received by bride family as bride price payment at marriage time. Then 15 years old bride left for Nowshera with her husband and spent two years there. In her husband home she was continuously misbehaved by her husband and his family. The husband and his family always talked about the bride money (PKR 80,000). In July 2009, one day her husband came home with kebabs and took her to a separate room. There he killed her with an axe. Her face was badly injured. The respondent replied, the next day, one of the neighbors informed her father about the incident. Her parents brought back the dead body to Chitral. The body was post mortem in the civil hospital Chitral. A case was filed in civil court Chitral. The accused was summoned to Chitral

court. His mental fitness was reported as abnormal (by his family). The Mahar money was demanded by the family. But accused family refused the demand on Mahr money and the case was shifted to Peshawar high court. To this date the court has failed to give ruling in this regard.

Similarly in another case the respondent said, “She was forcefully married with her deceased husband’s older brother. Although my husband was older than me but he was a good person. It was my bad luck that one year later after first baby, husband died in a road accident. No one informed my father about this incident. Within one month she was forcefully remarried with her deceased husband younger brother.’’ For the sake of security she accepted second marriage. If she would have refused, there was a big chance that her husband’s family would kill her. The groom’s family considered that they have paid money to bride family and now she is their commodity. So it means the bride price women is insecure in her husband house.

Therefore women have miner level of opportunity to empower themselves. One respondent said that in 1998 she got married in Lahore. After few days of marriage, one morning the lady who shows herself as a mother of her husband? She came to her room and said we have purchased you. We have paid one lake rupees to your parents now you have to accept whatever we want you to do. Then she sold to other men.

From 1998 to today she has been used as a prostitute in Lahore (Hira Mandy Bazar). She has a daughter as well. She wants to come out from such environment, but no one is ready to accept her as a wife. Therefore

due to the bride price Chitrali women are insecure at their husband's home.

5.3 Poverty and Bride Price

Poverty is one of the major factors for early marriage in Chitral. Most of the women get married due to the internal burden on family and as well for earning money and other assets. In the past, among the Chitral community bride price practice operated beneficially to give protection to the women and established the relationship between husband and wife. Today, however, this practice has lost its traditional value. Women are purchased as a commodity.

Approximately 75 % of respondents believed that there is a connection between poverty and bride price.

This practice also indicates that women seeking divorce can only do so if bride payment is repaid to the husband family. Like in force marriage case the girl has accepted the decision of marrying the eldest brother in law. Because her husband's family, demanded for bride price payment which had been paid at marriage time. Her father could not pay bride price payment.

Similarly, in another case when researcher asked a question from one respondent's father, that why you married your daughter to an old man? He said they paid lot of money (bride price). Bride's father was a farmer according to him; he was poor and wanted money for his family. During field work the researcher assumed that there is a connection between poverty and bride price. This practice gives some assets to the bride

family. With the discussion of one divorce girl she said that three years ago she was married with XYZ belongs from Punjab. At the time of marriage she was just 15 years old, and her husband age was above 40 years. This marriage was performed by her aunt (father cousin). Her father was a shopkeeper. He took 2 Lake bride price at marriage time. According to her, her father wants to expand his business. Therefore he was happy to marry his daughter with Punjabi rich man.

Consequently, the poor people take bride price and use this wealth for other purposes. For example, to buy land, cows for produce milk, which can be sold and further, use it for different plans. One respondent said that a payment of bride price was for my family because my father was unable to pay bride price for my brother marriage. It gave some financial boost to pay bride payment for my brother marriage. As a result there is bride price because of poverty.

5.3.1 Negative Relationship between Poverty and Bride Price

On the other hand, social activists in Chitral said that it is true we belong to a backward area and there is poverty in Chitral, but it doesn't mean that we should sell out our daughter due to poverty". Bride price although indicates the exchange of women within two families (one give money second give women). He said that some other provinces greedy people make fake marriage in Chitral and after the marriage these people use innocent Chtrali girls for their greedy proposes.

He further explained that it is not 100% true that there is custom of bride price in Chitral due to the poverty; people of Chitral are very simple they

follow this custom because their forefather followed this custom. According to him, he had attended 5 marriage ceremonies where the reason of bride price was not poverty. This is a custom and they followed it. Hence there is not necessarily a relationship between bride price and poverty.

5.4 Bride Price and Marital Instability

The research findings showed that bride price payment has negative impacts on marital life. Bride price is a major factor contributing to domestic violence in the relationships thereby it threatens the stability of marriage in Chitral. Bride price is a commercial transaction with the marriage being valid only when bride -price has been paid but it is sometimes seen as the basis for the claim that women are exchanged for goods as if they were commodities, normally there is bargaining between the parties concerned.

Lots of women in Chitral have suffered and their rights have been violated because of bride price payment. This has serious implications on the stability of marriage in the area and elsewhere in the world. Once the man has paid Bride Price and the woman reduced to the status of property because the man has paid for her. She has not only become part of the property but what she works for becomes the husband's family's property because they paid bride price. This affects women's freedom thereby affecting their marital stability. It forces a woman to live under an intolerable and hostile family environment which subjects her to servitude and slave. Hence it leads violence against women where the marriages are

broken down. At the end bride-price has detrimental effects on marital stability due to the fact that it increases the possibility of domestic violence as men consider women their property bought at high prices, it leads to ill treatment which could affect marital relationships.

5.5 Bride Price Domestic Violence

The research data showed that there is a connection between bride price and domestic violence. Majority of women interviewed said that bride price is an evil deed because it makes man compel to misbehave the woman. Bride price increases domestic abuse and women's inequality because husbands feel that they have the right to be dominant over women and can do when needed.

Bride price further leads to the lack of respect by the husband to his wife. If the women leaves her husband home due to the domestic violence, her own family do not pay bride price therefore family cannot take her back. If she goes back to her home the parents forced her to stay with the husband and compel her to return.

As in one interview the respondent said that she was physically and verbally abused by her husband because of bride price paid by his family. When she complaint to her husband about the behavior of his family with her, he becomes aggressive. Her husband said he had paid a lot of money to her father and she has no right to complain about anything.

Chapter No. 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The research is conducted to highlight bride price and women's identity in Chitral. 8 respondents were taken as a sample in order to find impact on down city about the women's marital life. Initially the data from the sample size and through the review of the literature it is been proved the bride-price has harmful effects on marital stability due to the fact that it increases domestic violence, sexual abuse, women trafficking as groom's family consider bride as their property bought at high prices. The results affect marital relationships. No doubt poverty is a big source of most marriages problems in modern societies. High bride price makes marital destruction, as most grooms cannot afford it so most bride families marry their daughters in early ages.

About 90% respondents were married between 13 to 20 years, due to the poverty. As mostly young Chitrali boys cannot afford high bride price, therefore bride family prefer to marry their daughters with the men of other provinces even if the groom is an old men (above 60) or disable. Bride-price gives birth to the diminishing of women's identity and transforms them into commodities or into their husband's slaves. At the end it leads to marital instability, finally it results divorces, murders, prostitution and women trafficking.

The research showed that 74 percent Chitrali girl's married to others provinces or districts in Pakistan turned out fake. Studies found that girls trafficking by the name of marriages are performed for domestic exploitation (fray, divorce, murder) and using such girls for terrible and prostitution trade. The social women welfare department researcher

conducted study on down city married women. She found out 58 cases where the fake husbands sold out the innocent girls into the market. Due to the poverty and lack of accessibility of bride family, mostly fake groom use them for their greedy purposes. If the bride doesn't fulfill their greedy purpose then they kick out them from house or kill them. Therefore From 2002 to 2009 Anjuman e Dawat e Azaimat deled 2870 cases which were mostly murders and divorce cases. The research findings also indicate lack of women's power in decision making. 6 respondents out of 8 replied, at the time of marriage no one asked them their will. The research also indicates that mostly marriages are performed through local brokers. The fake groom's first approach the local brokers and through them they target poor and innocent families. Majority of fake grooms are above 50 years, already married and introduce themselves as high government officers or land and business owners. The study also found that a lot of people are involved, (local people, outsiders, matchmakers and gang) in this bossiness, trade and trafficking from Punjab, KPk and local community.

In this research the average by the general opinion age for the marriage found less than 20 years. There were at least 4 to 3 cases where the girls were 10 years old.

6.2. Conclusion

Bride price and women identity is a broad topic. This custom has mix of positive and negative impacts on women and community life. For women (bride) and family (bride family) earn respect through this custom. This custom increases domestic violence as groom and groom's family consider

women their property bought at high price. Prevalence of bride price costume has been received increasing attention in Chitral. From 90s to 2010, 28 hundred fake marriages were found which were performed by some local brokers, outsiders and women traders. Although it's a part of custom (bride pay marriage payment for women and her family respect) but other people (down cities) consider that Chitrlis sell out their daughters. Therefore these people target that families in Chitral which are financially weak and have young and beautiful daughter. Then they use these innocent and young girls for greedy purposes (prostitution and domestic violence).

3.3. Recommendation

How-to improve the institution of bride price in Chitral? Some people do not want to abolish this custom because it is a part of their culture. They believe it is one of the ways through which the bride and her family can earn respect. While others suggest that this custom should be finished as it does not meet cultural standards as it promotes women trafficking by the name of marriage. It is recommended on the basis of research work that there should be constant sensitizations of this traditional practice. Why bride price custom should be abolished and why not?

Furthermore the study recommends that Bride price practice should be reformed at the governmental level, e.g. this is responsibility of government to recruit Nikah registrar at least in every union council. And make sure that no one should get married without Nikah registrar. Government and local community both should mutually make policy to

stop fake marriages and investigate about those people from other provinces who want to get marriage from Chitral. Local people should cooperate with government and should make social boycott with those local families who forcefully marry their daughters with the people of other provinces. This is the responsibility of government and local people to control on bride price system, e.g. create an opportunity for local young man where they can easily effort marriage expenditures. Although bride price custom cannot reduce from Chitral, but educational institution and awareness program can be helpful to overcome on this issue.

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Annexure
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Bride price and women identity in Chitral

Interview Guide

Section A

Demographic information

1. Name
2. Age
3. Marital status
4. Family structure
 - a. Family size
 - b. Family types (patriarchal or matriarchal)
 - c. Male and female members
 - d. Respondent number according to birth
5. Family income
 - a. Salary or earning of father or family head
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Livestock
 - d. Handicrafts
 - e. Others
6. Education
 - a. Respondent's education
 - b. Parent's education
 - c. Siblings' education
7. History of respondent marriage
 - a. Age of respondent at marriage

- b. Age difference between wife and husband
 - c. Who was the person, first came for engagement?
 - d. Who take decision of marriage?
 - e. Respondent's participation during engagement decision
 - f. Situation lead to bride price
 - g. Amount of bride price
 - h. Perception of girl about her marriage and bride price
8. Marital life
- a. Happy or sad.
 - b. Economic decision.
 - c. Family planning.
 - d. Violent or peaceful life.
 - e. Free mobility.
 - f. Sexual rights.
 - g. Mahar
 - h. Basic needs.
 - i. Education
 - j. Occupation.
9. Divorced
- a. Reason.
 - b. Time spent with husband
 - c. Challenges after divorce
 - d. Stereotyping
 - e. Family behaviour

f. Occupation.

g. Children.

10. Killed by husbands

a. Reason.

b. Time spent with husband

c. Age.

d. Relationship with husband

e. Complaint

f. Mahar paid by husband.